

THE ECHO FOUNDATION

Presents

Despair, Hope & Reconciliation



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Student Dialogue
February 2008

Hosted by

Charlotte Latin School

9502 Providence Road
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Teachers,

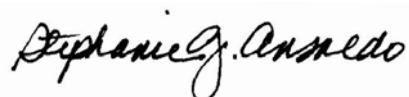
As the violence and genocide rage on in the Darfur region of Sudan, we at The Echo Foundation are compelled to focus our attention on what Elie Wiesel has named, “the world capital of human suffering, humiliation and despair.” Well into its fourth year, the unjust, intolerable and inhumane circumstances for millions in Darfur and in the displaced persons camps in Eastern Chad, weigh heavily on the conscience of the world. What can one person do in the face of this unrelenting evil?

We place the responsibility of answering this question squarely on our own shoulders and in the hands of all people. This year, rather than focus on one of the world’s great humanitarians, Echo’s ***Voices Against Indifference Initiative*** shines a light on the millions who need us so desperately in Western Africa. The great writer, Fyodor Dostoevsky, said, “Each of us is responsible for everything and to every human being.”

What have we learned from our ten years as students of the world’s foremost humanitarians? Are we standing idly by as Elie Wiesel urgently cautions against? Have we heard Bernard Kouchner’s pleas for the humane treatment of all people? Are we inspired by the courage of Harry Wu, and moved to action by the example of Wole Soyinka? Do we remember Kerry Kennedy Cuomo’s impassioned account of her work in South America for women and children? And has Jeffrey Sachs’ challenge to us turned us into agents of change?

Two enlightened and dedicated Charlotte students helped create this curriculum guide so that you, the teacher, will have a concise and user-friendly tool for teaching about this century’s most urgent humanitarian crisis. The articles, study questions and class exercises enclosed here can be woven into any subject area - history and language, math and science, art and drama. Let it not be said, by any student, that they do not know of *the crisis in Darfur!*

With thanks for your commitment to students and to justice,



Stephanie G. Ansaldo
President, The Echo Foundation

Despair, Hope & Reconciliation



Photo © AP Images

“Darfur is today’s capital of human suffering. Darfur deserves to live, and American citizens are providing it with reason to hope. Not to help, not to urge our elected officials to intervene and save innocent lives in any manner possible and needed is to condemn us on grounds of immorality. Our failure to speak out to end the ongoing genocide in Darfur would place us on the wrong side of history. And that thought must seem intolerable to all of us.”

—Nobel Laureate for Peace, Elie Wiesel

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Special Thanks

The Echo Foundation thanks Senior Intern, Sabina Klein, Sophomore, Yale University; and Junior Intern, Taylor Major, Junior, Charlotte Latin School, for their commitment to the people of Darfur. These two young people devoted their summer to the research and development of this user-friendly teaching tool in the hopes that it will be used widely, raising awareness and action for those who need us so desperately.

We wish them, and all who use this curriculum, a stimulating and inspired year.

Despair, Hope & Reconciliation

Table of Contents

I. URGENT: Crisis in Darfur	7
A. Timeline: Darfur Conflict, Peace Efforts	
B. Genocide in Darfur: The Briefing Paper	
C. Voices for Darfur	
II. Understanding Darfur	21
A. Geopolitical Background	
B. The Horrors in Darfur	
C. Study Questions	
III. Major Players and Conflicting Interests	47
A. Chad	
B. The African Union	
C. The United Nations	
D. United States of America	
E. France	
F. China	
G. Russia	
H. Major Players Graphic Organizer Lesson	
IV. Darfur: On the Ground	81
A. Is Climate the Cause?	
B. The Situation in Darfur	
C. The Refugee Problem	
D. The African Union / United Nations Hybrid Force	
E. Negotiations with Rebels Groups	
F. Study Questions	
V. Activism and “Actor-vism”	125
A. Can Drag Queens and Hired Guns Save Darfur?	
B. The Save Darfur Coalition	
C. “Actor-vism”	
D. Experts on Africa	
E. The 2008 Beijing Olympics	
F. The Flames of Hope	
G. Study Questions	
VI. Hope for Darfur	157
A. Diplomatic Approaches	
B. Military Approaches	
C. Hope for Darfur Graphic Organizer Lesson	
D. You Be the Diplomat: Mock Peace Negotiations Activity	

VII. Acting for Darfur	187
A. Educate Yourself	
B. Make Yourself Heard	
C. Take Action	
VIII. Resources	196
IX. Supplemental Materials	201
A. Defining Genocide	
1. Genocide in Your Own Words: How do you define genocide?	
2. Definitions of Genocide	
3. The 8 Stages of Genocide	
4. Rwanda	
5. Genocide in Your Own Words: Redefined?	
B. Nation-Building	
1. U.S. Involvement in Nation-Building Before Iraq	
2. South Africans Reconciled?	
3. Challenges and Accomplishments in Rwanda Since 1994	
4. Ready for when Darfur victims get their day in court	
X. Appendices	235
A. Art and Writing Contest Information	
B. About The Echo Foundation	
C. The Echo Foundation Board of Trustees	

I. URGENT: Crisis in Darfur



(Photo courtesy of TheAfrican.com)

Over 200,000 men, women, and children are dead. Thousands of women and girls have been raped. Two-and-a-half million people have lost their homes, their belongings, the very fabric of their lives. They subsist, barely, in refugee camps, terrified, captive to the ever-present threats of starvation, disease, and violence. Genocide has raged in Darfur, Sudan for over four years now, dark and haunting proof that the international community has failed to meet its promise of “Never Again.” Long after the violence ends, Darfur will still be a striking example of the human consequences of our inaction and a blemish on our collective humanity. We, as individuals and communities, must do our part, to help in any and all ways- to give hope to Darfur.

- A. Timeline: Darfur Conflict, Peace Efforts
- B. Genocide in Darfur: The Briefing Paper
- C. Voices for Darfur

Timeline: Darfur Conflict, Peace Efforts

*From Reuters
August 6, 2007*

Darfur rebel factions called together by the African Union and United Nations agreed on a common negotiating position for final peace talks with the Sudanese government, mediators said on Monday.

Here is a chronology of events in the conflict:

February 2003 - Two rebel groups rise up, saying government neglects arid region and arms Arab militia against civilians.

April 2, 2004 - United Nations says Darfur has become one of the world's worst humanitarian crises.

April 8 - Government, Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) rebels agree 45-day ceasefire. They later agree to foreign ceasefire monitors from the African Union (AU) and European Union.

May 5, 2006 - Sudan's government and SLA sign new peace deal. Rival SLA faction and the smaller JEM reject the deal.

August 17 - Britain and the United States introduce a Security Council resolution to send U.N. peacekeepers to Darfur. Sudan's ruling party rejects the draft resolution a week later.

August 31 - U.N. Security Council votes to create a U.N. peacekeeping force of up to 22,500 U.N. troops and police in Darfur, despite Khartoum's opposition.

January 10, 2007 - Sudan and Darfur rebels agree to a 60-day ceasefire and a peace summit sponsored by the AU and United Nations as steps towards stopping the violence.



A child's hand grasps barbed wire at Abu Shouk camp, located 7 km north-west of Al-Fasher, the capital of North Darfur, in 2006. Once home to Osama bin Laden, Sudan is an invaluable ally in the US-led war on terror but the cooperation may be allowing Khartoum to resist pressure to end the bloodshed in Darfur, experts say. (AFP/File/Ramzi Haidar)

Feb 27 - International Criminal Court's chief prosecutor names first two war crimes suspects in Darfur. Sudan says the ICC has no jurisdiction and later rejects arrest warrants.

March 31 - At least 65 people are killed in a cross-border raid by Sudanese Janjaweed militia in eastern Chad. Up to 8,000 civilians are driven from their homes.

April 2 - Unidentified gunmen kill five AU peacekeepers in Darfur, the deadliest single attack on the force since 2004. African Union says the help of U.N. troops is needed.

April 18 - United States and Britain threaten Sudan with sanctions and other punitive measures unless it agrees to accept a robust U.N. peacekeeping force.

May 29 - U.S. President George W. Bush imposes new U.S. sanctions on Sudan and asks for support for an international arms embargo to end what he calls genocide in Darfur.

June 12 - The AU says Sudan has agreed to the deployment, mandate and structure of combined U.N. and AU peacekeeping force.

Aug 1 - The U.N. Security Council authorizes up to 26,000 troops and police for Darfur and approved the use of force to protect civilians.

Aug 2 - Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Egypt, Cameroon and Ethiopia say they have pledged to provide troops for Darfur.

Aug 6 - Darfur rebels agree on "a common platform" for talks with the government, encompassing power- and wealth-sharing, security, land and humanitarian issues, a top UN envoy said.

The Genocide in Darfur - Briefing Paper

*From the Save Darfur Coalition
June 2007*

Background

Sudan is the largest country in Africa, located just south of Egypt on the eastern edge of the Sahara desert. The country's major economic resource is oil. But, as in other developing countries with oil, this resource is not being developed for the benefit of the Sudanese people, but instead, for an elite few in the government and society. As much as 70 percent of Sudan's oil export revenues are used to finance the country's military.

Darfur, an area about the size of Texas, lies in western Sudan and borders Libya, Chad and the Central African Republic. It has only the most basic infrastructure or development. The approximately 6 million inhabitants of Darfur are among the poorest in Africa. They exist largely on either subsistence farming or nomadic herding. Even in good times, the Darfuri people face a very harsh and difficult life; these are not good times in Darfur.

The current crisis in Darfur began in 2003. After decades of neglect, drought, oppression and small-scale conflicts in Darfur, two rebel groups – the Sudanese Liberation Army/Movement (SLA/M) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) – mounted a challenge to Sudan's president, Omar al-Bashir. These groups represent agrarian farmers who are mostly non-Arab black African Muslims from a number of different tribes. President al-Bashir's response was brutal. In seeking to defeat the rebel movements, the Government of Sudan increased arms and support to local tribal and other militias, which have come to be known as the *Janjaweed*. Their members are composed mostly of Arab black African Muslims who herd cattle, camels, and other livestock. They have wiped out entire villages, destroyed food and water supplies, and systematically murdered, tortured, and raped hundreds of thousands of Darfurians. These attacks occur with the direct support of the Government of Sudan's armed forces.



Smoke rises from a house in Tine after being bombed by a Sudanese government Antonov plane, 26 January, 2004. (Photo courtesy of Reuters AlertNet and Antony Njuna)

No portion of Darfur's civilian population has been spared violence, murder, rape and torture. As one illustration of how Khartoum has waged its war, the Sudanese military paints many of its attack aircraft white – the same color as UN humanitarian aircraft – a violation of international humanitarian law. When a plane approaches, villagers do not know whether it is on a mission to help them, or to bomb them. Often, it has been the latter.

This scorched earth campaign by the Sudanese government against Darfur's sedentary farming population has, by direct violence, disease and starvation, already claimed as

many as 400,000 lives. It has crossed over into neighboring Chad and the Central African Republic. In all, about 2.3 million Darfuris have fled their homes and communities and now reside in a network of internally displaced persons (IDP) camps in Darfur, with at least 200,000 more living in refugee camps in Chad. These refugees and IDPs are completely dependent on the United Nations and other humanitarian organizations for their very livelihood – food, water, shelter, and health care.



More than 1.1 million people have fled their towns and villages seeking assistance and protection. These IDPs, departing from Tawilla in North Darfur, are fortunate to escape with some of their belongings. (Photo courtesy of USAID)

Another 1 million Darfuris still live in their villages, under the constant threat of bombings, raids, murder, rape and torture. Their safety depends on the presence of the underfunded and undermanned African Union (AU) peacekeeping force, numbering just 7,400 troops and personnel. However, the so-called “AMIS” force, in Darfur since October 2004, lacks a civilian protection mandate as well as adequate means to stop the violence; its sole mandate is to monitor and report ceasefire violations and it has done little more, due to its limited mandate but also because of its anemic capacity.

Current Humanitarian Situation

The situation on the ground is deteriorating. The regime continues its military operations directly and via the *Janjaweed*. In recent weeks, there has been an increase in attacks, resulting in tens of thousands of new arrivals to the many IDP and refugee camps.

Visitors to these camps, including from the Save Darfur Coalition, have reported on the dire conditions their inhabitants endure. It is remarkable they have survived for this long, in the face of such overwhelming hardship, and with so little progress toward resolving the underlying cause of their dislocation and insecurity. Only the Herculean efforts of the UN and non-governmental humanitarian relief agencies have made this possible. They have 13,000 aid workers in 100 refugee camps in Darfur and Chad, working in very difficult security and logistical conditions, and constantly hampered and harassed by Sudanese government obstruction and red tape.

Humanitarian workers and operations are increasingly being targeted by both government and fragmenting rebel movement elements. Vehicles are being hijacked and robbed; aid workers are assaulted and intimidated while carrying out their work; and offices are broken into and looted.

In the first two months of 2007, according to the UN, over 80,000 more people entered into the IDP camps, fleeing the ongoing violence. Both the UN and non-governmental humanitarian agencies have warned that their ability to sustain operations is at risk in the face of government harassment and worsening security problems. Any interruption in the flow of humanitarian aid could spark deaths on a scale even worse than that seen to date:

UN officials say that the death rate in Darfur could rise as high as 100,000 people per month if the fragile humanitarian life-support system collapses.

U.S. and International Diplomatic Efforts

U.S. Actions

The human suffering in Darfur continues despite the fact that the United States Congress, President Bush, and two U.S. Secretaries of State, have all labeled Darfur a **genocide** – the first time in U.S. history that a conflict has been labeled as such while it was still going on.

The U.S. government has failed to engage in a sustained and coherent manner to address and lead international resolution of this genocide. President Bush has given tough speeches, Congress has passed legislation authorizing stringent sanctions targeted at Sudan's leadership, and the Administration (usually only after Congress has insisted) has provided significant – though still insufficient and sporadic – funding for humanitarian aid and peacekeeping.



On April 18, 2007, President Bush outlined new sanctions against the Sudanese government. (Photo courtesy of the Associated Press)

On April 18, 2007, President Bush stated that he was tired of Sudanese obfuscation and evasion as it pursued its genocide; he demanded prompt action by Sudan's President al-Bashir to end the genocide and cooperate with international demands that he admit UN peacekeepers to Darfur and cease obstructing humanitarian aid. The President warned that he had decided that

the U.S. would impose unilateral targeted economic sanctions on the Sudanese regime and work for the same globally in the UN Security Council. On May 29, 2007, President Bush announced the implementation of said sanctions against Sudan.

While the U.S. is also a major funder for both AU peacekeeping and humanitarian aid efforts in Darfur, the actual costs related to Darfur have often outpaced the projections due to the changing nature and scope of the crisis, creating dangerous gaps in funding and the need for frequent emergency measures to address the shortfalls. Within the President's proposed budget for Fiscal Year 2008, there is a projected \$186 million shortfall for Darfur peacekeeping, and a \$6 billion shortfall for America's core humanitarian assistance. If these gaps are not addressed, the impact to international peacekeeping and aid efforts could negatively affect millions of Darfuris.

Multilateral Actions

International diplomacy also has failed the people of Darfur. For four years, an endless parade of envoys and officials from the United States, many other countries and the UN have visited Khartoum with messages to President al-Bashir. The diplomacy has been sporadic, uncoordinated, incoherent and mutually-canceling. Promises and threats have

gone unfulfilled. The Khartoum regime has become adept at playing one envoy and peace initiative off against another – all in keeping with its overarching strategy to deny, to delay, and to defy a weak-willed and disunited international community as it pursues its genocide relentlessly in Darfur. To limit world awareness of that genocide, al-Bashir severely restricts access to Darfur by diplomats, humanitarian workers, and journalists – anyone who might tell the world community what is going on there. However, information from those who do visit and from aid workers and UN and AU personnel on the ground has provided broad evidence of ongoing Government attacks.

Among the key multilateral diplomatic initiatives that have sought to end to the conflict:

- **Darfur Peace Agreement:** On May 5, 2006, under strong pressure from the AU, the U.S., and others in the international community, the Sudanese government and one rebel (SLM/A) faction signed the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) in Abuja, Nigeria. However, other rebel groups found the DPA inadequate in addressing Darfuran grievances and refused to sign, and the violence Darfur has in fact worsened in the year since the DPA was signed. In August, Sudanese government forces launched a major offensive in northern Darfur. That attack however was quickly bogged down in the face of successful rebel counterattacks, achieving little other than renewed hostilities. While it quickly became clear that a military victory for Khartoum is impossible, the attempt at that victory made progress towards a peaceful solution nearly impossible as well. The UN and AU are currently working together to try to revitalize a political process to bring all parties back to the table to work on a revised and improved DPA, but this effort is being hampered by rebel disunity and by Sudanese obstruction, which has repeatedly come in the form of the Sudanese air force bombing locations where rebels are to meet under UN/AU auspices to unify their positions in order to become capable of negotiating properly.



Protesters from Amnesty International demand a UN peacekeeping force in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of Paul Richards and AFP)

- **UN Security Council Resolution 1706:** The United Nations has passed 16 resolutions on Darfur. One of the most important was Resolution 1706 of August 31, 2006 that authorized a robust UN peacekeeping force of 22,500 troops to be deployed in Darfur with a mandate to protect its civilian population. More than eight months have passed; due to Sudanese stonewalling and a failure of UN member states to enforce their will, less than 200 UN advisors have actually been deployed. The current model being pursued by the U.S. and other countries is to deploy a “hybrid UN-AU force,” a deal reached in Ethiopia in November 2006, supposedly “accepted by al-Bashir, but then reneged upon.” Khartoum continues successfully to drag out the process, often rejecting proposals outright, and when pressure builds, making modest concessions to buy more time. If the UN fails to deploy a peacekeeping force in Darfur, it will be the first time in that institution’s

history that UN troops have not deployed after being authorized to do so by the Security Council.

- **UN Human Rights Council:** A high-level mission of the United Nations Human Rights Council, led by Nobel Peace laureate Jody Williams, issued a report on March 7, 2007, and said: “The situation is characterized by gross and systemic violations of human rights and grave breaches of international humanitarian law. The principal pattern is one of a violent counterinsurgency campaign waged by the Government of Sudan in concert with *Janjaweed* militia, targeting mostly civilians.” Sudan sought to have the report rejected by the Council because the mission had not visited Darfur – which was true, but only because Sudan refused to issue visas to the mission members. That effort to quash the report failed, and a new high-level delegation was appointed to follow up on the Mission’s report in a visit to Sudan as well as in other ways, and to report back to the Council’s next session this summer. Sudan is unlikely to cooperate with this second delegation.

In sum, there has been woefully inadequate international pressure on the Sudanese government:

- **The European Union** has not enacted any sanctions against the regime, nor discouraged European companies from doing business in the country. It hides behind a “requirement” that the UN enact mandatory global sanctions first, but then has done nothing to work for such sanctions in New York.
- **Arab states** have tended to run interference on Khartoum’s behalf in international fora and in terms of regional public opinion, and President al-Bashir has played to their instinct to view this conflict as Western interference in a fellow Arab state. Recent Egyptian, Libyan and Saudi diplomacy to “end the conflict” has been confused, obscure and founded on deference to Khartoum.
- **China**, Sudan’s largest trade and foreign investment partner, has been its most vocal defender on the world stage and has used the threat of its veto to water down any potentially tough UN Security Council action. The Chinese have modestly increased their engagement with Khartoum about Darfur under pressure of international public scrutiny of the 2008 Beijing Summer Games with their “One World, One Dream” theme while a nightmare persists in Darfur. Still, Chinese “quiet diplomacy” on Darfur is couched in the contradictory context of a flourishing economic and military relationship that China publicly prizes.
- While **African leaders** denied President al-Bashir the presidency of the African Union in January for the second year running, they have done little else to pressure the Sudanese government. Sudan is a significant player in Africa and uses diplomacy where it works, and arm-twisting where it’s needed, to limit the impact of those African leaders who have backed pressure on Khartoum for an end to the genocide. Al-Bashir has plenty of African allies and apologists, and African capacity to engage meaningfully is in any case hampered by weak and ineffective institutions.

Voices for Darfur

The voices of leading members of the local, national, and international community are among the most powerful urging students to take action on Darfur and expressing why each person carries a responsibility toward his or her fellow human beings. We sent a letter asking over 80 political, business, and religious leaders and activists for their response to the following:

“Why should students feel a responsibility toward others, and what advice would you give a student who wants to take action on Darfur but feels powerless to make a difference?”

Here are their words:

August 1, 2007

You have asked me to comment on the following question:

Why should students feel a responsibility toward others, and what advice would you give a student who wants to take action on Darfur but feels powerless to make a difference?

We are all members of the human race and, as such, have been created with the unique ability to express love and concern for others. While we are born with the instinctive ability to look after our own self interest, we learn early on that our relationship with others is an important part of self preservation. It is also one of the ways we experience the goodness, fullness and joy of living. While we tend to limit our relationships with those we most closely associate with, the fact is the broader our circle of friends and relations, the more fulfilling our lives become.

It is in that connection that our concerns for people in other countries, other cultures, other races, other ethnic backgrounds and other socioeconomic standings takes on a highly personal dimension. Feeling compassion for those that are less fortunate has a ripple effect in the way we act and react to opportunities to help. While those living in Darfur are struggling to live day to day, those of us in this country continue to live with abundant resources of all kinds. It makes us more sensitive in the way we use the bounty available to us and, in many instances, causes us to reach out to share some of our wealth and good fortune with those who are struggling just to live from day to day.

My advice is to recognize that, when we are willing to reach out to others who are less fortunate, we not only help those who are suffering, hungry and powerless but we help ourselves to become more human and complete as creations of a loving and caring God.

I hope this will be “food for thought” as you prepare for Humanitarian Day.

*H. Parks Helms
Mecklenburg County Board of County Commissioners*

August 7, 2007

Thank you for allowing me to provide thoughts on the crisis in Darfur, which is one of the most pressing humanitarian issues of the 21st century thus far. I am a major proponent of the educational, social and cultural development of our young congregants in Friendship Missionary Baptist Church and of young people throughout our nation and the world. The continued success of our nation in this increasingly global society is directly related to our ability to apply knowledge and problem-solving skills not only to issues of business, science and government, but also to issues of humanity. Because of technological advances and a growing global economy, we have become even more interconnected, so we must be aware of humanitarian issues no matter where we reside on the globe.

The situation in Darfur presents people of the world with two important challenges – a Religious Belief Challenge and a Social Challenge. It is very easy to surmise this as a religious war. This is consistent in the recognized wars and labeled genocide situations within Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda, South Sudan and now Darfur. The war fueled by government supported militias has caused the brutal deaths of civilians, a complete displacement of 2.5 million civilian people and over 400,000 deaths. The killings and other atrocities have continued despite agreements between the Sudanese government and the rebel groups in Darfur and despite the involvement of the United Nations.

How can we as members of the faith community turn away as our brothers and sisters are murdered on a daily basis? Are we not our brothers' keeper? Christ has said to those of us in the Christian community, “if you have done it to the least of these, you have done it unto me.” We have a faith-based responsibility and a social responsibility to address the crisis in Darfur. We cannot remain silent in the face of this travesty. However, we must do more than talk in an effort to persuade international

governments to action. We must do what we can to ease the suffering of the people through humanitarian aid that will help provide for their physical, emotional and spiritual needs.

As adults, we must teach our youth to consider the greater good of all humanity as they make decisions. I am hopeful that as youth become involved in the issues surrounding the crisis in Darfur and other humanitarian situations around the world, they will develop political awareness and social consciousness that reinforce the fact that we are not an island. Because we are interconnected and often interdependent, we must establish concern for all persons. This initiates the faith responsibilities of “service” and “witness” that are embraced by Christians as we try to become more Christ-like in our daily walk.

Therefore, I urge youth to seek directional guidance from their religious organizations and denominational leaders to determine the current level of involvement. Additional resources and increased efforts may come from collaborations that have become the hallmark of the religious community in the United States as American Muslims, Jews and Christians have collectively agreed and implemented actions against this brutal war and established genocide in Darfur.

Justice is not practiced nor adhered to by all, but justice must be an intentional practice and provision for all.

*Dr. Clifford A. Jones, Sr.
Senior Minister
Friendship Missionary Baptist Church*

August 7, 2007

The shoes I am wearing were made in Indonesia. The shirt I have on was made in Malaysia; the suit, Costa Rica. The coffee I drank this morning, it says Columbian coffee, but it was made in Concord, North Carolina. Who knows? The point is, we are interdependent. This goes beyond the products we buy to the people we know. There are people in our congregation from Liberia and Haiti, Canada and Mexico.

We are interdependent. What happens in one place affects everyone else. We think of 9/11 and Tsunamis and Katrinas. I came across an interesting term recently: “the butterfly effect”. It is traced to the scientific idea that the flapping of a butterfly’s wings in a distant part of the world, say Brazil, has a profound effect on weather systems in another part of the

world, in this case, a tornado in Texas. Early in the morning, as I begin to wake up, I am listening to the radio, and a part of what I hear each morning is how the financial markets did in Asia while I was sleeping. That will affect our financial markets in the U.S. And so it goes.

We are interdependent. Christians grasp this. When one suffers, Paul wrote, we all suffer. When one rejoices, we all rejoice (I Corinthians 12). In the words of the poet John Donne, “no man is an island”. We are connected to each other.

Jews and Christians have always sensed a deep connection in the very creation of each person in the image of God (Genesis 1). The calling of Israel was to be a light to the nations. The command to the disciples of Jesus was to go into all the world. We are connected to each other in the gifts of creation and salvation.

And so a person living in Charlotte, North Carolina reflects on the genocide occurring in Darfur and asks, “What can one person do?” Some first steps: We can expand the horizons of our knowledge. We can read, looking for patterns that have occurred in the past (what have we learned from history?). We can listen to the testimonies of survivors and honor their truthfulness. We can encourage our political leaders to get involved. We can support non-governmental organizations that are taking risks by being present in this crisis. We can pray. We can value each life as if it is our own.

We are interdependent. No one is an island. And there is the expectation that those with a great share of the earth’s resources and power will act in behalf of those who are most vulnerable. To whom much is given, Jesus said, much will be required.

*Dr. Kenneth H. Carter
Senior Pastor
Providence United Methodist Church*

August 10, 2007

Students should feel a responsibility toward others because we live in an interdependent world. No community, including the global community, can survive without the dedication of attention, energy, concern and resources of its members.

I would advise students to take action on Darfur and not feel powerless. As Margaret Meade is so often quoted, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has." There are many examples of students' efforts to help the people of Darfur, including the efforts of Myers Park High students last year.

*Susan Burgess
Mayor Pro Tem
Charlotte, NC*

August 15, 2007

***I want to make a difference!** I screamed the same thing many times over many years and in many different volunteer endeavors, and in 2003, it propelled me into the political world as I chose to utilize my skills and education and business background for the families in the community I love and have lived in the past 38 years. Education is my passion. Thus, I was elected to the Mecklenburg County Board of Education as an At-Large member as the top vote getter in a field of 11 candidates.*

There are so many needs in this world. Let me give you an example. Mother Theresa of Calcutta captured the world by lifting up the neediest persons and helping one person at a time. Wow! She lived her life truly loving to pray, because she felt prayer gives a clean heart and a clean heart can see God. I treasure the memory of her visit to Charlotte, North Carolina. In person, she appeared as a very tiny woman, soft spoken, yet she held the world on her shoulders and by her example, she could move mountains. She moved millions and even after her death in 1997 at age 87, she has many who are following in her footsteps.

I would advise you to choose something, whether it is Darfur or something closer to home. Let it be a commitment for community service to your fellow man, but leave room to change as you find your interests change and broaden as you strive to find balance in your life with your spiritual, physical and mental needs. One of my favorite quotes is the following by Edmund Everett Hale:

"I am only one, but still I am one. I cannot do everything, but still I can do something; and because I cannot do everything, I will not refuse to do the something that I can do."

*Kaye McGarry, M.Ed.
Charlotte Mecklenburg Board of Education, At-Large Member*

II. *Understanding Darfur*



Photo from UN World Food Programme

The Sudan, the largest country in Africa, is a predominantly Muslim nation in the Horn of Africa. Since gaining its independence from Britain in 1956, the Sudan has been torn by civil war, and the political situation has often been unstable, with military dictatorships succeeding one another in several coups d'état. The nation, however, retains a rich cultural landscape and the individual tribes maintain their own identities.

A. Geopolitical Background

- History of Sudan
- President Omar al-Bashir

B. The Conflict in Darfur

- Welcome to Khartoum, Pride of a Failed State
- Darfur: Roots of the Crisis
- The horrors of Darfur's ground zero
- Darfur's Peace Process
- Sudan's President Bashir paints false picture of crisis in Darfur

C. Study Questions

“In this country with its diverse population, if you give guns to one group you're pitting brother against brother, and that's volatile, and it's not good. And who is it that's done that? The Sudanese government has done that.” - *The Sultan of Dar Sila*

History of Sudan

Compiled by The Echo Foundation
June 2007



The Republic of the Sudan is the largest country in Africa. (Photo courtesy of the CIA World Factbook)

With a population of 39,379,358 people (CIA), the Republic of Sudan lies in the Horn of Africa in the northeast of the continent. Covering 967, 494 square miles, the Sudan is geographically the largest country in Africa as well as the fifth most populous. The country shares borders with nine countries, including Chad, the Congo, the Central African Republic, Libya, Eritrea, and Ethiopia, as well as meeting the Red Sea in the northeast. The capital is Khartoum, a thriving modern city that sits almost directly in the center of the country and which is part of a three city conglomerate that includes Omdurman, the largest city in the Sudan (Columbia Encyclopedia). In Arabic, *bilad al-sudan* means “the land of the blacks,” from which Sudan draws its name.

Although Arabic is the official language

of the Sudan and Islam the official religion, the large non-Muslim population, which speaks its own languages and dialects, resents the imposition of Islamic Sharia law as the official judicial code of the country and has resisted Khartoum’s program of Islamization and Arabization over the past few decades (BBC).

Land

The Nile River and its tributaries dominate the landscape of much the Republic of Sudan, providing water and irrigation for the surrounding farmland and villages as it runs its south-north course through the country. The areas not surrounding the Nile, however, are characterized by a rolling plateau with swampland and rainfall in the south that transitions to prairies and eventually to desert in the northern regions (Columbia Encyclopedia).

People

The Sudan consists mostly of rural areas, with the vast majority of the citizens living in villages or small towns. There are few major cities, including Khartoum, Omdurman, and North Khartoum, which form a large urban region surrounding the capital. This region has grown greatly in the last thirty or so years due to of an influx of refugees fleeing

conflicts in Sudan's surrounding countries. Because of the arid, desert climate of the north, the population is concentrated in the central and southern areas of the country. Civil war has wracked the Sudan for the past two decades, forcing many citizens to find refuge in other countries and destroying infrastructure, especially in the South (*Columbia Encyclopedia*).

The northern, central, and southern sections of Sudan are each home to a distinct group of people who share the same general linguistic, cultural, and economic characteristics. In the north, the majority of the citizens are Sunni Muslim. Though ethnically some are Nubian and others are Arab, both are culturally Arab and speak Arabic. The inhabitants of the central region, called westerners because many immigrated from the west during the last century, are generally farmers and agriculturalists who are, like their northern neighbors, Muslim as well. The southerners, on the other hand, are chiefly animists who retain their traditional belief systems while others are Christian. Southerners are almost wholly non-Arab and non-Arabic speaking, and the Dinka are the principal tribe in the region. Southerners, like westerners, generally farm or raise and herd livestock (*Columbia Encyclopedia*).

Economy and Industry

Subsistence farming is the main occupation of the vast majority of Sudan's population with some 80% of working people involved in cultivating harvests off of which they survive. This situation, however, leads to great instability for many farmers - most farms depend solely on rain for irrigation, and the unpredictable and often dry climate frequently destroys crops, causing famine. The export crops are mainly cotton, sesame, and peanuts, and the Sudan is a leading producer of gum Arabic. The Sudan, and especially the South, has rich oil reserves, but until recently, civil conflict interrupted and then prevented cultivation of this economic boon (*Columbia Encyclopedia*).



Agriculture and subsistence farming are the mainstays of life for most Sudanese. (Photo courtesy of the Cooperative Housing Foundation International)

According to the CIA World Factbook, the government in Khartoum has stabilized the economy over the last few years through "sound economic policies and infrastructure investment," which includes redeveloping the oil sector. Since the millennium, the Sudan has maintained constant economic growth, but the civil conflicts in the South and West and changeable and unpredictable weather prevent most Sudanese from seeing the benefits of the growing economy (CIA).

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A sketch of the Mahdi and his followers. (Photo courtesy of Afropop Worldwide)

Early History

Most of the inhabitants of Nubia (as northeast Sudan was called in ancient times) were converted to Coptic Christianity in the 6th century A.D., and by the 8th century, three states flourished in the area. These states long resisted invasions from Egypt, which had come under Muslim rule in the 7th century. However, from the 13th to the 15th century the region was increasingly infiltrated by peoples from the north; the states collapsed, and

Nubia gradually became Muslim. The southern part of the modern Sudan continued to adhere to traditional African beliefs. Much of the north was ruled by the Muslim state of Funj from the 16th century until 1821, when it was conquered by armies sent by Muhammad Ali of Egypt.

From *The Columbia Encyclopedia*

Colonial Rule and Gaining Independence

In 1820, Egypt, at the time part of the Ottoman Empire, invaded the Sudan, and ruled for sixty years until the Sudanese leader Muhammad Ahmed, known as the Mahdi, or "promised one," took over in 1881.

When the British took control of Egypt in 1882, they were wary of the Mahdi's increasing power. In the Battle of Shaykan in 1883, followers of the Sudanese leader defeated the Egyptians and their British supporting troops. In 1885 the Mahdi's troops defeated the Egyptians and the British in the city of Khartoum. The Mahdi died in 1885 and was succeeded by Khalifa Abdullahi.

In 1896 the British and the Egyptians again invaded Sudan, defeating the Sudanese in 1898 at the Battle of Omdurman. Their control of the area would last until 1956. In 1922 the British adopted a policy of indirect rule in which tribal leaders were invested with the

responsibility of local administration and tax collection. This allowed the British to ensure their dominion over the region as a whole, by preventing the rise of a national figure and limiting the power of educated urban Sudanese.

Throughout the 1940s an independence movement in the country gained momentum. The Graduates' Congress was formed, a body representing all Sudanese with more than a primary education and whose goal was an independent Sudan.

In 1952 Egypt's King Farouk was dethroned and replaced by the pro-Sudanese General Nguib. In 1953 the British-Egyptian rulers agreed to sign a three-year preparation for independence, and on 1 January 1956 Sudan officially became independent.

From EveryCulture.com

The Republic of the Sudan



Three men sit by the river in the Ali-Abu region of Sudan. Seventy percent of Sudanese are Sunni Muslim. (Photo courtesy of EveryCulture.com)

Military regimes favoring Islamic-oriented governments have dominated national politics since independence from the UK in 1956. Sudan was embroiled in two prolonged civil wars during most of the remainder of the 20th century. These conflicts were rooted in northern economic, political, and social domination of largely non-Muslim, non-Arab southern Sudanese. The first civil war ended in 1972 but broke out again in 1983. The second war and famine-related effects resulted in more than 4 million people displaced and, according to rebel estimates, more than 2 million deaths over a period of two decades.

From the *CIA World Factbook*

In 1958, Gen. Ibrahim Abboud led a military coup that ended the parliamentary system. Unable to improve the country's weak economy or to end the southern revolt, Abboud in 1964 agreed to the reestablishment of civilian government. The new regime also had little success in coping with the country's problems.

In 1969, Col. Muhammad Gaafur al-Nimeiry staged a successful coup. He banned all political parties and subsequently nationalized banks and numerous industries. The bloody civil war was ended by an agreement between the government and the Southern Sudan Liberation Front (whose military arm was known as Anya Nya) signed Feb. 1972 at Addis Ababa. Under the agreement S. Sudan was granted considerable autonomy. Also in 1972, the Sudanese Socialist Union, the country's only political organization, elected a "people's assembly" to draw up a new constitution for the country, which was adopted in 1973. Nimeiry's regime became the target of criticism at home because of worsening economic conditions and for its support of Egypt's part in the Camp David accords with

Israel; in the late 1970s, Nimeiry dismissed his cabinet and closed universities in an attempt to quell opposition.

During the 1980s, political instability in S Sudan increased, with renewed fighting by the largely Christian and animist Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). Motivated at least partly by a desire to shore up his popularity in the largely Muslim north, Nimeiry in 1983 instituted strict Islamic law, further inflaming opposition in the south. Having survived numerous earlier coup attempts, he was overthrown in 1985, and Gen. Abdul Rahman Swaredahab was installed as leader of a transitional military government. Elections were held in 1986 and a civilian government led by Sadiq al-Mahdi ruled until it was overthrown in a bloodless coup in 1989.

From *The Columbia Encyclopedia*

The Revolutionary Command Council and Omar al-Bashir

On seizing power in 1989, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) for National Salvation abolished the transitional constitution of 1985, the National Assembly, and all political parties and trade unions and ruled by decree. The RCC ruled until 1993; that year it oversaw the transition from military rule to a civilian government. Nonetheless, it was a civilian government in which the NIF was securely in power, as the RCC appointed al-Bashir to the presidency of the new government before disbanding. The first presidential and legislative elections since the 1989 coup were held in 1996; al-Bashir won the presidency and was also reelected in 2000. The ostensible transformation of the government continued with a 1998 referendum in which a new constitution was overwhelmingly approved. The introduction of multiparty politics in 1999, although viewed with pessimism by many, also seemed to support the transition to a more democratic approach to government. The partial suspension of the new constitution later that year, however, tempered optimism, as it appeared The Sudan was clinging to an authoritarian regime. Also that year, The Sudan began to export oil, providing the opportunity to bring in much-needed revenue to the country's blighted economy.

From *The Encyclopedia Britannica*

The North-South conflict, which reignited in 1983 after around a decade of peace, lasted until early 2005, when a peace agreement was signed by both the government in Khartoum and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, the southern rebel faction. In the meantime, armed conflict had started between rebel groups in the western region of Darfur and government forces and government-backed militias. This conflict has devolved into a human rights crisis that has been called genocide by the United States government and which the government in Khartoum continues to downplay.

President Omar al-Bashir

*Compiled by The Echo Foundation
June 2007*

General al-Bashir's terms as President of the Sudan have been defined by civil strife, international tensions, and accusations of human rights atrocities.



General Omar al-Bashir led a military coup that eventually established him as President of Sudan. (Photo courtesy of the TIMES online)

The son of a farming family, Omar al-Bashir was born in northern Sudan in January of 1944. At sixteen, he joined the Sudanese army and in 1966, he graduated from the Sudan Military Academy. President al-Bashir rose to the rank of lieutenant general after fighting in several campaigns, including the Arab-Israeli war in 1973 and also served in several other military posts between 1975 and 1987 (BBC).

On June 30, 1989, General al-Bashir led a military coup that overthrew Sadiq al-Mahdi, who had been elected Prime Minister a few years earlier. Afterward, al-Bashir proclaimed that the coup was “to save the country from rotten political parties,” justifying the constitutional decree he later signed that outlawed other political parties, dissolved the government and parliament, and established the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation (RCC). The impending signing of a peace treaty between the southern rebel group run by John

Garang, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), and the government in Khartoum also prompted the coup because the agreement would have established secular law instead of Islamic law in the south (BBC).

In December 1989, peace negotiations with the southern rebels fell apart after only five days because the government and the SPLM could not reach a compromise over whether to implement secular or Islamic law in southern Sudan. By April 1990, al-Bashir and his government became increasingly radical, and, after joining ideologically with Hassan al-Turabi, a radical Islamist and the leader of the National Islamic Front, General al-Bashir imposed Sharia in northern Sudan and expanded the role of Islam in the government. He cemented his personal power and the complete control of his government over the state when he executed thirty-one military and police personnel after accusing them of conspiring to overthrow the government. Then, in March 1991, President al-Bashir implemented the Criminal Act, which imposed Sharia over all of Sudan, excluding the southern provinces (BBC).

In October 1993, the RCC disbanded, and al-Bashir was appointed President of the new civilian government (BBC). In March 1996, the first election since the 1989 coup re-established Omar al-Bashir as president with 75.7% of the votes, and a new National Assembly was also elected. The new government remained almost solely in the control of the National Islamic Front, and al-Turabi was even elected speaker of Parliament. The

election, however, was boycotted by the majority of the opposition. In January 1999, political parties were legalized, leading to the establishment of al-Bashir and al-Turabi's National Congress Party, a renamed National Islamic Front (*Columbia Encyclopedia*), as well as other political parties. However, in late 1999, al-Bashir proclaimed that the country was in a state of emergency after Mr. al-Turabi attempted to curb the president's powers, causing not only the disbanding of Parliament but also the break between President al-Bashir's and al-Turabi. December 2000 saw Omar al-Bashir's re-election as president in a vehemently contested election during which al-Bashir was accused of vote rigging (BBC Profile).



Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir addresses the 61st session of the United Nations General Assembly, Tuesday, September 19, 2006. Photo courtesy of the Associated Press.

In January 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed between al-Bashir's government and the SPLM, ending the civil war that had raged for the last two decades. Then, in July 2005, al-Bashir was forced, as part of the peace agreement, to allow the establishment of an interim government in the South and to share power with John Garang, former leader of the SPLM and head of the southern government. Al-Bashir, while he remains the principal leader of the Sudan, still shares power with Garang's successor, Salva Kiir, in the South (*Columbia Encyclopedia*).

Conflict in Darfur erupted in 2003, and though al-Bashir has faced great international pressure to stop the crimes that the United States has called genocide and that other countries have acknowledged as massive human rights atrocities implemented by government-backed militias, the President of the Sudan has not acted seriously to stem the violence and has broken several international agreements aimed at stopping the killing. In fact, al-Bashir maintains that the crimes in Darfur are no more than the usual offenses committed in any country and that the accusations of genocide and human rights violations are attempts by the West to destabilize and undermine his government.

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Welcome to Khartoum, Pride of a Failed State

*From Reuters News Agency
By Opheera McDoom
July 1, 2007*

(Khartoum) - With eight-lane highways adorned by huge television screens advertising Sudanese companies, Khartoum does not appear to fit its role as capital of the world's most failed state. Arriving in Khartoum's pristine, refurbished airport terminal, visitors are greeted by a huge glass Toyota showroom displaying the newest, shiniest model.



Will the economic boom lead to social change? (Photo courtesy of BBC News)

Testament to Sudan's new oil wealth, pumping more than 500,000 barrels per day, high-speed wireless is available, mobile-phone networks compete for new customers and cafes serving French pastries have sprung up throughout Khartoum, one of the safest capitals in Africa. Analysts attribute the city's wealth to its concentration of international business and also credit the strength of the security apparatus in Khartoum, base of the Sudanese government.

But outside the rapidly developing city centre, the capital's sprawling slums are home to millions who have fled regional conflicts throughout Africa's largest country. Here, the people do not have electricity, running water or proper health care. In Sudan's peripheral regions, the situation is worse.

"By any standards other than the economy of Khartoum (and) immediate region, Sudan is a profoundly failed state," said U.S. academic and activist Eric Reeves.

Most analysts agree that democratization is necessary for Sudan and those enjoying the fruits of foreign investment should not expect it to last forever.

"Unless the pattern of rapacious elite governance that has characterized Sudan for decades changes, the mounting process of disintegration and genuine state failure will only gain momentum," notes Lawrence Rossin, a former U.S. ambassador.

Rossin says pressure is needed to encourage a fundamental change in governance. President Omar Hassan al-Bashir took over in 1989 in a bloodless coup and has ruled since.

Political parties and regional rebel groups have factionalized, leaving little effective or united opposition.

Says Rossin: "Until such sustained international pressure is exerted, half the people of Sudan will need protection from their own government."

Darfur: Roots of the Crisis

*This article was created by ENOUGH, a project of Center for American Progress and the Crisis Group
www.enoughproject.org
2007*

Sudan, Africa's largest country, owes its existence as one unit to its colonial history. Sudan is divided by religion, ethnicity, tribe and economic livelihood (between nomadic and sedentary cultures). Since independence in 1956, the country's most significant conflict has been that between the north and south, with the first civil war lasting from 1955-1972, and the second from 1983-2005.

The loose Ottoman-Egyptian administration of what is now Sudan collapsed in the 1880s after a national-religious revolt led by the Islamic Mahdi, or prophet. Anglo-Egyptian forces captured Khartoum in 1898 and established a jointly-administered condominium government. The British administered the north and south separately until 1947, with political power given to the northern elites prior to independence in January 1956.

Southern army officers mutinied in 1955, eventually forming the Anya-Nya guerrilla movement. A few years later, General El-Ferik Ibrahim Abboud seized power in Khartoum, but was forced out by a popular uprising in 1964.



Members of the SPLM rebel army train in Southern Sudan. (Photo courtesy of *The Sudan Tribune*)

A number of northern-dominated governments succeeded each other for the next few years, with General Gaafar Nimeiri leading a successful coup in 1969. Nimeiri came to power as a socialist, then recast himself as a moderate, and ultimately adopted the mantle of Islamic nationalism, all in order to maintain power in the face of opposition from across the political spectrum and ensure a prominent role for Sudan in what was then the superpower rivalry of the Cold War. As a series of coup attempts left him politically isolated, he began to seek peace with former adversaries in neighboring Ethiopia and Uganda, and with southern rebels. The Addis Ababa peace agreement was signed by the Nimeiri government with Anya-Nya in March 1972, and allowed for Anya-Nya integration into the national army and provided limited autonomy for the south.

However, consistent violations of the agreement by the government eventually led to a resumption of the war. The agreement was unconstitutionally revised by the Khartoum government in 1977, and northern troops were deployed to the oil-rich southern town of Bentiu. In response, southern troops mutinied against the government in June 1983. Khartoum then imposed Islamic or sharia law in September 1983, further alienating the non-Muslim southern population.

Southern grievances eventually crystallized around the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement, or SPLA, a rebel group led by Dr. John Garang. As political tensions rose in the north, the economy fell into decline and the war in the south re-escalated, Nimeiri was overthrown by a popular uprising in 1985 and, following a brief transition led by the military, a democratic government led by the northern-based Umma Party's Sadiq al-Mahdi was voted into power in 1986.

Moves towards a peace agreement between the SPLA and the government were dashed when the National Islamic Front, or NIF, led a bloodless coup in June 1989, a day before a bill to freeze sharia law was to be passed by Parliament and in the midst of what might have been promising discussions between the government and southern rebels. Led by General Omer al-Bashir, the NIF unravelled peace efforts, revoked the constitution, banned opposition parties, and pursued the war with the SPLA by proclaiming jihad against the mostly non-Muslim south.



A Sudan People's Liberation Movement's supporter dances while holding the SPLM flag. (Photo courtesy of the Associated Press)

Though its cause gained greater attention at home and abroad, the SPLA was weakened in 1991 by the fall of a key regional ally, the Marxist regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia, and by a major split within its own ranks. This led to serious inter-ethnic fighting in the south. The SPLA survived through a series of alliances with northern opposition movements and strong regional support. Over time, Eritrea became an important base of operations after Eritrea fell out with Khartoum over the NIF's support for Eritrean Islamic insurgents.

Around this same time, Sudan was implicated by both Ethiopia and the UN Security Council of involvement in the June 1995 assassination attempt on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak during his visit to Addis Ababa for an annual Organization for African Union (OAU) Summit. Subsequently, Ethiopia increased its support for the SPLA. Khartoum's harboring of Osama bin Laden and a broad array of terrorist groups throughout the 1990s led to its further international isolation, culminating in the U.S. cruise missile attack on Khartoum following terrorist bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998.

On-and-off negotiations between the government and the SPLA under the Kenyan-led regional Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, or IGAD, made little progress from 1994-2001. But in 2002, the Machakos Protocol – which granted the south the right to a referendum on self-determination following a six-year interim period and dictated that sharia law would remain in force only in the north – provided the framework for future, successful negotiations.

IGAD worked closely with a quartet of western countries – the U.S., UK, Norway, and Italy – to press the government and SPLA to reach a final deal. High-level U.S. diplomatic engagement, notably the White House's appointment of former Missouri Senator John Danforth as special envoy, provided much needed leverage to move the process toward its conclusion.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was officially signed on January 9, 2005. The CPA had sufficient momentum to survive the death of SPLM leader and Vice-President elect John Garang, and by October 2005, a new constitution had been ratified, a new government sworn in (with 52 percent of the executive posts for the ruling NCP and 28 percent for the SPLM), and the south's autonomous legislature and government became operational.

Darfur emerged as the next chapter in Sudan's civil wars when the Sudan Liberation Army/Movement (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) rebel groups took up arms against the government in February 2003. The rebels claimed years of political, economic and social marginalization of the region, and hailed primarily from the African Fur, Zaghawa, and Massaleit tribes.



A member of the Sudan Liberation Army in May 2006. (Photo courtesy of Reuters and Candace Feit)

After a string of rebel victories in the spring of 2003, the government responded by arming Arab Janjaweed militia to clear civilian population bases of those accused of supporting the rebellion. Violence and broken ceasefires continued throughout 2004 and 2005 – despite intermittent peace talks and the presence of a 7,000-strong African Union protection force that was deployed in August 2004.

Divisions between and within the two rebel groups have exacerbated the conflict and hindered negotiations. Hundreds of thousands have died in Darfur, and roughly 2.5 million have been displaced and today rely on external assistance for their survival. In March 2005, the UN Security Council referred the situation in Darfur to the International Criminal Court prosecutor for investigation, though the Sudanese government continues to oppose ICC involvement.

Peace talks mediated by the African Union culminated in the Darfur Peace Agreement on May 5, 2006. However, only one of the main rebel factions – the SLA faction led by Commander Minni Arkou Minnawi – signed the deal with the government, and the non-signatory rebel groups vowed to fight on.

Since the signing of this agreement, the security, human rights, and humanitarian situation in Darfur have continued to deteriorate. Khartoum continues its policy of support for Janjaweed militias and their attacks on civilians. Humanitarian access

remains extremely poor, as relief workers are targeted by government-supported militias, rebel groups, and bandits. Meanwhile Khartoum continues to oppose the deployment of an AU/UN "hybrid" force mandated by the UN Security Council.

No one can guarantee what will work with a regime as tough-minded and inscrutable as Sudan's, but patient diplomacy and trust in Khartoum's good faith have proven to be a patent failure. Although the United Nations General Assembly and UN Security Council have endorsed the doctrine of the "responsibility to protect" civilians when their own governments are unable or unwilling to do so, the world has yet to act to protect Darfur's civilians, ensure a lasting peace, or hold the perpetrators accountable.

The horrors of Darfur's ground zero

From The Australian
May 28, 2007

(Mukjar and Kalma) - A mass grave and horrifying memories illuminate the calamity of Sudan's killing fields, correspondents in Mukjar and Kalma report

Uncovered by a restless wind, skulls and bones poke above the thin dirt in this corner of Darfur, lying surrounded by half-buried, rotting clothes.

A short, bearded man named Ibrahim, 42, scratches through the sand. He is quiet and serious, close to tears. The bones he is looking at are those of 25 people who he is sure are his friends and fellow villagers. Some of them were dragged from the prison where he was held and were axed to death, he says. Ibrahim is showing the burial ground to an Associated Press reporter and photographer, the first Western journalists to visit this remote town in more than a year.

Western Sudan is about to enter a new phase in its four-year-old conflict, one villagers fear may encourage more killing.

Sudan's Government recently agreed to let in 3000 UN peacekeepers, a fraction of the 22,000 mandated by the Security Council last August. The deployment could take months and villagers fear the Government will want to get rid of all witnesses to atrocities before peacekeepers move in.

"We need them to come as fast as possible, because we're all in danger," said Ibrahim.

Aid workers and UN personnel say the burial site is just one of three dozen mass graves around Mukjar, a town at ground zero of the Darfur calamity, holding evidence against Sudanese leaders for war atrocities.

Some of what witnesses such as Ibrahim say corroborates what a prosecutor for the International Criminal Court in The Hague, in The Netherlands, has documented: at least 51 cases of alleged crimes against humanity and war crimes in the Mukjar area -- mass executions, torture and rapes of civilians. The prosecutor says most of the killings were done by the Sudanese army and the janjaweed, Arab militiamen backed by the Sudanese Government. Their war on Darfur rebels, which turned against all black African villagers, has become the world's worst humanitarian crisis, with more than 200,000 dead and 2.5million made homeless.

This month, the court issued arrest warrants for two men -- a Sudanese government minister and an alleged janjaweed commander -- who it contends directed atrocities here.

Most of the mass killings in this area happened in late 2003 and early 2004, when long-simmering tensions in Darfur flared into its latest bloodbath.

Ali Kushayb, the alleged janjaweed commander named by the ICC, has been fired as the Mukjar region chief of the “central reserve” police, a force regarded as a cover for the janjaweed. But he was replaced by his deputy, Addaif al-Sinah, who villagers say is the area's janjaweed chief.

Ahmed Harun, who was head of the Government's Darfur taskforce when the killings occurred, is also sought by the court. He is now the Minister of Humanitarian Affairs.

Mukjar offers a sobering look at the results of a government victory. Impoverished and frightened ethnic Africans huddle in refugee camps, while Arab nomads control the hinterland, threatening any farmer who tries to return.

“They did such a good job at cleansing the region in 2003 that there's not much left to fight over,” said an aid worker, who insisted on not being quoted by name for fear of being expelled.

Janjaweed fighters still stroll through the market, automatic rifles slung over their shoulders.

“We live side by side with the murderers of our families, and we can't do anything,” said Ibrahim.

Nearly four times the size of France, Sudan is Africa's biggest country. It is a patchwork of more than 100 tribes and ethnicities ruled by an Arab-dominated Government. Sudan has been plagued for decades by rebellions driven by feelings of discrimination and economic neglect. Darfur's tensions escalated just as the Government was negotiating an end to a 20-year civil war with its African, partly Christianised south, and it apparently feared a new threat to Sudan's territorial integrity. Its response was a fierce counterinsurgency.

The Government is accused of arming some of Darfur's Arab nomads and paying them to attack not just the rebels but innocent black African villagers. The name janjaweed roughly translates as “demons on horseback”. The Sudanese army is also allegedly involved.

The International Criminal Court's prosecution, after 20 months of investigation, limited itself to events between August 2003 and March 2004.

It charged that Harun and Kushayb bore “criminal responsibility in relation to 51 counts of alleged crimes against humanity and war crimes, including persecution, torture, murder and rape”.

All the cases stemmed from the Mukjar area. The Sudanese Government disputes almost all the allegations.

For Ibrahim, finding his friends' bones in a shallow grave was just one of the torments he described. In February 2004, he said, his father, a sister, three brothers and five nephews were killed during an army-janjaweed raid on his village, Trindi.

He managed to bury his relatives then fled to Mukjar, a three-hour hike away. But the following week he was arrested and jailed.

He and other witnesses said that nearly every day for more than a month, government forces would pluck a few men from the jail. Ibrahim said he saw or heard people being killed. Others just disappeared, and sometimes their bodies would turn up later.

"I learned to survive by hiding at the back of the cell when they came to pull people out," Ibrahim said. He was jailed until April 2004, when the international aid group Médecins Sans Frontiers reached Mukjar and first reported the atrocities.

The ICC report says large-scale purges had begun eight months previously after Harun, the minister, met in Mukjar with Kushayb, whom the ICC describes as the "colonel of colonels" of all janjaweed in the zone. It says Harun armed and funded the janjaweed with government cash and made regular follow-up visits to Mukjar.

Ibrahim recalled watching from his jail cell when about 1000 janjaweed gathered in front of the prison to receive their share of looted cattle. "The minister (Harun) told them their mission was to burn all the region down," he said. Next, he said, Kushayb ordered his men to "get rid of every Fur" and turn their territory into Dar al-Arab, meaning "Land of the Arabs." Fur are the main tribesmen of this region, hence the name Darfur. Kushayb then opened the cell's barred door, pulled out a prisoner and split his head open with an axe, Ibrahim said. Ibrahim said Kushayb then axed two more prisoners to death while his men shook their right fists and shouted "janjaweed, janjaweed".

As for Harun, Kushayb's boss, "the minister was sitting under the shade, and he was also cheering," Ibrahim said.

With Ibrahim in prison was Abdallah. He said two men were crucified on the prison wall. "A janjaweed then hammered a nail through one man's forehead," he said. The other was nailed through the chest.

Both Ibrahim and Abdallah separately said they had seen and heard women being brought to the prison and raped for hours by janjaweed. "I heard the women's cries all night," said Abdallah.

In Kalma, 190km from Mukjar, rapes are also a hideous frequent occurrence. Kalma is a microcosm of the misery -- a sprawling camp of mud huts and scrap-plastic tents where 100,000 people have taken refuge.

It is so full of guns that overwhelmed African Union peacekeepers long ago fled, unable to protect it.

Seven women who had pooled money last July to rent a donkey and cart ventured out of the refugee camp to gather firewood, hoping to sell it for cash to feed their families. They told AP they were gang-raped, beaten and robbed. The women say the men's camels and their uniforms marked them as janjaweed. The women said 10 Arabs on camels surrounded them, shouting insults and shooting rifles in the air.

The women first attempted to flee. "But I didn't even try, because I couldn't run," being seven months pregnant, said Aisha, a petite 18-year-old whose raspy voice sounds more like that of an old woman. She said four men stayed behind to flay her with sticks, while the others chased down the rest of her group.

Once rounded up, the women said, they were beaten and their rented donkey killed. Zahya, 30, had brought her 18-year-old daughter, Fatmya, and her baby. The baby was thrown to the ground and both women were raped. The baby survived.

Zahya said the women were lined up and assaulted side by side, and she saw four men taking turns raping Aisha.

The women said the attackers then stripped them naked and jeered at them as they fled. A camp leader said: "Ever since, I've made sure that women living on the outskirts of the camp have spare sets of clothes to give out."

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Darfur's Peace Process

From the Council on Foreign Relations

By Stephanie Hanson

June 18, 2007

Introduction

In May 2006, the Sudanese government signed a peace agreement with one of the rebel groups in Sudan's western Darfur region. Yet one year later, the agreement is seen as a failure. Security has deteriorated and rebel groups have proliferated. International efforts have focused on pressing Khartoum to accept the deployment of a hybrid UN/African Union peacekeeping force, as called for in an August 2006 Security Council resolution. But in the long run, experts say peace will only come to Darfur through a negotiated settlement between Khartoum and the rebel groups. Widespread disagreement remains over how to revive peace negotiations.

What is the status of the Darfur peace process?

Several different actors are working to bring Darfur's rebel groups and the Sudanese government to the table. Experts agree the best opportunity for restarting the peace process lies with a joint effort led by UN Special Envoy Jan Eliasson and AU Envoy Salim Ahmed Salim. Eliasson recently outlined a roadmap: align the different peace proposals, bring the rebel groups together, and begin negotiations. He hopes talks can start by the end of the summer.

What factors are hindering the process?

- **Undefined framework for talks.** John Prendergast of the International Crisis Group (ICG) argues that the UN/AU effort is an "upside-down process." The mediators, he says, have consulted with different parties—which all have their pet issues—but have failed to outline a clear agenda, without which the peace process has stalled. The various parties are "casting about without a rudder and without an anchor," he adds.
- **Lack of engagement by outside powers.** To date, experts say there has been a dearth of international political will behind the peace process. Although President Bush appointed a special envoy, former USAID administrator Andrew S. Natsios, to work on advancing peace in Darfur, some experts say this commitment pales in comparison to U.S. efforts during the North-South peace process, when there was a permanent team on the ground from the United States as well as from Europe. But signs are emerging that global efforts might strengthen. Washington's imposition of sanctions has stepped up pressure on Khartoum. And though China has thus far obstructed the UN Security Council from taking stronger action against Khartoum, Beijing recently appointed a full-time envoy to Darfur.

- **War between Sudan and Chad.** Sudan and Chad are embroiled in a proxy war in which each supports the other's rebel groups. When Chadian rebels (who receive support from Khartoum) attempted to overthrow the country's government in April 2006, the Darfur rebel group Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) fought with Chad's army against the rebels. In exchange, Chad arms JEM in its fight against the Sudanese government.
- **Competing agendas within the Sudanese government.** According to an ICG report, there is significant pressure within the ruling National Congress Party to stop restricting humanitarian access and arming the janjaweed in Darfur. Another complicating factor is the minority party, South Sudan's SPLM. The group had deferred to the ruling party out of concern that dissent would endanger the fragile North-South peace agreement, but since June 2006 it has grown vocal on Darfur and has tried to unite rebel groups.
- **Getting Eritrea on board.** Eritrea, which borders Sudan to the east and has pushed its own peace effort to maintain its regional stature, could act as a spoiler by resisting integration with the UN/AU initiative. It has provided Darfur rebel groups with weapons and pressured them to take part in the new peace talks. The UN/AU effort is "all predicated on getting the Eritreans to play ball," says Alex de Waal, program director at the New York-based Social Science Research Council.
- **Process is not inclusive.** The rebel factions in Darfur do not represent many significant groups, including some Arab tribes, civil society organizations, and women (PDF). Carla Koppell, director of the Washington-based Initiative for Inclusive Security, says these unarmed groups have had no stake in the peace process. She says there is a "rhetorical commitment" to a more participatory process than last year's negotiations, but sees a lack of broad-based consultations or a structure that encourages such consultations.

What are the provisions of the Darfur Peace Agreement?

The Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) was signed in May 2006 by the Sudanese government and Minni Minawi, who heads a breakaway faction of the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA). The rest of the SLA, along with the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), refused to sign the agreement. Its terms provided for:

- **Power-sharing.** The fourth-ranking post in the presidency is awarded to a rebel leader, who also chairs a regional authority that has power over security, land disputes, and reconstruction. The current ruling party is allotted two of the three governorships in Darfur until the 2009 elections, and a small majority in each legislature. The agreement also sets up a regional authority. As of February 2007, only 4 percent of the positions allotted for the rebels had been filled (including Minawi as the special assistant to the president); currently, some 80 percent are filled but there is controversy over how the posts have been allocated.

- **Referendum on autonomy.** A referendum is to be held by July 2010—after national elections—to determine whether Darfur should be an autonomous region.
- **Rights of the displaced.** Displaced Darfurians have the right to return to their homes and reclaim land. It specifies compensation for war victims as well as financing for Darfur's three state governments. The government has not yet made its initial \$300 million contribution to the Darfur Reconstruction and Development Fund, which was due by the end of 2006.
- **Cease-fire.** Government troops are to withdraw and the janjaweed militias are to disarm within five months. Neither has been accomplished and the security situation remains unstable, according to a March 2007 UN report (PDF).
- **Dispute-resolution mechanism.** The Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation was set up to allow Darfurian community leaders to resolve local disputes, but critics say it lacks authority in the community due to the number of DPA nonsignatories.

Who are the rebel groups that have not signed on and what do they want?

By some estimates, there are twelve groups, most of them offshoots of the original two rebel movements, the SLA and JEM. The SLA has splintered into several factions led by different commanders. Each has similar demands; namely, more compensation for displaced Darfurians (one group proposed \$2 billion). The ICG reports, however, that some SLA leaders are calling for Darfur to become an autonomous region.

The JEM takes a more radical stance. It demands changes in the national power-sharing structure to give all regions rights equal to those of the South and to reestablish a rotational presidential conference of local representatives. Like the SLA factions, it seeks compensation for Darfurians and wants political rights to be allocated based on population. In June 2006, after the signature of the DPA, the JEM spearheaded the formation of an umbrella rebel group called the National Redemption Front (NRF). This move to unite rebel nonsignatories has strengthened JEM, as have the group's links to Chad's government.

How does the situation in South Sudan relate to Darfur?

Peace negotiations in Darfur could have repercussions for South Sudan, which enjoys tentative peace under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The CPA ended the region's decades-long civil war in January 2005, established a power-sharing formula for the entire country until national elections in 2009, and called for a referendum on the South's self-determination. Some experts argue that the world's attention on Darfur has jeopardized South Sudan's peace agreement.

The two peace processes are increasingly linked, others say, and should be acknowledged as such. The CPA's power-sharing formula applies to the entire country, and thus the

South's former rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), is concerned that talks in Darfur might lead to a reopening of the CPA. Sudan's U.S. ambassador, John Ukec Lueth Ukec, a former SPLM member, said in an interview with CFR.org: "If we go back and open the door again on the CPA, that is going to be a disaster." He argues that the agreement provides the framework for solving the situation in Sudan, because it calls for national elections that will allow the people of Darfur to choose their leaders. De Waal agrees that free and fair elections are the key to resolving both of Sudan's crises and are "the best chance for the marginalized provinces to achieve political equality." Yet others believe the ruling National Congress Party will not relinquish its grip on power. "I wouldn't bet on elections as one of the ingredients for success," says Prendergast.

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Sudan's President Bashir paints false picture of crisis in Darfur

*From the Save Darfur Coalition
Interview conducted by NBC's Ann Curry
March 22, 2007*

On March 19, 20th and 21st, NBC News broadcast Ann Curry's exclusive interview with Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir. NBC News reported that it was his first sit-down interview with a western news outlet in several years. President Bashir used this interview to deflect attention away from his own country's deplorable brutality and the resulting humanitarian catastrophe. His focus was on spreading false and dangerous myths to impugn the credibility of the international organizations and governments working to resolve the growing disaster in Darfur.



Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir and Ann Curry. (Photo courtesy of Antoine Sanfuentes, NBC News)

Following are excerpts from President Bashir's interview. Each excerpt is followed by the facts as presented to the United Nation's Human Rights Council by the high-level mission created under United Nations consensus decision S-1/101. This mission led by Professor and Nobel Peace Laureate Jody Williams was charged "to assess the human rights situation in Darfur and the needs of the Sudan in this regard." The UN High-Level Mission report can be accessed at <http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/4session/A-HRC-4-80.doc>

BASHIR'S STATEMENT: "It is not in the Sudanese culture or people of Darfur to rape. It doesn't exist." Bashir claims rape is not possible in Sudan because it is a crime against god (*NBC interview with Ann Curry aired March 19 on NBC Nightly News and March 20 on the Today Show*).

FACT: According to the U.N. High-Level Mission report, rape and sexual violence are widespread in Darfur, Sudan. The report says that "in particular, rape and sexual assault have been widespread and systematic, terrorizing women and breaking down families and communities." The report also states that "since May 2006 sexual violence has also been reported in intra-tribal attacks. Despite the well-known patterns of rape of women around IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) camps, the authorities have done little to diminish the threat or investigate cases reported. Monitoring of the criminal justice system over the last two years has shown that very few cases of rape are investigated or prosecuted relative to the number of incidents that occur. Access to justice and prosecution of rape is further complicated both by cultural and by institutional factors, including the provisions of the criminal law combining rape and adultery in the same article. Women

are also attacked in and around refugee camps in Chad,” (*U.N. High-Level Mission report page 12,14*).

BASHIR’S STATEMENT: “It’s not 2.5 million. It’s 600,000,” said President Bashir referring to the number of displaced Darfurians (*NBC interview with Ann Curry aired March 20 on the Today Show*).

FACT: According to U.N. High-Level Mission report, there are “well over two million displaced people in Darfur -- and 30,000 more refugees in the camps in Chad, with new arrivals daily.” The report states that “by the end of 2004, some 200,000 Sudanese had fled across the border to neighboring Chad and an estimated 1.6 million were displaced within Darfur. The deteriorating security situation since the Darfur Peace Agreement has resulted in tens of thousands of newly displaced,” (*U.N. High-Level Mission report page 13*).

BASHIR’S STATEMENT: “Everything is provided for those 600,000 (displaced people),” said President Bashir (*NBC interview with Ann Curry aired March 20 on the Today Show*).

FACT: “Making matters worse, humanitarian space continues to shrink, and humanitarian and human rights actors are increasingly targeted,” claims the U.N. High-Level Mission report. The report also states that “attacks on humanitarian workers, obstacles and interference with humanitarian aid by the Government and armed militia have increased during 2006-2007. The humanitarian situation in Darfur remains critical and humanitarian space and access in the three regions of Darfur has been rapidly diminishing over the past year. Access has deteriorated to a level worse than in 2004, even as there has been a huge increase in the number of people relying on humanitarian aid. In the last six months of 2006, more relief workers were killed than in the previous two years combined. Just during the month of December 2006, 29 humanitarian vehicles were hijacked and 430 humanitarian workers relocated in all three Darfur states,” (*U.N. High-Level Mission report page 2,16*).

BASHIR’S STATEMENT: “I’m convinced those troops (peacekeeping troops) will not be able to do anything because they do not know Darfur. These troops are coming with the understanding they want to protect the civilians from the government, which is a faulty understanding,” said President Bashir (*NBC interview with Ann Curry aired March 20 on the Today Show*).

FACT: The U.N. High-Level Mission report states “witnesses, victims and observers we met repeatedly confirmed joint action between Government forces and armed militia in assaulting civilian targets in Darfur. Victims and witnesses with whom the Mission met frequently identified the provision of arms by the Government to the Janjaweed and other militias as one of the most significant factors in fostering tensions and violence between tribal groups and communities. Janjaweed attacks, sometimes in concert with Government land and air forces have been and continue to be primarily directed against the civilian population of Darfur, and focused especially on the tribal groups from which most of the rebels have been drawn. Villages have been razed, livestock stolen or killed, and crops destroyed, and whole populations forcefully displaced, in part in an attempt to

deprive rebel groups of support and resources,” (*U.N. High-Level Mission report page 12,18*).

BASHIR’S STATEMENT: “People have been killed because there is war,” said President Bashir addressing a question about civilians that have been shot and burned to death (*NBC interview with Ann Curry aired March 19 on NBC Nightly News*).

FACT: While precise figures are not available, the U.N. estimates that 200,000 civilians have been killed as a direct result of the conflict or due to its devastating impact on access to health care, food and other life essentials. The report also states that “janjaweed (government-backed militia) attacks, sometimes in concert with Government land and air forces have been and continue to be primarily directed against the civilian population of Darfur, and focused especially on the tribal groups from which most of the rebels have been drawn. In both refugee camps, and in our discussions with a number of observers, we were told of such joint attacks on civilians. Women, children and men have been killed indiscriminately,” (*U.N. High-Level Mission report page 12,14*).

BASHIR’S STATEMENT: “We have judicial system in Sudan -- anyone who committed a war crime, anti-human crime or any other crime will be locked up,” (*NBC interview with Ann Curry aired March 19 on NBC Nightly News*).

FACT: The U.N. High-Level Mission report states “mechanisms of justice and accountability where they exist are under-resourced, politically compromised, and ineffective. The region is heavily armed, further undercutting the rule of law, and meaningful disarmament and demobilization of the Janjaweed, other militia and rebel movements is yet to occur.” The report also states “although formally, the national court system in Sudan is functional and has jurisdiction over human rights crimes perpetrated in Darfur, these courts have been unable to resolve human rights abuses there. There is an acute shortage of judges and other judicial staff. Although there have been a few exceptional cases of domestic courts charging state officials in cases involving conflict-related crimes, the justice system as a whole is unable or unwilling to pursue justice or prevent attacks, and this is compounded by a general lack of independence and resources, an ill-equipped police force and legislation that protects state officials from criminal prosecution,” (*U.N. High-Level Mission report page 2,16*).

Understanding Darfur

Study Questions

1. Describe the climate of the Sudan and how this affects the lives and jobs of the Sudanese.
2. How has the Sudan's history of civil war affected the country's people, resources, and economy?
3. How does religion complicate issue of race and ethnicity in Sudan? How have al-Bashir's policies affected the role of religion in the Sudan?
4. The North-South conflict between the government and Southern rebels raged for over twenty years. Besides his unwillingness to negotiate and compromise, what about President al-Bashir's actions and policies might have inflamed this war further?
5. What are some of the reasons the SPLM rebelled?
6. How does the situation in Darfur affect the peace in the South?
7. Who are the two main rebel groups in Darfur, and what are their complaints?
8. What attitudes and trends has the Sudanese government revealed during both conflicts?
9. How can the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the upcoming election help the situation in Darfur?
10. Some argue that focusing on Darfur will hurt the peace between the North and the South. Others say that Darfur is the more pressing issue and deserves more attention. Do you believe that focusing on fulfilling the CPA is more important than the conflict in Darfur? Or is peace in Darfur necessary to guarantee the success of any government created by the elections agreed on in the CPA?

III. *Major Players and Conflicting Interests*



Image Courtesy of iStockPhoto.com

In today's globalized society, few problems involve only one or two countries, and the genocide in Darfur is no exception. Although at first glance the ethnic cleansing of Darfuri tribes may seem like conflict restricted to Sudan, closer inspection reveals the complex global involvement in and impact of the conflict. Trade and monetary interests, political agendas, and fleeing refugees simultaneously inspire some to action and cause others to turn a blind eye.

- A. Chad
 - Chad and Sudan's History
 - Darfur's Refugees in Chad
- B. The African Union
 - The African Union and Darfur
- C. The United Nations
 - Why the UN Is Involved: Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations
 - UN slams Darfur 'cleansing'
- D. United States of America
 - U.S. Relies on Sudan Despite Condemning It
- E. France
 - Sarkozy's Coming-out Party on Darfur
 - New French Leadership Creates Opportunity
- F. China
 - China, Sudan, and the Darfur Conflict Fact Sheet
 - China oil firm deepens Sudan ties with exploration deal
- G. Russia
 - Russia against greater pressure on Sudan over Darfur
- H. Major Players Graphic Organizer Lesson
 - Lesson Plan: Major Players Graphic Organizer

"Peace comes from being able to contribute the best that we have, and all that we are, toward creating a world that supports everyone. But it is also securing the space for others to contribute the best that they have and all that they are."

– *Hafsat Abiola*

Chad and Sudan's History

From Human Rights Watch World Report 2007
www.hrw.org

Events of 2006

In 2006, several separate but intertwined developments threatened the political stability of Chad: the effects of the influx of refugees and militias into eastern Chad due to the crisis in neighboring Darfur; efforts by Chadian rebel groups to oust President Idriss Déby's government; an acute fiscal crisis; and a protracted revenue dispute with the World Bank and international oil companies. The May 2006 presidential elections, won by Déby following a constitutional amendment permitting him to run for a third five-year term, contributed to domestic discontent.

Human rights abuses in eastern Chad worsened in the wake of Chadian government efforts to repel a Darfur-based Chadian insurgency. There were indiscriminate and targeted attacks by Sudanese militia on Chadian civilians left unprotected by the Chadian military, and Chadian officials were complicit in the forced recruitment of refugees, including children, by Sudanese rebel movements.

Domestic Political Instability

Chadian rebels hoping to oust Déby prior to the presidential elections scheduled for May 3 staged a failed attack on N'djamena on April 13, 2006. While civilians in N'djamena did not appear to have been specifically targeted or indiscriminately attacked by Chadian government or rebel forces, at least 291 people died in the fighting, including civilians, government soldiers and rebels.

An estimated 250 suspected Chadian rebels who were captured during the coup attempt were held at the Gendarmerie Nationale in N'djamena in inadequate detention facilities, and several detainees were subjected to torture or deliberately cruel treatment.

Government security forces have been guilty of violations including extrajudicial killings, torture, beatings, arbitrary arrests and rapes, which have been met by near total impunity. The government has placed limits on freedom of speech and the press; journalists who are critical of the government have been arrested on charges of defamation, and in some cases have been held in detention even after their charges have been dismissed.



Chadian president Idriss Déby has struggled to maintain his control over his country. (Photo courtesy of Agence France Presse)

Abuses Related to the Conflict in Darfur

Civilians in Chad have suffered human rights abuses as the conflict in Darfur has become increasingly cross-border and regional in scope. Chadian government security forces responded to the Chadian insurgency by redeploying troops away from long stretches of the Chad-Sudan border, leaving civilians exposed to raids by “Janjaweed” militias allied with the government of Sudan. Sudanese rebels, supported by a Chadian president desperate for allies among the many armed groups in the region, preyed upon Sudanese refugee camps in eastern Chad, forcibly recruiting civilians into their ranks.

Cross-border attacks on Chadian civilians by “Janjaweed” militias based in Darfur worsened in both scale and in intensity in 2006. In the first six months of the year, at least 50,000 Chadian civilians living in rural villages on or near the Sudan-Chad border were forced to leave their homes due to persistent attacks, which reached deeper into Chad than ever before.



Darfuri refugees in camps in Chad are subject to mandatory recruitment to Darfur's rebel groups. (Photo courtesy of Amnesty International)

In one of the worst known attacks, 118 civilians were killed on April 12-13 in the village of Djawara, approximately 70 kilometers west of the border with Sudan, simultaneous with the unsuccessful coup attempt by Chadian rebels. At the same time, Janjaweed militias reportedly killed 43 others in three villages in the Djawara vicinity: Gimeze, Singatao and Korkosanyo.

On March 17-19, a Sudanese rebel faction of the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) led by commander Khamis Abdullah and linked to the Chadian government forcibly recruited approximately 4,700 men and boys from UN-supervised refugee camps in Chad, many of them seized from schools. Many of the refugees were forcibly recruited and held in brutal conditions in training camps, and some individuals were exposed to torture and cruel treatment. Though most were eventually able to

escape, some were integrated into rebel forces in Darfur.

Key International Actors

Sudan exacerbated political instability in Chad in 2006 by backing both Chadian rebel groups determined to topple Déby and “Janjaweed” militia groups responsible for depredation and death in the volatile east of the country. Chad and Sudan signed an agreement in February under which they promised not to interfere in each other's internal affairs and agreed not to host the opposition of one country in the other's territory; but Chad unilaterally severed relations with Sudan following the April 13 coup attempt, which it blamed on Khartoum. On August 28, the two countries signed an agreement in

Khartoum almost identical to the one they signed in February but at year's end both governments continued to support rebel movements on either side of the border.

France has remained actively involved in Chadian affairs since Chad achieved independence from France in 1960, and has been a crucial ally to President Déby since he seized power in a 1990 coup d'état. More than 1,000 French troops are permanently stationed in Chad under the terms of a military cooperation treaty.

During the April coup attempt, French Mirage fighter jets fired warning shots at an advancing rebel column. French jets made surveillance runs over rebel positions during the April coup attempt and once again during government combat operations in eastern Chad in late September; in both instances the French military shared intelligence on the disposition of the rebel forces with their Chadian counterparts.

From "They Came Here to Kill Us" (January 2007)

Background

Chad plunged into civil war not long after it had gained independence from France in 1960, and has been intermittently wracked by internal and international conflicts ever since. Armed opposition to Chad's current leader, President Idriss Déby, increased in intensity in late 2005 when waves of defections from the Chadian national armed forces reinforced several Chadian rebel movements. In 2006, Chadian rebels waged a low-intensity war in eastern Chad, venturing west in April to strike at the capital, N'Djamena, before being repulsed by government security forces. In early December, rebel forces lost a series of decisive battles in northern and eastern Chad and later in the month one of the militarily strongest groups signed a peace agreement with the government. However, other rebel groups remain active and attacks on civilians are continuing, with cross-border militia raids from Sudan and inter-communal violence displacing 20,000 Chadian civilians in late December 2006 and early 2007, bringing the total number of internally displaced Chadians in the border area to more than 100,000. Despite the ever increasing need for humanitarian assistance, relief agencies are unable to access many Chadian civilians due to insecurity.

Chad's latest political crisis is playing itself out in a context of acute regional strife. Insurgent groups are threatening to topple the government of the Central African Republic (CAR), Chad's neighbor to the south, and the Darfur conflict in Sudan to the east is burning out of control for a fourth year running.

A dangerous cycle of proxy violence has developed, with both the government of Chad and the government of Sudan supporting and arming rebel groups in pursuit of wider political objectives and military goals. The government of Sudan has backed Chadian rebels and militia groups in Darfur and the government of Chad has supported Sudanese rebel groups in eastern Chad, which in turn have supported the creation of self-defense groups at the community level in Chad. Armed groups have proliferated along the Chad-Sudan-CAR border zone, and have committed serious crimes against civilians in Chad that may amount to war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The volatile Chad-Sudan border zone

Although divided by an international border, eastern Chad and western Sudan are closely linked historically, economically, and socially, with numerous ethnic groups common to both countries. Communities on both sides of the border live in marginal ecologies where seasonal rainfall can be erratic, putting pressure on nomads, agro-pastoralists and agriculturalists, and making access to water, pasture, and land suitable for crops a matter of life or death. Decades of war and drought have provoked cross-border migration in both directions.

The prevailing political dynamics in each region have a dramatic impact on the affairs of both states, particularly Chad. Both Chad's incumbent president, Idriss Déby, and the president he deposed in 1990, Hissène Habré, came to power by launching military campaigns from bases across the border in Darfur, with the support or complicity of the Sudanese government. Darfur was a base for Chadian dissidents in successive Chadian wars in the 1980s, and after 1986 Sudanese militias sponsored by Libya in its war with Chad were also active in the region. Although N'Djamena is situated in the far west of the country, it has been a truism in Chad that power comes from the east.

Chadian Arabs make up 15 to 20 percent of Chad's population and represent a crucial political constituency, particularly in the border zone. As a young army officer in the 1980s, Déby, who is from the Bideyat clan of the Zaghawa, carried out brutal attacks against Chadian Arabs on President Habré's behalf, prompting a Chadian Arab migration into Darfur. In April 1989, Déby followed the Chadian Arabs into Darfur as an exile in the wake of a failed coup d'état against Habré. While in Darfur, Déby allied himself with Chadian Arab rebel groups, some of which would join the armed effort to topple his regime years later. Déby enjoyed some level of support from Chadian Arabs until a Chadian rebel attack against N'Djamena in April 2006 led him to disarm and even arrest some Arab officers of the Chadian National Army (Armée Nationale de Tchad, ANT).



Members of the Janjaweed militia have been crossing the border into Chad and terrorizing villages near Darfur. (Photo courtesy of Beliefnet)

Chadian Arabs have played a key role in the Darfur conflict as well, which escalated in early 2003 after rebels from the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) attacked the airport in El Fashir, North Darfur. The government of Sudan reacted by recruiting Sudanese and Chadian Arabs, particularly from nomadic groups and recently arrived landless immigrants, into militia groups that came to be known as the "Janjaweed."

Between 2003 and 2005, government of Sudan-backed Janjaweed militias and Sudanese government forces carried out a campaign of "ethnic cleansing" and crimes against

humanity against civilians belonging to the Zaghawa, Masalit and Fur ethnic groups in Sudan, which predominate among the Sudanese rebel groups in Darfur, killing at least 200,000 people and forcibly displacing ten times that number. At least 232,000 Sudanese took refuge in eastern Chad.

Members of the Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa ethnic groups form the core of the Sudanese rebel movements, and many Masalit and Zaghawa have ethnic kin across the border in Chad who have offered them support and refuge over the course of the Darfur conflict. Meanwhile, some of the Sudanese Zaghawa who helped Déby seize power in Chad remained in the Chadian military. Given that some members of the Janjaweed militia also come from ethnic groups that straddle the border – or were themselves Chadian nationals – it was only a matter of time before the Darfur conflict permeated eastern Chad.

Armed groups, including Sudanese rebels and Janjaweed militia, have operated freely in the Chad-Sudan border zone from the start of the fighting in Darfur. The Chadian and Sudanese national armies have been more circumspect. However, Chadian military forces have been observed operating deep within Darfur and some units crossed the Chad/Sudan border in hot pursuit of Chadian rebels as recently as December 12, 2006. Sudanese government aircraft bombed villages in eastern Chad in October 2006, part of a broader pattern of indiscriminate bombing attacks against civilians in Darfur.

The deterioration in Chad-Sudan relations

In the early phases of the Darfur conflict, in 2003 and 2004, Déby was allied with Khartoum, which had been instrumental in bringing him to power, to the extent that he resisted pressure from his Chadian Zaghawa kinsmen to support Sudanese Zaghawa rebels fighting in Darfur, even as members of his inner circle warned him that Khartoum was supporting Chadian Arab militias with the intent of toppling his regime. However, unofficially Chadian Zaghawa in the military, including members of the Presidential Guard, directed covert assistance across the border, straining ties between Chad and Sudan.

As Chad's relations with Sudan deteriorated in 2005, President Déby's autocratic leadership style was costing him support at home, even within his Bideyat Zaghawa clan. Déby was broadly accused of mismanagement and corruption as revenue began to flow into the state's coffers from Chad's newfound oil wealth. At the same time, many within the ruling party believed that misappropriated funds weren't being spread widely enough. Domestic discontent over the predominance of minority Zaghawa in influential positions and the lack of democratic governance surged in June, when Déby amended Chad's constitution in order to run for a third term in office. As a result, influential members of Chadian society came to the conclusion that armed struggle was the only way to gain political power, and, as a perquisite to power, access to oil wealth.

Starting in early October 2005, Chadian Army troops defected with their equipment to Chadian rebel movements in Darfur. Prominent among these rebel groups was the Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et la Liberté (Rally for Democracy and Freedom, RDL), led by Mahamat Nour Abdelkarim, a Chadian from the Tama ethnic group.

Mahamat Nour is reported to have collaborated with the Sudanese government and Janjaweed leader Musa Hilal in the recruitment of Tama fighters in Darfur. The Socle pour le Changement, l'Unité et la Démocratie (Platform for Change, Unity and Democracy, SCUD) brought together high-ranking Zaghawa defectors from the armed forces, including members of the presidential guard, and from Déby's inner circle, including his twin nephews, Tom and Timan Erdimi, and the leader of his Bideyat Zaghawa clan, Yahya Dillo Djerou.

Sudanese government officials suspicious of Chadian support to the Darfur rebels began to provide material backing to the Chadian rebel movements. Both the RDL and the SCUD found homes in Darfur, with training camps established by the Sudanese government in October 2005. Material backing from Khartoum included weapons and ammunition observed by international arms monitors being offloaded at Geneina airport in West Darfur, transported to the national security compound in Geneina and then delivered under cover of darkness to Chadian rebel locations. In return, Chadian rebels reportedly fought alongside Janjaweed militia in operations against Sudanese rebels in West Darfur.



Chadian rebels have created great instability over the past few years. (Photo courtesy of Alert Net)

On December 7, 2005, SCUD rebels attacked Guereda, 120 kilometers north of Adré, leaving ten dead and five wounded, marking the beginning of a campaign of rebel incursions into Chad from Darfur. Mahamat Nour's RDL faction struck next, on December 18, 2005, with an ambitious raid on the strategic town of Adré in eastern Chad that was repulsed by Chadian security forces fighting alongside Darfur rebels.³³ Chadian authorities immediately blamed the aggression on Khartoum.

With his Zaghawa ethnic group making up only one percent of the Chadian population, President Déby has maintained power since 1990 by creating political alliances. With his support slipping, he found ready confederates among Sudanese rebels who needed to be able to use the Chad-Sudan border as a shield against Sudanese government attacks. By January 2006, Chadian support for Sudanese rebel movements had gone well beyond unofficial ad hoc channels and included vehicles, weapons and munitions. In February 2006 Chad and Sudan signed the Tripoli Agreement, vowing to cease support for each other's respective opposition groups and inviting the African Union to monitor the agreement; but behind the scenes both parties continued to maneuver and build alliances.

In April 2006, having brought the RDL together with several smaller Chadian rebel movements under the banner of the Front Uni pour le Changement (United Front for Change, FUC), Mahamat Nour laid siege to N'Djamena. FUC rebels dashed hundreds of

kilometers across Chad from bases in Darfur and CAR and fought pitched gun battles with Chadian security forces on the streets of the capital city. With considerable assistance from the French military, the takeover attempt was thwarted on April 13, with hundreds killed. The next day, President Déby unilaterally severed relations with Sudan. Though the two countries renewed their pledge to expel rebels from their territories in July and restored diplomatic relations in August, the April attack continued to cast a pall over bilateral relations.

By May 2006, Chadian government backing for Sudanese rebel movements was increasingly overt, as groups including the G-19 faction of the SLA and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) established bases in eastern Chad and canvassed for recruits in UN-managed Sudanese refugee camps, sometimes armed with laissez-passers signed by Chadian government officials.

Meanwhile, across the border, Sudanese intelligence agents pushed the splintered Chadian opposition movements to unite under a single command. Starting in mid-September 2006, Chadian rebel groups engaged Chadian government forces up and down the border, with Mahamat Nour's FUC now fighting under the umbrella of yet another rebel coalition, the Union des forces pour la Démocratie et le Développement (Union of Forces for Democracy and Development, UFDD). The Chadian Zaghawa rebels who had previously fought under the SCUD banner had reconstituted themselves as well, now identifying themselves as the Rassemblement des Forces Démocratiques (Rally of Democratic Forces, RaFD).



IDPs line up for food distributions: Due to insecurity, most farmers in Darfur have been unable to plant their fields, and government soldiers and Arab militias have systematically looted livestock. Therefore, many conflict-affected people rely on international donors for food assistance. (Photo courtesy of USAID)

As had been the case in April, French military aircraft are reported to have provided crucial aerial surveillance intelligence to Déby's military commanders. In Chad, Sudanese rebel groups from Darfur played a critical role supporting Chadian government security forces in some of the fighting against the Chadian rebels.

Following a string of stinging military defeats in northeastern Chad in December, the FUC began negotiating with the Chadian government in mid-December, and on December 24 Mahamat Nour signed an accord with President Déby in Tripoli, Libya. Both sides committed to ending all military activity against each other and to releasing each other's prisoners. Nour's fighters were granted amnesty and were promised integration into the national army. On December 25 the UFDD coalition, deprived of its most potent military constituent, united with the RaFD rebels and vowed to continue its fight against the Chadian government

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Darfur's Refugees in Chad

From The Magazine of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement

By Rosmarie North

February 2005

Some 200,000 civilians, many of them women and children, have crossed to Chad since 2003, fleeing the ongoing violence in the western Sudanese province of Darfur. The refugees and the local populations are sharing the region's limited resources, but tensions are rising as competition increases for food, firewood and water.



A Darfuri woman sits in a refugee camp in Chad. (Photo courtesy of David Rubenstein and Save Darfur)

A sudden influx of uninvited guests can tax even the most generous host. When the hosts are among the world's poorest people, the visitors vastly outnumber them, and the newcomers have no immediate plans to leave, you might expect trouble.

For the past two years, people in eastern Chad have played host to nearly 200,000 people fleeing conflict in Darfur, a region of neighbouring Sudan. Both hosts and guests come from the same ethnic group, Massalit, speak the same language, have the same customs. They are a people separated by a border.

Conditions in eastern Chad are hardly hospitable. It is in the Sahel zone, a textbook example of survival in one of the world's most marginal regions. The land is arid, the climate harsh. There are few trees. Dust covers the ground.

Perhaps surprisingly, villagers in eastern Chad have largely accepted the 193,000 newcomers, who are among more than a million people displaced since early 2003 by fighting between rebel troops and pro-government militia in Darfur.

"The local population has been very generous to the refugees until now," says Eelko Brouwer, head of delegation for the International Federation in Chad.

"We have to avoid a situation in which there are more and more strains between the refugees and the local population, where they compete for resources."

Competition for limited resources

Bredging is the name of a Red Cross-run refugee camp housing 28,500 Sudanese. It is also the name of a village of 960 people just one kilometre away from the camp.

Refugees often fled in the middle of the night, with no time to collect their belongings. They are totally dependent on international aid for food, water and shelter. From Bredging village, local people get a good view of life in the neighbouring camp. They watch as the refugees benefit from schools where children sit under canopies, adult literacy programmes, vocational training, health education and fortnightly distributions of food, all managed by the Red Cross.

“The refugees get food regularly,” says Haoua Mahamat, a villager from Bredging. “That’s nice for them. But we don’t have anyone who will give us food. We have nothing. Everyone is suffering.”

It also rankles with villagers that refugees forage for straw from their land.

“Refugees use some of the straw to feed their animals and the rest they sell at the market,” Mahamat says. “Our animals are dying of starvation because we don’t have the money to buy the straw.”

In effect, villagers are now forced to pay for straw they had considered their own before the refugees arrived.

Perhaps the greatest strain is over firewood. Inevitably, 43,000 refugees from camps including two run by the Red Cross, Bredging and Tréguine, home to 14,500 refugees, are foraging for firewood in the same dry landscape that was used by about 10,000 local villagers.

“Before the refugees arrived it was easy to get wood to prepare meals, says Fatimé Ibrahim Adam, 44. “Since their arrival all of the wood has gone. We have to walk three to four hours to the mountains to find wood.”

In a neighbourhood of Bredging camp, Mariam Ahmat Idriss, 35, is trying to make ends meet for herself and her five children, aged 5 to 16, on her own. Mariam lost her husband, her brother, and her brother’s two sons, aged 15 and 16 in Darfur.

Mariam says she is desperate to earn money so she can buy meat and vegetables to supplement the ration that is supplied by the World Food Programme and distributed every two weeks by Chad Red Cross volunteers and staff.

“On the day of the food distribution I went to see if there was any work,” Mariam says in a resigned voice. “There wasn’t any. So I have been looking for firewood to sell at the market.



A Chadian village chief stands in front on the remains of his burned village. Antagonism over competition for resources has been exacerbated by cross-border attacks by the Janjaweed. (Photo courtesy of David Rubenstein and Save Darfur)

“But it’s risky. The local people caught me and took away my axe. They said, ‘don’t cut down our trees.’ So it creates problems when you look for wood. I’m scared.”

Three months ago two young men from a village caught an elderly refugee cutting firewood. They attacked her, slashing her face with a knife. Refugees don’t have much choice when it comes to cooking fuel. The Red Cross is working in partnership with other agencies to find an alternative to wood, but there are no obvious solutions.

Going hungry



Child outside a hospital near Goz Beida, Chad. (Photo courtesy of David Rubenstein and Save Darfur)

Food is also a problem. The International Federation estimates that more than a third of local people are undernourished. That is a higher ratio than in the camps. In fact, during a distribution of a calorie-rich supplement to more than 3,500 children, and pregnant or breastfeeding women in six villages around the camps in May, two severely malnourished children were discovered. They were taken by ambulance to Adré, a town about two hours’ drive away to an emergency feeding programme run by Médecins Sans Frontières.

There are two main reasons for distributing food to the local population, says Matanda Sadrack, International Federation relief delegate.

“First, people in the local population are badly off. They don’t have a lot of resources themselves. So the first reason is humanitarian. The second reason is security. It doesn’t make

sense for us to hand out everything to refugees living so close to people who are struggling for existence.”

The day after the distribution, Halima Brahim, 19, from Hadjer Hadid town, brings her baby, Zamzam, 11 months, to a nutrition clinic run by the Red Cross in Tréguine camp. Refugees and villagers alike can use the clinic. Although underweight for his age, Zamzam has been making good progress during the several weeks that he has been coming every Monday to the clinic, says Halima.

Among the volunteers working at the clinic is Djouma Ahamat Gamaradine, 28, a farmer from Darfur and a father of four. “I myself am a refugee and I want to work to help mothers and fathers. A week or so after coming here, the babies can be much healthier. That’s a good feeling.”

Water levels low

To provide the refugees with safe water, the non-governmental organization Oxfam is digging new water wells for the camps (and later hands them over to camp managers). Oxfam spokesperson Cedric Fedida says that nevertheless, in many areas, the water tables are dropping.

“There are tensions already between the local population and the refugees, which was not the case in the beginning, because the local population think there are a lot of refugees to share the resource with. After a while, it may become too much.”

Acknowledging the problem of water for the local population, the ICRC decided to install a water pump to improve water supply in the town of Abeché, says Marcel Stoessel, head of Abeché sub-delegation for the ICRC.

“Abeché became the humanitarian capital of eastern Chad. Water consumption increased there because of the presence of humanitarian actors and also because of the presence of people who came to work for them in fields such as construction.”

Water is now available 24 hours a day, an increase of about 40 per cent. And the ICRC is also working on water projects in the towns of Iriba, Tiné and Adré, which are near refugee populations.

No quick, easy solution

Tensions will probably remain as the refugees are unlikely to return home soon, says Claire Bourgeois, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees deputy representative in Abeché.

“Our planning is based on what we are hearing, what we are seeing. Most of the authorities say the refugees are here for a long time — three to four years, even five years. So certainly we are planning for two more years because the peace process is taking a long time.”

So in spite of tensions over firewood or water, people need to find a way to live together peacefully. That message is understood in Bredging village. “We are like brother and sister. We have to share. We are the same people separated by a border,” says Haoua Mahamat.

Bredging village headman, Abdoulaye Ibrahim Djibrine, 47, says, “There are lots of difficulties, but we support the refugees. Although there’s not much room for them here, we have to live together.”



Man recovering in a hospital near Goz Beida, Chad.
(Photo courtesy of David Rubenstein and Save Darfur)

The African Union and Darfur

*From the Human Rights Watch website
January 2005*

The idea of African solutions for African conflicts is an old one. Unfortunately, policymakers in the United States and other major powers have often used it as an excuse for their own inaction. In Darfur, the U.N. has sought to place most of the burden of carrying out the goals contained in Security Council resolutions 1556 and 1564 on the shoulders of the nascent African Union. Initially, the A.U. role was limited to providing a small force of military observers to monitor the April 2004 ceasefire agreement between the Sudanese government and two Darfurian rebel groups. In October, the A.U. agreed to expand its force to include more than 3,500 monitors, peacekeepers, and civilian police. Despite its limited mandate, much of the world is looking to the A.U. to provide the means to halt the human rights abuses in Darfur and restore security.



African Union soldiers in Darfur (Photo courtesy of newsday.com)

The decision to rely on A.U. monitors, peacekeepers, and police had broad support. Officials in the United States and Europe saw it as a way to avoid the risk that their military forces would become embroiled in another Mogadishu-like disaster, where U.S. forces acting under a U.N. mandate were drawn into a deadly conflict with local warlords. African leaders viewed it as an opportunity to establish the A.U.'s bona fides as the dominant political-military

institution in Africa. And the Sudanese government apparently decided that the A.U. force was the best alternative to avoid the possibility of sanctions or U.S. or European intervention.

The ability of the A.U. force to help bring security and justice to Darfur will depend largely on the commitment of the United States and Europe to ensure that the A.U. force has the equipment, training, and logistical support necessary to carry out its mission. But it will also depend on the commitment of the A.U. Peace and Security Council. Most crucially, the A.U. needs a clear mandate to protect civilians from attacks. Without such a mandate, the A.U. force could be put in the position of watching helplessly while civilians are slaughtered.

The A.U. experiment in Darfur is a critical test of Africa's ability to assume responsibility for regional crises. If it succeeds, it could substantially enhance the international community's ability to halt future human rights catastrophes in Africa. If it fails, it could set the stage for a long series of bitter and divisive debates over the necessity for and legitimacy of international humanitarian intervention on the continent.

Why the U.N. Is Involved:

Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations

From The United Nations

PREAMBLE

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

- to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
- to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
- to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
- to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

- to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and
- to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
- to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
- to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.



A member of the delegation from Brazil signs the United Nations Charter. (Photo courtesy of the United Nations)

UN slams Darfur 'cleansing'

From Agence France Presse

By Patrick Baert

July 27, 2007

(Geneva) - The United Nations Human Rights Committee (HRC) has issued a sharp rebuke to Sudan's government, saying it had failed to prosecute "militias that engage in ethnic cleansing" in Darfur.

In a report, it said that "widespread and systematic serious human rights violations, including murder, rape, forced displacement and attacks against the civil population, have been and continue to be committed with total impunity throughout Sudan and particularly in Darfur".

The HRC called on the Khartoum government to "ensure that no financial support or materiel is channelled to militias that engage in ethnic cleansing or the deliberate targeting of civilians".

The committee is made up of 18 independent experts and is charged with overseeing implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, a key element of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

It is different from the United Nations Human Rights Council, which is made up of representatives of member states.

The Darfur conflict began in 2003 when an ethnic minority rose up against the Arab-dominated government in Khartoum, which then enlisted the Janjaweed militia group to help crush the rebellion.

According to UN estimates, at least 200,000 people have died from the combined effect of war and famine since the conflict started.

Other sources give a much higher toll, but Khartoum disputes the figures.

The committee, which interviewed Sudanese representatives, noted the lack of prosecutions by the Sudanese government.

"It is particularly concerned at the immunity provided for in Sudanese law and untransparent procedure for waiving immunity in the event of criminal proceedings against State agents".



The United Nations has condemned the Sudanese government for failing to stop 'ethnic cleansing' in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of Cornell University)

"It also notes that the state party has provided few examples of serious crimes that have been prosecuted and punished, whether by criminal courts or courts set up to investigate violations in Darfur".

It said it "remains concerned with respect to the state party's ability to prosecute and punish war crimes or crimes against humanity committed in Darfur".

Rafael Rivas-Posada, the committee's president, told reporters co-operation with international investigations was lacking.

"Some topics are alarming: the cases of certain individuals that have been accused before the international tribunals and up to now Sudan has not accepted to comply with that request," he said.



The remains of the village of Jijira Adi Abbe in Darfur, western Sudan, after the attack. Photo courtesy of Human Rights Watch

On Thursday, the UN Security Council sought to iron out remaining sticking points in order to reach consensus on a draft resolution authorising a joint African Union-UN peacekeeping in Darfur.

Meanwhile, the African Union has urged Darfur's disparate rebel factions to attend an upcoming meeting in Tanzania to find a common position and

prepare for peace talks with Sudan's government.

Key mediators and rebel groups are due to meet in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha for three days starting on August 3 to pave the way for widened peace talks with the Sudanese government.

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U.S. Relies on Sudan Despite Condemning It

*From The Los Angeles Times
By Greg Miller and Josh Meyer
June 11, 2007*

(Washington) - Sudan has secretly worked with the CIA to spy on the insurgency in Iraq, an example of how the U.S. has continued to cooperate with the Sudanese regime even while condemning its suspected role in the killing of tens of thousands of civilians in Darfur.



An Al Qaeda leader in Iraq. Since September 11, the Sudan has become an important source of information on al-Qaeda for the American government. (Photo courtesy of The Sunday Times)

President Bush has denounced the killings in Sudan's western region as genocide and has imposed sanctions on the government in Khartoum. But some critics say the administration has soft-pedaled the sanctions to preserve its extensive intelligence collaboration with Sudan.

The relationship underscores the complex realities of the post-Sept. 11 world, in which the United States has relied heavily on intelligence and military cooperation from countries, including Sudan and Uzbekistan, that are considered pariah states for their records on human rights.

"Intelligence cooperation takes place for a whole lot of reasons," said a U.S. intelligence official, who like others spoke on condition of anonymity when discussing intelligence assessments. "It's not always between people who love each other deeply."

Sudan has become increasingly valuable to the United States since the Sept. 11 attacks because the Sunni Arab nation is a crossroads for Islamic militants making their way to Iraq and Pakistan.

That steady flow of foreign fighters has provided cover for Sudan's Mukhabarat intelligence service to insert spies into Iraq, officials said.

"If you've got jihadists traveling via Sudan to get into Iraq, there's a pattern there in and of itself that would not raise suspicion," said a former high-ranking CIA official familiar with Sudan's cooperation with the agency. "It creates an opportunity to send Sudanese into that pipeline."

As a result, Sudan's spies have often been in better position than the CIA to gather information on Al Qaeda's presence in Iraq, as well as the activities of other insurgent groups.

“There's not much that blond-haired, blue-eyed case officers from the United States can do in the entire Middle East, and there's nothing they can do in Iraq,” said a second former CIA official familiar with Sudan's cooperation. “Sudanese can go places we don't go. They're Arabs. They can wander around.”

The officials declined to say whether the Mukhabarat had sent its intelligence officers into the country, citing concern over the protection of sources and methods. They said that Sudan had assembled a network of informants in Iraq providing intelligence on the insurgency. Some may have been recruited as they traveled through Khartoum.

The U.S.-Sudan relationship goes beyond Iraq. Sudan has helped the United States track the turmoil in Somalia, working to cultivate contacts with the Islamic Courts Union and other militias in an effort to locate Al Qaeda suspects hiding there. Sudan also has provided extensive cooperation in counter-terrorism operations, acting on U.S. requests to detain suspects as they pass through Khartoum.

Sudan gets a number of benefits in return. Its relationship with the CIA has given it an important back channel for communications with the U.S. government. Washington has also used this channel to lean on Khartoum over the crisis in Darfur and for other issues.

And at a time when Sudan is being condemned in the international community, its counter-terrorism work has won precious praise. The U.S. State Department recently issued a report calling Sudan a “strong partner in the war on terror.”

Some critics accuse the Bush administration of being soft on Sudan for fear of jeopardizing the counter-terrorism cooperation. John Prendergast, director of African affairs for the National Security Council in the Clinton administration, called the latest sanctions announced by Bush last month “window dressing,” designed to appear tough while putting little real pressure on Sudan to stop the militias it is widely believed to be supporting from killing members of tribal settlements in Darfur.



“One of the main glass ceilings on real significant action in response to the genocide in Darfur has been our growing relationship with authorities in Khartoum on counter-terrorism,” said Prendergast, a senior advisor to the International Crisis Group. “It is the single biggest contributor to why the gap between rhetoric and action is so large.”

Critics accuse President Bush of reticence to act on Darfur because of Sudan's aid in the war on terror. (Photo courtesy of GeorgeWBush.com)

In an interview, Sudan's ambassador to the United States, John Ukec Lueth Ukec, suggested that the sanctions could affect his country's willingness to cooperate on intelligence matters. The steps announced by Bush include denying 31 businesses owned by the Sudanese government access to the U.S. financial system.

The decision to impose financial penalties “was not a good idea,” Ukec said. “It diminishes our cooperation. And it makes those who are on the extreme side, who do not want cooperation with the United States, stronger.”

But White House and U.S. intelligence officials downplayed the prospect that the intelligence cooperation would suffer, saying that it was in both countries' interests.

“The No. 1 consideration in imposing stiffer sanctions is that the Sudanese government hasn't stopped the violence there and the people continue to suffer,” said Gordon Johndroe, a spokesman for the National Security Council. “We certainly expect the Sudanese to continue efforts against terrorism because it's in their own interests, not just ours.”



John Ukec Lueth Ukec, Sudan's ambassador to the U.S., has argued against sanctions on Sudan. (Photo courtesy of the Sudan Tribune)

Sudan has its own interests in following the insurgency because Sudanese extremists and foreign fighters who pass through the country are likely to return and become a potentially destabilizing presence.

Sudan's lax controls on travel have made it, according to one official, a “way station” for Islamist militants not only from North Africa, but also from Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states.

Some former U.S. intelligence officials said that Sudan's help in Iraq had been of limited value, in part because the country accounts for a small fraction of the foreign fighters, mainly at lower levels of the insurgency.

“There's not going to be a Sudanese guy near the top of the Al Qaeda in Iraq leadership,” said a former CIA official who operated in Baghdad. “They might have some fighters there, but that's just cannon fodder. They don't have the trust and the ability to work their way up. The guys leading Al Qaeda in Iraq are Iraqis, Jordanians and Saudis.”

But others say that Sudan's contributions have been significant because Sudanese frequently occupy support positions throughout Arab society — including in the Iraq insurgency — giving them access to movements and supply chains.

“Every group needs weapons. Every group needs a meeting place,” said another former high-ranking CIA official who oversaw intelligence gathering in Iraq. “Sudanese could get involved in the support chain or smuggling channels from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.”

A State Department official said Sudan had “provided critical information that has helped our counter-terrorism efforts around the globe,” but noted that there was an inherent conflict in the relationship.

“They have done things that have saved American lives,” the official said. “But the bottom line is that they are bombing their people out the wazoo [in Darfur]. Dealing with Sudan, it seems like they are always playing both ends against the middle.”

The CIA declined to discuss any cooperation with Sudan.

“The agency does not, as a rule, comment on relations with foreign intelligence organizations,” CIA spokesman Paul Gimigliano said.

Ukec, the Sudanese ambassador, said, “the details of what we do in counter-terrorism are not available for discussions.” But he noted that the U.S. State Department “has openly said we are involved in countering terrorism,” and that the assistance his country is providing “is not only in Sudan.”

In the mid-1990s, the CIA's relationship with Sudan was severed. At the time, Sudan was providing safe harbor for Osama bin Laden and other Al Qaeda leaders. But ties were reestablished shortly after the Sept. 11 attacks, when the CIA reopened its station in Khartoum.

Initially, the collaboration focused on information Sudan could provide about Al Qaeda's activities before Bin Laden left for Afghanistan in 1996, including Al Qaeda's pursuit of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons and its many business fronts and associates there.

Since then, Sudan has moved beyond sharing historical information on Al Qaeda into taking part in ongoing counter-terrorism operations, focusing on areas where its assistance is likely to be most appreciated.

“Iraq,” a U.S. intelligence official said, “is where the intelligence is going to have the most impact on Americans.”

In 2005, the CIA sent an executive jet to Sudan to fly the country's intelligence chief, Maj. Gen. Salah Abdallah Gosh, to Washington for meetings with officials at agency headquarters.

Gosh has not returned since, but a former official said that “there are liaison visits every day” between the CIA and Mukhabarat.

Sarkozy's Coming-out Party on Darfur

From The Christian Science Monitor

By Robert Marquand, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

June 26, 2007

In a show of his new foreign policy objectives, the French president called a meeting Monday in an attempt to help bolster the international military presence in Darfur.

(Paris) - The international community has bandied plans and initiatives to resolve the crisis in Darfur since it began four years ago with few results. But a meeting of senior officials from 18 influential nations, convened on Monday by new French President Nicolas Sarkozy was the first to involve France, the US, and China, who sent its special envoy for Sudan, Liu Gujin.

The stated aim of the talks is to "mobilize" and beef up the African Union (AU) and the United Nations peacekeeping forces, and support talks between Sudan and Chad, whose border with Darfur has been increasingly tense as Darfurian refugees stream west. Mr. Sarkozy said France would be willing to contribute roughly €10 million (\$13.46 million) to the AU, whose force of 7,000 troops has been limited by a lack of funding. The European Union pledged an extra €31 million in humanitarian funds for "the coming months."



French president Nicolas Sarkozy's goal is to reassert France's international power, beginning with stopping the conflict in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of Agora Vox)

The French initiative flows directly from Sarkozy's policies and persona: The French leader wants his nation back on the diplomatic map, and he appears to have the tools, the desire, and the political moment to do so, experts say.

"It all fits together ... Sarkozy and Kouchner have seized the moment," says Francois Heisbourg, special advisor to the Foundation for Strategic Studies in Paris, referring to French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner. "Six months ago this wouldn't have worked. The Chinese would have refused. But now that Stephen Spielberg has captured China's attention, and I mean this, Beijing can see [that] their role in Darfur is harming their reputation, and they have wised up."

"Whether [the conference] will mean anything, I don't know," adds Mr. Heisbourg.

Some experts expressed skepticism as to the efficacy of an international conference that does not include Sudan or the AU.

Others, such as John Prendergast, who recently started a new action group called ENOUGH to combat genocide, feel otherwise. In a June 18 strategy paper, Mr.

Prendergast and ENOUGH policy adviser Colin Thomas-Jensen said the time is right for what they call "an axis of peace for Darfur" among China, France, and the US.

"Perhaps the single most influential action that could be taken now to end the horrors in Darfur would be for the U.S., France and China to convene an informal 'troika' All three countries now have special envoys focused on Darfur. All three have leverage with either the Sudanese regime or the rebels, or both," said the strategy paper.

France is one of a few states with serious military projection in Africa, where it has bases, interests, and experience.



Socialist and Doctors without Borders founder Bernard Kouchner is the Foreign Minister of Sarkozy's new government. (Photo courtesy of Page 2007).

Doing something on Darfur is popular among French intellectuals, and providing a lead on the issue could balance political negatives caused by Sarkozy's tough stance on north African immigrants. Sarkozy's foreign minister, Mr. Kouchner, made his reputation as an advocate of humanitarian intervention, another perceived plus.

Sarkozy ran for president this spring partly on a campaign to rebuild France's image and clout. He wants to turn a corner by "rejoining" Europe and the world, as he put it in his presidential victory speech.

As a conservative who seeks better transatlantic relations, Sarkozy retains little of the "Iraq baggage" of predecessor Jacques Chirac, who opposed the American-led Iraq war. Sarkozy has steadily spoken of strengthening US-French relations – and US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice commented on France's "energizing role" on Darfur.

However, AU officials were not invited to the conference and lamented not being well-informed about the initiative. An article in the French daily *Liberation* on Monday quoted unnamed African diplomats who, while pleased with the Chinese presence at the meeting, complained that they learned about the summit through press reports. The AU, along with the UN, would probably be one of the bodies involved in a more robust international military presence in Darfur and in Chad on Sudan's western border.

Earlier this month, AU leader John Kufuor of Ghana met with Sarkozy and stated that he felt the president "will definitely try to help find a solution in Darfur."

Sarkozy may also find a domestic upside for a French initiative on Darfur, experts say. A French-led project of international scope, an attempt at a foreign policy success at a time of mayhem in Iraq and the Middle East, may create national pride and momentum for Sarkozy's main French project – a potentially divisive market-oriented reform to end joblessness and a socialist bureaucracy and mind-set.

New French Leadership Creates Opportunity

Excerpted from "An Axis of Peace for Darfur – The United States, France, and China" (Darfur Strategy Briefing #3)

From the ENOUGH Project

By John Prendergast and Colin Thomas-Jensen

June 18, 2007

France has a major interest in stability in Sudan – both in Darfur and the south. Darfur borders its two principal allies in the region, Chad and the Central African Republic. More than 1,000 French troops are based in Chad to protect France's interests, and the French military supports the Chadian and Central African governments' operations against Khartoum-backed insurgencies. Furthermore, the French oil company Total holds major unexploited concessions in southern Sudanese oilfields.

However, until the new president took office, France was not actively engaged in addressing the problems in either Darfur or the south. France was not a vocal supporter of tougher UN Security Council sanctions. Nor did France press the EU – an institution within which it plays a permanent leadership role – to impose an economic cost on the regime. In 2005, EU countries exported \$1.5 billion worth of goods to Sudan.

France also failed to use its leverage to press Chadian President Idriss Deby to protect his citizens from cross-border rebel groups and to allow a UN peacekeeping force to help secure the border with Darfur. Chad serves as a military rear base for Darfur rebel factions, and the Chadians will be instrumental in any process to build greater cohesion among the rebel factions – a prerequisite for new negotiations. This gives France further leverage over a solution in Darfur, as an outside power with some leverage over rebel interests.

Early indications are that President Sarkozy has new policy ideas.

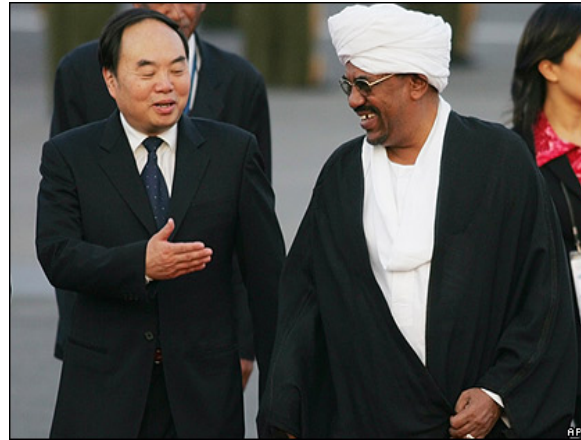
During his campaign, Sarkozy called for a "decisive toughening of sanctions against all the leaders of the regime in Khartoum" and stated that France would adopt those sanctions unilaterally if he was elected. Kouchner, a fiery diplomat and respected humanitarian activist who has been engaged in Darfur-related advocacy in France, has put Darfur at the top of France's agenda. And on June 7 at the G8 summit in Germany, Sarkozy announced a ministerial-level "expanded Contact Group" conference for Darfur for June 25 in Paris.

Kouchner has already traveled to Chad to meet with President Deby, who abruptly softened his position on the deployment of UN peacekeepers to protect civilians in Chad. Deby has now agreed "in principle" to a UN presence, the details of which will be announced by June 25. Kouchner also announced a French-led airlift of humanitarian assistance to vulnerable civilian populations in eastern Chad.

China, Sudan, and the Darfur Conflict Fact Sheet

From The Save Darfur Coalition

The U.S. and the international community have sought to secure the cooperation of China to use its political, economic and diplomatic influence on the government of Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir to end the conflict in Darfur, which has resulted in the deaths of as many as 400,000 people and an estimated 2.5 million persons displaced to refugee camps. China's relationship with Sudan includes close and comprehensive bilateral economic, political and military ties, as well as diplomatic support in multilateral institutions such as the United Nations.



Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir (Right) chats with Chinese Education Minister Zhou Ji (Left) during a welcome ceremony at a Beijing airport. (Photo courtesy of BBC News)

Economic Ties

Oil: China is the world's largest player in Sudan's oil industry, with major roles in the development, extraction, and acquisition of Sudan's oil. Oil accounts for 70% of Sudan's total global exports (\$5.25 billion in 2006). Sudan's oil exports account for 7% of China's total oil imports. An ex-Minister of Finance for Sudan has stated that 70% of Sudan's oil profits help to fund the government's military.

Foreign investment: China is the largest foreign investor in Sudan. Chinese firms are active in several energy-related sectors of Sudan's economy, including construction of oil pipelines, electricity and hydropower facilities. China's National Petroleum Company is the largest stakeholder in Sudan's largest energy consortium, the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company.

Trade: China is Sudan's largest trading partner in the world – purchasing 71% of Sudan's global exports, and providing 21% of its global imports. Sudan, in turn, is China's third largest trading partner in Africa. Sudan accounts for 13% of China's total trade with Africa.

Aid: China offers significant economic aid to Sudan. During President Hu's visit to Khartoum this February China agreed to write off \$80 million in Sudanese public debt and to provide an interest-free, unconditional loan of \$13 million for infrastructure projects, including a new presidential palace. This new economic aid substantially exceeded a new pledge of \$5.2 million in humanitarian assistance for Darfur.

Political Relations

Bilateral ties: There is an active bilateral relationship between Beijing and Khartoum, including frequent high-level government visits and missions. President Hu Jintao of China visited Sudan in February 2007. China emphasizes that its economic ties and assistance to Sudan are not conditioned on that country's human rights or political behavior. China has adopted a policy of "non-interference" in Sudanese domestic issues.

Multilateral institutions: China has been the leading supporter of Sudan at the United Nations, and the major impediment to strong UN Security Council action against the government of Sudan for its role in the mass killing and genocide in Darfur. China has succeeded in watering down or weakening several Security Council resolutions related to Darfur, including Resolution 1706, which authorized a robust peacekeeping force of 22,500 UN troops to protect civilians; China insisted this resolution be deployed only "with the consent" of Sudan. China has also prevented resolutions that would impose multilateral economic and diplomatic sanctions, and resisted efforts to sanction Sudanese officials charged with war crimes.



China's Special Envoy to Sudan, Liu Guijin, shakes hands with a man in a Darfuri village. (Photo courtesy of Xinhua/ Shao Jie)

Recent Darfur peace efforts:

Beijing played a role in negotiating the November 2006 Addis Agreement, in which Sudan agreed to a UN-African Union hybrid peacekeeping force. China has publicly, and reportedly privately, expressed displeasure at President al-Bashir's subsequent reversal of this commitment. In recent weeks, China has pushed Sudan harder to live up to this agreement; this perhaps had an influence on Sudan and its decision to reaffirm its commitment to Phase II of the agreement. China also just announced it will send 275 military

engineers to Sudan to help implement the agreement.

These and other steps suggest that China has begun to play a modestly more constructive role in ending the genocide as international pressure has mounted. China's support of the key feature of the November 2006 agreement ("Phase III," the large-scale introduction of additional peacekeepers into Darfur), remains ambiguous, however. Further, even this year, China has continued to strengthen its military and economic ties to Sudan.

Military Cooperation

Arms sales: China has sold arms and weapons to Sudan since the 1990s, including an estimated \$100 million in fighter aircraft and troop transport helicopters. Beijing defends its military sales to Khartoum as legal. UN and human rights organizations have reported sightings of Chinese-made small arms weapons, military trucks, and other war materiel being used by Sudanese government forces, and their janjaweed militia, in Darfur.

Weapons factories: China helped establish three weapons manufacturing facilities in Sudan, including one that assembles T-55 tanks.

Defense cooperation: China maintains a defense relationship with Sudan, despite a UN-imposed arms embargo against the country which has been in place for Darfur since 2005. In April 2007, China's Defense Minister Cao received Sudan's armed forces Chief of Staff in Beijing in a visit that appears to have strengthened bilateral military ties. In that meeting, the Chinese media reported that China's Minister of Defense told the Sudanese official that China was "willing to further develop cooperation between the two militaries in every sphere."

What China Can Do

Given its economic, political and military influence in Sudan, China is beginning to be targeted by activists and media in the international community for its open support of the Sudanese government. Generally, China is well-positioned to use its leverage on the Sudanese government to ensure that peace and security is established in Darfur. Among the specific actions China should take to influence Sudan's behavior and cooperation with the international community are:

Acknowledge publicly and condemn the mass killings, torture, rape and displacement in Darfur.

Affirm, in line with a vast body of international assessment, that the Sudanese government bears primary responsibility for the conflict in Darfur, even as it notes that other actors also bear responsibility.

Call for the Sudanese government and other actors to participate in a sustainable peace process to end the conflict, and contribute its own diplomatic offices to facilitate this.

State that President al-Bashir's continued obstruction of deployment of UN peace keepers is unacceptable, and will contribute to Sudan's increased isolation in the international community. Compel Sudan to accept these peace keepers.

Signal that it will not block, and indeed will support, the draft resolution shortly to be discussed in the UN Security Council that would mandate targeted sanctions against Sudan.

Inform the Sudanese government that Chinese investments and trade relations will be reconsidered if Sudan does not cooperate with the international community.

Redirect economic and infrastructure assistance funds provided to Sudan (including those recently provided for the new presidential palace) to humanitarian efforts in Darfur.

Suspend arms sales and military cooperation with Sudan until the Darfur conflict is resolved.



(Photo courtesy of the Christian Science Monitor)

China oil firm deepens Sudan ties with exploration deal

*From The Standard – China's Business Newspaper
July 3, 2007*

China's biggest state oil company has deepened its involvement in Sudan by signing a deal to co-develop an offshore oil block, ignoring international efforts to isolate the East African nation over the crisis in the Darfur region.

China National Petroleum Corp and Indonesia's state-run oil and gas company Pertamina will explore offshore oil block 13 and share future oil production under a 20-year concession agreement, the CNPC-backed China Petroleum Daily said Monday without further elaboration.

The two sides signed the deal with Sudan's government June 26 in Khartoum. The exploration phase will last six years, the report said without specifying when it would begin.

Sudan is among Beijing's key oil suppliers, sending crude cargoes totaling 4.7 million tonnes to China in the first five months of this year, representing a fivefold increase over the corresponding period last year.

Much of this is in the form of equity oil from fields CNPC is developing.

China Petrochemical Corp (0386), or Sinopec, also has a presence in Sudan through a 6 percent stake in block 3/7 in eastern Sudan.

CNPC owns 41 percent of block 3/7, which has an intended output of 200,000 barrels a day. It also holds 95 percent of block 6 and 40 percent of block 12/4 in central Sudan, as well as 35 percent of block 15 in the north.

Block 3/7, otherwise known as the Melut Basin Oil Development Project, began producing Dar Blend crude last summer, but has struggled to find buyers for the highly acidic oil beyond China.

Experts believe that CNPC's share of the Dar Blend crude from block 3/7 will eventually be diverted to a 200,000 barrel-a-day refinery that the company is building at Qinzhou city in Guangxi.

CNPC is China's largest oil company by any measure, and the parent of Hong Kong-listed PetroChina (0857).



The need for oil often spurs economic decisions that are detrimental to human rights and social issues. (Photo courtesy of Apple Mac Computer Ipad)

Russia against greater pressure on Sudan over Darfur

*From Russian News and Information Agency-Novosti
June 25, 2007*

(Moscow) - Russia is opposed to increasing international pressure on Sudan over the situation in its violence-torn province of Darfur, a deputy foreign minister said Monday.



Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov (R) shakes hands with former Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan. (Photo courtesy of Fullosseous Flap's Dental Blog)

"Voicing its opinion on various aspects of the 'Darfur dossier' at the UN Security Council, Russia, China and some non-permanent members are seeking to find a compromise solution to the 'Darfur knot' and to cushion a one-sided and counterproductive trend to increase pressure on Sudanese authorities, including sanctions," Alexander Yakovenko said in an interview with the Rossiiskaya Gazeta daily.

Yakovenko spoke on the eve of an international conference on Darfur, which opened Monday in Paris at the initiative of French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner.

The UN estimates that interethnic violence and disease have killed at least 200,000 in Darfur since the

latest conflict began in February 2003 between rebel groups seeking independence for the oil-rich region and the central government in Khartoum.

In March 2007, the UN mission accused Sudan's government of orchestrating and taking part in "gross violations" in Darfur, and called for urgent international action to protect civilians.

The United States announced new sanctions against Khartoum in late May, accusing it of "genocide." Washington is also pushing for additional sanctions against the Sudanese government led by President Omar al-Beshir.

But Yakovenko said that additional pressure would only encourage the Darfur opposition to put forward harsher demands and eliminate the prospects of finding a compromise altogether.

The Russian diplomat said the agenda at the Paris conference would focus on discussions and the implementation of a "road map" jointly developed by the UN and the 53-member African Union.

"Primarily, it [the road map] envisions the coordination and streamlining of all mediation efforts," Yakovenko said, adding that the government of South Sudan and other regional mediators could play an important role in the resolution of the conflict.

After months of rejection, Khartoum agreed earlier in June to a peacekeeping operation in Darfur, to be run jointly by the UN and the African Union, which provides the bulk of the 23,000 foreign troops deployed in the province.

The diplomat also said the conference would discuss additional humanitarian assistance to Darfur, where over 2 million people have been displaced domestically or have fled to other countries.

Lesson Plan:

Major Players Graphic Organizer

Goal:

This activity will force the students to synthesize the main ideas and themes presented and put them into their own words, thereby revealing what they don't know or understand, clarifying and simplifying the information, and ensuring that they retain the information.

Directions:

Each student, either as homework or as a small-group class activity, will fill out a copy of the following chart with the information they have learned from reading the previous section. Once they have completed the graphic organizer, have the class discuss and compare their answers to fill in gaps and to allow them to express not only their understanding of the issues but also the opinions and conclusions they have reached.

Country/Organization	Reason for involvement in Darfur conflict	Stance on the Darfur conflict	Actions taken to end the conflict
Chad			
The African Union			
The United Nations			
United States			

Country/Organization	Reason for involvement in Darfur conflict	Stance on the Darfur conflict	Actions taken to end the conflict
France			
China			
Russia			

IV. *Darfur: On the Ground*



(Photo courtesy of Sudan Watch)

Despite many international efforts over the last four years, the genocide in Darfur rages on generally unchecked. NGOs are being forced to flee the area, and while there are some signs of hope, instability and violence continue to wrack Darfur and terrorize its people. The number of refugees climbs daily, and resources and supplies are stretched ever thinner. Meanwhile, political organizations and a myriad of countries work to stop the violence as quickly as possible while also creating a peace that addresses all facets of the situation.

- A. Is Climate the Cause?
- B. The Situation in Darfur
- C. The Refugee Problem
- D. The African Union / United Nations Hybrid Force
- E. Negotiations with Rebel Groups
- F. Study Questions

“How are we supposed to survive?”
- A villager from Moukchacha

A. Is Climate the Cause?



(Photo courtesy of Ramzi Haidai/AFP/UN)

- A Climate Culprit in Darfur?
- Is Climate Change the Culprit for Darfur?
- No Development, No Peace

A Climate Culprit in Darfur

From The Washington Post

By Ban Ki-moon

June 16, 2007

Just over a week ago, leaders of the world's industrialized nations met in Heiligendamm, Germany, for their annual summit. Our modest goal: to win a breakthrough on climate change. And we got it -- an agreement to cut greenhouse gases by 50 percent before 2050. Especially gratifying for me is that the methods will be negotiated via the United Nations, better ensuring that our efforts will be mutually reinforcing.

This week, the global focus shifted. Tough but patient diplomacy produced another win, as yet modest in scope but large in humanitarian potential. Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir accepted a plan to deploy, at long last, a joint United Nations-African Union peacekeeping force in Darfur. This agreement, too, is personally gratifying. I have made Darfur a top priority and have invested considerable effort, often far from public view, toward this goal.

Clearly, uncertainties remain. This deal, like others before it, could yet come undone. It could be several months before the first new troops arrive and longer before the full 23,000-member contingent is in place. Meanwhile, the fighting will probably go on, even if less intensely and despite our many calls for a cease-fire. Still, in a conflict that has claimed more than 200,000 lives during four years of diplomatic inertia, this is significant progress, especially considering that it has come in only five months.

It would be natural to view these as distinct developments. In fact, they are linked. Almost invariably, we discuss Darfur in a convenient military and political shorthand -- an ethnic conflict pitting Arab militias against black rebels and farmers. Look to its roots, though, and you discover a more complex dynamic. Amid the diverse social and political causes, the Darfur conflict began as an ecological crisis, arising at least in part from climate change.

Two decades ago, the rains in southern Sudan began to fail. According to U.N. statistics, average precipitation has declined some 40 percent since the early 1980s. Scientists at first considered this to be an unfortunate quirk of nature. But subsequent investigation found that it coincided with a rise in temperatures of the Indian Ocean, disrupting seasonal monsoons. This suggests that the drying of sub-Saharan Africa derives, to some degree, from man-made global warming.



Ban Ki-moon, who just recently took office, has made Darfur a priority during his time as U.N. Secretary-General. (Photo courtesy of RTBF)

It is no accident that the violence in Darfur erupted during the drought. Until then, Arab nomadic herders had lived amicably with settled farmers. A recent Atlantic Monthly article by Stephan Faris describes how black farmers would welcome herders as they crisscrossed the land, grazing their camels and sharing wells. But once the rains stopped, farmers fenced their land for fear it would be ruined by the passing herds. For the first time in memory, there was no longer enough food and water for all. Fighting broke out. By 2003, it evolved into the full-fledged tragedy we witness today.

A U.N. peacekeeping force will help moderate the violence and keep humanitarian aid flowing, saving many lives. Yet that is only a first step, as I emphasized to my colleagues at the summit in Germany. Any peace in Darfur must be built on solutions that go to the root causes of the conflict. We can hope for the return of more than 2 million refugees. We can safeguard villages and help rebuild homes. But what to do about the essential dilemma -- the fact that there's no longer enough good land to go around?



Sudan's climate, especially in the Darfur region, has changed greatly over the last twenty years. (Photo courtesy of The Guardian London and Earth News)

A political solution is required. My special envoy for Darfur, Jan Eliasson, and his A.U. counterpart, Salim Ahmed Salim, have worked out a road map, beginning with a political dialogue between rebel leaders and the government and culminating in formal negotiations for peace. The initial steps could be taken by this summer.

Ultimately, however, any real solution to Darfur's troubles involves sustained economic development. Precisely what shape that might take is unclear. But we must begin thinking about it. New technologies can help, such as genetically modified grains that thrive in arid soils or new irrigation and water storage techniques. There must be money for new roads and communications infrastructure, not to mention health, education, sanitation and social reconstruction programs. The international community needs to help organize these efforts, teaming with the Sudanese government as well as the international aid agencies and nongovernmental organizations working so heroically on the ground.

The stakes go well beyond Darfur. Jeffrey Sachs, the Columbia University economist and one of my senior advisers, notes that the violence in Somalia grows from a similarly volatile mix of food and water insecurity. So do the troubles in Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso.

There are many other parts of the world where such problems will arise, for which any solutions we find in Darfur will be relevant. We have made slow but steady progress in recent weeks. The people of Darfur have suffered too much, for too long. Now the real work begins.

The writer is secretary general of the United Nations.

Is Climate Change the Culprit for Darfur?

Excerpts from “Is Climate Change the Culprit for Darfur?”

From Social Science Research Council Blogs

By Alex de Waal

June 25, 2007

Is climate change the culprit for the disaster in Darfur? The answer is not simple. In this posting I argue that climatic and environmental factors have compelled Darfurians to



Expert Alex de Waal argues that the situation in Darfur has much more complex roots than just climate change. (Photo courtesy of Staff photos Stephanie Mitchell/Harvard News Office)

adapt their livelihoods and migrate southwards. These changes have been going on for centuries, but over the last thirty years, they have occurred at a faster pace and on a larger scale. But depleted natural resources and livelihood transformations cannot on their own account for conflict, let alone armed conflict. The most important culprit for violence in Darfur is government, which not only failed to utilize local and central institutions to address the problems of

environmental stress in Darfur, but actually worsened the situation through its militarized, crisis management interventions whenever political disputes have arisen. In turn, violent conflict has worsened Darfur's ecological crisis. For many reasons, Darfur cannot now be reconstituted the way it was. What's needed is a new governance of Darfur that takes account of the challenges of the coming century—including the impact of future climate change.

In an article published on June 15, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon provocatively identified climate change as an underlying cause of the disaster in Darfur. The UN Environment Programme's assessment (published last week) is, “there is a very strong link between land degradation, desertification and conflict in Darfur. Northern Darfur—where exponential population growth and related environmental stress have created the conditions for conflicts to be triggered and sustained by political, tribal or ethnic differences—can be considered a tragic example of the social breakdown that can result from ecological collapse.” Others see Darfur as an augur of crises to come: a bleak future of people fighting for survival over dwindling resources across the globe. In April this year the UN Security Council held its first-ever debate on climate change as a global security issue, and the ambassador of Denmark cited Darfur as an example of a conflict driven by resource shortages. These claims have enough truth to be interesting. But they run the danger of oversimplifying Darfur, and therefore need to be investigated carefully. The main source that Ban Ki-Moon cites is an article by Stephen Faris in April's *Atlantic Monthly*. In turn Faris's article draws heavily on my experiences researching drought and famine in Darfur in the 1980s. In fact Faris opens by referring to my November 5, 1985

meeting with Sheikh Hilal Mohamed Abdalla in the nomadic settlement of Aamo in North Darfur, during which the elderly and ailing chief of the Mahamid Rizeigat complained about the ecological changes that were ravaging his homeland, and how they were upsetting the social balance between his own camel-herding people and the sedentary Fur and Tunjur farmers.

There's no doubt in my mind that the famine of 1984-5 and the associated social dislocation are important events in Darfur's recent history and are intertwined with the region's subsequent descent into war and violent land-grabbing.

[...]

The climate change hypothesis is sufficiently plausible to be attractive. There is no doubt that drought—a climatic phenomenon—was a major reason for famine in the 1980s and that in turn famine was a significant factor in the death of the old order in Darfur. As Sudanese environmental scientists have long asserted, there's an ecological disaster happening in Darfur. But beyond that, the causal links are complicated:

- The argument for a causal relationship between man-made climate change and the 1983-5 drought is unproven. (I stand to be corrected by climate scientists on this point.)
- Drought and environmental degradation led to a food production shortfall only because Darfur was denied economic development and the opportunities for Darfurians to utilize the productive resources of the region more effectively.
- Food crisis only led to famine because of governmental neglect.
- Darfurians showed extraordinary skill and resilience in surviving the famine of 1984-85, but at the cost of drawing down their reserves of productive and social capital. Impoverishment and the undermining of community authority left Darfur vulnerable to conflict sparked by other factors.
- Drought and environmental degradation caused migration and livelihood changes, creating actual and latent disputes that later became the focus of armed conflict.
- In all cases, significant violent conflict erupted because of political factors, particularly the propensity of the Sudan government to respond to local problems by supporting militia groups as proxies to suppress any signs of resistance. Drought, famine and the social disruptions they brought about made it easier for the government to pursue this strategy.

In summary, Ban Ki-Moon's linking of climate change and the Darfur crisis is simplistic. Climate change causes livelihood change, which in turn causes disputes. Social institutions can handle these conflicts and settle them in a non-violent manner—it is mismanagement and militarization that cause war and massacre. The UN Secretary General is absolutely correct that a political settlement is necessary for Darfur. Then the really tough work begins—re-stitching Darfur's torn social fabric for the challenges of the coming century, including the challenge of rebuilding livelihoods and communities in the face of climate change.

No Development, No Peace

From The Reporter (Gaborone)
By Jeffrey Sachs
July 23, 2007

Anyone interested in peacemaking, poverty reduction, and Africa's future should read the new United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) report *Sudan: Post-Conflict Environmental Assessment*. This may sound like a technical report on Sudan's environment, but it is much more. It is a vivid study of how the natural environment, poverty, and population growth can interact to provoke terrible human-made disasters like the violence in Darfur.



Sudanese refugees from the Darfur region wait for UNHCR water distribution. (Photo courtesy of Thomas Coex / AFP - Getty Images file)

When a war erupts, as in Darfur, most policymakers look for a political explanation and a political solution. This is understandable, but it misses a basic point. By understanding the role of geography, climate, and population growth in the conflict, we can find more realistic solutions than if we stick with politics alone.

Extreme poverty is a major cause, and predictor, of violence. The world's poorest places, like Darfur, are much more likely to go to war than richer places. This is not only common sense, but has been verified by studies and statistical analyses. In the UNEP's words, "There is a very strong link between land degradation, desertification, and conflict in Darfur."

Extreme poverty has several effects on conflict. First, it leads to desperation among parts of the population. Competing groups struggle to stay alive in the face of a shortage of food, water, pasture land, and other basic needs. Second, the government loses legitimacy and the support of its citizens.

Third, the government may be captured by one faction or another, and then use violent means to suppress rivals.

Darfur, the poorest part of a very poor country, fits that dire pattern. Livelihoods are supported by semi-nomadic livestock-rearing in the north and subsistence farming in the south. It is far from ports and international trade, lacks basic infrastructure such as roads and electricity, and is extremely arid. It has become even drier in recent decades because

of a decline in rainfall, which is probably the result, at least in part, of man-made climate change, caused mostly by energy use in rich countries.

Declining rainfall contributed directly or indirectly to crop failures, the encroachment of the desert into pasturelands, the decline of water and grassland for livestock, and massive deforestation. Rapid population growth - from around one million in 1920 to around seven million today - made all of this far more deadly by slashing living standards.

The result has been increasing conflict between pastoralists and farmers, and the migration of populations from the north to the south. After years of simmering conflicts, clashes broke out in 2003 between rival ethnic and political groups, and between Darfur rebels and the national government, which in turn has supported brutal militias in "scorched earth" policies, leading to massive death and displacement.

While international diplomacy focused on peacekeeping and on humanitarian efforts to save the lives of displaced and desperate people, peace in Darfur can be neither achieved nor sustained until the underlying crises of poverty, environmental degradation, declining access to water, and chronic hunger are addressed. Stationing soldiers will not pacify hungry, impoverished, and desperate people.



Sudanese children carry water to their village. (Photo courtesy of UN/Tim McKulka)

Only with improved access to food, water, health care, schools, and income-generating livelihoods can peace be achieved. The people of Darfur, Sudan's government, and international development institutions should urgently search for common ground to find a path out of desperate violence through Darfur's economic development, helped and supported by the outside world.

The UNEP report, and experiences elsewhere in Africa, suggests how to promote economic development in Darfur. Both people and livestock need assured water supplies. In some areas, this can be obtained through boreholes that tap underground aquifers. In other areas, rivers or seasonal surface runoff can be used for irrigation. In still other areas, longer-distance water pipelines might be needed. In all cases, the world community will have to help pay the tab, since Sudan is too poor to bear the burden on its own.

With outside help, Darfur could increase the productivity of its livestock through improved breeds, veterinary care, collection of fodder, and other strategies. A meat industry could be developed in which Darfur's pastoralists would multiply their incomes by selling whole animals, meat products, processed goods (such as leather), dairy

products, and more. The Middle East is a potentially lucrative nearby market. To build this export market, Darfur will need help with transport and storage, cell phone coverage, power, veterinary care, and technical advice.

Social services, including health care and disease control, education, and adult literacy programmes should also be promoted. Living standards could be improved significantly and rapidly through low-cost targeted investments in malaria control, school feeding programmes, rainwater harvesting for drinking water, mobile health clinics, and boreholes for livestock and irrigation in appropriate locations. Cell phone coverage could revolutionize communications for sparse populations in Darfur's vast territory, with major benefits for livelihoods, physical survival, and the maintenance of family ties.

The only way to sustainable peace is through sustainable development. If we are to reduce the risk of war, we must help impoverished people everywhere, not only in Darfur, to meet their basic needs, protect their natural environments, and get onto the ladder of economic development.

B. The Situation in Darfur



(Photo courtesy of AFP/ Musafa Ozer)

- Violence escalating in Darfur: UN
- Janjaweed Using Rape as 'Integral' Weapon in Darfur, Aid Group Says
- Rebel groups step up kidnaps and attacks on aid workers in Darfur
- Sudan 'resumes bombing in Darfur'
- Arabs pile into Darfur to take land 'cleansed' by janjaweed

Violence escalating in Darfur: UN

*From Reuters
June 28, 2007*

UN spokeswoman Radhia Achouri has detailed reports of tribal killings, and militia and aerial attacks on villages.

"Of particular concern is the recent upsurge in car-jacking, killings, abductions and rape in the area of Zalingei (West Darfur state)," she said.

International experts estimate 200,000 people have died and 2.5 million have been driven into miserable camps during more than four years of violence in the region bordering Chad.

Ms. Achouri says masked men have shot dead a tribal leader in the Khamsa Daqaa'iq camp in West Darfur.

She also says 200 Arab militiamen on horseback attacked on June 24 near Jabel Moon, a mountainous area in West Darfur, but there have been no immediate reports of any casualties.

Reports of aerial bombardment and militia activity in South Darfur have also caused thousands of people to flee their homes for the relative safety of camps.

"Al Salam camp (South Darfur), which had a population of 13,300 in March, now houses 28,000 IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons), with reports of 5,000 still on their way," Ms. Achouri told reporters.

The rise in violence comes two weeks after the Sudanese Government agreed to the deployment of a UN-AU joint force of thousands of troops to replace the African Union (AU) force that has proved ineffective.

The United States calls the rape, murder and looting in Darfur genocide, a term European governments are reluctant to use and the Sudanese Government rejects.



Young victims of the horrors in Darfur stay at a refugee camp, unsure of their futures. (Photo courtesy of Reuters)

Janjaweed Using Rape as 'Integral' Weapon in Darfur, Aid Group Says

From the Washington Post
By Nora Boustany
July 3, 2007

A new report on the crisis in the Darfur region of western Sudan has identified rape as a systematic weapon of ethnic cleansing being used by government-backed Janjaweed militiamen, and said Sudanese laws discriminate against female victims, who face harassment and intimidation at local police stations if they try to report the crime.

The report, "Laws Without Justice: An Assessment of Sudanese Laws Affecting Survivors of Rape," by the humanitarian group Refugees International, said rape was "an integral part of the pattern of violence that the government of Sudan is inflicting upon the targeted ethnic groups in Darfur."



A refugee woman waits in a camp in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of Cris Bouroncle/AFP-Getty Images)

"The raping of Darfuri women is not sporadic or random, but is inexorably linked to the systematic destruction of their communities," the report said. Victims are taunted with racial slurs such as "I will give you a light-skinned baby to take this land from you," according to one woman interviewed in the Touloum refugee camp in Chad, recalling the words of a Janjaweed militiaman who raped her.

For a woman to prove rape under Sudanese law, she needs four male witnesses. This requirement puts undue burdens on women in a traditional society where single women having sex can be sentenced to 100 lashes at the discretion of a judge. A married woman proven to have had sex outside of her marriage can be stoned to death, said Adrienne Fricke, an Arabic-speaking lawyer who worked on the report.

The study was compiled following extensive interviews in Khartoum over seven days in March with nongovernmental organization staff members, members of parliament, attorneys and activists. The visit, due to last 14 days, was cut short when Fricke was given 24 hours to leave the country.

"I was denied a permit to go to Darfur," Fricke said in an interview yesterday. She said the government's security officer in charge of nongovernmental agencies "told us pro

forma that this research was not necessary and too sensitive for the Sudanese government."

Refugees International President Ken Bacon, who accompanied presidential hopeful and New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson (D) to Khartoum in January, said Sudan's Justice Ministry had invited the team to study what the government described as efforts to address sexual violence against Sudanese women and to analyze Sudan's laws on rape.

"This report clarifies the use of rape as a weapon of ethnic violence and points to the international need to end this impunity," said Jimmie Briggs, who is writing a book about rape as a weapon in Congo.

Sudan's laws grant immunity to members of the military, security services, police and border guard; many Janjaweed members have been integrated into the Popular Defense Forces, which also makes them exempt from prosecution.



A pregnant mother embraces her daughter at a refugee camp in south Darfur. The woman is a victim of rape by the Janjaweed. (Photo courtesy of Zohra Bensemra/ Reuters)

Rebel groups step up kidnaps and attacks on aid workers in Darfur

From The Independent
By Steve Bloomfield
July 7, 2007

Aid workers in Sudan's Darfur region are coming under increasingly frequent and savage attack, with June among the worst months recorded, according to a confidential security report compiled by an international charity.

Thirty serious incidents took place in the last month alone - up from an average of 10 per month one year ago - as armed bandits and militia groups launched daily violent attacks.

The report, by a charity working in Darfur, which cannot be identified for safety reasons, reveals that 28 people working for international aid agencies were abducted, while more than 35 vehicles were either hijacked, shot at or stolen. Two people were shot dead and five were injured during attacks. In one of the most daring incidents, a convoy of 37 UN vehicles was ambushed near Kebkabiya in North Darfur. Two of the vehicles were hit by bullets and one of the drivers was injured. Three days later, 15 armed men forced their way into an aid agency compound, assaulting a guard and stealing a vehicle.

Dawn Blalock, spokeswoman in Sudan for the UN's humanitarian co-ordination body, OCHA, said: "Security has always been an issue but what has changed in the last year is that humanitarians are now direct targets. It is now a daily occurrence."

More than 2.5 million Darfuris have been forced to flee their homes and live in squalid camps, while a further 1.5 million are also dependent on humanitarian aid. In a region of just seven million people, the majority are now relying on aid agencies.

Despite the signing of the Darfur peace agreement in May 2006, the violence has still increased. Almost 500,000 people have fled since the peace deal. Many of the camps are now at full capacity but people are still arriving every day.

The very nature of the peace agreement may have encouraged some groups to take up arms. By rewarding armed groups with political power if they sign the agreement, one diplomat warned it was encouraging the rise in insecurity. "Take your guns, grab some NGO vehicles, seize a small town, then declare you want peace," he said.

At the time of the peace agreement there were three major rebel groups in Darfur. But just one group, a faction of the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA), signed the agreement.



The efforts of Médecins Sans Frontières, a medical NGO known for its success and dedication, have been hindered by the escalating violence in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of OSCAR SERRANA / Doctors Without Borders)

Since then all three groups have splintered. There are now believed to be anywhere between 15 and 22 different armed groups in Darfur.

Ms. Blalock said the fragmentation of the rebel groups had led to a deterioration in the security situation. "Before, we dealt with one clear interlocutor. If we were delivering aid we made one phone call to one rebel group. That is no longer the case because there are so many different groups," she said.

It has become more difficult for aid agencies to know which groups are in control of which areas. Insecurity has increased costs - much of the aid delivered now has to come by air because the roads are too dangerous.

There are around 14,000 people working in Darfur for more than 80 international aid agencies. A spokesman for Médecins Sans Frontières, which has more than 2,000 staff on the ground in Darfur, said security problems were preventing them from providing the standard of medical aid that is required.

"It is very difficult for aid workers to move outside the camps, which means it is hard to do exploratory missions to areas where we think there is a need. The situation is very bad and is not getting better," he said.

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Sudan 'resumes bombing in Darfur'

*From BBC News
July 13, 2007*

Sudan's government has resumed bombing in the country's troubled western region of Darfur, says US special envoy to Sudan Andrew Natsios.

Mr. Natsios urged Sudan to stop its campaign and respect a 2004 ceasefire. He said the bombing was focused on the Jebel Marra region, a stronghold of one of the rebel faction leaders, Abdul Wahid Mohammed Nour.



Millions of people have been displaced by the fighting in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of Agence France Presse)

Some 200,000 people have died in Darfur in the past four years, while 2m have fled their homes, the UN says.

The BBC's Amber Henshaw in Khartoum says no-one was available from the Sudanese government to comment on Mr. Natsios' claims.

'Warlordism'

end of April in 2007, the Sudanese government has resumed bombing in Darfur," Mr. Natsios said. He also accused rebel groups of descending into "criminality and warlordism".

"After a halt in the bombing between the beginning of February and the

"Some rebel leaders are cynically obstructing the peace process and the United States government is very disturbed by this. It needs to end now," he said.

The US special envoy's comments come as Britain, France and Ghana circulate a draft resolution to the UN security Council for a joint African Union-United Nations peacekeeping operation for Darfur.

The Sudanese government finally agreed to allow a 20,000-strong hybrid force into the region after months of pressure from the international community. There are also moves to get the government and the rebels back to peace talks in the next few months. Government officials say they are more than ready for talks.

A widely unpopular peace deal was signed last year by one of the three negotiating factions but the groups have now splintered and many are calling for fresh negotiations.

Arabs pile into Darfur to take land 'cleansed' by janjaweed

*By Steve Bloomfield
From The Independent
July 14, 2007*

Arabs from Chad and Niger are crossing into Darfur in "unprecedented" numbers, prompting claims that the Sudanese government is trying systematically to repopulate the war-ravaged region.

An internal UN report, obtained by The Independent, shows that up to 30,000 Arabs have crossed the border in the past two months. Most arrived with all their belongings and large flocks. They were greeted by Sudanese Arabs who took them to empty villages cleared by government and janjaweed forces.

One UN official said the process "appeared to have been well planned". The official continued: "This movement is very large. We have not seen such numbers come into west Darfur before."

The UN refugee agency, UNHCR, sent a team to the border with Chad at the end of May to interview the new arrivals. Fighting in eastern Chad has been steadily increasing and it was thought that many could be refugees. But only a very small number have required support from UNHCR.

"Most have been relocated by Sudanese Arabs to former villages of IDPs (internally displaced people) and more or less invited to stay there," said the UN official.

The arrivals have been issued with official Sudanese identity cards and awarded citizenship, and analysts say that by encouraging Arabs from Chad, Niger and other parts of Sudan to move to Darfur the Sudanese government is making it "virtually impossible" for displaced people to return home.

James Smith, chief executive of the Aegis Trust, said the revelations proved that the Sudanese government was "cynically trying to change the demographics of the whole region", adding: "If the ethnic cleansing has been consolidated because the land has been repopulated it will become irreversible. The peace process will fall to pieces."

Repopulation has also been happening in south Darfur where Arabs from elsewhere in Sudan have been allowed to move into villages that were once home to local tribes. Aid agency workers said the Arabs were presented as "returning IDPs".

Before the conflict started in 2003, Darfur was home to seven million people, mainly from three African tribes, Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa. Darfur literally translates as "Land of the Fur". But some 2.5 million have now been forced to flee their homes after attacks by Sudanese troops and planes, and Arab militia on horseback known as janjaweed.



The Janjaweed have effectively cleared large tracts of farmland in Darfur, leaving them open for repopulation by Arabs invited by the Sudanese government. (Photo courtesy of Desirey Minkoh, France Press)



If repopulation succeeds, IDPs will have no place to which to return.
(Photo courtesy of Michael Kamber/ The New York Times)

Most are now in camps around Darfur's main towns, relying on handouts from international aid agencies. About 250,000 have become refugees in Chad. A further 1.5 million have been affected by the conflict, meaning at least four million people are now reliant on the 80 or so international aid agencies in the region. More than 200,000 people are believed to have been killed so far during the four-and-a-half-year conflict.

And if Khartoum is moving Arabs from abroad to replace them, diplomats fear that Darfur rebels may try to remove them forcibly. "It could be quite explosive," said one western diplomat. "It is a very serious situation."

Nomadic Arab tribes have been crossing the border between Chad and Sudan for centuries, long before lines were drawn on a map. It is normal for tribes to follow the rains from west to east and back again, searching for fertile grazing land for their cattle. Straight lines carve out the northern borders of the five countries which spread across the Sahel, taking no notice of traditional tribal links and nomadic routes.

In Mauritania and Sudan, both countries long ruled by Arabs, black African tribes have suffered most. In Mali, Niger and Chad, the Arab and Tuareg nomads have been suppressed.

Towards the end of last year, Niger announced that it planned forcibly to remove more than 150,000 Arab nomads into Chad. Many of the Arabs, known as Mahamid, moved from Chad in the 1970s after a serious drought. Although the government later rescinded the order, it is thought that many decided to return to Chad voluntarily.

Apart from the 30,000 Arabs from Chad and Niger cited in the UNHCR report there have been consistent rumours that a further 45,000 Arabs from Niger have also crossed over. For most nomads citizenship means very little; the lines that separate the countries of the Sahel have not created a sense of nationality. But for the Khartoum regime it could be pivotal. Elections are to be held in two years, the first since President Omar al-Bashir seized power in a coup in 1989.

Although opinion polling is not very advanced, it is thought that no party is likely to win an overall majority. By providing citizenship for the new arrivals, one Khartoum-based diplomat said, President Bashir could be hoping to bolster his election chances.

For the Arabs who have crossed into Darfur there are both push and pull factors. Drought in parts of northern Africa has forced nomads to look further afield for fertile land. Although the spread of desert is rapidly reducing the amount of land available for farmers and nomads in Darfur, much of the area cleared by the janjaweed and government forces is fertile.

C. The Refugee Problem



Sudanese refugee children sit in their makeshift classroom April 19 in the refugee camp Kou Kou Angarana in Chad near the Sudan border. Karen Prinsloo / AP file

- Darfur insecurity continues to cause displacement - UN
- Sudanese army airplanes provoke daily panic in Darfur
- Israel struggles to deal with mounting refugee problem

Darfur insecurity continues to cause Displacement - UN

*From the Sudan Tribune
July 4, 2007*

(Khartoum) - The United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) said today that more people had been displaced in the western Sudanese region of Darfur due to volatile security situation.

Around 2,700 new displaced have arrived to Al-Fasher, the capital of North Darfur from eastern Jebel Marra due to the increasing insecurity there during last June.

In South Darfur, insecurity continues to cause the displacement of thousands of IDPs to Al Salam camp and to Um Dukhum. Al Salam camp, which had a population of 13,300 in March, now houses over 33,000 IDPs, with over 2,300 IDPs still to be verified.

In Um Dukhum, West Darfur, where the nutrition level was reported to be critical, WFP and an INGO have been distributing emergency food rations for two weeks to nearly 950 IDP families who fled from militia harassment in Um Dafog.

A large number of refugees/returnees are also moving from Chad and the Central African Republic. A UNHCR team from Mukjar is presently in Um Dukhum to verify the numbers of refugees and returnees.

The UNMIS said a joint assessment mission with UN agencies and INGOs recommended closure of El Salaam camp in south Darfur. As the IDPs number has reached 33,007, the mission concluded that the available services would not be adequate to sustain the current population at this location.

Alternative solutions for the IDPs need to be identified and coordinated with HAC and other authorities.



A Darfuri child stares out from a makeshift shelter in a refugee camp. (Photo courtesy of Christophe Ena / AP)

Sudanese army airplanes provoke daily panic in Darfur

*From the Sudan Tribune
July 4, 2007*

(London) — Sudan's air force is conducting daily low-altitude flights over displaced camps in South Darfur provoking panic and fears among the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), a rebel leader said.



A mother comforts her malnourished child at a refugee camp. (Photo courtesy of Reuters / Finbarr O'Reilly)

The leader of rebel Sudan Liberation Movement/Army Abdelwahid al-Nur accused Khartoum of conducting military low-altitude flights over Kalma and Attash IDP camps in South Darfur.

“Reports received from the region indicate that military airplanes identified as Russia's MiG are conducting — since the first of July in the morning between 5 and 6

hour — flights below 3,000 feet above ground level”. “These flights provoke panic and fears among the civilians because everyday they give the impression that these planes are coming to bombard them” he said.

Al-Nur Added that a 55 year-old woman has badly broken her hand after falling. “On July 1, when she heard the noise of low altitude flight MiG, the woman then tripped falling awkwardly on her arm. Also the huge noise removes the makeshift tents and clothes of the IDPs”.

“They complained to the African peacekeeping force and to the UN officials on the ground but they have no response.”

Al-Nur who insists that the protection of Darfur civilians is a prerequisite for holding peace negotiations with the government, condemned these flights describing it as “new form of intimidation campaign aiming to terrorize the IDPs and provoke psychological damage.”

He said that traumatized IDPs come to the camps seeking protection of the international community but it seems that Khartoum is determined to harm them and pursue their moral torture.

Israel struggles to deal with mounting refugee problem

*From the Associated Press
July 10, 2007*

(Beersheba, Israel) - On a scorching afternoon, an army bus pulled up near City Hall, dropped off 40 African refugees it had picked up in the Negev desert, and drove off, leaving them squinting and confused in the midday sun.

Some were barefoot. Others carried weeks-old infants. A few wore bandages where barbed wire had torn their flesh as they sneaked across the border from Egypt to seek refuge in Israel. None carried food or water.

The new arrivals, most from Sudan, were part of a swelling flow of refugees slipping across Israel's porous southern border.

They told of fleeing fighting at home, of persecution in Egypt and of walking for days to reach Israel, only to be picked up by the army and released into the streets with nowhere to go.

Concerned at the growing numbers, Israel recently announced it had reached an understanding with Egypt to take back many of the refugees and that they would be treated well. Egypt's Foreign Ministry refused to comment.

Unused to being a desirable destination for modern refugees, Israel's response has been incoherent and contradictory, its harsh threats to expel the unwanted arrivals clashing with humanitarian sentiments inspired by the memory of Jews vainly seeking sanctuary from the Nazis.

Though the case is unusual, the late Prime Minister Menachem Begin set a precedent in 1977 when he offered asylum to nearly 400 Vietnamese boat people.

The arrival of refugees from Sudan further complicates matters, since Israeli law denies asylum to anyone from an "enemy" state. Sudan's Muslim government is hostile toward Israel and has no diplomatic ties with the Jewish state.



2 1/2-year-old Fone is held as she cries at a shelter in North Israel. Her mother says she and her daughter were beaten by Egyptian police after being caught attempting to cross over the border into Israel. (Photo courtesy of Carolyn Cole /LAT)

"This is a very delicate situation," said David Baker, a spokesman for Prime Minister Ehud Olmert. Israel must strike a balance between enforcing the law regarding illegal immigrants and providing assistance to those in need, he said.

Critics see it differently.

"There is no clear policy," said Jonathan Massey, a volunteer who mustered food and water for the new arrivals in Beersheba last Friday. "Every day is improvisation."

Israel estimates that 2,800 people have entered the country illegally through its Sinai border in recent years, nearly all from Africa. The number shot up in the past two months, apparently as word spread of job opportunities in Israel. As many as 50 people arrived each day in June, according to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Several hundred are from the western Sudanese region of Darfur, where fighting between ethnic African rebels and pro-government militias began in February 2003 and has killed more than 200,000 people and displaced 2.5 million.

Many Sudanese said they expected to be shot at after crawling under the border fence, and were surprised when soldiers gave them food, water and mattresses and later took them to Beersheba.

"In the four years I lived in Cairo it was all suffering," said Jafar, 34, who fled Darfur on 2003 and arrived in Israel last week. "In all that time I never felt like a human being as I have in the last week." U.N. officials requested that the refugees' surnames be withheld to protect relatives in Sudan.

Aid workers, however, say a higher standard should be applied.

"The government of Israel does nothing for them," said Sigal Rozen of the Hotline for Migrant Workers.



A Sudanese refugee living on a kibbutz in Northern Israel faces being sent back to Egypt since the Israeli government's decision. (Photo courtesy of Carolyn Cole / LAT)

Volunteer groups find them employment and temporary housing. Some have found places as laborers on kibbutzim, Israeli communal farms. Some illegal migrants were imprisoned, and a few remain there.

But placing them becomes more difficult as their numbers grow and as more families arrive with children, Rozen said.

The mayor of Beersheba put up 180 in local hotels at the city's expense. A city spokeswoman said the prime minister's office promised funding two weeks ago, but the money has yet to arrive.

To protest the lack of movement, the mayor bused 55 of them Sunday to Jerusalem, where they briefly camped outside parliament. They left only after temporary shelter was

found in the city of Sderot — a frequent target of Palestinian rockets from the nearby Gaza Strip.

Baker, Olmert's spokesman, said Israel would absorb "a limited number" of Darfur refugees. But it considers most of the infiltrators economic migrants who should go back to Egypt. Baker had no details on when such returns would begin.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Public Security announced plans to establish a tent camp near the Egyptian border until Israel can decide what to do with the refugees, said ministry spokesman Ofer Lefler.

Many of them are as afraid of returning to Egypt as they are of going home.

Gabriel, 38, said he fled war in southern Sudan in 1984, spent 15 years in a refugee camp in northern Sudan, then ran away to Egypt after he was accused of plotting against the Khartoum government. In Cairo, he worked 15-hour days cleaning houses and often was not paid, he said.

Other Sudanese spoke of being chased from a refugee camp near Cairo by Egyptian police in 2005, when nearly 30 people were killed in clashes. Many said Egyptians had insulted them, cheated them or thrown rocks at them.

Gabriel said he, his wife and her sister walked for three days in early July from northern Sinai to enter Israel. They arrived with eight children, including a pair of 2-month-old twins.

"Israel is a safe country," he said. "We want to raise our kids and stay here."

D. The African Union / United Nations Hybrid Force



(Photo courtesy of Encyclopaedia Britannica)

- Peacekeepers face little peace to keep
- UN draft resolution allows wide use of force in Darfur
- UK, France soften U.N. text on new Darfur force

Missions

From The New Yorker
By Samantha Power
November 28, 2005

For the past two and a half years, the Arab-dominated government of Sudan has teamed up with sword-wielding marauders on horses and camels, known as *janjaweed*, to butcher, rape, and expel non-Arabs living in the western region of Darfur. In May of 2004, the United States, Europe, and Africa settled on an imperfect solution for stabilizing the region: send in the African Union. The A.U. accordingly dispatched sixty unarmed observers and three hundred “green helmet” soldiers to monitor a ceasefire between the government and the non-Arab rebels who were fighting it.

What followed was a textbook example of “mission creep.” The ceasefire collapsed, the Sudanese Air Force and the *janjaweed* continued their deadly raids, thousands more non-Arabs were killed, and the rebels began to splinter into rivalrous groups. In response, in October of 2004, the A.U. sent in an additional three thousand observers and soldiers. When that didn’t stem the violence, it sent more troops. By this month, more than two hundred thousand people had died and two million had been displaced, and the operation had come to include almost seven thousand people: some forty international staff; seven hundred military observers; twelve hundred civilian police; and nearly five thousand soldiers, mainly from Nigeria and Rwanda.

Initially, the African Union, the Western powers, the government of Sudan, and the United Nations all seemed to benefit from the arrangement. The A.U., which had been launched in 2002 to provide “African solutions to African problems,” capitalized on the West’s guilt over the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and received nearly half a billion dollars for the Darfur mission. (Thabo Mbeki, South Africa’s President, later said, with typical bravado, that Darfur is “an African responsibility, and we can do it.”) The Western powers could claim that something noble was being done in Sudan without having to risk their own troops. The U.S., in particular, could appease noisy Darfur advocates at home—students, Christian activists, members of Congress—while forging closer counter-terrorism ties with Sudan. And the U.N., which is struggling to manage sixteen peacekeeping operations around the world, could avoid being handed yet another doomed mission.

The presence of A.U. forces undoubtedly made Darfur more stable. But that is no more consoling than Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld’s claims that America treats its detainees better than Saddam Hussein treated his. Darfur remains overrun with violence and banditry. On October 8th, four Nigerian A.U. soldiers and two contractors were killed by the *janjaweed*. The next day, eighteen A.U. peacekeepers were kidnapped by rebels, and, when a rescue mission of twenty A.U. soldiers was dispatched, it, too, was abducted—by a rival rebel faction. (They were all later released.) Just before Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick made his fourth trip to Darfur, earlier this month, fifteen hundred men allegedly torched six villages. West Darfur is so dangerous that the U.N. has withdrawn its nonessential staff. António Guterres, the U.N.’s High

Commissioner for Refugees, has warned of “a very serious degeneration” in Darfur, saying, “People are dying, and dying in large numbers.”

The A.U. mission is clearly overwhelmed. Its teams, spread out across an area the size of France, manage at most three patrols per day in various sectors of the region, and African countries are hardly eager to send more soldiers. In a literal rendition of “death by a thousand paper cuts,” Khartoum has blocked the delivery of a hundred and five Canadian armored vehicles to vulnerable A.U. troops; grounded the A.U.’s helicopters by imposing arbitrary flight restrictions; and delayed visas for nato officials meant to train A.U. troops. When the A.U. patrols encounter skirmishes, they are under instructions to inform the organization’s headquarters, in Addis Ababa, but responsibility for the protection of citizens has been explicitly left to the government of Sudan.

Soon, this stopgap mission will fail not only those in need of protection but all the other interested parties as well. The Western powers have already spent more than a billion dollars feeding refugees in camps that feel increasingly permanent, and it is nearly inevitable that, as in the West Bank and Pakistan, some Muslims in these camps will be radicalized, and take up arms locally, or, perhaps, farther afield. And once the U.S. and Europe follow through on their recent decisions to slash funding for the African Union, the U.N. will be forced to assume peacekeeping duties in Darfur after all. “The A.U. is looking for a peg to hang success on so it can walk away gracefully,” one U.N. official told me.

That peg may be hard to find. The peace talks between Khartoum and an ever increasing number of rebel groups, which began last year and are now entering their seventh round, have become a farce. The prospects for stability are so dim that diplomats have begun trotting out alibis from past ethnic conflicts. “It’s a tribal war,” Zoellick said in Khartoum, on November 9th. “And, frankly, I don’t think foreign forces ought to get themselves in the middle of a tribal war.” But, if a humanitarian calamity is going to be averted, “foreign forces” will be required. Darfur’s displaced have gathered in some three hundred sites, and someone needs to protect them from the *janjaweed* who prowl nearby. Roads must be made safe for humanitarian relief convoys. In the longer term, a political deal must be struck between the region’s warring factions, and the majority of Darfur’s displaced must feel safe enough to return home.

These are monumental tasks that the African Union alone cannot perform. Roméo Dallaire, the U.N.’s commander during the Rwanda genocide, has said that a multinational force of up to forty-four thousand troops is needed. Other experts have said that twenty-five thousand armed troops, with a mandate to protect civilians, would vastly improve the situation. If planning starts now, within six months or so the A.U. mission could be absorbed into a far larger multinational U.N. force that could appeal for troops from such peacekeeping veterans as Canada, the Netherlands, Turkey, and Jordan. Persuading these countries to send their troops to Darfur won’t be easy. Nor will obtaining permission from Sudan, which, in a ghastly coincidence of timing, takes over the A.U.’s rotating presidency in January. But the alternative is a far bigger African problem—with no African, or international, solution.

Peacekeepers face little peace to keep

*From Reuters
By Peter Apps
July 2, 2007*

United Nations and African Union peacekeepers headed for Sudan's Darfur region stand little chance of success without a robust peace agreement, observers warn, and could end up becoming scapegoats for ongoing violence. Prospects could be even worse for AU peacekeepers headed into Somalia, where diplomats see little peace to keep. Sudan this month agreed to allow hybrid UN/AU force of 20,000 peacekeepers into Darfur,



Darfuri refugees seek shelter under a feeble tree in the middle of the desert. (Photo courtesy of AFP/File/Marco Longari)

replacing a weak AU mission that observers say did little to halt the violence.

The co-author of a UN resolution mandating the hybrid operation, Britain's ambassador to the UN Emyr Jones Parry, said on Wednesday he expected to finalize the draft this week and it could come to a vote next week. Speaking earlier to Reuters in London, Jones Parry said the hybrid force, unlike

the AU mission, would, crucially, have a mandate robust enough to cover the protection of civilians. "Secondly, there will be enough of them to cover the country and with the equipment and the flexibility to get around much more easily," he said last week.

International experts say some 200,000 people have died and about 2.5 million been displaced in four years of fighting. Sudan denies US accusations of genocide and says only 9,000 are dead. Not all of Darfur's disparate rebel groups - mainly non-Arabic tribesmen who accuse the Sudanese government of ignoring the region - signed up to a peace deal reached a year ago and aid workers say violence is increasing again and it is becoming harder to tell who is behind it. "There has been this concentration on getting peacekeepers in but what we really need is a proper peace deal," said former UN undersecretary general Mark Malloch Brown. "Without it, it will be very difficult."

The 20,000 peacekeepers will be spread across an area roughly the size of France. As with the UN military mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo - another vast,

violence ridden country - analysts warn there will be areas from which they are largely absent where civilians will be largely unprotected. "The hybrid force, if it is deployed without agreement between the parties, will not be able to stop the fighting and will become a scapegoat for the attacks on civilians," said Francois Grignon, Africa project director for the International Crisis Group think tank.

The chances for a successful intervention in the face of opposition either from the rebels or from Khartoum - accused of backing militias who rape and murder - were low, he said. Taking the fight to poorly trained rebels, peacekeepers were able to largely halt civil war in Sierra Leone but Darfur was a much more complex situation spread over a much larger area, Grignon said, and serious UN fighting was not an option. An expected delay in deploying a mission could turn out to be a good thing, however. A senior UN official said on Wednesday it could take six months.

"This time can be used to obtain the necessary provisions to come back to the table for negotiations," Grignon said. "The force is not a waste of time - far from it - but it is only one piece of the puzzle." Parry Jones said stability could be achieved by completing the political process alongside deployment of the troops. "People will go home, you can get some economic activity and a degree of normality that we have not seen in Darfur for a very long time," he said. Asked if that could happen by the year-end, he said yes.



African Union/United Nations hybrid force troops patrol the Darfur region
(Photo courtesy of Daily Darfur)

Observers are much less optimistic about the prospects successful peacekeeping in Somalia, scene of a failed US and UN mission in the 1990s and where Ethiopian soldiers and a fledgling African union mission are working to support the provisional government. Western diplomats say for now there is simply no peace for the Ugandan AU peacekeepers and troops from Burundi who will join them to keep. "It depends on how much the African Union can stabilize things," Jones Parry said. "What the (UN) department for peacekeeping is looking at is contingency plans."

The International Crisis Group says the international community is still too divided over what it wants for Somalia and peacekeepers backing the government are not well received. "The population of southern Somalia is going to see more and more the African mission as an accomplice to a government not representative of their own interests," said Grignon. "The international community has to decide what endgame it wants for Somalia."

UN draft resolution allows wide use of force in Darfur

*By Evelyn Leopold
From Reuters
July 11, 2007*

(United Nations) - The U.N. Security Council readied a resolution Wednesday to approve a new U.N.-African Union force of up to some 26,000 troops and police and allow a wide use of force to protect civilians in Darfur.



United Nations peacekeeping troops (Photo courtesy of answers.com)

The draft resolution, circulated to the 15 council members by sponsors Britain, France and Ghana, is necessary before the United Nations can formally recruit troops to help stop the violence in western Sudan.

Some 200,000 people are estimated to have died in the region and more than 2.1 million uprooted.

The resolution is under Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter, which makes it mandatory. It would allow the mission "to use all necessary means," a

euphemism for a use of force, "in the areas of deployment of its forces and as it deems within its capabilities."

Force could be used to protect the mission's personnel, facilities, installations and equipment, to ensure the security and freedom of movement of its own personnel and humanitarian workers and "to protect civilians under threat of physical violence" as well as to seize or collect arms.

Specifically, the text would authorize up to 19,555 military personnel and 6,400 civilian police. It calls on member states to "finalize" their contributions within 90 days of adoption. Sudan has agreed to the troop numbers.

The UN-AU proposals have two options for troops, one with 19,500, composed of 18 infantry battalions and another with 17,605, with 15 infantry battalions. The cost for the first year has been estimated at \$2 billion.

The new operation, called the United Nations-African Union mission in Darfur, or UNAMID, would absorb the 7,000 African Union troops now in the region.

The resolution also calls on countries and regional organizations to respond to requests by the African Union, which is rapidly running out of money. The full U.N. force is not expected to be on the ground until next year.

COMMAND AND CONTROL

A touchy point of the new so-called hybrid force is command and control, with some U.N. troops contributors hesitating until this is clarified.

The draft "decides that there will be unity of command and control which, in accordance with basic principles of peacekeeping, means a single chain of command, and further decides that command and control structures and backstopping will be provided by the United Nations."



A United Nations armored vehicle used to protect the UN's soldiers while they maintain peace in volatile areas in the world. (Photo courtesy of ghanaweb.com)

In practice, U.N. peacekeeping officials have said the AU would have operational day to day control but the United Nations would step in if it disagreed.

The civilian head of UNAMID is Rodolphe Adada, the Congo Republic's foreign minister, and the military commander is General Martin Agwai of Nigeria.

The resolution also notes with "strong concern" ongoing attacks by rebels, the government and pro-government Janjaweed militia on the civilian population and humanitarian workers.

It also speaks for the first time of the "use of United Nations markings on aircraft used in such attacks" a reference to a confidential U.N. report by outside experts in April.

That survey said the Khartoum government was using planes painted white to make them look like U.N. aircraft to bomb and carry out surveillance of villages.

U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, in consultation with the African Union, is asked to conclude within 30 days an accord on U.N. rights and privileges, known as a status-of-forces agreement for the new mission.

The Darfur conflict dates back to early 2003, when non-Arab rebels took up arms, accusing the government of not heeding their plight in the remote, arid region.

Khartoum mobilized Arab militia, known locally as Janjaweed, who raped, plundered and murdered, to quell the revolt. In the past year, rebels have contributed to the violence, splintering into a dozen factions.

E. Negotiations with Rebel Groups



Photo courtesy of Middle East Online

- AU Salim, JEM Ibrahim Hold Talks on Darfur Peace Process
- Darfur rebels wrap up key unity talks
- Darfur's Forgotten Rebel: The 'Nelson Mandela of Sudan' Imprisoned for a Year.

AU Salim, JEM Ibrahim Hold Talks on Darfur Peace Process

*From the Sudan Tribune
July 9, 2007*

(Khartoum) - Salim Ahmed Salim, AU envoy for Darfur met Sunday with Khalil Ibrahim Mohamed, leader of the rebel Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) as part of ongoing efforts to energize the Darfur peace process, the AUMIS said Monday.



Khalil Ibrahim, rebel leader of the JEM, waves to African Union envoy to Sudan Salim Ahmed Salim in the area of Kariarii, near the Chadian border July 8, 2007. (Photo courtesy of Reuters)

Khalil Ibrahim welcomed the AU delegation and expressed his optimism that a fair and comprehensive peace could be achieved through the forthcoming round of negotiations, now that Salim and the mediation team have developed a clear understanding of the complexities of the conflict and the needs and demands of Darfurians.

The rebel leader emphasized that “JEM is committed to peace as its ultimate goal,” adding “It is vital that the international community and the mediators are better aware of the demands of Darfurians including their rights to power and wealth-sharing”.

The meeting, which took place in North of Darfur close to the boarder with Chad, was attended by AU Deputy Head of Mission, Ambassador Hassan Gibril, Head of the Darfur Peace Agreement Implementation Team, Ambassador Sam Ibok, as well as other AU and UN officials.

The AU envoy acknowledged that “In Abuja we agreed on some issues and disagreed on others. But we all agree that a just and sustainable peace in Darfur is our ultimate and collective goal”.

“We are aware of the aspirations and disappointments of the people of Darfur but it is difficult to sustain a healthy political process amidst a state of insecurity,” he added.

Salim explained that the fragmentation of some of the Darfurian armed Movements is still complicating the peace efforts. “It is in the best interest of all the Parties that a credible, coherent and unified rebel movement contribute positively to the peace talks. But we cannot wait indefinitely for all Movements to be united. We are looking into the possibility of helping the Movements to adopt a common negotiating framework. If we cannot achieve what is perfect, we will work with what is possible,” he said.

DARFUR ROAD MAP

He explained that the roadmap for the political process consists of three phases: Convergence of Initiatives and Consultations; Pre-Negotiations; and Negotiations.

He said it is of special importance that the different initiatives that aim at achieving peace in Darfur converge because “if everyone is doing the negotiation, then no one is doing the negotiation. There is a need for all negotiations to converge under the AU-UN leadership”.



A refugee waits for a medical examination at the Turkish Red Crescent Hospital in the Darfur city of Nyala, February 2007. (Photo courtesy of AFP)

As a point of departure for the implementation of the road-map, the AU and UN expect all parties to declare their serious commitment to achieve a political solution to the Darfur crisis; create a security environment in Darfur conducive to negotiations; participate in and commit to the outcome of the negotiation effort; and to cease all hostilities.

Consultations with JEM and the other Parties to the conflict constitutes the second phase of the roadmap and comes before the

Tripoli meeting, scheduled to take place on 15-16 July, to assess the progress made over the past months towards the commencement of the peace talks on the Darfur conflict.

Salim pleaded that it was necessary to quicken the pace of negotiations. He said the danger in the present situation lies not only in the sad humanitarian condition and lack of security that plague Darfur, but in the looming loss of hope among Darfurians. He said, “Despair only aggravates problems and solves none”.

Following the meeting, Salim and Khalil held private talks that covered details of the peace process and the roadmap.

JEM spokes person, Ahmed Hussein Adam said that Salim invited Khalil Ibrahim to attend Tripoli meeting next week under the joint AU-UN chairmanship. The AU envoy also invited the rebel JEM leader to participate in a meeting for the leaders of the rebel groups to be held in the coming days.

Salim’s visit to Darfur is in the context of the joint efforts by the AU and UN Special Envoys for Darfur to energize the Darfur political process. Salim Ahmed Salim and Jan Eliasson have been stepping up efforts to move the process forward towards the final phase of negotiations with the support of the international community.

Relations between the AU envoy and the holdout rebels were very bad after their refusal to sign Abuja deal; Khalil Ibrahim was particularly vehement in his rejection of Salim involvement in the forthcoming talks. But relations between the two parties improved since last month when Salim and Ibrahim talked for long time by telephone to mark their reconciliations.

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Darfur's Forgotten Rebel: The 'Nelson Mandela of Sudan' Imprisoned for a Year

*From the Wall Street Journal
By Ronan Farrow
June 21, 2007*

In a bare hospital room to the east of Darfur, Suleiman Jamous is living out a nightmare. He is permitted no contact with the outside world. An armed guard is posted outside his door. Were he to attempt to leave, the Sudanese government's intelligence service — notorious for its use of torture and indefinite imprisonment — would arrest him. Next week, he will have been incarcerated for a full year.

His crimes: extending the reach of life-saving humanitarian measures to tens of thousands of displaced people, attempting to unify volatile rebel groups, and courageously fighting against human-rights abuses. Suleiman Jamous has been described as the Nelson Mandela of Sudan, and he is one of the few heroes to emerge from the brutal conflict that has ravaged Darfur for the past four years.



Many believe that rebel Suleiman Jamous is the key to the peace process in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of IRIN)

Mr. Jamous, humanitarian coordinator for Darfur's largest rebel group, has been instrumental in providing aid workers with safe access to areas behind rebel lines. He is widely viewed as a key leader of the rebel opposition to Khartoum's ethnic cleansing campaign in Darfur. An elderly statesman who has never picked up a gun, Mr. Jamous commands universal respect among the otherwise fractious rebel leaders who control most of rural Darfur.

Because of this, the government of Sudan has aggressively sought to suppress Mr. Jamous. He has been arrested and imprisoned repeatedly, culminating in his current detainment. Although he is now being held at a United Nations hospital, the U.N.'s hands are tied. The last time they attempted to move him, the Khartoum regime retaliated by suspending U.N. humanitarian operations in Sudan.

Mr. Jamous's absence has been felt acutely. In the 11 months since he was neutralized, humanitarian access has dwindled to its lowest level ever. More than one million Darfuris are now out of reach of aid workers. "There is no doubt that Suleiman Jamous was very important to humanitarian agencies," said the head of a prominent relief organization, who asked that he not be named. He described Mr. Jamous as a champion of "humanitarian principles and human rights," crediting him with securing desperately

needed access for aid workers and negotiating the release of numerous child soldiers. "There is no doubt that not having him in Darfur has made access negotiations less certain and more complicated."

Faltering efforts to create unity and peace between rebel movements have also been undermined. Many commanders believe that such efforts will fail without Mr. Jamous's leadership. If Darfur's divided rebels fall into infighting, embattled humanitarians and defenseless civilians will be caught in the crossfire.

Despite his crucial humanitarian and peacemaking role — and despite the fact that the government of Sudan agreed to release all prisoners of war under 2005's Darfur Peace Agreement — Mr. Jamous remains detained. The U.N., the U.S. and the African Union appear to have abandoned Suleiman Jamous. Even the humanitarian groups whose work he facilitated have fallen silent, in well-founded fear of retaliation from the government of Sudan should they advocate for his release.



A Sudanese woman holds barbed wire outside a hospital in the Darfur city of Nyala. (AFP/File/Mustafa Ozer)

And time may be running out. For several months, Mr. Jamous has been suffering from severe abdominal pains. Doctors who examined him in December 2006 reported that he needs a stomach biopsy that cannot be performed where he is being held. Khartoum is well aware of both the urgency of his condition and the fact that freeing him could substantially improve the delivery of relief to Darfuri civilians. Still, his release is being denied.

If they are committed to achieving peace in Darfur, the powerful nations of the world and the U.N. itself must bring pressure to bear on Khartoum regarding Suleiman Jamous. The U.S. should charge its Special Envoy to Sudan, Andrew Natsios, with negotiating for Mr. Jamous's release. And people the world over should raise their voices in opposition to his unjust detention.

Speaking on behalf of his fellow South African political prisoners, Nelson Mandela once said: "Despite the thickness of the prison walls, all of us ... could hear your voices demanding our release very clearly. We drew inspiration from this. We thank you that you refused to forget us." Today, Suleiman Jamous is desperately in need of voices of support. Let us not allow him to be forgotten.

Darfur rebels wrap up key unity talks

*From Independent Online (South Africa)
August 6, 2007*

Arusha, Tanzania - Darfur's rebel groups on Monday concluded four days of talks in Tanzania by agreeing on a common platform to soon enter final peace negotiations with the Sudanese government.

A unified position for the fractious rebels was seen as another important step towards ending four and half years of deadly fighting in Darfur, a week after a landmark UN decision to deploy 26 000 peacekeepers there.



Rebel group parading the Darfur region. (Photo courtesy of Bradford Plumer)

The eight rebel factions represented in the Arusha talks "presented a common platform on power sharing, wealth sharing, security arrangements, land and humanitarian issues, for the final negotiations," according to the final statement.

"They also recommended that final talks should be held between two to three months from now," the statement said, adding that the venue had yet to be determined.

The talks were however shunned by two key rebel leaders, including the founding father of the Darfur rebellion, Abdel Wahid Mohammed Nur.

The rebel groups also committed themselves to a raft of confidence-building measures to pave the way for final peace talks, including ensuring humanitarian access to Darfur, where the combined effect of war has left at least 200,000 dead since 2003.

The two top mediators in the talks, United Nations envoy Jan Eliasson and his African Union counterpart Salim Ahmed Salim, said they would travel to Khartoum for consultations with the Sudanese government in the coming days.

"We would want to see concrete commitment" from Khartoum to a ceasefire, Salim told reporters after the talks' closing session.

In the final statement, the rebel groups "reiterated their readiness to respect a complete cessation of hostilities, provided that all other parties make similar commitments".

Yet neither the rebels nor the mediators were willing to reveal the details of the rebels' position on power-sharing and wealth-sharing, which Sudan watchers say has been the cause of fallouts.

The conflict in Sudan's western Darfur region erupted when rebel groups complaining of political and economic marginalisation by the government in Khartoum took up arms.

A peace deal was signed with the government in Abuja in May 2006 but only one rebel faction endorsed it, sparking deep divisions and a new surge in violence.

A spokesperson for one of the main rebel groups, the Justice and Equality Movement, stressed that positions had simply been harmonised but that no compromises to Khartoum had been agreed to.

"We have not given up the resistance yet. The armed struggle was imposed on us by the government of Sudan, which refuses to recognise our people's legitimate rights," Ahmed Hussein Adam told AFP.

He also said the talks in Arusha had not broached the rebels' demand that senior Sudanese regime official be prosecuted by the International Criminal Court for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

"The issue of accountability is of prime importance. Without it, there will be no reconciliation and no peace. We are not compromising on justice, we did not trade anything off during these talks," he said.

Two key rebel players did not attend the Arusha talks, including the Paris-exiled Nur who boycotted the meeting, arguing that the invited factions were illegitimate and that such consultations should only take place once a ceasefire is observed.

"There is a chair waiting for him... He has decided not to take part, we don't interpret (this) as his position when it comes to taking part in final negotiations," Eliasson told reporters.

Suleiman Jamous, another veteran rebel seen as a useful mediator should peace talks resume, is confined to a hospital in Sudan by the government despite pleas for his release by mediators, rebels and rights activists.

"We will certainly pursue the issue of Suleiman Jamous with the government of Sudan ... because his release would be useful," said Salim.

Jamous' case is attracting increasing international attention and on Sunday, US actress and humanitarian activist Mia Farrow offered her freedom in exchange for the release of the 62-year-old leader, whose health is believed to be poor.

The Arusha talks were also attended by representatives of neighbouring Chad, Egypt, Eritrea as well as Libya, which hosted the rebel talks' preparatory meeting last month.

The rebel meeting came nearly a week after the landmark decision by the UN Security Council to deploy 26,000 UN and AU peacekeepers to take over from an out-manned, under-funded and ill-equipped African contingent of 7,000 men.

Darfur: On the Ground

Study Questions

Climate Change and Environmental Degradation

1. Do you think that the climate change in Darfur has any relevance to the genocide in Darfur? Why or why not?
2. Should the climate change in Darfur be such a major focus for the international community, or is it just a distraction from more pressing aspects of the conflict?

Situation in Darfur

1. Briefly describe the current state of the Darfur region.
2. How has the situation in Darfur affected the status of the Sudan? (Politics, Economy, Religion, Security, etc.)
3. What aspect of the conflict do you feel should be stabilized or worked on first?

Refugee Situation

1. How has the genocide in Darfur affected other nations in Africa and the Middle East?
2. What are some of the challenges of countries that host large numbers of Darfur refugees?

Hybrid Force

1. What is the significance of the Sudanese government accepting the United Nations/African Union Hybrid Force? Do you think the force will be a success? Why or why not?
2. What do you think are some challenges that could arise as a result of the new hybrid force occupying the Darfur region?
3. Who will ultimately benefit from the United Nations/African Union hybrid force? Why?

Negotiations with Rebels

1. How successful have the peace talks between rebel groups and the Sudanese government been?
2. Have rebel groups shown willingness or stubbornness in the negotiation process with the Sudanese government? Do you feel that they have been reasonable?

V. Activism and “Actor-vism”



Photo courtesy of the United Nations

While the international community seems to be at a loss about how to handle the crisis in Darfur, thousands of ordinary, and not-so-ordinary, people are stepping up to try to fill the void. Celebrities have led the charge to raise awareness about the atrocities in Sudan, and some have even visited refugee camps in Darfur and Chad. Meanwhile, students of all ages are organizing letter-writing campaigns, raising money for refugees, and doing whatever they can to be part of the solution.

- A. Can Drag Queens and Hired Guns Save Darfur?
- B. The Save Darfur Coalition. Student Activism
 - STAND: A Student Anti-Genocide Coalition
- C. “Actor-vism”
 - *Interview Magazine*: Don Cheadle
 - Clooney: Cast raises millions for Darfur
 - Actress Mia Farrow to kick off torch relay to protest China’s failure to push Sudan on Darfur
- D. Experts on Africa
 - Ending “the world’s hottest war”
 - A Man Obsessed
- E. The 2008 Beijing Olympics
 - Actress-activist Mia Farrow is leading a ‘shaming campaign’
 - Congress using Olympics to Pressure China on Sudan
- F. Flames of Hope
- G. The Save Darfur Coalition
- H. Study Questions

“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.” *-Margaret Meade*

Can Drag Queens and Hired Guns Save Darfur?

Excerpts from “Can Drag Queens and Hired Guns Save Darfur?”

From TruthDig.com

By Sarah Stillman

June 28, 2007

BANJUL, GAMBIA—Cpl. Buju Ceesay wants to meet the young men who gyrated in sequin ball gowns and stilettos for his sake. They worship at a synagogue in



African Union peacekeepers stand guard in Darfur. The underfunded and understaffed force has been unable to stabilize the region. (Photo courtesy of Abde Raouf and the Associated Press)

Minneapolis, Minn.; he prays at a mosque in Banjul, Gambia. They are high school activists; he’s a 27-year-old peacekeeper with the African Union in Darfur. But even across 5,000 miles and a yawning cultural chasm, Cpl. Ceesay is pleased to hear about the “Drag Ball for Darfur” held at Congregation Shir Tikvah in May. Dancing across the stage in outrageous costumes, the students raised more than \$7,000 for the Genocide Intervention Network, which in turn finances firewood patrols like the ones Ceesay conducts for the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS). “These patrols are the only way for us to protect women in the camps from

rape and abduction as they venture out in search of sticks and twigs for their cooking,” the Gambian soldier explains. “But the African Union lacks the funds and morale to keep [the patrols] going, so we’ll take any help we can get ... including drag queens.”

The crisis facing peacekeepers in Darfur has never looked so bleak. As the international community stands by, they slog into their fourth year without the resources or mandate to end the violence that’s killed at least 200,000 civilians and displaced 2.5 million more before their eyes. “We feel like frauds,” explains Pvt. Alasana Minteh, who served in the Zalingei area. “We have no maps, [have] broken radios, and our translators are on strike. ... How can we protect the people of Darfur when we can barely protect ourselves?”

A glimmer of hope emerged two weeks ago when Sudan’s President Omar al-Bashir yielded to international pressure and accepted a proposed influx of United Nations troops. But celebration would be woefully premature; it’s hard to trust a leader who signs peace agreements with one hand while arming proxy “Arab” militias—known as Janjaweed—to slaughter entire villages with the other. Already, al-Bashir is waffling on the June 12th agreement. Ceesay doubts that any blue helmets will arrive in Darfur for six to 12 months—if they come at all.

In the meantime, who will support the beleaguered AMIS, as well as the humanitarian workers and civilians whom it flounders to protect? The answer is every bit as surreal as a gender-bending political cabaret in a synagogue. It's the story of how the international community betrayed its touted "responsibility to protect," even as it marked the 10th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide with the rally cry of "Never again!" But it's also a cautionary tale about how Washington has outsourced its moral authority to three strange bedfellows: celebrity diplomats, citizen activists, and private military contractors. Meet the altered face of 21st century peacekeeping—in the Horn of Africa and beyond.

Brangelina Diplomacy: The Rise of Red Carpet Advocates

Although Hollywood typically makes headlines with crotch shots and jail stints, a growing number of stars are bringing our minds up from the glitterati gutters. Enter "Darfur" into a Google News search, and the public figures who emerge are not politicians or diplomats but big-name celebs: George Clooney, Brad Pitt, Oprah, Matt Damon. Leading the pack is Angelina Jolie, a goodwill ambassador for the U.N. High Commission for Refugees; when Jolie spoke publicly of her travels through the refugee camps in eastern Chad last summer, donations spiked by half a million dollars, and heads in the international community turned. Actor Don Cheadle ranks a close second. His handbook on the conflict, co-authored with analyst John Prendergast, soared to The New York Times bestseller list after two publishers dismissed it as unmarketable. And then there's actress Mia Farrow. Farrow is headlining a campaign for targeted economic divestment from Sudan, and her efforts to brand the 2008 Beijing Games as the "Genocide Olympics" have done much to expose China's collusion with the brutal regime in Khartoum.

One obvious anxiety about celebrity activists is that pretty faces will eclipse complex policy debates. When it comes to a resource war as nuanced as Darfur's—in which splintering rebel groups oppose a brutal counterinsurgency led by government-funded Janjaweed—it's easy to imagine how celebrities might drag us into a one-dimensional morality tale of "Arabs killing blacks." And yes, some of them have. But Michelle Malkin is wildly off-target when she rails against "hypocrites from the Hollywood hills who remain blind to the root causes of the Islamic-led blood bath in the Sudan..." According to many experts on the region, Angelina, Don and Mia have nailed the history and politics of Darfur with more discernment than your average politician. They've also provided a voice for regional concerns that the mainstream media has ignored—flying to neighboring Congo, where some 1,000 people die each day due to ongoing conflict, for instance, or visiting the bloated refugee camps in Chad where Darfur's instability has increasingly spilled over.

Some may just scoff at celebrity activists (because, really, who *doesn't* feel a tad resentful when sexpots steal the moral high ground?); it takes substantially more intellectual energy to consider what they can teach us about, say, the failures of our

global crisis response mechanisms. In this vein, we might interpret “Brangelina diplomacy” as revealing a domestic moral vacuum that stems from two key sources. The first is the American leadership crisis created by the Bush cabal, and particularly the “Iraq syndrome”—another result of an intervention that has killed 3,555 U.S. soldiers and countless more civilians to date. The threat of regime change (however spurious) is now the favorite talking point of Sudan’s President al-Bashir. When reporter Ann Curry confronted him with a U.S. State Department map revealing thousands of pillaged Darfuri villages, he quickly retorted, “This picture is the same fabrication and the same picture as the ones Colin Powell presented about Iraq.” Such a claim is clearly outrageous, but it’s become the strategic template for Khartoum’s apologists, from China to the Arab League.

The second source of the vacuum is another byproduct of the war on terror: the myth that “the enemy of our enemy is our friend.” Sudan once was a prominent haven for al-Qaeda terrorists, including Osama bin Laden. But in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, Khartoum switched sides; the U.S. State Department now considers Sudan a “strong partner in the war on terror.” Because Islamic militants often travel through the Sunni Arab nation en route to Iraq and Pakistan, Sudan’s intelligence agents are able to penetrate networks that would be off limits to Americans. “Washington doesn’t want to put this cooperation in danger,” John Prendergast [Don Cheadle’s coauthor] lamented to *Der Spiegel*. “That’s why we haven’t stopped [the genocide].” A similar carte blanche holds for China, a major economic partner of the U.S. that also has extensive oil and business ties to Sudan; it feeds AK-47s to the Sudanese government while shielding Khartoum from U.N. Security Council measures.



(Photo courtesy of Community Stone Soup Theatre Arts)

Of Drag Queens and Citizen Movements

Alongside celebrities, the second faction of the 21st century peacekeeping trio is grass-roots activists. From Omaha to Hartford, “everyday” people are the ones who’ve thrust Darfur onto the world stage, forming one of the most extensive social movements since the anti-apartheid struggles of the 1980s and early 1990s. This month alone, the Save Darfur Coalition offers opportunities to Bake for Darfur; Dance for Darfur; Dunk for Darfur; and Buy Adorable Purple Panties for Darfur. Previously, you could Stroll for Sudan in Beloit, Wis., or attend a Peace Jam in Fulton, Mo. In fact, one might easily wonder whether Americans are having a bit too much fun with a distant genocide—who knew you could earn Instant Karma by buying a “Save Darfur” musical compilation from Amazon.com? But the outcomes of all this labor speak for themselves: student and community groups now contribute more to the

African Union Mission in Sudan—financially and politically—than most world superpowers.

Recall the teenage cross-dressers in Minneapolis. They're just one spoke in the massive hub of the Genocide Intervention Network, a nonprofit started by fresh-faced Swarthmore grads in October 2004. The group has raised more than \$350,000 to support AMIS civilian protection initiatives—with donors ranging from a Salt Lake City piano teacher (who donated two weeks' earnings) to an eager philanthropist (who dashed off a check for \$25,000). This spring, the group's representatives traveled to Darfur to learn more about civilians' needs firsthand; in one displacement camp, a local woman explained: "The AU is only for observation. They will watch us like cinema if we are attacked. They just write reports." In response, GI-Net has begun working with community leaders, regional experts and women in the camps to enhance AMIS firewood patrols and other civilian security measures. Along with these efforts abroad, the group runs a hodgepodge of domestic programs: divestment initiatives, educational campaign and creative lobbying schemes such as the Darfur Scorecard.

And then there's the wider citizens' movement, which extends from Mongolia to Rwanda. It includes some 10,000 Sudanese aid workers, and also local Darfuri journalists like the remarkable 24-year-old Awatif Ahmed Isshag, known for her political newsletter that she posts on a tree outside her home in El Fasher (no, really). Sudanese students have risked much to join the outcry; according to several Gambian AMIS soldiers, government police unleashed tear gas and bullets on young protesters at El Fasher University when they rallied in favor of U.N. intervention last year, seriously wounding two. Activists throughout Sudan risk being blacklisted, arbitrarily arrested or even killed, and yet they continue to speak up.

But let's be blunt: the root failures of the international community are not solved by the burgeoning anti-genocide movement so much as laid bare. Must AMIS really rely upon cross-dressing youth groups, piano teachers and endangered local journalists to support its civilian protection efforts? Ultimately, the trendiness of the "Save Darfur" movement in the U.S. must be understood as a warning call about the collapse of global governance.

[...]

The diplomatic community needs an extreme makeover. But in the meantime, Cpl. Buju Ceesay encourages the young people in the group in Minneapolis to keep jigging their hips in red sequin gowns, and crosses his fingers that Angelina will sustain her mighty heart and mightier bank account. "Someday," he wants to tell the displaced families he served in Darfur, "we will do better."

STAND: A Student Anti-Genocide Coalition

From STAND: A Student Anti-Genocide Coalition

History

The first US STAND chapter formed at Georgetown University in Washington D.C. in 2004, just a few weeks after President George W. Bush called Darfur “genocide” and one year after the fighting broke out in Darfur, Sudan. Since then, it has grown into an international network of student activism.

In less than a year, the Darfur movement had been labeled by some the fastest growing and largest student movement since the anti-apartheid movement. After STAND spread to over 300 colleges nationwide by the end of 2005, it became apparent that a national coalition was necessary in order to coordinate the efforts of so many and avoid duplication of efforts. The coalition would provide a strategy and resources so that students could focus on simply taking action. Thus, in December 2005, what is now a national non-profit organization was born.



Student activism is alive and well at the Boise State University campus. (Photo courtesy of Young America's Foundation)

In January 2006, STAND launched the Power to Protect campaign. Thanks to student efforts, the Power to Protect campaign was successful in collecting a million postcards addressed to President Bush calling for more direct action on the issue and in bringing over 800 students from around the country to the DC to Darfur Weekend in Washington DC in April of 2006, where students participated in a lobbying day, conference and rally on the National Mall, where students had a clear presence.

In May 2006, STAND merged in a strategic partnership with the Genocide Intervention Network under a shared vision of creating a permanent anti-genocide constituency in order to stop and prevent genocides after Darfur as well. The two organizations now move forward in their mobilizing efforts on Darfur and beyond.

In September of 2006, STAND launched its second campaign, the Time to Protect Campaign, with the goal of building the strongest, most unified voice the student movement has had yet and creating the sense of urgency needed to protect the people of Darfur.

While STAND will continue to focus on Darfur until its people have the necessary protection and can return to their homes, the organization continues to build its constituency so that people can more quickly mobilize and thus stop future genocides.

About

STAND: A Student Anti-Genocide Coalition, formerly known as Students Taking Action Now: Darfur, serves as umbrella organization for student groups active in promoting awareness advocating for an end to the current genocide in Darfur, Sudan and working to create a permanent anti-genocide student movement. It serves as a guide for student groups in high schools and colleges, helping them to develop their grassroots efforts for Darfur and anti-genocide activism, to unify their message and to coordinate efforts. STAND has become a student movement that encompasses over 600 college, university, and high school chapters across the United States and around the world. Each new STAND chapter is formed independently by students at their respective institution. STAND national seeks to unify, resource and empower all of these chapters so that, together, these individuals and communities can prevent and stop genocide.



Students walk out of class at San Francisco State University. (Photo Courtesy of Katrina Yeaw and traprockpeacecenter.org)

Each STAND group is comprised of dedicated and energetic students concerned with raising awareness, fundraising, and advocacy for the genocide and humanitarian issues in Darfur, and the world. The coordination of these groups by STAND national helps improve the impact students across the globe can make on government policy, the situation on the ground in Sudan, and the permanent prevention of genocide in our world.

STAND is headed by a student Executive Director and a Managing Committee comprised of student leaders in schools across the US who work on the issue's different elements such as programs, resources, media, advocacy and outreach.

Through an extensive outreach network, comprised of six outreach coordinators on both the college and high school levels, STAND national works to coordinate, unify and stay in touch with the vibe of the student movement so that it can best provide strategic guidance and resources. A Student Coordinator works as a full-time staff person and supports STAND's efforts to promote consistent, effective student action.

STAND is the student division of the Genocide Intervention Network (GI-Net) and also partners with the Save Darfur Coalition, mtvU, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Committee on Conscience, Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life, American Jewish World Service, American Islamic Congress, STAND: Canada, Sudan Divestment Task Force, and the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee.

Interview Magazine: Don Cheadle

Excerpt from Interview Magazine

By Matt Damon

July 2007

Whether he plays a thief, a porn star, or a hotel-manager-cum-savior, the unifying trait in many of Don Cheadle's most acclaimed performances is his humanity, and it's a quality that's equally apparent in one of his latest roles: human rights activist. Matt Damon gets the scoop.



Photo courtesy of Time Magazine

In life and in work, Don Cheadle is one of those actors with a marked preference for avoiding the showy side of things—a quality that makes the fact that he's suddenly everywhere all the more striking. Already this year Cheadle has had one big movie (spring's *Reign Over Me* with Adam Sandler), and an even bigger one (*Ocean's Thirteen*) will have just reached theaters as this issue hits the stands. And still on the horizon is *Talk to Me* (due out later this month), the real-life story of Washington, D.C., radio personality Ralph Waldo "Petey" Greene (Cheadle), whose straight talk gave voice to the black community in the 1960s. But film is not the only place Cheadle has been channeling his energy of late, and in May he and human rights activist John Prendergast published *Not on Our Watch: The Mission to End Genocide in Darfur and Beyond* (Hyperion), a project born in part from his experience filming *Hotel Rwanda* (2004). We asked Cheadle's friend Matt Damon to get the scoop on the journey from actor to activist.

MATT DAMON: Everything good there?

DON CHEADLE: Yeah, just getting ready to go on this book tour.

MD: Then that's where we'll start our big interview. Tell me about the book, or rather, tell everybody else about the book [laughs]—I know about it.

DC: Well, John Prendergast and I traveled to Darfur a couple of years ago with Nightline, and now we've co-authored a book. In addition to describing our path into this actor-vism and activism, the book talks about ways that individuals can get involved and how we can address the problem in Darfur. Hopefully it will help to create a grassroots, and eventually a global, effort to prevent this and other crises like it in the future.

MD: What are some of the suggestions?

DC: We want people to get in touch with their state representatives, write letters, call the White House, form groups, get involved with religious groups that have been active in this—the Jewish community has been very involved given the obvious parallels between this conflict and the Holocaust. We want people to start networking, because when our leaders hear it's important to us that they do something, things start to change.

MD: So ultimately you think the solution will come from the bottom up—that we can't expect our leaders to take us there?

DC: They're not going to be motivated unless they believe there's going to be some political cost for their inaction. When our leaders make decisions that we don't support and they don't hear from us, they tend to maintain the status quo. Now we have a scenario where five of the candidates who are running for president—Barack Obama, Senator Clinton, Senator Biden, Sam Brownback, John McCain—have all spoken about the region; in some way they've all made solving the problem a part of their platform and their agenda if they become president. So while they're in that decision-making process, we want to say in a very loud and clear voice that they have to speak to this and give it more than lip service or they will see results at the polls. It's the same thing that's happening in Sudan—when Bashir [Omar Hassan al-Bashir, President of Sudan] doesn't feel any international outrage for what he's doing, he just goes on with his agenda.

MD: Can this situation be resolved?

DC: The stories coming out of Africa tend to be the kind of depressing ones that make it look as if the entire continent is beyond help, but when you really look, there are many examples of regions that have come out of horrible conflict. Sierra Leone, Mozambique, Rwanda, all of these places have had terrible civil wars, but with diplomacy and with our government getting involved in negotiations, things get hammered out. I believe the situation in Darfur will be hammered out eventually, too, but what will be the cost before it is? We have to support the International Criminal Court and give them the information we have so that they can do what they need to. If the people responsible don't feel that that's going to be the result, then it will be business as usual.

Clooney: Cast raises millions for Darfur

From the Associated Press

By Edith M. Lederer

June 27, 2006



The cast of "Ocean's Thirteen" (Photo courtesy of Warner Brothers Pictures and ABC News)

"Ocean's Thirteen" stars have donated \$5.5 million to humanitarian efforts in Sudan's Darfur region, according to actor George Clooney.

Clooney told The Associated Press in a telephone interview from Rome that he was joined by Brad Pitt, Matt Damon, Don Cheadle and producer Jerry Weintraub in raising \$9.3 million for Darfur, most of which was contributed at a dinner during the film's premiere last month at the Cannes Film Festival.

Clooney said more than half the money has already been donated to various charities dealing with Darfur. He said his group wants to keep emptying and replenishing the coffers of the humanitarian organization they co-founded, called Not on Our Watch, to focus global attention on the plight of the 2.5 million civilians in Darfur who have fled their homes.

"There are only a few things we can do - protect them where we can, and provide food, water, health care and counseling," he said. "We're just trying to get them to live long enough to get to the next step."

More than 200,000 people have died in the Darfur region of western Sudan since 2003, when local rebels took up arms against the Sudanese government, accusing it of decades of neglect. Sudan's government is accused of unleashing in response a militia of Arab nomads known as the janjaweed - a charge it denies.

Clooney announced the latest donation from Not on Our Watch - \$1 million to the U.N. World Food Program - which will be used to help the agency deliver food and other necessities by helicopter to inaccessible villages in Darfur.

The latest donation raised to \$5.5 million the amount that Not on Our Watch has given to humanitarian and relief organizations in Darfur in less than three weeks.

Not on Our Watch's first donation of \$2.75 million went to the International Rescue Committee. It has also donated \$750,000 to the relief agency Oxfam and \$1 million to the charity Save the Children.

Clooney said everyone on the board is committed to keep raising awareness and money. "I have every intention of doing it in other places," he said, and the upcoming film festivals in Venice, Italy, and Deauville, France "sound like good spots" for fundraising events.

Actress Mia Farrow to kick off torch relay to protest China's failure to push Sudan on Darfur

*From the Associated Press
By Sarah Dilozenzo
June 13, 2007*

NEW YORK – Actress Mia Farrow unveiled plans Wednesday for an Olympic-style torch relay beginning this summer as part of a campaign aimed at shaming China into cutting support for Sudan over its role in the Darfur conflict.

Farrow, a U.N. goodwill ambassador, and a new activist group called Dream for Darfur are hoping to use the spotlight of the 2008 Beijing Olympics to draw attention to China's economic and diplomatic support for Sudan. China buys two-thirds of Sudan's oil and has close commercial ties with Khartoum.



(Photo courtesy of Swarthmore College – Peace and Conflict Studies Program)

They are asking China to suspend debt relief for Sudan, end arms transfers to the regime, and increase diplomatic pressure on the Sudanese government.

Jill Savitt, director of Dream for Darfur, said the organization hopes China will act before the games, reaffirming the Olympics as a symbol of “world peace through sporting.”

“It's irreconcilable for the host of the Olympics to also be complicit in an ongoing genocide,” Savitt said on a telephone news conference Wednesday.

More than 200,000 people have been killed and 2.5 million made homeless in Darfur during four years of attacks by Arab militias known as the janjaweed and allegedly backed by President Omar al-Bashir's government. The government denies the charge.

The torch relay will begin Aug. 8 in Chad near the Sudan border and make its way through countries associated with genocide: Rwanda, Armenia, Bosnia, Germany and Cambodia, before ending up in December in Hong Kong. Farrow will attend the launch in Chad and will travel to Rwanda.

“It's apparent now that there's one thing that China holds more dear than its unfettered access to Sudanese oil,” Farrow said. “And that is their successful staging of the 2008 Olympic Games.”

After several months of delay, Sudan said Wednesday it would accept a joint United Nations-African Union force of between 17,000 and 19,000 troops.

As a veto-wielding permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, Beijing has blocked efforts to send U.N. troops to Darfur without Sudanese consent.

Wenji Gao, the chief press officer at China's Consulate in New York, said China had played a "positive and constructive role in solving the issue," pointing to its participation in negotiations at the U.N. and the ongoing dialogue between Beijing and Khartoum.

"It's totally groundless to connect the Olympics with Darfur," Gao added. "The basic Olympic spirit is that the Olympic Games are not to be politicized."

Sudanese officials in Khartoum did not return calls for comment on Wednesday.

In what appeared to be a response to international pressure, last month China appointed a special representative for Africa to focus on Darfur, and has publicly urged Khartoum to give the U.N. a greater role in trying to resolve the conflict.

Ending "the world's hottest war"

From Der Spiegel
By Matthew von Rohr
June 13, 2007

Can a citizens' movement enlisting the likes of George Clooney, Angelina Jolie and Don Cheadle finally stop the genocide in Darfur?

John Prendergast felt a familiar sense of outrage that morning, the same feeling of indignation that has driven him all these years and made him into the man who wants to save Darfur, the Congo, Uganda and, if possible, all of Africa. At a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on Darfur in April, the same government officials were at it again, making vague comments, rambling on about a "plan B," and debating sanctions against Sudan that the United States could impose if the country continued to reject a United Nations peacekeeping mission to Darfur.

"They simply don't get it," Prendergast said afterward. "We need to hit this regime now. We must stop barking if we don't bite."



John Prendergast founded the ENOUGH project, an effort to end genocide in Darfur and human atrocities worldwide. ENOUGH is the most recent chapter in Prendergast's long history of activism and policymaking on Africa and its crises. (Photo courtesy of MotherJones.com)

At 43, Prendergast is a tall, slim and athletic man, with long blond hair and a scruffy beard. As America's most prominent expert on Africa, he flies with Angelina Jolie to the Congo, does the talk show circuit, travels for weeks on end through the continent, and meets with rebels and top government officials.

Prendergast was the Africa expert on the National Security Council under former President Bill Clinton until George W. Bush replaced Clinton in 2001. He then joined the International Crisis Group, an independent think tank, and became the man who explains Africa to

Americans, starting with the crisis in Darfur.

His strategy paper, "The Answer to Darfur: How to Resolve the World's Hottest War," lies on the table in front of him. The contents are, of course, nothing new, says Prendergast. The problem is not that no one knew

what to do in Darfur all these years. The problem is that no one did what needed to be done.

The Darfur conflict is one of today's most complicated and brutal wars. For many in the West, it is the typical African war -- remote, cruel and difficult to comprehend. And the questions facing policymakers are myriad. First and foremost is why the West should get involved, especially given the risks of any military intervention. It is likewise unclear

how the United Nations can be expected to succeed where the world's superpowers have failed. Indeed, the international community has a long list of failures in Africa, including Congo, Somalia and, now, Darfur.

The Darfur region in western Sudan is roughly the size of France. Over the past four years, government-supported Arab militiamen, the Janjaweed, have fought African rebels and repeatedly attacked the civilian population. Mounted on horses and camels, the Janjaweed have systematically destroyed over a thousand villages, while killing and raping the inhabitants. More than 200,000 have died in the fighting while a further 2.5 million refugees have fled.



A Janjaweed militiaman, brandishing his weapon, rides through rural Sudan. The Janjaweed have terrorized the civilians of Darfur for four years, with government backing. (Photo courtesy of Agence France Presse)

The international community condemned Sudan. It issued threats. It called for Sudan to disarm the Janjaweed. It passed resolutions and created a peacekeeping force. The United States even described the situation in Darfur as "genocide." Yet the international community has failed to stop the killings -- and the Darfur crisis has slowly become a symbol of its ineffectiveness.

That's why people need to take a stand, says Prendergast. Things will only improve if citizens around the world demand that their governments take action. It is those citizens that Prendergast now spends his time trying to mobilize.

Prendergast wears a zippered, wool sweater in his tiny office on the fifth floor of a gray building on Washington's K Street lobbying corridor. Cardboard boxes, loose papers and business cards are piled high on every available surface. "I've got a lot of junk here," he admits. "We moved into this office three years ago. I really don't know what's in all these boxes." He never had time to unpack.



Actors Don Cheadle and George Clooney speak out against the atrocities in Darfur and call for action. Cheadle recently co-wrote a book on Darfur with Prendergast. (Photo courtesy of the Associated Press)

He's been busy mastering the balancing act between policy wonk and liaison to entertainers-turned-activists. Prendergast has just returned from Rwanda, where he met with President Paul Kagame. His eighth and most recent book, "Not on Our Watch: The Mission to End Genocide in Darfur and Beyond" (Hyperion), which he co-wrote with "Hotel Rwanda" star Don Cheadle, features an introduction by two U.S. presidential

hopefuls, Sen. Barack Obama of Illinois and Sen. Sam Brownback from Kansas. Prendergast's columns appear in the *Washington Post* and *Foreign Affairs*. He testifies at congressional hearings. And when George Clooney called for intervention in Darfur

during a speech to the U.N. Security Council last September, it was Prendergast who helped make his appearance possible.

In short, he seeks to translate complicated politics into a language for the masses. He is an analyst and an activist in one.



Everyday citizens turned activists participate in a Save Darfur Coalition rally in September 2007. (Photo courtesy of The Jewish Reconstructionist Federation)

Today's mobilization for the issue of Darfur is the largest citizens' movement since the anti-apartheid campaign of the 1980s, he says, and one of his jobs is to provide information and analysis to the public. "We need to do it in a way so they're not overwhelmed, so they don't think it's too far away, so they actually feel like they can be part of the policymaking process," Prendergast says. The days are over when a handful of politicians could determine foreign policy on their own, he adds. "We need a citizenry, large groups of citizens, who stand up and tell the governments: That needs to be done. We need citizens taking control of our foreign policy."

Now Prendergast has launched another campaign: "ENOUGH -- the project to abolish genocide and mass atrocities." It's an initiative that goes beyond just Darfur, looking also to northern Uganda and the eastern part of Congo, where militias are fighting over natural resources. "I killed a bunch of birds with one stone," he says of the initiative.

He wants to popularize ideas generated by the think tanks and believes they should be able "to consume more readily" what he and the others have worked out. Most important, though, is that they should act. Prendergast says it's all about citizens' stopping politicians from letting something like Darfur happen again in the future.

The Darfur conflict began in 2003, largely unnoticed by the general public. In southern Sudan, a civil war that had raged for 20 years was finally coming to an end -- a war that saw the rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army fighting against the central government headquartered in the northern part of the country. It was a war that the West often characterized as a religious conflict between Muslims and Christians, but in reality, the rebels wanted to take power and share in the southern region's rich oil reserves.

"The big mistake that was made," says Prendergast, "was in the north-south peace talks. The Darfurians were begging to be part of the process. They said, 'Look, our issues are the same.' But the U.S. didn't want to hear about it. They were like, 'It's a north-south war, and everything will fall into place if we solve it.' They were so fundamentally misled about what was the truth about Sudan. It's not a north-south war as we now know very well. Rather it's a center-periphery-conflict. A small group of people in the center are fighting against those people who are demanding their rights and their part of the pie."

And so, the political opposition in Darfur ended up taking arms, because they felt the only way they could get into the negotiations was if they shot their way to the table."

For decades, there had been eruptions of violence between the ruling Arab elite and the non-Arab African population. But then it escalated. In the spring of 2003, African rebels attacked military bases of the Sudanese army. In response, the government provided arms to the Arab Janjaweed and deployed its air force in support.

The Janjaweed militias have systematically targeted the civilian population. Suddenly appearing on horses and camels, the militiamen frequently descend on undefended villages in an orgy of violence. The looting and pillaging, the raping of women and girls, the wanton burning of entire settlements -- all of their excesses have been well documented. Often, they have shot everyone unable to run away and have thrown children into the burning houses.



Dr. Mukesh Kapila was the first world leader to call attention to the atrocities occurring in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of the World Health Organization)

The West remained largely unaware of the atrocities until early 2004, when European media outlets began reporting on them. In a March interview, Mukesh Kapila, then the U.N. resident and humanitarian coordinator, called Darfur the "world's greatest humanitarian crisis" and compared it to the genocide in Rwanda, sparking worldwide media coverage. In May 2006, the government and a rebel group signed a so-called peace agreement, but the crisis only got worse.

It is hard to understand why the international community has not been able to stop the Sudanese over the past three years. Prendergast sighs, buries his face in his hands, and says, "Everybody in the Security Council has a different reason." The Chinese have oil interests in Sudan and are siding with the regime in Khartoum. Prendergast criticizes the Europeans for failing to follow up on their threats. Some, he says, still believe that diplomacy can influence the Sudanese. Others are merely looking out for their own economic interests.

According to Prendergast, however, U.S. involvement is the key to resolving the conflict. "But the Americans are hesitant to take action because of the counterterrorism relationship they have with the Sudanese regime." For years, Sudan supported the al-Qaida terror network and even harbored Osama bin Laden. However, after the terrorist attacks in the U.S. on Sept. 11, 2001, the regime in Khartoum switched sides and began supplying U.S. intelligence agencies with information about its former friends. "Washington doesn't want to put this cooperation in danger," he says. "That is why we haven't stopped it."

Prendergast says that in Africa, the Bush administration is repeating the same mistakes made by Bush's predecessors during the Cold War. The U.S. currently depends on allies like Sudan for help in its war against terrorism and in exchange, Prendergast charges, the U.S. has given ally governments carte blanche to ignore or even support massacres within their own borders. In the meantime, the region -- and the entire Horn of Africa -- is going up in flames. The Sudanese government does whatever it wants, destabilizing the whole

country. Ethiopia, another U.S. ally, apparently drove the Islamists out of Somalia recently, yet the country remains a failed state and heavy fighting continues. There are more than 9 million refugees fleeing crises in the region. The United States, says Prendergast, should actually be developing a peace initiative instead of giving in to the demands of its allies.

Prendergast stretches in his armchair and yawns. The phone rings nonstop; every few minutes, the computer announces new e-mail. He used to spend six months out of the year in Africa, traveling from country to country, eating only cereal bars out of fear of stomach troubles. "I've got no skills," he once said. "All I have is my mouth."

He has met with presidents, rebel groups and diplomats; some have called him the most informed American on the subject of Africa, and that probably still is the case. Recently, however, he has been spending less and less time on the continent while he focuses on his new role: Prendergast the activist, who informs Americans about Africa. Prendergast, trusted advisor to the Hollywood stars.



Angelina Jolie waits with a Sudanese child as he is weighed. (Photo courtesy of the Associated Press)

He knows "elitists" are critical of him but he says he's not interested in suggestions that certain celebrities don't really care about Africa. He has served as a panelist with actress and UNICEF goodwill ambassador Mia Farrow and eaten dinner with Angelina Jolie. "I've never picked up the phone, I never chased anybody," he says. "These people are really concerned about what's going on." It was Jolie who approached him after she spoke before Congress and said: "We have to go to the Congo together." That's how it all started.

People are crazy about celebrities, he says, and if a celebrity takes an interest in Africa, thousands of other people follow suit. "It's a great boon to our movement."

Public pressure on Darfur has made a difference. President Bush on Tuesday announced a new set of sanctions against Sudan, including measures targeting government-run companies involved in the country's oil industry. In April, Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte traveled to Sudan and finally wrangled a minor concession from the country's rulers. Khartoum agreed to allow a U.N. peacekeeping force of no more than 3,000 troops and six helicopter gunships to support the African Union forces already on the ground. But the newly brokered deal is still a far cry from an effective solution.

"We are just trapped still in this kind of pre-action mode. Debate and discussion, back and forth, but no action" says Prendergast. "This is so contrary to what this administration usually does. It would be almost funny if it weren't so deadly." He says he's now full of hope, and the problems are not so difficult to solve: "We've got examples all over Africa that once the international community got serious, there was a solution. We've seen it." Sierra Leone and Burundi are good examples. He adds that Liberia was a nightmare 10 years ago. Now, Africa's only woman president is successfully governing the country.

Prendergast thinks that Sudan could have a similarly bright future -- and he has the blueprint of a plan that he thinks could work.

It consists of three components: promoting peace, protecting people, and punishing perpetrators. None of these can work in isolation, he says; the full package is necessary.

Promoting peace entails bringing rebel groups and the government to the negotiating table. Then, he suggests initiating a peace process that, together with international support, would lead to power sharing in Darfur.

To protect people, Prendergast suggests a larger, armed U.N. peacekeeping force that can protect civilians, as well as secure the borders to the neighboring countries of Chad and the Central African Republic, where the conflict is threatening to spread.

Third, Prendergast wants to punish perpetrators with immediate multilateral sanctions against the Sudanese government. He believes other countries should join the United States in applying economic sanctions against Sudan and proposes freezing the responsible parties' bank accounts and imposing travel bans. He would also prohibit Sudan from doing business with international banks. Furthermore, he wants the International Criminal Court to have access to intelligence on the role of the Sudanese regime in the atrocities.

Finally, he is calling for international citizens' initiatives to put the necessary pressure on governments around the world.

"If we did those things and did them effectively, I think we'd see a pretty rapid turnaround in Sudan's behavior," Prendergast says, grinning.

Africa is not a lost continent. "Africa is one of the brightest hopes on the face of the earth. But in Sudan, it's one of these crossroads situations."



A young fighter in the government's brutal militia (Photo courtesy of telegraph.co.uk)

If the international community continues to stand by and do nothing, then he believes Sudan will go to the dogs. "But it could go the other way. It could become a model country for tolerance and reconciliation. We'll see what happens."

In the United States, Prendergast is the man most readily associated with the International Crisis Group. He was featured in

a short film at the last Sundance Film Festival, he has his own agent in Hollywood, and he is now more famous than his boss, former Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

Evans, who works out of the group's Brussels, Belgium, headquarters, said of Prendergast, "He is not exactly low maintenance, but he's very effective. Every organization should have someone like him. But perhaps one would be enough."

Prendergast winces when people remind him of it and says he actually doesn't want to be in the limelight. But somehow it happens again and again. Following his forced departure from the U.S. National Security Council, he attended a White House ceremony. Afterward, President Bush came to him, and they spoke at length. It was an interesting conversation, Prendergast says, though he was a bit surprised that the president wanted to talk to him. It wasn't until later that he found out why: Bush had mistaken him for Bono, the rock star.

A Man Obsessed: The crisis in Darfur won't go away and Eric Reeves can't stay quiet

*From The Boston Globe
By Joseph P. Kahn
June 6, 2007*

NORTHAMPTON -- "Steven Spielberg lives in a different time frame than we do," says Eric Reeves, referring to Reeves's allies in the so-called Genocide Olympics campaign. "We live on Darfur time."

It is a warm spring afternoon in this college town where Reeves lives and teaches -- his Shakespeare course at Smith College ended only a few days before -- and the contrast between setting and subject could not be starker.

Near the backyard patio where Reeves sits, a flower garden is stirring to life. Down the street hundreds of Smith students are attending a talk by the Dalai Lama. Reeves's wife, Nancy, sets out a plate of cookies. If Spielberg were filming the scene, he'd have no problem casting Tom Hanks as the gangly, middle-age English Lit professor comfortably at home amid his Milton texts and daffodils. Yet almost nothing Reeves has to say over the course of three hours is geared for comfort, least of all his comments about Spielberg, who's serving as technical adviser to the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing.



(Photo courtesy of the Guardian Unlimited)

China is a major provider of military, economic, and diplomatic support to the Khartoum regime, and receives 70 percent of Sudan's annual oil exports in return. Ignoring U S and European sanctions against the Khartoum, it has also refrained from pressuring Sudan to allow a U N peacekeeping force into Darfur, where humanitarian groups are under constant threat and, according to Reeves and others, could pull out of the region at any moment.

"If [Spielberg] withdraws now, he drops an atom bomb on the Chinese," Reeves continues. "But he's living in a bubble. Darfur is a security catastrophe threatening to become a human cataclysm. That's what I wake up thinking about every morning."

Thinking about Darfur barely begins to describe Reeves's relationship with the tragedy that has befallen western Sudan over the past four years. At least 200,000 people have died and more than 2 million have been displaced during that period, victims of a brutal counter-insurgency campaign backed by the Khartoum government, according to the United Nations. Last week the Bush administration called for increased sanctions against

Sudan, a move Reeves dismissed as "weak and meaningless" on his website posting (sudanreeves.org).

Reeves's blunt (and bleak) assessment came as no surprise to those who've followed his work. As a researcher, writer, lecturer, congressional witness, online analyst, and media source, he's played a key role in focusing worldwide attention on the crisis, from its horrific death toll to its political and economic entanglements, the Sudan-China oil trade being a prime example. His new book, "A Long Day's Dying: Critical Moments in the Darfur Genocide" (Key Publishing House), is a distillation of more than 150 pieces Reeves has produced on the subject.



Protesters urge action to help Darfur. (Photo courtesy of ordoesitexplode.com)

"I fear that to read these accounts," he writes, "is to look into what Joseph Conrad called the 'heart of an immense darkness.' A light is nowhere to be seen."

Genocide expert Samantha Power calls Reeves "the canary in the coal mine on Darfur."

"Agree or disagree with Eric's style and tone," says Power, "what jumps out is how early and rigorous he was on Darfur. He built an incredible network of contacts on the ground there. After Eric, we couldn't not know what was going on."

is readily discernible. Academic obligations aside, he devotes at least 60 hours a week to gathering, analyzing, and disseminating data on Darfur and to crafting opinion pieces for newspapers and periodicals (including the Boston Globe). He works out of a cramped home office and admits his social and professional relationships have suffered severely in recent years. One of his closest friends, Boston Foundation president Paul Grogan, calls Reeves a "serial obsessive."

"At some point, Sudan and Darfur became the sole object of Eric's fierce intensity," says Grogan.

"I've seen it happen before with things like golf and computer chess." In this case, adds Grogan, "the world is much better off than it was because of golf."

The passion -- some might say obsession -- Reeves brings to his work

Less obvious is how a 57-year-old English scholar came by this passion in the first place. Or the physical toll it has taken on Reeves, who suffers from leukemia and knows his health could take a downward turn at almost any moment.

"It is a beast I will have to confront again, I know," he acknowledges, adding, "Sudan will never not be part of my life, though. It *is* my life."

Trained for activism

Reeves grew up in a well-to-do Southern California family, the son of a stockbroker and Goldwater Republican. An outstanding high school athlete and honors student, he was not politically active until enrolling at Williams College, in 1968.

Vietnam was the polarizing issue then. Reeves, who held dual US and Canadian citizenship, turned against the war and elected not to dodge military service but to register as a conscientious objector, a more problematic choice. To this day, Reeves carries in his wallet the 1972 draft card recognizing his CO status.

After earning a PhD from the University of Pennsylvania, Reeves joined the Smith faculty in 1979. Granted tenure in 1986, he was made a full professor in 1992, providing him with "the ultimate job security," as he puts it, to focus on other interests while pursuing the scholarly life.

One interest, wood turning, turned into more than a casual hobby. His pieces began selling nationally, then internationally. Donating all proceeds (more than \$100,000 a year at one point) to humanitarian causes, Reeves became familiar to organizations such as Doctors Without Borders. It was during a meeting with that organization in early 1999 that Reeves was urged to adopt southern Sudan, the site of a long and bloody civil war, as his personal crusade. "I'll see what I can do," he promised, a commitment that would have far-reaching consequences.



An orphaned child from Darfur stares blankly at the world while at a refugee camp in eastern Chad. (Photo courtesy of Christophe Ena / AP)

Looking back, Reeves, without trying to sound immodest, says his academic training was more valuable than he could have imagined in equipping him to do what he does today. "I'm a really good researcher," he says. "I can write quickly and speak fluently. I know how to synthesize data and use a computer. It's as if my entire life was preparing me to become ultimately empowered as an activist."

His public analyses began later in 1999 with a series of op-ed columns. One published in the Toronto Globe and Mail "went off like a bomb," he recalls. In it, Reeves accused a large Canadian energy firm of "complicity in genocide" by doing business in Khartoum. Canadian officials launched an investigation, and three years later the firm pulled out of Khartoum. "It was a galvanizing moment," says Reeves. "It showed me the power of the divestment campaign and how one guy could affect it."

Reeves was merely warming up. Another column ran in The Washington Post as the Khartoum junta was set to join the United Nations Security Council in 2000. Headlined "A U.N. Seat for Genocide," it provoked a fierce counterattack by the Sudanese embassy in Washington. Reeves was no longer a lone voice crying from the wilderness of western Massachusetts. He was a marked man. One critic, David Hoile, director of the London-based European-Sudanese Public Affairs Council, fired back with an anti-Reeves broadside sent to every faculty member in the Five Colleges consortium. Reeves was undeterred. "Everyone knew it was transparent propaganda," he says.

In 2003, Reeves traveled to Sudan for the first and only time. He did not tour Darfur but criss-crossed southern Sudan, meeting with relief workers and soaking up the region's history and geography.

On the flight home, Reeves felt ill and assumed he'd picked up a bug. A blood test revealed the leukemia, a version of the same disease from which his younger brother had died in 2000. Within a year, Reeves was fully symptomatic and needed several blood transfusions and chemotherapy to survive one episode. Smith College has been incredibly supportive during this period, he says, granting unpaid leaves for his Darfur work on top of the paid leaves covering his cancer treatment.

Retiring from teaching isn't something Reeves is prepared to do. "What's hard is doing it on top of the Sudan work," he says, "but I'm not there yet. In the classroom I don't think about Sudan. I think about 'Paradise Lost' or 'King Lear.' " As for turning up the heat on the Beijing Olympics, Reeves vows to keep pressure on public figures like Spielberg. (A spokesman for the filmmaker declined to comment yesterday.) "I'd like to see this campaign of shame grow and grow," Reeves says. "It's not a boycott campaign. Better the games go on, that the athletes not be punished." Hollywood icons, he promises, will not be getting the same free pass.

Actress-activist Mia Farrow is leading a 'shaming campaign' to tie Beijing's support for Sudan to the 2008 Summer Olympics

*From The Christian Science Monitor
By Danna Harman
June 26, 2007*

(New York) - It all started with a petite blonde in a fury. Horrified by the violence she saw on trips to Darfur, and angry with what she perceived to be China's complacency on the issue, movie-star-turned-UNICEF-goodwill-ambassador Mia Farrow sent off a fuming op-ed piece to The Wall Street Journal in March. "These are the Genocide Olympics," she protested, in reference to the upcoming 2008 Games in Beijing. "China is funding the first genocide of the third millennium."



A model of the 2008 Olympics site in Beijing, China. (Photo courtesy of Beijingchinaworld.com)

Smith College professor Eric Reeves, an activist who, together with Farrow, spearheaded the "shaming campaign" in which the Games are being branded as the "Genocide Olympics," says the Chinese will only be pressured to act in Darfur by appealing to its sense of national pride and honor and hitting them where it hurts most this year.

"They need to choose between the lucrative relationship with Khartoum and having their coveted Games lumped in the collective consciousness with Nazi Germany's hosting of the Berlin Games in 1936," Mr. Reeves says. The idea, he adds, is not to boycott the Games – as that would only end up punishing innocent athletes and making China seem like a sympathetic victim – but rather to "hold China's feet to the fire."

Soon, Steven Spielberg, who has signed on as one of the Beijing Olympics' "artistic advisers" found himself being drawn into the fray. Mr. Spielberg could "go down in history as the Leni Riefenstahl of the Beijing Games," Ms. Farrow had charged, referring

to the German filmmaker considered by many a Nazi sympathizer and propagandist for those 1936 Olympics.

America's favorite director quickly flew into action, shooting off a private letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao. "I add my voice to those who ask that China change its policy toward Sudan," he stated. "China is uniquely positioned ... and has considerable influence in the region that could lead efforts by the international community to bring an end to the human suffering there."

A month later, in May, Congress jumped on the bandwagon when a group of 108 members sent a letter to the Chinese government warning that the Beijing Olympics could be endangered if China did not change its policies in Sudan.

The National Basketball Association was not far behind. Led by Cleveland Cavaliers forward Ira Newble – who, on the road with the Cavs in March, had read a profile of Reeves in the newspaper – various players across the league united to create a "Dream Team of Conscience." The group soon released its own open letter to the Government of China and the International Olympic Committee:

"We, as basketball players in the NBA and as potential athletes in the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing, cannot look on with indifference to the massive human suffering and destruction that continue in the Darfur region of Sudan."

Meanwhile, at a press conference last week, the Save Darfur coalition, together with Reeves, Farrow, Newble, and others announced the launch of a series of further actions to shame China, including a faux Olympic torch relay through countries that define the history of genocide. The relay will start on Aug. 8, 2007 on the Darfur-Chad border and travel through Rwanda, Armenia, Bosnia, Germany, and Cambodia. The relay will end in Hong Kong and will coincide with mass rallies at Chinese embassies around the world.

China, in response, has denounced these efforts to link the games with its foreign policy, saying such a campaign runs counter to the Olympic spirit.

"There are a handful of people who are trying to politicize the Olympic Games," Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi told reporters, stressing that the Games are a time to celebrate friendly ties between nations. "This is against the spirit of the Games. It also runs counter to the aspirations of all the people in the world."

But protestations aside, it seems someone in Beijing is listening. Shortly after Farrow's op-ed appeared, China appointed a special envoy to Darfur and reportedly stepped up efforts to persuade Khartoum to accept international peacekeepers in Darfur.

Pressure over the Olympics could help cause a shift from China's noninterference policy, says Reeves. "To date, what we've seen are largely cosmetic efforts, trying to 'respond to Darfur' on the cheap ... but as shame and dismay intensify, as the pain grows, we'll see a good deal more than cosmetics."

Congress using Olympics to Pressure China on Sudan

*From VOA
By Leta Hong Fincher
June 13, 2006*

(Washington) - The U.S. House of Representatives already is on record urging China to put pressure on Sudan to end bloodshed in the Darfur region. Leaders on a key foreign affairs subcommittee said they hope to use the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games as leverage. Witnesses told a panel that China could use its economic clout to convince Khartoum to bring an end to Sudan's four-year conflict. Leta Hong Fincher has more.

Democratic Party Congressman John Tierney says that China -- as the host country of the 2008 Olympics -- could be the "lynchpin" in ending the atrocities in Darfur.

"Should not the upcoming Olympic Games in Beijing serve as the catalyst to finally put to an end to the horrific, and unfortunately ongoing, tragedy in Darfur?" asked Mr. Tierney. "The images of the genocide in Sudan are forever burned into our collective consciousness. Four hundred thousand people dead. Kids killed and maimed in front of their mothers; mothers raped and beaten in front of their kids."

Tierney, chairman of the House Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, held a hearing Thursday on how to urge China to use its influence with Sudan to stop the violence in Darfur.



Congress has formally urged China to use its influence in the Sudan to help Darfur (Photo courtesy of Radar Website)

Witnesses included activists, Olympic athletes and a refugee from Darfur, Daoud Hari. He fled Sudan in 2003 after the government-backed militias known as the Janjaweed destroyed his village. "I also remember seeing how the Janjaweed killed the villagers. In one case, they dismembered the family bodies and put them in the village well to poison the water resources for the area."

Hari and others told the hearing that China, which buys much of Sudan's oil, should suspend its economic cooperation with Khartoum.

Lawrence Rossin, international coordinator of the Save Darfur Coalition, also criticized Beijing's close military ties with Khartoum, in spite of a U.N. arms embargo in place since 2005.

“The U.N.'s own panel of experts have reported that Chinese weapons, aircraft, trucks were being used by Sudan's armed forces and the Janjaweed to kill people in Darfur,” said Rosen. “Beijing defends these sales as legal but [human rights group] Amnesty International has documented convincingly that they violate the U.N. embargo.”

Jill Savitt is head of a campaign called the Olympic Dream for Darfur. Savitt said her group is organizing an Olympic torch relay from Darfur to Beijing to put pressure on China.

“If there are ways members of Congress and members of this subcommittee can approach the Olympic sponsors, can approach the International Olympic Committee and say that they do not want the Olympics tarnished by genocide, that the Olympics host can not be complicit in an ongoing genocide,” she told the subcommittee.

The Chinese government has voiced “strong dissatisfaction” to a recent resolution by the U.S. House of Representatives to urge China to pressure Sudan. Beijing says it has appointed a special envoy on Darfur and has made “unremitting efforts” to find a political solution to the problem.

Flames of Hope: A Berkeley physicist has found a way to help keep Darfurians alive, by building a better kitchen stove.

*From Newsweek
By Barrett Sheridan
July 16, 2007 Issue*

As for so many of us, the genocide in Darfur was merely an abstraction to Ashok Gadgil, a scientist at the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory in California. But in September 2004 he got a call from the U.S. Agency for International Development. Could Gadgil design a screw press for Darfurians, the caller asked, so they could turn their garbage into biofuel pellets? "I quickly showed him that there is not enough kitchen waste in home cooking to produce much worthwhile fuel," the physicist says, and USAID dropped the idea. But the problem continued to nag at him. Eventually Gadgil decided that if he couldn't redesign the fuel, he would redesign the stove.



A refugee woman cooks with the stove specially designed for the needs of Darfuri refugees. (Photo courtesy of Michael R. Helms)

The violence in Darfur has not only left at least 200,000 dead but devastated the already arid landscape. More than 2 million people now fill groaning refugee camps; as they hunt farther and wider for firewood, they are denuding whole swaths of the countryside. Gathering firewood can now mean a seven-hour round trip, during which women risk rape and mutilation at the hands of the Janjaweed militias that lurk in wait. (Men can't make the trip in their stead—they'll simply be killed.) A fact-finding visit to the region in late 2005 brought home the problem's urgency to Gadgil. "A huge majority of people were missing at least one meal a week because they did not have fuel to cook with," he says. In a sick Catch-22, many families were selling some of their food in exchange for the wood to cook it with.

Gadgil, a 56-year-old Mumbai native, had experience developing simple, life-saving technology. One of his patents—a cheap method for disinfecting water using ultraviolet light—led to a successful business start-up in 1996. The resulting company, WaterHealth International, now provides affordable clean water for more than 1 million people in the developing world. After returning from Darfur, Gadgil worked with lab colleagues and students at UC Berkeley to modify an existing Indian stove for Darfurians' needs. "Cook stoves, although they look simple, are very complex creatures," he says, "which is why

you can't simply sit in Berkeley and say, 'Well, this is the stove for you.'" While the Indian stove excelled at producing low-intensity heat for cooking rice, for instance, Darfurians needed a high-powered flame for sautéing onions, garlic and okra, ingredients in their staple dish, *mulah*. And since most families cook outside, the stove also needed to cope with the region's strong winds.

The result of their efforts is the Berkeley-Darfur stove (darfurstoves.org), a hollow drum that looks like a cross between a lunar landing craft and a stop sign. Designed with a smooth airflow to fuel the fire and an upper rim that fits snugly with different-size pots, the stove requires 75 percent less wood than an open fire, and a wind collar makes for a steady flame. That means fewer risky trips outside the camp. And those who now pay for firewood, Gadgil estimates, could save as much as \$200 a year, which could be used instead for luxuries like new clothing and fresh meat.



Berkeley science professor Dr. Ashok Gadgil holding the stove he designed for the Darfur stove project. (Photo courtesy of Robert Twomey and Newsweek)

The next step is mass production. Gadgil and his partners in Berkeley have teamed with two nonprofits, Engineers Without Borders and CHF International, to set up workshops in Sudan. (The project is funded by USAID and individual donors.) They hope ultimately to distribute stoves to nearly all 300,000 refugee families. Brian Tachibana, a volunteer with EWB, ran into resistance when he first visited Khartoum last September to find manufacturers. Presented with a gleaming prototype that had been made in Berkeley, local craftsmen declared firmly, "There's no way you can build this in Sudan." Tachibana needed to tweak the production method—substituting hand shears for high-pressure water jets, for example—to arrive at a workable, low-tech solution.

Gadgil and EWB have yet to settle on a distribution plan. They won't be handing the stoves out as charity—"Giving something away turns the recipients into beggars," Gadgil says—but at \$25 apiece, the devices are out of the reach of most families. Gadgil favors some sort of leasing plan, allowing families to rent the stove for about 50 cents a week. The ultimate goal is for the refugees to take over the program, from manufacturing to distribution, which would mean jobs and income. Gadgil's team has already donated a range of scientific equipment, including electronic scales and anemometers to measure wind speed, in order to monitor the existing stoves and test the efficiency of alternatives. "We don't want to claim that this is the final word," Gadgil says. "If somebody comes along tomorrow or next year and says we've got a better stove, all success to them. We're trying to solve a problem here."

The Save Darfur Coalition:

Saving Darfur, multiple steps at a time

Coalition's Lobbying Blitz Is Credited With Spurring Bush's Sudan Sanctions

From the Washington Post
By Jeffrey H. Birnbaum
June 3, 2007

(Washington) - Lobbying groups regularly get their way in Washington, but few have had as much impact in a short period as the Save Darfur Coalition, an organization that has been pressing for international intervention in war-torn Sudan.

Over the past two years, it has flooded lawmakers' inboxes with pleas for assistance, filled the Mall with protesters and blanketed the airwaves with heart-rending commercials. One ad showed photos of anguished, starving Sudanese and asked, "How will history judge us?"

These activities have been credited with keeping the issue in high profile and with spurring President Bush's decision this week to impose economic sanctions on Sudan. "It's done something that none of us thought would ever be possible -- to start a mass movement on Sudan," said Alex de Waal, a scholar on Africa.

Since 2003, as many as 450,000 people have been killed and about 2.5 million displaced by Arab militias with the backing of the Sudanese government.

None of the money collected by Save Darfur goes to help the victims and their families. Instead, the coalition pours its proceeds into advocacy efforts that are primarily designed to persuade governments to act.

Lately it has also pressured Fidelity Investments and Berkshire Hathaway to divest holdings in PetroChina, a large Chinese petroleum and natural gas company involved in Sudan's oil industry.

Save Darfur was created in 2005 by two groups concerned about genocide in the African country -- the American Jewish World Service and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Today, the coalition is comprised of more than 180 groups, including the National Association of Evangelicals and the American Society for Muslim Advancement.

The coalition has a staff of 30 with expertise in policy and public relations. Its budget was about \$15 million in the most recent fiscal year. Its funds come from individuals, Fortune 500 companies that match gifts from their employees and from foundations, such as the Oak Foundation and the Public Welfare Foundation.

In addition to its ads, the coalition provides updates about Darfur to 700,000 people across the country and routinely asks them to call or write to Bush and Congress.

Save Darfur will not say exactly how much it has spent on its ads, which this week have attempted to shame China, host of the 2008 Olympics, into easing its support for Sudan. But a coalition spokeswoman said the amount is in the millions of dollars.

Foreign policy experts in Congress credit the coalition with laying the groundwork for Bush's new policy. "Save Darfur's efforts to pressure the administration and Congress and keep the issue alive have had a tremendous impact," said Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Bush administration spokesmen said the president's sanctions decision was based on advisers' first-hand knowledge of the region's deteriorating situation. But they also acknowledged that groups such as Save Darfur were instrumental in making the issue a priority.

"These advocacy organizations play a good role in keeping American citizens informed of some issues that aren't always on the nightly news," said Gordon Johndroe, spokesman for the White House national security council. "The administration listens and speaks regularly to Save Darfur and other groups."

Bush's top diplomat dealing with Sudan praised the coalition's ability to shine a light on the problem. "The Save Darfur Coalition has kept this issue in the news media and before the public and has focused the issue in a way that hasn't happened in foreign relations maybe since the South Africa anti-apartheid movement," said Andrew S. Natsios, Bush's special envoy for Sudan.

The coalition does have some critics. De Waal, a program director at the Social Science Research Council, said the group should emphasize peace negotiations rather than intervention.

Save Darfur's members do not agree. "We've been very effective in educating a large number of people and mobilizing a significant constituency concerned about the genocide that is willing to take targeted action to get our government to change their policy," said Ruth W. Messinger, executive director of the American Jewish World Service.

In January 2006, the coalition launched the Million Voices for Darfur campaign to deliver 1 million hand-written and electronic postcards to Bush and Congress demanding that they take stronger measures to end violence. By June, the coalition held an event in the Capitol with then-Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) and Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.) who together signed the millionth postcard.

That spring, the coalition organized "Save Darfur: Rally to End Genocide" on the Mall that it says was attended by nearly 50,000 people. It was accompanied by more than 20 events around the country that together received extensive TV coverage, with more than 800 stories broadcast in the United States and Canada, according to the coalition.

In September, activists staged 57 events in 41 countries on six continents -- from London to Kigali, Rwanda -- which the coalition dubbed the Global Day for Darfur.

More events and advertising campaigns are planned. "There is no dancing in the end zone until the genocide has ended," said M. Allyn Brooks-LaSure, a Save Darfur spokesman.

Activism and “Actor-vism”

Study Questions

1. When discussing the events thrown by everyday activists, Sara Stillman wonders “whether Americans are having a bit too much fun with a distant genocide.” What do you think about this argument? Are Americans too caught up in the trendiness of the Save Darfur movement? Can you have “too much fun” fundraising and raising awareness? Does it trivialize the real problem?
2. Do you think that students have the necessary resources to initiate change? If so, why? If not, what do you think student activists could do to bring about change?
3. If the 2008 Beijing Olympics Campaign becomes a call for a boycott, do you feel that it would be fair to the athletes who would participate in the games? What might be other equally effective ways to pressure China?
4. What effect do you think divestment has on the country targeted and on the parent countries of the companies divesting?
5. Do you feel as if there are limitations to the types of activism that can be used to raise awareness about the genocide in Darfur? What are they? Why?
6. What method of activism do you think is the most effective? Why?

VI. Hope for Darfur



Displaced woman receiving USAID plastic sheeting in Mornei – A displaced woman in Mornei, West Darfur, is grateful to receive plastic sheeting to use as shelter during the rainy season. USAID is airlifting plastic sheeting, blankets, water containers, and other essential non-food items to vulnerable civilian populations in Darfur. Photo courtesy of USAID.

Complex situations require complex solutions. In Darfur's case, the intricacies and multiple facets of the situation have generated many proposed solutions, which often directly contradict one another. The multitude of possible actions and the vehemence with which each party, from the government in Khartoum to the Save Darfur Coalition, presents its argument seems almost to have paralyzed the international community. This inactivity leaves activists and humanitarian aid organizations frustrated as the people of Darfur suffer without an end in sight.

A. Diplomatic Approaches

- Last Year's Labels on Darfur No Longer Fit
- Mr. Bush, Here's a Plan for Darfur
- An Axis of Peace for Darfur
- A Strategy for a Peaceful Resolution of Darfur Crisis: Part I

B. Military Approaches

- Peacekeeping for Protection and Peace in Darfur

C. Hope for Darfur Graphic Organizer Lesson

- Lesson Plan
- Graphic Organizer

D. You Be the Diplomat: Mock Peace Negotiations Activity

- Lesson Plan
- Discussion Directions and Worksheet

“Better than a thousand hollow words is one word that brings peace.”

-Buddha

Last Year's Labels on Darfur No Longer Fit: Alex de Waal Testimony to the US House of Representatives

*From Justice Africa Sudan
April 23, 2007*

Congressman Lantos, members of this Committee,

It is a pleasure to be invited here to testify at this hearing and to present some of my views and analysis on the situation in Darfur, a part of the world that I knew intimately in the 1980s, and whose travails I have followed closely since then.

I will focus my remarks on two major points. One is that Darfur today is different to the Darfur of 2003-04, when, on the tenth anniversary of the Rwanda genocide, the conscience of the world—and notably this House—was awoken to condemn the massacres, dispossession and rape as “genocide.” Many realities in Darfur have changed and we need an accurate appraisal and analysis of the situation if we are to take the right decisions. The crisis in Darfur has been characterized as “genocide,” as “war” and as “anarchy.” None of these descriptions does justice to the complexity of the situation and the changes in the political and military landscape, especially in the last year. I submit that in order for us to respond appropriately, it is important to recognize the realities—notably that Darfur today cannot be described as a conflict between Arabs and Africans.



Libyan leader Moamer Gaddafi (C) receives Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak (L) and Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir (R) as Libya hosts a two-day summit of African leaders on finding peace in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of Sudan Watch)

My second point is that the essential test of any policy for Darfur—or indeed Sudan—is that it should work. “Ought” implies “can”: in framing our actions we should be aware of what can succeed.

In that regard, I draw upon my experience as a member of the AU mediation team in Abuja, when I was tasked with mediating a comprehensive ceasefire for Darfur and convening a task force to draw up an implementation plan for AU or UN forces. We must be aware of the considerable limitations on what international forces, such as are proposed under UN Security Council Resolution 1706, can achieve in Darfur. What they can do is to monitor and selectively enforce a ceasefire including demilitarization of displaced camps and humanitarian access routes. What they cannot do is to police Darfur, disarm the Janjaweed or provide protection to the majority of Darfurian civilians in the event of an eruption of major violence. The proposed UN troop deployment could not fulfill these latter tasks, even with a workable ceasefire, and certainly cannot undertake them in the middle of ongoing hostilities.

The current political alignment is not favorable for a rapid peace settlement for Darfur. Nonetheless, without the warring parties having confidence that there is progress towards such a settlement, the task of any international peacekeeping or protection force in Darfur will be infinitely harder. Our immediate aim should be a robust and monitorable ceasefire. In turn, a credible political peace process for Darfur requires putting Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement back on track, and restoring Sudanese confidence in that peace agreement. I urge the U.S. government to keep this primary aim clearly in focus.

My Personal Involvement in Darfur

I lived and worked in Darfur from 1985-87, when I conducted research for my PhD thesis. Of the villages and nomadic camps where I lived, three are completely destroyed—one of them occupied by Janjaweed—two are partly destroyed, one is a government garrison, and one a stronghold of the SLA, which was attacked and bombed by the government. Another—where I stayed as a guest of Sheikh Hilal Abdalla, father of



Libyan leader Moamer Gaddafi (L) is welcomed by Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir upon his arrival in Khartoum. Gaddafi arrived in the Sudanese capital to participate in the two-day annual summit of Arab leaders. (Photo courtesy of Sudan Watch)

Musa Hilal—is a camp for the Janjaweed. One day I hope to return to these places and document what has happened to the people I knew who lived in each of them.

During the 1990s, and during the period of the peace talks between the Sudan government and the SPLM during 2001-04, I focused much of my energy on the question of the marginalized peoples of northern Sudan including the Nuba, the Beja and the

peoples of Blue Nile. International attention to the plight of the South tended to overlook these people, who on occasions were suffering from massacre, systematic rape and forced displacement every bit as horrendous as that inflicted on the people of Darfur during the peak of the counter-insurgency campaigns by government army and Janjaweed in 2003-04. I was concerned that the North South focus of the Naivasha peace talks would leave the marginalized peoples of northern Sudan politically short changed and vulnerable. I also followed Darfur and brought Darfurians into the various fora I helped organize, though their effective participation was always hampered by their internal divisions.

When Darfur erupted into large-scale violent conflict in 2003 I was saddened and angered, but not entirely surprised. The pattern of the violence in Darfur replicates in most respects the experience of other Sudanese peripheries. In an article I wrote in 2004,

entitled “Counterinsurgency on the cheap,” I described the atrocities as “genocide by force of habit.” We can learn much about the conflict in Darfur by placing it in the context of the previous wars in Sudan and the sadly consistent methods used by the government of Sudan to pursue its war aims.

I spent much of 2005 and 2006 as an advisor to Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, the African Union’s chief mediator for the Darfur conflict, dealing with many of the places and some of the people I knew from my years in Darfur. My principal role in the peace talks was facilitating the negotiations on security issues. The main focus of this was working on a text of a comprehensive ceasefire and final status security arrangements—a text that was subsequently enhanced in certain details by the efforts of Deputy Secretary Robert B. Zoellick and his team on May 2-4, 2006. I am happy to say that all the three leaders of the Darfur armed movements judged the security arrangements section of the Darfur Peace Agreement acceptable at that time, with the sole objection coming from Dr. Khalil Ibrahim, President of the Justice and Equality Movement, who demanded that his troops be paid salaries from the government budget during the interim period.

My role also included overseeing an implementation task force, consisting of military officers from the UN and AU, who designed the ceasefire implementation modalities, a plan that in turn was the basis for the troop strengths and tasks envisioned in UN Security Council Resolution 1706, which calls for the dispatch of UN forces to Darfur. My final task in Abuja was to stay on when all the other members of the mediation team had left, in a last-ditch effort to persuade Abdel Wahid al Nur to join the peace agreement. I came close but did not succeed.



Frustrated with American actions, Saudi King Abdullah is trying to take the lead on virtually every sensitive issue in the Middle East, from an Arab-Israeli peace to Darfur. (Photo courtesy of Newsweek)

How to Describe Darfur Today?

Darfur’s nightmare continues. It is taking new forms. The violence today is different in both scale and nature to that of three years ago. Many fewer people are being killed than during the peak of atrocity in 2003-04, and many fewer are dying from hunger and disease. The humanitarian agencies have done a remarkably good job. The number of deaths should not be the sole or the overriding measure of the crime and tragedy in Darfur. Millions of people live in displaced camps, unable to return home. They live in fear. The legacy of the immense military campaigns of 2003-04 is that significant areas of Darfur have been ethnically cleansed of their former population. This crime cannot be allowed to stand: one basic measure of peace is that it entitles and empowers displaced people to return to their places of origin, to resume their lives under a local administrative

system of their choice that provides them with physical and legal security, including tenure over their land.

Moreover, the capacity for renewed violence on a comparable scale has not diminished. Darfur is awash with weaponry. The army, paramilitaries, rebel groups and local self-defense groups are all heavily armed. Decades of experience in Sudan tells us that war consists of occasional sweeping campaigns in which the army, air-force and paramilitaries destroy everything in their path, followed by longer periods in which the violence subsides somewhat, but the underlying causes of conflict remain unaddressed. Any new explosion of violence rarely follows the same pattern as the previous peak in killing - the location may be different (for example in urban areas or displaced camps, or across an international frontier), and the belligerents may be configured differently (some militia may switch sides to join the rebels, some rebel factions may cut deals with the government). New armed groups may emerge, perhaps among the angry and politicized groups of displaced people, or in neighboring regions of Sudan. These patterns are familiar from Sudan's long-running wars and it would be unwise to assume that Darfur's violence will not surge again and take on new forms.

I submit that we can no longer describe the conflict as "Arab" versus "African." That was always an inadequate description, even during the height of the killing in 2003-04, when racial labels were particularly salient. The ethnic politics of Darfur are much more complicated now. Having armed numerous Arab militia, including the Janjaweed, the government no longer commands the loyalties of its erstwhile proxies. Army generals are fearful of the might of the Janjaweed, who in some locations are more numerous and



Darfur rebels meet for key unity talks. (Photo courtesy of Middle East Online)

better armed than the regular army. The generals know it is impossible to disarm the militia by force. Their greatest fear is that some of the Arab militia will desert the government for the rebels. This fear is not without foundation: many Darfurian Arabs are talking to the insurgents and making local pacts. In the other direction, one of the most unfortunate consequences of the Darfur Peace Agreement was the way in which some commanders of the SLA-

Minawi, most of them ethnic Zaghawa, became government proxies, to the extent that local people called them "Janjaweed-2."

There is no doubt that individual atrocities in Darfur continue to bear the hallmarks of ethnically-targeted genocidal massacre. But these atrocities do not follow any straightforward “Arab”-“African” dichotomy. One of my concerns about the use of the word “genocide” to describe these crimes is that it seems to imply that Darfur’s crisis consist of Arabs killing Africans. Such a depiction is inaccurate.

Many Darfurians characterize the situation as “anarchy.” That is correct insofar as the institutions and mechanisms that maintained law and order have broken down or been dismantled, and the government is failing in its basic obligation of providing security. It is accurate insofar as much of the violence witnessed in the last year is localized conflict (including clashes between Arab tribes), fighting among rebel groups, and banditry. Describing the situation as “war” does not do justice to the complexity of the conflict and the extent of multiplication of armed groups. But “anarchy” is also an incomplete description: it fails to capture the way in which the situation is manipulated by the strongest actor, the government of Sudan, which has co-opted many institutions for civil administration into its paramilitary structure.

What is clear is that Darfur’s crisis is complicated and has changed. Last year’s solutions can no longer work. Last year’s labels may no longer fit.

Prospects for Peace and Security

The prospects for peace in Darfur are not encouraging. The political alignment for peace was most favorable in the first half of 2005, when there was enthusiasm for the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (just signed by Khartoum and the SPLM) and its promise of national democratic transformation. At that time, pro-peace figures in Khartoum such as vice president Ali Osman Taha were in the ascendant, the Darfur rebels had a semblance of political coordination, and Chad was still part of the solution, not part of the problem.

That favorable alignment slipped during late 2005 and early 2006, and by the time the Abuja peace talks reached their denouement, the political context was becoming less favorable week-by-week. Peace in Abuja was missed by a hair’s breadth, but that slender miss was disastrous. The adverse trend has continued over the subsequent eleven months.



(Photo courtesy of Climate Change News Blog Spot)

I recall some tribal elders arriving at Abuja to encourage the rebels to sign the agreement, making the argument that if the chance for peace is not taken, Darfur faces the prospect

of a war of all against all. That Hobbesian scenario may yet materialize. Local disputes are multiplying and the mechanisms to resolve them are too weak.

Today, the Darfur armed groups are more fractured than at any time in their short history. The prospects for unifying them are remote. Arabs groups have emerged as independent actors and should be represented in any new peace process.

External interference—by Chad, Eritrea and Libya—has intensified. The leaders of these countries see turmoil in Darfur as a means of furthering their own political interests.

Implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement is farcical. Minni Minawi possesses no power, the key institutions do not exist or have no resources, and the National Congress Party is choosing the candidates to fill the ministerial and gubernatorial posts provided for the SLM. Contrary to the provisions of the DPA, the Security Arrangements Implementation Commission is headed by an army general, not a nominee of the SLM. The most important institution of all—the Ceasefire Commission has become completely dysfunctional. The government is practicing “retail politics”—purchasing the allegiance or cooperation of individuals on a case-by-case basis, and describing this as fulfilling the requirements of the DPA.

Credible mediation is needed, but the most important interlocutors face conflicts of interest. The African Union has the mandate to implement the DPA as it stands, and is also tasked with negotiating a new agreement with the non-signatory rebels. It is hard for it to do both. In due course the UN will find itself in a similar position—the UN Mission in Sudan is mandated to implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and Special Representative Jan Eliasson is also tasked to mediate with Darfurian groups which demand that the CPA be revised to accommodate their demands.

This points us to perhaps the most significant single challenge to peace in Darfur: any peace agreement for Darfur must be a buttress to the CPA. But most Darfurians see the CPA, not as a charter for national democratization, but rather as (at best) a ceiling for their aspirations and (at worst) a sinking ship. While such beliefs continue, there is little chance that they will be ready to make peace. Peace in Darfur is possible only if there is widespread confidence in the CPA among ordinary Sudanese, and at present this does not exist.

In these circumstances, many advocate that the priority should be to send a strong international force to Darfur to protect civilians there, so that the Darfurian people who have already suffered enough do not continue to die while the politicians argue interminably about peace over the coming months and years. There is no doubt that a larger, better equipped and better mandated international force could improve conditions in Darfur. But we must also be frank and realistic about what such a force can achieve, both under the current circumstances of ongoing hostilities, and under any future conditions of a fully-signed up peace agreement.

In facilitating the discussions on the security arrangements for the DPA, the African Union security team took advice from a number of senior and experienced military officers and security advisers from Africa, the UN and the U.S. The team concluded that a force of about 20,000 peacekeepers could police a ceasefire agreement between government and rebels, monitor airfields to ensure that the ban on offensive military flights is respected, ensure the demilitarization of displaced camps and humanitarian supply routes, train a community police force to provide security for displaced people, and monitor government efforts to neutralize and selectively disarm the militia. It could fulfill these tasks in the context of a fully-signed up peace agreement with the active cooperation of the parties.

Even with a Chapter VII mandate and the consent of the Sudan government, what such a force could not do is to provide security for all, or even most, Darfuri civilians in their home villages. It could not disarm the Janjaweed. It could not remove the government army and police from Darfur and take over their functions.

In the context of ongoing hostilities, the capability of a peacekeeping force would be even more limited, as it would need to devote much of its capacity to force protection. As we have learned from many other conflicts, international forces do not, as a general rule, protect civilians at risk during an explosion of violence.

The main security discussion that is needed concerns the strategic plan and concept of operations for an international force in Darfur. This was a discussion that we began but did not conclude in Abuja. But in our truncated discussions, some basic principles became clear.

A first consideration is time. Any international force dispatched to Darfur should expect to be there for a minimum of five years. It is not realistic to expect the region to be stabilized in a shorter period of time.

Second, disarmament can only be undertaken by consent, in a staged and reciprocal manner across all armed groups. Arms control is primarily a political process, not a technical one. The government's cooperation in this is also necessary. While Khartoum is most of Darfur's problem, Darfur's solutions must also come through Khartoum.

Third, for an international force to be effective, it must devote the majority of its energy to political work and community liaison, with the threat and use of force comprising only a small part of its activities.

And finally, the force levels envisaged for the implementation of the DPA security arrangements would be woefully insufficient to provide physical protection to all civilians at risk during any possible future eruption of violence. Other measures would be required to prevent such violence or protect civilians at risk.

It is important to be soberly realistic about what the UN or indeed any international force—can achieve in Darfur. Many Darfurians have exaggerated expectations that the

UN will solve all their problems, and these false hopes deter them from engaging realistically with the political challenges they face. It is important for the U.S. and UN to give the right message: peace is the goal, peacekeeping is a tool.

A comprehensive, robust and monitorable ceasefire in Darfur, and a political process leading to a peace agreement for Darfur, and a properly-implemented CPA must be the priority. Let us have no illusions that these goals will be easy to achieve. But a credible political process in this direction is essential and can create sufficient confidence that an international force can function effectively. The lesson of Sudan's wars over the last quarter century is that peace is possible, if it is pursued relentlessly and with an international consensus.

The lesson of Sudan's peace deals is that what ever is on paper is never good enough: the challenge lies in the implementation. Sudan and its problems will be with us for some time to come: we must take a long view.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to share my thoughts.

Mr. Bush, Here's a Plan for Darfur

From The New York Times
By Nicholas Kristof
August 6, 2007

Frustrated by the genocide he is tolerating in Darfur, President Bush has suggested to aides on occasion that maybe the U.S. should just send troops there.

He alluded to that when he told a woman in Tennessee who asked him about Darfur: “The threshold question was: If there is a problem, why don’t you just go take care of it?” Mr. Bush was talked out of the idea by Condi Rice, who told him that the U.S. just couldn’t start another war in a Muslim country. So, as Mr. Bush told the questioner: “I made the decision not to send U.S. troops unilaterally into Darfur.”

That was the right decision. The Sudanese regime would use our invasion as a rallying cry against infidels and make the crisis harder to resolve.

But the upshot was that Mr. Bush, lacking a military option, hasn’t taken up other options. He seems genuinely appalled by the horrors of Darfur — he raises them regularly with foreign leaders, even when aides haven’t put them on his talking points — yet he has done little, apparently because he doesn’t know quite what to do. So here are some practical suggestions.

First, the administration should invest far more energy toward seeking a negotiated peace between rebels and government — the only long-term solution to the slaughter. Instead, the diplomatic focus has been on U.N. peacekeepers, and they are a terrific addition but not a solution in themselves.

The preliminary step is for the rebels to form a united negotiating front, and they are now meeting in Tanzania to do so. The U.S. desperately needs to assist that process to the hilt.

Second, we should back an international appeal for Sudan to release Suleiman Jamous, an elder who is one of the best hopes for uniting the rebel factions and leading them to peace.

Third, we need to work with other countries to insist that Sudan stop importing tens of thousands of Arabs from neighboring countries to repopulate those areas where it has slaughtered the local population. These new settlements seal the demographic consequences of genocide, outrage the survivors and make peace harder to achieve.

Fourth, we need to increase intelligence coverage over the area, and release occasional satellite photos so that Sudan knows it is being watched. Releasing a photo of the beleaguered Gereida camp, for example, would reduce the chance that Sudan will slaughter its 130,000 occupants.

Fifth, Mr. Bush can join Nicolas Sarkozy and Gordon Brown in the trip they have discussed to Chad. They should also publicly invite the leaders of China and Egypt, two countries that are critical to pressuring Sudan, to join them.

Sixth, the U.S. can quietly encourage Muslim leaders to push for peace. Malaysia's prime minister, who is also the head of a group of Islamic countries, has prepared a peace proposal, and Saudi Arabia is interested in helping.

Seventh, Mr. Bush can use the bully pulpit. He can give a prime-time speech or bring Darfuri refugees to the White House for a photo-op.

Eighth, the U.S. should begin contingency planning in case Sudan starts mass slaughters of people in camps, or in case Sudan resumes its war against its south. If the former, we could secure camps and create a corridor to bring survivors to Chad; if the latter, we should arm South Sudan and perhaps blockade Port Sudan.

Ninth, we need to work much more with China, which has the most leverage over Sudan. The goal should be to get China to suspend arms transfers to Sudan until Khartoum makes a serious effort at peace.

Tenth, we can work with France to stabilize Chad and Central African Republic. President Sarkozy is pushing for European peacekeepers to rescue both countries after Sudanese-sponsored proxy invasions, and he deserves strong support.

Finally, we should work with Britain and France to enforce the U.N.'s ban on offensive military flights in Darfur. At a minimum, we should seek U.N. sanctions for Sudan's violations. In addition, when Sudan bombs a village, we can afterward destroy one of its Chinese-made A-5 Fantan fighter bombers that it keeps in Darfur.

Many aid workers disagree with this suggestion, for fear that Sudan will retaliate by cutting off humanitarian access. But after four years, I think we need to show President Omar Hassan al-Bashir that he will pay a price for genocide. And he values his gunships and fighter bombers in a way he has never valued his people.

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An Axis of Peace for Darfur : The United States, France, and China

Excerpted from An Axis of Peace for Darfur: The United States, France and China” (Darfur Strategy Briefing #3)

From the ENOUGH Project

By John Prendergast and Colin Thomas-Jensen

June 18, 2007

It should come as no surprise that the crisis in Darfur continues to deepen. Without coordinated multilateral pressure, the regime will continue to promote chaos and attack civilian targets, and both the government and rebels will continue fighting. Without a cost for obstruction, the regime will not facilitate the full and unconditional deployment of an African Union/United Nations (AU/UN) hybrid peacekeeping force. Without an internationally coordinated diplomatic surge, the government and rebels won't take seriously efforts to revive the peace process.



Thousands gather on the National Mall in Washington to protest the genocide in Darfur. (Photo courtesy of the United States government)

However, all this could change immediately if policymakers seize the golden diplomatic opportunity that is emerging for Darfur.

For widely divergent reasons, the three countries with the most leverage in Sudan – the U.S., France, and China – all have a vested interest in and desire to help bring peace and stability in Darfur.

- In the U.S., domestic political pressure continues to slowly increase as a fledgling anti-genocide movement develops and demands U.S. leadership and action, leading to a decision by President Bush to move forward with his "Plan B" policy which finally begins to impose a cost for the commission of genocide.
- In France, newly elected President Nicolas Sarkozy and his Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner have identified Darfur as a high priority, and they have expressed a willingness to pursue the trans-Atlantic cooperation that their predecessors often avoided.
- In China, as pressure mounts to tie the 2008 Olympics to Beijing's policies in Sudan and as China's own foreign policy undergoes a thorough review, the Chinese government has increasing reason to use its influence behind the scenes to help move the Khartoum regime to accept a more robust peacekeeping force and adopt more constructive positions on the peace process.

Faced with these developments, it is no coincidence that the Government of Sudan recently accepted the deployment of the full AU/UN hybrid force. Even uncoordinated pressure can yield results. But without better diplomacy and more pressure than that, the

latest Sudanese "agreement" on the hybrid is likely to prove as short-lived and phony as in previous cases since November 2006.

Perhaps the single most influential action that could be taken now to end the horrors in Darfur would be for the U.S., France and China to convene an informal "troika" similar to the "troika" of countries – U.S., UK and Norway – that helped bring an end to the North-South war in Sudan. All three countries now have Special Envoys focused on Darfur. All three have leverage with either the Sudanese regime or the rebels, or both. All three are permanent members of the UN Security Council. All three have compelling political reasons to invest more heavily in supporting solutions in Sudan. All three need to find global issues where common ground on ultimate objectives will allow them to work together and rebuild international cooperation in the midst of global division. And there is no better way for the U.S. to improve bilateral relationships with France and China than to work closely together toward a common goal on something like bringing peace and stability to Sudan.

This new "troika" could work together and through a wider contact group to do the following:

- Support the resumption of a serious peace process for Darfur;
- Press the Government of Sudan to facilitate the unconditional and full deployment of the AU/UN hybrid peacekeeping mission;
- Demand that the rebels and government stop attacks against civilians and allow unimpeded and full access for humanitarian aid operations;
- Press for the implementation of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) – the blueprint for a democratic transformation in Sudan – between the regime and southern-based rebels; and
- Ensure that Khartoum continues to cooperate on counter-terrorism issues.

All three will have different styles of engagement and different comparative advantages in promoting solutions. China can't be expected to publicly condemn the Khartoum regime or actively support punitive measures. France has limitations within the European Union (EU) and inherits regional alliances that complicate its diplomacy. The U.S. carries baggage from other global entanglements and its counter-terrorism cooperation with Khartoum.

However, a strategic division of labor between Washington, Paris, and Beijing could yield a very effective good cop/bad cop, insider/outsider approach to bringing peace and stability to Sudan.

Historians will look back at the perfect diplomatic storm that is brewing and either say, "What a missed opportunity," or alternatively, "That was indeed the turning point in ending Darfur's agony."

The table is set. All the U.S., France, and China need to do is take their places.



The international community agrees that Darfur's conflict must be resolved quickly, but it has yet to take decisive and forceful action to do so. (Photo courtesy of Global Ministries United Methodist Church)

[...]

A Peace and Protection Initiative for Darfur

The U.S. should quickly undertake a high-level diplomatic effort with France and China to jump-start a peace and protection initiative for Darfur. The three countries possess a common objective: a durable peace agreement that will advance regional stability, ensure the security of Sudan's oil reserves, and reduce the threat of state failure and accompanying risk of terrorism.

Sarkozy has rightly invited China to the ministerial meeting in France on June 25. Bringing China into the group of nations and organizations working for a negotiated settlement with appropriate international monitoring would help ease the tension between China and nations calling for punitive action. If China remains on the outside of peace-building efforts, Beijing would much more likely be cast in, and play, the role of spoiler.

The June 25 ministerial meeting should seek to strengthen the existing contact group for Sudan, by including all countries with important influence to bear with Sudan and the



UN peacekeeping troops drill. (From the Chinese government's official web portal)

rebel movements, and by making that expanded contact group a permanent process. Within the larger group, the U.S., France, and China should form an informal "troika" that will press ahead with a coordinated approach to Sudan.

The division of labor in this good cop/bad cop diplomatic effort should use each country's leverage in a coordinated manner focused on a "Peace and Protection Initiative for Darfur." These objectives can best be reached within the framework of the 3 Ps of crisis response (peacemaking, protection and punishment). To achieve success, the U.S., France, and China (the "troika" for Darfur) should pursue the following strategy.

Peacemaking

- Jointly lead a high-level visit to Khartoum to underscore international commitment to a peaceful resolution to the crisis, and follow up with regular coordinated visits to the region. This "troika" must work full time: occasional, uncoordinated trips will not have an impact.
- Establish conflict resolution teams in the region staffed by senior diplomats assigned on one year stints to work together to foster a negotiated settlement in Darfur consistent with the framework established by the CPA. The U.S., for example, could significantly enhance its capacity to help negotiate peace in Darfur by deploying five diplomats to the region – just one percent of the 500 State Department personnel at the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad.

- Work with the UN, the AU, the Government of South Sudan and regional actors such as Chad, Eritrea, and Libya to develop a three-tiered diplomatic approach to those who can further a peace process. The basics are:
 1. Leaning on Chadian President Deby, Eritrean President Issayas Afewerki, and Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qaddafi to exert coordinated pressure on the Darfur rebels to form a more cohesive political body to prepare for negotiations;
 2. Work with the Government of South Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement to coordinate their peacemaking efforts with the UN and AU; and
 3. Pressing the UN Secretariat and the AU to devote additional resources to building a coordinated and inclusive framework for new peace negotiations.

Protection

- Jointly press Khartoum to facilitate the unconditional and full deployment of the AU/UN hybrid force.
- Contribute funding, military and police assets, and personnel to the peacekeeping force in Darfur. France (through the EU) and the U.S. have sent advisors and provided some resources for the African Union, but they can and should do much more to enhance the capacity of the AU mission and the eventual hybrid AU/UN force. China has troops participating in the UN mission in Southern Sudan, and greater Chinese involvement in peacekeeping operations in Darfur could substantially enhance peacekeepers' ability to protect civilians.
- As a back-up plan, the U.S. and France should work within NATO to develop credible plans for non-consensual military intervention if humanitarian operations collapse and violence escalates against civilians in Darfur.
- Ensure that the next UN Security Council Resolution provides enforcement measures for the existing arms embargo, which would require reviewing major arms sales to Sudan from a number of suppliers over the past year, including from China.

Punishment

- The U.S. and France – working closely with China – should lead efforts to increase multilateral economic pressure on Sudan's ruling National Congress Party through mandatory targeted UN Security Council sanctions, coupled with clear benchmarks for their removal – rein in its militias, allow unrestricted humanitarian access, facilitate full deployment of the hybrid force, forge a peace deal with the rebels, and implement the CPA – and work closely with Khartoum on achieving them.

Activist Agenda

On June 25 Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice will attend the high-level meeting in Paris on Darfur. Activists should immediately call the White House and their

representatives in the House and Senate to advocate the Bush Administration to do the following:

- Work with France and China to form a diplomatic "troika" for Darfur, leading an expanded contact group encompassing all key countries;
- Work full-time and at a senior level within the "troika" to jump start a Peace and Protection Initiative for Darfur that would seek a resumption in peace talks and unconditional deployment of the full AU/UN hybrid force; and
- Work with the French and the UK to secure Chinese cooperation (or abstention) on a Security Council resolution that would impose targeted sanctions on individuals and companies complicit in the destruction of Darfur, which would give international leverage to peace and protection imperatives.

A Strategy for a Peaceful Resolution of Darfur Crisis: Part I

*From The Sudan Tribune
By Mehari Taddele Maru
July 5, 2007*

What Should United Nations and African Union Do?

Part I of this article is a brief summary of a longer strategy paper for a peaceful resolution of the Darfur crisis. The central point of this paper is that radical changes in strategy of the UN are required to make the international efforts more fruitful in ending the humanitarian crisis in Darfur. One of such changes is the need for reframing the issues of the Darfur crisis. The second point is the need for a shift in approach: from a strategy that focused solely on Darfur, which I call “the symptom-focused approach” to “the root-cause approach”—a strategy, which looks the Darfur crisis in the whole of Sudan. Until now, the international community has sacrificed its focus on the forest (whole of Sudan) for the trees (mainly Darfur). I am of the opinion that effective solution to the Darfur crisis lies in solving the governance and related problems in Sudan. It also offers analysis



(Photo courtesy of The White House Government website)

of their interest; and if they will be allies or hostile to the UN and AU-UN Hybrid Mission in Sudan-Darfur (UNMIS). This is vital input in the formulation of a strategy as it considers ways for addressing the legitimate interests, provides ways to tackle those that are illegitimate, and means to remove the binding constraints. As recommendation the paper provides what the UN should consider implementing to resolve the Darfur crisis. A Strategy for the UN and UNMIS should answer the question how the UN and UNMIS should implement the peace in Darfur. The binding constraints that the

UN may face in implementation of the recommendations are examined and suggestions are made on how to surmount them. The Strategy follows sequencing of strategic actions in order of priority and necessity. To give the Strategy a timeline for implementation, it has two phases on time line: Phase A: Short-term (2007-2008), and Phase B: Medium-term (2008-2011).

PHASE A: SHORT-TERM (2007-2008)

A Shift of Strategy: Reframing the Issue and Diplomatic Pressure for Global Consensus

1. Reframe the issue of Darfur Crisis as a new political strategy for the AU-UN Hybrid Peace Process.

The Darfur issue has to be reframed from focusing only on the current Darfur crisis to the whole of Sudan. The one effective way to end the crisis in Darfur is to ensure that the cause of Southern Sudan is observed. In a way this seeks a shift in strategy of searching for peace not only from pieces (Darfur and Southern Sudan) but also from the whole of Sudan. If the situation of Southern Sudan is not attended to soon, Sudan could break into a civil war with appalling humanitarian consequences.

2. In reframing the issues tap the existing campaigns and advocacy on Darfur, this will help to pressure the GoS to accept UNMIS.

Most of the basis of resistance to the UN and UNMIS comes from Northern Sudan. Shift of focus of the international community to the whole of Sudan might prove a more effective approach. The GoS is happy to keep the status quo in Darfur, as far as its power base—people in Northern Sudan accept the GoS propaganda that UN intends to dismantle Sudan unity. Hence, UN has to be able to reach out and explain its aims to the Northern Sudanese. This is a very useful strategy to pressurize the GoS, as it neutralizes the blind support of Northern Sudanese to GoS. Since such resistance to the deployment of UNMIS (and support to the GoS) stems from an ethnic security dilemma, it is very necessary for the UN to assure them that the presence of UNMIS would help Sudan to get out of the cycle of violence, and that the AU-UN Hybrid Peace Process for Sudan would be inclusive to all people of Sudan.

3. To solve the coordination problem of international diplomatic and material support to the Darfur crisis, the UN should take leading role in coordinating the on-going different peace efforts.

Coordination problem seems the binding constraint against effective international intervention to end the crisis. In Darfur alone there are more than 22,000 international and local staff working to end the crisis and provide humanitarian aid. In Southern Sudan there are more than 13,000 UNMIS personnel and perhaps equal number humanitarian staff. In sum, there are more than 35,000 peacekeeping and humanitarian aid personnel. This makes Darfur and Sudan in general the “World’s biggest theatre of humanitarian operations”. Coordination of US and EU efforts, coordination of AU and UN programs, coordination of international aid and humanitarian NGOs, bringing the actors such as China and the Arab League together could be cited as a few examples of coordination problems. Indeed as ICG Report has pointed out disjointed and sporadic peace initiatives by varied countries such as Egypt, Eritrea, Chad and Arab League are causing confusion.

4. The UN should establish an AU-UN Hybrid Peace Process for Sudan.

To be effective, the UN should be able to craft a strategy inclusive and capable of bringing all active actors together. The AU-UN Hybrid Sudan Peace Process has to build global consensus by bringing high profile envoys of the UN, AU, EU, USA and others

such as Arab League and China together. Such inclusive approach will also save the region from having new spoilers in Sudan. It could also enable the UN and the AU to use the leverage of China and Arab League to influence the Government of Sudan. What is more, through an AU-UN Hybrid Sudan Peace Process, the UN could remove the coordination problem as it exists with several fragmented Darfur peace initiatives.

5. Appoint a high profile envoy for AU-UN Hybrid Peace Process for Sudan to unify and coordinate divisions among the international and national actors in the Darfur Crisis.

Such a high profile envoy would coordinate all efforts; convince China and the Arab League and other individual country initiatives to harmonize their efforts with the UN and UNMIS. The envoy could request China and the Arab League to assign special envoys who would work with the AU-UN Hybrid Peace Process.



(Photo Courtesy of Gulf News)

6. Ensure effective implementation of the CPA through strong periodic monitoring and assessment by UNMIS in Southern Sudan. This is indirectly vital for the Darfur crisis to end.

7. Establish a formal institutional link to make efficient use of the existing global advocacy and campaigns and arrange The Blacklist of Companies.

One of the recommendations of the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) to the UN General Assembly was the need for “compilation of a list of foreign companies that have an adverse impact on the situation of human rights in Darfur”. It specifically called upon the General Assembly to instruct the UN agencies to “to abstain from entering into business transactions with any of the identified companies.” This indeed is in line with the recent reports and works of Prof. John Ruggie, Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises.

The Darfur Divestment and Genocide Olympic Campaigns, which are now well globalized, have already made a difference. Similar to the anti-apartheid economic pressure campaigns waged in the 1980s, these campaigns and advocacy aim to persuade companies that investing in Sudan is bad for their publicity. Sudan Divestment Task Force, one of the leading groups for divestment, has prepared a list of more than 50 companies mainly from the oil sector to be targeted for divestment campaign. As a major source of revenue for GoS comes from oil, divestment in the oil sector could make the GoS to feel the pain. Already the US Ford, UK Rolls-Royce PLC, French Schlumberger Ltd, 40 US universities including Harvard and other financial groups have or they are considering pulling their money from investments in Sudan. These campaigns are not

limited to developed countries but also extend to companies in South Africa, Brazil and Malaysia. The trickle and ripple effect of these campaigns will have a serious effect on the revenue of the GoS. This could also be useful in setting a serious precedent on the norms on the responsibilities of state-owned transnational corporations such as Chinese and Malaysian companies on human rights.

8. Bringing China on board and use Chinese economic persuasion by putting more pressure on China through coordinated visits of the special envoys of UN, EU, AU, and US and the global campaigns and advocacy organizations.

9. The UN should assist the advocacy campaigns against the Chinese support to the GoS.

The Special Envoy should request China to attach some conditionality of the conflicts to its oil import from, and investment in, Sudan. China could be the loser if Sudan slips into further crisis. It should not be difficult to convince China that its present support to the GoS is not in its long-run interest. This could have huge impact on the behaviour of the GoS. Nonetheless, a cautionary note is in order here. China pressure to GoS is necessary



Photo courtesy of English People's Daily Online

but not sufficient enough to make the Government of Sudan to react positively to deployment of UNMIS and Sudan to fulfil its responsibility.

10. Use the Asian Countries and Arab League Political, Diplomatic and Economic Persuasion.

In this regard, I would like to emphasis Your Excellency's vital role, as you are from Asia. Asian major Muslim countries could use their religious leverage as the Arab League could do to put political, diplomatic and economic pressure on the GoS. As the victims in the Darfur crisis are mainly Muslims, they will have interest in pressurizing the GoS. Indeed apart from religion, these countries such as United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia and Malaysia have trade partnerships with Sudan; they could also use their economic persuasion.

PHASE B: SECURITY, HUMANITARIAN AID AND PEACE FOR DARFURIANS

11. Deploy 21,000 More AU-UN Hybrid Peacekeeping Forces

RAND—internationally renowned security analysis firm, has estimated that in a crisis like that of Darfur, security requires a ratio of 3.5 troops for 1,000 people. Based on this troop per population formula— $(6,000,000/1,000 * 3.5 = 21,000 \text{ troops})$, UNMIS has to have at least 21,000 troops in Darfur. This was similar to the original estimate of forces required to be deployed by AMIS. As there are about 7,700 AMIS troops already on the

ground, the UN has to deploy at least 14,000 more troops for effective Peacekeeping Missions in Darfur. Quick deployment of troops is the first action that should be taken to ensure security and enabling environment to conduct AU-UN Hybrid Peace Process in Sudan, repatriation, and provision of aid.

Opportunities and Constraints for Quick Deployment

With regard to mobilizing troops for UNMIS, there are better opportunities for the following reasons:

1. The UN has peacekeeping troops already in Sudan. The UNMIS has already 10,027 uniformed personnel; supported by 851 international civilians, 2,250 local civilians and 186 UN volunteers in Southern Sudan.

2. There is AMIS on the ground in Darfur (with more than 7,700 troops), if its logistical constraints are alleviated; it would mean that 1/3rd of the required troops are already deployed and with some local experience in Darfur.

3. Many African countries such as Nigeria, South Africa, Rwanda, Ethiopia and Kenya have announced their willingness to contribute more troops as far as the expense and other financial requisites are fulfilled by the UN.

4. Muslim countries such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, Turkey, and Malaysia could be easily convinced to contribute troops which might make the deployment much easier as the GoS will be much more willing to accept troops from these countries.



Photo courtesy of Sudan Watch

5. Countries like France, Germany, Canada and Netherlands, individually if possible, and as NATO members, if necessary, could provide military leadership and high technology military reinforcement to UNMIS. The army of these countries are not overstretched or under public pressure fatigue.

Three Major Constraints

There are three main constraints for quick deployment of UNMIS troops: difficulty to mobilize troops in short time, insufficient financial and logistic commitments, and lastly and most importantly resistance from the GoS. At present, many western countries such as US, UK, Spain, and Italy have overstretched the army. France too has peacekeeping troops in several African countries and could be good source of troops and logistics. It is necessary to prioritize recruitment of troops from non-US and UK military personnel as their presence could draw terrorists to the region. To solve financial and logistical commitment problems, the UN should work with EU, USA, NATO and Scandinavian

countries. The Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir has repeatedly proposed a UNMIS with limited number and weak or almost meaningless mandate. This proposal should be rejected totally as limited number of troops and mandate are the two most important reasons why the AMIS failed to be effective.

12. Fallback option in case the GoS resists deployment of AU-UN Hybrid Force

If the strategies proposed above are implemented, the resistance from the GoS to UNMIS deployment is expected to wane away. However, if the GoS continues to resist, threat of sanctions, and military interventions should be a fallback option. Hence, if cooperation of the GoS is impossible, then Economic Sanctions, No-fly Zones and Military Intervention are necessary as last resort options.

13. UNMIS should establish camps and carve-out security zones for protection of civilians.

The second specific action of UNMIS once deployed is to establish Camps and Carve-Out Security Zones for Protection of Civilians and repatriates. UNMIS should immediately establish major carve-out islands of security that could serve to conduct inclusive peace conferences peacefully, protection of civilians and provision of humanitarian assistance. Such security zones should be no-fly zones, and no operation areas for the GoS and rebel groups.

14. Protection of Civilians and Safe Repatriation of Refugees and IDPs.

The protection of, and provision of humanitarian assistance to, civilians in the Security Zones under the UNMIS is the third measure necessary towards a full-fledged peace process. This is a vital step towards a peaceful resolution of the Darfur crisis. To be more specific, with more than three million of the Darfurians away from Darfur and in IDP camps, it would be very difficult to conduct a peace conference that could end the crisis.

15. Conduct a Broad and Inclusive Peace Conference in Darfur to Ensure Ownership and for Inclusive Security.

There are three major factors requiring a serious consideration by the AU-UN Hybrid Peace Process to avoid failures similar to that of the DPA. First, the DPA was not owned by its main beneficiaries—the Darfur People. Second, the common Darfurians were not consulted, and DPA was negotiated in far away places. Traditional and religious leaders, civil society, Darfurians in Diaspora were not invited to provide their input. Third, one of the most binding constraints for the Darfur peace process has been the heavy reliance on the rebel groups. According to Reporter without Borders the civil society including the press in Sudan are the “forgotten actors” in the resolution of the crisis. Such broad consultations in Darfur are possible only if security and humanitarian aid is provided in Darfur. Hence, this fourth measure is dependent on the above mentioned actions.

16. Guarantee security to the Arab population of Darfur and Sudan.

For this strategy to be successful it is very important to remove security dilemma ethnic communities in Darfur such as the Arab-Sudanese might have. Inclusive consultation is vital for inclusive security. The UN has to guarantee security to the Arab population of Darfur and Sudan. Inclusive security for all ethnic communities would help create a popular support base for UNMIS and sustainable peace. Many in the Janjeweeds consider themselves as victims of conspiracy of the GoS and other forces like Libya in being dragged to this conflict. Regardless of the truth of such claim of victimization of the Janjeweeds, it is necessary to reach out the Afro-Arab Darfurians so as they could feel secure in future peace settlements. Real or perceived ethnic insecurity in Darfur or to that matter in Sudan could disrupt meaningful and sustainable peace in the region.

Peacekeeping for Protection and Peace in Darfur - Requirements for the Success of the U.N./A.U. Hybrid Mission

From the ENOUGH Project

By Gayle Smith

June 27, 2007

Headlines this month are heralding the news that the Sudanese government has agreed — again — to the deployment of a U.N./A.U. hybrid peacekeeping mission for Darfur. However, the Khartoum regime's agreement is proving to be riddled with conditions and footnotes, and within days of agreeing to the mission, President Omer al-Bashir has publicly recanted his acceptance before audiences in Khartoum.

Sadly, this is nothing new. The Khartoum regime's record of implementing agreements is poor at best, and the international community has done little to challenge Khartoum's inaction.

This time, Khartoum's wavering agreement can be translated into good news for the people of Darfur -- if and only if the international community moves swiftly to: protect civilians in Darfur and the neighboring countries affected by the crisis; promote a serious peace process; and punish the perpetrators and those that would obstruct civilian protection or the peace. This strategy briefing will focus primarily on immediate protection requirements.

A. Protect the People

First, several critical factors will determine whether the proposed peacekeeping mission will achieve success and finally fulfill the international community's responsibility to protect civilians in Darfur. The Sudanese regime will likely balk at each step, but in each case, the international community must push back and ensure that the following six elements of the mission are fully addressed:

1. **MANDATE:** Civilian protection must be the objective of the deployment of forces to Darfur. The U.N. Security Council and the A.U. Peace and Security Council must authorize a robust Chapter VII mission mandated to protect civilians and humanitarian operations. Anything less will allow Khartoum to continue its assault on the people of Darfur, restrain the movement of relief workers, and give the rebels and the regime further license to escalate the conflict.

2. **MANAGEMENT:** The United Nations must be responsible for the command and control of the mission. In light of the complexity of forging a hybrid mission comprised of two very different institutions and the need for successful collaboration, the mission

should be under U.N. command and control, build on the experience of A.U. forces already on the ground, delineate clear responsibilities for both organizations, and include a transparent mechanism for the two to resolve disagreements that may arise in handling challenges to mandate implementation or mission operations.

3. **MANPOWER:** Troops should be drawn from throughout the world, not just Africa. Given that current plans call for a mission of 17,500 - 19,500 troops and nearly 4,000 civilian police at a time when the demand for peacekeepers worldwide is on the rise, Africa is running up against limitations on its capacity to supply new troops. Therefore, troops should be drawn from anywhere, not just Africa as the Sudanese have suggested. The international community must move now to identify troop and police contributing countries, and rapidly increase international peacekeeper training programs to ensure that sufficient personnel are available over time.

4. **MOBILITY:** The troops must be provided with the support necessary to undertake a mobile mission in the challenging terrain of Darfur. Moving a large and diverse force into theater as quickly as possible requires that the international community provide lift for the initial deployment as well as for rotations. Once on the ground, and because the size and terrain of Darfur require a nimble, mobile, and well-equipped force, the international community must ensure that troops are provided with interoperable equipment, ground facilities, sustenance, and logistical and air support.

5. **METHODOLOGY:** Civilian components of the mission should have equal priority to military elements. In addition to its military and logistical capabilities, the mission will require robust financial support for civilian and political capabilities, including support for human rights monitoring, local dispute resolution, community outreach, and the dissemination of news and information to the public. The need for a dexterous mission able to protect civilians and humanitarian operations also requires that the international community immediately establish systems and mechanisms to share intelligence with the force command on the ground.

6. **MONEY:** Donors must fully fund civilian protection in Darfur. Though its status as a U.N./A.U. hybrid means that the mission will be funded by assessed contributions to the United Nations, additional resources are required to sustain A.U. forces already on the ground, ensure a smooth transition to the U.N./A.U. hybrid force, and prepare for deployment. The international community must make these funds available immediately – particularly for barracks – in order to avoid any delays in deployment, and ensure that the hybrid is fully and realistically funded immediately upon authorization of the mission by the U.N. Security Council and A.U. Peace and Security Council.

Because the crisis has by now spread beyond Sudan's borders, the swift deployment of the full hybrid force to Darfur must be accompanied by simultaneous efforts to protect vulnerable civilians in eastern Chad, where as many as 150,000 civilians have fled attacks by Khartoum-backed armed groups and reprisals by Chadian-backed militias, and in the Central African Republic, where humanitarian agencies have limited access to tens of thousands of newly-displaced civilians in the northeast.

The international community must embark swiftly on a strategy for regional protection that includes pressing Chadian President Idriss Deby to deploy his military forces to protect vulnerable populations; reaching agreement at the U.N. Security Council on the size and mandate of a protection force in eastern Chad and northeastern CAR; and establishing and supporting a coordination mechanism between a force in Chad, the peacekeeping force in Darfur, and the small regional peacekeeping force already in CAR. Finally, it is time for the international community to work with the Chadian and Central African governments and diverse stakeholders in both countries to establish credible, internationally-supported political dialogue with armed opposition groups and civil society organizations.

B. Promote the Peace

The second element of a successful strategy is a robust effort to secure a viable, lasting peace agreement (see "An Axis of Peace"). In a letter transmitted to the president of the U.N. Security Council and summarizing the high-level consultations between the A.U., U.N., and government of Sudan in June, U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon notes that "the participants further agreed on the need for an immediate comprehensive ceasefire accompanied by an inclusive political process." This agreement is no less important than Khartoum's stated acceptance of the hybrid force, as unless and until a durable peace agreement is achieved the peacekeeping mission is destined to fail.

C. Punish the Perpetrators

Third, punishment must be on the table. The road to peace in Darfur is littered with broken promises, both because Khartoum has repeatedly agreed to but failed to act upon ceasefires, peace agreements, and expanded peacekeeping missions and because the international community has, in each case, failed to extract any cost for that defiance.

It is time to hold Khartoum to its word. If the regime balks at any of the key components of the mission – such as U.N. command-and-control or troop contributors – the Security Council should step up the pressure by passing a resolution authorizing targeted sanctions on senior regime officials (see "We Know Their Names") and the companies owned by the ruling party that help facilitate the regime's business. (See "A Plan B With Teeth For Darfur").

Time is not on the side of the people of Darfur, and Khartoum's latest promise is already wavering. But the international community is being handed an opportunity to muster the resources, diplomacy, and political will that can combine to make real our responsibility to protect the people of Darfur. It is ours to decide whether the will of the international community will prevail.

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Lesson Plan:

Hope for Darfur Graphic Organizer

Goal:

This activity will force the students to synthesize and organize the solutions proposed in the preceding section, thereby revealing what they don't know or understand, clarifying and simplifying the information, and cementing it in their memory.

Directions:

Each student, either as homework or in a small-group as a class activity, will fill out a copy of the following chart with the information they have learned from reading the previous section. Once they have completed the graphic organizer, have the class discuss and compare their answers to fill in gaps and to allow them to express not only their understanding of the different proposals but also the opinions and conclusions they have reached. Guide the discussion so that the students cover not only the basic information but also their beliefs about what solutions would be most effective, least effective, how solutions might be implemented simultaneously for maximum effectiveness, etc.

Categorize the Solutions

Now that you've read about solutions for the genocide in Darfur, separate them into the following categories.

Short-Term Solutions	Long-Term Solutions

Lesson Plan:

You Be the Diplomat:

Mock Peace Negotiations

Goal:

During this exercise, students will synthesize the information they have learned about Darfur into educated, realistic peace proposals. Through the challenges of debating and compromising with their peers, they will gain some grasp of how complicated and volatile negotiations are and begin to understand the difficulty of creating peace when so many parties are involved.

Directions:

Give each student a copy of the following worksheet and assign him or her a role. If you have more students than there are roles, assign the same role to multiple people. If you have fewer students than there are roles, make sure that each country or organization is represented and that as many roles as possible are assigned. Once the students come to the negotiating table and each international body has presented its point of view and proposal (without interruption), let the discussion flow as freely as possible, making certain the kids stay polite, reasonable, realistic, and on topic. The length of the negotiations is up to you - give students however much time you feel is appropriate while still allowing the discussion to run its course. Push them to really resolve the conflict as best they can. At the end of the discussion, the students not at the negotiating table will evaluate the agreement reached and decide how realistic and feasible the plan is.

Worksheet

The negotiations are a vital but unpredictable stage of the peace process. Each negotiating party comes to the table with its own set of demands, which often directly contradict and prohibit the plans created by the other parties. To successfully reach a peace agreement, all parties involved must be willing to listen and to compromise, requirements that often set the stage for delays and even outright failure.

You will each be assigned a role from the list of leaders and diplomats below, and there may be more than one person assigned to each role. You will have fifteen minutes to meet with the other people representing your country or organization to decide what your strategy and proposal will be during the negotiations. Be sure that your plan reflects the attitude and needs of the person you are portraying and his or her political body.

When the fifteen minutes are up, each group will send one or two representatives to the negotiating table, and each group will present their position and plan. Once you know each group's proposal, debate, negotiate, and compromise with each other to reach an agreement to end the conflict in Darfur. The teacher will moderate and direct the discussions while the students not at the negotiating table observe and take notes on the negotiations.

The Roles:

Sudan:

- Omar al-Bashir (President of Sudan)
- Salva Kiir (President of Southern Sudan and leader of the SPLM)

Rebel Groups:

- JEM (Justice and Equality Movement)
- SLA (Sudan Liberation Army)
- Suleiman Jamous (former member of SLA and humanitarian coordinator for rebels)

African Union:

- Salim Ahmed Salim (AU Special Envoy to Darfur)
- Alpha Oumar Konare (Chairman of African Commission)

United Nations:

- Ban Ki-Moon (UN Secretary General)
- Jan Eliasson (UN Special Envoy to Darfur)

France:

- Bernard Kouchner (France's Minister of Foreign Affairs)
- Nicolas Sarkozy (President of France)

U.S.A.:

- George W. Bush (President of the United States)
- Condoleezza Rice (US Secretary of State)

China:

- Hu Jintao (President of China)
- Liu Guijin (China's Special Envoy to Darfur)

VII. Acting for Darfur



(Photo Courtesy of the Save Darfur Coalition)

Now you know the facts, the statistics, and the situation. You can name the President of Sudan and list the countries most involved in the conflict. You *care* about the people being slaughtered and are ready to do your part to stop the killing. But one question lingers - What can I do, a student thousands upon thousands of miles away from Darfur, what can *I* do?

The answer? A lot.

And not just about Darfur. You, just by caring, have empowered yourself to become a force for change whenever and wherever you encounter a situation you feel needs to be remedied, whether it is in your classroom, your community, or half a world away.

A. Educate Yourself

- The Importance of Being Informed
- News and current events resources

B. Make Yourself Heard

- Raising Awareness and Directing Your Energy
- Tips for Writing to Politicians and Leaders
 - How to format the letter
 - How to address the recipient
 - Tone
- Darfur talking points

C. Take Action

- Organizing your community
- “Stroll for Sudan”
- Making your passion productive

D. Resources

“Do all the good you can, by all the means you can, in all the ways you can, in all the places you can, at all the times you can, to all the people you can, as long as ever you can.”
-John Wesley

Educate Yourself

“We in America do not have government by the majority. We have government by the majority who participate.” –Thomas Jefferson

The Importance of Being Informed

In just about every U.S. history class, at least one day is dedicated to the amazing responsibility that citizens of democracy bear - the responsibility to *participate*. And that lesson almost always ends with the same important message: there is more to being an active citizen than just participating. Blind participation, voting once a year or once every four years, is not enough. The true responsibility of those who live in a democracy is to take part in their world *daily*, to know and understand their world, on a local, national, and international level, accurately and fully. It's a tall order, and the majority of citizens cannot fulfill it, but great importance also lies in the effort.

Thomas Jefferson's quote applies to more than just America or American citizens. It applies to anyone in any nation who considers himself or herself global citizen and who believes in the power of an individual. After reading all these articles on the crisis in Darfur, several of which highlight how little attention these atrocities are receiving on both an international and a personal level, you have seen that major events and important occurrences can happen under the radar and without a spotlight. It is up to you to search out the information and resources that will help you stay informed, and by being educated, help you act effectively and intelligently to change the world around you.

Staying informed is key not just because you will one day be able to vote. If you are going to be a voice for change and compassion, you need to know what you are talking about. Fully comprehending the issues gives your voice authority and weight when calling for change. Understanding gives you power and ensures that you will not be persuaded or fooled by biased or bombastic arguments.

But where to start? Here are websites, magazines, newspapers, and blogs we find especially enlightening and helpful in our efforts to understand both the situation in Darfur and to remain educated about current events on a local, global, and international scale.

Online Newspapers and Magazines:

-*The New York Times*

-Available in print or online at <<http://www.nytimes.com>>.

-*The Washington Post*

- Available in print or online at <<http://www.washingtonpost.com>>.

- The International Herald Tribune*
 - Available in print or online at <<http://www.ihb.com>>.
- *The Economist*
 - Available in print or online at <<http://www.economist.com>>.
- The Christian Science Monitor*
 - Available at <<http://www.csmonitor.com>>.
- The Financial Times*
 - Available at <<http://www.ft.com>>.

Online News Aggregators:

- Reuters
 - Available at <<http://www.reuters.com/news>>.
- Agence France Presse
 - Available at <<http://www.afp.com>>.
- BBC News Online
 - Available at <<http://www.news.bbc.co.uk>>.
- Google News
 - Available at <<http://www.google.news.com>>.

There are, of course, hundreds if not thousands of other accurate and informative news sources available both in print and online. These are just a few of the ones we have used to compile this curriculum guide and for our own general knowledge. So, explore!

Make Yourself Heard:

Raising Awareness and Directing Your Energy

Spread the news

When it comes to crises like the ethnic cleansing in Darfur, it's just not possible to make too much noise or share too much information. In fact, the more people who know what is going on and truly grasp the situation, the more likely it is that change will actually occur. So talk to people. Talk to your parents about what you saw on the news and get them to watch the news with you. Tell your friends about what you read in the newspaper and ask them to tell *their* parents. Talk with your teachers about the article you saw online and ask them about other resources they might know. The classic ad campaigns that talk about "telling five of your friends who tell five of their friends who tell..." are still popular because they *work*. But remember, being knowledgeable and sharing the information isn't enough if you don't follow through with action.



(Photo Courtesy of the Nottinghamshire Chamber)

Spreading the news is about more than telling your friends and family about everything you've learned - it's also about reaching out to the community and making your opinion heard as well. Think big. Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper expressing your concern that they aren't giving enough coverage to a certain issue or thanking them for their articles on a controversial or important topic. Lots of television news stations have online forums or "Contact Us" sections where you can discuss current events and share your opinion.

Write to your leaders

If people don't know you're dissatisfied, they can't know to fix it. This is an important point to remember about being an activist for change because if politicians don't hear from their constituents, they can't know what their constituents want. Therefore, when you want the government to support a certain cause or take action on an issue, you need to let them know that. By writing them a letter or sending them an email asking them to help your cause or vote a certain way on legislation, you are making your voice heard as a force for change and exercising your right to accurate representation from your elected official. Don't think your one voice can't make a difference - it can. If enough people speak out on an issue and politicians hear enough from their constituents, then change can occur. In the case of Darfur, pressure put on elected officials by activists and citizens has already spurred action in Congress and by our president. By writing to your leaders and asking them to support divestment legislation, to authorize sanctions against the government of Sudan, or to support the UN in its efforts to bring peace to the region, you add your voice to those already calling for change. And remember, you can (and should) write to your politicians to thank them when they support the issues you feel strongly about - they need to know when they are doing a good job too.

Make Yourself Heard:

Tips for Writing to Politicians and Leaders

Tone

The single most important part of writing a letter to a politician or leader is respect. Being respectful and reasonable in your argument is the only way to make the recipient listen. Angry, aggressive letters get tossed aside as the ranting of radicals and lunatics, so while you might have the urge to let your congressman know exactly what you think of him and his last major policy decision, don't give in to it! Instead, take a moment to calm down, and very politely but very clearly outline why you feel Congressman So-and-So should have voted the other way or supported a different version of the bill. Use statements that express *your* reaction to his choice. Instead of saying "You are an idiot for doing ...," write "I was very disappointed that you did..." which lets the recipient know that you are not happy without attacking him or her as a person.

In addition to being respectful, it is important to sound mature when writing a letter to an important person. Avoid being silly or using exclamations that could be seen as casual or slang, such as "great" or "awesome." While it is great that your senator supports a particular cause, expressing yourself clearly and saying not only thank you but why you appreciate their support and that you hope it will continue reinforces their position more than a silly or over-excited letter does. Student-run activist organizations often hold their letter-writing campaigns outside school-buildings like cafeterias because they know there will be a lot of traffic in and out of these locations. While it might seem funny at the moment, when you are with friends on your way to class or to lunch, to be a little flip and goofy in your letter, in the end, it hurts the campaign because politicians and leaders stop taking student activism seriously.

Basically, write a letter to a politician as clearly and courteously as you would to your teacher, boss, or grandparents. Be respectful, concise, polite, and use your own distinct voice to say what needs to be said.

Formatting the letter

When you write a letter to a politician or leader, be it the President or a local business leader, it's important to format the letter correctly and address the recipient appropriately. It might seem nitpicky, but properly formatting the letter not only shows that you are serious about what you are saying and that you mean business but also demonstrates your respect for the person to whom you are writing and for their position, which is key to getting them to listen to and respect you as well. This holds especially true if you are writing to ask someone to change her policies or to let him know that you do not agree with their actions or stance.

At the top of your letter, on the left hand side, write the date. Underneath, write the name, with the appropriate title, of the recipient, followed by their address (as you would on the front of an envelope). Then, include the salutation (Dear), and write your letter. Try to keep paragraphs short, clear, and very concise. Close the letter (Sincerely) and include your name, your address, and if you want, your phone number or email address.

Addressing the Recipient

Writing to:

The President: Above the address, both on the envelope and at the top of the letter, address the President as “President [Full Name].” Underneath the name, include “The White House” before the address. In the salutation, the President should be addressed as “Mr. President.”

Ex: President George W. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. President

A Senator: In the heading and on the envelope, address the senator as “The Honorable [Full Name].” Underneath, include “United States Senate” and then his or her address. In the salutation, address the senator as “Senator [Last Name].”

A Representative: In the heading and on the envelope, address the representative as “The Honorable [Full Name].” Underneath, include “United States House of Representatives” and then his or her address. In the salutation, address the representative as “Representative [Last Name].”

A Business Leader: In the heading and on the envelope, address him or her as “Mr. [Full Name]” or “Ms. [Full Name].” Underneath, include the recipient’s position with the company, then the company’s name, and then the address. In the salutation, address the recipient as “Mr. [Last Name]” or “Ms. [Last Name].”

Make Yourself Heard:

Darfur Talking Points

When you ask for the support or vote of a politician or business leader, being concise, direct, and on topic is very important. For a situation like Darfur, including a few brief background facts is never a bad idea, and knowing exactly what you want to ask of the recipient is very important. To make staying on topic and being clear and concise easier, here is a list of “talking points” on Darfur. Save Darfur recommends that you investigate on which committees your congressmen sit, so that you can best target their areas of power in your letter.

If your representative is on the:

Appropriations Committee, write to him or her about *Funding*
Financial Services Committee, write to him or her about *Divestment*
Foreign Affairs Committee, write to him or her about *China*

Background:

- Between 200,000 and 400,000 civilians have been killed in attacks by the government-backed militia, the *janjaweed*.
- Over 2.5 million residents of Darfur have been displaced, with many forced to flee to Chad.
- The humanitarian crisis is escalating as refugee camps in the area overflow and cross-border attacks by the *janjaweed* on Chadian villages increase.
- The government of Sudan, while they have agreed to the hybrid peacekeeping force, is once again being difficult and refusing to agree to the UN resolution that would authorize the force.

Talking Points:

- Encourage your congressmen and women to support funding for the UN/AU hybrid force. The 2007 budget fell far short of what was needed - don't let that happen in 2008.
- Ask your representatives and senators to support legislation that supports states' rights to divest from companies that do business with the government in Khartoum.
- Encourage Congress to continue to pressure China to take responsibility for its business with Sudan, especially oil and arms sales. China is in a position to exert great pressure on the Sudanese regime, but they won't do it without international pressure.

Take Action

As you have read, students are, in a big way, leading the campaign to stop the genocide in Darfur. Whether it's through letter-writing campaigns to Congress or raising money for humanitarian organizations, students have been at the forefront of almost every aspect of the fight to help Darfur.



(Photo Courtesy of International AIDS Society)

Make your passion productive

We are the most knowledgeable about that which we care the most, and we generally operate most comfortably when we can talk about something with which we are actually familiar. If you love sports, chances are you know a lot about famous athletes, epic games, and random trivia. If you're a movie buff, you can probably name just about every movie your favorite actors and actresses have been in. These passions and their accompanying knowledge can also help us connect with each other - a mutual love of reality TV or hiking

can turn an awkward encounter into a very enjoyable one. Well, when tackling a task as large and at times daunting as trying to aid the people of Darfur, why not at least start on familiar ground? Take what you know, what you love, and find a way to connect it to helping Darfur. Students across the nation have done exactly that. Charlotte students, and others across the country, have participated in events like "Dance for Darfur" or "Serve for the Cure," in an effort to raise money and awareness about issues important to them. Students have put on plays, had concerts, and made art exhibits all with the goal of raising money and awareness about the crisis in Sudan. And it doesn't just have to be a sport, an activity, or an art - it could just as easily be a community in which you are very comfortable. Students have used connections they already had or groups to which they already belonged to crusade for movements that mattered to them - school communities and clubs, youth groups, and neighborhoods are great places to begin your campaign to help Darfur. Use what you know and what you like.

Organize your community

There are a couple of approaches you can take when organizing to help Darfur. One option is to join a larger, pre-existing network, such as the Save Darfur Coalition or STAND: Students Taking Action Now: Darfur. When you register with these groups, they send you materials on how to get started, how best to organize your chapter, and

what campaigns they have already established. The Save Darfur Coalition even has different materials depending on whether your chapter is affiliated with your school, your place of worship, or your town. Previously established organizations generally also send updates, information on new campaigns or issues, and ideas for fundraising, educational, or activism events. If you want to just have a few events that you put together yourself, then talk to your family, your friends, your teachers, your faith leaders, and your neighbors about what you want to do, how they might want to be help, and how involved they want to be. Don't think you have to throw the event of the century, especially the very first time! Do what you feel like you can handle, stay organized, be realistic, and don't be afraid to ask for help - having a group of friends or family who are planning this with you is the most effective way to plan and execute successfully because the more brains and hands you have working with you the better.

VIII. Resources

We encourage you to make use of the following resources in several mediums for additional studies on Darfur and a variety of related topics.

Recommended Websites:

All Africa

<<http://allafrica.com>>.

Darfur Daily News

<<http://darfurdaily.blogspot.com>>.

Darfur Diaries

<<http://darfurdiaries.org>>.

Darfur Scorecard

<<http://darfurscores.org>>.

Eric Reeves's Blog

<<http://www.sudanreeves.org>>.

Eyes on Darfur

<<http://www.eyesondarfur.org>>.

Human Rights Watch

<<http://www.hrw.org>>.

Judgment on Genocide: International Citizens Tribunal for Sudan:

<<http://www.judgementongenocide.org>>.

Passion of the Present

<<http://passionofthepresent.com>>.

Sudan Watch

<<http://sudanwatch.blogspot.com>>.

The Sudan Tribune

<<http://sudantribune.com>>.

United Nations: Sudan Information Gateway

<<http://www.unsudanig.org>>.

Suggested Reading:

Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide

By Gerard Prunier

Cornell University Press, February 2007

Darfur Diaries: Stories of Survival

By Jen Marlowe, Aisha Bain, and Adam Shapiro

Nation Books, October 4, 2006

The Devil Came on Horseback

By Brian Steidle and Gretchen Steidle Wallace

Public Affairs Publishing, March 26, 2007

A Long Day's Dying: Critical Moments in the Darfur Genocide

By Eric Reeves

The Key Publishing House, May 7, 2007

Not On Our Watch: The Mission to End Genocide in Darfur and Beyond

By Don Cheadle and John Prendergast

Hyperion Publishing, May 1, 2007

A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide

By Samantha Power

Basic Books, 2002

The Short History of a Long War

By Julie Flint and Alex de Waal

Zed Books, March 3, 2006

They Poured Fire on us from the Sky

By Benson Deng, Alephonsion Deng, Benjamin Ajak with Judy Bernstein

Public Affairs, 2005

Three Cups of Tea

By Greg Mortensen and David Oliver Relin

Penguin Group, 2006

A Thousand Splendid Suns

By Khaled Hosseini

Penguin Group, 2007

Thunder from the East: Portrait of a Rising Asia

By Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl Wudunn

Vintage Books, 2000

Voices of Sudan

By David Johnson
Elevate, 2007

War in Darfur and the Search for Peace

By Julie Flint, Alex de Waal, Ali Hagggar, *et al.*
Global Equity Initiative, Harvard University, July 15, 2007

We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families

By Philip Gourevitch
Picador, 1998

Organizations

Amnesty International

<<http://www.amnesty.org>>.

Doctors Without Borders

<<http://doctorswithoutborders.org>>.

The ENOUGH Project

<<http://www.enoughproject.org>>.

International Committee of the Red Cross

<<http://www.icrc.org>>.

International Rescue Committee

<<http://www.theirc.org>>.

Not On Our Watch

<<http://www.notonourwatchproject.org>>.

Oxfam International

<<http://www.oxfam.org>>.

Partners in Health

<<http://www.pih.org/home.html>>.

Persecution Project Foundation

<<http://persecutionproject.org>>.

The Save Darfur Coalition

<<http://www.savedarfur.org>>.

STAND - A Student Anti-Genocide Coalition

<<http://www.standnow.org>>.

Student Movement for Real Change
<<http://www.studentmovementusa.org>>.

S.U.D.A.N.: Students United 4 Darfur Awareness Now (UNC Chapel Hill)
<<http://www.unc.edu/sudan/events.htm>>.

Films

60 Minutes - Hiding from Death
CBS, December 3, 2006

60 Minutes - Searching for Jacob
CBS, October 22, 2006

Darfur Diaries: Messages from Home
Cinema Libre, October 17, 2006

The Devil Came on Horseback
New Video Group, October 30, 2007

Ghosts of Rwanda
PBS Paramount, May 10, 2005

God Grew Tired of Us
Sony Pictures, August 14, 2007

Hotel Rwanda
MGM, April 12, 2005

A Journey to Darfur, 2007
The Nostalgia Network, Inc., July 17, 2007

Judgment on Genocide
International Campaign for Justice in Sudan, 2006

Lost Boys of Sudan
New Video Group, November 2, 2004

Sand and Sorrow
HBO Documentary Films, December 2007

The Sudan
ABC News Nightline, June 4, 2007

IX. Supplemental Materials



IDP women queue for food in al-Junaynah, Western Darfur, July 2004. Source © Claire McEvoy/IRIN

The following chapters are designed for further in-depth studies on topics related to the situation in Darfur: genocide and nation-building.

- A. Defining Genocide
- B. Nation-Building

A. Defining Genocide



Genocide and its horrors are nothing new, though the world remains equally shocked each time another massacre occurs. Although genocide and other human rights atrocities receive more coverage than they used to, the world often remains disturbingly passive and inactive when confronted with the complex circumstances that spark conflicts and that can lead to genocide.

- A. Genocide in Your Own Words: How do you define genocide?
- B. Definitions of Genocide
 - Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
 - The 8 Stages of Genocide
- C. Rwanda
 - The Rwandan Genocide
 - Rwanda: 10 Years Later, Genocide Survivor Reflects On 'Collective Madness'
 - Study Questions
- D. Genocide in Your Own Words: Redefined?

“Thus for the time being I have sent to the East only my 'Death's Head Units' with the orders to kill without pity or mercy all men, women, and children of Polish race or language. Only in such a way will we win the vital space that we need. Who still talks nowadays about the Armenians?”

- Adolf Hitler, August 22, 1939

Genocide in Your Own Words:

How do **YOU** define genocide?

Before you begin reading this section and its definitions and histories of genocides in Africa and elsewhere, take a moment to jot down

- what you think of when you hear the term “genocide.”
- what you have already learned about genocide.
- what you know about world responses to instances of genocide.
- what you feel is the best action to take in the face of genocide.

When you’re done, create your own definition of genocide based on what you wrote down.

genocide-

Compare your responses and definitions with your classmates. After the discussion, think about whether your definition has changed? How? Why?

Definitions of Genocide

The term "genocide" was coined by Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959), a Polish-Jewish legal scholar, in 1944, from the roots γένος, *genos* (Greek for family, tribe or race) and *-cide* (Latin - *occidere* - to massacre) in the context of the Jewish Holocaust. Lemkin's genocide definition was based mainly on the Holocaust and Armenian genocide. It addressed crimes against "national, racial or religious groups". His definition included not only physical genocide but also acts aimed at destroying the culture and livelihood of the group. (From Wikipedia)

The UN Definition: any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, such as:

- a. Killing members of the group.
- b. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group.
- c. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.
- d. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.
- e. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The *American Heritage Dictionary* Definition: The systematic and planned extermination of an entire national, racial, political, or ethnic group.

The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies Definition (Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn): "Genocide is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator." (From Wikipedia)

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

*Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948.
From Human Rights Web*

Article 1

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article 2

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article 3

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

Article 4

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article 5

The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.

Article 6

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

Article 7

Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

Article 8

Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.

Article 9

Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

Article 10

The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

Article 11

The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid.

Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 12

Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

Article 13

On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a process-verbal and transmit a copy of it to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in Article 11.

The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 14

The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 15

If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

Article 16

A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

Article 17

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in Article 11 of the following:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with Article 11;
- (b) Notifications received in accordance with Article 12;
- (c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with Article 13;
- (d) Denunciations received in accordance with Article 14;
- (e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with Article 15;
- (f) Notifications received in accordance with Article 16.

Article 18

The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in Article 11.

Article 19

The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

The 8 Stages of Genocide

From Genocide Watch

By Gregory H. Stanton

1996 - Originally presented as a briefing paper at US State Department

Classification, Symbolization, Dehumanization, Organization Polarization, Preparation, Extermination, Denial

Genocide is a process that develops in eight stages that are predictable but not inexorable. At each stage, preventive measures can stop it. The later stages must be preceded by the earlier stages, though earlier stages continue to operate throughout the process.

1. **CLASSIFICATION:** All cultures have categories to distinguish people into “us and them” by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality: German and Jew, Hutu and Tutsi. Bipolar societies that lack mixed categories, such as Rwanda and Burundi, are the most likely to have genocide. The main preventive measure at this early stage is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend ethnic or racial divisions, that actively promote tolerance and understanding, and that promote classifications that transcend the divisions. The Catholic Church could have played this role in Rwanda, had it not been riven by the same ethnic cleavages as Rwandan society. Promotion of a common language in countries like Tanzania has also promoted transcendent national identity. This search for common ground is vital to early prevention of genocide.

2. **SYMBOLIZATION:** We give names or other symbols to the classifications. We name people “Jews” or “Gypsies”, or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply the symbols to members of groups. Classification and symbolization are universally human and do not necessarily result in genocide unless they lead to the next stage, dehumanization. When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of pariah groups: the yellow star for Jews under Nazi rule, the blue scarf for people from the Eastern Zone in Khmer Rouge Cambodia. To combat symbolization, hate symbols can be legally forbidden (swastikas) as can hate speech. Group marking like gang clothing or tribal scarring can be outlawed, as well. The problem is that legal limitations will fail if unsupported by popular cultural enforcement. Though Hutu and Tutsi were forbidden words in Burundi until the 1980’s, code-words replaced them. If widely supported, however, denial of symbolization can be powerful, as it was in Bulgaria, where the government refused to supply enough yellow badges and at least eighty percent of Jews did not wear them, depriving the yellow star of its significance as a Nazi symbol for Jews.

3. **DEHUMANIZATION:** One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases. Dehumanization overcomes the normal human revulsion against murder. At this stage, hate propaganda in print and on hate radios is used to vilify the victim group. In combating this

dehumanization, incitement to genocide should not be confused with protected speech. Genocidal societies lack constitutional protection for countervailing speech, and should be treated differently than democracies. Local and international leaders should condemn the use of hate speech and make it culturally unacceptable. Leaders who incite genocide should be banned from international travel and have their foreign finances frozen. Hate radio stations should be shut down, and hate propaganda banned. Hate crimes and atrocities should be promptly punished.

4. **ORGANIZATION:** Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, often using militias to provide deniability of state responsibility (the Janjaweed in Darfur). Sometimes organization is informal (Hindu mobs led by local RSS militants) or decentralized (terrorist groups). Special army units or militias are often trained and armed. Plans are made for genocidal killings. To combat this stage, membership in these militias should be outlawed. Their leaders should be denied visas for foreign travel. The U.N. should impose arms embargoes on governments and citizens of countries involved in genocidal massacres, and create commissions to investigate violations, as was done in post-genocide Rwanda.

5. **POLARIZATION:** Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the center. Moderates from the perpetrators' own group are most able to stop genocide, so are the first to be arrested and killed. Prevention may mean security protection for moderate leaders or assistance to human rights groups. Assets of extremists may be seized, and visas for international travel denied to them. Coups d'état by extremists should be opposed by international sanctions.

6. **PREPARATION:** Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists are drawn up. Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. Their property is expropriated. They are often segregated into ghettos, deported into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved. At this stage, a Genocide Emergency must be declared. If the political will of the great powers, regional alliances, or the U.N. Security Council can be mobilized, armed international intervention should be prepared, or heavy assistance provided to the victim group to prepare for its self-defense. Otherwise, at least humanitarian assistance should be organized by the U.N. and private relief groups for the inevitable tide of refugees to come.

7. **EXTERMINATION** begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called "genocide." It is "extermination" to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human. When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing. Sometimes the genocide results in revenge killings by groups against each other, creating the downward whirlpool-like cycle of bilateral genocide (as in Burundi). At this stage, only rapid and overwhelming armed intervention can stop genocide. Real safe areas or refugee escape corridors should be established with heavily armed international protection. (An unsafe "safe" area is worse than none at all.) The

U.N. Standing High Readiness Brigade, EU Rapid Response Force, or regional forces -- should be authorized to act by the U.N. Security Council if the genocide is small. For larger interventions, a multilateral force authorized by the U.N. should intervene. If the U.N. is paralyzed, regional alliances must act. It is time to recognize that the international responsibility to protect transcends the narrow interests of individual nation states. If strong nations will not provide troops to intervene directly, they should provide the airlift, equipment, and financial means necessary for regional states to intervene.

8. **DENIAL** is the eighth stage that always follows a genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves, burn the bodies, try to cover up the evidence and intimidate the witnesses. They deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims. They block investigations of the crimes, and continue to govern until driven from power by force, when they flee into exile. There they remain with impunity, like Pol Pot or Idi Amin, unless they are captured and a tribunal is established to try them. The response to denial is punishment by an international tribunal or national courts. There the evidence can be heard, and the perpetrators punished. Tribunals like the Yugoslav or Rwanda Tribunals, or an international tribunal to try the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, or an International Criminal Court may not deter the worst genocidal killers. But with the political will to arrest and prosecute them, some may be brought to justice.

The Rwandan Genocide

History of Violence

Ethnic tension in Rwanda was nothing new. There had been always been disagreements between the majority Hutus and minority Tutsis, but the animosity between them grew substantially after the colonial period.

The two ethnic groups are actually very similar; they speak the same language, inhabit the same areas and follow the same traditions.

But when the Belgian colonists arrived in 1916, they saw the two groups as distinct entities, and even produced identity cards classifying people according to their ethnicity.

The Belgians created a hierarchical system in which the Tutsis were considered superior to the Hutus because of subtle differences in physical features. Not surprisingly, the Tutsis welcomed this idea, and for the next 20 years they enjoyed better jobs and educational opportunities than their neighbors.



This woman, abused by the interhamwe, is permanently scarred. (Photo courtesy of CNN international)

Resentment among the Hutus gradually built up, culminating in a series of riots in 1959. More than 20,000 Tutsis were killed, and many more fled to the neighboring countries of Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda.

When Belgium relinquished power and granted Rwanda independence in 1962, the Hutus took their place. Over subsequent decades, the Tutsis were portrayed as the scapegoats for every crisis.

From: BBC News

Building Up to Genocide

President Juvenal Habyarimana, nearing the end of two decades in power, was losing popularity among Rwandans when the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) attacked from Uganda on October 1, 1990. At first Habyarimana did not see the rebels as a serious threat; however, the president and his close colleagues decided to exaggerate the RPF threat as a way to pull dissident Hutu back to his side. As a result, they began portraying Tutsi inside Rwanda as RPF collaborators.

In the campaign to create hatred and fear of the Tutsi, the Habyarimana circle played upon memories of past domination by the minority and on the legacy of the revolution

that overthrew their rule and drove many into exile in 1959. However, shattering bonds between Hutu and Tutsi was not easy. For centuries they had shared a single language, a common history, the same ideas and cultural practices. They lived next to one another, attended the same schools and churches, and worked in the same offices. Additionally, a considerable number of Rwandans were the offspring of Hutu-Tutsi marriages.

In mid-October 1990, Habyarimana and his supporters directed massacres of hundreds of Tutsi. They killed not only Tutsi, but also Hutu opponents that were their principal political challengers.

By early 1992, Habyarimana had begun providing military training to the youth of his party, who were thus transformed into the militia known as the *Interahamwe* (Those Who Stand Together or Those Who Attack Together). Massacres of Tutsi and other crimes by the Interahamwe went unpunished, as did some attacks by other groups, thus fostering a sense that violence for political ends was normal and acceptable.

Through attacks, virulent propaganda, and persistent political maneuvering, Habyarimana and his group significantly widened divisions between Hutu and Tutsi by the end of 1992. During 1993 a dramatic military advance by the RPF and a peace settlement favorable to them—which also stipulated that officials, including the president, could be prosecuted for past abuses—confronted Habyarimana and his supporters with the imminent loss of power.



The skulls of those slaughtered in the Rwandan Genocide (Photo Courtesy of BBC News)

Increasingly anxious about RPF ambitions, this growing group was attracted by the new radio Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) and by a movement called Hutu Power, which embodied the ethnic solidarity that Habyarimana had championed for three years.

In late October 1993, Tutsi soldiers in neighboring Burundi seized and murdered the Hutu president, freely and fairly elected only months before. The crime confirmed the fears of many Rwandan Hutu that Tutsi would not share power and swelled the numbers supporting Hutu Power.

Meanwhile the Habyarimana circle was preparing the organization and logistics to attack the minority.

Soldiers and political leaders distributed firearms to militia and other supporters of Habyarimana in 1993 and early 1994, but firearms were too costly to distribute to all participants in the “civilian self-defense” program. They advocated arming most of the young men with such weapons as machetes. Businessmen close to Habyarimana imported large numbers of machetes, enough to arm every third adult Hutu male.

Consequently, the RPF anticipated further conflict and they too recruited more supporters and troops and increased the number of their soldiers and firearms in Kigali. They understood the risk that renewed combat would pose to Tutsi, and warned foreign observers to this effect.

By late March 1994, Hutu Power leaders were determined to slaughter massive numbers of Tutsi and Hutu opposed to Habyarimana, both to rid themselves of these “accomplices” and to shatter the peace agreement.

From: Human Rights Watch Report

The Genocide

On April 6, the plane carrying President Habyarimana was shot down, a crime for which the responsibility has never been established. A small group of his close associates—who may or may not have been involved in killing him—decided to execute the planned extermination.

Soldiers and militia also began systematically slaughtering Tutsi. Within hours, military officers and administrators far from the capital dispatched soldiers and militia to kill Tutsi and Hutu political leaders in their local areas. After months of warnings, rumors and prior attacks, the violence struck panic among Rwandans and foreigners alike. The rapidity of the first killings gave the impression of large numbers of assailants, but in fact their impact resulted more from ruthlessness and organization than from great numbers.



Barirwanda, 10, rests near the family home. His family cannot afford to send him to school. (Photo Courtesy of the New York Times)

Soldiers and police officers encouraged ordinary citizens to take part. In some cases, Hutu civilians were forced to murder their Tutsi neighbors by military personnel.

Participants were often given incentives, such as money or food, and some were even told they could appropriate the land of the Tutsis they killed.

On the ground at least, the Rwandans were largely left alone by the international community. UN troops withdrew after the murder of 10 soldiers.

The day after Habyarimana's death, the RPF renewed their assault on government forces, and numerous attempts by the UN to negotiate a ceasefire came to nothing.

Aftermath

Finally, in July, the RPF captured Kigali. The government collapsed and the RPF declared a ceasefire.

As soon as it became apparent that the RPF was victorious, an estimated two million Hutus fled to Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo). These refugees include many who have since been implicated in the massacres.

Back in Rwanda, UN troops and aid workers then arrived to help maintain order and restore basic services.

On 19 July a new multi-ethnic government was formed, promising all refugees a safe return to Rwanda.

Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu, was inaugurated as president, while the majority of cabinet posts were assigned to RPF members.

But although the massacres are over, the legacy of the genocide continues, and the search for justice has been a long and arduous one.

About 500 people have been sentenced to death, and another 100,000 are still in prison.

But some of the ringleaders have managed to evade capture, and many who lost their loved ones are still waiting for justice.

From: BBC News

Rwanda: 10 Years Later, Genocide Survivor Reflects On 'Collective Madness'

From: The Radio Free Europe/Radio

Liberty Website

By: Robert McMahon

April 6, 2004



Rwanda's genocide erupted 10 years ago, with a savagery and thoroughness that shocked the international community. In just 100 days, an estimated 500,000 to 800,000 Tutsis were killed. The killing was particularly efficient in the remote western province of Kibuye, where 22-year-old Immaculee Ilibagiza lived with her Tutsi family. Now a UN employee in New York, Ilibagiza shares with RFE/RL's Robert McMahon a personal tale about the genocide.

Ten years later, Immaculee Ilibagiza has written about 100 pages of a book, still sorting out her thoughts about the nightmare.

There has not been enough time to describe it all -- her father's attempt to save thousands of Tutsis; three months hiding in a bathroom; her brother's final, tear-stained note.

"They will never find any [Tutsis] in the country. We will kill them, their brothers and sisters. We will kill, and they will never find anyone."

Ten years, Ilibagiza says, is not long enough to soften the memories of the "collective madness" of the Rwanda genocide. She has been away from Rwanda for six years, but in an interview with RFE/RL, Ilibagiza's thoughts roam quickly back to home in the lush province of Kibuye and the darkness that consumed it.

Ilibagiza betrays no bitterness at the events that claimed most of her family. Relaxing on a recent evening at the headquarters of the UN Development Program, where she now works, Ilibagiza stresses understanding and forgiveness: "I don't want just to hate somebody. I felt bad enough that I don't want just to hold this kind of bad feeling in my heart for long, if I can help it."

In the early spring of 1994, Ilibagiza was home on leave as a student from the country's national university. Signs of trouble with the Hutu majority had been mounting.

She recalls a dinner conversation in which her older brother, Damascene, implored her father to move the family away: "I can remember the last dinner we had in my family. We always had to sit together at night. I can remember every conversation we had. The teasing [my brother] was doing, where we were sitting when he was telling my father to go, when we were talking like we just don't want to upset him much. We just let it go, and we stayed and we ate. [I remember] every single thing. The radio I had in my hand,

the color of their clothes. You know, it's like just yesterday. And then when I look at myself. I'm like, I was just 22."

The next day, 6 April, a plane carrying Rwanda's Hutu president, Juvenal Habyarimana, was struck by missiles and crashed, killing all on board. A well-organized campaign by Hutu extremists against Tutsis soon followed.

Hutu anger was quickly evident along the dirt roads of Kibuye, Ilibagiza says, but there was still a belief that calm would prevail. Her father, Leonard, was the chief administrator of a Roman Catholic school and a figure of authority in the region.

As the crisis unfolded, Ilibagiza recalls her father, who had lived through two previous civil wars, expressing confidence that order could be restored: "Even that morning [after] the president died, we still thought that something is going to stop, [that] somehow it was going to stop somewhere. We were around Lake Kivu, a lake that goes to Zaire, to Congo. If we had taken it seriously, we should have left."

As word of reprisal killings spread in the days after the plane crash, the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) launched an offensive. Prior to the plane crash, the RPF had been scheduled to share power with the Hutu government. It quickly was demonized by Hutu-dominated media.

Ilibagiza says government ministers began to openly threaten Tutsis on state radio: "That time, I remember this minister talking on the radio. He's like, 'If RPF are coming, they will never find any [Tutsis] in the country. We will kill them, their brothers and sisters. We will kill, and they will never find anyone.' It was like a shock to me to hear somebody, a minister, saying [it]. I would never believe it if I did not hear it myself."

In the early days, hundreds of people crowded around the home of Ilibagiza's father, seeking guidance. He appealed in vain for help from local Hutu authorities. Hutu officials began summoning Tutsis out of their homes to gather in stadiums and churches, where they were eventually massacred.

Within days, access to Lake Kivu, an escape route to the Congo, was closed. Ilibagiza said her father finally became resigned to the situation. The family began to disperse: "When I'm quiet, I think he did the right job, not to run away from people who want help, who want his strength. I think he was brave, really. That's how I felt. But for the sake of my family, I wish -- but how would he know? -- I wish he had made a decision before to run away, you know, to take us away and we just go."

Her father arranged for her to hide in the home of a local Episcopal priest, an ethnic Hutu named Simeon Nzabahimana. Early on the morning of 11 April, Ilibagiza was taken to his home and told to hide in a bathroom, where she found seven other young women.

The bathroom -- two meters long by one meter wide -- was assumed to be a temporary shelter. The eight women would spend the next three months there.

Ilibagiza said Hutu gangs came repeatedly to search the house, carrying lists of names of Tutsis unaccounted for. Each time they feared discovery, but the gangs never attempted to enter the bathroom: "It's a feeling I can't explain. I remember dry [mouth]. I didn't even have saliva to swallow. It was something like all your body became paralyzed. You don't think anymore."

Ilibagiza, who is Catholic, said she began a dialogue with God. She prayed constantly, promising not to seek vengeance on Hutus if her life was spared. At the same time, she had a growing certainty that none of her family had survived: "I remember I dreamt about Jesus, and he was telling me, 'Well, when you come out, there will be no one in your life in your family. And I want you to know that, even if they took care of you, I can take care of you better, so I want you to trust me. I'd like you always to pray' -- and that was so real. It was a thing that was so real that I didn't doubt."

On 7 July 1994, after most of the killing had ended, Ilibagiza and the other women emerged from their bathroom hiding place. She began to piece together what had happened to her family.

Her father was shot by soldiers soon after she went into hiding. Her mother, Rose, was killed by machete. Her younger brother, Vianney, was among hundreds of Tutsis who had gathered in a local stadium in search of food and were executed.

She was given a letter written by her other brother, Damascene, shortly before he was killed while attempting to flee via Lake Kivu. It described the first nightmarish month of genocide. In ink blurred, she believes, by tears, his note vowed to search for her if he reached safety.

Ilibagiza also lost four grandparents and seven uncles. When it was over, an estimated 60,000 Tutsis -- 80 percent of the Tutsi population in the Kibuye region -- were dead.

Investigations into the genocide have sharply criticized the UN Security Council and the UN's peacekeeping department for their failure to intervene. Ilibagiza, now employed for nearly 10 years with the UN, hopes the organization has learned the lessons of Rwanda: "It's not easy for me to know or to judge the whole thing. But I am always hoping that they learn from their mistakes. So, it's not like they were part of it. They were negligent, that is how I think. They were negligent, and that is so bad. Even today, anything can happen if you are negligent to a problem."

Today, Ilibagiza works in a building across the street from UN headquarters and commutes each day from a Long Island suburb. She has two young children and is pregnant with her third.

Study Questions

- 1. What was the immediate cause of the conflict in Rwanda?**
- 2. How did the world respond to the genocide in Rwanda?**
- 3. What steps were taken to end the fighting in Rwanda? Were they long or short-term solutions?**

Genocide in Your Own Words: Redefined?

After reading this section, has your definition of genocide changed? How? Why or why not?

With which definition of genocide do you agree the most? Why? Would you change any of them? How?

Did you know about these instances of genocide before this reading? How?

What do you think of the world's response to the genocide in Rwanda? Was it adequate? Would you have acted differently? How?

B. Nation-Building



In 1999, through an IRC child tracing program, this 15 year old Rwandan boy was reunited with his mother after a 5-1/2 year separation. (Photo: IRC)

Anticipating political agreements to pave the way for the cessation of violence in Darfur, we must look ahead to the tremendous task of nation-building in Sudan. Only by rebuilding, promoting justice, encouraging reconciliation and the advancement of all groups as a unified entity will lasting peace be possible.

- A. U.S. Involvement in Nation-Building Before Iraq
- B. South Africans reconciled?
- C. Challenges and Accomplishments in Rwanda Since 1994
- D. Readyng for When Darfur Victims Get Their Day in Court

"Without forgiveness there can be no future for a relationship between individuals or within and between nations."

- Desmond Tutu, January 2000

U.S. Involvement in Nation-Building Before Iraq

Excerpted from the Constitutional Rights Foundation

The United States is currently involved in a major effort to bring democracy to Iraq. We have had mixed results in taking on nation-building since World War II.

After World War II, the United States helped rebuild the defeated nations of Germany and Japan into new democratic nations. The rebuilding took many years and cost billions of dollars. These efforts are the two great success stories in nation-building. They showed that democracies could be built in countries that had little experience with democracy. Other nation-building efforts, however, have a checkered history--with some successes and many failures.

Two recent reports have examined previous U.S. nation-building efforts in hopes of shedding light on what can be accomplished in Iraq. One is a book titled *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*. It was published in 2003 by the Rand Corporation, a highly respected U.S. think tank. A blurb on the back of the book has this statement from Ambassador L. Paul Bremmer, the U.S. civilian administrator of Iraq: "I have kept a copy handy for ready consultation since my arrival in Baghdad and recommend it to anyone who wishes to understand or engage in [nation-building activities]." The other report is a policy paper also published in 2003 titled "Lessons from the Past: The American Record on Nation Building." It was written by two researchers from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a non-profit organization founded in 1910 by philanthropist Andrew Carnegie.

The reports agree that not every U.S. military operation constitutes nation-building. They disagree, however, on the definition of "nation-building." The Carnegie report gives three criteria for nation-building. The U.S. intervention must:

1. Be for the purpose of changing the regime or propping it up.
2. Deploy large numbers of U.S. ground troops.
3. Involve U.S. troops and civilians in the political administration of the country.

If all three criteria are met, then it is a case of nation-building. The Carnegie report finds nine cases of nation-building since World War II. It evaluates the success of the nation-building based on whether democracy exists in the country 10 years after U.S. troops have left.

The Rand report offers a different definition of nation-building. It says that nation-building attempts to "bring about fundamental societal transformations." The report examines seven cases of nation-building since World War II that fit this definition.

Both reports consider the reconstruction efforts in Japan and Germany examples of nation-building at its best. The reports echo each other in calling nation-building in the two countries "unambiguous successes" that "set a standard" that "has not since been matched."



(Photo courtesy of Refugee International)

Germany

In May 1945, Nazi Germany unconditionally surrendered after a long and destructive war. The victorious American, British, French, and Soviet allies each occupied a zone in Germany and set up military governments.

In 1947, as Cold War tensions grew with the Soviet Union, the United States initiated the multi-billion dollar Marshall

Plan to rebuild and strengthen the democracies of Western Europe. The United States included the American, British, and French occupation zones of Germany in the Marshall Plan. Americans also took the lead in transforming Germany from a dictatorship to a democracy.

American nation-building in Germany included first outlawing the Nazi Party, firing all government officials, and disbanding the military. After such a devastating war, Germans had little will to resist the occupation. So by the end of 1946, the United States had reduced its occupation troops from 1.6 million to 200,000. The U.S. military trained a new German police force to take over most law-enforcement functions. But American occupation authorities were forced to bring back many former low and mid-level Nazi government officials because they possessed the needed expertise to run the country.

Germany had some experience with democracy before Hitler took power in 1933. Therefore, the American occupation government decided to hold local elections in 1946. But the first national elections in the combined American, British, and French zones did not take place until 1949.

The 1949 elections formed the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). But West Germany did not regain full sovereignty (supreme power) from the occupiers until 1955, 10 years after the occupation began. Since then, Germany has remained a strong democratic nation. (West and East Germany were unified in 1990 when the Cold War ended.)

[...]

Conclusions

Both reports make conclusions on what is needed for nation-building to be successful. Many of the conclusions can be grouped under the following four categories:

1. Security. Both reports agree that nothing can be achieved if the nation is not secure. People must feel safe to go out and conduct their lives. The Rand report stresses the importance of having a large number of troops on the ground. Kosovo, for example, had 20 troops for every 1,000 inhabitants. "The higher the proportion of troops relative to the resident population, the lower the number of casualties suffered and inflicted. Indeed, most of the post-conflict operations that were generously manned suffered no casualties at all."

2. The country's internal characteristics. The Carnegie report emphasizes four characteristics that aid nation-building efforts. First, it's better if the nation is united with a strong national identity. It hurts if the country is torn into factions (e.g., among ethnic groups). Second, nation-building requires local people to be available to take over most of the basic tasks of government. In both Germany and Japan, for example, most civil servants and bureaucrats remained on their jobs. The Carnegie report says that outsiders probably cannot train people to do these jobs and that if outsiders take over the jobs, they may soon be viewed with hostility. Third, it helps if the country is economically developed. The Carnegie report stresses "the difficulty of such efforts in *underdeveloped* countries." Fourth, it helps if the nation has had "periods of constitutional rule--characterized by the effective rule of law and binding limits on the government's power . . ."

3. Multilateralism. Both reports give examples of failures and successes when the United States acted alone or with other countries in nation-building efforts. So this factor alone, say the reports, is not decisive. Multilateralism can make decision-making more difficult. But it has several advantages. It can be far less expensive, because other nations also bear the costs. It can also confer greater legitimacy to the U.S. military intervention. And the Rand report notes that it's very important to get the support of neighboring countries in the nation-building effort. "It is exceptionally difficult to put together a fragmented nation if its neighbors are trying to pull it apart."

4. Level of effort. As the saying goes, "Rome wasn't built in a day." The same is true for democracy. The Rand report gives five years as the minimum amount of time for successful nation-building. It particularly stresses the importance of great effort. It states: "Many factors--such as prior democratic experience, level of economic development, and social homogeneity--can influence the ease or difficulty of nation-building, but the single most important controllable determinant seems to be the level of effort, as measured in troops, money, and time."

For Discussion and Writing

1. What is nation-building? Which definition of nation-building do you think is better--that of the Rand or Carnegie report? Why?
2. Germany and Japan are the standard by which other nation-building efforts are judged. What factors do you think were most important in ensuring the success in Germany and Japan? Why?
3. The article mentions several nation-building efforts that failed. What factors do you think led to their failure? Explain.

Is It Nation-Building?

The term "nation-building" is frequently in the news. As the article shows, its meaning varies. The Rand and Carnegie reports offer two different definitions. In small groups, do the following:

1. Read the **Situations** below.
2. For each, discuss and answer these questions:

Is it nation-building as defined by the Carnegie report? Why?

Is it nation-building as defined by the Rand report? Why?

Do you think it is a nation-building mission? Explain.

Do you think intervention is likely to bring a democracy to the country?
Why?

3. Prepare to report to the class your answers and the reasons for them.

Situations

A. A nearby small country has a long history of poverty and dictatorial rule. The latest dictator flees the country, and order collapses. People are rioting, buildings are on fire, and people are getting killed. The United Nations has authorized the United States to send troops to restore order and put a democratic government in place.

B. A large Muslim country in Asia has been run by dictators for decades. Its current leader seems intent on aiding the terrorist group Al Qaeda and may even try to transfer nuclear technology to it. As the crisis develops, the dictator further threatens the United States. The United States builds a multi-national force and invades to overthrow the dictator.

C. In South America, a country has a long history of ethnic violence. A civil war has erupted, and genocide is taking place. The Organization of American States has authorized the United States to intervene to stop the slaughter.

South Africans reconciled?

*From BBC NEWS
October 30, 1998*

The BBC's Greg Barrow in South Africa asks whether the Truth Commission has succeeded in what it set out to do:

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up to investigate political crimes during the apartheid era. Over more than two years, it has taken more than 20,000 statements from individual victims of human rights abuse, and received more than 7,000 applications for amnesty.



The aim of the commission and its chairman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was to promote reconciliation in South Africa's divided society through truth about its dark past.

Millions of South Africans, black and white, lined up to vote in the country's first truly democratic election in 1994. (Photo courtesy of the Guardian Unlimited and BBC News)

One of the Truth commissioners, Dr. Faizal Randera said: "If we cannot understand what made people think and do what they did these conflicts will arise again within our society."

In the turbulent final decade of South Africa's last white government, few sections of society were left untouched by violence.

De Klerk says sorry

Those at the centre of the conflict have been sought by the commission to explain their role in events that took the country to the brink of civil war.

Very few political leaders have come forward to apologise for the sins of the past. But South Africa's last apartheid president, FW de Klerk, was one.

"I and many other leading figures in our party have already publicly apologised for the pain and suffering caused by former policies of the National Party. I reiterate these apologies," he told the commission.

But as the commission was preparing to publish its report, Mr. de Klerk took court action to stop the report from implicating him in a series of bombings in the 1980s. He had been told the report would say he had evaded questions about whether he knew of plans to bomb the offices of organisations supporting the black liberation movement.

Apologies not enough

Many black South Africans have been left feeling that apologies are not enough.

Many are angry that the perpetrators of human rights abuse under South Africa's last white government can be granted amnesty if they make a full confession of their crimes. It has been an unprecedented experiment in trying to heal the wounds of the apartheid era, but after more than two years of hearings and investigations some people are asking how much reconciliation has been achieved by exposure of dark truth from South Africa's dark past.

Mathatha Tsedu, the political editor of South Africa's most popular black newspaper, The Sowetan, said: "Black people are the sufferers here ... they saw the TRC as a mechanism to try to deal with that pain.

"White people have so much to hide about what they have been doing all along and they saw the TRC as some kind of witch hunt and therefore didn't go," he said.

The trauma of the past

Much of the criticism of the commission stems from a basic misunderstanding about its mandate.

It was never meant to punish people, just to expose their role in crimes committed under apartheid.

It is in this respect that the achievements of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission stand out.

Only by revisiting the trauma of the past can people look to a better future - but with the truth comes pain and a reminder that reconciliation may still be a distant goal in the new South Africa.

Challenges and Accomplishments in Rwanda Since 1994

*Remarks by His Excellency Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda, at the University of Maryland, College Park
11 September 2000*

Dr. C. D. Mote, President of the University of Maryland,
Dr. Ernest Wilson, Director of the Center for International
Development and Conflict Management,
Excellencies,
Staff and Students,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is an honor to share with you some of our experiences and perspectives on Rwanda since the tragic events of 1994. When people think of Rwanda, their mental reference still revolves around the events of 1994, including displaced millions of people, orphans, widows, destroyed social and economic infrastructure, depleted human resources, and a generally hopeless situation. Given such a mindset, it was difficult to imagine that Rwanda would recover and continue to exist as a nation. Over the past six years, however, the Government of National Unity has made significant advances in addressing the challenges Rwanda faced. This progress is what I wish to share with you this afternoon.



Rwandan women debate challenges faced by widows, especially the problems of housing. (Photo courtesy of The Women's Commission)

Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

One of the most fundamental issues we have had to address is the question of national unity and reconciliation among Rwandan people. The original initiative in this regard was the forum that encouraged national dialogue on the different questions that have divided Rwandans in the past, and to seek durable solutions. The *Urugwiro* discussions, as they were known, brought together a cross section of Rwandans, including, Members of Parliament, civil society, professionals, academics, community elders, members of the executive, religious leaders, and others. This was followed by the setting up of a formal institutional mechanism to sustain and expand the national dialogue on unity and reconciliation. It was in this context that the Unity and Reconciliation Commission

(URC) was established in February 1999, to undertake this responsibility. The URC has quickly made its mark, principally by carrying out a nationwide dialogue at the grassroots' level. The first national unity and reconciliation summit under the auspices of the URC, involving participants from all walks of life across the country, is planned for October 2000. The recommendations of the summit are eagerly awaited by both Government and Rwandans. It is worthwhile to note that other efforts at unity and reconciliation have since sprung up, and gathered momentum, including community- and institutional-based initiatives. A case in point was the setting up of Center for Conflict Management at the National University of Rwanda. The Rwandan Centre has established an association -with the University of Maryland's Center for International Development and Conflict Management. We believe that all these national efforts will contribute to finding lasting solutions in regard to uniting and reconciling Rwandan people.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

As you are aware, the 1994 genocide seriously weakened Rwanda's social fabric. Thus, ensuring justice, strengthening the instruments of rule of law, and improving governance, are some of the priorities of national concern of my Government. One of the primary challenges in the realm of justice in Rwanda is to adjudicate the cases of more than 120,000 genocide suspects. In an effort to speed up trials, the Government of National Unity has decided to use traditional methods of justice to supplement the classical system. Gacaca, as this method is known, will allow local communities to participate in the judicial process of certain categories of suspects.

Distinguished Guests,

We recognized that the highly centralized nature of the pre-1994 political arrangements in Rwanda contributed a great deal to the Genocide and previous abuses. For this reason, and to ensure greater public efficiency and effectiveness, my Government is committed to creating decentralized governance structures that permit transparency, open dialogue, increased local participation, and a genuine transfer of power and decision-making processes from central to local levels. Transfer of responsibility will entail a gradual decentralization of administrative and financial systems, and decision-making processes. Overall, resources mobilization and allocation, will become realized through broad-based local participatory methods. Successful implementation of the decentralization initiative will require, however, considerable capacity building to strengthen both central and, more importantly, local level authorities.

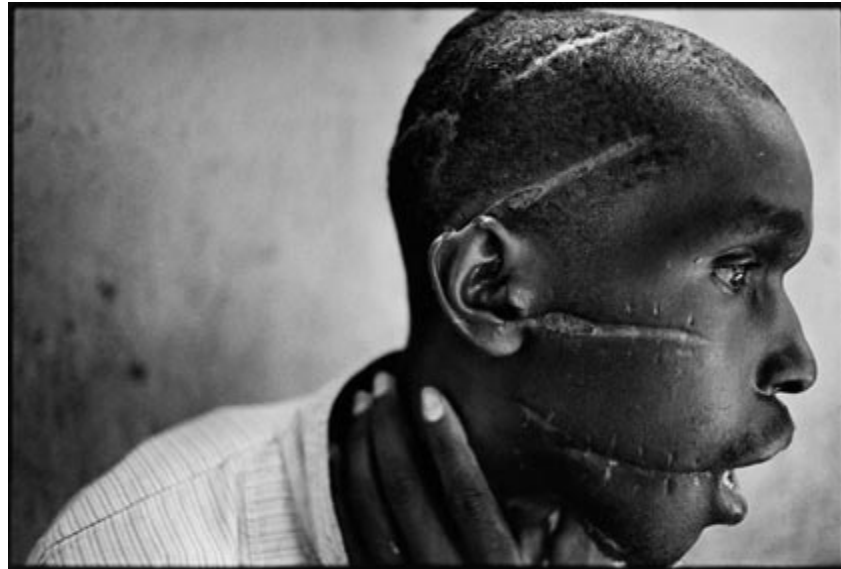
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Empowerment of Rwandans will, out of necessity and legacy, go hand in hand with the establishment of democratic institutions. What we have accomplished and plan to carry out further in this regard are as follows:

* Elections at the grassroots level, were held on 29th March 1999. The national response of over 90% electoral participation, was encouraging. As a result, we have decided to accelerate democratization and electoral processes to higher level of governance.

- * Elections at district levels will be held by the end of October or early November 2000.
- * Preparation of elections at higher levels is getting underway. The Constitutional Commission has been set up to engage Rwandans in matters on how our country should be governed. The new constitution that will be adopted through a referendum, will map out, among other things, how national elections will be conducted beyond the transition phase that ends in 2003.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
While the above mentioned, have been key policy goals in the transitional period, the Government recognizes that unless the standard of living of all Rwandans is improved, these objectives will remain elusive. Poverty reduction has therefore become the central theme of Government's economic and social policy. It is important to note that poverty worsened dramatically due to the genocide of



A Hutu man who did not support the genocide had been imprisoned in the concentration camp, starved and attacked with machetes. He managed to survive after he was freed and was placed in the care of the Red Cross. © James Nachtwey/Magnum

1994. The proportion of the households below the poverty line, estimated at 40% in 1985, and 53% in 1993, rose to 70% in 1997 and is currently estimated at 69%. Poverty remains largely a rural phenomenon, as over 90% of the population live in rural areas. However, the incidence of urban poverty has also increased. Currently, a consultative exercise involving the public sector, the private sector, civil society, and the donor community and other stakeholders is underway with the goal of elaborating the national strategy for poverty reduction.

Let me emphasize that poverty reduction can only occur in the context significant economic reforms. The Government has made significant progress on the economic front over the past six years. Overall, the Government is determined to take measures to stabilize public finances, accelerate structural measures to raise the competitive position of the economy, and improve social indicators. Our medium-term economic strategy is designed to accomplish the following among others:

- * Strengthen mobilization of public resources and management;
- * Maintain macro-economic stability conducive to private savings and investment;
- * Establish an institutional, legal and infrastructural framework that is supportive to private sector activity and external competitiveness;

- * Prioritize expenditures towards human resources development and skills formation with an emphasis on science and technology;
- * Promote and modernize the agricultural sector.

We have since 1995 made strides in economic recovery and macroeconomic stability, as illustrated, for example, by a drop in inflation from 89% in 1995 to less than 4% currently. The GDP which had declined by almost 50% in 1994, increased by 8% in 1998, and 6% in 1999. These accomplishments have been possible due to, among other things, cooperation between my country and international development partners.

Mr. President,

Rwanda's progress since 1994 in the domains previously highlighted, has been predicated on a safe and secure environment for our citizens. Ensuring security for Rwandan people and their property, has been a fundamental concern of my Government. Our actions in this regard have led to normalization and the return of peace to Rwanda. However, the regional environment remains the main cause for concern. Finding a lasting solution to the problems in the region requires concerted efforts by all actors both regional and international. We are prepared to make our contribution to the search for peace as we have always done.

Excellencies,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I cannot end my remarks without touching on the very important question of HIV/AIDS. If unchecked, the looming impact of HIV/AIDS represents the single most menacing threat to achieving meaningful improvements in human development in Rwanda. The incidence of HIV-positive cases has reached alarming levels of over 25% in urban areas, and around 11 percent in rural areas. While HIV/AIDS is, technically speaking a medical issue, the disease has far-reaching social and economic implications that cut across boundaries of age, sex, economic status, and habitat. The cross-cutting nature of HIV/AIDS means that its impact is felt greatly in national development in general. Currently, access to AIDS drugs, health care and home care by patients living with AIDS is still a major problem. The scale and magnitude of this pandemic requires strong leadership and cooperation at national, regional and international levels.

Mr. President,
Excellencies,
Distinguished Guests,

These are some of the challenges my country has faced, and the measures we have undertaken to confront them in the past six years. We are convinced that -we are on the right course. I invite you to join us as partners in these endeavors.

I thank you.

Readying for when Darfur victims get day in court

*From the International Herald Tribune
By Eric Pfanner
Wednesday, June 6, 2007*

LONDON: Amid rising international horror at the bloodshed in Darfur, Sudanese lawyers are anticipating the day when victims of mass rape and torture could face the alleged perpetrators in tribunals like the International Criminal Court in The Hague.



Judge Lloyd Williams presides over a session of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda 2002 in Tanzania, where masterminds of the 1994 Rwandan genocide were tried. © Simon Maina/AFP/Getty Images

The court issued arrest warrants in April for two Sudanese men who are charged with planning and participating in alleged war crimes related to the unrest in Darfur, where more than 200,000 people have died and more than two million have been displaced by fighting between government-backed forces and rebels.

Sudan, dismissing the charges as politically motivated, has refused to turn over the suspects, one of whom, Ahmad Muhammad Harun, is Sudan's humanitarian affairs minister.

But participants in an unusual training program in London this week that brought together Sudanese lawyers and American and European legal experts, called on the International Criminal Court, the ICC, to step up its activities, saying it could provide hope to Sudanese people who no longer trust their government or its legal system to deliver justice.

"The situation in Darfur is absolutely appalling," said Hyat Musa Suliman, a lawyer and human rights advocate who counsels rape victims and others in refugee camps in northern Darfur. Speaking through an interpreter, she added, "I hope the procedures and trials of the ICC will bring back the confidence of the people in the justice system."

She is one of nine Sudanese lawyers who have traveled to London to take part in the weeklong training program, organized by the litigation section of the American Bar Association. Experts from the association, from nongovernmental organizations and from the International Criminal Court itself are explaining the complexities of the court.

Brad Brian, a Los Angeles lawyer who organized the course for the bar association, said the assistance was needed because the Sudanese had little experience with international legal affairs, let alone war crimes trials, which can be long and messy. In one of the

highest-profile cases in international courts, Slobodan Milosevic, the former president of Yugoslavia, died last year, before his four-year trial could be concluded.

Brian said the program was the first of its kind for the bar association, showing the extent to which concern about the situation in Darfur has permeated American society, even though the United States, like Sudan, has not joined the International Criminal Court.

"In war crimes cases, it's important to give victims a voice," said Brian, a partner at the firm of Munger, Tolles & Olson in Los Angeles.

Brian's involvement began in 2005, when he met Salih Mahmoud Osman, a Sudanese lawyer and human rights advocate. Brian's teenage daughter, Leslie, had taken an interest in Darfur, and went to hear Osman speak in Pasadena, California, where the Brians live.

Brian invited Osman to lunch, and asked him whether there was anything the bar association could do to help. The training program, financed largely with a \$183,000 grant from the MacArthur Foundation, was the result.

The faculty for the program consists of 13 legal professionals, including Terree Bowers, a former U.S. attorney in Los Angeles who worked with the prosecution at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in the 1990s; JoAnne Epps, a law professor and associate dean for academic affairs at Temple University; and a federal judge, Bernice Donald, of the U.S. District Court in western Tennessee.

The group has brought in outside speakers like Paolina Massidda, principal counsel in the office of public counsel for victims at the International Criminal Court at The Hague.

Massidda explained some of the nuances of that tribunal, noting that victims of crimes typically are allowed greater participation there than in other courts, where they often are permitted only to appear as witnesses. At the international court, victims can call for experts, witnesses or evidence, and can question the accused.

That means the Sudanese lawyers could play a significant role if Darfur-related cases make their way to The Hague, Brian said. While they are unlikely to serve as prosecutors at the court, they might represent victims of alleged crimes during any proceedings.

The Sudanese lawyers might also be called on to make the case for the International Criminal Court to hear any cases in the first place. One prerequisite for the court to take on a case is that national courts must be ruled out as a suitable venue first.

Osman said that in Sudan, this is all but obvious. He said he had been detained three times by Sudanese security forces, including once, in 2004, when he was held for seven months without charges, for working on behalf of victims of government persecution.

"The Sudanese judicial system is incompetent, incapable and unwilling to provide protection or compensation to the victims," he said.

THE ECHO FOUNDATION

Presents

Despair, Hope & Reconciliation

GUIDELINES

ART & PHOTOGRAPHY CONTEST

Through four years of atrocity in Darfur, we have had perpetual hope that out of the ashes of tragedy, peace will be forged. Using photography or two-dimensional art, create an image of peace in Darfur.

- WHAT:** Presented by The Echo Foundation, *Despair, Hope & Reconciliation* offers contests in two categories: **ART AND PHOTOGRAPHY**. Students are invited to respond to the above challenge in either medium.
- WHO:** The contest is open to all Charlotte area high school students, grades 9 – 12.
- WHEN:** Entry forms and submissions must be postmarked or received by The Echo Foundation at 1125 East Morehead Street, Suite 106, Charlotte, NC 28204, by **Wednesday, November 14, 2007**.
- HOW:** Entry forms may be downloaded at <http://www.echofoundation.org>, The Echo Foundation web site, or obtained at The Echo Foundation office. No student name should appear on the front of a submission and an entry form must accompany each entry.

PURCHASE AWARDS AND CATEGORIES: First (\$100), second (\$75) and third (\$50) prizes will be given in each of the two categories: Art and Photography. All other Art and Photography entries can be reclaimed following the contest's judging.

JUDGING AND RULES: Educators and professionals in the corresponding fields will serve on the judging panel. The panels reserve the right to not award a cash prize in a category if the submissions do not meet the qualifications for entry. 2-D original artwork and photography may not exceed 36" in height or width.

For more information contact:
The Echo Foundation at 704-347-3844, or email questions to
charlotteechoes@aol.com.

Please attach student photo here

THE ECHO FOUNDATION

Presents

Despair, Hope & Reconciliation

ART & PHOTOGRAPHY CONTEST: **OFFICIAL ENTRY FORM**

This completed and signed form must accompany each entry. Copies of this form are permissible.

*Two-dimensional Original Works of Art no larger than 36" x 36" will be accepted.
Photographs in Black & White or Color with no size limitations, will be accepted.*

Please Print or Type:

Full Name: _____ ☐ Male ☐ Female

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Phone: _____ Email: _____ School: _____

Current Class Status: ☐ Freshman ☐ Sophomore ☐ Junior ☐ Senior

I am submitting: ☐ Art ☐ Photography

Title of entry and brief description:

I give permission for my student's entry to be used in future publications and/or exhibits.

Parent/Guardian Signature

Date

**Entry form and submission must be postmarked or received by The Echo Foundation,
1125 E. Morehead Street, Suite 106, Charlotte, NC 28204, by Wednesday
November 14, 2007.**

For more information contact:

The Echo Foundation at 704-347-3844 or email questions charlotteechoes@aol.com.

THE ECHO FOUNDATION

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Despair, Hope & Reconciliation

GUIDELINES

ESSAY & POETRY CONTEST

Essay Prompt: *One of the most successful tactics for prompting change and intervention is for individuals to directly communicate with political leaders. Draft a letter to a political leader of your choosing. Explain why you are compelled to voice your concern for Darfur and make the case, using both facts and values, that more must be done to halt the violence in Sudan. Suggest some things that can be done.*

Poetry Prompt: *Write a poem about Darfur so powerful that, when it is read by citizens and world leaders alike, they will be compelled to take action and halt the violence in Darfur.*

WHAT: Presented by The Echo Foundation, *Despair, Hope & Reconciliation* offers writing contests in 2 categories: **ESSAY AND POETRY**. Students are invited to respond to the above challenge in either category.

WHO: The contest is open to all Charlotte area high school students, grades 9 – 12.

WHEN: Entry forms and submissions must be postmarked or received by The Echo Foundation at 1125 East Morehead Street, Suite 106, Charlotte, NC 28204, by **Wednesday, November 14, 2007**.

HOW: Entry forms may be downloaded at <http://www.echofoundation.org>, The Echo Foundation web site, or obtained at The Echo Foundation office. No student name should appear on the front of a submission and an entry form must accompany each entry.

PURCHASE AWARDS AND CATEGORIES: First (\$100), second (\$75) and third (\$50) prizes will be given in each of the two categories.

JUDGING AND RULES: Educators and professionals in the corresponding fields will serve on the judging panel. The panels reserve the right to not award a cash prize in a category if the submissions do not meet the qualifications for entry. All written entries must be typed (double-spaced). Word limit for essays is 1,500; poetry has no limit on length.

For more information contact: The Echo Foundation at 704-347-3844, or email questions to charlotteechoes@aol.com.

Please attach student photo here

THE ECHO FOUNDATION
Presents
Despair, Hope & Reconciliation

ESSAY AND POETRY CONTEST:
OFFICIAL ENTRY FORM

This completed and signed form must accompany each entry. Copies of this form are permissible.

Essays may be no more than 1,500 words, must be printed in size 12 font and double-spaced.

Please Print or Type:

Full Name: _____ ☐ Male ☐ Female

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Phone: _____ Email: _____ School: _____

Current Class Status: ☐ Freshman ☐ Sophomore ☐ Junior ☐ Senior

I am submitting: ☐ Essay ☐ Poetry

Title of entry and brief description:

I give permission for my student's essay entry to be used in future publications and/or exhibits.

Parent/Guardian Signature

Date

**Entry form and submission must be postmarked or received by The Echo Foundation,
1125 E. Morehead Street, Suite 106, Charlotte, NC 28204, by Wednesday,
November 14, 2007.**

For more information contact:

The Echo Foundation at 704-347-3844 or email questions to charlotteechoes@aol.com.

THE ECHO FOUNDATION

AN INTRODUCTION

On March 12, 1997, as the centerpiece of the community-wide, year-long, educational Elie Wiesel Project, internationally revered humanitarian and Nobel Laureate for Peace, Elie Wiesel spoke *Against Indifference* to over 23,000 students and adults. He was so inspired by this visit to Charlotte, that, as he left, he challenged the community to continue its focus on the critical issues of human dignity, justice and moral courage. He offered seed money and his wholehearted assistance in obtaining speakers and developing programs to address these issues. Thus The Echo Foundation was born, and with it its mission: *...to sponsor and facilitate those voices that speak of human dignity, justice and moral courage in a way that leads to positive action for humankind.* The mission is implemented by bringing speakers, exhibitions and performances to the Charlotte Region as catalysts for educational programs. For each project school-based curriculum materials that meet national and international standards are developed and made available free of charge to schoolteachers across the region.

Our goals are:

- A. Educating for compassion, justice and moral decision making;**
- B. Teaching understanding through fostering relationships founded in respect;**
- C. Facilitating opportunities to act against indifference on these issues.**

Our region has demonstrated a need and a desire to address issues of racial diversity, culture and the quality of human existence. The Echo Foundation brings together people from all corners of Charlotte-Mecklenburg to address these vital goals through student dialogues, teacher workshops, theatrical productions, lectures and more. The primary focus of all projects is humanity. The secondary focus is specific to the particular speaker, exhibition or performance. For example, the primary focus of The Elie Wiesel Project: *Against Indifference* was justice and world peace; the secondary focus of the Project was World War II and the Holocaust.

The Echo Foundation's recent and current projects include the production of the play, *The White Rose*; The Varian Fry Exhibition Project; The Harry Wu Project; *Living Together in the 21st Century*, with Jonathan Kozol; the Kerry Kennedy Cuomo Project: *For Human Rights*; The Wole Soyinka Project: *Truth, Memory and Reconciliation*; Syl Cheney-Coker Project: *Free to Write*; The Jeffrey Sachs Project: *Environment, Poverty and Healthcare on a Global Scale: What can one person do?*; *Considering Social Capital* with Henry Louis Gates, Jr.; Bernard Kouchner: *Compassion Without Borders*; *A Gathering of Nobel Laureates: Science for the 21st Century*; *ECHO RETURNS: Young Heroes of Hope*; and most recently our 10th Anniversary project, *A Decade Inspired by Elie Wiesel*.

The Echo Foundation is governed by an International Board of Advisors and a Charlotte Board of Trustees. Mr. Wiesel is an active Honorary Chairperson who continues to meet with Echo on a regular basis. To date, many outstanding professionals in the community have offered their services to The Foundation *pro bono*. The corporate, religious and educational communities have generously exhibited their support of Echo's mission and projects.

THE ECHO FOUNDATION

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