Annotated Bibliography: Conflict, Forced Migration, Humanitarian Crisis and Relief in Darfur.

The history of Darfur region, and roots of the conflict.

Books:


Alexander De Waal is director of a Social Science Research Council (SSRC) program on AIDS and social transformation, a fellow of the Global Equity Initiative at Harvard, and a director of Justice Africa in London. In his career, he has studied the social, political and health dimensions of famine, war, genocide and the HIV/AIDS epidemic, especially in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes.

This book is a study of the famine which struck Darfur during 1984 and 1985. Using methods and evidence from social anthropology, history, economics, geography and epidemiology, it analyses the famine from the perspective of the rural people who suffered it. It argues that satisfying hunger was not a major concern for famine-stricken families. Their priority was instead to preserve their way of life, to avoid destitution. It is contended that the deaths which occurred in the famine were not caused by lack of food but by "health crises", which in turn were precipitated by population movements and by lack of sanitation and clean water. Relief programmes are discussed and it is argued that if Darfur had been provided with better health and sanitary facilities, most of the famine deaths could have been prevented, even without food aid. The book draws tentative conclusions about lessons for future famine relief programmes. However, De Waal argues that these conclusions must not be used by humanitarian organizations as part of a new orthodoxy concerning intervention for famine relief. Rather, he suggests that the main aim of his book is to emphasise the need for dialogue with those affected by famine in developing famine relief.

A revised edition of this book was published in 2005 by OUP in the wake of the 2004 famine in Darfur, including a new preface in which De Waal analyzes the roots of the current conflict in land disputes, social disruption and impoverishment. This is of particular relevance to the issue of how the humanitarian crises in Darfur interact with the conflict and social unrest of the region.

This book looks at the root causes of Sudan’s civil war. However, it does include a small section on Darfur (pp.139-41), and examines how the conflict between North and South is spreading to other parts of Sudan and across international borders. This is significant because it draws attention to tensions in Darfur before the advent of the widespread violence.

**Academic Articles:**


This article attempts to explain why the peripheral or ‘marginalized areas’ of Sudan have proved the most vulnerable to conflict since Sudan’s independence, with particular emphasis on the crisis in Darfur. The report looks at factors such as disparity in economic diversity and activity across Sudan, disparity in human development levels, problems of government, and adverse interventions of the central government into the workings of local authorities.


This article is about the 84-85 Famine in Sudan, its causes and the risk of future humanitarian disasters in the region. Bush argues that the Darfur region has been consistently neglected by the Sudanese government in the distribution of natural resources. The author looks at what impact this neglect and isolation of the Darfur region has had on food insecurity in the region. The article also assesses the prospects for redressing the historical neglect of Darfur, in particular how humanitarian intervention can be tailored to the needs of Darfuris and the specific problems which they face as distinct from the rest of the Sudanese people.


De Waal identifies Dar Masalit as a ‘pocket’ of exceptionally severe and prolonged famine relative to the 1984-5 famine in Sudan. His thesis is that this is related to the fact that the area hosted 120,000 Chadian refugees at the time. One critical factor was the insecurity in Chad, which prevented the Chadian refugees returning home for the rains of 1985. De Waal argues that the assistance programme was also a cause of the problem, as it was based on notions of
‘refugeehood’ that were inappropriate to western Sudan, which has its own conceptions of ‘refugeehood’ and a long history of dealing with refugees. The negative effects of the assistance programme were to restrict mobility and hinder the integration of the refugee population, which contributed to the severity of the disaster in this region.


This paper argues that the dominant analysis of the causes of civil war, which considers rebel economic opportunity to be the main factor causing civil conflict, is not consonant with the crisis in Darfur. This article conducts a historical analysis of the origins of conflict in Southern Sudan and Darfur, which permits a more comprehensive understanding of the emergence of conflict than an analysis based on rebel economic agendas alone. It is argued that it is not principally rebel economic opportunity behind the insurgency in Darfur (and the two Southern rebellions), but rather socio-economic grievances derived from culturally and regionally imposed political marginalization.

Grey Literature:


This report documents the widespread human rights abuses of the Bashir regime. Although focused on the North/South Sudanese conflict, the report includes a section on ‘The Hidden War in the North’, which looks at how the GoS and the SPLA have exploited competition over resources and ethnic differences in Northern regions in order to create inter-community antagonism. One of the Northern areas discussed is Bahr al-Ghazal, which borders Southern Darfur, suggesting that some international attention was focused on the volatility of groups in the North before the outbreak of violence in 2003.


This Country Briefing Folder contains general background information on Sudan, information relating to the legal context of the county, the human rights record and situation, and international protection considerations regarding particular groups. The table of contents provides (direct clickable) access to information and
documents on other websites. A very good research resource for a general overview of, and background to, the conflict in Sudan.

**The Conflict.**

**Books:**


This is a very informative book, and provides interesting analyses of the causes, nature, pattern, and denial of the genocide in Darfur.

Jerry Fowler contributes “Evolution of Conflict and Genocide in Sudan: A Historical Survey”. Fowlers argues that all key pre-requisites for mass conflict, polarized identities, life-threatening competition over resources, and governmental manipulation, were in place before the outbreak of violence in 2003.

Eric Markusen and Samuel Totten contribute “Investigating Allegations of Genocide in Darfur: The US Atrocities Documentation Team and the UN Commission of Inquiry.” The authors detail their interviews with Darfuri Refugees in Chad. This investigation provided evidence for the former US secretary Colin Powell’s condemnation of the events in Darfur as ‘genocide’.

Eric Reeves essay “Darfur: Genocide Before Our Eyes.” gives an analysis of the genocide taking place in Darfur and Government of Sudan chokehold on humanitarian efforts. The author documents how the conflict in Darfur went virtually unnoticed by the International Community until Feb 2003, by which time the National Congress Party (then the National Islamic Front) and the GoS had decided on a genocidal response. They argue that this genocidal response was perpetrated by the same elite who carried out ‘scorched earth’ policies in Southern Sudan from 1989-2002, indicating that the crisis has largely been caused by a factor identifies by A. De Waal as ‘genocide by force of habit’.

Gregory H. Stanton contributes “Genocide Emergency: Darfur, Sudan Twelve Ways to Deny a Genocide”, which documents the mechanisms of denial of genocide commonly deployed by its perpetrators.

Jennifer Leaning from Physicians for Human Rights and the Harvard School of Public Health contributes “The Human Impact of War in Darfur.” She documents patterns in the attacks of Darfuran villages from sample survey data and first person testimonials.
De Waal, A. War in Darfur and the Search for Peace. [Cambridge, Mass.]

This volume, edited by A. De Waal, brings together essays by both Sudanese scholars and international experts on Darfur. This collection began as a series of papers commissioned by the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum (CPPF) and Justice Africa to provide background analyses of the conflict in Darfur for the AU mediation efforts in 2005. It examines causes of the conflict; The role of the GoS, disputes over land rights and local government which sparked conflict, the development of the Janjiwiid and rebel movements, the enmeshment of the Darfur conflict with the ongoing conflict in Chad. It also looks at the international response and efforts to achieve peace in Darfur, including how the situation in Darfur is presented in the US press.


This is a revised edition of the 2005 version ‘Darfur: A Short History of a Long War’. A good overview of the crisis in Sudan, the book covers Darfur’s history and traces the origins, organisation and ideology of the infamous Janjawid and rebel groups. It also analyses the brutal response of the Sudanese government. The authors investigate the responses by the African Union and the international community, including the halting peace talks and the attempts at civilian protection.

Amsterdam: Vossiuspers, 2006.

This collection, introduced by Fouad Ibrahim, includes short and introductory essays on the crisis in Darfur. The authors are important actors within the international communities response to Darfur, and therefore the collection includes some interesting perspectives and insights.

Mohamed Salih, an analyst of the conflict, contributes ‘Africa’s Governance Deficit, Genocide and Ethnocide.” In which he argues that a deficit of good governance is at the root of the genocide in Darfur, as well as other genocides in the continent.

Nick Grono, of the International Crisis Group (ICG) contributes ‘Darfur: The International Community’s Failure to Protect.’ He presents an overview of the international response to the crisis until 2005. He argues that the international community has failed in their responsibility to protect the citizens of Darfur. However he identifies an historic step in the agreement that was made at the UN
Summit in 2005, where the responsibility of states to protect civilians from
genocide and crimes against humanity was recognized.

Juan Mendez, special advisor to the UN Secretary General on the prevention of
genocide and president of the International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ),
contributes ‘Possibilities for Genocide Prevention.’ He gives an overview of his
personal role in the UN’s efforts to address the conflict in Darfur.


The author uses eye-witness reports from more than 1000 State Department
interview in order to document the atrocities in Darfur. Hagan claims that the
events in Darfur amount to an intentional, racialized, and state-supported act of
genocide. The book particularly focuses on a criminological conception of the
crisis in Darfur; it traces the intellectual history of legal approaches to genocide
and crimes against humanity. The author argues that the discipline of criminology
must expand in order to adequately deal with the social mechanisms which cause
such crimes, and their prosecution, within its remit. From this perspective, the
book presents a case for the prosecution of crimes in Darfur.

**Hoile, David.** European-Sudanese Public Affairs Council. *Darfur : The Road to Peace.*

This book challenges the accusations of genocide made against the GoS. The
author argues that the Bush administration’s labeling of the crisis in Darfur as
‘genocide’ was “an unforgiveable act of opportunism” (p.3) in their attempt to
pander to powerful anti-Muslim and anti-Sudanese constituencies within the US.
Hoile defends the thesis that it has been the negative aspects of international
intervention in the region which have artificially extended the crisis in Darfur.

**O Collins, R.** *Civil Wars & Revolution in the Sudan: Essays in the Sudan, Southern

This book, authored by Professor Collins, a historian at Santa Barbara University,
gives an historical analysis of the crisis in Darfur. He identifies the GoS’s
diplomatic policy as one of ‘splendid isolation’, and argues that the Country will
remain inviolate behind its denials unless international intervention is leveled
seriously.


This revised edition of the 2005 book by Prunier, ‘Darfur: The Ambiguous
Genocide’, includes a new chapter which covers events until mid-2008. This is an excellent analysis of the causes, nature and continuation of the crisis in Darfur.

Chapters 1 & 2: Prunier investigates the history of the region, focusing in particular on the historical separateness, political isolation and material neglect of Darfur.

Chapter 3: Prunier investigates how the Chadian conflict, and Libyan involvement in the region, influenced the conflict in Sudan. In particular, how the GoS dependence on the Gaddafi regime for support in the North/South conflict in Sudan allowed a creeping Libyan presence in Darfur in order to facilitate Libya’s involvement in the Chadian conflict. This presence forced heterogeneous groups in Darfur to identify either as ‘Arab or ‘African’. In this way the Nile Valley rulers effectively prepared the ground for a confrontation between two largely imagined and constructed ‘ethnic’ communities.

Chapter 4: Prunier focuses on the period immediately preceding the conflict in 2003, and the ongoing crisis in the region. He identifies the violent government suppression of the Shayibi group (supporters of Turabi-leader of the National Islamic Front) in Darfur, in 2001 as a microcosm of the conflict which ensued two years later. He argues that “The whole of GoS policy and political philosophy since it came to power in 1989 has kept verging on genocide in it’s general treatment of the national question in Sudan.” (pp. 105)

Prunier discusses the formation of the different factions in the Darfur conflict, the ‘Janjawiid’, the ‘Sudan Liberation Movement’, and the ‘Justice and Equality Movement’, and the GoS’s utilization of the Janjawiid to carry out ‘counter insurgency on the cheap’. He argues that in October 2003 the GoS took measures which introduced genocidal proportions into the conflict by targeting the livelihoods of civilians who has survived the massacres by blocking humanitarian efforts. This he terms ‘killing by attrition’, and identifies it as a new era in the Sudan crisis.

Prunier terms the ongoing crisis in Darfur ‘death on the installment plan’, citing the factors which are perpetuating the humanitarian crisis in Darfur; Agricultural production in Darfur is barely 30% of what it was before the war, Rape is routinely used as a weapon of war, Humanitarian aid is threatened by underfunding, continuing bureaucratic obfuscation from Khartoum, and the dangerous security situation (especially with regard to transport routes). He also documents the disintegration of the insurgent movement, the intra-Arab conflicts and the rise of crime and instability in the region, incited by the actions of the GoS.

Steidle, Brian, Steidle Wallace, Gretchen. The Devil Came on Horseback : Bearing

This book co-written by Brian Steidle, a former United States Marine who served for six months beginning in September 2004 in Darfur as an unarmed military observer for the African Union, and his sister Gretchen with whom he corresponded throughout this time. It provides a first-hand witness account of the atrocities.

Journal articles:


This article, available at http://www.thenation.com/doc/20050328/abbas, argues that the main root of the conflict in Darfur is the injustice of the Khartoum government. Abbas argues that the conflict in Darfur is not merely racial or cultural, that the government has systematically and consistently denied the peoples of Darfur equal access to wealth and development, including equal access to education, healthcare and economic opportunity, which has caused much of the discontent rebels groups. The Janjaweed militia constitute a cheap and effective way of countering the rebellion for the government, and in arming them it has turned groups against one another, hence diverting attention from its victimization of all Darfuris.


Article not available from OLIS. From the abstract: The hypothesis of this article is that, like any other international conflict “managers”, the officers in charge of UN operation in Sudan are part of the environment in which the violence is determined. They introduce new resources into the conflict, which the belligerents exploit in order to secure their political survival. This article was initially written in French, although there does seem to be a translation of the abstract into English so presumably there is a full-text English translation also.

Mariam Bibi Jooma is a researcher on the Horn of Africa with the Africa Security Analysis Programme at the ISS. The report aims at giving an overview of the dynamics of the conflict in Darfur in light of events in 2006. Bibi Jooma argues that what is significant about the current Darfurian challenge to the NIF regime, in contrast to the war with the South, is that for the first time it is a part of the “North” and is a fellow Muslim community that has raised the standard of rebellion. Darfur insurgents (despite their internal differences) largely couch their grievances in the language of Islam. Ironically, this is the same discourse that was used previously to build a common constituency between the rebels and the Islamic movement. In this respect the rebellions in Darfur represent a far more threatening prospect to the Khartoum regime than that presented by the Southern civil war.

The author argues that what is often neglected in the analysis of the Darfur conflict, more so than any ascription of the violence to “Arab” versus “African” antagonism as a root cause, is the basic struggle for sustainable livelihoods. With the increasing desertification of the many parts of the arid Northern Darfur state and the shrinkage in pastures for the nomadic peoples, the relevance of a peace deal existing solely on paper is likely to be seen as largely of intellectual interest. The long-term viability of the Darfur region depends on making human development a priority and that No ceasefire will hold in Darfur without the political national will to reconfigure politics towards substantive human development in all regions.


The report attempt to provide a brief overview of the current dynamics unfolding in the Sudan. It focuses on the implementation of the CPA, concentrating on those aspects of the process that are likely significantly to challenge the implementation process. Bibi Jooma suggests that the continued violence and conflict in Darfur underline the increasing fragility of the newly created institutions and have severely tested the durability of the NCP-SPLM alliance that resulted from the signing of the CPA. It is argued that in effect, the CPA has raised more acutely the problem of underdevelopment of peripheral areas in Sudan; there is a sense that the CPA came about as a consequence of the war fought by Southerners, who cannot now be used to rally and represent the cause of the Northern disaffected.

This article outlines the atrocities, and looks at the root causes of the conflict—citing both tribal tensions and economic marginalization of the people of Darfur by the GoS as the primary causes. It also contains an interesting analysis of the Bush administrations policy in Sudan and the pressures which shape it.


This paper attempts to provide an estimate of the number of deaths in Darfur due to the conflict and their spread across the region. It is estimated that there have been approximately 134,000 total deaths in Darfur and Eastern Chad over the 17 months from September 2003 to January 2005. Of these deaths, 120,000 were excess deaths directly attributable to the conflict, 35,000 of which were violent deaths.


The United Nations Commission of Inquiry on reports of violations of international humanitarian law in the Darfur region of Sudan has found that Sudanese government forces and militias have conducted indiscriminate attacks in Darfur, including mass killings, torture, rapes and forced displacement of civilians. The Commission, however, concluded that the government of Sudan did not pursue a policy of genocide. In order for mass killings to amount to genocide there must be specific intent "to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such.


This article argues that the three primary causes of the current conflict in Darfur are the drought of the 1980s, the disruption of the tribal administrative system in the area, and the use of militias as an instrument of war by proxy. In order to end the crisis it recommends several measures; the GoS must disarm the Janjaweed and fully co-operate over the issue of access for humanitarian agencies. AMIS must be expanded and given logistical and financial support from the US and EU. The International community must increase pressure on the GoS and rebel groups to reach a political agreement and cease-fire.

The article examines the changing role of women in the inter-communal conflicts of Darfur. It assesses the role of women as instigators of violence, concluding that this is very limited. However, it argues that widespread perceptions of women as instigators of violence confuses their actual role with regard to peace and war, and denies women their legitimate demand for participation in public life, including peace building and conflict resolution.


This paper examines whether or not the conflict in Darfur does indeed amount to genocide, including a discussion of the role of forced displacement in reaching such a determination. It then looks at the 2005 findings of the United Nations-sponsored International Commission of Inquiry and discusses some of the reasons behind the international reluctance to reach a determination of genocide in the region. Lastly, it addresses the constructiveness of the genocide label in the context of Darfur, and presents options for moving forward with a protection agenda regardless of what the conflict is called.


This paper advocates taking a more holistic approach to addressing the conflicts in Southern Sudan, Northern Uganda and Darfur, which focuses on their interconnectedness. Indeed, Prendergast argues, the GoS has exploited the international community’s tendency to focus on one conflict at a time and is adept at using one conflict to stoke the fire of another. He argues that Khartoum’s tactics have cynically used the promise of peace in the south, through the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), to relieve diplomatic pressure to end the killing in Darfur. Prendergast advocates constructing a more regionally coordinated U.S. and multilateral strategy aimed at bringing peace to all three areas.

Reeves argues that deployment of UNAMID has been virtually paralyzed by the Khartoum regime’s calculated obstructionism and by the refusal of militarily capable nations to provide critically needed tactical and transport helicopters, as well as ground transport capacity. He argues, after considering the arguments from various actors, that there is no alternative to UNAMID protection in Darfur, and that therefore the international community must rally the resources and exert the pressure on Khartoum, both of which are critical to the mission's success.


This report argues that the warning signs of a renewed and significant government military attack on rebel groups.


This paper takes the Darfur crisis as an empirical case study in order to shed light on the broader issue of civil militias and their realities in conflict prone and plural societies in Africa. The paper argues that the Janjaweed militias are formidably linked to the formal and informal interests and structures of the GoS and its leaders.


The author, affiliated to the Institute for International Peace Studies, argues that the Darfur conflict which began in 2002 had its roots in land and other natural resources disputes, exacerbated by expanding desertification in the region. It was politicized by a long-held sentiment of marginalization in the political system and resentment against a central government that favored one tribal grouping against another in the region. It is argued that from 2002 and up to 2004, the parties to the fighting were easily identifiable: The rebels emerged from African tribes — mainly the Fur, Zaghwa, Masaalit, and other smaller ones. They were represented
in the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). On the other side of the conflict was the government, which mobilized not only its own forces, but also militia forces from Arab tribes in the region — mainly the Irayqat, Rizeigat, Mahariya, and others — popularly known as the janjaweed. The article argues that due to the failed peace process in the region the conflict has become less manageable and understood, comprising many different factions which are hard to identify. The peace processes in Darfur is discussed, with an analysis of some of the factors that account for its failures.

Grey Literature:


Aegis trust is a UK NGO which campaigns to end crimes against humanity and genocide worldwide. In this report Walker and Smith argue that the actions of the GoS in Darfur are genocidal. However, they put forward an argument for interpreting the term ‘genocidal’ not as a classification of a situation but as an indicator of a high risk of genocide. They contend that the political and moral obligations to prevent are as strong when genocide is threatened, as when it is agreed that it is happening. The authors argue that it is the presence of an ‘exclusionary ideology’ that differentiates a genocidal situation from a two-sided conflict, and they think that an exclusionary ideology has driven policies of the current (Nov 2001) and previous Government of Sudan (GoS) that have led to outcomes that can be regarded as genocide. This report provides an interesting perspective on the significance of ‘naming’ the crisis, as well as a firm argument that greater intervention in Darfur is morally and legally warranted by international law under its correct interpretation.

Amnesty International.


This report argues that a human rights tragedy is unfolding in Eastern Chad, along the border with Darfur. Although such incursions by the Janjaweed have been happening since 2003, they have intensified since late 2005, as relations between the governments of Chad and Sudan have deteriorated, the report claims. Janjaweed incursions have been clearing the land of members of communities such as the Dajo, Mobeh, Masalit, Kajaksa and other groups. Certain Chadian
communities have been singled out for attack, whilst others have been exempted and have joined the Janjaweed by participating in the attacks.


This report presents a section of a selection of the testimonies gathered by Amnesty International from IDP’s in Eastern Chad in June 2006.


Following clashes between the government and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), who control Muhajeriya, thousands of civilians have sought protection outside the UNAMID base in the town. Despite this, the GoS urged UNAMID to move out of Muhajeriya before they started aerial attacks against JEM near the town on the 9th Feb 09. A.I are calling for assurance from the peacekeeping force that it will remain in Muhajeriya and protect the civilian population.


This report draws attention to the continuing security situation in Darfur. It argues that large parts of Darfur are now unsafe for travel due to insecurity on the roads therefore hindering humanitarian assistance from reaching those in need. The report also cites direct attacks on humanitarian aid personnel. It documents the continuing attacks on civilians perpetrated by government forces and the Janjawiid militia. It Claims that in May and June 2007, more than 2,500 people were forced to flee from south Darfur, making a painful 10-day trek to the Central African Republic. It also notes the widespread and continuing sexual violence being perpetrated in Darfur, as well as the number of deaths due to mounting ethnic conflicts in the region.


This report documents the recent transfers of arms to the Sudanese government, and the governments which sold the arms. It details the human rights abuses, crimes against humanity, and war crimes that were perpetrated using these arms, through the voices of survivors from Darfur. The report also examines how the
Sudanese government have used revenue from the oil industry in order to increase their military expenditure, whilst failing to ensure the minimum essential levels of economic, social and cultural rights of the population.

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In this report satellite imagery is used to highlight the pattern of destruction of villages in Darfur by the Janjawid and the government-armed forces. It also confirms such patterns, and shows the humanitarian effects of such violence, through first-hand testimonies and data from the region.

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The report argues that the Darfur Peace Agreement of May 2006, supposed to herald a new era of peace, has instead it has opened up a new conflict, pitting the government and its allies against the non-signatories. The Peace Agreement, signed by the government of Sudan, one faction of the opposition Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) led by Minni Minawi, and a few individual commanders from other factions, was not signed by key opposition groups and factions. As a result, civilians throughout Darfur now face the threat of new attacks. Those most at risk are mainly in North Darfur, but government and Janjawid attacks are also reported in West and South Darfur.

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Amnesty International argue that UNAMID ‘hybrid’ force is failing to protect citizens, due to slow deployment, insufficient training of African troops, and lack of ground and air transport equipment and troops. During 2008, between 270,000 and 300,000 people were forced from their homes. If the international community are to fulfil their promise to protect the citizens of Darfur, then they must do more say A.I.

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This report looks at the situation of IDP’s in more than 65 camps throughout Sudan in 2007. It argues that the continuing lack of security for IDP’s is breeding anger and tension within the camps. The report claims that almost all IDP camps are awash with weapons. The presence of weapons and a generation of young people sitting in camps doing nothing, frustrated and angry, has led to an increase in recruitment by armed opposition groups.


This report explains how rape and other forms of sexual violence are being as a weapon of war in order to control, humiliate, punish and displace women and their communities. It also looks at the immediate and long-term consequences of these crimes, beyond the actual physical violence.


This document considers cases of serious crimes under international human rights and humanitarian law committed in Darfur and elsewhere in Sudan, for which there has so far been no accountability. It calls for an end to the impunity given by the GoS to the perpetrators of such crimes.


This publication argues that the events in Darfur since June 2003 until the date of publication in July 2004, show that the international community has failed to properly institutionalize the lessons of the Rwandan genocide. Austin, director of research at the Foreign Policy Centre and previous director of policy at the ICC, stresses the need for a ‘trigger mechanism’ that guarantees automatic engagement of major powers in response to prima facie evidence of genocide.

Police force (PPF) in Sudan, and its possible involvement in human rights violations and/or violations of IHL in Darfur.


A resolution produced by the Council of Europe on the crisis in Darfur following the report of the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population, rapporteur: Mrs Vermot-Mangold; and Doc. 11394. The council reaffirms United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1556 (2004), 1706 (2006) and 1769 (2007) on the crisis. It calls for the GoS to co-operate with the UN fully, including on the matter of effective deployment of a hybrid peace-keeping mission, and to support all international agencies and humanitarian organisations in order to facilitate delivery of humanitarian aid to people in need. It also calls on the international community to assist and protect IDP’s in camps across the region, comply with and enforce the UN sanction on arms sales to Sudan, support the deployment of the hybrid peace-keeping force, and support the ICC in the exercise of its jurisdiction.


On the 18th September 2004 the Security Council adopted resolution 1564 requesting, that the Secretary-General establish an international commission of inquiry in order to (1) investigate reports of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law in Darfur by all parties, (2) to determine also whether or not acts of genocide have occurred, and (3) to identify the perpetrators of such violations, (4) with a view to ensuring that those responsible are held accountable. The Commission submitted a full report on its findings to the Secretary-General on 25 January 2005. The report addresses in detail the commission’s findings on the (4) key tasks referred to it.

**International Crisis Group (ICG):**


The report documents the changing dynamics of the conflict in Darfur. It argues that while there are fewer deaths than during the high period of fighting in 2003-
2004, it has mutated, the parties have splintered, and the confrontations have multiplied. It is argued that the May 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) is a failure, too limited in scope and signatories. It calls on the AU to revise its mediation policies in light of the increasing violence, widening the peace talks to include the full range of actors and constituencies involved in the conflict, including its primary victims, such as women, but also Arab tribes. The decreasing access of humanitarian aid to the region and the failure of the peace-keeping force due to lack of resources are emphasized.


The ICG welcome the indictment of Bashir, but argue that actions must be taken to prevent a government back-lash against the citizens of Dafur.


This report looks at the spread and dynamics of the conflict in Darfur and particularly draws attention to the high-risk area of the Chad/Sudan border. It says that the battlefield now extends into eastern Chad, and the escalating proxy war between Sudan and Chad threatens to produce a new humanitarian catastrophe. Inside Darfur humanitarian access is at its lowest in two years. The report argues that the AU and the wider international community must put greater pressure on the GoS in order to alleviate the crisis.


The report draws attention to the problem of fragmentation in the Darfurian rebel movements. It argues that steps must therefore be taken to re-unify the rebel groups. In particular the report suggests inclusive cross-party conferences, with attendance of all leaders of rebel factions.


This report calls for more proactive protection measures for civilians as Sudan enters a critical and difficult period in the implementation of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Implementation of the CPA involves release of
the results of a national census carried out in 2008 and the prospect of a national election scheduled for 2009 (yet already delayed). The report argues that these measures will affect the balance of power and wealth between the former antagonists and, with real power at stake, the risk of new conflicts erupting will increase exponentially.


This FCO report outlines the developments with regard to the situation in Darfur in 2008, and details the UK’s position with respect to the security situation and humanitarian crisis.

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As above with regard to 2007.


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This report is a short overview of the actions taken and findings of UNHCR’s presence in Darfur in 2006.

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This report covers the period from 1 Aug 2007- 30 Dec 2008, and is the third report on children in the armed conflict in the Sudan to be presented to the Security Council and its Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict. The report highlights that children continue to be recruited by parties on either side of the armed conflict, that widespread sexual violence and rape is being perpetrated against women and children, and that those living in and around refugee camps and IDP settlements are particularly vulnerable. These reports are regularly updated online. This is the most recent but detailed reports on the role of children in
the armed conflict can be found dating back to the beginning of the crisis at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,COI,UNSC,,SDN,,0.html.


This report provides an assessment of the overall situation in the county since the previous report, dated 20th Oct 08. It also covers the work of the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) through to the 18th Jan 09. These reports are regularly up-dated online and provide a detailed view of the security situation, political developments and humanitarian situation in Sudan during the months covered. This is the most recent report, but reports can be found back-dated to the beginning of the crisis at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,COI,UNSC,,SDN,,0.html.


This report, details the human rights practices of the GoS in 2008. Annual reports of this type date back to the beginning of the crisis.

**Peace-keeping and the responsibility to protect.**

**Academic articles:**


This paper argues that the deployment of AMIS to Sudan since June 2004 has faced several major challenges; a restrictive mandate, inadequate troops to cover Darfur, and serious operational, logistical and capacity shortfalls. The article emphasises the need for the AU to strengthen its capacity and expertise at all levels of command through technical cooperation and appropriate assistance from the UN and partners.

This paper seeks to examine the efforts of AMIS to stabilize the security situation in Darfur and improve humanitarian conditions on the ground. It also examines the role and efforts of the international community in complementing those of the AU, and the activities of the non-parties to the HCFA, namely the Janjaweed, armed militia and bandits, as well as Chadian rebels and mutineers. The paper concludes that the international community have not done enough, and as a result the AU has been obliged to take the lead in regional peace efforts to stabilise the situation through the deployment of AMIS, but it has ultimately been inadequate on account of the weakness of its mandate and the inadequacy of its logistical and other capacities. The situation has tested AMIS beyond its limits.


This policy paper examines the African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN) mission in Sudan with regard to three main points; 1) the dilemmas associated with the ‘protection of civilians’ mandate given to peace-keepers, 2) the new institutional partnerships required to meet the growing demand for peace-keeping operations, 3) the acknowledgement that peace-keeping can only succeed if accompanied by an inclusive political process.


In the advent of the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), and the resolution passed by the UN Security Council on the 16 May 2006 strengthening the AU mission in Darfur prior to the deployment of an UN/AU hybrid peace-keeping force, Braud highlights three potential problems; Firstly, the probability of significant political and security obstacles to the implementation of the DPA. Secondly, the budget constraints of the UN Department for of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO) - funding peace keeping in Sudan will lead to the downsizing of other peace keeping missions in Africa which could have a destabilising impact on fragile peace processes, in particular in DR-Congo. Thirdly, the urgent need to develop compatible priorities and allocations of resources for African peace keeping missions overall.

This article outlines the implications of the Abuja agreement, and possible obstacles to the implementation of a UN peace keeping force in Darfur. Cohen discussed what factors must be in place in order for the agreement to make a real difference in Darfur and concludes by re-iterating President Olesugun Obasanjo warning: “Unless the right spirit, unless the right attitude and right disposition is there, this document is not worth the paper it is signed on.”


Cohen argues that Security Council resolution 1769, passes on the 31st July 2007, represents the strongest international commitment on Darfur so far. She argues that although the resolution has deficiencies it is strong enough to make a real difference on the ground in Darfur if given the necessary support for implementation by the international community. The strengths of the resolution include: 1) that it was, in contrast to previous resolutions on the region, adopted unanimously, 2) it promises to quadruple the number of forces on the ground in the form of an AU/UN hybrid force, 3) it gives troops a stronger mandate-ordering them to take the ‘necessary action to prevent armed attacks and protect civilians and humanitarian workers, 4) it does not explicitly, in contrast to previous resolutions, invite the consent of the GoS.


This article claims that the hardest question that Darfur poses may not be moral one of whether the world has a duty to intervene, but rather a strategic one- Even if there is a consensus on the need for a UN force in Darfur, are the resources available to sustain it? Gowan argues that this strategic question arises not because the international community has given up UN operations, but because it is already heavily engaged in such operations worldwide.

On July 31, the UN Security Council (UNSC) passed resolution 1769 authorizing the creation of a 20,000-strong peacekeeping force to be deployed to the Darfur region of Sudan. This article notes that despite the hope of supporters of the resolution, who believe that this peacekeeping force will end the ongoing genocide, which has left 7,000 civilians dead each month, there are various factors which may hinder the force’s ability to protect: 1) political will, 2) Chinese approval, 3) US role, 4) Lack of a global genocide monitoring mechanism.


This paper examines the problems of civilian protection created by the war in Darfur, focusing on the role of AMIS and the challenges it has encountered in protecting civilians in Darfur. It examines the challenges that have faced the proposed UN force, and the prospects of a hybrid force involving the AU and UN. Finally, it explores the role of external players such as the European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the Arab League and China in resolving the Darfur crisis.


This paper present a useful guide to the implementation of the DPA in the form of; 1) a chart that includes a timeline summarizing AMIS responsibilities by function, 2) a key guide to the terms of the DPA, and a 3) schematic chart laying out the responsibilities of all the parties to the DPA in the area of security and peace.


This paper comments on the process of negotiations and mediation in Abuja between November 2005 and May 2006, leading to the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), drawing from the authors first-hand experience in the
mediation process in Darfur. It is argued that the AU pursued a counter-productive strategy of deadline diplomacy which inhibited the mediation process and significantly contributed to a flawed peace agreement. Nathan contends that an enduring peace agreement cannot be forced on the parties. Instead it has to be shaped and owned by them since it cannot be implemented without their consent and co-operation and its sustainability requires their adherence to its provisions in the long term.


This article argues that the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) signed in May 2006 by the GoS and a faction of the SLM led by Minawi, shows little sign of success. The focus is on the process which led to the signing of the DPA and several questions are addressed: 1) how and why did the negotiations fail? 2) What role did the international community play in this failure? 3) What caused further splintering of rebel groups and increased insecurity after the signing of the DPA?


This article assesses whether the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement is sufficiently robust to bring peace to Darfur.


This paper has determines a six (6) point legal test that might be used to justify any such international humanitarian intervention, in accordance with international humanitarian and human rights law. It also recommends a series of short, medium and long-term enforcement strategies and military options which aim to respect Sudan’s national security concerns while better protecting the rights and livelihoods of the people of Darfur.
Grey Literature:


This article argues that the Darfur Peace Agreement, signed on the 5 May 2006, has several serious flaws. The most significant of which is that only two of the three rebel groups have signed the document. It states that if the DPA is not to leave Darfur more fragmented and conflict-prone than before, the international community must rapidly take practical measures to shore up its security provisions, improve prospects for the displaced to return home, bring in the holdouts and rapidly deploy a robust UN peacekeeping force with Chapter VII authority.

International Response.

Academic articles:


This article presents the case for international intervention in Darfur and analyses the gap between this theoretical justification and action on the ground. Kiplagat concludes that the strategy to be pursued must be an international commitment to a combination of humanitarian action, security, and political settlement.


This paper argues that the United States does have an obligation to intervene in the Darfur crisis and in similar situations in the future, based on both an US interest and value-grounded rationale. The paper addresses three central questions: what is occurring in Darfur? What is the theoretical case for U.S. action in Darfur or any other mass murder? And how this can be carried out practically?

This article makes the case for the international community’s intervention in Darfur. It is argued that the basis for this intervention is largely the adoption of the groundbreaking responsibility to protect at the UN General Assembly in 2005. The article aims to discuss the twin concepts of human security and responsibility to protect within the international relations discourse using Darfur as a focal point.


This report presents a preliminary assessment of the international response to the situation in Darfur since March 2003 (until the date of publication- Oct 2004). Slim argues that although the international community has not denied the problem or the responsibility to act, as was the case with the Rwandan genocide, it has been slow to act and took too long to achieve a united and sufficiently assertive response. There were tensions between bilateral and multilateral approaches. Slim notes negative aspects of the international response; competing political priorities within Sudan, within the region and in the world at large, acted to distract and inhibit political response to what was happening in Darfur. However, The Darfur emergency also shows key elements of the international community working to very high standards, such as: impressive fact-finding carried out on the ground by the missions of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the Secretary General. US government use of satellite images to display the pattern and extent of destruction and displacement, corroborated by NGO reports. Determined diplomacy by states such as Chad, the US, the UK, the Netherlands and Germany. Official mediation from the AU.


This study aims to use the Darfur conflict as a case study in order to draw conclusions about how better to include the issue of minority rights into the work of institutions mandated with conflict early-warning and prevention.
Grey literature:

Amnesty International.


This report does not specifically focus on Sudan, is rather a general report on the arms trade in China. With regard to Sudan, it claims that China has supplied small arms and light weapons to the armed forces, which have been responsible for much of the killings and torture, often of civilians, in the internal armed conflict.


This report argues that UNAMID will not be operational until late 2008, despite the commitment of the UN to the effectiveness of the hybrid peacekeeping force from Dec 2007. The delay is due to the Obstruction of the peace-keeping efforts by the GoS, and the lack of commitment on behalf of the international community to timely deployment of the peace-keeping force.


This report focuses on the continuing transference of arms and ammunition to Darfur in 2006/07. It describes the arming process and its effects on the IDP’s of Darfur and neighbouring eastern Chad. Details are provided of violations of the United Nations arms embargo on Darfur that occurred during January to March 2007. Amongst other things, it shows how the Government of Sudan violates the UN arms embargo and disguises some of its military logistics operations in Darfur, and what arms supplied to Sudan from China and Russia - two Permanent Members of the Security Council - have been used for violations of the Security Council’s own mandatory arms embargo.

This report argues that the impasse over deploying a major UN peacekeeping force to Darfur results directly from the international community’s three-year failure to apply effective diplomatic and economic pressure on Sudan’s government. Divisions within international community over whether to drop the demand for a UN peace-keeping force in favour of strengthening AMIS have been exploited by the GoS in order to effectively neutralise international pressure. It is argued that full support should also be given by the international community to the rulings of the ICC of crimes against humanity.

The ICC:

Academic Articles:


The report states that the referral of the situation in Darfur in 2005 to the ICC contrasts with 3 earlier and similar state referrals of the situations in Northern Uganda, DR Congo, and Central African Republic; whereas these 3 states pledged their support for the ICC, the GoS has attempted to undermine the ICC jurisdiction in Sudan and impede its workings. This report looks at the impact of the ICC investigation and rulings in Sudan, and the response of the GoS. It contrasts this case study with the ICC impact in the neighboring DR Congo.


The authors consider the recent referral by the UN Security Council of the situation in the western region of Sudan (Darfur) for investigation and prosecution
to the International Criminal Court. The paper focuses on the context of this referral, especially since the referral signals a capitulation by the United States of America (which had the power to veto the referral) in the face of worldwide pressure for the United Nations to take action against perpetrators of atrocities in Sudan.


In this article the author provides an historical background to the legal definition of ‘genocide’, concluding that the world community now has a legal definition, an international statute outlawing the crime, and a court asserting jurisdiction over it. In order to halt the massacres in Sudan, punish those responsible, deter such crimes elsewhere, Kiernan concludes that the next step must be for the International Criminal Court to hear the Darfur case.


On 27 February 2007, the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) applied to Pre-Trial Chamber I for summonses against State Minister Ahmed Harun and Janjaweed militia leader Ali Kushayb, who are alleged to have committed war crimes and crimes against humanity in Darfur. Mattioli says that this represents the first attempt to hold individuals criminally liable for their role in the atrocities.


Rodman argues that the Darfur referral to the ICC shows the limits of international criminal justice as an agent of wartime deterrence. It is argued that: First, international tribunals cannot deter criminal violence as long as states and international institutions are unwilling to take enforcement actions against perpetrators. Second, the key to ending impunity in an ongoing war lies less in legal deterrence than in political strategies of diplomacy, coercion, or force. Third, the contribution of criminal justice in aftermath of mass atrocity is dependent on which strategies are used to put it to an end.

This report addresses general criticisms of the ICC work so far; its selection to date of cases arising from African countries only, that its current practice hampers peace-making in the regions in which it works, and that it is not sufficiently gender-sensitive in practice. Responses to these criticisms are considered, with reference to particular regions.

Grey Literature:


This report investigates what consequences the ICC Indictment of President Bashir on the 4th March 09 will have for the crisis in Sudan. It argues that, given internal tensions within the NCP regime and the unstable nature of their relationship with partners in government the SPLM, the indictment itself may provoke change. Bashir's delegitimisation in the eyes of both external actors and the Sudanese population may empower those opposed to the security-focused approach of the NCP hardliners. It is argued that the prospects of Bashir's isolation and even removal are real, but unlikely. The more likely outcome is that he will remain in power with no prospect of ending up before the ICC any time soon.


A question and answer format paper which aims to explain the ICC actions over Darfur.
Forced Migration and IDP’s:

Academic articles:


The majority of the 174,000 refugees in Uganda have fled the civil war in Sudan. The report argues that these refugees have effectively fled from one conflict only to be confronted by another due to a protracted series of armed uprisings and civil conflicts in Northern Uganda.


This article explores how the ties between resettled Sudanese refugees and those who remain in Africa shape the lives of people in both settings. In particular the article discusses the issues surrounding the flow of resources from those resettled in third countries to those remaining in Sudan; to what extent does this flow of resources mask the severity of the problems in the country of origin? Do these remittances mean that the humanitarian burden is being unduly shouldered by those who are themselves least financially stable and most marginalised in society?

Grey Literature:


This report looks at the situation of IDP’s in more than 65 camps throughout Sudan in 2007. It argues that the continuing lack of security for IDP’s is breeding anger and tension within the camps. The report claims that almost all IDP camps are awash with weapons. The presence of weapons and a generation of young people sitting in camps doing nothing, frustrated and angry, has led to an increase in recruitment by armed opposition groups.
This report provides an overview of the human internal displacement situation in Sudan. It deals with the causes and consequences of the displacement, details the nature and spread of displacement as well as the conditions faced by the displaced. Throughout the report are links to external resources for more information. This is a useful tool for gaining an overall picture of displacement in Sudan.

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International Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC).


The aim of this report is to shed light on the ‘information gap’ concerning forcibly displaced people in urban areas. Unlike those in IDP camps relatively little is known about their precise numbers, demographics, basic needs and protection problems. The report aims to develop research tools to be used for profiling urban IDPs, including giving population estimates. Based on their findings the report expects that IDPs comprise between 18.3–23.3%, and it estimates that IDPs in Khartoum, outside the camps and resettlement areas, number in the range of 1,004,300–1,283,700. The report also aims to produce comparative data on IDPs and non-IDPs in urban areas in order to better understand the experience of IDPs and the challenges they face relative to the urban population who they live amongst. The report found that subtle differences in the experiences of IDPs and non-IDPs in urban areas, most significantly finding that IDPs were more likely to be forced to out of their housing than segments of the population who had been there longer. It concludes that programs aimed at poverty alleviation should perhaps be weighted to ensure that IDPs are included, but such programs should not only target IDPs. It is noted that, as in other IDP situation, urban IDPs would benefit from assistance with their identification documents, as the lack of these place IDPs at a particular economic disadvantage, and makes them more vulnerable to harassment.

This report looks at the ongoing displacement crisis in Sudan during 2008 and the beginning of 2009. In Darfur, some 317,000 people were newly displaced in 2008, often for the second or third time since the conflict started in early 2003, taking the total number of IDPs to 2.7 million by January 2009. In the first three months of 2009 a further 65,000 people were displaced. The threats to people’s safety have imposed severe limitations on rural livelihood strategies and have led to a rapid population growth in Darfur’s major towns and IDP settlements. This report forms part of the IDMC profile on Sudan, and roughly annual updates of this profile can be found dating back to 2002.


This is comprehensive profile of the internal displacement situation in Sudan, looking at; causes of displacement, patterns of displacement, population figures and demographic statistics of IDPs, subsistence needs, security situation, patterns of resettlement. It is argued that despite the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) in May 2006, IDPs continue to be subjected to human rights abuses, and the humanitarian situation in camps is critical.


A profile of the internal displacement situation in Sudan in 2006. It is reported that the 3 year conflict in Darfur has caused hundreds of thousands of deaths, the internal displacement of 1.8 million people, and an outflow of more than 200,000 refugees to neighbouring Chad. Cross-border raids by Sudanese government-supported militias have sparked internal displacement in Chad and an influx of Chadian refugees to Darfur. The armed groups – particularly the government-supported militias – have attacked IDP camps, killing, looting and raping the inhabitants, and deliberately target humanitarian workers.


A Compilation of the information available in the Global IDP Database of the Norwegian Refugee Council. Contains information about the crisis in Darfur, including; population displacement figures; the atrocities committed against the civilian population during and after their flight; The security and human rights threats faced by IDP’s either attempting to resettle or living in IDP camps.

This report is published as part of the Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) project, developed in association with the Canadian government, the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and a variety of Sudanese and International NGO partners, which aims to support violence reduction initiatives in Sudan.

The author notes that tensions within IDP and refugee camps in Darfur and Chad have given rise to claims that they are ‘militarized’¹. It is argued that the Sudanese government has used the tensions as a pretext for armed intervention in camps to support its agenda of relocation of IDPs, with serious consequences for the civilian population of the camps. Also, it is argued that Darfur’s armed and rebel groups manipulate the tensions in order to forward their political agendas by attracting international attention. The author argues that the camps cannot be described as neutral humanitarian spaces, however, neither are they ‘militarized’. In order to understand the complex tensions in IDP camps, Cahn argues that we have to understand that they have become strategic sites for political and economic activity, where the unsecure population has little choice but to engage in complex allegiances and negotiations in order to ensure their physical security, and access to the political process.


The UN representative, Kalin, sought to assess the capacity and preparedness of the government authorities and the international community to receive IDP returnees and to ensure protection of their human rights. Kalin made three principle recommendations: 1) A real choice must be given to IDPs between returning or integrating locally. 2) The UN must establish protection mechanisms for returnees en route, and urgent humanitarian assistance once they have returned. 3) Conditions for sustainable resettlement must be ensured, including

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¹ For example, in a briefing to the UN Security Council in April 2007 the under secretary-general for humanitarian affairs and emergency relief coordinator referred to both the IDP camps of Darfur and the refugee camps in Chad as militarized (UNSC, 2007a).
the establishment of the full range of human, political and civil rights for returnees.


In this report the UN representative, Deng, undertook to investigate the conditions of IDPs in Sudan in 2004. Principally it is argues that the continuing security threats faced by IDPs in Darfur needs to be addressed. Deng argues that, while the camps themselves are relatively secure, IDPs who ventured outside, which many must do to collect needed firewood or attend to their animals, are still exposed to attacks, killings, and rape. Similarly, although humanitarian access to IDPs was reported to have improved, Deng argues that it is still largely inhibited by insecurity and lack of funding- donor funding reaching approximately 50% of the United Nations appeal for Darfur. Politically, Deng argues that the priority is the disarmament of the Janjaweed. He also draws interesting conclusions concerning the similarity of the roots of the conflict in Darfur, and the roots of the conflict in some Southern areas of Sudan- the Nuba Mountains, and the Southern Blue Nile. He therefore argues that a second political priority should be the adaptation of elements of the peace agreement with the SPLM/A, especially those relating to the Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile, to the situation in Darfur.


This report lists the number of Sudanese refugees in Chad in June 2009 as 268,000. It emphasizes that the politicization and militarization of the Sudanese refugees in camps is a significant problem. The Government of Chad supported rebel movement JEM, effectively recruit from (predominantly) Zaghawa camps, including children. This has aggravated cross-border attacks from Darfurian rebel groups.

**Humanitarian Crisis.**

**Academic articles:**


This article argues that the worsening security situation in Darfur is threatening the health gains that have been procured so far by humanitarian assistance in the region. In particular the author draws attention to the town of El Geneina where many internally displaced people (IDP) have sought refuge and where Sudanese government forces mix with African Union troops, rebels, Chadian opposition fighters, and the infamous Janjaweed militia. The insecurity is starting to reverse impressive gains in health that have accrued during the past 2 years; Malnutrition rates have halved from a peak of nearly 22% in mid-2004. Crude mortality rates have dropped to 0.36 per 10,000 per day, well below the emergency threshold of 1 per 10,000. The author cites evidence that the number of people coming to health-centers had halved between Dec 2005 and the time of publication, Feb/Mar 2007. Similarly, by the end of 2006, many water-borne diseases had reappeared, with cholera, bloody diarrhoea, and jaundice all on the increase.


This article details how children in the Darfur region are especially vulnerable to the adverse health impacts of the crisis and suffer from issues such as physical and psychological illness, malnutrition, rape and unlawful military recruitment. The article discusses how current strategies to protect children in Darfur are failing, and proposes public health nursing interventions. However, the article is simplistic in its analysis of the conflict and the nature of the humanitarian crisis.

This article draws on ongoing work by the Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) on protection approaches. It reviews three elements of the international response to the Darfur crises in terms of their impact on civilian protection. These elements are: the internationally mediated peace talks; the African Union (AU) mission in Sudan; and the Protection Working Groups (PWGs) that have been formed to overcome the policy and operational fragmentation brought about by continuing insecurity and bureaucratic obstructions to access.

**Grey Literature:**

**Amnesty International:**

-- **Millions face starvation and disease as aid agencies are expelled from Darfur.** 5 March 2009. Online. UNHCR Refworld, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/49b4d2172.html

Amnesty International say that more than two million people in Darfur face the risk of starvation and disease following yesterday's decision by the Sudanese government to expel more than 10 aid agencies, including Oxfam, Care, Save the Children and Medecins Sans Frontieres.

-- **Sudan: 130,000 Refugees on the Chad Border.** 1 September 2004. AFR/54/066/2004. Online. UNHCR Refworld, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/42ae982d0.html

This report focuses on the situation of refugees living along the Chad border. It claims that they are still at risk attack by the Janjaweed and aerial bombings by the GoS. It also warns that the arrival of the rainy season, from May to Aug. will exacerbate the humanitarian situation, leaving many people inaccessible to international humanitarian agencies, and vulnerable to water-borne diseases.


This report argues that very little progress has been made since the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in terms of the security, humanitarian, or human rights situation in Darfur. According to the report, as of 2007, estimates of the death-toll of the conflict range from 70,000 to over 400,000, with more than two million people displaced.
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).


Overview of the work of the ICRC in Sudan in 2007. Includes figures and indicators of ICRC programs and beneficiaries, and details ICRC action on; protecting civilians, delivering relief goods, improving water and sanitation, preserving livelihoods, restoring family links, ensuring access to primary and emergency health care, visiting detainees and negotiating with the GoS over the release of political prisoners. The report says that in 2007 in Darfur, communal clashes over resources increased, military confrontations persisted, and armed groups continued to splinter and shift alliances. More people fled their homes, adding to the some 2 million already displaced during the four-year conflict. The widespread lawlessness also stifled the economy and hampered aid delivery. Also, towards year-end, the violence threatened to spill over into the neighbouring Kordofan region.


An Overview of the work of the ICRC in Sudan in 2006. As above, details of ICRC programs are given. Sudan remained the ICRC’s largest operation for 3 years, and its activities stayed focused on protecting and assisting conflict victims. The report says that in 2006 the security situation in Darfur has deteriorated since all but one rebel group, a faction of the SLA led by Minni Minawi, failed to sign the DPA in May. However, it reports that the GoS has, in principle, agreed to the replacement of the A.U peace-keeping force AMID, with a stronger hybrid force including UN troops.


An overview of the work of the ICRC in Sudan in 2005. As above, details of ICRC programs are given. The report says that in 2005 the security and humanitarian situation in Darfur deteriorated despite the deployment of more than 6,000 A.U peace-keeping troops in the region. The economy was stifled, there were widespread abuses if international HRL, and many international aid agencies were forced to decrease or abandon their programs due to the security risks.
An overview of the work of the ICRC in Sudan in 2004. As above, details of ICRC programs are given. The report says that in Darfur in 2004, increasing international pressure failed to halt the fighting that broke out in early 2003. A renewable cease-fire agreement signed on the 8th April brought short-term improvements in humanitarian access to the region, however the cease-fir was broken and by the end of the year Save The Children (STC) were forced to withdraw from the region.

C12575F30049435A/$file/SHO+Vol5+Iss2+-+final.pdf.

This Sudan Humanitarian Overview attempts to provide an overview of humanitarian trends and activities in Sudan.


Between the 26 October and the 11 November 2008, the WFO jointly undertook a Food Security and Livelihood Assessment (DFSLA) across Darfur. The main aim was to assess the food security and livelihood situation of displaced populations and rural communities and their access to food security assistance, agricultural and other services. Starting in 2004, this was the 5th consecutive yearly assessment of the programme. Previous reports can be located at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/httpCountry_Documents?ReadForm&co
untry=Sudan&count=10000.

Human Rights abuse and sexual violence.

Grey Literature:
Amnesty International:

- Annual reports:


Amnesty International report on Sudan, largely concentrating on the continuing crisis in Darfur. Report concludes that in Darfur in 2007 “All major parties to the conflict committed violations of international human rights and humanitarian law including unlawful killings, arbitrary detention, attacks on humanitarian personnel and equipment, torture and ill-treatment, and hostage-taking.”


This report argues that despite the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) in May 2006 by the GoS and one faction of the SLA led by Minni Minawi, conflict, displacement and killings increased. The DPA was opposed by the JEM, many of the SLA, and the majority of IDP’s who felt that the agreement did not guarantee secure return and adequate compensation. The report notes that some demonstrations in IDP camps, degraded into violent riots.

The GoS failed to take steps to disarm the Janjawid, as they had agreed. Some of the Janjawid were incorporated into the armed forces. The government also took no action to halt cross-border Janjawid attacks against targeted ethnic groups in Chad, which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of civilians and tens of thousands of displacements during the first half 2006, with such attacks resumed in again Oct. In Aug. the GoS launched a large-scale attack on communities in North Darfur and Jebel Marra which were controlled by groups who had formed the National Redemption Front (NRF)- in light of their common opposition to the SLA.


The report argues that war crimes and crimes against humanity continue to be perpetrated by GoS forces, the Janjawid, and some rebel groups in Darfur in 2005/06. It claims that after a major offensive in Jan. 2005, violence declined and stabilized before rising again in Aug. According to the report, abuses of human rights workers and aid workers also continued. It is noted that the International Criminal Court (ICC), based on a referral by the UN Security Council, began to
investigate the situation in Darfur, but by the end of 2005 had not been
granted access to Sudan. It also claims that African Union (AU) forces deployed
in the region were still not at full strength.

available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/429b27f42f.html

This report covers events in Darfur from January to December 2004. It documents
how the conflict intensified at the beginning of the year. By March more than
1 million IDPs, living in camps in Darfur and Chad, were facing what the UN
Humanitarian Coordinator described as the “greatest humanitarian crisis of our
time”, due to government restrictions on delivering humanitarian aid in the
region. There was also widespread human rights abuses perpetrated by the
government forces, Janjawiid, SLA and JEM, including mass killings, rape and
sexual violence, and torture.

In May the GoS bowed to international pressure and granted free access to
humanitarian organisations. However, the GoS failed to disarm the Janjawiid in
line with UN resolutions 1556 and 1564, and broke the agreement signed with the
rebels in Nov in Nigeria by conducting aerial attacks on civilians. The SLA and
JEM also broke the terms of this agreement.

--Amnesty International Report 2004 - Sudan, 26 May 2004. Online. UNHCR Refworld,

after the SLA and JEM attacked government forces and militia. In response, the
government supported and funded Janjawiid attack on thousand of villages in
Darfur, forcibly displacing up to 600,000 of people within the region, whilst tens
of thousands fled to Chad. The government also bombed villages in Darfur. There
were also reports of looting and torture by the SLA and JEM.

--Amnesty International Report 2003 – Sudan, 28 May 2003. Online. UNHCR Refworld,
available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3edb47df8.html

Covering events from Jan. to Dec. 2002. This report documents widespread
North/South civil war related human rights abuses. It claims that government
forces, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and militias allied to both
sides killed, abducted and raped civilians, destroyed houses, livestock and crops
and restricted humanitarian aid. It also notes that in Darfur civilians were killed or injured throughout 2002 in attacks on villages by armed groups.


This report documents the ongoing conflict between the GoS and the SPLA in the South. It reports the continuance of widespread human rights abuse, including killings by government aerial bombings, summary executions, torture, rape and sexual violence, and forcible recruitment of children into militias on both sides.

➢ Topical Reports


This report describes how rape and sexual violence is being used as a weapon of war in order to intimidate, terrorize, and forcibly remove from their land, women and children. The report claims that it is impossible to know how many acts of rape and sexual violence have been perpetrated during the Darfur conflict due to the stigma and trauma that victims feel. However, it states that the names of 250 women who had been raped, and harrowing information about their cases, were recorded by Amnesty International on a 10-day visit to just three refugee camps in Chad in 2004 alone. It also draws attention to the practice of sexual enslavement. The report claims that the vast majority of these acts are carried out by government sources and Janjaweed militia, and draws attention to the impunity which perpetrators of such crimes enjoy in Sudan.


This report contains a section on Darfur, which gives detailed accounts, and first-hand testimonials of rapes perpetrated by the Janjaweed and government forces during attacks and in and around IDP camps.
This report describes the grave abuses of international human rights and humanitarian law which have been committed against civilians with impunity throughout 2003, by government forces and government-aligned militias in Darfur. It contains some of the findings of A.I’s mission to Chad in Nov. 2003 to meet the Sudanese victims of the conflict. It is argued that, according to the information available to Amnesty International, the prime responsibility for the grave human rights abuses committed against civilians lies with the Sudanese government and militia aligned to it.

This report considers five examples of attacks against civilians, in camps, villages or towns, during or since the signing of the Abuja protocols on 9 November 2004. The report includes urgent recommendations for the protection of civilians.

This report is an analysis of the Draft Interim Constitution based on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of Jan. 2005 between the GoS and the SPLA. It argues that strong constitutional guarantees for the respect, protection and promotion of human rights, would be a powerful tool to prevent further human rights abuses in Sudan and usher a new era for the protection of the human rights of all in Sudan.

This article argues that there is huge gender-based discrimination within the national law of Sudan. A woman must provide 4 male witnesses to the rape. In
light of this, women’s groups are looking to the ICC to bring justice to the women of Darfur.


An article on the Human Rights Watch report ‘Darfur in Flames: Atrocities in Western Sudan’, reporting its main findings.


This article covers a report which calls for reform of the rape and sexual violence laws in Sudan, in light of their widespread use as a weapon of war in Darfur.


The International Rescue Committee reported a sharp spike in rape and sexual violence figures in Aug. 2006. The article notes that rape of girls in particular is widespread- According to the UN Commissioner of Human Rights, in 2005 40 percent of victims were less than 18.

--‘Sudan: Sexual Violence in Darfur.’ Women’s asylum news, No.73, 10 March 2008. Online. UNHCR Refworld, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,COI,ASYLUMAID,,SDN,,47ce9e0e2,0.html.

This article highlights the problem of the stigma surrounding rape and sexual violence in Sudan and the government denial of the problem- who claim "It is not in the culture of Sudan or the culture of Darfur to rape - it does not exist." This stigma has serious health consequences for rape victims, unwilling to report rape and receive the necessary medical attention, including post-exposure prophylactics (PEP) that could prevent possible infection with the HI virus.
The article reports that a study undertaken by the UN Population Fund, and the UN Children’s Fund has found that women and girls in Darfur continue to experience sexual violence on a large scale.

Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers.

The document highlights the recruiting of child soldiers by all parties in the conflict. It reports that thousands of child soldiers were recruited and used by armed forces, government-backed militias and armed opposition groups in Sudan. This included the recruitment of children from IDP camps in Chad in 2006. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in 2005, required all parties to demobilize all child soldiers by July of that year, however this was hindered by the continuing lack of security and the lack of basic infrastructure in Darfur.

This report covers the period from April 2001 to March 2004. The report concludes that there is widespread use of child soldiers in Sudan, including many in the conflict of Darfur. It is estimated that there were 17,000 children in the forces of the government, allied militias and opposition armed groups, and between 2,500 and 5,000 in the opposition Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

The article notes that despite the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement between North and South Sudan, the human rights record in the region is poor and a culture of impunity is widespread. Their concerns continue to include the death
penalty; women’s rights; torture; Hudud punishments (amputation, flogging and stoning); freedom of the media; and harassment and arrest of activists and political figures.

**Human Rights Watch.**

- **Annual Reports:**


- **Topical reports:**

Details the widespread human rights abuses that have taken places in Darfur from 07/03 until the date of publication 12/05 by the ‘Janjaweed’ militia and the involvement of the government and military of Sudan in the crimes committed. Argues that the Sudanese government is, at the highest levels, responsible for widespread and systematic HR abuses in Darfur. The report also covers the failure of the government to pursue accountability and prosecute the serious war crimes and crimes against humanity which have been committed in Darfur. It lists a number of ways in which the government has failed in this respect; no disarmament the Janjaweed, no national tribunal established to investigate the crimes, inaction on bringing to justice perpetrators of rape and sexual violence, protection of individual impunity for perpetrators of the crimes, destruction of evidence of crimes. The report concludes with a partial list of individuals who should be investigated by the ICC.

Not available through OLIS but can be found at http://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/darfur1205/darfur1205text.pdf.


This article draws attention to the vulnerable situation of women who were previously abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army, LRA, during the region's 20-year war and handed over to rebel commanders as camp cooks and so-called child brides.

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN).


This article notes that the recent upsurge of conflict in Darfur, since 23rd March 09, could be linked to pressure on already stretched services after the expulsion or closure of 16 key aid agencies.

This article argues that NGO expulsions have left humanitarian gaps not only in Darfur, but also in eastern Sudan and the so-called Three Areas bordering on Southern Sudan, Abyei, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile - volatile regions key to the success of a 2005 peace accord.


This article warns that the expulsion or closure of 16 aid groups in Sudan on the 16th March 09 could worsen North-South relations, stall the Darfur peace process and deter future humanitarian action.


Argues that the results of the Government’s halting of the operations of aid agencies working in Darfur on the 16th March 09, will leave 1.1 million people without food, 1.5 million without healthcare and at least one million without drinking water.


Notes the preparations being made for a large influx of refugees from Darfur to the South, following the expulsion of aid groups in Sudan on the 16th March 09.


This report summarizes Refugees International’s work on sexual violence in Darfur through 2006 and includes recommendations for improvement in the international community’s response. It notes the evolving nature of sexual violence in Darfur through different stages; from the initial attacks of rape and genocide on villages, to the vulnerability of IDP’s collecting firewood from outside IDP camps, to a systemic period of sexual violence characterized by low-intensity threat yet high general vulnerability.
Laws without Justice: an Assessment of Sudanese Laws Affecting Survivors of Rape.
June 2007. Online. UNHCR Refworld, available at:
http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/47a6eb870.html

This report focuses on the inadequacies of Sudan’s laws, regulations, customs and courts in dealing with rape. It argues that the response to rape cannot be improved until the laws are rewritten. In particular it notes that; 1) Sudan’s laws governing rape expose victims to further abuse, if a woman victim cannot prove her non-consent she may be penalized under the law for non-marital sex. 2) Prosecution of rape is in many cases impossible due to the granting of immunity to Government militias by the GOS. 3) There is a climate of fear and suspicion amongst IDP’s and victims of violence which prevents them from accessing the relevant medical, psychological and legal help in the event of rape. 4) Medical services for rape victims are entangled with governmental documentation requirements.


This report presents the findings of the Special Rapporteur following her first mission to Sudan in October 2005. Samar concluded that although the framework for the protection and promotion of human rights had been improved, there had been no significant improvement in the human rights situation. In particular Samar notes that no action has been taken to disarm the Janjaweed, none of the human rights abuses conducted in 2004 had been properly investigated, immunity for government affiliated perpetrators of violence was still widespread, and emergency laws condoning the use of torture still remain in place in many areas.


Erturk concludes that the situation in Darfur is a grave human crisis exasperated by insecurity, mutual mistrust between the people and the Government; and lack of effective follow-up regarding allegations of human rights violations, including rape of women and girls. In particular, female IDPs endure security concerns, the trauma of rape and loss, health problems and heightened risk of HIV/AIDS infection, domestic violence and poverty. Erturk recommends that the GOS must; 1) Ensure the involvement of women in the peace process and ensure that their interest are considered in all negotiations. 2) Provide protection measures for female IDPs. 3) Investigate all allegations of violence against women, protect witnesses and victims from any retaliation, prosecute perpetrators and compensate survivors.

This briefing paper details how rape, initially used as a weapon during attacks on villages, has followed its victims into their places of ‘refuge’. MSF findings with regard to sexual violence and rape, and its changing nature throughout the conflict, are presented in this report. Between October 2004 and the first half of February 2005, doctors from Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) treated almost 500 rape victims in Darfur. However, given the great sense of shame, humiliation and fear felt by victims of sexual violence, a sense which discourages them from going to a health facility to receive treatment, MSF strongly believes that the numbers recorded are only a partial representation of the real number of victims. The report provides statistics on the incidence of rapes, those predominantly affected, and where/when women and girls are most vulnerable to rape.


This report looks at the internal and external trafficking of Sudanese nationals for the purposes of forced labour and sexual exploitation. It documents the illegal conscription of child soldiers to armed groups; the sometimes forced recruitment of Darfuri girls and women to work in private homes (often occupied by soldiers from the Sudanese Armed Forces), to engage in commercial sex practices, or to sexual and domestic slavery. Annual reports of this kind date back to the beginning of the conflict.


This report looks at the risks faced by women and girls when they venture outside of IDP camps in order to collect firewood. It looks at alternatives to reduce the risk faced by these women, including physical protection and fuel-efficient technologies. However, it is argued that these measures only have a limited impact because women are dependent on firewood collection as their sole means of earning income. Therefore, there needs to be an equally concentrated effort in generating alternative income generation activities.
Humanitarian intervention:

Academic Articles:


Article in which the authors argue that the international community have a legal and moral obligation to intervene in Darfur. This intervention, they argue, must be spearheaded by the US who’s obligation to act is derived from two sources; 1) Their treaty obligations under the Genocide Convention, 2) The US involvement in the peace process between Northern and Southern Sudan. The authors argue that the unwillingness of the Bush administration to intervene in Darfur is attributable to its interest in protecting the fragile peace agreement, which if successful could allow the US to lift sanctions on Sudan. This, in turn, would permit US oil companies to pursue a share of the country’s recently developed oil wealth.


In this paper the authors present the findings of a study commissioned by the World Food Programme in 2006 looking at how the conflict in Darfur has affected livelihoods and markets, and of the effects of food aid. This paper focuses on how people’s livelihoods have been affected by the crisis, rather than more traditionally used indicators of the severity of the crisis such as malnutrition and mortality rates. It analyses how food aid can support the strategic adaptation and risk-management of peoples livelihoods in the context of the crisis in Darfur. It concludes that livelihoods in Darfur have been devastated by destruction of assets, highly limited population movement, and deterioration of security. However, it argues that the impact of WFP food aid programmes on livelihoods has been very positive.

Grey Literature:


Could not get access to this article.


This report looks at the consequences of the expulsion of 13 international NGO’s and the revocation of the license of 3 National NGO’s, accounting for more than 40% of the aid workers in Darfur, by the GOS and the 4/03/09. It is stated that the expulsion of these agencies has deprived the region of critical food, livelihoods and medical assistance. The paper offers a snapshot of what the expelled agencies were doing, where they were based and the type of assistance they were providing at the time of their departure. It also looks at the challenges that these agencies had to tackle, their contingency planning and remote working capacity, as well as the challenge they face in scaling up operations to fulfil the shortfall in services to Darfur’s 2 million plus displaced. The report look at the immediate implications, as well as suggesting a number of ways forward for the UN system, donors and international NGOs.


An article on the closure and expulsion of NGO’s working in Sudan since the International Criminal Court, ICC, indicted Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir for war crimes on March 4, and the legal appeal that they are making for the decision to be reversed.


The Women’s Commission conducted a program of research and advocacy for the immediate implementation of INEE education in conflict zones minimum
standards. It aims to improve the situation for youth and children in Darfur, where education is in crisis, and to use Darfur as a case study to provide essential data for the INEE.


This report outlines the findings of a assessment conducted by Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children of educational and skills training opportunities available to displaced youth in Darfur. looks at the challenges and opportunities young people face; examines existing services targeting youth; identifies programming gaps; and provides recommendations on how donors, policymakers and field practitioners can more effectively support displaced youth in Darfur.