

## **We Must Halt the Genocide in Darfur, Sudan Now**

*This Human Rights Discussion Paper was prepared by Allison S. Cohen, JBI's International Human Rights Officer. This paper discusses the dimensions of the current situation in Darfur and the international response to it, in an effort to clarify whether the measures taken are commensurate with the need. Updating JBI's earlier Discussion Paper, it also recommends actions that can be taken at this time.<sup>1</sup>*

*--- Felice D. Gaer, Director, JBI*

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan recently concluded that “the last two years have been little short of hell on earth for our fellow human beings in Darfur.”<sup>2</sup> The genocide in Darfur, according to UN estimates, has already seen nearly 3 million people either killed or displaced.<sup>3</sup> Yet, eight months after the US government determined that the situation in Darfur is a genocide and after numerous UN Security Council resolutions, the international community has utterly failed to halt the carnage and protect the lives of Darfuri men, women, and children. *New York Times* columnist Nicholas Kristof warned: “We’re again making the same mistake we’ve made in past genocides: As in the slaughter of Armenians, Jews, Cambodians, Rwandans and Bosnians, we see no perfect solutions, so we end up doing very little.”<sup>4</sup>

### **The Current Situation: Scorched Earth Policy, Human Rights Abuse, and Genocide Continues**

The Sudanese government which came to power in 1989 has been engaged in a number of parallel crises that have plagued the country. The oldest conflict is the 21-year old civil war between the Islamist military Khartoum government in the north and the Christian and Animist south (the southern insurgency was led by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). At least 2 million people were killed and 4

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<sup>1</sup> This paper updates the JBI Human Rights Discussion Paper of November 2004 entitled: “Crisis in Darfur: Determining Genocide.” Please contact [jbi@ajc.org](mailto:jbi@ajc.org) for copies of any of our publications.

<sup>2</sup> “International Community Must Immediately Find Way to Halt Killing in Darfur, Sudan, Secretary-General Tells Security Council,” February 16, 2005, accessed at [www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/sgsm9722.doc.htm](http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/sgsm9722.doc.htm).

<sup>3</sup> UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA).

<sup>4</sup> Kristof, Nicholas. “Uncover your eyes”. *International Herald Tribune*, June 8, 2005.

million displaced. This North-South conflict formally ended on January 9, 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, but the peace process still remains quite fragile. The Darfur crisis in Western Sudan – the focus of this paper – emerged as a parallel war, just as the North-South war was coming to a close.<sup>5</sup>

The Sudanese government has conducted a scorched-earth offensive for the last two years in Darfur. Government-backed militias, known as the Janjaweed, have been engaged in a campaign to crush rebels in Darfur in retaliation for their open revolt against the government since February 2003. Their rebellion is said to be aimed at gaining greater participation in decision making affecting Darfur. The government campaign in Darfur aims to destroy the rebels as well as the civilian men, women, and children of Darfur, who are deemed to be sympathizers. Lest there be any question about the fact that the government has been directing and controlling the Janjaweed in its genocidal campaign, Human Rights Watch published confidential documents they obtained from the civilian administration in Darfur that directly prove that high-ranking government officials have not only condoned the genocidal campaign carried out by the Janjaweed militias, but that they specifically support it.<sup>6</sup>

Since 2004, the extent of the violence perpetrated against civilians has been widely documented. Numerous investigations have revealed consistent, widespread reports of atrocities, crimes against humanity, and genocidal acts. Families are slaughtered as their villages are burned to the ground. The campaign has included the indiscriminate killing of civilians, the total destruction of villages, looting, massive displacement, and torture. Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), the humanitarian doctors' organization, has recently demonstrated that rape, particularly against women and young girls, has been a constant throughout the genocide. MSF found that a systematic pattern of rape occurs during the raids in villages and at the camps where fleeing people seek refuge. Women are targeted for sexual violence when they leave the camps to collect fire wood.<sup>7</sup>

The figures are staggering. All told, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs estimates that 2.73 million people have been either killed or displaced by the conflict.<sup>8</sup> Since 2003, approximately 400,000 people are reported to have been killed (from violence as well as from related disease and malnutrition which have resulted from the displacement). As many as 10,000 people are dying every month.<sup>9</sup> Attacking Khartoum-backed militias have forced about two million people to flee their homes. Currently, 1.88 million of the displaced are still within Darfur, and about 200,000 are in refugee camps in Eastern Chad.<sup>10</sup> The crimes committed in Darfur, Sudan are grave

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<sup>5</sup> For more information about the North-South war in Sudan, the International Crisis Group has a number of helpful resources available at [www.crisisgroup.org](http://www.crisisgroup.org).

<sup>6</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Sudan: New Documents -- Ties Between the Government and Janjaweed Militias Confirmed*, July 20, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Médecins Sans Frontières, "The Crushing Burden of Rape: Sexual Violence in Darfur," March 8, 2005.

<sup>8</sup> USAID, "Sudan: Darfur – Humanitarian Emergency Fact Sheet #36", May 27, 2005.

<sup>9</sup> International Crisis Group, "A New Sudan Action Plan," April 26, 2005, accessed at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=3391>.

<sup>10</sup> USAID, "Sudan: Darfur – Humanitarian Emergency Fact Sheet #36", May 27, 2005.

breaches of numerous treaties under international human rights and humanitarian law.<sup>11</sup>

The humanitarian situation in Sudan, which is dire, has been caused by human rights atrocities. The World Food Program (WFP) has recently announced that 3.5 million people need food in Darfur. This number represents more than half of the population, and does not include the 200,000 refugees in Chad. Now not only the refugees and internally displaced population are food insecure, but the rural population is as well.<sup>12</sup> In addition to severe food shortages, 45 percent of the population is without access to clean water, and approximately a third of the population in camps lack sanitary facilities.<sup>13</sup> The rainy season is quickly approaching, which will make the humanitarian situation worse. The Sudanese government has been relentless in its attempts to obstruct the delivery of humanitarian aid through its assaults on aid workers. There are frequent shootings and attacks on aid workers throughout Darfur. Over 20 aid workers have been arrested over the last six months. Most recently, shortly after the release of MSF's report on rape, the Sudanese government arrested two top MSF officials charging them with spying on the government.<sup>14</sup> Although they were released, this action has had a chilling effect on international aid workers and personnel present in the crisis area.

According to some reports, 90 percent of the villages in Darfur have been destroyed.<sup>15</sup> The livelihoods of Darfurians have been completely destroyed. Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) researched in detail one village – Furawiya – to illustrate the experience of as many as two thousand similarly destroyed villages in Darfur. In addition to the murder and rape that took place in the village, the community structure, wealth and way of life were all destroyed. Originally a thriving village of 13,000 people, all but a handful have fled or been killed. Nearly all of the pre-war livestock – the basis of the village's economy – was killed in bombings, stolen, or eaten by Janjaweed forces. Almost all of the homes, grain storage houses, places of worship, and the village school were destroyed.<sup>16</sup> The experience of Furawiya has been repeated systematically across the region.

Recent reports argue that the already dire human rights and humanitarian situation will only get worse in the absence of immediate robust action. According to the organization Waging Peace,<sup>17</sup> a number of groups in Darfur conclude that the Sudanese army and police are absorbing the Janjaweed militia men into their ranks, putting the security of

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<sup>11</sup> These violations are documented in numerous reports, including those of the UN Secretary-General's International Commission of Inquiry, The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Human Rights Watch, Physicians for Human Rights, International Crisis Group, Amnesty International, Médecins Sans Frontières, and Africa Action.

<sup>12</sup> "3.5 Million in Darfur Need Food," *National Post*, Canada, June 2, 2005.

<sup>13</sup> Reeves, Eric, "3.5 Million Darfuris Need Food According to the UN World Food Program; They Cannot be Fed by Investigations by the International Criminal Court," *Sudan Tribune*, June 8, 2005.

<sup>14</sup> Médecins Sans Frontières, "Increasing limitations to humanitarian space," accessed on [www.msf.org](http://www.msf.org), June 16, 2005.

<sup>15</sup> Waging Peace, "'Parliamentary Briefing: Darfur – the genocide continues,'" June 2005, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Physicians for Human Rights, "Destroyed Livelihoods: A Case Study of Farawiya Village, Darfur," February 2005, [www.phrusa.org](http://www.phrusa.org).

<sup>17</sup> Waging Peace is a political advocacy group that focuses on defending democracy, the environment, and human rights.

refugees and internally displaced persons (IDP's) at even graver risk. The extreme insecurity this situation poses for displaced persons has made it impossible for them to plant crops or maintain a self-sustaining role. Villages that were already destroyed are reportedly being burned a second time to make it clear to displaced persons that they cannot return home.<sup>18</sup>

Francis Deng, the former Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons, explained in 2004 after a visit to Darfur, "The tragedy the Sudan has been going through for decades, initially extended to the Nuba Mountains and the Southern Blue Nile, and now dramatized by the unfolding crisis in Darfur, signifies a nation in painful search of itself and striving to be free from any discrimination due to race, ethnicity, religion or culture in any region." Thus, among the factors responsible for the grave abuses of human rights in the North and in Darfur are the government's policies of Islamization and Arabization – particularly against Christians, Muslims who do not follow the government's extreme interpretation of Islam, and followers of traditional African religions – as well as the government's abysmal approach to center-periphery relations.<sup>19</sup>

Despite international attention, visits, reports, and diplomatic efforts to confront – and even engage – the Sudanese government in ending support for the scorched-earth campaign and atrocities, and despite the conclusion of a peace agreement in the decades long North-South conflict in Sudan, the genocidal conflict has continued with a huge toll in human lives and suffering.

### **The United Nations**<sup>20</sup>

The UN Secretary-General's International Commission of Inquiry, established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1564 in September 2004, reported to the Security Council on its findings on January 25, 2005. Although the Commission stopped short of determining that genocide had taken place (leaving this to the International Criminal Court), the Commission found that the Government of Sudan and the Janjaweed are responsible for serious crimes under international law; moreover, they confirmed that attacks on villages, killing of civilians, rape, pillaging, and forced displacement have continued. The Commission found that "in some instances individuals, including Government officials, may commit acts with genocidal intent" and "the crimes against humanity and war crimes that have been committed in Darfur may be no less serious and heinous than genocide." Significantly, the Commission recommended that the Security Council refer the situation of Darfur to the International Criminal Court (ICC)<sup>21</sup> and that

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<sup>18</sup> Waging Peace, "Parliamentary Briefing: Darfur – the genocide continues", June 2005, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> US Commission on International Religious Freedom, "Annual Report of the US Commission on International Religious Freedom," section on Sudan, May 2005, p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> For information about previous action at the UN on Darfur, please refer to the JBI Human Rights Discussion Paper from November 2004, "Crisis in Darfur: Determining Genocide".

<sup>21</sup> Established in 1998, the International Criminal Court is the world's first independent and permanent tribunal that is able to investigate and prosecute those individuals accused of crimes against humanity, genocide, and crimes of war.

“action must be taken urgently to end these violations.”<sup>22</sup>

In response to the findings in the Commission’s report, the Security Council engaged in behind-the-scenes discussions for two months about next steps to take on Darfur. Some of the most contentious issues were whether to establish more rigorous targeted sanctions, an effective no fly zone, a substantially increased African Union presence on the ground in Darfur with a more vigorous mandate, and whether to refer the case to the ICC. On March 24<sup>th</sup>, the Security Council voted to establish a 10,000 person UN peacekeeping force in Southern Sudan. This force is to support the implementation of the North-South peace agreement, and “liaise and coordinate” with the AU mission in Darfur in order to reinforce their work. The Security Council further called on the High Commissioner for Human Rights to undertake to accelerate the deployment of human rights monitors to Darfur, augment their numbers, and move forward with the formation of civilian monitoring protection teams. On March 29<sup>th</sup>, the UN Security Council acted again: It established a committee to identify individuals who violate international humanitarian law and to impose sanctions on these individuals (through travel restrictions and the freezing of assets). A no fly zone was also approved.<sup>23</sup> As of this writing, this panel has not yet been appointed and sanctions have not been enforced. AU monitors and aid workers in the region report that the no-fly zone over Darfur has not been created either.<sup>24</sup>

On March 31<sup>st</sup>, the UN Security Council decided to refer the situation in Darfur to the ICC, an action that had been controversial because of US opposition to the Court.<sup>25</sup> ICC prosecutors announced on June 6<sup>th</sup> that investigations into war crimes in Darfur had begun, a process that could lead to international indictments and warrants for those found responsible for the violence and atrocities, and possibly genocide if found by the ICC investigators. Luis Ocampo Moreno, the chief prosecutor of the ICC, has already collected thousands of documents and is moving ahead.<sup>26</sup> The Sudanese government responded negatively to the ICC referral, refusing to cooperate.<sup>27</sup>

To this end, the Sudanese government recently established a special court to try alleged war crimes criminals, as a means of trying to avoid prosecution by the ICC (the ICC’s statute says that it will take up cases only if national judicial systems are unable or unwilling to do so). This opposition to the ICC is hardly surprising, given that senior Sudanese officials are among the 51 names on the list given to the ICC by the Commission of Inquiry. The prosecutor’s initiation of investigations, despite these attempts by the Sudanese government to thwart them, reflects his assessment that the Sudanese authorities are “unwilling or unable” to prosecute crimes within the ICC

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<sup>22</sup> “Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary General,” Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1564 of 18 September 2004, January 25, 2005, Geneva.

<sup>23</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1591, March 29, 2005.

<sup>24</sup> Waging Peace, “Parliamentary Briefing: Darfur – the genocide continues”, June 2005, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1593, March 31, 2005.

<sup>26</sup> Simons, Marlise. “World Court to Investigate Darfur Violence”, *The New York Times*, June 7, 2005.

<sup>27</sup> International Justice Tribune, “International Criminal Court -- Prosecution Darfur: Sudan’s Legal Response”, June 27, 2005, accessed at [www.justicetribune.com](http://www.justicetribune.com).

mandate, namely genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.<sup>28</sup> The ICC could take up to two years before handing down indictments.<sup>29</sup>

## **The African Union**

The 53-member African Union (AU) has provided the only international troops that are deployed in Darfur. Much too slowly, the numbers of AU personnel on the ground have now increased to about 2,300, with the target of increasing to 7,700 by September 2005 and possibly 12,000 by September 2006. The mandate for AU personnel has gradually been strengthened as well; however, it remains quite weak. Originally allowing only for monitoring and verification, the mandate has recently been extended slightly to permit troops to “protect civilians whom it encounters under imminent threat and in the immediate vicinity, within resources and capability.”<sup>30</sup> AU troops cannot, however, take the initiative to provide broad and much-needed protection on a preventative basis, even if it knows civilians and IDP’s are at severe risk.

While there have been many estimates by military experts of the number of troops necessary to stop the genocide, all of the estimates conclude that the current number of troops is wholly inadequate. Darfur is the size of France, with a population of six million: Clearly a force of less than 3,000 (the current level) cannot do much to protect civilians from the attacks of the Janjaweed, protect villages, protect the displaced, facilitate their return home, and provide security for humanitarian operations. The International Crisis Group has said that a presence of 12,000 to 15,000 is a minimum required for the protection of civilians. General Romeo Dallaire, the former Force Commander of the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), has stated that 44,000 troops would be needed. Brian Steidle, the retired Marine Corps captain who was a part of the AU observation team in Darfur, has said that 25,000 to 50,000 troops are in fact required.<sup>31</sup>

Clearly, the international response to date, through the AU, has resulted in a grossly inadequate number of troops on the ground a year after the situation was declared to be the world’s most severe crisis. Additionally, the AU has a limited capacity to carry out this kind of on-site deployment; in addition to its inexperience with such a mission, it lacks logistical capacity and materiel. This spring, the AU, acknowledging that it was incapable of protecting civilians and humanitarian operations in Darfur, finally invited international assistance. On May 26, 2005, a high-level conference was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in which the AU urged international donors to provide \$723 million in military assistance to enable it to carry out its scheduled deployments. It asked for equipment as well, including six helicopter gun ships and 116 armored personnel

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<sup>28</sup> Human Rights Watch, “ICC Takes Key Step to Bring Justice to Darfur,” June 6, 2005.

<sup>29</sup> Waging Peace, “Parliamentary Briefing: Darfur – the genocide continues,” June 2005, p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> Evans, Gareth, “Bridging the Gap in Darfur,” *Wall Street Journal Europe*, June 6, 2005.

<sup>31</sup> Goldberg, Mark Leon, “Anatomy of a Genocide,” *American Prospect*, March 17, 2005, accessed at [www.prospect.org](http://www.prospect.org).

carriers.<sup>32</sup>

## **International Support for the African Union**

At the Addis Ababa conference, the European Union (EU), the US, Canada, the UK and others pledged US\$300 million – \$423 million short of what the AU stated it required to carry out its work in Darfur. Canada gave the biggest contribution (\$133 million), the UK pledged \$12 million, and the US pledged \$50 million.<sup>33</sup>

In an unprecedented decision to extend its operations to Africa, NATO announced on June 9, 2005, that it would support the AU mission by airlifting peacekeepers from African contributing countries into Darfur and train AU troops. While NATO and the European Union will provide staff, the AU will retain the lead in the mission. US airplanes will be predominant participants in the mission as well.<sup>34</sup>

The AU is operating in a hostile environment, with the Sudanese government reportedly showing deep contempt for the African Union's efforts. Investigations by the AU have been blocked by the government, hostile military actions have been directed at AU personnel, and the government has refused to grant the AU a mandate for that would allow for the genuine protection of civilians.<sup>35</sup>

Reportedly, the AU has been slow (or reluctant) to receive the logistical airlifts that NATO has offered to supply. Without a strong commitment by the African Union to act quickly to save lives, the role of the continent-wide organization may prove to be a shield to permit genocidal atrocities rather than to prevent them.

## **US Response**

Former Secretary of State Colin Powell, on behalf of the US State Department, announced in September 2004 that the situation in Darfur was determined to be genocide, and that the Sudanese government-backed Janjaweed were responsible. The US Congress unanimously approved a Declaration of Genocide in Darfur on September 7, 2004, declaring that the situation in Darfur was genocide and calling on the US to assume responsibility to act and stop the genocide in accord with the UN Convention against Genocide.

Since then, the Bush Administration has been less vocal and, it seems, less visibly concerned about Darfur. After having agreed with the State Department assessment that

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<sup>32</sup> McLaughlin, Abraham, "Africa aims to boost military muscle in troubled Darfur", *Christian Science Monitor*, May 27, 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Tadesse, Tsegaye, "Donors Pledge Nearly \$300 Million for Darfur Force," May 27, 2005, Reuters.

<sup>34</sup> Mazzetti, Mark, "NATO to Airlift African Peacekeeping Troops Into Darfur," *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 2005.

<sup>35</sup> Reeves, Eric, "Khartoum's Continuing Assault on Humanitarian Aid Workers", June 1, 2005, accessed at [www.sudanreeves.org](http://www.sudanreeves.org)

the situation was genocide, President George W. Bush spoke of it infrequently between then and January 2005 when the peace agreement ending the long standing North-South conflict was signed. For the next six months, President Bush did not mention Darfur publicly even once. On June 1, 2005, he reaffirmed that genocide was taking place, but did not, however, give any clear indication of what the US was going to do to stop it, saying that he was consulting with NATO and Western allies about providing logistical support for the AU. Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick told the House International Affairs Committee he believed that the Khartoum regime was “working hard for a political solution” in Darfur.<sup>36</sup> According to another source, the CIA reportedly secretly flew Sudan’s intelligence chief, Major General Salah Abdallah Gosh for high-level meetings on the sharing of intelligence with the US in the war on terror.<sup>37</sup> Sudanese Foreign Minister Mustafa Isma’il said recently that Sudanese-American ties were now better than they were in the past, stating: “We are now trying to take these ties a step forward.”<sup>38</sup>

The US has been deeply engaged in the process to bring peace in the 21-year- long North–South conflict. The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement on January 9, 2005, formally ending that conflict, was in large part due to sustained diplomatic efforts on the part of high-level US officials from 2001-2004. It appears that the North-South peace process has been moving forward as the US lowered its voice on Darfur, and yet the genocide in Darfur continues unabated. The administration’s less vocal stance on Darfur over the last six months appears in part due to concern that the North-South peace could be damaged by too strong a position on Darfur. Darfur advocates have been adamant that the administration must maintain a strong position on Darfur while continuing to support and foster the North-South process.

In Congress, US Senators Jon Corzine (D./ NJ) and Sam Brownback (R./ NE) introduced the Darfur Accountability Act on March 2, 2005, and Representative Donald Payne (D./ NJ) introduced the Darfur Genocide Accountability Act on March 17, 2005. These two bills are relatively similar, both calling for a stronger force to stop the genocide, more humanitarian aid, sanctions, and accountability for the leaders of Sudan. While both bills initially met with positive response, they have been stalled in the Congress. While the Senate voted unanimously to approve the Darfur Accountability Act as an amendment to the FY 05 Emergency Supplemental, it was omitted from the amendment list when the Conference Committee reconciled House and Senate versions of the bill. It is now still pending in the Senate. Payne’s Darfur Genocide Accountability Act remains in the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations of the House International Relations Committee.<sup>39</sup> According to reports, the White House has been reportedly leaning on its congressional allies to stop the bills.<sup>40</sup> The Payne bill is

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<sup>36</sup> On-the-record Briefing on Sudan by Robert Zoellick, Deputy Secretary of State, May 27, 2005.

<sup>37</sup> Lobe, Jim, “Bush Once Again Cites Genocide in Darfur,” Inter Press Service News Agency, June 1, 2005.

<sup>38</sup> “Sudan Seeks to Strengthen Ties with USA,” *Sudan Tribune*, June 13, 2005.

<sup>39</sup> Up-to-date information on the status of US Legislation can be found at [http://www.savedarfur.org/go.php?q=US\\_Legislation.html](http://www.savedarfur.org/go.php?q=US_Legislation.html)

<sup>40</sup> Goldberg, Mark Leon, “Zoellick’s Appeasement Tour: Congress wants to act on Darfur, but the Bush administration is dead set against that,” *American Prospect*, April 29, 2005.



currently being reworked by Representative Henry Hyde (R./ IL), and the two are reportedly planning to reintroduce the bill in the coming weeks.

On May 1, 2005, the Amendment to the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act was approved by a Joint Conference Committee (and made law on May 11), allocating some funds for Darfur: \$45 million for humanitarian relief and \$55 million for peacekeeping operations and the establishment and operation of the war crimes tribunal.

## **Conclusion**

There is a clear legal and moral imperative to halt the killings and displacement in Darfur. As Elie Wiesel said, “What is at stake is our own humanity. We must tell the Sudanese victims that they are no longer alone, that we know what is happening to them, that we care, that we wish to save lives: theirs!...What have we all learned, if not that to be indifferent or neutral to other people’s suffering is to help tormentors inflict on their victims more and more pain and fear, such that these tormentors can continue to do so with impunity?”<sup>41</sup> Moreover, there are security interests at stake as well. As Nicholas Kristof of the *New York Times* describes: “Turmoil in Darfur is already destabilizing all of Sudan and neighboring Chad as well, both oil-exporting countries. And failed states nurture terrorists like Osama and diseases like polio, while exporting refugees and hijackers.”<sup>42</sup>

To date, despite statements, studies, and subsistence aid, the international community has failed the people of Darfur, unable to do anything more than half measures to respond to the genocide that claims another 500 people every day. Many blame diplomatic and political obstacles, claiming that the political will simply does not exist to implement the strong action that would be necessary to end the genocide. A newly released study by the International Crisis Group (ICG) argues that the political will does in fact exist in the US: 84 percent of Americans said that the U.S. should not tolerate an extremist government committing such attacks in Darfur, and the US should use its military assets, short of inserting US combat troops on the ground to protect civilians, to help bring them to a halt. The study also found that 81 percent supported tough sanctions on the Sudanese government, 80 percent supported the establishment of a no fly zone, and 91 percent said the US should cooperate with the ICC in its investigation and exploration of prosecution of those responsible.<sup>43</sup>

The Security Council decision to refer the case to the ICC may mark a triumph for the rule of law, but indictments in the Hague will not immediately save civilians in Darfur. The UN resolution’s formal approval of more rigorous targeted sanctions and a no fly zone are promising, but neither has been enforced as of this writing.

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<sup>41</sup> Greenberg, Bruce, “Darfur Cries Out to Our Humanity, Says Activist Elie Wiesel, Holocaust survivor, others appeal for international response,” August 30, 2004. Accessed at <http://usinfo.state.gov/af/Archive/2004/Sep/22-895953.html>.

<sup>42</sup> Kristof, Nicholas, “Day 141 of Bush’s Silence”, *New York Times*, May 31, 2005.

<sup>43</sup> International Crisis Group, *Do Americans Care about Darfur?*, Africa Briefing Number 26, June 1, 2005, p.1.

## **What Must Be Done?**

Awareness of persecution and genocide evokes deep empathy for the victimized people of Darfur and keen recognition of our responsibility to aid them. Indifference must never be the response to genocide.

To halt the genocide in Darfur, there must be:

- (1) Urgent mobilization of popular concern and political will to save lives and end the atrocities;
- (2) Protection of civilians – the AU must be provided with, and accept promptly, the resources and assistance that it requires to increase substantially the number of troops as soon as possible;
- (3) Humanitarian assistance and a secure environment in which to deliver it; and
- (4) Enforcement of the protective and accountability measures in the UN Security Council resolutions.

A robust peacekeeping force with the capability and mandate to protect civilians is desperately needed. The current AU mandate is too weak, there are too few troops, and its technical capacity is lacking. Although Western nations have agreed to give some further support to the AU Mission, more support is imperative to enable it to halt the genocide.

The US has made some positive and important steps in declaring the situation in Darfur to be genocide, appropriating \$100 million for humanitarian aid and security and offering support to the AU. But the US can do more. The US can be decisive in leading the international community to more vigorous action to protect the civilians of Darfur from genocidal atrocities.

It is essential to mobilize the US government and the international community to act without further delay to halt the unfolding genocide in Darfur.

The recommendations adopted unanimously by the American Jewish Committee's (AJC) Board on May 6, 2005 serve as a guide for further action. AJC called for:

- An expanded mandate for the African Union Mission in Darfur that explicitly includes protection of civilians and preventative protection;
- A stronger US contribution to the African Union to significantly increase the number of troops deployed in Darfur and strengthen its capability. The AU must receive the promised logistical airlift from NATO speedily and with a view to increasing the number of troops substantially and as soon as possible;

- Enforce “no fly zones” and sanctions already specified in Security Council Resolution 1591 of March 29, 2005;
- The deployment of advisers on civilian protection in armed conflicts to train and work with African Union commanders;
- Assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons to return to their homes in safety;
- The assignment of designated protection teams to camps for displaced persons;
- The establishment of all possible measures to prevent sexual violence and to provide aid to those victimized by it;
- An increase in the number of international human rights monitors in Darfur;
- The establishment of a secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian aid; and
- Demand that the Sudanese authorities cooperate with the international prosecution of those accused of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law.

**\*\* For Further Information \*\***

*Interested readers may wish to consult, as did JBI, the following sources for additional information: United Nations, African Union, International Crisis Group, Physicians for Human Rights, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Médecins Sans Frontières, Relief Web, Crisis Web, Save Darfur Coalition, Africa Action, Eric Reeve’s commentary at [www.sudanreeves.org](http://www.sudanreeves.org), and others.*

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