

MEMORANDUM

To: Interested Parties
From: U.S. House Majority Leader Steny H. Hoyer
Subject: Congressional Delegation

From March 31 to April 7, 2007, House Majority Leader Steny H. Hoyer led a delegation of 11 Members of Congress to several countries including Sudan and Egypt. Participants included Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), Ranking Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee; Congresswoman Barbara Lee (D-CA); Congressman Gregory Meeks (D-NY); Congressman Brad Miller (D-NC); Congressman G.K. Butterfield (D-NC); Congressman John Barrow (D-GA); Congressman Jim Costa (D-CA); Congressman Jerry Moran (R-KS); Congressman Ray LaHood (R-IL); and Congressman Bob Goodlatte (R-VA).

The purpose of the trip was to hold meetings with key stakeholders on the overall political and humanitarian situation with respect to the conflict in Darfur, to discuss the status of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and to observe the reconstruction effort in Southern Sudan. In Egypt, the group met with President Mubarak and other government officials to discuss regional security and political concerns and to request that Egypt play a leading role in resolving the crisis in Darfur. A detailed itinerary of the Delegation's meetings can be found in Appendix A.

The attached report documents the Delegation's findings and summarizes the Sudan and Egypt meetings.

FINDINGS

The CoDel's primary findings were as follows:

1. We need a political solution in Darfur.

- a) We need a process that will bring warring rebel groups in Darfur – especially those that did not sign the Darfur Peace Agreement -- to the negotiating table, in a secure forum supervised by the international community, with the Government of Sudan.
- b) We need active engagement by the international community toward this end, including support for Salva Kiir's initiative and efforts underway by UN Envoy for Sudan Jan Eliasson and AU Envoy Salim Salim.
 - The CoDel sent a May 25 letter to President Kiir in support of his cooperative work with Eliasson and Salim to bring rebels together for unity talks.
- c) The Government of Sudan needs to be a more active and willing partner for peace and must follow through on commitments already made in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Darfur Peace Agreement, Joint Communiqué, and other agreements.

2. We need to ensure continued humanitarian access in Darfur.

- a) UN agencies and humanitarian organizations report that their access to Darfurian residents and Internally Displaced People (IDPs) is decreasing quickly, at great cost to an increasingly vulnerable population.
- b) We can ensure continued access by:
 - addressing specific security concerns (e.g. vehicle hijackings)
 - improving overall security environment (e.g. increase peacekeepers)
 - pushing the Government of Sudan to reduce bureaucratic impediments (e.g. high cost of visas/permits)
 - The CoDel sent a letter on May 4 to President Bush urging him to raise the issue of humanitarian access in all dealings with Khartoum.
 - Majority Leader Hoyer separately sent a letter to the Foreign Ministry on this issue.

3. We need a more robust peacekeeping force.

- a) African Union troops (AMIS) are doing good work but are undermanned, under-equipped, and experiencing low morale (e.g. just two days before our trip to Darfur, five AMIS peacekeepers were killed, and the Deputy Force Commander's helicopter came under fire).
- b) AMIS Force Commander General Luke Aprezi told the delegation that he has 25% of the peacekeepers that he needs to accomplish his mission (they are at 5,800 now and need 22,000).
- c) AMIS wants, needs, and deserves UN peacekeepers to bolster their forces and equipment.

- d) We need to push for full implementation of the heavy support package (additional UN troops and equipment) and the full hybrid (AMIS/UN) force to which President Bashir agreed in November 2006.

4. We need to engage outside actors.

- a) Darfur is a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions and is the whole world's problem.
- b) The Arab League needs to play a more cooperative and productive role in advancing peace and encourage Bashir to let in peacekeepers.
 - Rep. Barbara Lee's measure, H.Con.Res.7, calls on the Arab League to do more to end the crisis. The House passed this measure by a vote of 425-1 on April 25, 2007.
 - The Arab League pressured General Bashir on Darfur in a closed-door session during the summit in March, but should increase efforts to persuade Bashir to allow peacekeepers and participate in negotiations.
- c) Regional actors – including Libya and Eritrea – should play a more constructive role in resolving the conflict, rather than blindly supporting either Khartoum or the warring rebel factions.
- d) Egypt, in particular, should play a leading role in resolving the crisis. President Mubarak is uniquely equipped, as a senior statesman in the Middle East, to reach out to Bashir on the issue of Darfur.
 - While in Egypt, the CoDel discussed Darfur with President Mubarak, Foreign Minister Gheit and Speaker of the People's Assembly Fathy Sorour.
 - At our request, President Mubarak called Bashir and instructed him that his continued inaction is neither in his own interest nor the international community's. General Bashir, in turn, pledged to President Mubarak that he would allow additional UN reinforcements.
- e) China buys two-thirds of Sudan's oil and sells it weapons and military aircraft. Sudan's GDP grew 13% last year, in large part because of Chinese investment. Given China's unique relationship with Sudan, pressure on Chinese officials on the issue of Darfur is critical.
 - On May 7, 108 Members of Congress – including Majority Leader Hoyer and other Members of the CoDel – sent a letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao, urging him to use China's unique leverage with Sudan to get Bashir to agree to peacekeepers and end the genocide.
 - Rep. Barbara Lee's H.Res.422 calls on China to use its influence to stop the genocide. The measure has over 60 cosponsors, including Majority Leader Hoyer and several members of the CoDel.
- f) The conflict is spreading – across the border into Chad and the Central Africa Republic. We cannot underestimate the potential for this to develop into a major regional crisis, and we need to address humanitarian needs of refugees in these neighboring countries.
 - The FY08 Defense Authorization bill, which passed the House on May 17, includes a provision requiring DOD to report on the current operational status of the airfield in Abeche, Chad and make recommendations for upgrades to the

Abeche airfield to support enhanced operations and a large increase in air traffic, including a cost-estimate for such upgrades.

5. We cannot forget Southern Sudan.

- a) The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005), which ended more than twenty years of civil war between the North and South, has significant implications for peace in Darfur.
- b) We need comprehensive peace, stability, and reconstruction across the whole of Sudan. The delegation stopped in Juba to underscore Congress' focus on a comprehensive cross-Sudan peace.
- c) It is important to continue investing in the South, where the peace remains fragile but there are good actors (e.g. President Salva Kiir and Minister of Transportation Rebecca Garang) and a true will for peace after more than 20 years of civil war.
- d) It is important to remember that four times more people died in the North/South civil wars than have died in Darfur. We must do all we can to prevent this pattern from repeating itself.

SUMMARY OF KEY SUDAN/EGYPT MEETINGS

April 2, 2007 – Juba, Southern Sudan

On the delegation's first day in Sudan, the group traveled three hours by airplane from Khartoum to Juba, the regional capital of Southern Sudan. There, the delegation had a productive meeting with the President of Southern Sudan, Salva Kiir, who, under the terms of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), also functions as First Vice President of the Government of Sudan (GOS). Several Ministers from the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) also attended the meeting, including Minister for Transportation Rebecca Garang, the widow of the late John Garang, Kiir's friend and predecessor. Garang was the founder and leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) who, at the end of his life, became a peace activist and facilitated the January 2005 signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with the central government in Khartoum. Garang died in a helicopter crash on July 30, 2005.

During the meeting, Kiir discussed the importance of fully implementing the CPA, arguing that the Government of Sudan has failed so far to honor their commitments. He and Rebecca Garang pled for U.S. support for "essential services" and economic development in Southern Sudan. Finally, Kiir noted that factions in Darfur are splintering on a daily basis, offered his support for peace in Darfur, and described his initiative to bring warring Darfurian rebel factions to the South to reach agreement among each other, in order to present a unified "Darfurian" position to Khartoum. President Kiir assured the delegation that he would also seek to influence the Khartoum government to abandon the military approach to Darfur. In turn, the delegation underscored that their mission for the trip was to ensure full implementation of the CPA and to support efforts to bring rebel groups to the negotiating table. Both sides agree that the international community should also support efforts to bring to justice individuals who have committed crimes against humanity in Darfur.

Next, the delegation held a brief meeting with the Speaker of the GOSS Legislative Assembly, James Wani. The Speaker painted a mixed picture of the CPA. While the positives include establishment of a semi-autonomous regional government (GOSS) and legislative body, he told the delegation that Bashir's National Congress Party continues to impede many of the initiatives included in the CPA, such as a functioning border commission to resolve territorial disputes, a census currently planned for November 2007, and the 2011 referendum on independence. Speaker Wani proudly noted the Legislative Assembly's efforts in drafting the first-ever Constitution for Southern Sudan and the creation of two committees to address government practices and ensure transparency and accountability in governance. Speaker Wani urged the delegation to consider direct bilateral aid to the GOSS. Leader Hoyer thanked the Speaker for his time and his leadership in Southern Sudan, and encouraged Wani to work with Kiir to bring Darfurians to the negotiating table. Both sides acknowledged that the international community is morally responsible for advancing peace in Darfur.

After the GOSS meetings, the delegation visited the John Garang Memorial. There they were greeted by Rebecca Garang and spent several minutes in silent reflection. Before leaving, the delegation signed a condolence book at the site.

April 3, 2007 – El Fasher, North Darfur, Sudan

On the delegation's second day in Sudan, the group traveled approximately two hours by airplane from Khartoum to El Fasher, in the North Darfur region of Sudan. Their first meeting was with AMIS Force Commander General Luke Aprezi. The delegation offered condolences to General Aprezi for the loss of five AMIS peacekeepers in the North Darfur town of Umm Barru, just two days prior. General Aprezi expressed sincere gratitude to the delegation for their condolences and commented that this was the first Congressional delegation with whom he had ever met. He went on to provide a thorough overview of the 5,800-person AMIS peacekeeping force in Darfur and described the current violence as largely rebel-on-rebel, although the government-backed Janjaweed militias continue to carry out some attacks across Darfur. General Aprezi expressed particular concern about the increasing number of hijacked AMIS vehicles and the growing militarization of Darfur. Prompted by questions on the IDP situation, General Aprezi described the 100+ camps in Darfur as increasingly factionalized and dangerous, explaining that there are now armed fighters within IDP camps and that even basic excursions outside the camps – including gathering firewood – now require AMIS security.

When pressed by the delegation, General Aprezi was clear that his forces are undermanned and under-equipped. He suggested that a force of approximately 22,000, including the UN's heavy support package, would empower him to more successfully carry out the mission assigned to him. However, funding remains a major stumbling block, as AMIS is three-months behind on their current peacekeepers' salaries. Although the General maintained a professional and generally upbeat attitude throughout the meeting, he did concede to the delegation that he is "more frustrated" now than he was three months ago. The delegation pledged to the General that they would bring up AMIS' needs with government officials in all proceeding meetings, which they did.

Next, the delegation met with the Wali (Governor) of North Darfur, Osman Mohamed Yousuf Kebir. This was one of the delegation's most difficult meetings, as Kebir offered an extremely one-sided interpretation of the situation in Darfur. Among other statements, Kebir suggested that the situation in Darfur is "improving continually," that the U.S. is spreading misinformation by suggesting otherwise, and that "genocide" is impossible in Darfur because "you can't tell the difference between an African and an Arab." Upon learning of Kebir's loyalties to General Bashir, a member of the delegation stepped out of the meeting early. The rest of the delegation pushed back on Kebir, countering his assertions and underscoring that it is incumbent upon all of us to stop the violence in Darfur, help the victims, bring criminals to justice, and restore security and stability to the region.

After the Wali meeting, the delegation had working lunch with a large group of UN officials, including representatives from the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) and the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). Several officials made presentations and took questions from the delegation. The recurring themes in the presenters' remarks were the great need for a re-energized peace process, the need to shift to a long-term development agenda in Sudan, and the increasingly insecure environment in which humanitarian workers are functioning. The UN officials highlighted carjackings as a major problem, and described increasing factionalization and weaponization among rebel groups across Darfur. The UN

representatives continue to be plagued by bureaucratic impediments, such as travel permit restrictions and flight obstructions, although there is hope that the Joint Communiqué on humanitarian efforts signed by the GOS and the UN on March 27, if implemented, will be a positive step. The groups asked the delegation to continue funding humanitarian efforts in Darfur and to make funding as flexible as possible.

Before departing Darfur, the delegation held one last meeting at AMIS headquarters, with several deputies to Force Commander General Aprezi. These officials offered an extremely helpful and well-organized PowerPoint presentation on the make-up of AMIS forces and the current organization of armed rebel groups fighting in Darfur. They described AMIS' operational end-goal as "restoring a secure environment, underpinned by a political settlement," and suggested that AMIS needs significant reinforcements – particularly additional troops and air assets – in order to accomplish this goal. They offered support for UN force multipliers and mission enablers, saying "the consensus is that a solution lies at the UN." The delegation commended the AMIS officials for their dedication and pledged to convey AMIS' needs to government officials going forward.

April 4, 2007 – Khartoum, Sudan

The delegation spent its last day in Sudan in the nation's capital. Their first meeting was with representatives from USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance and three of its grantees – U.S.-based NGOs working on the ground in the South of Sudan and in Darfur. The representatives took turns describing the type of humanitarian services their organizations offer, including health services, water and sanitation, food distribution, livelihood training, and education. All three of the organizations complained that they face significant bureaucratic impediments in dealing with the GOS, concluding that it costs approximately \$1,000 annually per person to overcome bureaucratic obstacles and function legally in Sudan. The NGO representatives also expressed concern about the eroding security environment, calling it "chaotic" and "similar to the wild, wild West." They highlighted increasing armament on all sides of the conflict, vehicle hijackings, and violent attacks -- including the rape and murder of their workers. The delegation pledged to support humanitarian access and raise concerns about bureaucratic impediments in future meetings.

Next, the delegation met with the African Union's (AU) Ambassador to Sudan, Sam Ibok. The delegation benefited greatly from Ambassador Ibok's candid remarks on Darfur, including his support for a political solution and his expressed frustration with the GOS' lack of cooperation. Ambassador Ibok suggested that while the Darfur Peace Agreement (which was signed by the GOS and just one out of three major Darfuri rebel groups) is a good start, much work remains to bring non-signatories to the negotiating table. Ambassador Ibok suggested that the international community should rally behind three principal goals in Darfur: (1) installing an effective military presence to reign in the violence; (2) ensuring continued humanitarian access; and (3) supporting AU-UN efforts to launch a new peace process. The Ambassador painted a dire picture of the humanitarian situation, saying almost all Darfurians are in IDP camps and that if the NGOs working in Darfur are forced to pull out, all humanitarian lifelines will disappear, sparking a second humanitarian crisis. Ambassador Ibok urged the delegation to hold Bashir's feet to the fire, and to encourage him to follow through on commitments he has made, including

the establishment of a Transitional Darfur Regional Authority. Finally, Ambassador Ibok suggested that regional players, including Chad, Eritrea, and Libya, could do a better job of advancing peace rather than fomenting violence.

The delegation then proceeded to a meeting with Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) leader Minni Minawi, the lone rebel leader to sign the May 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement with the GOS. The delegation recognized Minawi for his courage in signing the DPA, but urged him, as both the leader of the SLA and a senior government official, to improve the security of humanitarian workers in Darfur. Minawi in turn thanked the U.S. for its role in the DPA, and stated his commitment to bringing non-signatory rebels to the negotiating table. He urged the international community not to abandon the DPA, and to continue providing financial support for efforts to get other rebel leaders to sign. Minawi described the violence in Darfur as confusing, noting the ongoing splintering of the SLA, and offered his support for a hybrid UN/AMIS peacekeeping force. Although the delegation pushed Minawi to comment on whether he thinks the GOS is an active and willing partner for peace, Minawi generally dodged the question by saying it is difficult to tell who is carrying out the attacks in Darfur because the situation has grown so chaotic. After the meeting, the delegation paused to sign a condolence book for several SLA supporters who were murdered by the Sudanese Army several days prior.

Some members of the delegation ended the visit to Sudan with a meeting with the Foreign Ministry. While some members of the delegation initially sought a meeting with General Bashir and Foreign Minister Akol, the delegation was informed at the last minute that both men were out of town. Instead, all but one Member of the delegation met with the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Al Sammani al Wasila. The members of the delegation attending the meeting argued for full implementation of the CPA, a hybrid UN/AMIS peacekeeping force, and additional interim investment in AMIS. While al Wasila admitted that Darfur “is not what it is supposed to be,” he suggested that warring Darfurian rebel factions must create a unified position among each other before the GOS will negotiate with them.

The participants in the meeting had several lively exchanges with al Wasila. First, on the issue of bureaucratic impediments, al Wasila said he was “very surprised” to hear that humanitarian workers are experiencing any restrictions in Darfur (upon return from Darfur, Leader Hoyer responded in writing to al Wasila with specific examples of GOS obstruction). Some members of the delegation raised their voices with Wasila, pushing him to recognize the daily destruction and death in Darfur as an imperative for action. Wasila dismissed these entreaties by saying he knows Darfur better than the delegation and that the U.S. is simply spreading negative messages to be spiteful. Despite the tension throughout portions of the meeting, the delegation ended the meeting eloquently, by suggesting to al Wasila that whether in his view it is truthful or not, the perception in the world’s eyes is that the GOS is not playing a positive role and must act more aggressively to end the violence in Darfur. While Wasila continued to shift the blame to the rebels, the delegation stated that it is ultimately the government’s greatest responsibility to protect its own people and that the international community will continue to shine a spotlight on the GOS until the violence ends and justice is served.

April 5, 2007 – Sharm El Sheikh/Cairo, Egypt

The next day, the delegation met with President Mubarak in Sharm el Sheik, Egypt. The meeting, which lasted over an hour, was frank, forthright, and productive. The primary focus of the meeting was to inform President Mubarak of the visit to Sudan, and to urge Egypt to play a leading role in ending the crisis in Darfur. The delegation asked President Mubarak to consider sending additional peacekeepers to Darfur, and to reach out directly to President Bashir in support of humanitarian access and a hybrid UN/AMIS peacekeeping force. The delegation underscored with President Mubarak that the crisis in Darfur demands the focus of the entire world – that genocide has been committed in Darfur and the violence continues unabated. President Mubarak pledged to follow up with President Bashir, per the delegation's request. Within a week of the delegation's return to the United States, Egyptian Ambassador Nabil Fahmy called each of the CoDel participants to inform that Mubarak had indeed called Bashir on the issue of humanitarian access and said that Bashir was prepared to drop his objections to the UN's heavy support package – the second phase in a three-step process toward establishing a hybrid peacekeeping force.

The delegation traveled next to Cairo, for a working lunch with Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit and a meeting with the Speaker of the People's Assembly Ahmed Fathy Sorour, during which Darfur was discussed further. Across all three meetings with Egyptian government officials, the delegation sent a clear message that Egypt, as a partner for peace in the Middle East, has a leading role to play in Sudan.

APPENDIX A: MEETING SCHEDULE

April 2 – Juba, South Sudan

- Briefing by U.S. Charge D'Affairs Cameron Hume and Consul General Makila James
- Meeting with President of Southern Sudan Salva Kiir and other Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) Ministers, including Transportation Minister Rebecca Garang, widow of John Garang.
- Meeting with Speaker of Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly James Wani.
- Visit to John Garang Memorial Site with Rebecca Garang.

April 3 – El Fasher, North Darfur, Sudan

- Briefing by African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) Force Commander Major General Luke Aprezi. There was a second briefing at the end of the day with some of Aprezi's deputies, on AMIS' strategic plan.
- Courtesy call with North Darfur Wali Osman Mohamed Yousuf Kebir
- Working lunch with UN Country Team members – UMIS, OCHA, UNDP, etc.
- Tour of El Salaam Internally Displaced Persons Camp, including International Rescue Committee health clinic.
- Toy distribution with IDP kindergartners at CHF International facility in El Fasher town.

April 4 – Khartoum, Sudan

- Meeting with NGO reps working in Sudan.
- Briefing by African Union Ambassador to Sudan, Sam Ibok
- Meeting with SLM-leader Minni Minawi at Presidential Palace
- Meeting with State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Al Sammani Al Wasila, at the Foreign Ministry

April 5 – Sharm El Sheikh/Cairo, Egypt

- Breakfast briefing with U.S. Ambassador Frank Ricciardone
- Morning meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Sharm El Sheikh
- Lunch with Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit at ceremonial Foreign Ministry building in Cairo
- Meeting with Ahmed Fathy Sorour, Speaker of the People's Assembly, and other People's Assembly Members.
- Reception at Ambassador Ricciardone's residence with CENTCOM Commander Admiral Bill Fallon, various political party representatives, government officials, civil society members, journalists and business leaders.

APPENDIX B: MAJOR DARFUR LEGISLATION IN THE 110th CONGRESS

HOUSE MEASURES

- **H.Con.Res. 7 (Barbara Lee):** A resolution calling on the League of Arab States to acknowledge the genocide in the Darfur region of Sudan. Introduced January 4, 2007. Passed April 25, 425-1.
- **H.R. 180: Darfur Accountability and Divestment Act of 2007 (Barbara Lee):** A bill that supports states' and universities' efforts of divestment and restrictions on investment in companies that do business in Sudan. Introduced January 4, 2007. 108 cosponsors.
- **H.R. 459 (Rangel):** A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to deny foreign tax credit and the benefits of deferral to companies doing business directly or through subsidiaries in Sudan. Introduced January 12, 2007. 1 cosponsor (Yvette Clarke).
- **H.Res. 98 (Payne):** A resolution honoring the life and achievements of the late Dr. John Garang de Mabior and reaffirming the continued commitment of the House of Representatives to a just and lasting peace in the Republic of the Sudan. Introduced January 24, 2007. Passed 410-1 on March 6, 2007.
- **H.Res. 164 (Tancredo):** A resolution encouraging the federal, state, municipal governments, universities, companies, and other institutions to divest from companies that do business in Sudan. Introduced February 14, 2007. 3 cosponsors.
- **H.Res. 422 (Barbara Lee) and S.Res. 203 (Menendez):** A resolution calling on the Government of the People's Republic of China to use its unique influence and economic leverage to stop genocide and violence in Darfur, Sudan. Introduced May 21, 2007 in the House. 61 House cosponsors. Introduced May 16, 2007 in the Senate. 14 Senate cosponsors. House Committee agreed to seek consideration under suspension of the rules, by unanimous consent.
- **H.Res. 449 (Tancredo):** A resolution encouraging the Federal Government and State and municipal governments, universities, companies, and other institutions in the United States, and all Americans to divest from companies that do business with Sudan. Introduced May 24, 2007. 4 cosponsors.
- **H.Amdt. 189 to H.R. 1585, Defense Reauthorization bill (Israel):** An amendment to express the Sense of Congress that the U.S. and the Government of Chad should upgrade the Abeche Airfield in Chad in order to support potential NATO operations, facilitate a future U.N. deployment to Chad and the Darfur region of Sudan and to support humanitarian operations. Also requests the Pentagon study what specific airfield improvements should be made and report to Congress. Introduced May 16, 2007, agreed to by voice vote.

- **H.R. 2023 Sudanese Diaspora Loan Forgiveness Act (Tancredo):** Amends the Higher Education Act of 1965 to establish education loan forgiveness programs for Sudanese citizens who have become naturalized U.S. citizens or who are lawfully residing in the United States if they commit to returning to Southern Sudan for five or more years to help repair damage to infrastructure caused by the Sudanese civil war. Introduced April 24, 2007. 4 cosponsors.

SENATE MEASURES

- **S.831: Sudan Divestment Authorization Act of 2007 (Durbin).** Similar to Lee's H.R.180. Introduced March 8, 2007. 26 cosponsors.
- **H.Res. 76 (Feingold):** A resolution calling for a comprehensive regional strategy in Africa to protect civilians, facilitate humanitarian operations, contain and reduce violence, and contribute to conditions for sustainable peace in eastern Chad, the Central African Republic, and Darfur, Sudan. Introduced February 8, 2007. 13 cosponsors, agreed to with amendments on April 11.

APPENDIX C: MAP OF SUDAN

