

# HUMAN RIGHTS IN SUDAN

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HEARING  
BEFORE THE  
TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

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JUNE 19, 2013

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## **HUMAN RIGHTS IN SUDAN**

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**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19, 2013**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:00 a.m., in Room 2200 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. James P. McGovern [co-chairman of the committee] presiding.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So we are going to begin. Larry André is in the building, and he should be here shortly. So I think we -- the farm bill is on the floor today. I am handling the rule, and I have two amendments, and it all begins at noon. So I have to -- we have got to try to keep to our time schedule here.

Good morning, everybody, and thank you for attending this morning's hearing on the dire human rights situation in Sudan and the multiple humanitarian crises besetting the country. I would like to extend a special welcome to the panelists. I want to thank you for your time, for your work, and for your passion for upholding human rights in Sudan and around the world.

I am grateful to lead this Commission with my fellow co-chair Congressman Frank Wolf, who will be joining us shortly. Mr. Wolf is at a markup and will be joining us after he is finished.

I would also like to thank Denise Bell and the staff of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission for organizing this hearing.

It is with great regret that the Commission finds it necessary once again to call a hearing on the Sudanese government's ongoing campaign of massive human rights abuses against its own people in multiple regions of Sudan, in Darfur, in South Kordofan, in Blue Nile, and elsewhere.

But we cannot turn our attention to Khartoum's continual campaign of criminal and callous human rights abuses without looking at the massive human suffering that they have caused. In Sudan, the two walk hand in hand.

Humanitarian crises plague Darfur, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile. Today over 2.3 million Darfuris are displaced, including nearly 300,000 as refugees in Chad. Many of these refugees have lived in Chad since as early as 2003. These refugee camps are the only home the thousands of children born there have ever known. They may never know their own land, Darfur.

In 2007, I visited these immense camps and heard firsthand the stories of death and despair that forced these people into exile. In South Kordofan and Blue Nile, over 1.15 million Sudanese are displaced, and 200,000 more are refugees in South Sudan. In short, displacement and destruction continue unabated in Sudan.

Ten years after reports of Arab militias called Janjaweed committing atrocities in Darfur propelled the region into the headlines, state-sponsored abuses continue in Sudan's western region. Deliberate and indiscriminate attacks on civilians by pro-government militias, aerial bombings, razing of villages, and looting and destruction of property and other civilian structures remain widespread.

In 2004, the United States Congress called the state-sponsored violence genocide. The International Criminal Court agreed. President Omar Al-Bashir is wanted for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes committed in Darfur.

In South Kordofan and Blue Nile, aerial bombardments have been the Sudanese government's signature tactic to devastating effect. Bombs hit residential areas, schools and markets, health clinics and farm fields. Civilians have no protection. They have no warning of these attacks and are forced to find shelter in caves and in nearby mountains or bush.

The United Nations' High Commissioner for Human Rights paints a distressing picture of the human rights violations, rising to the level of war crimes and crimes against humanity. These air strikes severely disrupt planting and harvesting, contributing to food and security, malnutrition, lack of access to water, and other negative health impacts, and obstruct access to basic services.

Children go without school and villages are emptied of their people. The aerial bombardments, combined with Khartoum scorched earth ground attacks and deliberate obstruction of humanitarian aid, have led to chronic hunger and conditions conducive to famine. Rebel groups are not without blame. The SPLM-North has obstructed aid, too, and targeted civilians.

But the overwhelming – the overwhelming number of abuses and crimes are committed by the government of Sudan. The government of Sudan must stop targeting civilians because of their ethnicity or who they voted for or where they live. The situation is complex. There is inter-communal violence and fighting over resources, but at heart lies in authoritarian regime led by President Omar Al-Bashir that marginalizes the periphery, turns the state's armed forces against its own people, and wages cyclical campaigns of divide and conquer to ensure that he remains in power.

I am passionate about ending the human rights abuses and humanitarian crises in Sudan. I have been arrested three times outside the Sudanese Embassy here in Washington, D.C., to protest the government of Sudan's actions against its own people, including the genocide that happened in Darfur.

In April, Congressman Wolf, Congressman Mike Capuano, and I introduced the Sudan Peace, Security, and Accountability Act. It would create a comprehensive U.S. strategy to end serious human rights violations in Sudan, provide genuine accountability for persons who have committed or assisted in serious human rights violations, and support Sudanese aspirations for democratic reforms.

And when I first introduced the bill during the last congress in March of 2012, I referenced the

words of our U.N. humanitarian coordinator for Sudan, Mukesh Kapila, who warned about Khartoum's actions in the Nuba Mountains. Without international intervention, he warned of a return to Darfur-like destruction in the region. A year later, nothing has changed except more Sudanese are displaced, more Sudanese are injured, more Sudanese are hungry and malnourished, and they live in fear or they are killed.

The campaigns of armed conflict and deliberate denial abate everywhere in Sudan, devastates the soul, and it is wrong. We must act to end this cycle of violence. These circumstances demand urgent and continuous pressure from those of us who care passionately about human rights.

Today's witnesses will bring fresh knowledge from their time on the ground in Sudan and the refugee camps in Chad and South Sudan. They will bring their expertise on how to break this cycle of violence and to end the campaign of human rights abuses. But most of all, we look to them to provide knowledge and means to chart a path toward a comprehensive solution.

The United States, the world's champion of human rights, dignity, and freedom, must renew its efforts to forge the path toward a comprehensive peace solution that addresses the conflicts throughout Sudan and ends the massive humanitarian suffering. Let us resolve that what we discuss and learn here today will not go unheeded and that we will all join together to stop the massive human rights abuses and the human suffering in Darfur, South Kordofan, Blue Nile, and elsewhere in Sudan. Our conscience and their lives demand no less.

So having said that, I want to welcome our first panel, Larry André, the Director of the Office of the Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan, Bureau of African Affairs at the U.S. Department of State; and Nancy E. Lindborg, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, the U.S. Agency for International Development.

I want to welcome you both. I want to thank you in advance for all the work that you have done on this issue so far, and we welcome your testimony. Mr. André, why don't we begin with you.

STATEMENTS OF LARRY ANDRÉ, DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL ENVOY FOR SUDAN AND SOUTH SUDAN, BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE; AND NANCY E. LINDBORG, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU FOR DEMOCRACY, CONFLICT, AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

STATEMENT OF LARRY ANDRÉ

Mr. ANDRÉ. Thank you, Congressman McGovern. Thank you for this opportunity to inform the Commission of the latest developments in Sudan where widespread human rights abuses and chronic humanitarian crises tragically continue, as you were just saying.

At the State Department's Office of the Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan, along with our colleagues at the United States Embassy in Khartoum, we strive to achieve the administration's goal of a peaceful, democratic, and increasingly prosperous Sudan. We work with international diplomatic partners and institutions and with Sudanese to resolve Sudan's violent conflicts and to right Sudan's long-standing governance wrongs to bring about a better future where violent conflicts no longer arise.

A definitive end to Sudan's chronic instability and decades of widespread violence requires governance that respects the human rights of all citizens, since Sudan's disrespect for its citizens' rights has been a primary generator of conflict throughout its history.

The American people have responded generously to the humanitarian crises provoked by Sudan's conflicts. My colleague from USAID, Nancy Lindborg, will speak in detail about the humanitarian crises and the U.S. response. I will speak to you today about the armed conflicts within Sudan that produce the greatest share of human rights abuses.

We continue to press the government of Sudan to enter into good faith negotiations with the armed opposition and to end these conflicts and to grant humanitarian access to the conflict zones. As proven friends of the Sudanese people, the United States calls upon the government of Sudan and the armed opposition to respect the rights of all Sudanese and to end violence against civilians.

We emphatically make this point directly to the government of Sudan, which has primary responsibility for its citizens. We demand the same from the armed groups that oppose it. The U.S. Government has initiated and supported a series of United Nations Security Council resolutions condemning the government of Sudan's violations of human rights and international law, especially regarding the targeting of its own citizens through both aerial bombardments and indiscriminate ground attacks on Sudanese communities in conflict zones.

These attacks have been most recently documented by Amnesty International in its report on Sudan's Blue Nile state. Amnesty International was kind enough to brief my colleagues and I earlier this week on their very well-documented study.

The American government has taken actions against the government of Sudan in response to its atrocious treatment of its own citizens. Executive orders impose a trade embargo on Sudan and freeze the assets of its government and of those responsible for human rights abuses. At the same time, the



United States supports Sudanese who struggle to exercise their fundamental freedoms and achieve a better future for their nation.

Earlier this month I met with leading Sudanese Civil Society and human rights activists attending a conference in Nairobi, Kenya, on constitution-making in Sudan. Their work in the face of extreme repression remains inspiring. We know that more than 200 political detainees remain in custody. We continue to call for their release.

We also know that civic space has narrowed over the past year. Civil society organizations face harassment and arbitrary closure, while journalists and newspapers face a campaign of censorship and reprisal. During the 2013 Free the Press campaign, we highlighted the government of Sudan's deliberate efforts to constrict free political space and called for the release of journalists who had been wrongly imprisoned for their work.

We will continue to press the Sudanese government to make progress on critical issues of governance, participation, and human rights, which are at the heart of conflict throughout the country. Negotiations are the only means to resolve Sudan's conflicts. Neither the government of Sudan, nor its armed opponents, have the ability to achieve military victory.

While in the region, I spoke with one of the leaders of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North, which had previously announced its willingness to resume negotiations with the Khartoum government. He reiterated his group's interest in the cessation of hostilities and humanitarian access to the war-affected Sudanese citizens, followed by a political settlement involving all political parties, civil society, traditional and religious leaders.

As he told me, it cannot be only us with guns who settle our nation's future. This is an important message, one that the government of Sudan should take seriously.

The United States Government works closely with the African Union, the United Nations, international diplomatic partners, and regional states, to achieve two aims -- ending the current violent conflicts and establishing governance that respects citizens' rights. Positive results on these fronts would address the underlying causes of Sudan's chronic instability.

Our immediate aim is a resolution of the conflicts in Sudan's Darfur region and in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states. These conflicts are the greatest drivers of human rights abuses and of war-induced deprivation. They threaten the peace between Sudan and South Sudan.

We believe that an agreement on a cessation of hostilities and humanitarian access is an attainable near-term goal. The African Union shares this vision. We were encouraged in April when Sudan and the SPLM-North entered into one-day talks facilitated by the African Union. We felt that it was a positive sign that the parties could engage each other directly and perhaps come to agreement on a cessation of hostilities and humanitarian access.

Further talks since have been postponed repeatedly by the Sudanese government. It is uncertain whether or when they will start to get it. Meanwhile, recent military operations by both sides have greatly diminished the political space for talks, though the start of the rainy season impedes the

movement of ground forces and may now provide a new opening for talks. We are working closely with the African Union to get both parties back to the table.

Our second aim is a political settlement that involves all relevant Sudanese groups, including political parties, civil society, the private sector, and traditional and religious leaders. We believe that a participatory, inclusive, and transparent constitution-making process could produce governing arrangements that could end Sudan's chronic instability, address severe imbalances in political power and government resources between Sudan's central region and the rest of the country, and establish the basis for a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous country.

Governance that systematically excludes certain Sudanese regions and communities produces Sudan's interminable conflicts. From my discussions with Sudanese and friends of Sudan, I know that there is a widening recognition among all parties that it is time to apply a unified, holistic approach to resolving Sudan's conflicts. Partial regional solutions cannot permanently overcome Sudan's chronic instability and historical patterns of conflict.

Before I close, sir, I would like to update you on the status of agreements between Sudan and South Sudan. In early June, the government of Sudan announced that it would stop South Sudan's oil exports in 60 days, if Juba did not end its support for insurgents in Sudan.

This threatened action strains the framework of the cooperation agreement Sudan and South Sudan signed last September 27. Former South African President Mbeki, the chair of the AU Mediation Panel, responded with letters to the leaders of both countries outlining a plan to use existing mechanisms to complete demilitarization of the border and verify the cessation of support for rebels on either side of the border.

Both Sudan and South Sudan have accepted President Mbeki's plan. We have reason to be hopeful that this most recent crisis in relations between the two states may be overcome, but this brinkmanship must end. We call on both parties to implement all of the September 27 cooperation agreements expeditiously and without pre-conditions.

We support the efforts of the African Union and the United Nations to resolve the status of the disputed Abyei Region between Sudan and South Sudan. Final determination of Abyei's status is a major piece of unfinished business from South Sudan's independence from Sudan. We support settlement of the dispute on the basis proposed by President Mbeki.

Abyei has been the scene of horrendous human rights abuses. The Mbeki proposal contains wise provisions that respect the basic interests of Abyei's permanent residence and of the itinerant Pasralisk community who have a long history of migrating back and forth through the region.

In our contacts with Sudan's armed opposition groups, we encourage them to articulate a platform for peaceful political reform. At the same time, we are trying to find new avenues to make the same case to Sudan's leaders. To achieve a fundamental improvement in our relationship with Sudan, there must be sustained improvement in the situation in Darfur, progress in implementing the September 27 agreements with South Sudan, and an end to the conflict in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states.

In short, Sudan must stop bombing its own citizens and depriving them of humanitarian relief. The pathway to peace is open dialogue, democracy, and respect for human rights. We are looking at ways to deliver that message directly to senior decisionmakers in Khartoum.

Finally, while I realize that today's focus is on human rights in Sudan, I would be remiss, especially given the mandate of this body, if I did not also raise our concerns about the situation in South Sudan. The U.S. partnership with South Sudan is strong. We contributed significantly toward the achievement of self-determination by the South Sudanese people. We greeted the birth of the world's newest democracy with great joy, but that democracy is exceedingly fragile.

Lately, we have been concerned that disputes among its leaders have increased ethnic tensions and could spark violent conflict within South Sudan. South Sudan's leaders must find ways of working out their differences peacefully, openly, transparently, in a well understood democratic fashion, both within their party and in the nation more generally.

In Jonglei state, there have been credible reports of widespread human rights abuses by both rebels and the South Sudan military. We are encouraging South Sudan's government to end human rights violations, provide accountability for past abuses, and ensure that the U.N. mission in South Sudan has full, unfettered access to all areas of its operations and is able to fulfill its mandate to protect civilians.

With assistance from the U.N. Mission for South Sudan, the government can build local support for reconciliation and development. These issues, we fear, are part of a larger pattern of abuse that are described at some length in the State Department's latest human rights report. South Sudan faces many challenges today, including a still-difficult relationship with its neighbor to the north. But its long struggle for self-determination has become an ongoing struggle to create a democracy.

We remain committed to helping the people of South Sudan and Sudan alike achieve the goals of two prosperous democratic states at peace with themselves and with one another.

Thank you for your attention. I look forward to responding to your questions.

[Mr. André did not submit a statement.]

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you very much for your testimony.

We will now go to Ms. Lindborg.

And before you -- I should say there is an overflow room. Am I right? So if people don't want to -- there is incredible interest in this, and so we have an overflow room to deal with -- so if people don't want to stand, they can go to the overflow room. Anyway, if you want to stand, that is fine, too.

Ms. Lindborg, welcome.

#### STATEMENT OF NANCY LINDBORG

Ms. LINDBORG. Thank you. Thank you, Chairman McGovern, and we appreciate the

opportunity to talk about this continuing serious human rights abuse and escalating humanitarian situation that is facing the people of Sudan. Thank you for your continued focus and passion for this issue.

Just over a year ago I testified to both the House and the Senate about worrisome sets of trends emerging across Sudan and South Sudan. And at that time, it was less than one year after the independence of South Sudan had brought nearly euphoric hope for a better way forward. Very sadly, the news remains grim.

Millions of people in both countries continue to suffer from ongoing violence and extreme poverty. We are seeing some of the worst humanitarian conditions in years in Darfur, in the two areas of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, and I would add Jonglei state in South Sudan.

Malnutrition rates are soaring in parts of both states. Conflict is escalating and affecting communities on both sides of the North/South border. As my colleague Larry André has noted, the U.S. Government continues to prioritize resolution of this crisis as a principal foreign policy goal with focused diplomatic initiatives. It remains a priority for our humanitarian assistance as well.

We are committed to doing all that we can to meet the needs and at the same time promote a lasting peace. At the end of the day, however, the crisis can only be solved by the political will and commitment of the governments.

I would like to touch on a few drivers of the current escalation of crisis. First is we cannot overestimate the impact of the loss of the majority of oil reserves income following the separation of the two states. And as you know, after oil production seized in January 2012 due to unresolved disputes between the two countries, it has had a huge impact on the economies and the human welfare of both.

We have seen agreements to resume the flow of oil repeatedly derailed at enormous cost to the people of both Sudan and South Sudan. There are continued accusations of each supporting rebel movements on the other's territory, and they remain locked in a battle of recrimination and suspicion.

In both countries, we have seen a failure to take the steps necessary to move out of crisis. Those who lose are the people of Sudan and South Sudan who have lived in poverty and conflict off and on for some 50 years.

Today, in Sudan, there are nearly five million people in need of humanitarian assistance. This is an astounding figure that equals about 15 percent of their population. A recent household survey indicates that 32 percent of children under five in Sudan are underweight, and there is 35 percent stunting. There are needs throughout the country and conflict is spilling across the borders.

I have written testimony that focuses in more detail, but let me focus today on Darfur and the two areas where you have that lethal combination of the bombardment of citizens, egregious human rights abuses, and lack of humanitarian access that are combining to create urgent and severe humanitarian needs.

In Darfur, since January of this year, an upsurge in fighting between the Sudanese armed forces,

armed opposition groups, as well as inter-communal clashes, have resulted in large-scale new population displacements. And the continued attacks and brutal human rights abuses by Khartoum are abhorrent and unacceptable. We are seeing the continued and renewed sponsorship of proxy violence by the central government, as well as an increased loss of control after decades of arming militias that have now proliferated.

A spreading lawlessness is resulting in heightened violence among heavily armed Arab groups. Fighting between these groups, the Darfur rebel groups, and the Sudanese armed forces have triggered massive new displacements. And according to the U.N., just this year more than 300,000 people have been displaced, and this is an imprecise figure.

It is a dramatic uptick in displacement, and it is more than displacement for the last two years combined. The population of some of the IDP camps has swelled, reportedly by as much as 50 percent. As a result, on May 31, the U.S. Government issued a Disaster Declaration, a new one for Darfur, underscoring the increased and urgent emergency needs.

Our Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance has activated our Rapid Response Fund. We are providing emergency shelter and food for the newly displaced persons, in addition to the ongoing caseload that we have been working with for the last decade.

Unfortunately, as the needs spiral, the government of Sudan continues to impede access for humanitarian assistance, limiting our ability to reach people living in often-appalling conditions. Access has always been difficult, but it is compounded by the new directive issued by the government of Sudan on March 31 of this year that has new rules on the issuance of travel permits, and it further restricts the ability of international humanitarian staff to access many conflict areas.

Through our international NGO and U.N. partners, we continue to provide humanitarian assistance in all of the areas that we can access, and we continue to serve displaced populations, those in IDP camps as well as in local communities, and formerly displaced returnees to Darfur.

Last year we assisted 1.6 million people in every state of Darfur, with more than \$193 million in humanitarian assistance. This year to date we have provided more than \$65 million in lifesaving humanitarian support and emergency food assistance.

But, sadly, we are unable to meet many of those who are newly displaced, and a fully effective humanitarian response must have unfettered humanitarian access to all affected areas. The U.S. Government calls on all parties to the ongoing conflict to allow unrestricted assistance -- unrestricted access for humanitarian aid.

Turning to the two areas, two years after the conflict began there, the civilian population continues to bear the brunt of continued fighting and blocked access. In the SPLM-North-held areas, indiscriminate aerial bombardment and shelling by the government of Sudan regularly kills civilians and prevents survivors from planting any crops or harvesting whatever meager yields they might have; thus, not only subjecting them to violence from the skies but depriving them of sustenance and livelihoods.

In both Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, the needs are vast and increasing. The simple lack of

food is increasing the vulnerability of local populations, often forcing them into refugee camps, and the U.S. Government calls on both sides to refrain from indiscriminate shelling in civilian areas.

International humanitarian agencies lack access to the SPLM-north-controlled areas due to restrictions on cross-line access by the government of Sudan. And we have a continued failure of warring parties to agree to access for humanitarian assistance. Under these circumstances, the USAID-funded Famine Early Warning Systems Network, FEWS NET, expects food security conditions to deteriorate in SPLM-North-controlled areas of the two areas to emergency levels.

This means that one in five households during the June to September lean season will experience large gaps in food consumption. This means high malnutrition rates. It means excess mortality. It means children will die.

U.N. agencies have been granted some access in the government-controlled areas, but access to the SPLM-North-controlled areas remains officially closed for international aid agencies. This harsh policy violates the rights of more than a million people to receive urgently needed humanitarian assistance.

Limited assistance provided through indirect support continues to delay the most extreme impact of these tactics, but it is no replacement for the full, unfettered humanitarian access that is urgently required. Both Khartoum and SPLM-North have recently voiced support for a one-week cease fire between the Sudanese armed forces and SPLM-North that was proposed by UNICEF and the U.N. to allow the World Health Organization to implement a polio vaccination that would target more than 160,000 vulnerable children in the SPLM-controlled parts of the two areas.

We must continue to press the SPLM-North to seize this opportunity to test Khartoum's commitment. With the rainy season approaching, it is more vital than ever that both sides approve the vaccinations for children as well as the aid that is required.

I can't overstate the devastating impact of these areas as well as the combination of bombardment and lack of access that has spread to other parts of Sudan and across the border into South Sudan. We continue to provide significant humanitarian assistance. We are the largest donor in Sudan, and we remain firmly committed to helping the people of both Sudan and South Sudan in these turbulent times.

The violence will not be resolved overnight. The diplomatic initiatives continue, and in the meantime it is imperative that we have unfettered access for the humanitarian community to provide assistance that is absolutely vital to preventing human and very innocent lives from being lost.

We call on all parties, the government of Sudan, South Sudan, the mix of armed groups across both countries, to uphold the commitments that they have made to hard-won peace agreements and to respect the most basic human rights. The people of Sudan, the people throughout both countries, have suffered far too long.

Thank you.

[The statement of Ms. Lindborg follows:]

**Testimony by Nancy Lindborg, Assistant Administrator for Democracy, Conflict, & Humanitarian Assistance before  
the Tom Lantos Commission on Human Rights**

**Human Rights in Sudan**  
***Wednesday, June 19, 2013***

Thank you, Co-Chairmen McGovern and Wolf, and Members of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, for the opportunity to speak with you this morning about the continuing and serious human rights abuses and humanitarian needs facing the people of Sudan. Thank you also for the important work you carry forward in the name of the late Congressman Tom Lantos to defend fundamental human rights around the world.

**Introduction**

Last year, less than one year after the separation of South Sudan had brought hope for a better way forward, I testified before the House and Senate on a worrisome set of trends emerging across Sudan and South Sudan. Unfortunately, the news remains grim. Millions of people in both countries continue to suffer from the effects of ongoing violence and extreme poverty, and we are seeing some of the worst humanitarian conditions in several years in Darfur, the Two Areas of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, and Jonglei state in South Sudan. Conflict is escalating and affecting communities on both sides of the north-south border.

As my colleague Larry André has noted, the U.S. government continues to prioritize resolution of this crisis as a principal foreign policy goal, with focused diplomatic initiatives and humanitarian assistance. In the face of continued challenges to reaching the most vulnerable, USAID maintains an unwavering commitment to help the people of Sudan and South Sudan. We remain firmly committed to doing all we can to meet growing needs and, at the same time, help promote a lasting peace.

**Sudan's Escalating Humanitarian Crisis**

Two years after the separation of South Sudan and Sudan, several critical factors continue to drive conflict and humanitarian need. First, we cannot overestimate the impact of the loss of the majority of Sudan's oil reserves following the separation of South Sudan in July 2011. Following unresolved disputes, South Sudan ceased oil production in January 2012. Since then, we have seen agreements to resume the flow of oil stalled or derailed repeatedly, at enormous cost to the economies and human development of these two nations.

Secondly, both countries accuse the other of supporting rebel movements on their territory and remain locked in a battle of recrimination and suspicion, continuing to risk their people's economic security and sparking conflict that encompasses communities on both sides of the border.

Finally, Sudan continues to have escalating internal crises in the absence of an inclusive political process. Instead, Sudanese forces have repeatedly bombed their own people in Darfur and the Two Areas, putting hundreds of thousands of women and children at risk.

Nearly five million people are in need of humanitarian assistance in Sudan, an astounding figure that represents nearly 15 percent of Sudan's total population. This includes 3.5 million people in Darfur and 1.1 million people are displaced or severely affected by the conflict in the Two Areas of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, the majority of whom are located in areas controlled by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N). We continue to see flagrant human rights abuses against the citizens of Sudan, with humanitarian crises on the rise and rampant malnutrition in eastern Sudan.

***Darfur***

Since January of this year, an upsurge in fighting between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and armed opposition groups as well as inter-communal clashes has resulted in large-scale population displacement in Darfur. Khartoum's continued policies of bombing civilians, brutal human rights abuses and restricting access for humanitarian assistance are abhorrent and unacceptable—and are further exacerbating an already deteriorating humanitarian situation.

We are seeing both the continued sponsorship of proxy violence by the central government and an increasingly loss of control after decades of arming militias that have now proliferated. A spreading lawlessness is resulting in heightened violence among heavily armed Arab groups. Fighting among these groups, Darfur rebel groups and the Sudanese Armed Forces has triggered massive displacement throughout Darfur. These factors, combined with the dramatic increase in

insecurity caused by general banditry and restrictions imposed by the GoS on humanitarian organizations further reduces critical access to populations in need.

According to the UN, more than 300,000 people have been displaced by conflict across four of Darfur's five states—both internally and as refugees—this year alone. This number exceeds displacement totals over the last two years combined. As Ambassador Susan Rice noted, five times as many people were displaced in Darfur during the first few months of this 2013 than during the entirety of 2012.

On May 31, the U.S. Government declared a disaster in Darfur, underscoring the increased emergency needs. Through a Rapid Response Fund, our Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance is responding by providing 3,000 emergency shelters for 21,000 new internally displaced persons (IDPs) in El Neem camp in El Daein Locality, East Darfur. Spikes in displacement mean the populations of many IDP camps have swelled, some by reportedly as much as 50 percent. Our partners need to be able to freely replenish emergency supplies to keep up with those who arrive at the camps with nothing, who were forced to suddenly flee the fighting. Access is critical to reach these people and to help alleviate the appalling conditions in IDP camps.

The GoS continues to impede access for humanitarian assistance. In March 2013, the GoS issued a new Directive on Humanitarian Assistance that contains new limitations and rules on the issuance of travel permits, which restrict the ability of international humanitarian staff to access many conflict-affected areas. Moreover, organizations continue to experience hurdles on the ground where one branch of the government may disallow prior approval from another office. This translates into sustained difficulties and challenges to reach all those who desperately need help.

Nevertheless, the U.S. government continues robust efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to all areas we can access, including displaced populations, individuals living in IDP camps, local communities hosting IDPs, and formerly displaced “returnees” in Darfur. In 2012, U.S. Government reached 1.6 million people in every state in Darfur with more than \$193 million in humanitarian assistance. This year, with needs on the rise, the United States has provided more than \$65 million in life-saving humanitarian support and emergency food assistance to conflict-affected, displaced, and food-insecure populations in Darfur.

This assistance goes to support programs within and outside of IDP camps that prevent, detect, and treat malnutrition; improve overall nutrition conditions; expand access to primary health care facilities and emergency medical services; and increase access to safe drinking water. In addition, U.S. government partners are providing water, sanitation, and hygiene support to reduce the spread of communicable diseases.

Our ability—and that of other donors—to monitor humanitarian assistance efforts in Darfur is highly restricted. Marking the first high-level USG delegation to West Darfur since September 2012, USAID/Sudan Mission Director Barry Primm earlier this month led a USAID delegation to West Darfur, an area at this time experiencing less conflict and displacement than neighboring states. This type of access is essential for USAID teams to visit programs firsthand and help ensure that our life-saving assistance reaches those who need it most as well as monitor and run programs that support peace and stability in Darfur.

Our visit to Darfur followed the high-level visit by UN Undersecretary General and Emergency Relief Coordinator Valerie Amos, who traveled to Khartoum and Darfur last month, where she witnessed unacceptable conditions in IDP camps. We will continue to advocate for improved travel for our own personnel in Khartoum to pursue the highest integrity of our programs.

A fully effective humanitarian response to meet Darfur's growing needs will require unfettered humanitarian access to all affected areas. With Darfur's recent increase in displacement and emergency needs, the U.S. government calls on all parties to the ongoing conflict to allow unrestricted access for humanitarian aid.

### *Two Areas*

Two years after the conflict in the Two Areas began, the civilian population continues to bear the brunt of continued fighting and blocked humanitarian access. In SPLM-N held areas, indiscriminate aerial bombardments and shelling by the GoS regularly kills civilians and prevents survivors from planting any crops or harvesting whatever meager yields they might have, thus depriving them of sustenance and livelihood. SPLM-N attacks against GoS forces in areas still occupied by civilians have also contributed to further displacement and disruption. In both Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, the needs are vast and increasing. The simple lack of food is increasing the vulnerability of local populations and forcing them into refugee camps to obtain basic life-supporting assistance. Both sides must refrain from indiscriminate shelling in civilian areas.

International humanitarian agencies lack access to SPLM-N controlled areas due to restrictions on cross-line access established by the Government of Sudan (GoS) and the failure of warring parties to agree to a humanitarian access arrangement. The combination of continued restrictions on humanitarian access, reduced access to food, health care and income, loss of family assets, reduced access to cultivation, and continued market disruptions is devastating. Under current circumstances, the USAID-funded Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET) expects food security conditions



to deteriorate in SPLM-N-controlled areas of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states to emergency levels, which means at least one in five households during the June-to-September lean season will experience large food consumption gaps resulting in very high acute malnutrition and excess mortality.

While UN agencies have been granted some access to GoS-controlled areas, access to SPLM-N-controlled areas in the Two Areas remains officially closed for international aid agencies and NGOs. This harsh policy violates the rights of more than one million people to receive urgently needed humanitarian assistance. Limited lifesaving humanitarian assistance provided through indirect support to Sudanese actors continues to delay the most extreme effects of these tactics by both parties but is no replacement for the full unfettered access by the UN.

Both Khartoum and SPLM-N have recently voiced support for a one-week ceasefire between the Sudanese Armed Forces and the SPLM-N, as proposed by UNICEF and the United Nations to allow the World Health Organization to implement a polio vaccination campaign targeting more than 160,000 vulnerable children in SPLM-N-controlled parts of the Two Areas. We must continue to press the SPLM-N to seize this opportunity and test Khartoum's commitment to support a cross-line vaccination campaign. With the rainy season approaching, it is vital that both sides--the Government of Sudan and the SPLM-N--approve these vaccinations for children who desperately need them.

#### *Northern Kordofan and Abyei*

Fighting in Darfur and ongoing conflict in the Two Areas recently spread into Northern Kordofan. According to the UN, clashes since late April between the Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF) and the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) have displaced approximately 63,000 people in the areas of Um Ruwaba town in Northern Kordofan State and Abu Kershola town in Southern Kordofan State.

In Northern Kordofan, as in Darfur and the Two Areas, the Government of Sudan has prevented international NGOs from deploying international staff to project sites in affected areas. International agencies are required to operate through national NGOs or government ministries. While some local groups, including the Sudanese Red Crescent Society, are able to conduct assessments, Government of Sudan-imposed restrictions in SRF-controlled areas have prevented international relief organizations from conducting assessments, suggesting that trends and needs could be even worse than we know.

USAID partners have nevertheless identified creative ways to reach recently displaced people by working with local organizations to help improve water, sanitation, and hygiene services. Thanks to the efforts of Sudanese national staff, 30 emergency latrines were constructed in four IDP sites in El Rahad, Northern Kordofan, where nearly 30,000 IDPs have gathered. In addition, our partners are providing approved health care services, medicine, and medical equipment.

In May, Abyei saw the tragic killing of the Ngok Dinka paramount chief by members of the Misseriya community, raising tensions considerably in both countries over the future of that disputed area. USAID is closely engaged in assistance efforts to people displaced from Abyei and to those who have returned, after being forced to flee attacks and the utter destruction of Abyei just over two years ago. To mitigate conflict in Abyei, USAID launched a program last year to rehabilitate 11 water yards along key migration routes and support infrastructure for returns to ensure access to water for livestock and human consumption. Though Abyei remains a contested area, USAID supports voluntary returns and provides needs-based assistance in all accessible and safe areas. Going forward, humanitarian access from both the north and the south will be essential to meet needs in this area.

#### Regional Ramifications

The recent proliferation of violence in Sudan is having ricochet effects in neighboring countries. This year's increase in fighting in Darfur has led to new refugee flows into neighboring Chad and Central African Republic, while the continuing conflict in the Two Areas has resulted in massive refugee flows to South Sudan as well as Ethiopia and Kenya, straining limited resources in the new country. Nearly 200,000 refugees have fled to South Sudan to date, most to the refugee camps in Upper Nile and Unity states. As some of the refugees will soon enter their third year in South Sudan, the insecurity and competition for resources in these remote areas is placing increased stress on host communities, the refugees themselves, aid agencies, and on the new country's fragile government.

Fighting stemming from the SPLA's counterinsurgency campaign against non-state armed actors, ongoing inter-communal violence, and credible reports of gross human rights violations remain significant concerns in Jonglei State in South Sudan. I cannot overstate the devastating impact of these ongoing clashes on the physical security and well-being of thousands of affected South Sudanese, many of whom are surviving in appalling conditions in isolated rural areas with no access to medical care, markets, or humanitarian assistance. An estimated 100,000 people are unable to return to their homes and towns due to the ongoing threat of violence, while the ongoing rainy season prevents movement and severely limits livelihood options. If access remains restricted, these conditions could have dire humanitarian consequences.

USAID is addressing immediate humanitarian needs by increasing surgical capacity in local hospitals and providing protection services for conflict-affected communities in Jonglei as security allows, as well as protection services for displaced people from Pibor County currently residing in Juba. In southeastern Jonglei, however, in response to insecurity and

obstruction, humanitarian agencies—including U.S. government partners—have had to relocate activities and personnel from affected areas. The State Department, National Security Staff, and Department of Defense have engaged closely with the Government of the Republic of South Sudan (RSS) at the highest levels and with the SPLA to urge an immediate end to the human rights violations, and to ensure that the UN Mission in South Sudan has full, unfettered access to all areas of its operation and is able to fulfill its mandate to protect civilians. The U.S. government emphatically calls on the RSS to permit humanitarian agencies to operate in all accessible areas of Jonglei to ensure life-saving assistance reaches those who need it most.

### Conclusion

The United States remains the largest donor of humanitarian assistance in Sudan, and USAID is firmly committed to helping the people of both Sudan and South Sudan through this turbulent time. This violence will not be resolved overnight, which means unfettered access for the international humanitarian community is absolutely vital to preventing innocent lives from being lost. The people of both countries are remarkably resilient, but they cannot survive the latest onslaught of violence without outside help.

Ultimately, the end of Sudan's humanitarian crisis requires the resolution of the country's protracted conflicts and a strengthened ability and commitment of the central government to address the legitimate grievances of the people throughout Sudan. We call on all parties to the conflict—the Government of Sudan, the RSS, and the mix of armed groups across these two countries—to uphold the commitments they have made to hard-won peace agreements—and to respect the most basic human rights. The people of Sudan have suffered too long. Thank you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you very much. I want to thank you both for your testimony.

I have a few questions, and then I will yield to my co-chair, Congressman Wolf.

Mr. André, does the United States have a strategy to break the impasse on ending the multiple conflicts? I mean, are we committed to a comprehensive peace plan? Is the U.S. Government committed to addressing the foundational problems of marginalization that are at the heart of Sudan's many years of wars and conflicts?

Mr. ANDRÉ. Thank you for the question, Congressman. I think you heard in the briefing reference to exactly those points, the need for a comprehensive solution that -- the need for what I was talking about, a two-point process, the first immediate cessation of hostilities to get in the humanitarian relief, followed by a political process that would be inclusive and would seek to resolve the historical pattern that has been intensified under this NCP government, but in fact has been there throughout Sudan history of the center-periphery conflict. That is, power and wealth concentrated in the center.

As I mentioned earlier, earlier this month I was in Nairobi meeting with Sudanese Civil Society who were there precisely to work out what a constitutional solution would be. These are Sudanese patriots trying to fight back against really pretty extreme repression to think what is required.

We back them. We support Sudanese Civil Society. We have been working with both the U.N. and especially of late with the African Union panel that is turning more and more to internal Sudanese issues. So I would say that that would -- those are elements of our strategy.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I think we appreciate the fact that we share the same goals here. You know, it is kind of like, you know, but the problem is that we all say we want to end the violence, and the violence is wrong, but how you get to that point, the details and the steps, are not always clear.

And, you know, and this is, you know, I mean, this has just been God-awful, horrific, for so many years now, and it just seems -- and, again, this is not just a U.S. responsibility. I think the

international community has a responsibility to -- you know, to be part of the solution here, too. But it doesn't seem we are making the kind of progress that I think a lot of us would hope.

Mr. ANDRÉ. American leadership, working with international institutions and other states, ended the horrendous fight between Southern Sudan, now South Sudan, and the rest of Sudan. That was four decades, and there were those that said that could not be done. It was a long process. It had fits and starts. It wasn't easy. And as we all know, it remains serious tensions, and even a possibility of a return to war on the border we are doing all we can to prevent.

The same thing with the internal crises in Sudan. It is hard, slow work. We have seen progress, and we see the fact that more and more parties are now talking about not what they call a piecemeal peace, but a comprehensive solution. That is progress. We are even getting that from some Khartoum government influential people.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I have a few more questions for you and a couple for Ms. Lindborg, but let me ask you, you know, in 2004, the United States Government characterized the crimes in Darfur as genocide. What effort is the U.S. Government taking to ensure that perpetrators of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide are brought to justice?

Mr. ANDRÉ. We just recently communicated to quite a number of our embassies where we think that some of those indicted by the International Criminal Court may travel, language for them to use with the governments, their host governments, to make certain that it is well understood our opposition to that travel.

We continue to have a policy of not meeting or conducting business with those individuals who have been indicted. We look at what is happening in Sudan and know that their own personal calculations about their own futures is dictating their government's policies.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So Nafie Ali Nafie's invitation to meet with the administration will bring a well-known torturer and human rights abuser to Washington, D.C. As a former head of Sudan's National Intelligence and Security Service in the 1990s, Nafie master-minded a savage campaign of torture and killing and compounds known as Ghost Houses.

Nafie has been in charge of the Sudanese government's Darfur portfolio at times during the conflict in the western region. He is still a high-ranking adviser to Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir. What expectations should there be for this trip? I mean, is this a signal that the administration will be engaging in a new angle of diplomacy? Is it a sign of a renewed diplomatic push for a peaceful Sudan?

And, you know, does the administration's invitation mean that the U.S. Government will be willing to engage in direct negotiations with the administration of President Omar Al-Bashir, who has been, as I said before, indicted by the International Criminal Court for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes?

And, you know, I would just appreciate your kind of response to that --

Mr. ANDRÉ. Sure.

Mr. MCGOVERN. – because it has gotten some attention, and we have got a number of expressions of concern for people.

Mr. ANDRÉ. Right. As I met with the Sudanese Civil Society and with the leadership of the armed movements opposed to the government in Khartoum, you can imagine the subject arose in those discussions as well. You heard me in my briefing mention that we are looking for any avenue to get our message to the senior decisionmaker level in Khartoum.

When the decision was made in March to invite a delegation led by Nafie Ali Nafie it wasn't made with any illusions as to his background. It was with the idea of trying to do all we can to end these conflicts. We regularly talk to the leaders of the armed movements, including here in Washington. I just met with them in East Africa.

We needed a way to get our policies expressed to the senior leadership. We don't talk to the president. There are no senior leaders of this government that have nice pass.

Now, when the decision was made, a caveat was – and was expressed to Khartoum at the time – is that this visit could only take place in the context of a Sudan that is implementing its cooperation agreements with South Sudan. As of earlier this month, Sudan ceased implementing its agreements. We have passed the message back to Nafie Ali Nafie that as long as the government of Khartoum is suspending its implementation of those agreements, we are suspending any invitation.

Mr. MCGOVERN. That was my next question was going to be in light of the many agreements and understandings broken by the Khartoum regime. You know, what mechanisms are in place to ensure that the administration's renewed engagement will work? And so as of right now, that visit is suspended?

Mr. ANDRÉ. As of right now. I mean, that is very fresh news. We have been – we have had deliberations about it. And recall that our focus, like yours, is to end these conflicts, get the humanitarian assistance in, and pull every lever we can and be as effective as we can. That means that we need to talk to some people with extremely problematic pasts.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And I appreciate that. For what it is worth, I am glad that the visit is suspended. But there are other ways to communicate with bad guys, too, but since it is suspended let me end the questioning of that right here on that.

Let me just ask you one other question. I am going to ask Ms. Lindborg a couple of questions. Despite the existing U.N. arms embargo, arms manufactured in or supplied from Belarus, China, and the Russian Federation, or evidence of their use have been found in Darfur, as well as other conflict areas in Sudan, such as Southern Kordofan.

In addition, the Sudanese government continues to fail to fully comply with the guarantees and commitments required by exporting countries when licensing arms transfer, a fact that does not seem to have led to a limitation of supply to Sudan by exporting countries.

So given these facts, what are we doing to stop the flow of arms into Sudan? And what kind of pressure are we bringing on some of these countries that, quite frankly, I think enable this regime to continue to survive?

Mr. ANDRÉ. One of the suppliers is Iran, which we don't have so much diplomatic leverage with, as you can imagine. Other suppliers –

Mr. MCGOVERN. Pressure in China.

Mr. ANDRÉ. Other suppliers we have, and we have had those discussions. I can't tell you that we have seen deals cancelled, but we had very high levels in the supplier governments. We have made this known, and that is where things stand.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I mean, for what it is worth, I mean, I think the situation -- I mean, if we are calling -- we are all agreeing that this country -- that the government of Sudan has been guilty of genocide and crimes against humanity, that, you know, there ought to be some sort of consequence.

I am not quite sure what it is, but there ought to be some sort of consequence for those countries that welcome him, you know, to their countries for visits, and that supply him arms, you know, whether it is Russia or China.

I mean, there ought to be some consequence. I am not saying that, you know, I mean, there ought to be -- because this is continuing. This has been a problem. And if his arms dry up, I mean, then it is a lot easier I think to be able to move forward on some of the things that you have talked out.

So, you know, and that has kind of been a frustration because we know where the arms are coming from. And we might not have a lot of juice with Iran, but, God, I mean, I would like to think that, you know, we might have some influence, you know. And by "influence" I mean if some of these countries don't comply that there ought to be some pushback, some meaningful pushback. I mean, this is – we are all agreeing – we are using the word "genocide," so this is not just, you know, a violent civil conflict.

So I just – Ms. Lindborg, I have just got a couple of questions. What can Congress do to ensure that more aid flows into South Kordofan, Blue Nile, and Darfur? I mean, will additional funding help?

Ms. LINDBORG. You know, the funding is not the issue; it is the lack of access. We need to continue to look for all ways to enable access, especially given what happens when the rainy season comes, and it just further shuts down the ability to access those areas.

There is this opportunity to test the commitment that has been put on the table by Khartoum to allow the vaccination campaign to go forward, and we would like to try – we would like to press forward on that opening as vigorously as possible, and that requires both sides to agree to that.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So how can the U.S. support civil society and opposition groups to build their ability to support democratic initiatives within Sudan? That is a challenge.

Ms. LINDBORG. It is a challenge, and we do continue to support civil society groups, women's groups, all of the ways that we can to strengthen the ability of the people of Sudan to have a voice and to indicate their desire for a more inclusive democracy.

As you might imagine, the space to do that is relatively limited. And we continue to do as much as we can without endangering any of the people that we support or partner with.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Let me just finally say before I yield to Frank, I think what we are trying to figure out here is, you know, what can we do more in Congress to, you know, kind of put the wind at the backs of those who are, you know, fighting on behalf of human rights and to try to put more pressure on the government of Sudan to stop this killing.

You know, and I think we -- I sometimes kind of feel powerless that, you know, we are sitting here watching this all unfold. And despite our good intentions, things continue to deteriorate, and it is just -- you know, it is heartbreaking when you read the news accounts and we get the reports from what is happening on the ground. It is just awful, and I know you know that as well.

So I would just say that if you guys have any brilliant ideas of things that we can do up here, you know, to move this process along or to provide more aid to those who need it, you know, or put more pressure on some of the countries that are not helping in this process, you know, please let us know.

I yield to my colleague, Frank Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I agree with what Mr. McGovern said. I want to make it clear, and I think the administration has been a complete and total failure. Absolute failure. If my memory serves me, I was on the Mall when the large rally took place years ago. I think President Obama, as a Senator, went there.

On this issue of Sudan, the President is a failure, and I was hopeful that with Kerry coming it would be changing and it is not changing. I mean, the very thought that you are going to bring Nafie here is just incredible. It shows you the standards of this town have sunk so low that there is almost -- it is so low there are no standards.

You have been to Darfur, haven't you? You have been to Darfur?

Mr. ANDRÉ. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOLF. I was the first member of the House to go to Darfur. The genocide that was taking place then -- and President Bush called it genocide, Secretary Powell called it genocide. And to his credit, he was very helpful in dealing with this issue. The Congress called it genocide, and you are inviting a genocidal person to Washington. I mean, you are going to -- he is going to drive right by the Lincoln Memorial and the Jefferson Memorial, and it is immoral. It is absolutely immoral. It blows your mind. Anybody outside of Washington wouldn't even understand.

Looking at *The Atlantic*, it said in October 2008, "An L.A. Times journalist asked Nafie Ali Nafie, then an advisor to Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir, whether he felt any regret over personally

torturing opposition activists in the early '90s when Nafie was head of the country's internal intelligence service and Sudan was a hard-core Islamist state that sheltered Osama bin Laden." Bin Laden lived there from '92 to '96.

In his characteristic style, reporter Edmund Sanders wrote Nafie "expressed no regret, saying opposition activists at the time were planning counter-coups and civil war." It should come as no shock that a man like Nafie would have such a flippant attitude toward torture. He has dedicated his entire career to propagating such cruelties.

According to that same article, Nafie was in charge of the government's Darfur portfolio. So what you saw and I saw he was in charge of the portfolio. Now, some say 200,000 died, some say 500,000. I would probably go with the high figure, but maybe I am wrong. But he was in charge of it, and at some point in the decade-long conflict he is still a high-ranking adviser.

And then it goes on -- and then it says, "The man the Obama administration will be speaking with has blood on his hands, quite literally, as one of the most brutal members of the National Islamic Front regime and head of the National Intelligence Security Service."

I think to bring this guy to town is immoral. I mean, I am going to put something in the record. Anybody who meets with him, you know, they are going to have to use a heavy sanitizer on their hands. Their conscience will never be clear. It is wrong, and the message that you are sending is that you are willing to deal with these people.

I mean, you can make other analyses. So I just -- I think this is wrong. I am glad it is cancelled. Hopefully, that will give you an excuse that it will never, never, never take place. But it ought not take place.

And don't forget, it has been called genocide. We have a museum on the Mall, "Never again." And so here a guy -- he may even drive by the Holocaust Museum, if he comes up that way coming in, he may come up to the Capitol or the State Department, he may literally drive within a block of the Holocaust Museum. We have the Washington Monument here, Jefferson Monument here, Lincoln Memorial here, and the Holocaust here. He will literally kind of weave right through it. That is crazy.

You all -- the credibility of Secretary Kerry and President Obama will be destroyed in the eyes of the world. And every young person who had the Obama "Hope" bumper sticker on and the college campuses, man, they will say, "We made a mistake." So do not invite the guy. And if you have him in town, I am going to go after you guys every day. I may picket down there with them. You cannot bring a guy like this to Washington. You cannot.

And so I am going to ask you if you would weekly update my office on where the status -- can we get that agreement? Update the office, my office, because I don't talk to you guys. You don't call me back and everything. Would you tell us what the status of the invitations are?

Mr. ANDRÉ. We will keep you --

Mr. WOLF. And when he is expected to come and if he is not coming?

Mr. ANDRÉ. Yes, sir. We will keep you informed as this progresses. I want to make the point, if you permit me, that we will do whatever we can to end these conflicts. And that –

Mr. WOLF. If I may take -- and I appreciate that, but you haven't, and let me -- and you are going to have a chance. Let me ask you this. Since Princeton Lyman left -- how long ago is it Princeton Lyman has left?

Mr. ANDRÉ. Mid-March.

Mr. WOLF. Mid-March. So three months plus. How many people have left the office since Princeton left?

Mr. ANDRÉ. How many people have left our office? We are whole. We are -- no one else has left.

Mr. WOLF. No one has left the office?

Mr. ANDRÉ. Not since Princeton left in March.

Mr. WOLF. Yes.

Mr. ANDRÉ. Well, Ambassador Smith had left earlier, prior to Princeton's departure.

Mr. WOLF. So the office is -- you are kind of under oath. So the office is exactly the same; no one has left. Because I am going to check it out right after this hearing. So you are exactly the same.

Mr. ANDRÉ. I invite you to, sir. And I –

Mr. WOLF. Oh, I know you do. You are exactly the same, right?

Mr. ANDRÉ. We have some new personnel. We have some personnel who have rotated to their next assignment. The number is the same. The number of people, effective people in the –

Mr. WOLF. But a number of people have left who were with Princeton.

Mr. ANDRÉ. Who left with Princeton? No.

Mr. WOLF. People who were working in the office at the time of Princeton Lyman, how many of those people who were part of his team have left?

Mr. ANDRÉ. None. We are all still here.

Mr. WOLF. None have left. Okay. Well, we will check it out. That is not what I heard.

Thirdly, on the question of what the Chairman raised with regard to – and what you said you are



going to do, everything possible, we had asked the administration to support an amendment that we had that would have cut off aid to any country that allows Bashir to visit.

Now, Bashir has been to China. They gave him the red carpet treatment. Bashir has been to other countries. The administration opposed our amendment. Now, if you are going to do everything possible to stop Bashir, everything possible to stop this activity, why would you not support something that says that if Bashir goes to a country, we will cut off non-humanitarian aid?

Mr. ANDRÉ. Sir, I don't have a response on the administration's stance towards that legislation.

Mr. WOLF. Okay. Well, the last comment I am going to make, Mr. Chairman, is the reason you all are going to fail on this is because you haven't done what President Bush did. President Bush appointed John Danforth. He was a United States Senator. He had credibility up here on the Hill. He had credibility with the White House. He had credibility with the Secretary of State.

He was appointed in a ceremony in the Rose Garden I think the day before 9/11. On one side of Danforth stood Secretary Powell; on the other side stood George Bush, President Bush. We have asked, do you put somebody like former Senator Feingold, somebody like that in, somebody who -- the very fact that you don't have anybody over there, and the very fact that you have had this vacant for so long, and the very fact that you don't have anybody who has such credibility, both in Africa and in the Congress and in the administration, I think, frankly, you are just going to fail. I think your policy is a failure. And as a result of the failure of your policy, I think people are dying every single day.

I was in a camp at Yida. The policy that you all had there is just disastrous. You are making the people move when they didn't want to move. I think it has been a disaster, and I think, you know, whether you convince me or not, history will judge. And all of the people who had hope that there was going to be a change, frankly, there will be no change. As long as the current policy stays, and you are going to invite guys like this to come to the nation's capital, and you don't put somebody like a John Danforth or a Feingold or somebody like that in. Now, I think you just go on to fail.

Now, you want to say something, and I should give you the time.

Mr. ANDRÉ. I have been racking my brain about who has left the office, and I can tell you that my -- the one person that has occurred to me is my deputy who has rotated to his next assignment, and his replacement is coming next month. But we will share with you exactly what the personnel status is from the day that Princeton left until today.

On the question of the visit, as I said from the beginning, it was understood that this visit could only take place in the context of Sudan implementing the cooperation agreements. That is not happening now. That is why the visit is suspended.

We will have a new Special Envoy. The President and the Secretary --

Mr. WOLF. When? When?

Mr. ANDRÉ. It is not up to me. The Secretary was asked that question in Al-Sabah during the

African Union Summit. He said soon. So I would take that to mean soon, but I don't know when.

When we do have a Special Envoy, we will want that Special Envoy to have access at senior levels in Khartoum. Again, to be effective we need to talk to both sides. We talked to the leadership of the armed movements; we need to talk to senior levels in the government, and that means that when the Special Envoy goes to Khartoum he gets that access.

When they send a delegation led by someone who has actual decisionmaking power, then we have a possibility of achieving something in terms of ending these horrendous conflicts. One thing that we learned from Princeton is to put foremost in our minds those people who are suffering and what can we do to end that suffering. That is what motivates us.

We don't always get to choose who the decisionmakers are on the other side, but to be effective you have to talk to the decisionmakers. And I just wanted to bring up that point. We understand the passion; we understand the horrendous background of a number of key figures in this government. We have to do business in order to end the conflicts.

Mr. WOLF. You can talk to them in Kenya, you can talk to them in Ethiopia, you can even talk to them in Khartoum. But you ought not be bringing somebody like that to the nation's capital.

Mr. ANDRÉ. You mentioned Ethiopia, sir. That reminds me of another point that I wanted to raise as regards travel. As I mentioned, we have taken the action of informing all embassies, all of our embassies abroad, in countries where we think there is a possibility that any of the indictees may travel, so that they are all ready on a moment's notice, because sometimes these trips happen with very little fanfare prior, to go in and use our influence to try to stop this. We have been successful in the past in getting some of these visits stopped.

Mr. WOLF. What ones?

Mr. ANDRÉ. I think you are familiar with the Malawi –

Mr. WOLF. I think I – with all deference, though, I called you all and asked you to move, and your Assistant Secretary said, "Yes, that makes sense." We did a number of things. We offered them. I don't know that the administration can take – what other ones? What other trips were cancelled?

Mr. ANDRÉ. A recent trip to Chad, but that is problematic because of the security agreement that ended the conflict between Chad and Sudan, that there is reciprocal visits of the defense ministers. The presidential visit was ended.

But I wanted to get back to Ethiopia for a moment. There have been visits by President Bashir, both to Addis Ababa to sign the cooperation agreements, the nine cooperation agreements with South Sudan back in September, and there was a visit to Juba, South –

Mr. WOLF. Excuse me. That is appropriately fine. That is where the conflict is. Ethiopia has been in the area where the talks –

Mr. ANDRÉ. And the visit to Ethiopia was not a bilateral visit to the government of Ethiopia. It was in the context of the African Union mediation to end the conflict between the two states.

Mr. WOLF. But he is gone – I will end with he has gone to another – a number of other countries. There was a picture I saw in one of the papers here where they rolled the red carpet out for him in China. If Milosevic had gone to another country during the former Yugoslavian War, because Milosevic was guilty of genocide – what he did in Srebrenica and what he did in Vukovar, and what he did – had he gone to another country, America would have been up in arms. We would have spoken out.

So if we cared so deeply because somebody was on the continent of Europe, because of the genocide, we should feel equally strongly and speak out, because of what is taking place in Sudan. And the very fact that there is a dual policy, we have let one go because there are people of little power versus the other that took place on the European continent. I think that is wrong. I think it is immoral.

You ought to be speaking – he should travel nowhere, and anyone connected to genocide ought not be allowed – I mean, quite frankly, I think Nafie's visit here may very well be in conflict with the law of the land. It may not even be permitted. There may be a statute that prohibits this.

But anyway, with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you. And I think the point has been made clearly that we are relieved and glad that their visit has been cancelled. We understand you have got to talk to the bad guys to work out a deal sometimes, but I think we are all in agreement that it would be inappropriate for him to come to the United States. I think that would be a signal that I think would not be helpful in terms of demonstrating our commitment to human rights.

So I would like to yield to my colleague from Maryland, Donna Edwards.

Ms. EDWARDS. Thank you very much. And I apologize I wasn't here earlier for your testimony, but I do share the concerns that have been expressed both by Mr. Wolf and Mr. McGovern. My question goes to the role of the Chinese government. And if you can tell us what levels of financial assistance are being provided to Sudan and what their interest is or the will in leveraging their assistance to try to get some resolution. Is that a pathway that we have been working?

Mr. ANDRÉ. Yes. When we first got the word about the decision in Khartoum to suspend its oil agreement and start a 60-day shutdown of the trans-shipment of South Sudanese oil to Port Sudan, I contacted, along with our Acting Assistant Secretary for the Africa Bureau, Don Yamamoto. The two of us spoke with the Special Envoy for China to Africa, who has special emphasis on the Sudans.

We informed him that this was in fact in violation, that the agreements do not permit any such cessation of the oil trans-shipment, unless there is technical reasons, and it is not to be -- explicitly was not to be used to pressure on other aspects of the relationship.

He followed up with meetings that he held with both governments. He was just in Darfur for the Special Envoy meetings in Darfur with the head of UNAMID, Mohamed Ibn Chambas, and we are

getting a report out from our Ambassador who represented us there, Charge Joe Stafford, on the Chinese interventions, trying to end the – to support UNAMID and what has been an escalation in the conflict in Darfur.

Ms. EDWARDS. Thank you. And just to follow up on that, can you tell us more precisely the role that oil is playing in the tensions that are ongoing right now between Sudan and South Sudan? And what is the United States doing to try to broker that tension?

Mr. ANDRÉ. On the oil question, the tension is, from the government of Khartoum's point of view, they lost 75 percent of their revenue, of their oil revenue, when South Sudan became an independent nation. They negotiated this agreement along with eight other agreements, with as part of the agreement that each one is independent of the other, and you can't use one to get satisfaction on another point.

We had consultations with the African Union mediation. President Mbeki sent letters to both presidents, which they subsequently accepted, on how -- very specific steps to address the demilitarization of the border, which is incomplete, and to address the question of assistance to rebel movements in the other country.

Since then, we are seeing positive movement in the oil trans-shipment issue. We haven't yet seen Khartoum back away from their threat to shut it down in 60 days, but we are seeing acceptance of the Mbeki letter and an acceptance of a process that would resolve the questions that led them to take that action.

Ms. EDWARDS. And if you would – and I apologize again. If you have already answered these questions, then just say, "Hey, I have already answered these questions."

Mr. ANDRÉ. I will try and keep it short.

Ms. EDWARDS. But I wonder if you could just give – describe the administration's assessment of the security situation in South Kordofan, Blue Nile, Darfur, and Abyei.

Mr. ANDRÉ. The current situation in – okay. For Abyei, we strongly back the Mbeki proposal for resolving the issue of Abyei, which is the big unfinished business for South Sudanese independents. It is the most strongly felt, very emotive subject, in both countries.

We think that the Mbeki plan is very wise in how it has removed this as a zero-sum gain. It preserves the basic interests of both the permanently resident community and the transient community, and sees that the referendum is those who will permanently live there but with rights for the traditional access to pastures, and so forth, for the nomadic community from Sudan.

The current situation, I might ask my colleague to talk about U.S. Government's preparedness to assist with the referendum. The referendum is to take place in October. That is how it is currently scheduled. But we don't have –

Ms. EDWARDS. But if you had to look at each one – each of these areas, if you looked at South

Kordofan, if you looked at Blue Nile, Darfur, what is the individual assessment of the security situation?

Mr. ANDRÉ. The conflict in Darfur has escalated, so that the first six months of this year has seen more displacement than in the previous two years combined. Most of that violence has been not between the armed groups and the government; rather, it is between militias supported by Khartoum fighting one another, and showing some signs that they are slipping out of control of their former –

Ms. EDWARDS. Has that resulted in a displacement of about another 130,000 or so?

Mr. ANDRÉ. Three hundred.

Ms. EDWARDS. Three hundred thousand Darfuris?

Mr. ANDRÉ. Yes. And that displacement has many causes, but the prominent is pro-government militias, pro-government communities, fighting one another.

Ms. EDWARDS. And, again – all right. Let me – if I could just – one other, if you don't mind. Thank you.

I want to turn to Ms. Lindborg. It is always hard to say that, because –

Ms. LINDBORG. Hi. How are you?

Ms. EDWARDS. You, too. I just want to ask you, on the second panel, Mr. Prendergast is involved with the Satellite Sentinel Project that uncovers threats to civilians using satellite imagery in order to generate a rapid response. What is going on in -- with what is going on in several countries around the world, does the State Department view this as a model that can be used for monitoring other conflicts?

Ms. LINDBORG. You know, it is certainly an important source of data, and we look at a variety of data points to try to ascertain, as best we can, particularly in areas with constrained access, what is happening.

And I would just add, also, to your previous question that in Darfur, and in the two areas, the security situation is that there is continued aerial bombardment for citizens, and there is a lack of access for humanitarian workers. So it is important to get all of these – all possible means of information, so that we can better understand what the situation might be.

In Abyei, the humanitarian situation is actually rather stable, and we are able to get in there with greater regularity and provide assistance both for communities who have returned, those who remain south of the River Keer, and also standing ready to provide technical assistance should the Abyei Area Referendum Commission get up and running, hopefully by October.

Ms. EDWARDS. I just feel like we, you know, continue to kind of wait for the atrocities to happen to respond, instead of trying to figure out how it is that we can stop them and get a resolution. And I think it is very frustrating for many of us as members – obviously frustrating for the broader

community.

And I don't understand what it is that the United States is doing to leverage our, you know, allies, other partners, to resolve the various conflicts.

Ms. LINDBORG. I am going to pass it over to my colleague who has talked about some of these already. I would just underscore, as Larry mentioned earlier, that the efforts of Ambassador Lyman and continued by Larry Andre have been to put the humanitarian issues at the top of all of the negotiations. And I think everybody shares the frustration and the concern and the anxiety about the level of continuing human rights abuses and needs. It is unacceptable, and the solution set is not easy, but –

Mr. ANDRÉ. In my consultations with the African Union Mediation Panel just a week and a half ago, that continued to be their focus, and a focus that, frankly, we lobbied for. And the negotiations do give primacy to cessation of hostilities followed by humanitarian access. That is the number one, and then followed up by talks that will obviously take much longer to resolve the underlying causes of the conflicts. But we are not going to wait for that discussion to be completed before we get the urgently needed assistance to those who are suffering.

Ms. EDWARDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I just hope we are not just sort of continuing to provide an enabling role for –

Mr. MCGOVERN. All right. Thank you very, very much for coming. We appreciate your testimony, your answering our questions. We will, obviously, be in touch. And, again, as I said at the end of my questions, if you guys have any ideas of things that we need to be doing here, you know, to help move this process forward, help end the humanitarian crisis, please let us know.

Thank you very much.

Our next panel will consist of John Prendergast, the Co-Founder of Enough Project and Co-Founder, Satellite Sentinel Project; Ken Isaacs, Vice President, Programs and Government Relations, Samaritan's Purse; E.G. Hogendoorn, Deputy Director, Africa, International Crisis Group; Jehanne Henry, a senior researcher on Sudan, Africa Division, Human Rights Watch.

When everybody is seated, we will begin with Mr. Prendergast. Welcome.

STATEMENTS OF JOHN PRENDERGAST, CO-FOUNDER, ENOUGH PROJECT, AND CO-FOUNDER, SATELLITE SENTINEL PROJECT; KEN ISAACS, VICE PRESIDENT, PROGRAMS AND GOVERNMENT RELATIONS, SAMARITAN'S PURSE; E.J. HOGENDOORN, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AFRICA, INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP; AND JEHANNE HENRY, SENIOR RESEARCHER ON SUDAN, AFRICA DIVISION, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

#### STATEMENT OF JOHN PRENDERGAST

Mr. PRENDERGAST. Thank you very much, Congressman McGovern, Congressman Wolf, Congresswoman Edwards. Appreciate your continuing leadership on this issue.

I just returned from the Darfuri refugee camps in eastern Chad, and earlier this year went to the Nuba Mountains. Some of my colleagues are going to describe what is going on directly to your last question, Congresswoman Edwards, in those areas, so I want to just shoot right to the issues that I think you have been driving at, which is what options does the United States have policy-wise to, rather than tread water, which we have been doing for so long, move forward to real solutions in Sudan.

So U.S. policy I think – and I think very fundamentally we agree that U.S. policy has been stuck in neutral for quite some time. It has been hamstrung by all kinds of competing priorities – counterterrorism cooperation, humanitarian access, Sudan/South Sudan peace, human rights considerations. I think we heard this very clearly today, reading between the lines in Mr. Andre's testimony.

And I counted a bunch of them, but just quickly, you know, this idea that we are about to have, or we are on the brink of, or we believe there is going to be a humanitarian access agreement, I mean, is based on nothing. Support for this Darfur peace process that stovepipes Darfur and hides it off from the rest of the country, we just sent the Charge – he just mentioned it – we sent the Charge to this meeting of Envoys and endorsed a continuation of this dead process. It is unbelievable.

You know, the administration is saying, "We want a comprehensive agreement," and then they are supporting precisely what Khartoum wants, which is divide and conquer through separate peace processes. And then, I saw him saying how the Sudan opposition in civil society hadn't made any progress in developing a vision for the future.

Well, they work at very strong U.S. Government – under very strong U.S. Government pressure to develop just such a thing, called, you know, the New Dawn Charter, which they signed in the beginning of this year. And we have done very little to nothing to then advance that dialogue and discussion.

And then, the last thing, complete misunderstanding of what is going on in Darfur today, as if just tribes are fighting, militias are fighting, like there is no role that the Sudan government has in it. The complete opposite of the truth. It is a complete misunderstanding of basic conflict dynamics. How are you going to help solve a problem if you don't understand the problem?

So it was disturbing, frankly, to listen to that testimony. And we could go on about the Nafie stuff, but, look, they suspended it, so I guess you can throw things at a dartboard eventually and hit it.

So giving credit to President Obama's personal diplomacy in 2011 with heavy congressional pressure in support of the referendum -- that was definitely building on the success of the Bush administration's comprehensive peace agreement for the very reasons that Congressman Wolf outlined.

But since then, I think this policy, our policy in Sudan, has just drifted. We issue these statements. We offer incentives for better behavior. We invite people to come that have no business coming here, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera, but not addressing the fundamental issue. What is the fundamental issue? Everyone knows by now it is the governments in Sudan. If you don't transform that center in Sudan, we are going to see instability for as long as we are all working on these issues.

So I think I want to just dive right in, given the time constraints, into the areas that I think with Congress in the lead, the executive branch, the United States can make a difference. All of it requires a different approach to what we are doing today, and I have listed them in bullets here.

The first one is this idea which I sort of just referenced, promoting a comprehensive peace. Instead of this divide and rule, separate peace processes, we need to work relentlessly and tirelessly for the development of one Sudan peace process which brings everything together with a very prominent mediator, backed by a very strong U.S. Envoy, as you said, working with other Envoys and putting pressure, just as Colin Powell did, just as Special Envoy Danforth did in the 2000s, in support of the comprehensive peace agreement.

We need to revitalize that approach. We already have a successful model. Let us use it and apply it to today's Sudan. And that means we have to recognize and increasingly value the Sudan Revolutionary Forces, the SRF, the primary armed opposition and work with them to improve their human rights record, to support them to become more inclusive, and better prepare them to become the prime interlocutor of that peace process that needs to take shape in Sudan.

The second area that I think the U.S. can be supportive is providing assistance for media. The opposition in civil society in Sudan are at a severe disadvantage because of the state monopoly on the press. And they can't communicate their platforms, they can't communicate their agendas, nobody even knows the truth about what is going on in half of the country.

So the United States has a record of being supportive of independent media in other countries, and we have seen that bear fruit over the last few years, a history of this kind of assistance. So we need to do the same I think in Sudan, independent TV, independent radio, how can we help and support that.

The third area is assisting democratic governance. What I found to be one of the most catalytic elements of U.S. policy during the North/South war – and Congressman Wolf saw this when he was in Southern Sudan when it was still part of Sudan – and that is that the U.S. assisted the dominant rebel group, the SPLA, in developing civil administration capacities, developing their ability to govern in the areas that they controlled in opposition areas in Sudan, in Southern Sudan, what became eventually South Sudan.

This prepared these guys for future government. This helped them be more able to facilitate humanitarian assistance to the areas that they control, which Khartoum is blocking as part of its "food is a weapon" strategy.

So building the capacity of the civil administration structures of these opposition groups in the areas that are controlled by the rebels, just as we did during the North/South war, would be a tremendously catalytic thing over time in supporting future democratic governance.

Fourth thing the United States could do is to enhance coalition-building. The U.S. I think could help the Sudanese efforts, you know, the opposition in civil society, the rebels, these three sort of legs of potential transformation. They need to have greater opportunities to interact.

There is a lot of suspicions, and we all know what results when opposition is divided. It allows



the government in power to remain in power as long as those divisions are so deep that they undermine cohesion to support real democratic transformation and real change. So helping to support the interactions between these groups and developing their joint platforms would be really helpful.

And then, fifth is building institutional capacities. The United States has provided some capacity-building support for some civil society groups, and that is really important. They have been doing it for a number of years. They should keep doing it but expand it to the – again, the SRF, the dominant rebel coalition that brings all of these guys together and help build their capacity I think would be really important, investing in some of these youth groups that are going to be so important and have been so important to change in the Middle East and North Africa.

So those are five things. There are many others. The most important lesson that I have learned in the last 20 years, 25 I guess now, working on Sudan is that the political constituency for peace in Sudan here in the United States matters. Members of Congress are in the lead, student organizations, faith-based groups, human rights advocates, sometimes when the celebrities show up and get arrested with you guys, others comprising the – comprising, sorry, the anti-genocide movement have put Sudan's plight on the matting map of the U.S. Government over three presidencies.

Great bipartisan effort, and this is a perfect example of it, has been expended in ending the North/South war, in providing lifesaving humanitarian aid to millions of Darfuris and to people in South Kordofan and Blue Nile, and supporting the creation of the world's newest state in South Sudan.

Another great populous push is needed, and Congress needs to be at the forefront. Its people still suffer, but they are coming together in support of a better future, and we should stand with them.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Prendergast follows:]

**Sudan Hearing  
Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission  
Wednesday, June 19, 2013**

**Testimony by John Prendergast  
Co-Founder, Enough Project and Satellite Sentinel Project**

Introduction

Chairman Wolf, Chairman McGovern, and other distinguished members of the Commission, I want to thank you for having me here today to testify on the situation in Sudan. I just returned from the Darfuri refugee camps in eastern Chad, and earlier this year traveled into rebel-controlled areas of the Nuba Mountains. I want to align myself with the observations of my colleagues testifying today about the intensifying human rights and humanitarian crisis facing the people of Sudan throughout large swathes of Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile, as well as the political repression of all independent voices in the country by the government of Sudan. And lest we forget, the people of the disputed territory of Abyei remain largely displaced after the Khartoum government's population-clearing assaults there a little more than two years ago.

I will focus my testimony on how to enhance US policy to maximize the chances of comprehensive peace, democratic transformation, and real accountability in Sudan. Then I want to share for the written record a little of what I learned in the Chadian refugee camps about what is going on across the border in Darfur, and some of the dangers I saw unfolding during my earlier trip to the Nuba Mountains.

### Promoting Peace and Democracy

U.S. policy toward Sudan has been stuck in neutral for some time, hamstrung by competing priorities surrounding humanitarian access, counter-terrorism cooperation, peace between Sudan and South Sudan, and human rights considerations. Ever since President Obama's successful diplomatic engagement in support of South Sudan's 2011 referendum, American policy towards neighboring Sudan has drifted, despite intensifying conflict inside that country. The U.S. has become predictable: issuing occasional condemning statements, offering incentives for better behavior, and undertaking diplomacy in support of Sudan/South Sudan peace, but not addressing the fundamental governance issues in Sudan that are the primary drivers of instability. This has created a growing sense of American irrelevance in Khartoum.

In order to again be in a position to make a difference in Sudan, the U.S. has to rebuild leverage that it has lost due to years of unfulfilled threats and promises. That means it is probably not the time to issue *more* threats and promises, more incentives for better behavior and unspecified warnings if things get worse (if they possibly could for millions of Sudanese).

Instead, the U.S. should spend its time constructing a new approach to Sudan. This should involve a much stronger diplomatic effort to secure a comprehensive, inclusive peace deal for Sudan with democratic transformation at the center of such a deal. The current policy has no chance of producing such an outcome.

In order to promote real solutions, the U.S. will have to engage much more deeply with the armed and unarmed opposition in Sudan. Diplomatic contact and non-military support should be expanded to the Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF), the National Consensus Forces (NCF), and genuine civil society representatives. These elements, which arguably represent the vast majority of Sudan's population, must be more united and better prepared to assist the eventual democratic transition that the Sudanese people continue to demand.

The U.S. can be helpful in this, even catalytic, by focusing expanded aid and diplomatic assets on a few core areas:

- 1) Promoting Comprehensive Peace: Khartoum's strategy of divide-and-rule is furthered every time the U.S. supports regional peace deals like the current Darfur initiative. The U.S. should work relentlessly to help construct one comprehensive peace process for all of Sudan. U.S. officials should meet with the SRF at a high level in Washington, recognizing the opposition coalition as the key to a peaceful transition. U.S. officials should urge the SRF to continue improving human rights record and support it to become more inclusive. This will better prepare the SRF to become the prime interlocutor with the government of Sudan in an AU-led comprehensive peace process that has yet to take shape in Sudan.
- 2) Supporting Media Tools: The opposition and civil society are at a severe disadvantage in Sudan in that they are unable to communicate their platforms and agendas – or even the truth about what is happening in the country – to the vast majority of the population because of the lack of independent radio and television venues. The regime has a monopoly of access to the media. As it has in other countries, the U.S. should assist opposition, civil society and Sudanese journalists in developing independent radio and television options.
- 3) Assisting Democratic Governance: During the North/South war, U.S. and other support to the rebel's capacity to deliver humanitarian aid and create civil administrative structures was catalytic to improved human rights performance and emergency aid delivery. In areas controlled by the rebels in Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile, the U.S. should begin to support such civil administrative capacities, especially as they relate to the support for delivering life-saving relief supplies.
- 4) Enhancing Coalition-Building: The U.S. can help Sudanese efforts to build deeper partnerships and firmer agreements about what kind of political transition is necessary in their country. Enabling opportunities for the SRF to meet with political opposition and civil society elements more regularly with an aim to build a stronger coalition in support of peace and democracy would have a major impact on the parties involved.
- 5) Building Institutional Capacities: Significantly increasing U.S. government capacity-building support for the SRF, NCF, youth and civil society groups working for democratic change could also alter political calculations on the ground. Many youth in Sudan aspire to a different future but lack the capacity to make their voices heard. Increased access to social media networks, training workshops and platform-building assistance will bolster reform-minded Sudanese as they seek to politically challenge the regime's rule and help prepare for a peaceful transition to democracy.

### Janjaweed Unbound in Darfur

The Janjaweed militias are back. The Sudanese government's notorious paramilitary force and favorite counterinsurgency instrument has unleashed several scorched-earth campaigns in 2013 that have ethnically cleansed communities off their land, displacing hundreds of thousands of Darfuris. Fueled by complex economic and security agendas, Khartoum's alliance with and support for these militias has led to a comeback of infamous Janjaweed leader Ali Kosheib, already indicted for war crimes by the International Criminal Court. Kosheib's forces are torching villages and targeting civilians again on the basis of their identity.

This time, though, there are no witnesses. The regime in Khartoum is systematically denying access to journalists,

aid workers, and U.N. peacekeepers, so the killing, looting, and burning occur in total silence. According to recently arrived Darfuri refugees that my colleague Omer Ismail and I interviewed in Chad in May, ICC indictee Ali Kosheib is entering villages himself with truckloads of Janjaweed militia killing and torturing civilians in order to clear the resource rich lands of their inhabitants.

Diplomats and news reports have peddled a very different narrative over the past year. U.N. and other officials have insisted that the Darfur civil war is largely over and peace would come if the main rebel groups would sign existing deals. Media reports have largely focused on “inter-tribal” conflict or fighting among rebel groups. Even Wikipedia lists Ali Kosheib as a “former” Janjaweed commander. These story lines couldn’t be further from the truth.

Darfur’s large scale violence is systematic, state-sponsored, and driven by three objectives. First, in North Darfur, Khartoum-backed Janjaweed militias strategically cleared local Arab and non-Arab populations from the areas around newly discovered gold mines in order to consolidate government control of rapidly expanding gold exports, critical in replacing lost oil revenue after South Sudan’s independence in 2011. Second, in Central Darfur, some of the most productive land in Sudan is being cleared of its inhabitants by Ali Kosheib’s forces in order to expand the territory offered to favored ethnic groups or sell to Gulf investors. Third, expanded Janjaweed looting and extortion schemes as well as smuggling networks for gum arabic (used in soft drinks and candies) are encouraged by the Khartoum regime as part of militia compensation.

#### More of the Same in the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile

The assault on the people of the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile, two regions on the Sudan side of the border with South Sudan, bears a deadly resemblance to the tactics the Sudan government has used in Darfur and South Sudan. Aerial bombing terrorizes the population and prevents them from farming, while humanitarian groups are prevented from delivering aid. Starvation is the objective. Draining the water – the people – to catch the fish – the rebels – is one of the oldest counter-insurgency strategies known to man.

Speaking of Sudanese President Omer al-Bashir, one displaced man who we met in the Nuba Mountains asked, “A man who kills women and children with planes, is this a man who wants peace?”

Given the lack of progress toward peace, attitudes are hardening in rebel zones throughout Sudan, increasing the potential for the disintegration of the Sudanese state. “If things don’t change,” proclaimed one Nuba Mountains’ community leader we met, echoing many others, “then we want these 99 mountains to become our own country like South Sudan.” The longer the interlocking civil wars rage, the harder it will become to put this secessionist genie back in the bottle.

#### Ensuring Against another Mali or Somalia

As the death tolls and reneged promises mount, however, it is becoming clear that no peace is possible without profound political change in Khartoum. A core long-term U.S. interest in this region should be to insure against another Mali or Somalia and their routes to state collapse, balkanization and radicalism. Sudan’s government has a history of cooperation with terrorist groups, and cooperation with Iran seems to be deepening again. The periphery of Sudan has been disintegrating over time, and that trend will only accelerate. The root driver of this ongoing and deepening crisis is unaccountable, unrepresentative, authoritative governance. The international response isn’t working, so new ideas and approaches are urgently needed.

Great sacrifices are being made by Sudanese pro-democracy, peace and human rights advocates. Rebel groups are clamoring for a genuinely comprehensive peace process. The U.S. and other countries have for years encouraged these movements to come together and spell out the terms of what a future democratic system could look like. At the beginning of this year a broad array of groups answered the challenge and signed a painstakingly negotiated “New Dawn Charter,” which began to put meat on the bones of what an inclusive Sudanese future could look like. That is just one of the first steps that opposition and civil society must take to position themselves to assist in a peaceful transition on Sudan.

#### Conclusion

The final lesson is that the political constituency for peace in Sudan matters. Members of Congress, student organizations, faith-based groups, human rights advocates, celebrities, and others comprising the anti-genocide movement have put Sudan’s plight on the matting map of the U.S. government over three presidencies. Great bipartisan effort has been expended in ending the north-south war, providing life-saving humanitarian aid to millions of Darfuris, and supporting the creation of the world’s newest state in South Sudan. Another great populist push is needed for Sudan. Its people still suffer, but they are coming together in support of a better future. We should stand with them.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you very much for your excellent testimony. Do you want to be Special Envoy? Well, that is precisely what we need. That is what we need.

Mr. Isaacs.

## STATEMENT OF KEN ISAACS

Mr. ISAACS. Mr. Chairman, I just want to thank you for holding this very important meeting and allowing me to testify today. I have worked in Sudan for 20 years with many people in this room, and, you know, it is just the thing that just keeps on giving. It doesn't go away. None of the tactics have changed of the government of Sudan, whether they call themselves the National Salvation Front, the National Islamic Front, or now the National Congress Party.

But today I want to talk specifically about the humanitarian crisis that exists and is growing and deteriorating in South Kordofan and Blue Nile states.

As I said, we have worked there a long time. When the conflict recently started in June of 2011, we had over 200 staff in Nuba Mountains, and we have maintained contact with those staff throughout these two years. We are working extensively in the camp in Yida, so we have a lot of in-source information coming to us.

I go to Nuba Mountains routinely and was just there about two weeks ago. The condition there is bad. You gave an excellent briefing in the beginning. You understand what those circumstances are. We hope to have -- see some kind of data come out from the scrappy little entities that are up there with any kind of access that are trying to do anything.

But it really is hard to get a picture of what is going on, but what I do know from my travel there most recently, and, you know, over the last two years is that people are terrorized and they are living like animals. They are living like animals in rocks and in caves, and they are eating leaves and bugs.

I mean, this isn't just a photo op where you go up and you find one or two or three people. You can go find tens of thousands of people living this kind of life. In Southern Blue Nile, they don't have the advantage of having rocks. They have tall grass. They live in tall grass, and they are eating whatever they can find foraging for foods.

This is a group of people that essentially live in a stone age. They don't have grinding mills. They grind -- if they have anything to grind, they grind it between rocks. Two years ago, 95 percent of the people that lived in the Nuba Mountains had three meals a day. Now 95 percent of the people that live there have less than one meal a day. This is a clear orchestrated campaign of famine driven by terror and indiscriminate bombing of civilian targets.

So I thought, Congressman McGovern, you brought up a good question. So what is different? What can be different about this? When I look at the entire paradigm of what is going on in Blue Nile, and what is going on in South Kordofan, the starvation, the malnutrition, the lack of access to clean water, the fact that the schools are shut down, the health clinics are gone, we have got 200,000 refugees that have fled the area into South Sudan, you have got 600,000 people in Kordofan who are displaced, they are literally starving.

I have got photographs I could show you, but you have seen photographs of starving people before. So I am a humanitarian guy. I am not a political guy; I am not a military guy. I actually was the

Director of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance in 2004-2005 and managed the Darfur portfolio. But I didn't like living in Washington, and I didn't like working for the government, because I am too plain-spoken.

But if I look at what is going on today, and I have met with Bashir, I have met with Ahmed Haroun, I know Salva, I knew John Garang, I know all of those guys top to bottom on both sides. There is one thing that I see that could make a catalytic change in the humanitarian situation and maybe give space to breathe in the developing political needs that my colleague here JP was speaking of, the destruction of two military airstrip/air traffic control towers, one in Kadugli and one in El Obeid.

That is where the attacks are coming from. It doesn't have to be a no-fly zone. It doesn't have to be extensive loss of life. It doesn't need to be an extended bombing campaign. But it needs to be a signal, a resolute signal to the government of Sudan. I have tracked these guys and worked with them for 20 years. They do not give a damn about the diplomatic words of the United States Government or any other country.

They care about force, and I would even argue that the comprehensive peace agreement materialized because they were afraid they would come into the sights of the United States. And they, therefore, became a friend in the war against terror. They were the fox in the hen house. They are still the fox in the hen house, as the bombing in April – somebody bombed their weapons factory. Nobody has owned up to it, but somebody took it out.

These guys have blood all over their hands. They have had blood on their hands since they came to power in 1989. There is the SRF. There is a coalition of troops that are coming together. They do need inputs to build sort of a political coalition. But I don't see a change unless something like that happens.

I can see 10 years – this is the third time I have testified before this committee on Sudan. And I am always honored to be here. I wish the next time I came I could tell you something was different on the ground, but we are not there yet.

And so anyway, from the practical humanitarian guy that doesn't work for the government anymore, I am free to speak my mind, and I have spoken, and I really appreciate the opportunity to say it.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Isaacs follows:]

**KEN ISAACS**

**VICE PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS AND GOVERNMENT RELATIONS,  
SAMARITAN'S PURSE**

**JUNE 19, 2013**

**TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HEARING**

***HUMANITARIAN CATASTROPHE: SUDAN'S ONGOING WAR AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS***

Chairmen McGovern and Wolf, distinguished Representatives, and fellow guests of the commission, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to share my concerns about the unfolding humanitarian crisis in the Sudanese states of South Kordofan and Blue Nile.

Residents of these two areas live in a constant state of terror because of the Government of Sudan's campaign of violence against its own people. This includes indiscriminate aerial bombings that have made it impossible to plant and harvest crops—leading to a severe food crisis throughout the region.

The current situation in South Kordofan and Blue Nile leaves no doubt that the Government of Sudan's methods and modalities are intended to create famine against all citizens in those areas. It is up to the U.S. and the international community to take appropriate and immediate steps to save the lives of hundreds of thousands of suffering Sudanese people.

Our organization, Samaritan's Purse, began working in Sudan in 1993. Our work in Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains of South Kordofan began in 1998, and we conducted extensive humanitarian aid operations in those areas until the government cut off international humanitarian access in June 2011.

Over the last 20 years, I have made many trips to the country to oversee our efforts there, and I was witness to some of the darkest days of the civil war in the south and the atrocities in Darfur. Today I see that gruesome history repeating itself. Brutal attacks by the Sudanese Armed Forces and indiscriminate bombing—all against civilians—were major contributors to the famines that led to hundreds of thousands of deaths in southern Sudan in the 1990s.

Although the international community eventually launched Operation Lifeline Sudan, the Government of Sudan routinely manipulated and denied flight access to United Nations humanitarian agencies in order to use food as a weapon of war. These denials were frequently carried out in coordination with the Government of Sudan's ground and air military operations against civilians.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, aid organizations frequently became the target of Sudan's aggression. On February 9, 2002, a World Food Programme distribution center in Akuem, southern Sudan, was bombed, killing two children and injuring more than a dozen others.<sup>2</sup> Just weeks later, a similar attack was carried out at another distribution center in Bieh in Upper Nile, while people were waiting in line to receive food.<sup>3</sup> The Government of Sudan has shown no hesitation in using food as a weapon to brutalize its citizens.

In June 2011, a new wave of violence swept over South Kordofan as the Sudan Armed Forces resumed fighting against the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N). The Sudanese government bombed villages indiscriminately—destroying homes, markets, schools, churches, and mosques. Over 200 of Samaritan's Purse staff, including 12 expatriates, were stationed in the region and witnessed the bombings first-hand. Large numbers of civilians sought refuge in the rocky caves and crevices of the Nuba Mountains. Many remain in hiding today. In September 2011, the Government of Sudan launched similar attacks in Blue Nile State.

The Government of Sudan has cut off all humanitarian access to SPLM-N-occupied areas in South Kordofan and Blue Nile states. Samaritan's Purse and other international aid organizations are unable to reach hundreds of thousands of displaced civilians who have no access to food, clean water, medicine, and other basic necessities.

We maintain communications with Sudanese national staff in both of these regions. One of our former staff, Ryan Boyette, remained in Nuba on his own when we had to suspend our operations there. Boyette founded Eyes and Ears Nuba, a network of citizen journalists who report from the frontlines on the atrocities committed against the Nuban people.

What we are seeing on the ground is evidence of an orchestrated campaign to terrorize and starve people. The indiscriminate bombing has displaced households and destroyed fields, disrupting the planting cycle of a people who depend on their crops to survive. The first wave of bombings in June 2011 corresponded with the beginning of the planting season. Farmers were forced to flee their homes instead of sow their crops. The violence continued and increased when I was in South Kordofan at the time of harvest in November 2011.

According to a rapid assessment conducted in South Kordofan in August 2012, the food security situation is deteriorating rapidly. The number of households surviving on one meal per day increased from 9.5 percent to 81.5 percent in just one year.<sup>4</sup> A December 2012 rapid needs assessment in Blue Nile State found that three communities reported 1,712 deaths from starvation.<sup>5</sup>

The food security situation will only get worse in the coming months. According to the Famine Early Warning Systems Network, many areas within both South Kordofan and Blue Nile are currently in stressed or crisis phases. Several areas within both states are projected to reach the emergency phase between July and September of this year.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [\*Sudanese Government denies humanitarian access to 1.7 million people in southern Sudan\*](#). WFP. 05 Apr. 2002.

<sup>2</sup> [\*WFP deplors air attack on food distribution site in southern Sudan\*](#). UN News Centre. 13 Feb. 2002.

<sup>3</sup> [\*WFP condemns attack on civilians at food distribution in Southern Sudan\*](#). WFP. 21 Feb. 2002.

<sup>4</sup> [\*Rapid Food Security and Nutrition Assessment: South Kordofan\*](#). The Enough Project. Oct. 2012.

<sup>5</sup> [\*Rapid Needs Assessment: Blue Nile State\*](#). Grey Areas Consortium. Dec. 2012.

<sup>6</sup> [\*South Sudan Food Security Outlook\*](#). FEWSNET. Accessed 15 June 2013.

Currently, over 71,000 refugees are registered in the Yida refugee camp in Unity State and approximately 117,000 are registered in camps in Meban County, Upper Nile State of South Sudan.<sup>7</sup> Samaritan's Purse runs extensive water, food, and medical programs in the Yida refugee camp as well as in the camps in Meban County. Our staff routinely hear first-hand accounts of the depth of suffering in South Kordofan and Blue Nile.

The situation is especially critical for vulnerable groups like the elderly and young children. Four-year-old Waida weighed only 14 pounds when she reached Yida. Her mother told the staff at our nutrition stabilization center that the family had lived on mostly bugs and leaves for months. They were constantly running from bombs, so there was no way to be able to grow food. They had walked for over a week to reach Yida.

We were able to save little Waida, but I often think of the thousands of starving children like her who haven't made it to safety. How many of them will never be able to make it across the border? How many of them will die because the international community refused to take real action?

Yes, while the international community is wringing their wrists over what should be done to resolve this conflict, people are dying because no cross-line or cross-border humanitarian access corridor has been established. The Government of Sudan will not allow it.

This is the regime that has harbored Osama Bin Laden, supported terrorist organizations, and is led by an indicted war criminal.<sup>8</sup> I urge the Obama administration and members of Congress to intervene immediately on behalf of the Sudanese people.

I don't believe that another agreement between Sudan and South Sudan, or the SPLM-N or Sudan Revolutionary Front, is the answer. Sudan historically uses agreements to obstruct peace, buy time, and confound all parties involved. Decades of broken agreements have led to a loss of faith in any future agreements. The citizens of Sudan are tired of being killed by their own government.

If we look at the challenges that face South Kordofan and Blue Nile—displacement, malnutrition, lack of clean water and sanitation, and lack of medical care—it comes back to a single cause: aerial bombing. The bombing forces people to flee their homes. The bombing destroys fields and disrupts the planting cycle. The bombing drives people into the rocks and crevices of the Nuba Mountains and away from improved water and sanitation facilities.

The bombing needs to stop and the bombing can be stopped. The destruction of air traffic control facilities in a few military airports in Sudan will inhibit the government's ability to continue their violent attacks on the people of South Kordofan and Blue Nile. The Government of Sudan's ability to launch these air attacks can and should be destroyed.

An end to the bombing will not only put an end to the constant state of terror that the people of South Kordofan and Blue Nile have lived in for years; it will enable them to regain their livelihood as they come out of hiding, return to their homes, restore their fields, and resume crop production.

Such a resolution does not require a major commitment or a no-fly zone. It only requires the political will to recognize that a government that kills its own people has no legitimacy to rule. As President Obama said in reference to the crisis in Syria in a statement released on February 4, 2012:

"Every government has the responsibility to protect its citizens, and any government that brutalizes and massacres its people does not deserve to govern."<sup>9</sup>

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you very much. Appreciate your candor. And I – you know, I hope the next time we have a hearing, I mean, we are doing these hearings because we don't think anything has changed, things are getting worse, so we need to reevaluate.

But having said that, Mr. Hogendoorn, welcome, and we welcome your testimony.

#### STATEMENT OF E.J. HOGENDOORN

Mr. HOGENDOORN. Well, thank you very much for inviting Crisis Group to testify. War resumed two years ago in South Kordofan and Blue Nile and shows no sign of ending. There are echoes of the earlier civil war, but the dynamics are quite different, particularly in South Kordofan where the SPLM-North is much stronger, controls more territory, and is part of the Sudan Revolutionary Front Alliance.

<sup>7</sup> [Registered Refugee Population: Unity and Upper Niles States](#). UNHCR. Accessed 15 June 2013.

<sup>8</sup> [State Sponsors: Sudan](#). Council on Foreign Relations. 02 Apr. 2008.

<sup>9</sup> ["Statement by the President on Syria."](#) The White House: Office of the Press Secretary. 04 Feb. 2012.

This time the government also has more troops and sophisticated equipment, and these forces are again augmented by poorly trained and ill-disciplined paramilitary units. Unable or unwilling to attack fortified rebel units in the mountains, military has resorted to indiscriminate bombing and shellings.

Government forces also have resorted to striking at communities suspected of supporting the rebels and prevents most humanitarian access to insurgent-controlled areas. That said, it should be noted that the Sudan Revolutionary Front artillery attacks have also killed noncombatants, and there are troubling indications that the South Sudanese refugee camps are becoming militarized.

The war has settled into a vicious stalemate where the government is unable to dislodge the rebels in the mountains and the SPLM-North incapable of holding much territory in lowlands. Neither side is strong enough to win militarily. A negotiated settlement is the only viable solution.

Most analysts agree the main cause of continued conflict is the concentration of power and resources in the center. However, repeated pledges to transform governance remain unfulfilled. Multiple piece agreements have not ended chronic conflict because they were piecemeal and have only been partially implemented. Often, later agreements would shift power, resources, and attention away from earlier treaties.

So, for example, Darfur negotiations shifted attention from the peace agreement with the South, a significant reason its democratization provisions languished and unity was not attractive to most southerners. The regime stayed in power for so long because it was sustained by oil from the south. Now it is an existential crisis. The economy is in shambles, and members of the ruling party are deeply unhappy with their leaders, massive corruption, endless conflict, and the division of their country.

At the same time, political opposition forces are growing more assertive, and the slowly expanding war is bleeding the military and draining the treasury. Calls for reform are growing, but Bashir is a wily survivor. Although he has stated he will not run for reelection, many doubt he will cede power for fear he will end up at the International Criminal Court.

Instead, many hope for a coup or a popular uprising that could force him out, but there is a great risk. The president has deliberately fragmented the security services, and there are numerous armed tribes that could seek to take advantage of turmoil in the capital.

A Libya-like scenario is a distinct possibility, and the regime plays up this prospect with its constituents. So far it has successfully cast the Sudan Revolutionary Front as only representing the peripheries and inherently hostile to the people of the Nile Valley.

The U.S. Government should learn lessons of past failed initiatives. Sudan needs a truly comprehensive peace agreement, not a partial settlement that perpetuates the status quo. At the same time, it must recognize the NCP needs to be part of any transition. As we have learned in Iraq, leaving the long-ruling party out in the cold would be costly. Its elites are too powerful to ignore, and the opposition is too divided and inexperienced to rule alone.



The rebels have a national agenda but divisions remain. Those differences are benefiting the government strategy to limit peace talks and subsequent agreements to local issues in order to prevent reform at the center. A separate deal on the two areas, or even the Blue Nile, would be easier for diplomats, but is unlikely to address the root causes of wars in Sudan.

Sooner or later, Bashir and his inner circle will have to reach their own conclusion that the present crisis requires more radical adjustments. When they do, the international community should consider providing incentives. These should be tied to specific and irreversible benchmarks. Such cooperation might be unpalatable to many who hold Bashir responsible for atrocity crimes, but it is necessary to prevent further conflict and continued humanitarian crises for the foreseeable future.

Crafting the right strategy and incentives will require bold leadership and careful coordination. We urge the administration, therefore, to appoint a strong Special Envoy and provide him or her with all of the necessary support to develop and implement an international strategy to promote peace in both countries.

That should include working with partners for a single, comprehensive solution that runs in parallel with the negotiations between Sudan and South Sudan, but are not conditioned on them, urging the government to bring the NCP, the Sudan Revolutionary Front, other opposition forces, and civil society groups together in a transitional government that leads, first and foremost, to a comprehensive cease fire and humanitarian access and allow the political forces to flesh out a road map for a durable peace process.

Offering President Bashir, as well as party elites, incentives to create a transitional government and firmly and irreversibly place Sudan on a transitional path, including assistance to stabilize the economy on the condition that translational road map benchmarks are met and progress is made in negotiations with South Sudan.

And if concrete moves are made toward a credible transition process, the Security Council should request the International Criminal Court to defer prosecution of Bashir for one year. There would be no obligation to renew such deferrals if Bashir reneges on this transition commitment.

Supporting also through training, capacity-building, the establishment and growth of national parties that can represent and articulate the demands of Sudan's marginalized people. Sudan deserves another chance.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hogendoorn follows:]

**Sudan Hearing  
Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission  
Wednesday, June 19, 2013**

**Testimony by E.J. Hogendoorn,  
Deputy Director, Africa, International Crisis Group**

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Co-Chairs of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission,

Representative Jim McGovern and Representative Frank Wolf, for inviting Crisis Group to testify today on the humanitarian crises in Sudan and South Sudan, the human rights violations underlying the crises, and U.S. policy in the region. Working on Sudan since 2001, Crisis Group has produced some 45 in-depth reports and briefings, most recently *Sudan's Spreading Conflict (I): War in South Kordofan* (14 February 2013) and *Sudan's Spreading Conflict (II): War in Blue Nile* (18 June 2013), as well as a more general report *Sudan: Major Reform or More War* (29 November 2012).

Today I will be discussing Crisis Group's analysis of the situation in South Kordofan and Blue Nile, the broader political context in Sudan, and the role the United States can play in ending decades of chronic conflict and humanitarian crises.

#### The Situation in South Kordofan and Blue Nile States

War resumed two years ago in South Kordofan (June 2011) and Blue Nile (September 2011) and shows no sign of ending anytime soon. There are echoes of the earlier civil war, but the dynamics are quite different and the conflicts' local and national dimensions are more intermingled than ever. Unfortunately, the principal victims, as always, are the civilian population, with, according to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, more than one million internally displaced or "severely affected" and some 220,000 refugees in South Sudan and Ethiopia. In Blue Nile alone, more than 1/3 of the state's population is in need of humanitarian assistance.

The "two areas" of South Kordofan and Blue Nile were part of the larger Southern liberation struggle, but were ultimately treated differently from the South in the negotiations that led to the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). They were considered part of the North, and not given the same right to self-determination granted the South, but rather a weaker protocol that included a power-sharing formula and promise of "popular consultations" on the peace agreement's shortcomings. The consultations were delayed, and were not even started in South Kordofan because of electoral disputes. They did begin in Blue Nile, and some 73,000 people were able to air their grievances. Notably even some local members of the ruling National Congress Party (NCP) supported calls for greater autonomy and control over local resources, but the commission was still drafting its report when the war broke out in November 2011.

Although the conflicts pit two old enemies against each other again, they are not a repeat of the earlier civil war. Particularly in South Kordofan, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) is much stronger, with as many as 30,000 soldiers; has better weapons; and a large stockpile of arms. It also controls much more territory than the rebels ever did during the first war and is part of the Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF) alliance with the Darfuri armed groups the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), the Sudan Liberation Movement-Abdel Wahid (SLM-AW) and the Sudan Liberation Movement-Mini Minawi (SLM-MM). The government, however, also has more Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and paramilitary troops in South Kordofan, numbers range between 40,000 to 70,000, and more sophisticated equipment. All indications suggest the war has settled into a vicious strategic stalemate where the government is unable to dislodge the rebels ensconced in the Nuba Mountains and the SPLM-N and its allies incapable of holding much territory in the lowlands.

In Blue Nile the SPLM-N was less prepared for war and after fighting started, in September 2011; its forces were rapidly pushed toward the South Sudan border and lost Kurmuk, the insurgents' historic stronghold on the Ethiopian border in November. Since then the "frontline" has not moved much, with rebel-held areas limited to a 20-30km stretch along the border with South Sudan, and isolated pockets, in particular in the Ingessana Hills. Because of losses and defections, the Blue Nile SPLM-N, number less than 7,000 troops, while the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) probably deploys as many 30,000 soldiers in the state, and is augmented by a large number of paramilitary forces and militias recruited from local tribes.

Poorly trained and ill-disciplined paramilitary units and militias are particularly prone to violations of humanitarian and human rights law. This policy of "counter-insurgency on the cheap" pits local communities against each other, often in return for elusive promises of land or other rewards. It also adds to layers of grievances that frequently frustrate the most determined peace and reconciliation efforts.

Ethnic dynamics also have changed significantly. For example, the Misseriya Arabs, who traditionally supported the government, have grown increasingly frustrated with Khartoum's unkept promises. They no longer answer the government's calls to remobilize, and many are joining the SPLM-N and other rebels groups. Other communities in the peripheries are also much more divided in their support for the regime.

In a strategic stalemate, and unable, or unwilling, to attack fortified rebels units in the mountains, the SAF has resorted to bombing their positions with indiscriminate Antonov cargo planes and long-range artillery (SRF shelling on government positions is also killing civilians). Government forces also have resorted to a familiar pattern of striking at communities suspected of supporting the SPLM-N, so as to prevent them from living off the surrounding civilian population. Unable to farm, many civilians have been forced to flee, and those that remain are increasingly desperate. Greatly exacerbating the problem, and despite enormous international pressure, Khartoum is preventing most humanitarian access to rebel-controlled areas for fear it will indirectly benefit the insurgents. According to sources, the NCP is unwilling to make the same "mistakes" it made when it acquiesced to Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) in the South and the massive humanitarian response in Darfur that increased international monitoring of its activities and hence significantly limited its

freedom of movement. It should also be noted, there are troubling indications refugee camps in South Sudan are militarized.

At the moment, neither side is strong enough to win militarily. A negotiated settlement is the only viable solution. The Sudanese government's tactic, however, remains divide and rule, to cut individual deals with separate regions or rebel groups that perpetuate the status quo. On the contrary, the SPLM-N is insisting on an increasingly national agenda and a role its allies in the SRF. These widely diverging positions have led to an impasse in initial negotiations, including over a humanitarian ceasefire to allow in humanitarian assistance.

#### The Broader Political Context in Sudan

Despite multiple peace agreements, conflict continues to plague Sudan. Most analysts agree the main cause is the concentration of power and resources in the center, at the expense of the peripheries. The solution, acknowledged by many Sudanese in numerous meetings and agreements dating back to pre-independence, is a more inclusive government that addresses at least some of the peripheries' grievances, but repeated pledges to transform governance remain unfulfilled. A key hurdle – though not the only one – is President Bashir, who has further concentrated authority in a small circle of trusted officials, and despite promises he will not run for re-election in 2015 most likely will not step aside. Instead, many hope for regime change via coup, or popular uprising, but have not considered the danger that this could trigger even more violence.

Neither the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, nor Sudan's many other peace agreements (Cairo Agreement, East Sudan Peace Agreement, Darfur Peace Agreement and Doha Document for Peace in Darfur) have ended chronic conflict, because they were piecemeal deals and were only partially implemented. Often later agreements would shift power, resources and international attention away from earlier peace treaties. So for example, Darfur peace negotiations shifted international attention from CPA implementation, arguably a significant reason its democratization provisions languished and unity was not attractive to most Southerners. The 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement signed only by SLM-MM made Mini Minawi an impotent, but well compensated, senior assistant to the president, created the ineffective Transitional Darfur Regional Authority, and granted his movement a number of seats in the national and state assemblies, as well as a number of important posts in federal and state ministries. The view from East Sudan was that this agreement shifted promised power and resources from their region to Darfur, rekindling grievances that had triggered conflict there.

Paradoxically, piecemeal power-sharing arrangements, negotiated at different times with different rebel factions, often encourage further rebellion with the sole aim of obtaining more concessions from Khartoum (this also now happening in South Sudan). As troubling, negotiations that only partially address the political marginalization of the peripheries are increasing calls for self-determination. Government hardliners tend to believe that concessions on federalism and greater autonomy could lead to separatism, but they fail to recognize that their inflexibility is actually fueling demands for secession.

People from the peripheries complain bitterly of their political, economic and cultural "marginalization". There are profound differences in development and service delivery and the regions' natural resources mostly enrich elites in Khartoum, without them sharing power and redistributing resources.

Arguably the broadest agreement, the CPA was intended to establish a "democratic system of governance taking account of the cultural, ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic diversity" of Sudan, and to find a "comprehensive solution that addresses the economic and social deterioration of Sudan and replaces war not just with peace, but also with social, political and economic justice which respects the fundamental human and political human rights of all the Sudanese people". The failure of the NCP and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) to implement parts of the CPA, resulted in the country's division, the spread of war in what is often called the "new South", and, potentially, a war between Sudan and South Sudan.

The NCP stayed in power for so long because for more than fifteen years the regime, and its patronage system, was sustained by oil revenue from deposits in the South. Flush with money the government grew rapidly, creating lucrative positions the NCP could use to co-opt rebel and opposition leaders, and initiated many inefficient development projects. The economy became so dependent on oil revenue that it was hit very hard by South Sudan's secession and the cut-off in oil production in early 2012.

Now the regime is in crisis. The economy is in shambles, and the recent, but uncertain, oil deal with Juba does little to reduce the pain for ordinary Sudanese. Members of the ruling party are deeply unhappy with the leadership, its policies, massive corruption, endless conflict, and the division of the country. Feuding NCP factions are jockeying to succeed Bashir, were he to step down, or at the very least dominate decision making. At the same time, political opposition forces are growing more assertive, and the slowly expanding war with the SRF, which now periodically strikes into the center, is bleeding the military dry and draining an already depleted treasury.

Calls for reform are growing, even within the NCP, but Bashir is a wily survivor and has survived multiple crises since he seized power in 1989. Although he has publicly stated he will not run for re-election in 2015, many doubt he will cede power for fear he will end up at the International Criminal Court in The Hague, where is indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Instead, many hope a coup, or popular uprising could force Bashir and the NCP out, but there is a great risk this could trigger more conflict. The president frequently rotates military commanders, has deliberately

fragmented the security services, which are loyal to different NCP leaders, and there are numerous armed tribes outside of Khartoum that could seek to take advantage of turmoil in the capital and further fragment the country.

A Libya-like scenario is a distinct possibility, and the regime has played up this possibility with its constituents in the center. So far, it has successfully cast the SRF as a group only representing the peripheries and inherently hostile to the interest of the people of the Nile Valley. Conversely the SRF has done a poor job of reaching out to these people—in part because the SPLM-N was quickly banned as a political organization when the war restarted. The SRF did sign the “New Dawn Charter” with the official opposition in Kampala on 5 January 2013, which calls for an inclusive transition by coordinating violent and non-violent actions. The charter, however, was publicly repudiated by a number of opposition leaders, and it remains to be seen whether the armed and political opposition will find the means to coordinate effectively in the interest of peace rather than parochial gains.

#### The Role the US Can Play in Ending Chronic Conflict

The US government and its partners should learn the lessons of past failed settlement initiatives: Sudan needs a truly comprehensive peace agreement, not a partial settlement that serves the government’s divide and rule tactics and perpetuates the unacceptable status quo. (This is critical for a durable peace between Khartoum and Juba as well.) At the same time, it must be recognized the NCP needs to be part of any transition. As we have hopefully learned in Iraq, leaving the long-ruling party out in the cold would be costly. Its elites are too powerful to ignore, and the opposition is too divided and inexperienced to rule alone. A comprehensive solution and genuine political reform including national reconciliation acceptable to all, with the NCP on board, is the only way out of the trap of endless conflict.

The SPLM-N, united with the main Darfur rebel movements under the SRF, has more than ever a national agenda. But division remain between South Kordofan and Blue Nile, and within Blue Nile itself, over the national dimension of the conflict. Those differences are benefitting the government’s strategy to limit peace talks and subsequent agreements to local issues, in order to prevent reform in the centre. A separate deal on the two areas, or even Blue Nile, would also be easier for diplomats and international mediators, but a local deal is unlikely to address the root causes of the war in Blue Nile and South Kordofan, which are not different from those of the other regions’ conflicts.

Bashir and inner circle will have to reach their own conclusion that the present crisis requires more radical adjustments than those they used for survival previously. If they do, however, the international community should consider providing incentives. These should be carefully tied to Bashir and the NCP meeting specific, irreversible benchmarks, and verifiably continuing the transition process. Such cooperation might be unpalatable to many who hold Bashir responsible for atrocity crimes, but it would be necessary to prevent further conflict and continued humanitarian crises in Sudan as well as South Sudan. The president is crucial to a managed transition that incorporates both the NCP and opposition leaders – civil and armed – and that could put Sudan on a more inclusive, sustainable path. The alternative would be continuation of the status quo, with the NCP desperately clinging to power at whatever humanitarian cost, and the opposition pursuing a military strategy that risks more national fragmentation.

Crafting the right strategy and incentives will require bold leadership and careful coordination from the US government and its partners seeking to promote peace in Sudan. We urge you the administration therefore to appoint a strong Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan and provide him or her with all the necessary support to develop and implement an international strategy to promote peace in both countries. That should include:

1. Working with members of the UN Security Council, the AU Peace and Security Council and Council of the League of Arab States for a single, comprehensive solution to Sudan’s multiple conflicts that runs in parallel with the negotiations between Sudan and South Sudan but is not conditioned on them;
2. Urging the government to bring the NCP, the SRF, other opposition forces and civil society groups together in an arrangement to manage government for a limited period with well-defined parameters (based on agreed principles reiterated in previous multiple agreements over decades) that is intended to lead first and foremost to a comprehensive ceasefire and humanitarian access to conflict areas; and allow the political forces to flesh out a roadmap for a durable peace process, perhaps taking the 28 June 2011 framework agreement and the 24 April 2013 African Union High-Level Implementation Panel for Sudan (AUHIP) draft Declaration of Common Intent as a basis for discussion of a national transition that includes:
  - a. Debate and agreement on a system of governance that can end the conflicts between the “centre-Khartoum” and Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile, as well as the East and North; and
  - b. Drafting of a permanent constitution.
3. Offering President Omar al-Bashir, as well as NCP elites, incentives to create a transitional government and firmly and irreversibly place Sudan on a transitional path, including:
  - a. Assistance to stabilise the economy, such as normalisation of relations, lifting of sanctions, expediting Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) status and other debt relief measures, on condition that transition

- roadmap benchmarks are met and progress is made in negotiations with South Sudan on post-separation issues; and
- b. If concrete moves towards a credible transition process are undertaken, and should it emerge as a genuine obstacle to its peaceful conclusion, a Security Council request to the International Criminal Court (ICC) to defer prosecution of Bashir for one year under Article 16 of the Rome Statute. There would be no obligation to renew such deferrals if Bashir reneges on his transition commitments.
4. Support, through training and capacity building, the establishment and growth of national parties that can represent and articulate the demands of marginalised constituencies, including population in the peripheries.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you very much.

Ms. Henry.

#### STATEMENT OF JEHANNE HENRY

Ms. HENRY. Thank you. Thank you so much for allowing me to come and testify today, and to the committee for continuing to focus on Sudan. Like other people here, Human Rights Watch has been working on Sudan for a long time, more than 20 years, documenting abuses during the civil war in Darfur following the secession, and now in the last couple of years, and it is sad for us to have to come back here to testify against.

As people have said today already, the human rights situation has markedly deteriorated in the past two years with the new conflicts erupting in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile. And all of the displacement and deprivation that that has brought and the bombing, which are indiscriminate bombing, but also targeted ground attacks using militia, and the humanitarian situation for those people who are stuck, especially behind rebel lines, is particularly severe and appalling.

But today I wanted to focus my remarks on Darfur. Ten years since fighting broke out, since the major conflict broke out there between rebels and government forces. And basically to emphasize something that I think people have remarked today, you know, the rise in inter-ethnic conflict in Darfur.

It is true, though, a dominant political – the dominant political conflict in Darfur is fighting between government and rebel forces. There are numerous other ethnic/inter-ethnic conflicts with political dimensions that also feature in Darfur and have intensified this year.

So of the some 300,000 newly displaced, the figure that has been cited today, we think close to 200,000 have fled just from inter-ethnic fighting alone. And these conflicts are said to reflect weak or absent law enforcement, no rule of law. Sudan has lost control of the area, and Sudanese authorities have also said, you know, repeatedly, "We cannot control these tribal fights."

But this analysis overlooks the reality that the Sudanese government has a responsibility, no matter what the root causes are of inter-ethnic fighting, and there are many to be sure – land, gold, many – and these conflicts are – they are called localized conflicts – tend to be incredibly complex when you really look at them.

But the government has its responsibility to protect civilians to prosecute those responsible for the offenses, which it is not doing. The government also has not been a bystander, and this is what I

wanted to emphasize today. Massive attacks are being carried out against the civilian population by forces using government equipment and involving government security officials.

One of those officials is the known militia leader, Ali Kosheib, who is already wanted on an arrest warrant by the International Criminal Court for war crimes and crimes against humanity in west Darfur in '03-'04.

So just to emphasize, inter-ethnic fighting in Darfur should be understood as a consequence of Sudan support for certain groups to fight alongside the government. And it is a consequence of the government's utter failure to rein them in or disarm them, embark on any form of DDR or provide any kind of accountability, notwithstanding all of its claims that it is actually doing those things. And UNAMID, the peacekeeping mission, claims that it is also helping the government to do those things. No progress.

Let me just dive into one particular episode. I was in Chad, on the Chadian border, with central Darfur last month. More than 30,000 people had recently arrived in the area following a massive attack on a part of central Darfur on that border that is largely populated by the Salamat ethnicity. The Salamat are an Arab group.

They also have a presence in Chad. They sort of straddle the border. They live amongst other Arab groups in the area. This is not a conflict that involves the classic African versus Arab. No, these are Arab groups who live in this area and have had various histories with the government.

So based on this research – and I interviewed lots of people who had arrived in this refugee area – a picture emerged of very coordinate attacks that started on April 5 at a town called Bildebe and continued for several days, or maybe even weeks, as the attackers continued to loot and burn properties.

They destroyed entire villages, dozens of villages, and killed at least 100 Salamat civilians but probably others from other ethnicities as well, and injured at least as many. Almost everyone fled the area to Chad where we talked to them or to other parts of Darfur. The aid groups haven't been able to access the area. The area is incredibly remote. It sits on the corner – on the border of CAR, Darfur, and Chad. No one goes there.

So the U.N. mission also said that it was unable to access the area. It is not just remoteness; it is because the Sudanese government didn't allow them. They asked several times. But the remoteness doesn't help matters here.

The witnesses identified the attacking forces as Misseriya, Ta'isha, and Rizegat, other Arab groups, and they identified government CARs, and they identified CARs belonging to the central reserve police and the border intelligence. These are both auxiliary forces that the government has created to essentially absorb the former Janjaweed militia.

For years now, we have been hearing about the central reserve police and the border intelligence, and the government saying, "Well, we don't have militias because they are all part of the actual forces." Well, these forces were created to absorb the militias. So we had eye witnesses say that they had seen Ali Kosheib, this man who is wanted by the International Criminal Court, at the scene of the attack.

The area that was attacked is – it is pictured up there, and I will flip through in a second. But just to let you know, that particular town is the largest in that area. It is called Abu Jeradil. And on April 8 large numbers of heavily armed men, mostly wearing khaki according to witnesses, arrived in two waves, first early in the morning, then a few hours later on foot and in vehicles.

They shot in the market indiscriminately. They burned homes and shops, stole livestock, and looted. And if you know anything about what kind of violence occurred in Darfur during the height of the conflict, these are familiar sights. Right? Completely looted goods. The Salamat villagers said that they had fought back, but that they were completely overrun by the attacking forces who had very fancy weaponry that people say only the government could have supplied.

It was very hard for us to independently verify what types of weapons were used exactly, but we were able to show the extent of the damage, and that is why I wanted to picture this. So the red dots are burned down, completely destroyed buildings.

The image there is about 25 square kilometers, and so that is just one particular part of this much vaster area that was affected by this conflict, and that is the village that is the largest. And so we calculated about 3,000 huts have been burned down completely.

And I just wanted to show this is a snapshot, this is a zooming in on a smaller area of the same town. So this is inside the town. And this is a before and then after. And the same here. This is a snapshot of the town before and after.

So sort of the purple there is – those are burn – those are signatures for burn – evidence of burning. So it looks like the destruction was pretty much total. And the point that I wanted to make with that observation is that the amount of effort involved in doing that, and the types of weapons involved in doing that, strongly suggests that there was an intent to get rid of the people who were living in this area, and that the government would have known and should have known, and we believe did know. But instead of taking action to rein in enemy militias, Ali Kosheib is still at large.

So in terms of, you know, our calls, advocacy calls, you know, obviously, we did call on the Sudanese authorities to fully investigate. And I should say that in fact the authorities in central Darfur did come back and say, "Yes, we are doing an investigation." No news yet. We don't know what the result is. We hope that there are some people who are actually under investigation.

We think it would be easy to arrest Ali Kosheib. He is there. He is very well-known. He is actually a high-ranking commander.

We have also called on the U.N. to take action to improve its protection capacity. In terms of, you know, the advocacy arena, it looks bleak for all of the reasons that people have stated here. It is very hard to get over the halting and divisive nature of the international response without -- you know, without apparent consensus, basically, on the Security Council about the role of the Sudanese government in ending abuses.

But I think we would reiterate and emphasize some of the recommendations that have already been made. Sort of from a human rights point of view, we would like to see that the U.S. of course appoint immediately the next Envoy and engage in a very wide range of regional and international actors. So engaging with China would be a very key priority, also Qatar. Qatar is sponsoring the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur, which is a basically feckless process at this point, but, you know, that is the game that is going on right now, and so Qatar remains a very important advocacy target.

And then other sort of typical but important I think human rights recommendations, in addition to, you know, surrendering individuals like Kosheib, and also holding the process inside Darfur – you know, a justice process inside Sudan, you know, is something – the United States should be pressing for those things, as well as working with regional bodies like the African Union and the League of Arab States to ensure that any political process that does emerge here includes very specific human rights injustice measures.

So no symbolic "Let us release a few political prisoners." Let us actually have, you know, an accounting of how many people are still in detention and who was released, because I think the Sudanese government has shown repeatedly that these symbolic gestures are part of its interplay, and we should be being a little more specific and demanding on what those things are. And disarming the militia and DDR-type activities of course are a part of it.

So I will stop there, and thank you so much.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Henry follows:]

**Testimony of Jehanne Henry  
Senior Researcher, Africa Division, Human Rights Watch  
Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission  
"Human Rights in Sudan"  
Hearing on June 19, 2013**

Mr. Chairman, thank you for allowing me to testify today and to the committee for continuing to focus on the situation in Sudan. Human Rights Watch has worked on Sudan for more than 20 years, documenting abuses during the country's long civil war, during the Darfur crisis, and following the secession of South Sudan.

The human rights situation in Sudan has deteriorated markedly over the past two years since South Sudan's independence, with new conflicts erupting in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states in 2011 resulting in massive displacement, widespread deprivation, and indiscriminate attacks causing numerous civilian deaths.

Political tensions between Sudan and South Sudan and cross-allegations of supporting or harboring each other's rebels have further fuelled these conflicts. They also underscore the interlinked nature of Sudan's internal and external challenges. In recent weeks, fighting between government and rebel forces has spread to Northern Kordofan, leading to abuses against civilians and massive displacement; relations between Sudan and South Sudan quickly soured, with oil exports and economic gain again hanging in the balance.

The Sudanese government remains highly repressive, with a draconian national security apparatus that targets real or perceived political opponents – including students – for arbitrary arrest and detention, ill-treatment and torture. Authorities routinely restrict and censor media and have blacklisted journalists for writing about sensitive topics. They have also shut down nongovernmental organizations that promote democracy, ostensibly for receiving foreign funding, and have closed a number of ethnic Nuba groups and religious groups.

In the conflict zones of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, Sudan continues to bomb indiscriminately in civilian areas and use ground forces to attack villages and burn and loot homes and other civilian property. The bombing and fighting has killed and maimed people including young children at village markets, water points, schools, and clinics. It has driven hundreds of thousands of people to refugee camps in South Sudan and Ethiopia, and to other locations in Sudan. The government blocked international agencies from providing humanitarian aid to rebel areas, causing massive deprivation and



suffering.

Today, I would like to focus my remarks on the situation in Darfur, 10 years after major fighting erupted between rebels and government forces triggering Sudan's horrifically abusive anti-insurgency war that ultimately took an estimated 300,000 lives and forced an estimated two million people to flee their homes.

*Inter-ethnic conflict: a government responsibility*

Although the dominant political conflict in Darfur is fighting between government and rebel forces, numerous other inter-ethnic conflicts with political dimensions also feature in Darfur and have intensified this year with attacks at a gold mine in North Darfur and fighting in several locations in Central and South Darfur between various groups. Of the 300,000 newly displaced this year, nearly 200,000 fled inter-ethnic fighting.

These conflicts are said to reflect weak or absent law enforcement, and Sudanese authorities have repeatedly said they do not control these "tribal" fights. But this analysis overlooks the Sudanese government's responsibility. No matter what the root causes of inter-ethnic fighting – and there are many – the Sudanese government has a responsibility to protect its civilians and to prosecute those responsible for committing criminal offenses.

Moreover, the government has not been a bystander in these conflicts. Massive attacks are being carried out against civilian populations by forces using government equipment and involving government security officials – of which senior government officials should be aware. They include known militia leader Ali Kosheib, who is wanted on an arrest warrant by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for war crimes and crimes against humanity in West Darfur in 2003-4. Not only has the Sudanese government failed to prosecute him locally or surrender him to the ICC, it has also apparently promoted him to a commander position in the abusive Central Reserve Police.

Inter-ethnic fighting in Darfur today should be understood as a consequence of Sudan's support for certain ethnic groups to fight alongside the government, the so-called "*Janjaweed*" militia, and of failing to rein them in, disarm them, or provide any accountability for past serious crimes.

*Kosheib Involved in Attack on Abu Jeradil*

Let me describe just one example of the inter-ethnic fighting in which the government is clearly involved. Last month, I went to the Chadian border with Sudan, where I had the opportunity to interview dozens of witnesses to recent fighting in Central Darfur. More than 30,000 people had recently arrived in the area following massive attacks in April on mainly ethnic Salamat-populated areas near the border.

I interviewed members of several ethnicities in addition to Salamat families, and talked to community members including women, traditional leaders and political figures, as well as Chadian forces that routinely patrol the border area. I also interviewed men who had been rounded up and detained by the attackers, and could report details about their identities.

Based on the research, a picture emerged of a coordinated attack starting on April 5 at a town called Biltebe, and continuing for several days or weeks as the attackers continued to loot and burn properties. The attacks destroyed entire villages and killed more than 100 Salamat civilians and injured at least as many. Most of the residents fled the area either to Chad or elsewhere in Darfur, and have not returned. Aid groups have not been able to access the area.

Witnesses identified the attacking forces as ethnic Misseriya, Ta'isha, and Rizegat Arabs. Many wore khaki uniforms, or parts of uniforms, and rode in government cars belonging to the Central Reserve Police or the Border Intelligence, both of which are auxiliary forces that absorbed former Janjaweed militia. The known militia leader Ali Kosheib, wanted by the International Criminal Court, was seen in one of these vehicles at the scene of the attack on the town of Abu Jeradil.

Abu Jeradil is 30 kilometers south of the town of Um Dukhun, and was the scene of the largest attack on April 8, when large numbers of heavily armed men, most wearing khaki uniforms, arrived in two phases, first on foot and then in vehicles. They shot indiscriminately, burned homes and shops, stole livestock, and looted goods. Salamat men said they fought back using rifles but were far outnumbered and outgunned by attackers armed with various types of rockets, anti-aircraft weapons, rocket propelled grenades, and other weapons that witnesses and observers believe could only have come from the government.

Human Rights Watch could not independently verify these weapons were used, but through satellite imagery analysis we were able to confirm the extent of the damage from that attack: nearly 3,000 huts or structures were destroyed, most likely by fire, over a 25 square kilometer area. Such large-scale destruction requires a large attacking force working for several days and would suggest a deliberate intent by the attackers to drive out the population of the area.

Sudan's regular armed forces did not intervene to protect the population. While a few dozen Sudanese soldiers at Abu Jeradil remained in their barracks and provided protection to some civilians, many police and other security forces fled with the rest of the civilians. Evidence suggests Sudanese authorities prevented the African Union-United Nations peacekeeping force, UNAMID, from taking action to protect civilians.

Whether there was an intent by Sudanese government officials to push the Salamat off their land is an open

question. One of the root causes of the fighting is a longstanding land dispute between the Salamat and the Ta'isha, whose members include Ali Kosheib and the current minister of finance. Many observers speculated that the government allowed these coordinated attacks to appease former militia leaders.

Human Rights Watch has called on the Sudanese authorities to fully investigate the attacks and hold those responsible to account. The UN should also investigate the attacks. We have also urged the UN Security Council, which will consider UNAMID's mandate next month, to condemn the attacks and remind Sudan of its responsibility to protect, and impose additional international sanctions on individuals found responsible.

#### *Recommendations to the United States*

The international responses to Darfur remain halting and divisive, without apparent consensus on the Sudanese government's role in ending abuses and improving accountability. Various members of the African Union and UN Security Council routinely block language that condemns new attacks against civilians or threatens sanctions, while Sudan's supporters such as Qatar have funded development projects without clear benchmarks for how their support can improve rights protections.

In this difficult environment, the United States should:

- Promptly appoint a special envoy and re-engage a wide range of regional and international actors.
- Recognize that Sudan's human rights abuses are interlinked and seek simultaneous pressure to end to abuses in Darfur, Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile, and broader political repression in Sudan.
- Work with regional bodies, particularly the African Union, to ensure that any political process contains specific human rights and justice measures, and that these go beyond the symbolic formation of an investigation committee and insist on dismantling and disarming militia and holding perpetrators of abuses accountable.
- Press for the government of Sudan to surrender individuals such as Ali Kosheib who are wanted by the International Criminal Court.
- Engage with China to further its own interest in a stable Sudan by pressing for an end to international humanitarian and human rights law violations in Darfur, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile.
- Press the UN Security Council to call on the AU-UN peacekeeping mission to bolster human rights monitoring and reporting at the next mandate renewal, and to state clearly that individuals responsible for serious human rights abuses will be subjected to targeted sanctions.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, let me thank you, and let me thank all of you. Unfortunately – well, fortunately for you, you will not get any questions from me, because I have to handle the rule on the farm bill at noon. I am going to turn this over to Frank and my other colleagues.

But let me just kind of just say, you know, I was half joking, really not joking, when I said maybe you should be the Special Envoy, or if you don't want it maybe, Ken, you could be the Special Envoy. If you don't want it, maybe E.J. or Jehanne, we can go right down the line.

I really do think it is time for some fresh thinking, and you have all outlined a number of things that we are not doing that I think we probably – we need to look at. But I think at this point we don't need someone who is going to go in and kind of adhere to the status quo and be quiet and just be a figurehead, you know, we don't need a yes man or a yes woman.

We need somebody who is going to take – put some fresh eyes on this and maybe think out of the box, because, you know, we have been doing – you have been here before. You know, we have been sitting here before, and, you know, it is kind of the same old same old. And we could all say how horrified we are by the human rights violations, how horrified we are by the deaths and the killings. You know, and maybe that makes us feel better. It is good therapy. But at the end of the day, it is not changing anything, and so we need to step it up.

I hope, you know, that whoever the Special Enjoy is it is somebody who will step it up, you know, so – but thank you very much, and I will yield to my friend who has been incredibly passionate on this, Mr. Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you, Mr. McGovern. And I completely agree with Jim, everything he said. Fresh eyes, fresh eyes on the target – I have a question I am going to ask you, but my own sense is that personnel is policy. If you get the right person, the policy follows. You get the wrong person, and it really isn't going to make any difference.

I think we are going to know whether or not the Obama administration is successful or a failure will be on who they -- is there anyone here from the administration? Did anyone stay to listen? If you are with the administration, raise your hand. I mean, that is kind of – I mean, they didn't even stay. I mean, you would have thought they would have stayed to find some fresh – I mean, Prendergast, how many times have you been to Sudan?

Mr. PRENDERGAST. I lived and worked there in the '80s and have –

Mr. WOLF. How many times, roughly?

Mr. PRENDERGAST. Probably a hundred.

Mr. WOLF. A hundred. And Mr. Isaacs?

Mr. ISAACS. Two hundred, 300, a long time.

Mr. WOLF. And Mr. Hogendoorn?

Mr. HOGENDOORN. Dozens.

Mr. WOLF. Dozens? And –

Ms. HENRY. I also used to live there. Dozens.

Mr. WOLF. And so I think they should have stayed. And I know – let me just say, I know it is painful at times because I have had the same – I was very critical of President Bush when he went to the Beijing Olympics. I was very critical and I will try to find the letter when the Bush administration – remember, they invited Salim Ghosh to come, and he came in a CIA plane.

I criticized the administration. People say, "Wolf, you know, it is your" – and so I know it is kind of hard. You don't want to – but the reality is, this is going to be the – you would have thought they would have stayed, that there would have been that one little glimpse, that one little idea that would have said, "That makes sense." So I think personnel is policy.

You know, I wrote down, and I think my two colleagues here, you indicate – I mean, when I send a letter down there, I think I might hurt the guy. I mean, I actually thought Feingold would be good. I was going to put John's name down, but I thought, you do that – I don't think they were going to

hold it against me to recommend Feingold, because Feingold served with Secretary Kerry and President Bush. And so but I thought I would put Prendergast down; that would be a black mark against him.

But you all have greater – no, seriously, there are thousands – millions dying by the – 2.1 million died in North/South. Is that roughly? And how many do you think died in Darfur?

Mr. PRENDERGAST. I think you are right, 3- to 500,000. I mean, we don't really know.

Mr. WOLF. So we are talking about two and a half million people. This is – so I will just write – if personnel's policy – and John is right, I wrote John is – John is right. Somebody break the mold. I said McGovern is right. You could put Dick Lugar. This is not a full-time job.

When Danforth left, he was practicing law in Sudan. He had a good staff. He went out there a lot but not all the time because you don't have to be there every day, so you could have Dick Lugar, and you could have John Prendergast as your Washington guy, the guy who, you know, will go out more often, younger obviously, better – you know, I think Senator Lugar is probably late '70s, but he is smart and he is sharp. He understands.

I think President Obama would respect him when he said he would take his calls, Secretary Kerry would take his calls. General Petraeus – you know, General Petraeus, one of the most talented people, ask General Petraeus to be the Special Envoy. He understands that region, he understands – former Governor Huntsman, former – current Governor Sam Brownback. Sam was out there when I went to Darfur. He cares deeply.

So it wouldn't take a full-time – you could put your team together a working group, the four of you, John could be the guy here in town, and I would hope both of you would call the President and ask him, because your credibility is going to be greater to listen to what they said, everyone said, but to put somebody like that in.

And the test for the President will be on who he appoints. That is going to tell you the whole story. You won't have to follow – if it is just a person working up through the administration, career, you know, can barely get in to see the Secretary, it is not going to happen.

That is the way Danforth – I was at the appointment at Danforth. Danforth stood in the Rose Garden between President Bush and Secretary Powell, and they both literally put their hand on him. I mean, everyone knew that he was their guy. And so until it happens, it will not happen.

I mean, you know, and I think, you know, Susan Rice is very good on this issue. I mean, she was very good. I mean, somebody – you guys ought to call Susan Rice and ask her. But this is going to be the real test of this administration. And, quite frankly, all of the students out there who were having hope for President Obama, this is going to be a test. If you have that bumper sticker, "Obama 2012," and then you have the other one "Stop the Genocide in Darfur," this is the test, because we can't go on. There are going to be a whole generation of people that will never manage to survive after the next two, three, or four years.

This is really – so, you know, I have a number of questions. I was going to ask you who would you think would be good, but I don't think I should do that because, you know, you might accidentally hurt the person or say something. But I think you ought to be in touch with people that you know to give your ideas of who you think it ought to be, so that they are able to – and offer to have you all, four people like you, to be sort of a team that sort of meets on a weekly basis or only a monthly basis to sort of strategize.

But I think what John said – the other thing is, I thought it was wrong to invite Ghosh here. And I may be wrong, so my position could be wrong. Do you think it is a good idea to have – and hopefully it will never take place now – do you think it is a good idea to have Nafie Ali Nafie to come to Washington? I am not saying never talk to him, not in Ethiopia, not in Addis Ababa, not in Juba. I am not talking about that. Not in Nairobi, but in Washington. Do you think he should be invited to Washington?

Mr. PRENDERGAST. I would strongly oppose that we put out press statements like – we got a lot of the advocacy groups to say it, and I think it – hopefully, and you guys were very strong and strident in your opposition, I think that has helped shift the decision.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Isaacs, do you think he should be invited here to Washington?

Mr. ISAACS. Absolutely not. It is reprehensible. He has a lot of murder and blood on his hands, and I can't even believe that he would be brought here. I can't even believe it would be considered.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Hogendoorn, do you think he should be invited here?

Mr. HOGENDOORN. I think we should talk to whomever we need to get a peace deal in Sudan. And I would just like to point out that Nafie Ali Nafie signed the last almost agreement that would have prevented the war in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan.

Mr. WOLF. So you would invite him to Washington.

Mr. HOGENDOORN. I think, you know, we talk to lots of bad people. We have talked to lots of bad people in the past.

Mr. WOLF. No, I said we didn't – talking to him is not the issue. We can talk to him in Addis Ababa. We can talk to him in Juba. We can talk to him in Switzerland. We can talk to him in Nairobi. That is where if you are – the North/South, most of the conversation. I am talking about, do you think it is a good idea to invite him here to Washington? I am not talking about talking. I don't have any problem talking. But would you invite him to Washington? Yes or no. It is okay if you think it is okay. I just want you – so you are a yes.

Mr. HOGENDOORN. Yes.

Mr. WOLF. I will put you down as a yes.

Mr. HOGENDOORN. Like I said, I think we need to make some – I think this is an extremely complicated problem.

Mr. WOLF. That is fine. Good. I agree.

Mr. HOGENDOORN. There are some decisions to make.

Mr. WOLF. I appreciate – do you think we should invite him to Washington?

Ms. HENRY. I have to say that my organization's mandate would not weigh in on that question.

Mr. WOLF. Okay.

Ms. HENRY. But I think it does send a negative message.

Mr. WOLF. I think with that, I will just kind of end. I would hope – we are all watching, and I am disappointed that the administration didn't keep somebody here to listen. And, again, to my colleagues, Steny Hoyer, Chris Smith, and a group of us spoke out very strongly when Milosevic, who was – and Karadzic were involved in a genocide in the former Yugoslavia, in Vukovar and Srebrenica.

And the very thought that people would have allowed Milosevic or Karadzic to travel to other – I mean, it would have never happened. And I think it pretty much – the West is saying we do not value the life of somebody in Sudan the same way that we value someone in Europe. If all of this were taking place in villages in southern Italy or southern Germany, the world would be up.

And here it is just so – I just think with that I will just kind of end, and thank all of you for your work and effort, and, you know, the time and the effort. And I think you would be a great team, and hopefully we will see that the President will appoint someone like a Dick Lugar or a General Petraeus, and then work with the four of you and like-minded people like that to sort of be the team, the advising team.

I think it is good that you said yes, because that is not necessarily bad. You want people that are going to speak the truth, really say what they really think, be willing to take an idea that at first you are a little bit afraid of, but to do everything you possibly can to bring peace, so in two or three years, you know, there is peace.

And the last thing I wrote out here, I said both Khartoum and Juba could prosper. With the oil and the minerals there, the people of Khartoum, Sudan, could prosper, and the people of Southern Sudan could prosper, and they could have really an amazing two countries living in peace if we can just resolve this issue.

So with that, I would just thank you for your testimony and yield to the gentlelady from Maryland.

Ms. EDWARDS. Thank you. And I think there are a number of areas, Mr. Wolf, in particular -- especially when it comes to Sudan -- where we have been on the same page, and trying to communicate the same message to this administration as we did to the Bush administration.

I want to thank the witnesses today because you outlined some very, very precise things that the United States could do. And I hope you won't mind if we take your testimony and plagiarize those, outlining some of those same things to the administration under our own letterhead. And I do think it is worth it if people have ideas about the appointment of an Envoy that we could figure out a way that we would share that with the administration.

And I agree with Mr. Wolf, I think it matters very much the "who," because that will say as much as anything about our commitment in the process. And so that is just a word to the administration.

Each of you in your testimony outlining sort of more precise things that we could do, one of the things that strikes me is that I don't really see -- you know, I was sitting here with Mr. Tierney and asking myself, and, you know, I am, you know, not the brightest bulb, but what is the difference between Assad and Al Bashir? And what, then, explains one response one place and another response another place? I don't understand those things. And so I am hoping that I can try to understand them.

And I feel like we keep visiting over and over again, you know, the escalating human crisis, and I suppose we could wait another six months and then we would add another 100,000 or so people to the list who have been, you know, impacted, killed, displaced. But we have been doing that just over and over, over and over again.

And so it makes me wonder -- and I think, Ms. Henry, in your testimony it seems like the Sudanese leaders kind of agree to one thing as a way to get to the next hurdle, but they never really fulfill those agreements. And, in fact, it is just precisely to get to the next place, so then there is, you know, another mini-negotiation, and then they get to the next place, but the killing and the killing and the displacement and the bombing and the destruction just goes on.

And so it is not really clear to me what agreement we could actually reach with them, and I, you know, share the concerns about, you know, talking to as many people as possible to come to a resolution, but it makes me wonder how much we would ever really be able to count on a resolution from Khartoum. Those are just my own thoughts.

As to Ali Nafie, I have to tell you, I mean, we have negotiations and discussions, for example, that are going on with the Taliban, but they don't get to visit Washington. And so there is a difference in the message that that conveys, both to those who struggle for their independence and freedom and safety as well as to the rest of the world.

And there are a lot of bad guys around the world, and we have to figure out ways that we deal with those bad guys in an effort to move toward peace. But one of the things I think you don't do is to give them the kind of legitimacy. Even though we do want to have those conversations, you don't give them that kind of legitimacy, and those are just my thoughts as one member of Congress.

I don't really have any other questions. I think that you outlined in your testimony with some precision where it is that – a direction that we could go that would be a direction forward, and we are going to take that to mind.

Mr. Isaacs, even though this is the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, there are a couple of things that you outlined that might not fall in the purview of this Commission, but very interesting I would say.

So, and with that, I will conclude, and I guess yield to Mr. Tierney.

Mr. TIERNEY. Thank you. Well, thank all of you for your testimony on that. Mr. Prendergast, you and I go back to a subcommittee hearing on national security and foreign affairs that we had, what, years ago on this, and here we are again. That was Darfur. And I congratulate you on staying with us. I do, all of you. You have been very persistent on this.

I don't have a lot of questions, and I would basically adopt of the things that were said by Mr. Wolf, who has done a great job on this. Frank, I want to thank you, and Jimmy McGovern, obviously, as well as Donna Edwards on this.

But just so – I missed the very early part of it. I started when John was testifying on that. So everybody should know, what other country is giving Bashir the backbone to stand up and be as cruel as he is doing? Who is not on board with doing something about him? Is it China still, essentially?

Mr. PRENDERGAST. Everyone can respond, but China has had longstanding commercial deals with these guys, so of course they can – just like we would for Saudi Arabia, they are going to be supportive of their commercial ally.

So the Russians have sold a great deal of arms and they are invested a bit in the oil services sector, and European Union has largely been supportive of negotiations but not terribly supportive of the agenda to try to escalate pressure on this regime for the kind of things that they have done. And the Arab League has been, of course, not very helpful in terms of trying to move the regime or pressure the regime to make compromises.

So my view would be that we often find ourselves alone or with only a few other countries when we are talking about – when we are standing on principle.

Mr. TIERNEY. So there is no international organization that is going to join the fray on a principled issue like this talking about what is happening in atrocities.

Mr. PRENDERGAST. One quick thing, they will support the negotiations process, but –

Mr. TIERNEY. So the endless jibber-jabbering back and forth is –

Mr. PRENDERGAST. And it has been a very confused one, because, as you even saw from the – before you came, the administration's witness said we support a comprehensive peace process in Sudan. This is the wording, you know, this idea that it has all got to be together. But they also support



the individual peace process for Darfur, individual peace process for the Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile, and one for eastern Sudan. It just divides the place.

So, you know, this is the confusion, like it is very troubling that our State Department, entrusted with our diplomatic effort, seems to not have a basic cohesion about the very part of the policy that they are supposed to be leading on.

And so it has been just -- of course it has resulted in the kind of failure that --

Mr. TIERNEY. Which obviously begs for an Envoy who has got some insight and some ability in --

Mr. PRENDERGAST. And stature.

Mr. TIERNEY. -- stature on that.

Mr. PRENDERGAST. Stature, so they can take a stand on some of these things.

Mr. TIERNEY. I don't want to belabor the point. It is obvious that the international community has taken a pass. You know, they are all involved in a lot of other places, and they are not doing what begs to be done here on that.

So, Frank, you are right. We need to talk with the administration and try and weigh in on that for whatever value it is going to have, just as we did the last time.

I thank all of you. You have brought this matter to the forefront yet again. And I think Frank also may be right, the young people of this country don't generally like to see something like this continue on, or whatever. And I know we did a lot of work bringing their voice into the mixture last time.

I can remember the children out there with -- putting their pennies towards trying to make sure the people in Darfur had food and some sustenance, something like that. And maybe we just can't stop doing that type of thing and it just has to be persistent.

So thank you, all. I appreciate it.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you. We are going to end. I just want to ask you a last question. What is your own opinion, since you are not recommending, of -- I think, John, you covered it when you used the word "stature," of a Lugar or a Petraeus?

Mr. PRENDERGAST. I think Senator Lugar would be fantastic. I mean, I think having that stature. But let me just say, tied to enhancement of policy, because if you send the greatest diplomat in human history, without a change in the policy, an upgrade, an understanding that we have to get more deeply engaged with civil society opposition in the rebel movements, and figure out how we can help them become a more credible interlocutor, so potentially a peace process can come to fruition if we ever have it, or we can hasten the day where democracy comes to Sudan.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Isaacs?

Mr. ISAACS. I am not prepared to say who I might think a good Envoy would be, but I would like to read a quote to you. "Every government has a responsibility to protect its citizens, and any government that brutalizes and massacres its people does not deserve to govern." Barack Obama, February 2012.

And when I heard that I thought, wow, if the President of the United States would just say that about Sudan, who has killed I believe more than three million people, and it goes on. But I agree with what John says; I always defer to John.

Mr. WOLF. Any thought about Senator Lugar or General Petraeus?

Mr. HOGENDOORN. Well, we don't have a dog in this fight so to speak, but, I mean, I certainly think it should be a very senior figure. But I should also say it is a full-time position.

I respect Mr. Danforth and what he was able to achieve, but the world is very, very different from what it was in early 2000. I think that the diplomatic challenges are much more severe. The United States doesn't lead on Sudan policy anymore. It needs to work with a lot of different partners it is herding cats.

It is a full-time job that is going to require the entire administration pushing in the same direction on the same priorities. And, unfortunately, that hasn't happened in the past.

Mr. WOLF. I don't agree that it is a full-time job. I think you need a full-time staff for people like John and the group of others, but – and America could lead, and I think what Danforth did, because he had the credibility, that gave him the ability to do more than a full-time person who didn't have that credibility.

And, lastly, I think it was more difficult to end the North/South war than we are now. The oil wasn't involved. There were a lot of other activities. So my sense is a Danforth or a Petraeus, working with a team, could do it. But, you know, we disagree, so go ahead. What would your reaction be? I know you are not position taken, but a Petraeus or a Senator –

Ms. HENRY. Right. No, I don't have names, and I would basically echo what my colleague here just said about the need for it to be a very high-profile person. And also, the herding cats quality of the work. I mean, I think it is really obvious that there are so many actors across different regions who are really important.

We have allies – I mean, friendly countries that are actually having very unfriendly policies towards Sudan as well, in the European Union, for example, and there is a whole lot of work to be done. So that is where I –

Ms. EDWARDS. You know, Mr. Wolf, I would just say – and this is for all of us to take away – I think John's point that whether the person who is the Envoy is a high profile or a low profile, if it is not

tied to policy and to changing policy, it is doomed to failure. And that is where we are right now, and so I would hope we would take that as a marker going forward. And I thank all the witnesses.

Mr. WOLF. I agree. What Senator Danforth did, he helped to develop the policy, and he had the credibility. When Danforth would call President Bush, President Bush took the call. When Senator Danforth would call Secretary Powell – also, when Danforth went out in the region, the people out in the region knew, so he really kind of developed the policy working with Secretary Powell.

But I think you are right, if you have the right person but the wrong policy – but I think bringing the right person in can help fashion a policy.

Anyway, I thank you very much. The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:12 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]



## **War Crimes in Sudan's Blue Nile State**

### **Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission Hearing on**

#### **"Human Rights in Sudan"**

#### **Written Testimony Submitted by Amnesty International USA**

**Hearing Date: June 19, 2013**

Chairman McGovern, Chairman Wolf, and members of the Commission:

On behalf of Amnesty International and the 3 million members and supporters that our international movement represents, we would like to express deep appreciation and thanks for inviting Amnesty International to submit written testimony for this hearing, held July 19, 2013, on the human rights situation in Sudan.

We would like to commend the Co-Chairs of the Commission, Congressman McGovern and Congressman Wolf, for their ongoing leadership ensuring that human rights are a priority in the US Congress, and in particular, for your continued dedication to addressing the human rights and humanitarian crises in Sudan, with specific respect to the regions of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states, as well as other regions impacted by the policies of the government of Sudan.

#### The human rights crises in Sudan

The armed conflict between the Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army-North (SPLA-N) in Sudan's Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states has continued unabated since 2011 and to the detriment of the civilian population who bear the brunt of the attacks. Indiscriminate attacks by both parties, most notably the indiscriminate aerial bombings by the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF), coupled with the ongoing denial of humanitarian aid and access to the regions, have led to death, injury and the wide scale destruction of homes and livelihoods of civilians who are now internally-displaced or have fled to seek refuge in South Sudan and Ethiopia.

The government of Sudan is legally obliged to respect, protect and fulfill the right to life of people within its territory, a right that is non-derogable under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and is also provided for in Article 4 of the African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. Sudan is a state party to both these treaties. Further, a fundamental rule of international humanitarian law (IHL) is the principle of distinction, which requires parties to an armed conflict to at all times distinguish between civilians and combatants. A related rule requires parties to distinguish between civilian objects and military objectives. Intentionally directing attacks against civilians not taking direct part in hostilities, or against civilian objects, is a war crime.

Amnesty International has previously documented the humanitarian challenges and grave human rights abuses that civilians in Southern Kordofan face, most recently in the April 2013 report, "*Sudan: Civilians caught in unending crisis in Southern Kordofan.*" We respectfully request that this report be submitted to today's hearing record in addition to this testimony.

The written testimony submitted to the Commission today will focus on Amnesty International's most recent reporting and documentation of war crimes committed in Blue Nile state.

#### War crimes in Blue Nile state

Amnesty International's '*We had no time to bury them*'---*War crimes in Sudan's Blue Nile State* report details an unmistakable pattern of systematic, deadly and deliberate attacks against civilian populations in Blue Nile state, a region that has been locked in crisis and conflict since September 2011.

Since 2011, over 150,000 people from Blue Nile state alone have fled across the border and now languish in refugee camps in Ethiopia and South Sudan. Tens of thousands of people remain internally displaced within Sudan itself.

While the Sudanese government claims it is fighting an armed rebellion by the SPLA-N, satellite imagery analysis and eyewitness testimony tells a side of the story in which civilians are overwhelmingly being made to pay the price of

conflict. Imagery collected between 2011 and 2013 corroborates the testimony of survivors of the Sudanese Armed Forces' deliberate targeting of civilians. In the first half of 2012, the Sudanese government executed a scorched earth campaign coupled with denial of humanitarian access and aid, in what appears to be a concerted attempt to clear the civilian population out of SPLA-N-held areas, and to punish the residents of the areas for their perceived support of the SPLA-N.

The widespread and systematic nature of these attacks is captured in satellite analysis commissioned by Amnesty International in May of 2013. The imagery captures a clear pattern of systematic and deliberate destruction, corroborating eyewitness testimony from civilians who saw their village bombed, shelled, and then burned. Amnesty's research heard the same story time and time again – SAF targeted village after village in Blue Nile state, first bombing from above, indiscriminately shelling houses and other infrastructure, and finally, moving in to loot, burn and kill whoever is left. Men, women and children are literally forced to run for the hills, those who can't make it – the young and the old, disproportionately – are burned alive in their homes or shot dead.

As in every other conflict in Sudan, indiscriminate aerial bombings continue to be the Sudanese government's signature tactic in Blue Nile state, to devastating effect. The use of low-flying Antonov planes carrying unguided bombs that cannot be precisely targeted has killed countless civilians and stoked constant fear in the population. The indiscriminate use of these tactics has been well documented before and has been found to constitute a violation of international humanitarian law – these actions constitute war crimes which, given their widespread and systematic natures, may also amount to crimes against humanity.

Much of what is now happening in Blue Nile state and Southern Kordofan follows a pattern that is familiar from Darfur, and indeed, from Sudan's decades-long war in southern Sudan, now South Sudan. Although Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir and several other high ranking government officials have been indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for grave human rights crimes allegedly committed in Darfur, the pursuit of justice has lagged. Neither the UN Security Council nor influential states have shown any leadership to press Sudan to cooperate with the ICC's investigation – President Bashir continues to travel to an array of African, Asian and Middle Eastern countries without hindrance or shame. With no accountability for past crimes, there is little deterrence for those of the present.

#### The civilian toll

Not surprisingly, despite the Sudanese government's claims that it is fighting an armed rebellion by the SPLA-N, it is the civilians of Blue Nile that bear the brunt of violence. Nearly every single refugee and displaced person interviewed by Amnesty International cited bombing as the primary, and often most important, factor motivating their decision to abandon their homes and livelihoods to seek refuge elsewhere.

Many civilians in SPLA-N-held areas of Blue Nile state abandoned their villages early on in the conflict, and have spent many months living in makeshift shelters in the bush and mountains, or forced to make the perilous journey to refugee camps in either South Sudan or Ethiopia.

The journey from the Ingersana Hills to South Sudan often takes two weeks or more – and many families are forced to choose between carrying their children or their elderly to safety, with both groups being disproportionately affected by hunger, disease, exhaustion and death on the journey.

For those who remain in SPLA-N-held areas, the humanitarian situation is dire. The fear and pattern of bombings disrupts normal agriculture and cultivation patterns. And with the Sudanese government allowing limited to no access to UN and humanitarian aid agencies, the biggest problems facing the displaced are starvation and hunger. Many of the refugees interviewed by Amnesty said that they ate once a day or less – there are more people dying of hunger than from direct violence and attacks.

#### Child soldiers

Those who survive the journey to refugee camps in South Sudan face additional challenges upon arriving in the camps.

The creeping militarization of the refugee camps in South Sudan is of grave concern. The SPLA-N's activities in the camps divert scant resources, infringe upon refugees' right to be free from forced recruitment, undermine the civilian nature and credibility of the humanitarian efforts, and put refugees at even greater risk of attack and retribution.

UN and NGO workers told Amnesty International of SPLA-N recruitment in the camps and although it is hard to determine how much is forced and how much is voluntary, some believe that refugee families with male members of military age are forced or pressured to give up one son. Often, the sheikhs and the *omdas* (tribal leaders) in the camps are said to coordinate recruitment on behalf of the SPLA-N. Further, Sudanese NGO staff were also forcibly recruited until an "exemption" was reportedly carved out in late 2012.

While Amnesty is unable to confirm or deny the use and recruitment of child soldiers by SPLA-N in refugee camps, the SPLA-N military presence in the camps in substantial and the recruitment of young men from the camps, forced or voluntary, is ongoing.

The UN and humanitarian agencies appear to be struggling to counter the SPLA-N's aggressive tactics. Despite ongoing efforts, some NGO staff told Amnesty that they feel these efforts are ineffective, and many simply "hope for the best."

#### Satellite Imagery (see Appendix)

In May 2013, Amnesty commissioned DigitalGlobe's Analytic Center (DGAC) to look at six villages in the Ingessana Hills in Blue Nile state for indications of deliberate attacks on civilians, including but not limited to deliberate destruction of housing, food production, and local infrastructure.

What the imagery shows is shocking, but sadly, not surprising. Imagery of the six villages – Bau, Jegu, Taga, Fadamiya, Qabanit, and Marol – demonstrates a clear pattern of deliberate destruction across the Ingessana Hills, and provides compelling corroboration of refugee accounts of attacks on their homes and villages. Houses and civilian infrastructure were destroyed by fire, according to a pattern that suggests the systematic, intentional burning of infrastructure rather than accidental fire or wildfires. The widespread nature of attacks further suggests that these tactics have been designed to clear the Ingessana Hills of their population. Such deliberate attacks on civilians are war crimes – and because they are also widespread as well as systematic, may also amount to crimes against humanity.

In all of the bombing incidents that Amnesty International investigated, witnesses and victims stated that there were no SPLA-N troops or other military targets in the vicinity at the time of attack. Although Amnesty cannot confirm every case, the uniformity of the civilian accounts and the unqualified belief that they themselves were the targets of attacks is striking. Notably, of the six villages imaged, Fadamiya is the only village in which SPLA-N positions can be seen in the vicinity prior to attacks.

In all six villages that Amnesty International examined, all of the former inhabitants abandoned their villages after the attacks, and in many cases, SAF and/or PDF defensive positions were later established across the area.

#### Key Recommendations to the US Government:

1. Demand an immediate end to indiscriminate aerial bombings and other violations of international humanitarian law in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan states.
2. Urgently press the government of Sudan, and work to encourage the African Union, to reinvigorate the push for humanitarian access and cessation of offensives disproportionately affecting civilians.
3. Lead efforts at the UN Security Council to extend the current arms embargo (on Darfur) over the whole of Sudan in an effort to help curb the flow of arms and munitions to Sudan and to the armed forces that are using such weapons to commit grave human rights violations including war crimes and crimes against humanity.
4. Call on the government in South Sudan to ensure that the SPLA-N is not conducting forced recruitment in displacement camps within its territory, and is fully adhering to its obligations to ensure the physical security of refugees and those displaced. Further, Congress must ensure that US foreign and security assistance to South Sudan is contingent upon respect for human rights and is not funding units that are suspected of committing human rights abuses.
5. Lead efforts at the UN Security Council to establish an independent inquiry to investigate the serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law committed in the territory of Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan states since June 2011.

## APPENDIX: SATELLITE IMAGERY

Amnesty International commissioned satellite imagery and analysis of several villages in the Ingessana Hills of Blue Nile state, Sudan, from DigitalGlobe's Analysis Center (DGAC). In particular, we asked DGAC to examine the following villages: Bau, Gabanit, Fadamiya, Jegu, Taga and Marol.

The resulting satellite images tell a dramatic story of destruction, providing compelling corroboration of refugee accounts of attacks on their villages. Imagery shows that villages across the Ingessana Hills were attacked in a similar manner, during a similar time period, and that civilian dwellings and infrastructure were destroyed. While the images do not show which forces destroyed the villages – they simply show the villages before and after the attacks – they do indicate that the former inhabitants abandoned the villages and that Sudanese military positions were established across the area. Notably, Fadamiya was the only village for which SPLA-N positions could be seen in the vicinity prior to the attack.

This appendix summarizes the information that DGAC provided Amnesty International about the fate of the six villages. For high resolution imagery, please visit: <http://bit.ly/bnimagery>.

## METHODOLOGY

DGAC located the six villages using several maps and databases, including a 2012 map of Blue Nile state issued by the UN's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and examined satellite imagery dating from 2011 to 2013. After the villages were mapped, archival imagery of an area covering approximately 16 square kilometers was reviewed.

In the discussion that follows, each of the villages is described as it appeared prior to the reported attacks, followed by an account of what was destroyed or damaged, and of when the destruction occurred. Each section ends with a brief description of the village's current status, based on the most recent satellite images available.

## BAU

Bau, one of the larger villages/towns in Blue Nile state, is located on the east side of Lake Bau. The town is 57 kilometers southwest of Ad Damazin and 90km northwest of Kurmuk. In January 2011, there were more than 200 clusters of *tukuls* (traditional thatched-roof homes) in the immediate town area, which covers more than 225 hectares (Figure 2). The town hosted what appears to be a regional upper-level school, regional administration offices, a mosque with a minaret and possibly another, smaller mosque (Figure 3).

Between April and May 2012, almost all of the family-unit clusters were destroyed by fire (a cluster represents a probable family unit within a separately secured area, as shown in Figure 3). The pattern of destruction (e.g., a thorough burning of structures and fences) suggests a systematic, intentional burning of infrastructure rather than a natural wildfire or disaster. Imagery from 12 May 2012 shows an early-stage establishment of a probable Sudanese military or Popular Defence Forces (PDF) defensive position on the east side of the lake, between the lake and the town. This earthen-bermed defensive position eventually supported an infantry company (Figure 4).

Imagery from 9 November 2012 indicates that only the mud-brick walls of many of the destroyed *tukuls* remain. The larger buildings are still intact, but a lack of human track activity suggests that the town was abandoned by its previous inhabitants (Figure 5).

Figure 2: Overview of the approximate perimeter of the village of Bau.

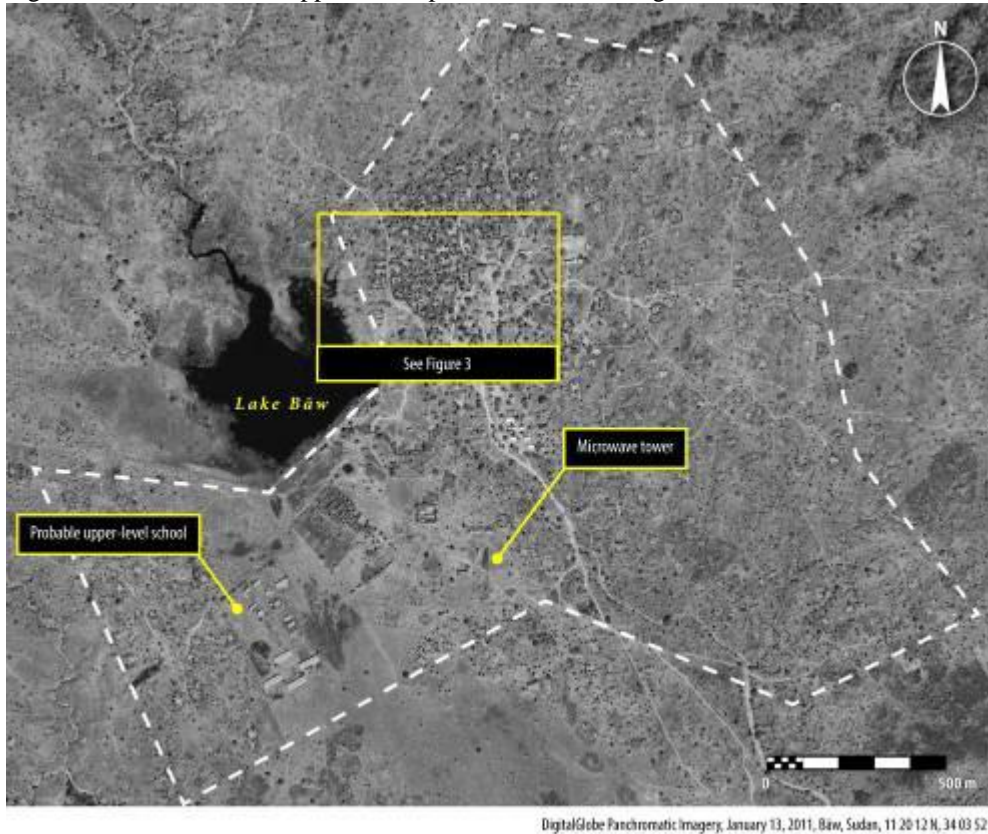




Figure 3: Family-unit clusters are each contained in a fenced area with one to five *tukuls*.



Figure 4: Destroyed (burned) structures and a Sudanese forces position on 12 May 2012.



Figure5: On 9 November 2012, the village of Bau remained abandoned except for the Sudanese forces position.





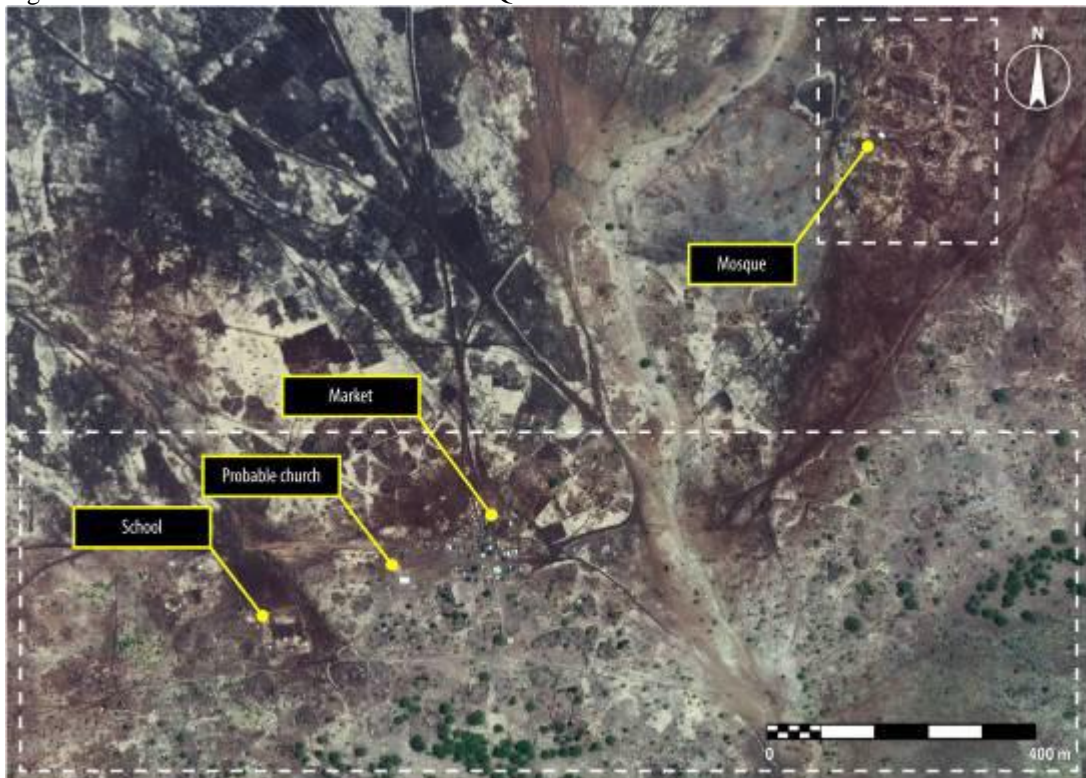
## QABANIT

The village of Qabanit appears to be made up of several groups of family-unit clusters, with the largest grouping around a market area on the west side of Wadi Qabanit. The village is 20 km northwest of Bau and 47km southwest of Ad Damazin.

As of June 2011, this village had an active market, and what appears to be a church, a mosque, a school and more than 100 family-unit clusters of *tukuls* (Figure 6). By 7 December 2012, only the mud-brick walls of the former market and a few of the *tukuls* remained (Figure 7). DigitalGlobe did not have archival imagery from between 20 April 2012 (when the village was intact) and 7 December 2012 (after the village was destroyed).

No structures could be found where the mosque had previously been located. Judging from the deteriorated condition of the village by December 2012, DGAC indicated that the village might have been destroyed in April or May 2012. In the area of the former school, Sudanese military forces had established an earthen-bermed defensive position supporting elements of an infantry company. A mosque was evident within the military forces' position (Figure 8). The church building remained intact but only the foundations of the market structures remained (Figure 9).

Figure 6: Overview of the estimated limits of Qabanit on 18 June 2011.



DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, June 18, 2011, Qabanit, Sudan, 11 30 51 N, 33 59 45 E

Figure 7: An SAF/PDF position has been established within the former village of Qabanit by December 2012.



DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, December 7, 2012, Gebanit, Sudan, 11 30 51 N, 33 59 45 E

Figure 8: Earthen-bermed defensive position and mosque.



DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, December 7, 2012, Gehanit, Sudan, 11 30 51 N, 33 59 45 E

Figure 9: Church and mud-brick walls of the former market.



DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, December 7, 2012, Gebarut, Sudan, 11 30 51 N, 33 59 45 E



## FADAMIYA

Fadamiya is approximately 9km northeast of Bau and approximately 50 kilometers southwest of Ad Damazin. This small village is divided by the main road connecting Ad Dama zi n with Kurmuk (Figure 10).

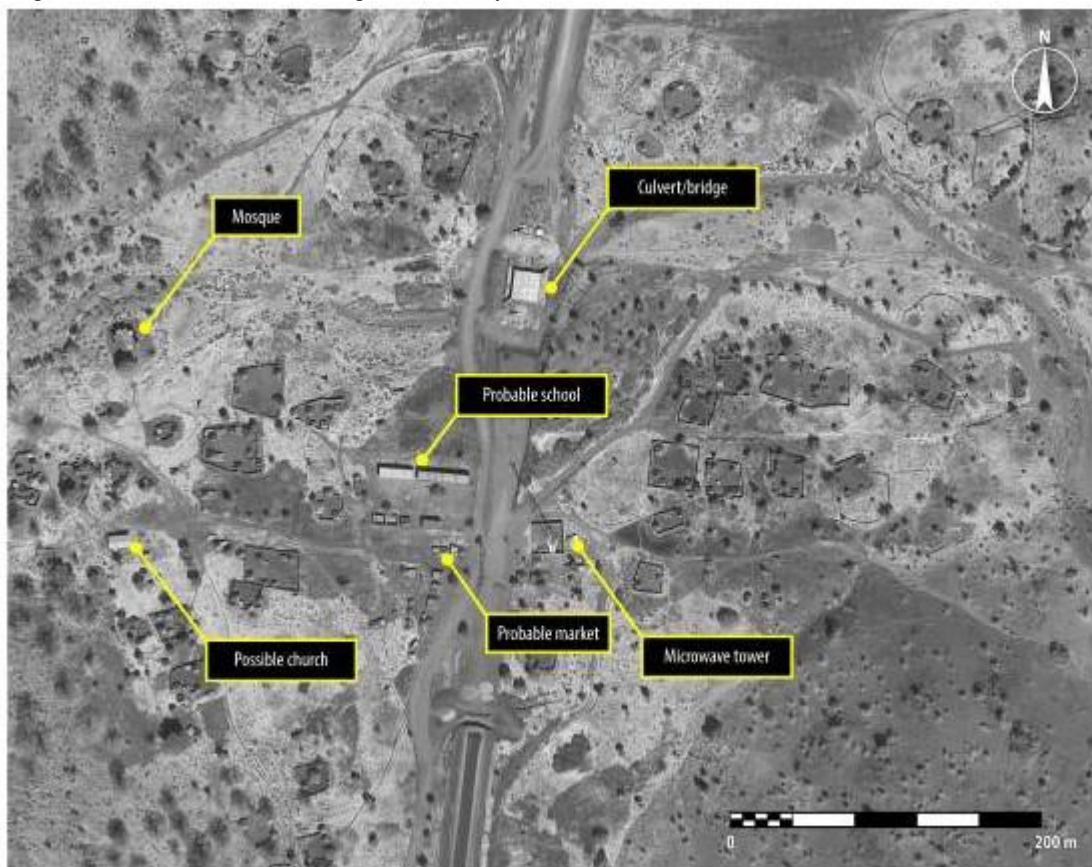
As of January 2011, the village included a microwave tower (with possible cellular service), a mosque, a possible church and a probable school. Within 500 meters of the microwave tower, there were at least 30 family-unit clusters of *tukuls*. A small, probable market area was just south of the probable school.

On 21 September 2011, a line of foxholes, similar to fighting positions used by the Sudan People's Liberation Army-North (SPLA-N), was noted 1.2 kilometers south of town. In addition, two bomb craters were identified on the southwest side of the village. Marks on the ground suggested tracked-vehicles (probably tanks) had recently been in the area (Figure 11).

By October 2011, a perimeter of foxholes was constructed around the school buildings and microwave tower, but all clusters of *tukuls* were burned or abandoned; only the mud-brick walls remained. The only sign of activity was the presence of about 25 small tents within the perimeter of foxholes (Figure 12).

This area was not imaged again for more than a year, and in 24 October 2012 imagery, it was difficult to ascertain that a village had once been present (Figure 13). Only a few of the mud-brick walls could be found (Figure 14). The perimeter around the microwave tower and school buildings was a more defined trench or earthen-berm. At least 50 small tents were inside the berm and several small vehicles were also observed (Figure 15). The most recent imagery from 1 March 2013 (not included here) shows no significant changes to the defensive position around the school and microwave tower or in the abandoned village.

Figure 10: Overview of the village of Fadamiya.



DigitalGlobe Panchromatic Imagery, January 13, 2011, Fadamiya, Sudan, 11 21 02 N, 34 08 32 E

Figure 11: Evidence of a bombing reflected by the presence of bomb craters on south side of Fadamiya.



DigitalGlobe Panchromatic Imagery, September 21, 2011, Fadamiya, Sudan, 11 21 02 N, 34 08 32 E

Figure 12: Imagery from 24 October 2011 shows that Fadamiya has been destroyed, with the *tukuls* deliberately burned. A military defensive position was established to control traffic on the Damazin-Kurmuk highway.



DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, October 24, 2011, Fadamiya, Sudan, 11 21 02 N, 34 08 32 E



Figure 13: Imagery of the former village of Fadamiya from approximately one year later shows a defensive position on the Damazin-Kurmuk Highway.



DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, October 17, 2012, Fadamiya, Sudan, 11 21 02 N, 34 08 34 E

Figure 14: Mud-brick walls in the former village of Fadamiya in 17 October 2012 imagery.



DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, October 17, 2012, Fadamiya, Sudan, 11 21 02 N, 34 08 35 E

Figure 15: Mud-brick walls in the former village of Fadamiya in 17 October 2012 imagery.



## JEGU

Jegu is a small dispersed village 42 kilometers southwest of Ad Damazin and 20 kilometers north of Bau. It had a mosque, a school and at least 110 family-unit clusters of *tukuls* in January 2011. Equally large groups of *tukuls* were both west and east of this village, making it difficult to determine Jegu's precise boundaries (Figure 16 and 17).

Because limited imagery of this village was collected between 2011 and 2013, DGAC was unable to specify a date range for when the village was destroyed. It is evident from the January 2013 image, however, that significant destruction occurred there. Only the school buildings remain intact; otherwise, the patterns of destruction are similar to those found in other villages in the region (Figure 18). In addition, a Sudanese defensive position was established approximately 500 meters southwest of the school (Figure 19).

Figure 16. Overview illustrating possible limits for the village of Jegu.





Figure 17: The center of Jegu in January 2011.



Figure 18: Only the school buildings remained standing in Jegu on 25 January 2013.



Figure 19: New Sudanese forces defensive position, located approximately 500 meters southwest of the school in Jegu.



DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, January 25, 2013, Jegu, Sudan, 11 31 07 N, 34 02 48 E

## TAGA

Taga is a small village that in January 2011 lacked many identifiable landmarks such as a church, mosque, daily market or microwave tower. The village had approximately 30 family-unit clusters of *tukuls* within 1.5 kilometers of a probable market area, and a school about 500 meters to the north (Figure 20 and 21). A mosque was constructed by June 2011 with few other changes to the village landscape (Figure 22).

Imagery dating from 25 January 2013, shows significant damage and destruction to the village. Within Taga, no structures remained except the two school buildings where Sudanese military forces had established a strongpoint that supported elements of an infantry company (65 tents) with at least two mortar emplacements. No residential *tukuls* remained intact within 2 kilometers of Taga. Ash piles and dark stains where *tukuls* and fencing had been suggest the destruction occurred after the 2012 rainy season (Figure 23).

Figure 20: Overview showing the probable boundary of Taga.

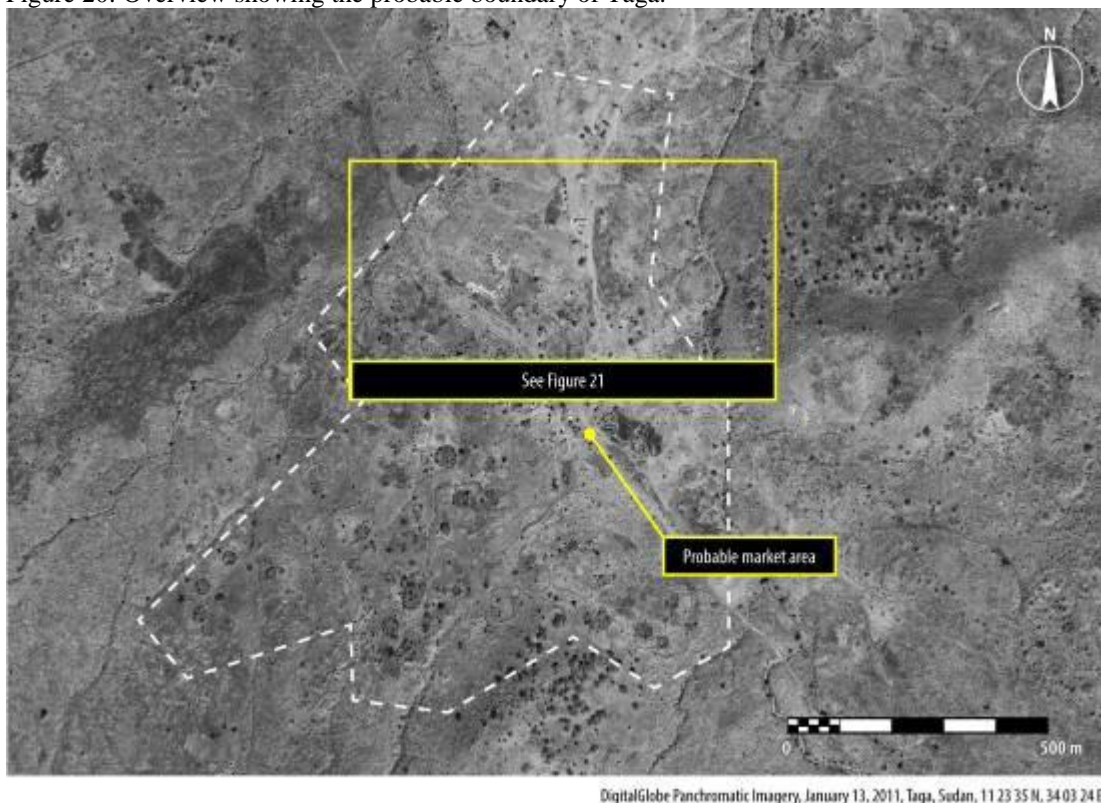




Figure 21: Center of Taga in January 2011, with houses, a school and a mosque.

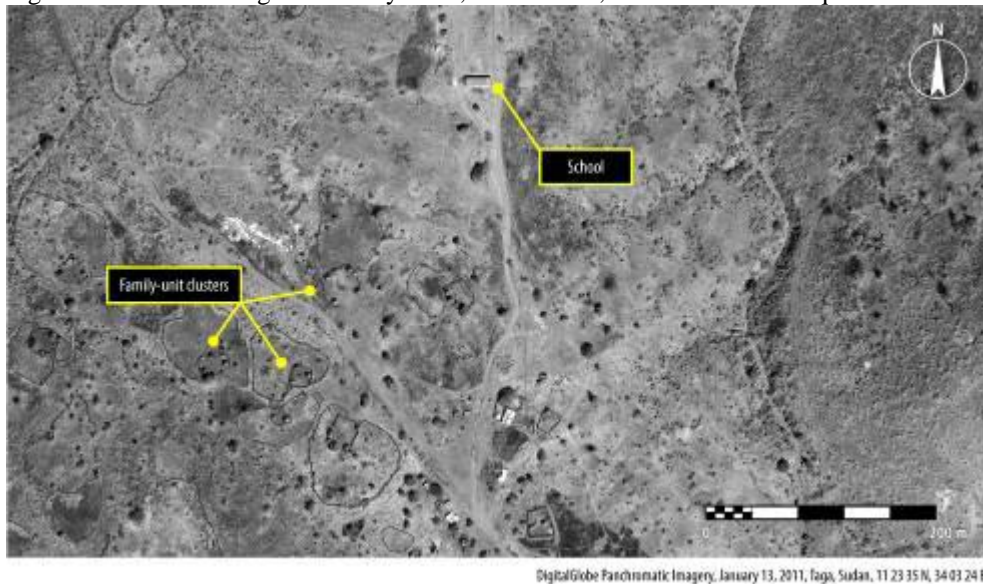


Figure 22: Taga school, mosque and family-unit clusters all present in June 2011.



Figure 23: A defensive position of the Sudanese forces is the only sign of life remaining in Taga in January 2013.





## MAROL

Just about 3.5 kilometers north of Bau, along the road from Bau to Taga is the hamlet of Marol. In January 2011, it had a small grouping of family-unit clusters, scattered across the area, but did not have a market, mosque, church or any other identifying features (Figures 24 and 25). There was a probable abandoned mine on the hillside west of the village area.

In 11 May 2012 imagery (not included here), there was little change noted in the town. However, by October 2012 there was no sign of life in the former hamlet. All the *tukuls* and many of the fences were gone and the area was overgrown. A few mud-brick foundations could be seen but little else. The ash piles and dark stains where *tukuls* and fencing had been suggest the destruction occurred after the 2012 rainy season (Figure 26).

Figure 24: The small hamlet of Marol situated in a mountain ravine just north of Bau.

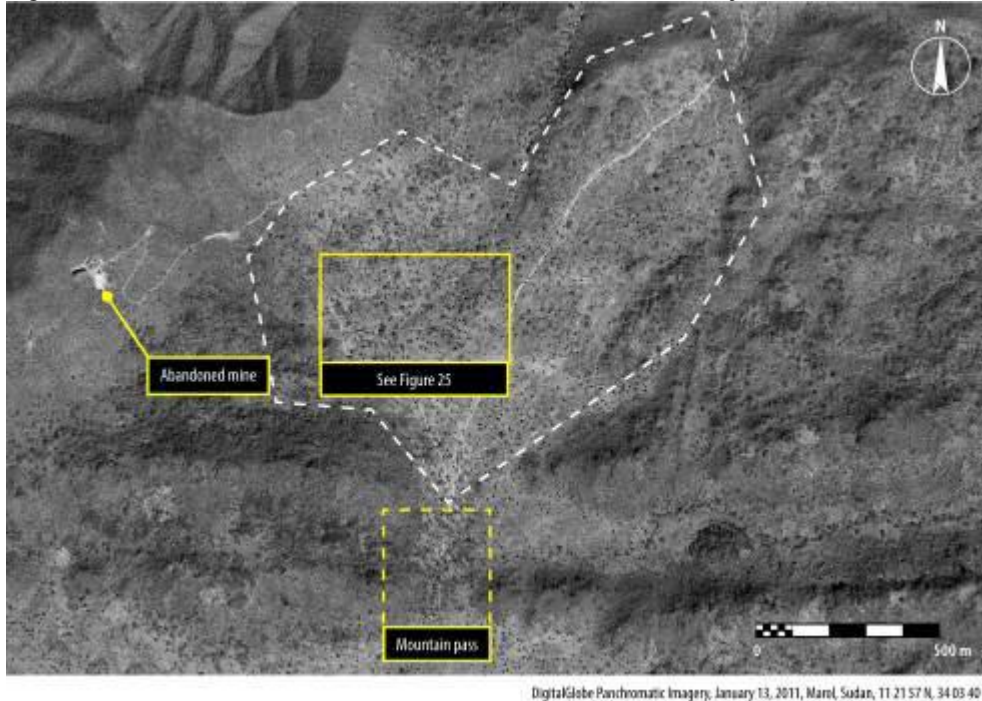


Figure 25: Typical family-unit cluster in the center of Marol in January 2011.

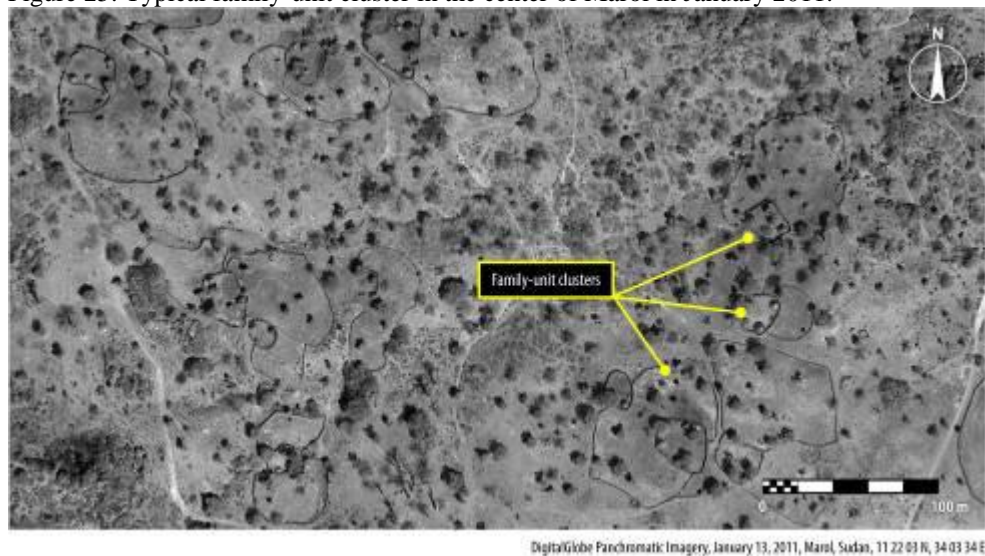


Figure 26: In January 2013, all that can be seen are a few mud-brick foundations and fence lines of this destroyed hamlet.



# **APPENDIX**

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MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD



## **Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission Hearing**

### **Human Rights in Sudan**

**Wednesday, June 19, 2013**

**10:00 AM – 12:00 PM**

**2200 Rayburn HOB\***

Please join the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission (TLHRC) for a hearing on human rights in Sudan and the humanitarian crises arising from the Government of Sudan's longstanding human rights abuses.

Ten years since the beginning of state-sponsored crimes against civilians in Darfur, which the U.S. government found to constitute genocide, the human rights and humanitarian situation in the region remains dire. Civilians continue to face violent attacks by government forces, pro-government militias, and armed opposition groups, while humanitarian aid is severely limited for an estimated 2.3 million internally displaced persons. Some 130,000 Darfuris have been newly displaced in the first months of 2013 alone.

The state-sponsored violence and human rights abuses have spread to other areas of Sudan, resulting in vast humanitarian crises. The Government of Sudan's indiscriminate aerial bombardment of civilians in South Kordofan and Blue Nile states and its continued blocking of humanitarian relief have created a crisis that is nearing famine conditions. Over 900,000 Sudanese are in desperate need of humanitarian aid. The United Nations and independent monitors have documented abuses by the Government of Sudan and armed groups it supports that "may constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity." Nearly 200,000 Sudanese have fled to South Sudan, a young country that is poor, has virtually no infrastructure, and faces its own challenges of state-building while resolving inter-communal and ethnic armed violence.

This hearing will address the humanitarian crises in Sudan and South Sudan, the human rights violations underlying the crises, and U.S. policy in the region.

#### **The following witnesses will testify:**

##### **Panel I**

- Larry André, Director of the Office of the Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan, Bureau of African Affairs, U.S. Department of State
- Nancy E. Lindborg, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, U.S. Agency for International Development

##### **Panel II**

- John Prendergast, Co-Founder, Enough Project, and Co-Founder, Satellite Sentinel Project
- Ken Isaacs, Vice President, Programs and Government Relations, Samaritan's Purse
- E.J. Hogendoorn, Deputy Director, Africa, International Crisis Group
- Jehanne Henry, Senior Researcher on Sudan, Africa Division, Human Rights Watch

***\*Note: Overflow seating will be available in 2325 Rayburn HOB.***

If you have any questions, please contact the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission at 202-225-3599 or [tlhrc@mail.house.gov](mailto:tlhrc@mail.house.gov).

Sincerely,

James P. McGovern  
Member of Congress  
Co-Chair, TLHRC

Frank R. Wolf  
Member of Congress  
Co-Chair, TLHRC