Committee/Council: Security Council

Issue: Ending the Darfur War

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Introduction

Sudan, geographically the largest country in Africa until the emergence of South Sudan, has been the epicenter of ethnic and religious conflicts in North Africa for the past decades. Sudan has long been beset by various conflicts. Rounds of North-South civil wars have cost over one million lives, and the unceasing clashes and conflicts in Darfur, the western region of Sudan, have left millions of people both internally and externally displaced, and over 200,000 dead.

Darfur has been embroiled in conflict since 2003 when the Sudan Liberation Movement Army (SLM) and the Justice and Equality Movement Army (JEM) began fighting the government of Sudan. For the past years, Darfur became an area of bloody conflict and tragic events which attracted unprecedented media attention and tormented the international community. Moreover, the United Nations describes the crisis in Darfur as "the world's worst humanitarian crisis." Furthermore, many governments and prominent NGOs labelled the situation as "genocide." Similar to other disputes and ongoing conflicts in Sudan, the War in Darfur is not only based on political marginalization and ethnic cleansing of non-Arabs, but is also deeply rooted in economic causes.

Behind the tragic events in Darfur lies an overly intricate history of deeply entrenched social inequalities, the militarization of rural societies, competition over natural resources, and, most importantly, the prolonged problems of bad governance which arose in Sudan since its independence from British colonial rule in 1956.

Map of Sudan

Definition of Key-Terms

Fur, Zaghawa, Massalit:

Fur, Zaghawa, and Massalit are the three major Darfurian tribes. In early 2003, the three tribes' political leaders formed an alliance. Since then, they initiated attacks on Sudanese government outposts. In retaliation, the government launched series of counterinsurgency operations in Darfur with the assistance from Janjaweed militias.

Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs):

An IDP is a person who has been involuntarily forced to leave his or her home due to religious or political persecution, conflicts, and natural disasters but has not crossed an international borderline. On the other hand, refugees and externally displaced persons are referred to any person who crossed an international border. This is a term that is often misused; there is a distinction between IDPs and refugees. It is approximated that there are around six million IDPs in Sudan alone.

Targeted Divestment

Targeted divestment is the practice of cutting off economic support to the Sudanese government by removing investments from companies that do business and trade with the Sudanese government. Since the government of Sudan is highly dependent on foreign investments and economic relationships to fund its military units and its counterinsurgency operations in Darfur, stopping investments in Sudan exerts pressures on the government and restricts the military's capability to further initiate their campaigns in Darfur.

Khartoum:

Khartoum is the capital and the biggest city in Sudan after Omdurman. Its geographic location, in the confluence of the White Nile and the Blue Nile, makes it the center of trade and commerce in Sudan. Moreover, the Sudanese government's power is very influential in this city, since it has government agencies and necessary organs which empower its national policies and administration. Many negotiations and decisions concerning the War in Darfur were established and were confirmed in Khartoum.

Omar al- Bashir

Omar al- Bashir is the current president of Sudan and the head of the National Congress Party of Sudan. He assumed office in June 1989, when he successfully led a military coup that ousted Prime Minister Sadiq al- Mahdi. Notably, al- Bashir is the first ever national president to be indicted by the International Criminal Court for leading massive military campaigns including genocides, pillages, and rapes in Darfur and other regions of Sudan.

Ali Muhammad Ali Abd al Raman

Commonly known as Ali Kushayb, he is a notorious Janjaweed commander that assists the Sudanese government in its military operations against Darfur rebel groups. He is currently indicted by the ICC for war atrocities and crimes against humanity. Recently, the Sudanese government arrested him and claimed that he will be put on trial. However, it is unclear whether Kushayb will be kept or turned over to the ICC.

<u>Idriss Deby</u>

Deby is the current president of Chad. He rose to power in 1990 by overthrowing President Hissene Habre, assisted by Sudanese president al- Bashir. However, President Deby switched his alliance to support the Darfur rebels, especially the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM).

Background Information

Unlike the Sudanese Civil War, between northern and southern Sudan, the crisis in Darfur has not been based on religious disparities. The conflict arose as result of economic and ethnic tensions between Arab and non- Arab populations. It is vital to dispel misconceptions that characterized the media coverage of labeling the conflict between "Black Africans" and "Arabs." In reality, there are little visible ethnic or religious disparities among the warring parties in Darfur. All parties involved in the crisis are mostly equally indigenous, and, most importantly, they are Muslims.

Darfurians represent various linguist and ethnic groups. The groups encompass non-Arabic speaking groups, such as Zaghawa, Fur, and Daju as well as Arabic- speaking groups such as Beni Helba, Missairiyya, and Rizaiqat. Although numerous groups coexist, they share similar cultural and physical characteristics. A long history of intermarriages and mixing in Darfur created ethnic fluidity; thus, ethnic labels are based heavily on the matter of convenience. For example, the term "Arab" is primarily driven from occupation rather than racial label, since the majority of Arabic speaking Darfurians is pastoralist. On the contrast, non- Arab groups are primarily sedentary farmers. Moreover, nowadays the occupation boundaries are often crossed, creating less ethnic boundaries between different racial groups.

For centuries prior to the pre- colonial era, different ethnic groups, such as the Fur exerted heavy influence in the modern-day Darfur area. Furs established kingdoms that shared many of the characteristics of other Muslim states in the Sahara and

Africa. The kingdom was able to extend its political and commercial power and links with different states, including Egypt and North Africa. Soon after, in the early 1900s, Darfur was infiltrated by the British and as a result, it was annexed into the Anglo-Egyptian domain.

Since its independence in 1956, Sudan was plagued by a series of political instability and civil wars. In a historical context, the Darfur crisis is part of numerous ongoing Sudanese conflicts. Many Sudanese crises have resulted in one conflict evolving into a new one in a different area of the country. Among the most infamous conflicts is the North- South Sudan conflict, which was terminated in 2005, when a peace agreement was signed. Most of the conflicts are based on political and economic disparities, which persisted throughout both Sudan's colonial and post- colonial periods. Such inequalities are epitomized by the economic and cultural domination of Arab Sudanese elites, who are very influential and have the power to marginalize the non- Arab populations within the country's margins.

It is important to note that the current conflict is a product of combination of economic, environmental (resources), and political factors. During the 1972, a series of famines and intensified desertification in western Sudan led to heavy disputes over land between non-Arab farmers and Arab nomads. Furthermore, Libyan-sponsored Arab supremacist movements were initiated in the 1986 government of Sadiq al Mahdi, which left many non- Arab Darfurians' interests sidelined. Following a coup in 1989 led by Omar al- Bashir, the Sudanese government continued to utilize Arab networks to extend its control over the entire country through the usage of identity politics to gain support which in result created unequal representation among various Darfurian communities.

For over the next two decades, the Sudanese government exacerbated the situation in Darfur. Marginalization and apartheid policies were intensified, and, eventually, the government separated non-Arabs by splitting Darfur into three different regions to break unity among Darfuri tribes. As the second Sudanese Civil War began to deescalate and began to move into peace process during the early 2000s, the Darfuri's neglect toward the government grew. As a result, non-Arab Darfurian tribes began to form coalitions, in order to form rebel groups. For instance, Khalil Ibrahim, a member of Zaghawa tribe, inaugurated the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), while the Zaghawa and Fur tribes established the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA).

Soon in March 2003, the rebel groups organized and launched surprise attacks against the Government of Sudan (GoS). As a response, the GoS began to recruit armed forces and militias to counterattack the rebels, with extensive support from the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF). Among the militias, the Janjaweed was the main

component of the GoS counter-insurgency force. Such militias launched campaigns of mass killings, forced displacement, and rape as a weapon of war. Rape was commonly used as a mean of GoS' goal to eliminate black Africans and non-Arabs from Darfur. Furthermore, millions were internally displaced and many were forced to flee as refugees, mainly to Chad.

The international community soon responded by developing feasible solutions to end the conflict. Furthermore, many governments and international organizations advocated actions to protect Darfurians from mass killings and displacements. Amidst international pressure in 2007, UN-AU hybrid missions were deployed, in order to monitor the progress of the 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) and the 2011 Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD).

Major Countries and Organizations Involved

Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)

JEM is a rebel group founded by Khalil Ibrahim, whose goal is a regime change in Sudan. JEM began its rebellions against GoS in 2003, hampering the marginalization process in the Darfur region. It became apparent that they are an auxiliary from the Chadian government when the Sudanese government backed Chadian rebels, who launched multiple attacks on strategic border posts in Chad. Such actions eventually led to a proxy war between Chad and Sudan. Currently, the SAF and the Janjaweed are the primary opponents of the JEM. In the recent years, JEM and its allies have launched many successful attacks against the GoS.

Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM)

The SLM is one of the major rebel groups operating in Darfur along with the JEM. Originally, it was founded as the Darfur Liberation Front by the Fur and the Zaghawa tribes. At the end of 2007, the SLA split into three different factions, and other smaller "splinter" groups. Currently, the SLA founder, Abdul Wahid, is recognized as one of the most reputable figures by many IDPs, especially among the Fur tribe.

Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF):

The SAF is the army of the Sudanese government. The SAF are well-known for carrying out numerous counter-insurgency operations in Darfur. With the aid of their proxy militia, the Janjaweed, they have carried out mass murder, forced displacement, and rape that infringed international laws and regulations.

Janjaweed:

Janjaweed is a militia group comprised of a Sudanese Arab tribe that operates in both Darfur and eastern areas of Chad. Currently, the Janjaweed is in conflict with rebel groups- the JEM and the SLA. Until 2003, the Janjaweed engaged in conflicts over scarce water and land. However, the Janjaweed became more aggressive in 2003 as they were supported by the Sudanese government in fighting against rebel groups in Darfur. The Janjaweed are known to pillage towns and villages inhabited by African tribes and non- Arabic speaking population. It is notable that many Janjaweed leaders and commanders are wanted by the International Criminal Court. Although it is clear that Sudanese government aids the Janjaweed with arms, it continuously denies offering any supports to the Janjaweed.


Timeline of Events

Date	Description of event
Early 2003	Anti- governmental rebel groups, the JEM and SLA, rise up, claiming that the Sudanese government neglects supporting non- Arab population and arms Arab militia fighting against civilians.

January 2004	Sudanese army is deployed in Darfur to quell uprisings; Hundreds of thousands are displaced and flee to the neighboring country Chad.
April 2004	The government and rebel groups agree on ceasefire.
January 2005	The UN reports that the Sudanese government and the Janjaweed continue their abuses in western Sudan.
March 2005	The UN Security Council decides to sanction any party that violates ceasefire in Darfur.
May 2006	Sudanese government and the Sudan Liberation Movement sign a peace accord while SLA and JEM reject the deal.
September 2006	Sudan calls for the withdrawal of African Union troops from Darfur as their mandate expires the within same month.
December 2006	Sudan reluctantly accepts the deployment of UN troops in Darfur.
May 2007	US President George Bush imposes sanctions on Sudan.
August 2007	Deployment of 26,000 of troops is authorized by the Security Council for Darfur's hybrid mission.
October 2008	UN reports that approximately 300,000 have died and 2.5 million have been displaced.
March 4, 2009	The International Criminal Court issues an arrest warrant for Sudanese President Al- Bashir for war crimes.
February 23, 2010	JEM signs a peace accord with Sudanese government. However, JEMS failure to keep certain terms continues to incite clashes between smaller rebel groups and the government.
July 2011	Sudanese government and the Liberation Justice Movement, a newly formed rebel group, sign the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD)
August 2013	Violence erupts between two Darfurian tribes, Maalia and Rezeigat.

2014	3,000 villages were destroyed according to UN reports and more than 400,000 attacks occurred until October.
2015	Multiple inter-communal clashes between Rezeigat and Maalia tribes are reported.
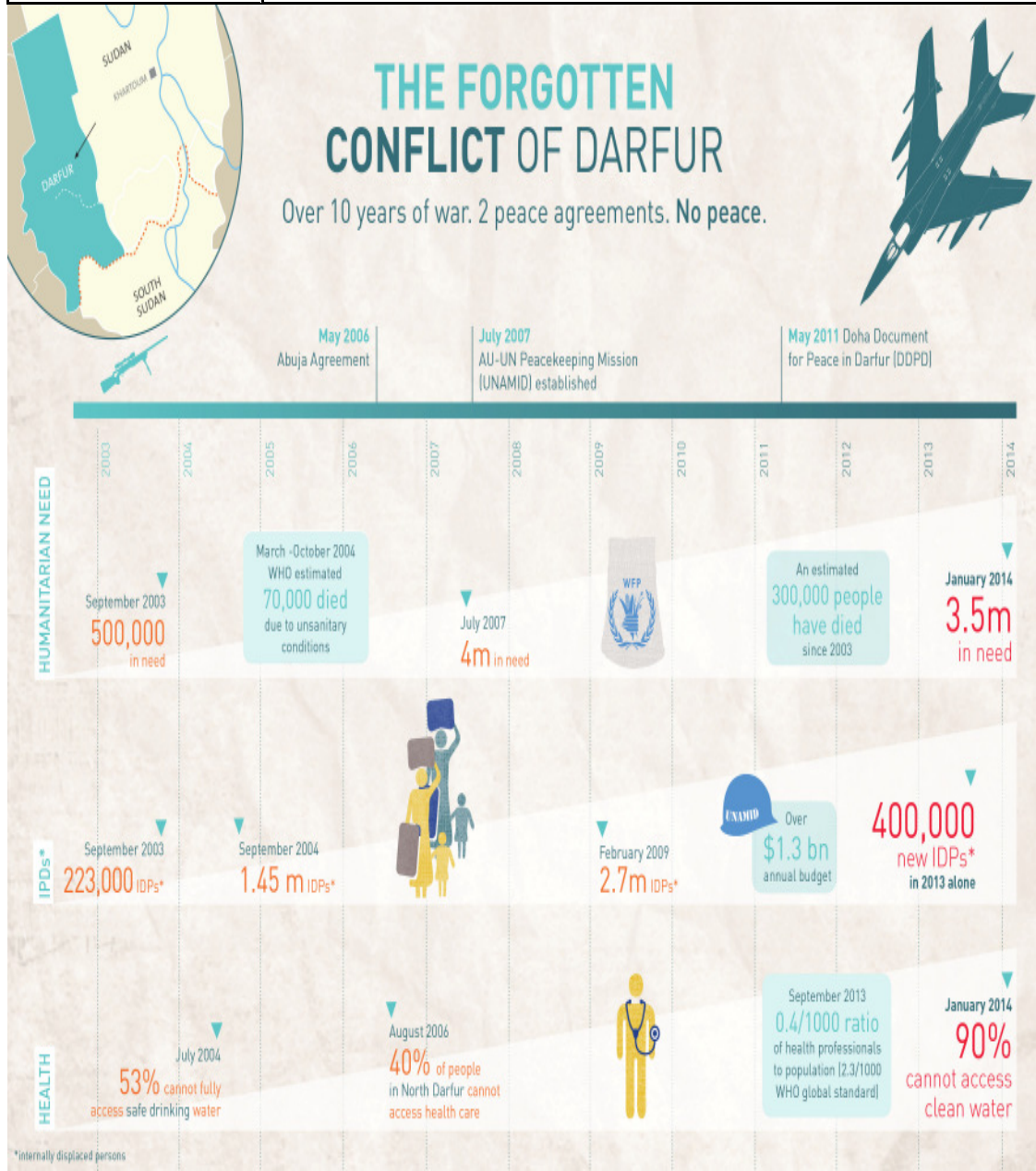
Darfur Conflict Infographic

Relevant UN Treaties, Resolutions and Events

S/RES/1567

This Security Council Resolution was adopted on the 18th September 2004. This resolution called for the imposition of sanctions if Sudan failed to comply with its obligations on Darfur, and demanded all armed groups, including both militias and rebels, to cease all violence. Furthermore, this resolution demanded the Sudanese government to submit the names of disarmed Janjaweed militiamen and the names of those who were arrested for human right infringements and violations of international humanitarian laws.

S/RES/1593

This Security Council Resolution was adopted on the 31st March 2005. This resolution decided that the Sudanese government and all parties involved in the crisis in Darfur should cooperate and provide necessary information and assistance to the Court and the Prosecutors mentioned in the resolution. Moreover, the resolution emphasized on the importance of promoting reconciliation and healing among Sudanese communities in order to reinforce efforts to restore long lasting peace in Darfur.

S/RES/1679

This Security Council Resolution was adopted on the 16th May 2006. The purpose of the resolution is to consider taking drastic measures such as asset freeze and travel ban against any groups or individuals that violate or impede the process of the Darfur Peace Agreement.

S/RES/ 1945

This Security Council Resolution was adopted on the 14th October 2010. Its primary objective is to extend the mandate of the Panel of experts and to strengthen the enforcement of an arms embargo.

S/RES/2000

This Security Council Resolution was adopted on the 12th February 2015 and is currently (as of July 2015) the most recent resolution adopted concerning the crisis in Darfur. Its goal is to extend the mandate of Panel of Expert until the 12th March 2016.

2006 Darfur Peace agreement (DPA):

Also known as the Abuja Agreement, this agreement was signed on 5th May 2005 between SLA faction led by Minni Minnawi and Government of Sudan. However, this agreement was rejected by other rebel groups such as the JEM. This peace agreement includes questions of state power sharing, demilitarization of militias, and integration of JEM troops and SLA into the Sudanese Armed Forces and police. Shortly after the agreement, rebel groups that did not agree on the terms of the agreement intensified their campaigns against the government. As a result, this agreement is often regarded as a failure.

2011 Darfur Peace Agreement:

Also known as the Doha Agreement, this agreement was signed in July 2011 between the Liberation and Justice Movement and Government of Sudan. The terms of the agreement included a compensation for Darfur conflict victims and the establishment of a new Darfur Regional Authority to oversee the Darfur region.

Previous Attempts to solve the Issue

Since the conflict emerged in Darfur, many governments and international organizations showed willingness to deescalate the crisis. Although there have been numerous attempts to stop the conflict, the current situation indicates that many of those attempts were ineffective. Such attempts include the two Darfur peace agreements and several other minor treaties between rebel groups and the Sudanese government. Currently, a peacekeeping operation is active in Darfur while peace talks on final settlement continue. African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) was founded in 2004 as the only external military force in Darfur. Eventually, a joint peacekeeping operation between the African Union and the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission (UNAMID) was deployed in October 2007 despite initial harsh opposition from the Sudanese government. Until today, the peacekeeping operation continues its efforts to maintain stability in the region. In addition to pursuing political solutions, the UN leads aid efforts in Darfur and refugee camps in Chad and Central African Republic. Furthermore, the UN human right experts are constantly reporting and monitoring local courts to bring atrocious war criminals to justice. In an effort to eliminate the support of the Sudanese government's militia operations in Darfur, the Security Council imposed arms sanctions on all non-government entities, individuals, and the Janjaweed operating in Darfur.

On a global scale, many western nations have imposed sanctions on the Government of Sudan and any individuals affiliated with it. For instance, the former US President George Bush declared US sanctions which negatively affected Sudan's economy. Although the UN declared sanctions on Sudan, allegedly China and Russia broke them. For instance, Amnesty international reported that China and Russia continued to supply arms and ammunition to Sudan; this act violated the UN arms embargo. Arms and vehicles produced in China and Russia were spotted in various areas of Sudan including Darfur. Despite the clear evidence, China and Russia deny that they have broken UN sanctions. It is vital to understand that China has a close relationship to Sudan due to the plentiful supply of oil in Darfur. It is estimated that the Chinese state owned company controls of approximately 70 percent of Sudan's total oil production.

Possible Solutions

The current crisis in Darfur has deep roots interlinked; parallel conflicts consisting of communal conflicts, marginalization policies, and conflicts between different local elites. It is essential to create a feasible practical solution that tackles different points of the issue. Moreover, it is essential to highlight the fact that Sudan has experienced conflicts of different extents at all borders. Thus, a focused study of how these conflicts interact is necessary since the similarities between these conflicts are prime examples of a center- periphery conflict between marginalized areas and the Sudanese government. Arguably, a solution to the conflict in Darfur and other areas in Sudan requires changes and modifications on a state level including the Sudanese government, since the main grievances of rebel groups are directed to the government of Sudan, no matter which region they might be based on. Therefore, free and fair elections should be advocated to open up possibilities for a more democratic and peaceful Sudan, although it is most likely that there will be difficulties involved in such a process.

It is important to understand that UNAMID is one of the world's first hybrid peace-keeping forces, and there are many uncertainties about this force that derive from this solid fact. Thus, UNAMID must continue to carefully inspect other peacekeeping forces, especially about command structures, in order to work as effectively as possible. Moreover, UNAMID must be scrutinized to examine the strengths and the weakness of the nature of this hybrid-force since the joint United Nations and African Union peacekeeping forces face numerous challenges and obstacles when it comes to making decisions and negotiations. On the other hand, the unification

among rebels and the negotiations are complex issues; furthermore, when looking back into Sudan's history, the most severe challenge will be to implement a permanent agreement among all warring parties in Darfur. Moreover, when it comes to negotiations, there are risks that could be triggered by an agreement that it is exclusively directed to particular ethnic groups and rebel groups. As a result, it provokes other rebel groups or tribes to take up arms. In order to prevent these issues to arise, negotiations and treaties must oblige and involve all parties which come under the scope of the issue.

On an international scale, many coordinated responses are necessary. The international response to the war in Darfur has achieved efficacious results when it comes to the humanitarian response. However, numerous deficiencies in co-ordination and commitment continue to weaken the response from the international community. Most of the reactions and responses from the international community were often ephemeral and characterized by threats; therefore, the international community lost credibility among different Sudanese actors and parties. It is vital to change the nature of the responses of the international community, in order for it to play a more decisive positive role in Darfur and Sudan. Historically, in dealing with the Sudanese government, it has become evident that forms of enforcement policy were more effective than constructive engagement. Moreover, coordination, patience, and commitment have been critical factors when dealing with Sudan. Thus, a similar momentum of patience and engagement has to be created imminently. Possibly, negotiations could continuously be led by the UN/AU peacekeeping forces. In addition, an enforcement mechanism must be utilized to put pressure on incompliant rebel groups and the government. However, it is important to recognize that the policy of threatening but not imposing threats, when demands are not met, is not only ineffective, but also counter-productive. Thus, threats must only be enforced when the guarantor is absolutely willing to impose threats. More importantly, a sense of threat should be part of a schedule when deadlines are set. Without this process, the reliability and effectiveness of the international community will be deteriorated.

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