

HOTEL RWANDA, HOTEL DARFUR: Ending Violence and Death in Sudan



ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S CHURCH

NEW YORK, NY

APRIL 26, 2005



**ZAGHAWA/
JANJAWED**



Blocks Oil and Gas Concession Holders

1 (Unity)	Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company:
2 (Heglig)	Talisman Energy Inc. (Canada),
4 (Kaikang)	Petronas Carigali (Malaysia), Sudapet (Sudan) and China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC)
3 (Adar)	Gulf Petroleum Corporation (Qatar),
7 (Melut)	Sudapet (Sudan) and China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC)
5A	Lundin Oil AB/International Petroleum Corporation
5B	(IPC) (Sweden), Petronas Carigali (Malaysia), OMV Sudan Exploration GmbH (Austria) and Sudapet (Sudan)
5 (Central)	TotalFinaElf
6	China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC)

Block: Licensed Open Oct.30, 2002



Overview of Sudan and Darfur

- Geography: 2.376 million sq. km. – 25% the size of United States
 - Darfur: Size of France – 3 States: North, South, West
- Population: over 38 million; 6 million in Darfur
- Life Expectancy: 58 years
- Religions: 70% Sunni **Muslim**; 22% Indigenous Traditional; 8% Christian
- Ethnic Groups: 62% **Black African**; 29% Arab; 6% Bejan; 2% Foreigners
- Economy: 80% of Sudanese work in Agriculture; oil production equals 250,000 barrels/day; \$2 billion in oil revenue per year
 - Major Oil Players: **China**, Malaysia, India, **Russia**, other minor players
 - Gum Arabic: Coke; other companies

Prospects for Peace between North – South

- More than 21 years of civil war – southern Sudan completely devastated
 - *Over 2 million people died*
 - *Over 4 million people were forcibly displaced* within Sudan or fled to neighboring countries (refugees)
 - *Multiple factions in south, Government-backed militias*
- Naivasha Comprehensive Peace Accords: 4 Protocols dealing with:
 1. Peace/Security
 2. Autonomous (regional) governance and National Assembly/Government representation
 3. Revenue sharing from oil proceeds
 4. Right to Self-Determination after interim period of 6 years

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 5. Special arrangement for 3 Contested Areas: Abeyei, Nuba Mountains, Southern Blue Nile
 6. Shari'a Law Code and Status of Khartoum
- United Nations Peace-observing Mission to North/South: 10,715 strong, with mandate to monitor ceasefire violations and protect their own staff (UNSC#1590)

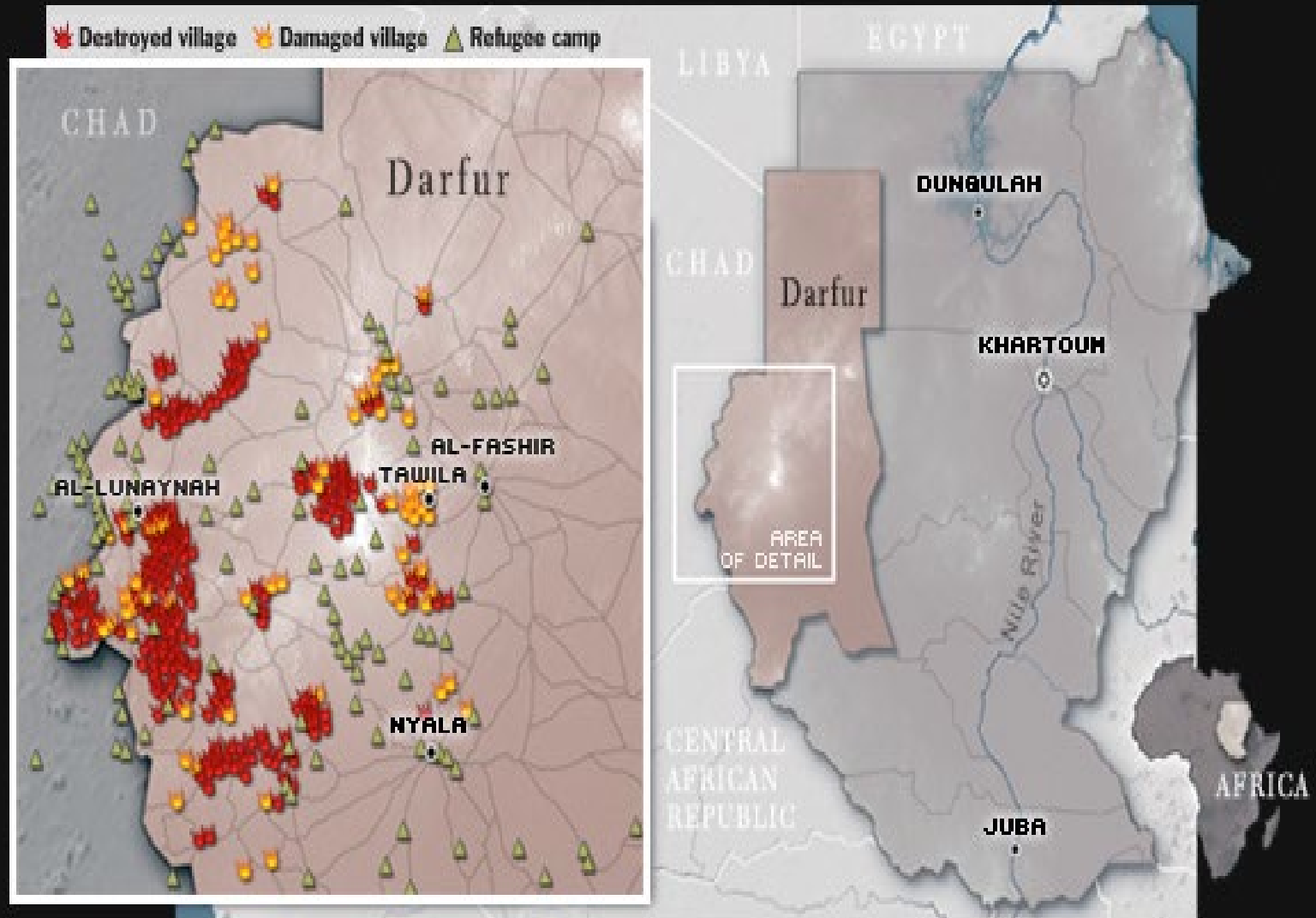
CRISIS IN DARFUR

- February 2003 – Black African farmers conduct an attacks on police and military headquarters in El Fashir.
- Government in Khartoum conducts air and ground strikes against villages throughout Darfur's three provinces.
- Government forces incapable of stopping the two rebel movements: Sudan Liberation Army (SLM) – Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)
- Government arms Arab militias and employs them against rebels and civilian populations [Janjaweed, Popular Defense Forces –PDF, other armed groups].



Violence In Darfur

In the Darfur region of Sudan, marauding Arab militiamen called Janjaweed have destroyed villages, killed tens of thousands and displaced more than 1.4 million



CONSEQUENCES OF VIOLENCE

- More than 300,000 people have died in Darfur as result of fighting, displacement, disease and hunger (British Parliament Report – 300,000; E. Reeves – 400,000+)
 - 140,000 deaths through violence (Hagan, NU)
 - 300-500 deaths per day

***Secretary Rice/State Department: downplaying numbers and emergency!*
- More than 2.4 million Internally Displaced.
- 2.7 - 3 million in need of food assistance in 2005.
- 200,000 Refugees in Chad.
- ***“We’re getting nowhere with respect to Darfur. We’ve tried everything. We’ve tried the carrot approach, we’ve tried the stick approach and we’re getting nowhere...” (Amb. Danforth, December 7, 2004)***



REBEL MOVEMENTS IN DARFUR

SUDAN LIBERATION ARMY/MOVEMENT (SLM/A)

Comprised of Fur, Zaghawa, Masaleit and other tribes

Agenda: Regional development, protection of citizens,
participation in Sudanese political life and share in oil proceeds

JUSTICE AND EQUALITY MOVEMENT (JEM)

Comprised of Zaghawa Fur, and other tribes

Agenda: Concerns larger than Darfur; suspected of collaborating
with Turabi's political group in Khartoum

NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT (NMRD) [Secular/Local]

Splinter group of JEM

Zaghawa tribe – probable support from forces inside Chad

Attacking Arab villages only (support from either Chad or GOS)

AL SHAHAMAH MOVEMENT (ASM)

Western Kordofan regional movement

Political agenda: not clear

UNITED STATES' ROLE IN SUDAN

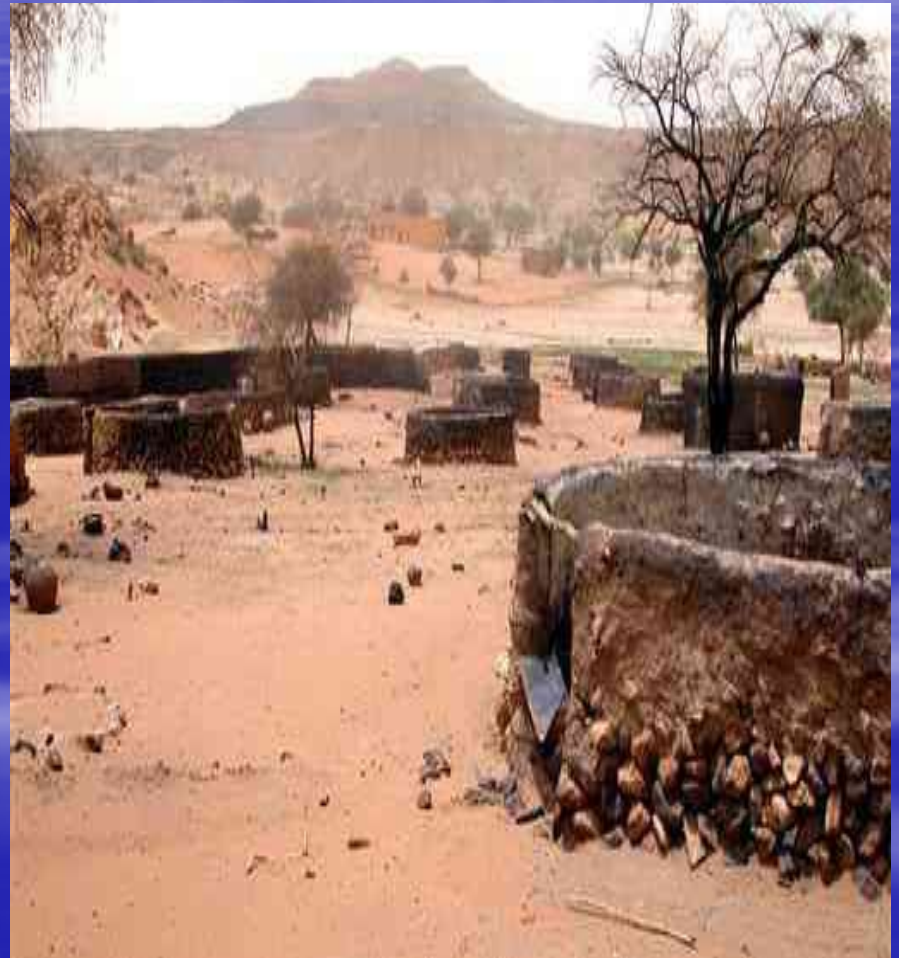
- Key Role in Promoting Naivasha Peace Negotiations and in securing Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed on January 9, 2005 in Nairobi.
- Providing 50% of food/non-food aid.
- State Department: \$40 million for AU (logistics, transport, technical support)
- FY2005 Appropriations:
 - \$200 million for Darfur, Chad
 - \$75 million for African Union
 - \$111 million for Sudan, contingent on the signing of a Comprehensive Peace Agreement
 - “Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act 2004”
- FY2005 Emergency Supplemental:
 - Additional \$90.5 million for
 - AU mission - \$50 million
 - Emergency Assistance (food aid/non-food aid) - \$40.5 million
 - Passed by Congress May 10, 2005



DARFUR ACCOUNTABILITY ACT

EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENT - RESOLUTION

- End the violence in Darfur
- Hold accountable those who have committed acts of genocide, crimes against humanity and international law, war crimes.
- Coordinate and increase U.S. diplomatic efforts to achieve effective implementation of UNSC Resolutions and implement Targeted Sanctions.
- Accelerated Assistance to AU
- Presidential Envoy for Darfur
- Extend current UN Arms Embargo to cover Government in Khartoum
- Military No-Fly Zone
- Asset Freeze/Travel Bans – those responsible for Genocide/War Crimes
 - UN ICI list of '51'



AFRICAN UNION

- Mission: Monitor Ceasefire Agreements
- Strength: 2,000+ (Observers and Protection Forces (of monitors))
 - 3,320 Promised by AU for Darfur
 - Logistical problems
 - Lack of Qualified Soldiers
 - Lack of Political Will on part of Khartoum
 - 8,000-10,000 (Pronk/Egeland)
 - 45-50,000 (Dallaire)
- AU/UN: Troops to be increased to over 7, 000 – Annan calls for 12, 000
 - ‘Modified’ Chapter VI mandate:
 - Right to actively protect civilians
 - Right to intervene and prevent violence, disarm aggressors
- Increasing likelihood that AU will work closely with UNMIS – sharing of assets.



UNITED NATIONS AND SUDAN

- Problems of Consensus within UN Security Council (UNSC)
- Economic and Political concerns of UN Security Council Members:
 - China: 25% of domestic oil from Africa; major investments in Sudan
 - Russia: major supplier of arms to Sudan
 - Pakistan, Algeria: concerns about Arab League and ‘united front’
 - France: not played helpful role in UNSC (long history with Chad)



- UNSC Resolution 1564, par. 14:

“shall consider taking additional measures as contemplated in Article 41 (Chapter VII) of the Charter of the UN, such as sanctions to affect Sudan’s petroleum sector and the GOS or individual members of the GOS, in order to take effecting action to obtain full compliance or full cooperation.” (Sept. 18, 2004)



International Commission of Inquiry

January 25, 2005 Report

- Mandate of ICI: (UNSC Resol. 1564 – Sept. 18, 2004)
 - Investigate Reports of Violations of International Humanitarian Law/HR Law in Darfur;
 - Determine whether acts of Genocide have occurred;
 - Identify Perpetrators of Violations
 - Suggest Means to ensure those responsible will be held accountable
 - **UN Referral to ICC passed UNSC on March 31, 2005**

- Findings of ICI: (176 page report)
 - **Government of Sudan and the Janjaweed (armed Arab militias) are responsible for violations of International Human Rights/Humanitarian Law** amounting to International Crimes (killing of civilians, torture, kidnapping, destruction of villages, rape and other forms of sexual violence, pillaging, forced displacement)

 - **Government of Sudan has not pursued a policy of Genocide** – but the ICI report also states that “international offences such as the crimes against humanity and war crimes that have been committed in Darfur may be no less serious and heinous than genocide.” (Jan. 25, 2005, p. 4, section III)

International Commission of Inquiry ⁽²⁾

January 25, 2005 Report

- ICI Findings (cont'd.):

- Identification of Perpetrators: List includes –
 - Officials of the Government of Sudan
 - Members of Militia Forces
 - Members of Rebel Groups
 - Certain Foreign Army Officers
- Second Category of ‘Perpetrators’:
 - Senior Government Officials
 - Military Commanders
 - Member of Rebel Groups suspected of participating in joint criminal activities to commit international crimes

UN SANCTIONS – March 29, 2005

Resolution # 1591

1. ***Travel Ban***: no travel to countries who are members of UN
2. ***Assets Freeze*** (funds, financial assets, economic resources; bank holdings, other assets)
3. ***30 day delay***: all parties must comply with all previous commitments (ceasefire agreements, previous UN Sec. Council Resolutions)
4. ***Condemns the Government in Khartoum*** for its continued attacks (air, ground), further support of Janjaweed armed militia groups, failure to arrest and bring to justice those Janjaweed, their associates, and others who are responsible for crimes against international law and crimes against humanity
5. ***Create a Committee of the Sec. Council*** (all members of the Council) to monitor implementation of measures, report every 90 days on progress achieved, ***create Panel of Experts***
6. ***GOS must cease all offensive military flights in/over Darfur region.***

POLICY PRIORITIES/OPTIONS



WESTERN DARFUR: IDP CAMP

- US Special Envoy – President should name High Level Person as Special Envoy:
 - With well-developed and fully supported mandate
 - Maintain sustained, coordinated US engagement:
 - North-South Implementation of Peace Agreement
 - Darfur Political Solution
 - Opposition Groups in North – regular dialogue
 - Northern Uganda (LRA)
 - Maintain close contacts with IGAD, European Partners
 - *Pressure UN Security Council members (esp. China, Russia, France)

WHAT YOU AND I CAN DO

- Write President Bush and ask that:
 - A. Sudan be at top of US international agenda
 - A Special Envoy be named for *Darfur (with full support of Administration, relevant government departments)
 - Express concern that US not downplay number of victims and seriousness of crisis in exchange for GOS cooperation on Terrorism
 - B. Further diplomatic pressure be put on Khartoum to end its attacks against innocent civilians (both government and militias)
 - C. Greater support be given to the African Union in Darfur including the possibility of an international peacekeeping force (e.g. UNMIS, NATO) to join with African Union
 - D. **LEGACY of President Bush** – can he/we live with the same burden as after Rwanda?
- Write Members of Congress and ask that:
 - A. Support President's budget for Sudan in 2006, the Supplemental for Sudan; *Darfur Accountability Act*
 - B. End to Impunity – support for Referral to ICC Prosecutor
 - C. Express support for the naming of a Special Envoy to Darfur

Catholic Bishops of Sudan

February 26, 2005

In Darfur the continued military action makes us mindful of the suffering of the thousands of innocent civilians. We call upon the Government of Sudan to do all in its power to bring the conflict to a speedy end.



We further call upon the Government of Sudan and local authorities to prevent armed militias and nomads in other parts of the country from causing further upheaval to the people and destruction of their homes and livelihoods, thus contributing to the humanitarian crisis.

*Loving God, rewarder of the humble,
you blessed St. Josephine Bakhita
with charity and patience.
May her prayers help us,
and her example inspire us
to carry our cross and to love you always.*

*Pour upon us the spirit of wisdom and love
with which you filled St. Josephine Bakhita.
By serving you as she did,
may we please you by our faith
and our actions.*

*Grant this through our Lord Jesus Christ,
your Son, who lives and reigns with you
and the Holy Spirit, one God, for ever and ever.*



**ST. BAKHITA JOSEPHINE
BORN IN DARFUR**

USCCB Resources on Sudan

- Bishop John H. Ricard, SSJ, *A Milestone for Peace in Southern Sudan, A Call for Peace in Darfur* (1/13/2005)
- Bishop Wilton D. Gregory, *Cry of the People of Darfur* (11/17/2004)
- *Sudan Update* (2/2005)
- *Sudan Update* (4/2005)
- Websites: www.usccb.org/sdwp/international;
www.catholicrelief.org