

Regional Security: Darfur

Commitment:

“We pledge our countries’ assistance in ending the conflicts in Sudan and in providing humanitarian aid to those in need.”¹¹⁸⁶

G8 Statement on Sudan

Background:

The focus on regional security in Sudan at the 2004 Sea Island Summit was driven by the massive human rights violations that were taking place in the Darfur region of the country. At the time of the summit, 1.6 million people had been forced to flee their homes and 70,000¹¹⁸⁷ people had been killed in the Western region of Darfur. In June 2004, the United Nations called the situation in Darfur the world’s worst humanitarian crisis¹¹⁸⁸. The pro-government *janjaweed* Arab militias were accused of ethnic cleansing against Darfur’s black African population¹¹⁸⁹. Following strong pressure from non-governmental organizations, the United Nations and the heads of six African countries, the G8 leaders took a strong stand on the issue¹¹⁹⁰. On the last day of the Sea Island Summit, the G8 leaders collectively called on the Sudanese government to disarm militias in Western Darfur. Together the G8 leaders placed the blame on the *janjaweed* and other armed groups for the massive rights violations and called on the Sudanese government to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. The G8 statement on Sudan called for an immediate end to the conflict and unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid to those in need¹¹⁹¹.

Assessment

Country	Non-Compliance -1	Work in Progress 0	Full Compliance +1
Canada			+1
France			+1
Germany			+1
Italy			+1
Japan			+1
Russia		0	
United Kingdom			+1
United States			+1
European Union			+1
Overall: 0.88			

Individual Country Compliance Breakdown

1. Canada: +1

Canada has registered full compliance with its Sea Island commitments regarding regional security in Darfur. Canada’s efforts towards achieving a peaceful resolution to conflicts in Sudan have been significant. On 12 May, Canada increased its contribution toward peace and stability in Sudan to a total of \$198 million. A team of special advisers consisting of Robert Fowler,

Mobina Jaffer and Romeo Dallaire has been created to coordinate and promote Canada's initiatives.¹¹⁹² Having already contributed over \$40 million in humanitarian assistance to Sudan through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) for the protection of those affected by the conflict and support for peace building efforts, Canada has also supported the peace talks led by the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development.¹¹⁹³ In April, International Cooperation Minister Aileen Carroll announced a further commitment of \$90 million over two years.¹¹⁹⁴ Canada has also said it will contribute \$500,000 to the International Criminal Court to investigate human rights abuse in Darfur.¹¹⁹⁵

On the military side, Canada has pledged \$170 million in assistance to the African Union.¹¹⁹⁶ This has included providing equipment, helicopter and other leased aircraft support as well as expertise in military planning.¹¹⁹⁷ The helicopters, currently based in Al Fasher, Kabkabiya and Al Geneina, have transported supplies and over 330 UN officials, humanitarian workers and new AU observers from Nigeria, Rwanda, Egypt, Gambia and Ghana. The Department of National Defence has announced plans to send up to 31 Canadian Forces Personnel to Sudan as part of the UNAMIS (United Nations Mission in Sudan) deployment.¹¹⁹⁸ Forces Chief General Rick Hillier has recently returned from a fact-finding mission to Africa, and it is reported that he is at work on an action plan that will see the Canadian Forces ready to deploy a large contingent overseas for 'significant operations' by late summer.¹¹⁹⁹ Throughout the year, the government of Canada has remained engaged on the broader Sudan issue both independently and within multilateral bodies.

In addition, Canada has increased diplomatic support and has pledged to send 100 Canadian peacekeepers to help AU soldiers carry out their mandate.¹²⁰⁰ However, African heads of state who met at the 16 May Tripoli conference have declined Canada's offer of peacekeepers to Darfur and Ottawa has agreed to respect this wish.¹²⁰¹ Nevertheless, Canada announced on 13 June 2005 that it would send up to 100 surplus armoured vehicles to the AU in Sudan or help maintain donated personnel carriers already in use there. The 100 Grizzly armoured personnel carriers under consideration would be used by the 7,500 AU troops already stationed in the Darfur region. About 50 Canadian soldiers would give African soldiers lessons in a neighboring country in how to drive and maintain them.

2. France: +1

France has registered full compliance with its Sea Island commitments regarding regional security in Darfur. France's fulfillment of its Sea Island commitment is reflected in its active role on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Most recently, France played a pivotal role in initiating the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1593 which was adopted on 31 March 2005.¹²⁰² The text contains seven separate operative paragraphs, including a decision to refer the crimes committed in Darfur since 1 July 2002 to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC).¹²⁰³

"We voted for [the UNSCR 1593] since we believe it is likely to contribute to the search for a peaceful settlement in Darfur, in support of the African Union-sponsored Abuja negotiations",¹²⁰⁴ explains the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs Deputy Spokesperson. Speaking after the adoption of the resolution, the French ambassador to the United Nations Jean-Marc de la Sabliere proclaimed that "the Council had a duty to take actions"¹²⁰⁵ while the

Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Michel Barnier added that “[the Security Council] [has] succeeded in ensuring that the war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in Darfur will not go unpunished”.¹²⁰⁶ This resolution is unprecedented in that it marks the first time that the Council has referred a situation to the ICC.¹²⁰⁷ As Barnier states, “the adoption of [the UNSCR 1593] marks an important stage in the defence of human rights and the fight against impunity”.¹²⁰⁸ Since the resolution was adopted the UN secretary-general has sent a list of 51 suspects to the ICC prosecutor.¹²⁰⁹

France has further demonstrated its commitment to ending the regional conflict in Darfur by voting in favor of UNSCR 1590 (24 March 2005) and UNSCR 1591 (29 March 2005). Adopted on 24 March 2005, the UNSCR 1590 established the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), which will consist of up to 10,000 military personnel and an appropriate civilian component.¹²¹⁰ The mandate of the UNMIS will be to support the implementation of the comprehensive Peace Agreement signed by the Government of Sudan and the rebel forces on 9 January 2005.¹²¹¹ On the other hand, the UNSCR 1591 aims to “impose a travel ban and assets freeze on those parties impeding the peace process, committing human rights violations, and violating measures set out in previous resolutions.”¹²¹² Moreover, the UNSCR 1591 seeks to prevent the sale or supply of military equipment to all the parties of the N’Djamena Ceasefire Agreement.¹²¹³ In reference to the most recent resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs asserts, “[the Council’s] objective remains the establishment of a lasting peace in Sudan, and the adoption of the three resolutions on that country is an essential contribution to its achievement”.¹²¹⁴

Additionally, France’s humanitarian aid efforts in the region have illustrated its commitment in Darfur. France has mobilized military transport capabilities in Chad for humanitarian relief operations; French aircrafts have airlifted 700 tons of humanitarian aid.¹²¹⁵ In addition, 200 French troops in Chad contribute to the stabilization of the Chad/Sudan border through patrols in Chad and along the border between the two countries.¹²¹⁶ France is also supporting the deployment of the African Union (AU) mission in Darfur. In fact, a French colonel is vice president of the AU’s ceasefire monitoring commission, which also receives French logistical and medical support.¹²¹⁷ Also, two French army officers are part of the Abeche monitoring team, and two more French army officers are working with the AU planning unit in Addis Ababa. Moreover, France’s financial commitment for Darfur exceeds €60 million.¹²¹⁸

3. Germany: +1

The German Government has achieved full compliance through both diplomatic and monetary initiatives. On 12 July 2004, Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer met with the Sudanese President, Vice-President and Foreign Minister, urging the government to provide security in the Darfur region and to disarm the militias attacking the civilian population. Fischer also affirmed Germany’s support for an independent investigation of the Darfur situation.¹²¹⁹ In September 2004., Germany cosponsored UN Security Council Resolution 1564, which threatened “actions to affect Sudan’s petroleum sector and the Government of Sudan or individual members of the Government of Sudan” if the Sudanese government did not cooperate with the expansion of the African Union monitoring presence in Darfur.¹²²⁰ In August, the German Government pledged an additional €20-million to aid Sudanese refugees¹²²¹ and in October announced that it was

sending experts from the Federal Agency for Technical Relief (THW) to maintain a workshop and drinking water laboratory in Al-Fashir, Darfur's capital.¹²²²

On 11 April 2005, Minister of State Kerstin Müller attended the International Donors Conference for Sudan in Oslo and pledged to provide 30 million euro in humanitarian aid for use in Sudan in 2005. Furthermore, the Minister stated that the German Government intended to participate in the UN mission to Sudan (UNMIS) and to continue to support the AU mission (AMIS 2) there this year. Additionally, she reiterated the German Government's policy not to normalize relations with Sudan "as long as it continues to condone the violence in Darfur and fails to comply with the demands of the United Nations Security Council."¹²²³

4. Italy: +1

Italy has registered full compliance with its Sea Island commitments regarding regional security in Darfur. Italy has taken some concrete steps towards ending the conflict in Sudan and they have had some success but at the same time have been criticized by civil society groups. In July of 2004, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Margherita Boniver, declared that genocide was taking place in the Darfur Region of Sudan. Equally she stressed that Italy has earmarked €7.5 million for aid as well as sending a military observer to assist African Union officials. Politically, Italy has put pressure on Khartoum and has raised the issue in the European Union and United Nations.¹²²⁴ In August of 2004 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in cooperation with the NGO "InterSOS" sent two humanitarian relief flights carrying emergency relief supplies.¹²²⁵ In September of 2004, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Franco Frattini, received the president of the "Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army", John Garang to discuss the cessation of violence in Darfur.¹²²⁶ Recently, from 19 to 21 December, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Margherita Boniver was in Sudan on a humanitarian mission, where she visited some of the projects funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹²²⁷

So far the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' humanitarian aid to Darfur amounts to approximately €10 million and is allotted to both bilateral and multilateral initiatives; an additional €650,000 goes to supporting the African Union's peace mission, in which an Italian official is participating in the context of a European contingent of military observers.¹²²⁸ Foreign Minister Fini, during a telephone conversation with his counterpart in the Sudan, Mustafa Osman Ismail, stressed the importance of the Sudanese government taking responsibility for and ending the humanitarian disaster occurring in the Darfur region.¹²²⁹ Shortly thereafter, on March 15, 2005, Under-Secretary Margherita Boniver addressed the 61st session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, reiterating the importance of addressing grave humanitarian disasters occurring in the world, in particular in the Sudan.¹²³⁰ Italy, however, has come under criticism from NGO's and aid agencies. Italy has been charged with not providing adequate aid for refugees fleeing the Darfur conflict; it has either expelled them or forced them to live illegally in Italy.¹²³¹ Aid agencies such as Oxfam,¹²³² Care International and Save the Children¹²³³ have also been critical of Italy as being one of the least generous countries in aid appropriation.

5. Japan: +1

Japan has demonstrated a respectable level of compliance regarding its commitment to regional security in Darfur. Japan has contributed 280 million yen to three NGOs selected for their unique

abilities to provide humanitarian relief in the region. Save the Children, World Vision and ADRA were recipients of the aid and all of them were charged with helping to provide potable water in different areas of Darfur. Japan suggests that the presence of these three NGOs in Darfur is one of the first stages in their response to the crisis in Darfur. Specifically, these NGOs will perform an investigatory role, reporting back regarding what further commitments are both necessary and recommended. Additionally, Japan approved a grant of US \$500 000 allotted to increase food production for the refugees. Japan channeled this contribution through the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.¹²³⁴ For more immediate relief, Japan contributed USD\$3-million through the World Food Program (WFP), which provided sorghum, a staple of the Sudanese diet, to those affected by the conflict in Darfur.¹²³⁵

The Japanese are also continuing their role as mediators in the Darfur crisis. Both Japan's Prime Minister, Mr. Koizumi and Foreign Minister, Ms. Kawaguchi met with the Sudanese Foreign Minister Dr. Mustafa Osman Ismail while he was in Japan. Japan urged Ismail to promote peace talks between North and South Sudan. Japan is also sending their Ambassador in charge of Conflict and Refugee-Related issues in Africa into the region to assess how Japan might play a larger role.¹²³⁶ Publicly, Japan registered its support for the mediation efforts of the African Union.¹²³⁷ Japan further helps to mediate this crisis by participating in a series of talks entitled the "Japan-Sudan Human Rights Dialogue". The first of these talks was held in Khartoum, the second in Tokyo where human rights issues were discussed with a mind to finding potential areas for co-operation between the two states.¹²³⁸ Furthermore in April of 2005, Mr. Ichiro Aisawa, Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, attended the Oslo Donor's Conference on Sudan after which he flew to Sweden to meet with the leading Sudanese figures.¹²³⁹ The Japanese Ambassador in Charge of Conflict and Refugee-related Issues in Africa, Mr. Keitaro Sato, also attended the conference further underscoring Japan's dedication to helping build peace in Darfur.¹²⁴⁰ This is perhaps the most notable contribution the Japanese have made to the conflict in Darfur. The Japanese have shown leadership in liaising with Sudanese officials and providing support for the African Union's intervention.

6. Russia: 0

Russia's efforts to comply with the G8's commitment on Sudan since the G8RG's Interim Report remain questionable. Russia has followed up its expression of "serious concern" for what it calls the "tragedy... fraught with a humanitarian disaster"¹²⁴¹ in Darfur, Sudan with a sterner rhetorical line against the Sudanese regime, declaring in March that it "expects the government of Sudan in full accordance with the obligations it assumed to provide necessary security conditions for the return of the UN mission to the western regions of Darfur."¹²⁴² The Russian Foreign Minister remains in contact with Sudanese Foreign Minister Mustafa Osman Ismail.¹²⁴³ As it has all year, Russia has continued to advocate for a solution based on "building up the potential of the African Union Mission and cooperation with it by the future UN Mission in Sudan."¹²⁴⁴ Notably, Russia has announced plans to send 50 Russian military observers and 20 civilian police officers to join UNMIS as well as to consider other forms of support for the Mission.¹²⁴⁵

There remains, however, disagreement over the means by which a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Darfur can be achieved. In opposition to the majority of the Security Council, Russia argued upon its abstention on the vote to adopt UNSC Resolution 1564 that the threat to impose

sanctions against Sudan is “not at all the best method of inducing Khartoum to fulfill its obligations to the UN.”¹²⁴⁶ This has been followed by an abstention on UNSC Resolution 1591, which sought to “impose a travel ban and freeze on those impeding the peace process, committing human rights violations and violating measures set out in previous resolutions.”¹²⁴⁷ Russia considers “counterproductive the decision to apply to the Government of Sudan strict restrictions that objectively lower its capacity to ensure the security of the civilian population of Darfur, to maintain law and order in the zone of conflict, to disarm nongovernment units, and to arrest those guilty of violations of international humanitarian law.”¹²⁴⁸ Russia, in turn, insists that the sanctions must be “a last resort” and that “the Government of Sudan is trying to comply with the demands of the Security Council, [but is] encountering considerable difficulties, brought on by the protracted confrontation in Darfur and a shortage of mutual trust.”¹²⁴⁹

Meanwhile, Russia continues to be criticized for proceeding with the sale of MiG-29 and MiG-24 fighter jets to the Sudanese government.¹²⁵⁰ It has not offered any comment beyond its original claim that “the implementation of the earlier contracts with the Sudanese government on military technology supplies is absolutely unrelated to the latest developments in Sudan and around it.”¹²⁵¹

Thus, Russia’s commitment over the past year to resolving the crisis in Darfur, particularly insofar as any solution would require the fulfillment of certain obligations on the part of the Sudanese government, has been weak.

7. United Kingdom: +1

The United Kingdom has registering full compliance with its Sea Island commitments regarding regional security in Darfur. Besides being the largest bilateral donor regarding the Darfur conflict, contributing £62.5m to the humanitarian response between September 2003 and March 2005, Britain recently announced plans to double their bilateral aid.¹²⁵² This ambitious initiative, outlined for 2005, means Britain will donate £1 billion. This figure is earmarked to rise further in coming years. On a diplomatic level, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, International Development Secretary Hilary Benn and Chris Mullin, the Parliamentary Undersecretary of State, have all met with influential Sudanese leaders including President General Al Bashir, and the Foreign Minister Dr. Mustafa Osman Ismail on the issue of peace in Darfur.¹²⁵³ They also visited Internal Displaced Persons camps giving them first hand insight into the conflict.¹²⁵⁴ Britain further extends its political involvement in Darfur through the British embassy in Khartoum, through which the British helped mediate the Naivasha peace talks.¹²⁵⁵ Britain also supported Security Council resolution 1556 to have the UN investigate the Darfur Crisis.¹²⁵⁶ In addition, Britain gave 250 000 pounds to send eight human rights monitors to the region.¹²⁵⁷ The UK has “also played a key role in securing € 92 million of support for the AU mission from the EU Peace Facility for Africa.”¹²⁵⁸

On the military end of the spectrum, in August 2004 the UK financed the airlift of 140 Nigerian troops, including ration packs, into the Darfur region.¹²⁵⁹ The UK also undertook an airlift operation, concluding in December 2004, which moved 131 Toyota 4x4 Land Cruisers and 12 three tonne trucks into the region to support the AU’s peace support mission in Darfur.¹²⁶⁰

8. United States: +1

The United States (U.S.) has registered full compliance regarding its commitment to ending the regional conflict in Darfur and in providing humanitarian aid. The U.S. has “concluded that genocide has taken place in Darfur”,¹²⁶¹ and has been taking measures to end the violence in the region. On 24 March 2005, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1590 which was sponsored by the U.S. The UNSCR 1590 established the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) which will consist of up to 10,000 military personnel...¹²⁶² The mandate of the UNMIS will be to support the implementation of the comprehensive Peace Agreement signed by the Government of Sudan and the rebel forces on 9 January 2005.¹²⁶³ U.S. Ambassador Anne Patterson said that the United States “is and will be an important contributor to the peacekeeping [efforts]”.¹²⁶⁴ Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell was present in Nairobi, Kenya to witness the signing of the “historic comprehensive peace accord”.¹²⁶⁵

The U.S. also voted in favor of the UNSCR 1591 (29 March 2005) which aims to “impose a travel ban and assets freeze on those parties impeding the peace process, committing human rights violations, and violating measures set out in previous resolutions.”¹²⁶⁶ This resolution, also sponsored by the United States, extended an arms embargo that extends to the Government of Sudan.¹²⁶⁷ U.S. Ambassador Stuart Holliday explains, “If the government of Sudan would like to come into Darfur for any military purpose, it has to get the permission of the Security Council...through the council’s committee that has been established by the UNSCR 1591.”¹²⁶⁸ However, Ambassador Holliday clarifies that the arms embargo is not meant to restrict the work of the African Union troops in Darfur.¹²⁶⁹ The United States continues to be “strongly supportive of the African Union Mission”.¹²⁷⁰ Ambassador Holliday adds, “We’re pleased that...the council voted to adopt [UNSCR 1591], which [the US] hopes will put the appropriate pressure on all the parties to the Darfur conflict...”¹²⁷¹

When the text for resolution 1593 was brought to the UNSC, the U.S. abstained from the vote because the text included a Council referral of the situation in Darfur to the ICC.¹²⁷² Although “the United States believed that a better mechanism would have been a hybrid tribunal in Africa, it [also believed it was] important that the international community spoke with one voice in order to help promote effective accountability,¹²⁷³ explains Ambassador Patterson. Hence, the U.S. did not veto the resolution because of the “need for the international community to work together in order to end the climate of impunity in the Sudan, and because the resolution provided protection from investigation or prosecution for United States nationals...”¹²⁷⁴

Beyond the UNSC resolutions, the U.S. has been active in the region in terms of its humanitarian aid efforts. On 3 May 2005, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) responded quickly to the worsening food shortages in the Sudan “by redirecting approximately \$US 8,450 metric tons of non-cereal food commodities already on the high seas, to Sudan”.¹²⁷⁵ This emergency food assistance will enable the U.N. World Food Programme to provide full non-cereal food rations until August for more than 1.5 million people living in Darfur.¹²⁷⁶ Additionally, the U.S. government has contributed a total of 336 980 metric tons of food for Darfur in fiscal year 2004-2005 through USAID’s office of Food for Peace.¹²⁷⁷ Moreover, between 4 May 2005 and 5 May 2005, two USAID/OFDA flights carried a 1,260 rolls of plastic sheeting to provide shelter for approximately 63,000 displaced people in Darfur; the plastic

sheeting are valued at \$US 468,000 including transportation.¹²⁷⁸ Additionally, the United States Senate Conference Committee for the FY05 Emergency Supplemental approved \$50 million for the African Union Force in Darfur on May 1st. The \$50 million comes at the right moment, as the African Union recently announced that it will be doubling the mission in Darfur to over 7,700 troops and monitors and it will need funds in order to expand quickly and effectively¹²⁷⁹. The total FY 2005 USG Humanitarian Assistance for the Darfur Emergency is \$US 375,275,774 while the total FY 2003-2005 USG Humanitarian Assistance for the Darfur Emergency is \$633,721,454.¹²⁸⁰

9. European Union: +1

The European Union (EU) has registered full compliance with its Sea Island commitments regarding regional security in Darfur, primarily through humanitarian aid and support for the African Union (AU) and UN efforts in Sudan. In November 2004, the EU earmarked 51 million euros in humanitarian aid for victims of conflict in Sudan, with 31 million of that money going to victims in Darfur. The aid was to be channeled through the EU's humanitarian aid department, ECHO.¹²⁸¹ On 10 June the EU announced that it would mobilize 12 million euros, through the African Peace Facility, to support the AU observer mission monitoring the implementation of a cease-fire agreement in Darfur.¹²⁸² This was followed in October by an additional pledge of 80 million euros to support the AU mission, again from the African Peace Facility.¹²⁸³ The EU has exercised political pressure as well on the Sudanese government, threatening it in September with sanctions for the "massive and severe" human rights abuses, which it failed to halt in Darfur.¹²⁸⁴

On 25 January 2005, the EU and the Government of Sudan signed a Country Strategy Paper in which the EU pledged to provide up to 400 million euro for food security and education between 2005 and 2007 (326 million euro from the European Development Fund and the rest from other sources).¹²⁸⁵ On 11 April 2005, the European Commission attended the International Donors Conference in Oslo, Norway. At the conference, it pledged to provide 160 million euro in humanitarian aid for Sudan in 2005 and to continue to support the AU's mission in Sudan (AMIS 2) with a further 60 million euro.¹²⁸⁶

On 9 June 2005, however, the EU dramatically increased its commitment to providing transportation support for African peacekeepers. At the NATO Defense Ministerial in Brussels on 9 June 2005, it was agreed that the EU and NATO would launch a joint operation for a massive airlift of AU peacekeepers into the Darfur — a doubling of the AU's numbers in the region. France, Italy and Germany would all ferry troops from various African states including likely Senegal, Ethiopia and South Africa to the Darfur region. The US would conduct similar operations for peacekeepers from Rwanda and Nigeria under a NATO command structure.¹²⁸⁷

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