I, too, thank you, Chairman Lugar and Senator

Biden, for holding this hearing today. And I especially thank

Secretary Powell for being here, for all the time you’ve spent with

us today, and for your intense engagement and efforts to stop the

atrocities in Sudan.

For months now, many of us have been speaking out about the

crisis in Darfur. We’ve recited the numbers, the mounting death

toll, the malnutrition rates, the refugee flows, the numbers of displaced.

We’ve called attention to the scope and scale of the violence,

the systematic rape of women and girls, the destruction of whole

villages. We’ve pointed to the ample evidence to indicate that the

janjaweed militia forces responsible for most of the atrocities work

hand-in-glove with the Sudanese military and the Sudanese Government.

We have passed a genocide resolution, and the Secretary

has made it his business to be directly engaged on this issue, traveling

to Darfur and weighing in directly with Sudanese officials.

But what we haven’t done, and what the administration hasn’t

done, is find a way to bring security to the terrorized people in

Darfur. The Darfur catastrophe is not the result of a natural disaster;

it is the result of a deliberate policy unleashed by the Government

of Sudan on its own citizens. And so far, no one has found

a way to make that government change course.

There are immediate steps that can be taken, on which I notice

we tend to all agree: getting the African Union all the support it

needs to be as effective as possible, continuing to urgently scale up

our humanitarian response and to improve humanitarian coordination.

But the very best reports from AU monitors will not, in and

of themselves, bring security to Darfur.

I am deeply grateful for the AU efforts to date, but we must not

make the mistake of expecting from the AU mission something that

it has neither the mandate nor the manpower to deliver at this

point. Likewise, the very best efforts of the humanitarian community

cannot solve the security problem. To stop the violence, to create conditions of security, we need to bring effective leverage to

bear on the Government of Sudan.

First, with all due respect to the Secretary, we need someone in

charge. The Secretary of State has quite a bit on his plate. We used

to have a Presidential envoy for Sudan, but, when Senator Danforth

took up his post as U.N. Ambassador, inexplicably, he was

not replaced. Recently, our most senior official at our embassy in

Khartoum was recalled to the United States. This is no way to

manage a crisis of this magnitude.

Once again, as I have for months, I strongly urge President Bush

to appoint a senior envoy to focus exclusively on this crisis each

and every day, to keep sustained pressure on Khartoum, and, importantly,

to convince other key international actors to increase

their engagement.

And that leads to a second point. We need a dramatic strengthening

of political will around the world. I wish that we did not find

ourselves confronted with this task at a time when mistrust of the

United States is at an all-time high, strengthening the hand of Sudanese

officials who would like nothing more than to cast themselves,

incredibly, as victims.

Finally, we need to think about the future. What kind of relationship

can we really have with a government that has repeatedly

over the years unleashed this kind of violence and misery on its

own people? What political accommodations can be made to acknowledge

that there is not a monolithic North and a monolithic

South, but, rather, many actors in Sudan—by no means all

armed—that want a voice in their own government and a hand in

shaping their own destiny? How can we balance a very real, very

serious interest in a solid counterterrorism relationship with Sudan

with our reaction to the kind of unacceptable atrocities we see in

Darfur right now? And how will those responsible for these crimes

be held accountable for their actions?

One additional word before I ask a question. I certainly share the

view that’s been expressed by many that the AU effort in Darfur

is admirable and is, in fact, indispensable. The AU is the only

game in town right now. Likewise, I welcome the way in which

West Africans have stepped up to try to stabilize Sierra Leone and

Liberia. And South Africans are playing such an important role in

Central Africa.

But I worry a little bit about where the ‘‘African solutions to African

problems’’ mantra sometimes takes us. Genocide is not a regional

problem; it is a whole-world problem. When there are three

million people killed, as they have been in Eastern Congo, that is

not just an African problem. I doubt that we would think of it as

a European problem if it happened in Europe. This is important.

Sometimes this language suggests that stability in Africa doesn’t

really relate to American interests. I think that’s a bit of a dangerous

idea in this era of global transnational threats, including

the threats of terrorism and international crime.

And I say this knowing that I am speaking to somebody who has

enormous commitment and depth of understanding of African

issues, and we’ve worked together on many of these issues. But the

concept of this as peculiarly African problem, or a problem where

they, sort of, more or less, solve the problems themselves, with our

help, is not the same way, it seems, that we sometimes react to

similar events in other parts of the world.

Having said that, I’d like to ask you, Mr. Secretary, in the draft

resolution currently being circulated by the United States at the

Security Council, what specific consequences will be triggered by

the Government of Sudan’s failure to improve the security situation

in Darfur?

What good does it do to pass U.N. resolutions

with deadlines when there are no actual consequences triggered by

a failure to achieve——

Let me just follow with a very quick follow-up.

I mentioned in my statement the fact that I’ve urged President

Bush to appoint a senior envoy to focus exclusively on this crisis

each and every day to keep the pressure on Khartoum. Can we expect

the administration to take a step like this soon?

Well, I admire the people you have working

on it, but I think it made a real difference to have somebody the

stature of Senator Danforth working on this issue, and I would

urge that it is time for somebody of that stature to be in charge

of this operation again. But I thank you, Mr. Secretary.