CHAPTER 8

No Further Decisions

October 2004–January 2005

The months following Resolution 1564 were characterised by the execution of the limited decisions that the international actors had taken, rather than discussing new measures. Since the Commission of Inquiry started its investigation in October, new decision-making was hampered for four months. Only once the commission reported back to the Security Council in January 2005 could new measures be discussed.

In the mean time, the African Union mission was becoming a fully-fledged peacekeeping mission, which needed strong western support in order to realise the deployment. The parties in the Naivasha talks were fully pressured to finish their talks into an agreement, in order for a new government to be installed and subsequently deal with Darfur. Simultaneously, the peace talks for Darfur in Abuja would resume again. This time with even stronger international supervision in order to help broker a peace. It brought the situation in Sudan to the awkward situation where one peace deal was closed while another, barely started, was already unravelling, and a UN peacekeeping mission was to be deployed in the South while the AU mission in Darfur was failing.

8.1 Situation in Darfur

Faced with more evidence of the plight of Darfur and attacks on civilians, Khartoum maintained its stance of denial and understatement of compelling evidence. In spite of the World Food Programme announcing that it had fed its highest number of people in September since the crisis erupted,1 the World Health Organization stating that 70,000 people had died since March 2004 from causes excluding the violence,2 and the Red Cross reporting on the collapse of agriculture in the region,3 the Sudanese Foreign Minister insisted,

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1 UN News, 6 October 2004, "UN food relief agency helps 1.3 million people in Sudan's Darfur region".
“...there is no famine...[and] no epidemic.”\(^4\) Yet the evidence from the three international bodies was symptomatic of the situation that had once again deteriorated in October following the passing of Resolution 1564, exemplified by increased violence and ceasefire violations across Darfur.\(^5\) Once again attacks involving the looting, rape and burning of villages intensified, as did the violence against IDPs forced to return to their villages with the Janjaweed lying in wait. OCHA now believed that as many as one in three Darfurians were affected by the violence,\(^6\) which took on similar patterns wherever it was perpetrated in Darfur.\(^7\) Médecins Sans Frontières lambasted the failure of the government and the “international community,” describing the persecution of civilians in Darfur as “…pervert[ing] the very idea of refuge…” since “[p]eople escape the attackers once, yet they cannot feel real safety.”\(^8\) The information was also brought before the Security Council as Jan Pronk reported on the continued sponsoring of violence by Khartoum and its utter failure to disarm the Janjaweed.\(^9\) In a telling interview, Arab militiamen (Janjaweed) revealed to the Associated Press that they were armed and paid by the central government, with titles such as “Border Intelligence Division.” “If I’m given to the court,” one militiaman asserted, “I’ll be given with all the government...[b]ecause we are all doing this together.”\(^10\)

\(^4\) Associated Press, 1 October, “Sudanese foreign minister: Darfur crisis ‘tribal conflict,’ not genocide”.

\(^5\) See UN Doc.: S/2004/881, 2 November 2004, Report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan pursuant to paragraph 15 of Security Council resolution 1564 (2004) and paragraphs 6, 13 and 16 of Security Council resolution 1556 (2004), November 2 2004. In this report Kofi Annan stated that, “The situation became ever more intense in October, and there was less security and more violence than in the preceding month.”


\(^7\) See for example, IRIN. “Sudan: Continuing violence breeding tension in North Darfur – sources”, 1 October 2004; Amnesty International. “Sudan: Civilians still under threat in Darfur. An agenda for human rights protection”, 12 October 2004 (AFR 54/131/2004); Associated Press, 15 October 2004, “U.N. says it is continuing to receive reports of attacks in Sudan’s Darfur region”. In his monthly report for November, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan also detailed various attack from October directed against civilians, including an attack on 19 October over several days that caused “a considerable number of fatalities”, a massacre at a marketplace, and fighting involving around 100 Janjaweed militias between 14 and 20 October (UN Doc.: S/2004/881, 2 November 2004, para. 5).

\(^8\) Médecins Sans Frontières, 29 October 2004, “Persecution, intimidation and failure of assistance in Darfur”.

\(^9\) UN News, 2 October 2004, “Sudan has failed to disarm militias or prevent more attacks in Darfur – UN envoy”.

\(^10\) Associated Press, 2 October 2004, “Arab militiamen say they collect paychecks from Sudan’s government”. 