

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, July 4, 2009 4:24 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [redacted]  
**Subject:** Print Fw Sudan Envoy's Trip to Chad, Italy, and Libya

RELEASE IN PART  
1.4(B), B1, 1.4(D), B6

B6

**From:** Beale, Courtney A Kramer  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants; Macmanus, Joseph E  
**Sent:** Sat Jul 04 16:09:09 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Sudan Envoy's Trip to Chad, Italy, and Libya

Classified by Director A/GIS/IPS, DoS on 02/28/2017 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 07/03/2029

Hi Huma,

Would you like to pass along this message from Gratton to the Secretary, or would you like for us to print for her read file on Monday?

Thanks,  
Courtney

**From:** Scott Gratton [redacted]  
**To:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Cc:** Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Carson, Johnnie; Carter, Phillip X; Shortley, Timothy R  
**Sent:** Sat Jul 04 15:56:46 2009  
**Subject:** Sudan Envoy's Trip to Chad, Italy, and Libya

B6

Entire text is SBU

Secretary Clinton, I trust you've been able to enjoy our nation's birthday. It's a special honor to serve our great nation and to work every day to ensure the freedoms and liberties we cherish in America can be enjoyed by more people around the world. I returned today from a trip to Chad, Italy, and Libya; the following is an initial report on this travel. My primary objectives were 1) to accelerate the unification process for non-JEM rebels and to prepare for the next round of Doha talks to address the dire and unacceptable remnants of genocide in western Sudan, 2) to advance our goal of ending the proxy war between Chad and Sudan, and 3) to gain insights from experts on options to support voluntary resettlement in Darfur.

In Ndjamena and Tripoli, I met with commanders from the Sudan Liberation Army (Abdul Wahid faction), the Sudan Liberation Movement/Unity (Yahya faction), and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). Leaders of the first two groups (SLA/M) are now ready to join the Doha peace process, but understand that they must first unify the various Sudanese Liberation Army factions if they are to be effective in negotiations with the Government of Sudan (GoS). I also met with leaders from the Darfur civil society and with representatives of smaller rebel factions in Tripoli to encourage them to join the unification effort and to support the Doha peace process. On the margins of the AU Summit, I pressed AU/UN Chief Mediator Bassole to support the unification process and to move quickly to the next round of the Doha peace negotiations (i.e., to move beyond the ceasefire roadblocks and to initiate the talks on a political settlement). In concert with the AU/UN Mediator, the US role in this next round will be to develop and coordinate an initial proposal based on principles that were accepted in the 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement: we'll make the required adjustments based on lessons learned from Abuja. Further, we'll facilitate appropriate participation of unified rebel movements, civil society representatives, and political groups. I also intend to encourage Bassole to invite Chadian, Libyan, and Egyptian observers to monitor the peace process in Qatar.

[redacted]

B1  
1.4(D)

In Chad, I met with President Deby in his office and later over dinner (a highly unusual and gracious invitation) to discuss ways to end the Chad-Sudan conflict. The President conveyed his strong desire to improve the Darfur situation, but asked for further US assistance to verify Sudan's compliance with previous agreements.

[redacted] Both Chadian and Sudanese officials asked that the United States support a greater role for the UN peacekeeping forces in eastern Chad (MINARCAT) and in Darfur (UNAMID) to monitor the border.

B1  
1.4(D)  
1.4(B)

In Sirte, I attended the African Union Summit as part of the US delegation led by Assistant Secretary Carson. The Summit provided an excellent opportunity to meet with leaders who have a stake in Sudan. Notable meetings included discussions with Libyan Leader Qadafi and all members of his senior team, Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles, Arab League Chairman Mousa, Kenyan Foreign Minister Wetangulu, UK Minister Malloch Brown, and two extensive meetings with Sudanese Presidential Advisor Ghazi. I will highlight specific details of these meetings in my trip report.

The most important outcome of my discussions in Sirte is an agreement by Sudan, Chad, and Libya on an approach to lower tensions and build confidence. Under our phased plan, Sudan will: 1) recall the commanders of its sponsored Chadian rebels back to Khartoum immediately so forces can't fight, 2) restrict its Chadian rebel soldiers to base camps for the next month, and 3) withdraw its Chadian rebels at least 100 kms from the Sudan-Chad border in August, and 4) eventually disarm its rebels. [redacted] The proposal includes monitors from Chad, Sudan, and Libya to verify implementation at each location. The United States has also suggested that AU representatives join the six monitors in rebel locations to ensure compliance. Concurrently, we will continue to push the political processes in Doha

B1  
1.4(D)

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and elsewhere to end the conflict in Darfur by Dec 09

In Sirte, senior African officials expressed deep appreciation for the role the United States is playing on Sudan, and noted that US influence has resulted in consensus on the above confidence-building approach. While previous agreements have gone unimplemented, all parties now agree that implementation will be carried out first, then senior-level meetings can be arranged to confirm full implementation. We will continue to press forward on this track.

On my last day in Libya, senior Libyan officials dispatched an aircraft to take me and the Ambassador back to Sirte for discussions with Libyan Leader al-Qadafi. The Leader welcomed the US role in Sudan and endorsed our joint approach. He asked that the United States and Libya work together to end the proxy war between Chad and Sudan, and to address the underlying causes of the conflict in Darfur. He stressed that the opportunity to bring peace to Chad and Sudan (and to Darfur) must be seized. I conveyed our appreciation for Libya's role to improve relations between Chad and Sudan, and pledged our support for joint efforts to end the Chadian-Sudanese proxy conflict. Leader al-Qadafi promised to continue his nation's close collaboration with the United States. As Chairman of the African Union, Leader al-Qadafi will represent the AU in Rome at the G8 summit and is eager to meet you and President Obama on the margins of the Summit.

In Rome, I met with the UN Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) emergency program and the UN World Food Program Executive Director. FAO representatives expressed appreciation for US aid and warned of growing instability from drought, localized floods, and conflict in Southern Sudan. WFP confirmed that growing instability in Southern Sudan is negatively affecting rehabilitation operations, and warned that development efforts were being diverted to meet needs of newly displaced persons as a result of the conflicts—particularly in Southern Kordofan. WFP operations in Darfur continue to meet 95-100 percent of the emergency food needs for internally displaced persons in Darfur. The UN is continuing to use local communities (although in a decreasing manner) to distribute food where international NGOs are not yet available. In addition to its focus on meeting emergency food needs for internally displaced in Darfur, WFP is also working with other partners to review how to support voluntary returns from camps to their places of origin or to other areas chosen by the Darfuri people. WFP and other agencies are looking to coordinate activities to ensure physical security and human rights protection are guaranteed for all returnees, and that food and non-food needs will be met. Wish best wishes for an enjoyable holiday weekend, very respectfully, Scott

Jonathan S. Graton, Maj Gen (Ret)  
President's Special Envoy to Sudan  
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M:   
H:

B6