

# CRISIS IN DARFUR, HOPE FOR SUDAN



CATHOLIC SOCIAL MINISTRY  
GATHERING

FEBRUARY 21, 2005

**ZAGHAWA/  
JANJAWEEED**



# 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: 52% **Black African**; 39% **Arab**; 6% **Bejan**; 2% Foreigners
- Economy: 80% of Sudanese work in *Agriculture*; Oil production equals 250,000 barrels/day; **\$2 billion/2004**
  - Major Oil Players: **China**, Malaysia, India, **Russia**, other minor players;
  - Gum Arabic: Coke-Cola; 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)
- Naivasha Comprehensive Peace Accords: 4 Protocols dealing with:
  - A. Peace and Security
  - B. Governance: National Government of Unity (Khartoum); Government of Southern Sudan (Rumbek)
  - C. Oil Revenue Sharing: North/South = 50/50
  - D. Legal System: North – Shari'a Penal Laws; South – Secular Judiciary
  - E. Nuba Mountains, Southern Blue Nile, Abeyei – Special Arrangement
  - F. 6 Year Interim Period – Referendum on Independence for South
- United Nations Peace-observing Mission to North/South: 10,130 strong, with mandate to monitor ceasefire violations and protect their own staff – upcoming UNSC Resolution.



# RETURN OF IDPs/REGUGEES

- Over 4 million people forcibly displaced during 21 years in north/south conflict
- More than 200,000 Refugees have already returned to South (2004/5)
- 500,000 – 1,200,000 will seek return in 2005-06
  - How will they return?
  - Need for short-term and mid-term relief
  - Land issues – could pose serious problems and sew seeds of new conflicts
  - UNHCR: \$60 million for 2005 (has only received \$3 million)
- IDPs living in/around Khartoum:
  - Over 2 million
  - Will they remain or return? What guarantees will be provided should they remain in the north (civil, religious, land rights)
  - Complications with return home: no land, no farms, no jobs

# CHALLENGES TO PEACE IN SUDAN

- North/South struggle: **Identities** (ethnic, religious, regional); **Resources** (oil located in south); **Political Participation** (Politics of Exclusion/Inclusion)
- North/North struggle: National Democratic Alliance, other opposition groups in North; Beja peoples to East; Darfur to West; Western Kordofan (new rebel groups) [Eritrea]
- Khartoum Crises: Hardliners; Military/Intelligence establishment; Political Opponents (\*Turabi), Al Mahdi; 'Negotiators'.

# CRISIS IN DARFUR

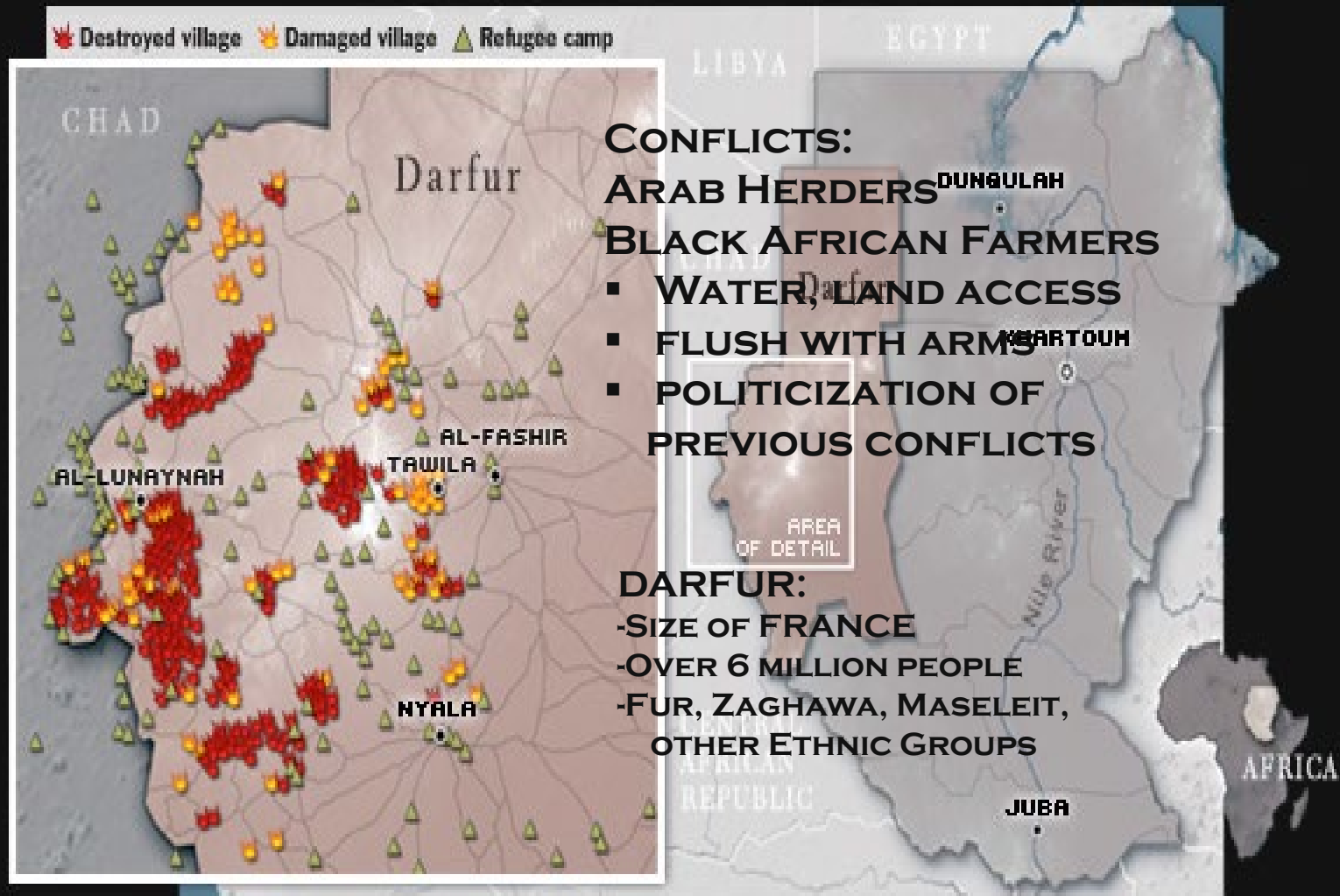
- February 2003 – Black African farmers conduct an attacks on police and military headquarters in El Fashir.
- Government in Khartoum conducts air and ground strikes against villages throughout Darfur's three provinces.
- Government forces incapable of stopping the two rebel movements: Sudan Liberation 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 100,000 people have died in Darfur as result of fighting, displacement, disease and hunger (Reeves – 300,000+)
- More than 1.7 million Internally Displaced.
- 3 - 4 million in need of immediate food assistance in 2005.
- 200+ people dying each day in Darfur.
- 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)***

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

## PROMOTION OF PEACE:NORTH/SOUTH

- 2002-04: Peace Agreement
  - 1/9/2005 –Government and SLM/A sign agreement
- Implementation of Peace Agreement –
  - FY2005: \$111 million
  - FY2006: \$90 million (proposed); Supplemental: \$100 million

## HUMANITARIAN RELIEF for DARFUR (Chad)

- FY2004:\$256 million
- FY2005: \$303 million (allocated)
- FY2006: \$100 million
- Supplemental: \$242.4 million – plus \$55 million for War Crimes Tribunal
- \*50% of Food/Non-Food Aid (Darfur and Southern Sudan)

## DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS FOR DARFUR

- \$40 million in 2004 for African Union
- Support for Political Dialogue in Abuja



# AFRICAN UNION

- Mission: Monitor Ceasefire Agreement (April 2004; May 2004; Nov./Dec. 2004)
- Strength: 1,700 (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
- Role of AU in Darfur: Ch. VI type mandate
  - Monitor Ceasefire agreements
  - No right to intervene and protect civilians
  - No right to disarm militias (government-sponsored)
- Abuja Political Discussions:
  - Government and 2 Rebel Groups
  - Meeting with 3<sup>rd</sup> Rebel Movement in Addis Ababa
  - No serious progress to date.





# UNITED NATIONS AND SUDAN

- Lack of Consensus within UN Security Council (UNSC)
  - International System comprised of states with own geopolitical interests
  - Resolutions without any 'Bite'
  - US – Calling for Targeted Sanctions.
- Economic and Political concerns of UN Security Council Members:
  - China: 25% of domestic oil from Africa; major investments in Sudan; human rights
  - Russia: major supplier of arms to Sudan; oil activities
  - Pakistan, Algeria: concerns about Arab League and 'united front'; keep Sudan from humiliation.
  - France: interests in Chad and Sudan's oil fields; concern over possible NATO role in Sudan



# International Commission of Inquiry

## January 25, 2005 Report

- Mandate of ICI: (UNSC Resol. 1564 – Sept. 18, 2004)
  1. Investigate Reports of Violations of International Humanitarian Law/HR Law in Darfur;
  2. Determine whether acts of Genocide have occurred;
  3. Identify Perpetrators of Violations
  4. Suggest Means to ensure those responsible will be held accountable
  
- 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, rape)
    - LIST OF PERPETRATORS (Government, Janjaweed, Rebels, Chadian soldiers)
  
  - **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 <sup>(3)</sup>

January 25, 2005 Report

- Accountability Mechanisms:
  - ICI Recommendation: ***The Commission strongly recommends that the Security Council immediately refer the situation in Darfur to the International Criminal Court.***” (p.5, IV)
  - Opposition to ICI Referral to ICC:
    - United States strongly opposed to referral to ICC – “that this court could be used to pursue politically motivated cases against the U.S.”
    - Europe, African Countries (26), Other Security Council Members strongly support referral
    - China, Russia: would probably abstain if SC Resolution were submitted for vote
    - \*\*US might be encouraged to compromise on ICC – if France and EU would increase their engagement in Darfur; if they would allow NATO to play stronger role of support to African Union.
    - Vatican/USCCB: no official position on whether ICC referral should move forward, but that a credible and effective mechanism be established as soon as possible to deal with impunity.

# POLICY PRIORITIES/OPTIONS

## ■ DARFUR:

US must pressure Khartoum to:

1. Disarm Janjaweed and other armed militias;
2. Cease all attacks (aerial, ground) against innocent civilians;
3. Provide protection for unimpeded humanitarian access;
4. Bring to justice Perpetrators of crimes against humanity (ICI report);
5. Pressure Government and Rebel Groups to respect ceasefire agreements, commit to political solution; and
6. Work with AU, UN, NATO to create multinational security force for Darfur.



## WHAT YOU AND I CAN DO

- Write President Bush and ask that:
  - A. Thank Administration for Great Job thus far.
  - B. Sudan be at top of US international agenda
    - A Special Envoy be named for Darfur (with full support of Administration, relevant government departments)
  - C. Further diplomatic pressure be put on Khartoum to end its attacks against innocent civilians (both government and militias)
  - D. Greater support be given to the African Union in Darfur including the possibility of an international peacekeeping force (e.g. NATO) to join with African Union
  - E. End Impunity in Darfur – Bring Perpetrators to Justice – ICC, or another appropriate mechanism that would be effective and could start immediately



# WHAT YOU AND I CAN DO <sup>(2)</sup>

- Write Members of Congress and ask that:
  1. Support President's budget for Sudan in 2006 and the Supplemental for Sudan
  2. Call on US to bring additional pressure on the UN Security Council
    - End impunity and violence – International Legal Process
    - Employ targeted sanctions (travel bans, assets freeze)
  3. Express support for the naming of a Special Envoy to Darfur (with full authority, support of Administration)

## WHAT YOU AND I CAN DO (2)

- Get Parishes, Church groups, others to focus on one or two key action items
  - A. **Learn about conflict** -- websites: USCCB, CRS, International Crisis Group, International Committee of the Red Cross, CAFOD, etc.
  - B. Include People of Darfur in **Intentions/Prayers (Mass)**
  - C. **Letter writing campaign** – need one or two ‘advocates’
  - D. Consider joining **Save Darfur Coalition** – order wristbands, educate youth, adults, seniors in community ([savedarfur.org](http://savedarfur.org))
  - E. **Contribute financially** to humanitarian relief efforts – **CRS** (Darfur)
  
- ***PERSEVERANCE is needed – Darfur is long-term problem requiring long-term commitment***



# USCCB/CRS and SUDAN (Darfur)

## PUBLIC ADVOCACY:

- 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)

## HUMANITARIAN RELIEF:

- CRS in Darfur (Western, assistance to Southern): \$10 mil.
- Websites: [www.usccb.org/sdwp/international](http://www.usccb.org/sdwp/international);  
[www.catholicrelief.org](http://www.catholicrelief.org)

***“The social order requires constant improvement: it must be founded in truth, built on justice, and enlived by love...” (Gaudium et Spes, par. 26)***

