

# Waging Peace

Building a safe and democratic world

## THE UN-AU HYBRID MISSION IN DARFUR: WILL IT WORK?

A Waging Peace Briefing – August 2007



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Waging Peace campaigns against genocide and systematic human rights abuses. We have a particular focus on Africa, on atrocities overlooked by the international community and where minorities have been persecuted on racial or religious grounds. We work to secure the full implementation and enforcement of international human rights treaties wherever we campaign. Our current priority is Darfur, where we are fighting for an immediate end to the atrocities and a stable and secure peace settlement that will bring about long-term safety and security for Sudan’s citizens. Our experienced team produces regular high-level and in-depth research reports, which enable us to support the call for urgent, effective and measurable action from the UK government and the international community

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## **1- Executive Summary**

On 31 July 2007, the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1769, creating the mandate for, and authorizing the deployment of a 26,000-strong United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

Waging Peace welcomes the latest UN Resolution because it may potentially create a more efficient peacekeeping force in Darfur. However, we have concerns about the limited mandate and the command and control of the force, troop contributions, the timetable for deployment, funding and the inevitability that Sudan will resort to delaying tactics.

This briefing explores these issues and offers recommendations aimed at ensuring that the resulting hybrid peacekeeping force can carry out its mission effectively. European Union and United Nations member states must apply a range of diplomatic, economic and military measures in order to pressure the Sudanese regime into complying with the following measures:

- 1. Clarification of the mandate and troop composition of the agreed force and an end to backtracking on agreements reached with the UN and AU;*
- 2. Insertion of the full hybrid force by 31 December 2007, which includes non-African troops when suitable African forces cannot be found;*
- 3. Cessation of offensive flights over Darfur and respect for the monitoring of a NFZ;*
- 4. Compliance with the DPA and existing ceasefire agreements and the DPA, and efforts towards a more inclusive agreement;*
- 5. Extension of the arms embargo and strengthening of its monitoring.*

Further, Waging Peace urges European Union and the United Nations member states to:

- 1. Create clear and efficient command and control structures for the mission addressing the concerns and needs of troop-contributing nations*
- 2. Allow the immediate deployment of an EU or NATO rapid reaction force to provide short term relief to the civilian population of Darfur and facilitate the full deployment of the hybrid force*
- 3. Put in place a long-term plan to ensure continued and sufficient funding for the hybrid force*

## **2- Introduction**

On 31 July 2007, the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1769, creating the mandate for a 26,000-strong United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

The watered down text, put forward by Britain and France, approved the deployment of up to 19,555 military personnel, including 360 military observers and liaison officers, a civilian component including up to 3,772 international police and 19 special police units with up to 2,660 officers.

Sudan-watchers observed that the resolution was the first significant move towards taking action to protect civilians in Darfur after four years of killing and ethnic cleansing, leaving an estimated 200,000-400,000 dead and millions displaced.

Waging Peace welcomes the latest resolution, hoping it will pave the way for a more efficient peacekeeping force in Darfur. However, there are grounds for reservations regarding the limited mandate of the force, command and control, troop contributions, the timetable for deployment, and funding.

Those who have followed Sudan's recent history are also aware that the Khartoum regime has a well-established record of backtracking on peace agreements whenever the international community's attention wandered elsewhere. Throughout twenty years during which the Sudanese armed forces and their proxies killed an estimated two million civilians in southern Sudan, Khartoum skilfully wasted the time of diplomats, repeatedly breaking its own promises.

The EU and the UN must no longer be manipulated and delayed by Sudan's obstructive tactics. In the past four years, diplomacy alone has clearly failed with al-Bashir. If the AU-UN hybrid force is to put an end to widespread atrocities and offer protection to the people of Darfur, then the international community must insist on clear conditions for the hybrid force and ensure its rapid deployment.

The international community has willfully ignored the repercussions of its failure to take a firm and united stand against Khartoum in the past four years. The conflict in Darfur has now spread to neighbouring Chad, aid agencies have ceased operations in large areas of Darfur and the refugee population is suffering great hardship and insecurity. The sooner robust action is taken, the more lives will be saved and the less expensive and complex it will be to organise effective aid operations and allow a return to peace in Darfur and Chad.

## **3- Defining the hybrid force**

Following Khartoum's rejection of the deployment of a UN force in Darfur under UN Security Council Resolution 1706, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan unveiled his three-step plan for an AU-UN hybrid force for Darfur at a meeting in Addis Ababa on 16 November 2006.

The plan was presented to the five permanent members of the UNSC (France, Russia, China, Britain and the USA), the AU, the Arab League and the Sudanese

Government. Annan's plan, to which all parties agreed, envisaged a \$21 million support package to the AU, with the deployment of several hundred soldiers and police, and finally a 20,000-strong hybrid force, under UN command and control, to conduct peacekeeping duties in Darfur.

The hybrid plan, which has been intermittently approved by Sudan, envisages three stages of implementation. The first two stages, the Light Support Package and the Heavy Support Package were seen as a means to help AMIS create an integrated command and control structure and to increase the effectiveness of its presence, overcoming many of the problems cited in the quoted peace academic report below. These first two stages of the package are a pre-requisite to the 26,000-strong hybrid force recently agreed under UN Security Council 1769.

While the first two stages of the hybrid operation have been delayed due to a lack of infrastructure to support the force<sup>1</sup> and a lack of security in Darfur<sup>2</sup>, the final force is expected to be deployed by 31 December 2007.

Under UN Security Council 1769, the 26,000-strong United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) will be made up of 19,555 military personnel, including 360 military observers and liaison officers, a civilian component including up to 3,772 international police and 19 special police units with up to 2,660 officers.

Acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Council has authorized UNAMID to take all necessary action to support the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement, as well as protect its own personnel, humanitarian workers and civilians "without prejudice to the Responsibility of the Government of Sudan"<sup>3</sup>.

The Resolution calls on UN member states to finalize their troop contributions to the new force within 30 days. Furthermore, UNAMID is expected to establish operational capabilities by October 2007 and to take command of the region from the 7,000-strong African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) by 31 December 2007, at the latest<sup>4</sup>.

#### **4- Concerns about the hybrid force**

While the latest UN Security Council resolution may pave the way for a more efficient peacekeeping force in Darfur, there are strong grounds for concern regarding the mandate and command and control of the force, troop contributions, the timetable for deployment, funding and Sudan's resort to delaying tactics in particular.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Sudan: Seven months and counting for the Darfur hybrid force', *Relief Web*, 11 June 2007, <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/EGUA-743L5W?OpenDocument>

<sup>2</sup> 'UNMIS admits delay of heavy support package', *Sudan Tribune*, 29 June 2007, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article22616>

<sup>3</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1769 of 31 July 2007 <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2007/sc9089.doc.htm>

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*

### a- The Force Mandate

Under article 15 of UN Security Council 1769, UNAMID, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, is “authorised to take the necessary action (...) in order to:

- (i) protect its personnel, facilities, installations and equipment, and to ensure the security and freedom of movement of its own personnel and humanitarian workers,
- (ii) support early and effective implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement, prevent the disruption of its implementation and armed attacks, and protect civilians, without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Sudan”<sup>5</sup>.

While the creation of a Chapter VII mandate is highly welcomed, the acknowledgement of Sudan’s sovereignty within the same paragraph is worrying, given the Sudanese Government’s known attacks against its own civilian population.

In article 9 of the UN Resolution UNAMID is also mandated to “monitor whether any arms or related material are present in Darfur in violation of the Agreements and the measures imposed by paragraphs 7 and 8 of resolution 1556 (2004)<sup>6</sup>”. The initial demand that the force seize and dispose of illegal arms was abandoned.

Finally, under pressure from China, the final text of the Resolution dropped a threat to impose further sanctions in the event of Khartoum’s non-compliance with the terms of the Resolution.

### b- Command and Control of the Force

UN Security Council 1769 states that the hybrid force will have a “unity of command and control which, in accordance with basic principles of peacekeeping, means a single chain of command” and that “command and control structures and backstopping will be provided by the United Nations”<sup>7</sup>, a prerequisite for funding by the UN and a condition many UN member states have insisted on were they to send troops to Darfur.

The issue of command and control of the hybrid force has been met with continued controversy in recent months. Despite agreeing to UN command and control on a number of occasions, Sudan has also insisted that the AU run operations on the ground with merely the assistance of the UN in command and control structures.

The UN, including in UN Security Council 1769, has been deliberately vague about the likely command and control structures of the hybrid AU-UN force. While this may assist diplomacy and encourage Khartoum’s co-operation, it will result in a watered down command structure rendering the hybrid force considerably less effective than it needs to be. It would also ignore lessons learned in the major peacekeeping operations of the 1990’s.

A suitably experienced commander must be identified and given complete and clear operational control of the hybrid force and any assets assigned to it by the UN and

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*



supporting nations. The implementation of stages one and two are critical in helping to realise the goal of effective command and control.

The planned hybrid force amounts to a major military operation and cannot be effectively controlled by a committee. An effective and accountable commander is necessary to ensure that priorities can be established and attended to in a timely fashion. Furthermore, allowing Khartoum to dictate the terms and conditions of the command operation at this stage only reflects the international community's misunderstanding of Khartoum's intentions all along: the international community has wilfully accepted that the Sudanese regime is seeking an efficient and peaceful end to the atrocities, ignoring their clear genocidal intent.

The recent appointments of Rodolphe Adada as the AU-UN Joint Special Representative for Darfur and Martin Agwai as Force Commander of AMIS cast further doubts on the nature of the command and control of the hybrid force.

The appointment of the force commander is crucial to gaining asset contributions for peace-support operations, and in previous operations the commander has generally come from a country that was seen to be taking a lead. The appointment of Martin Agwai, a Nigerian general, says much about the ambitions of the UN for the hybrid force and supporting elements. If a no-fly zone is imposed, as we recommend, it is politically inconceivable that the major commitments of western military air assets would be put under the complete command of a Nigerian general. To present a further example, if the French government were to commit a large contingent of troops (see below), it is unlikely they would accept to serve under an African commander.

### c- Troop contributions

UN Security Council 1769 remains vague on troop contributions for the hybrid force and calls on the UN Secretary-General and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission to agree the final composition of the military component of UNAMID.

On 17 June 2007, Sudan seemed to have dropped its previous insistence that only African troops be allowed to serve in the peacekeeping force. However, in keeping with its long established pattern of 'two steps forward and one step back,' recent statements by Sudanese officials have once again raised doubts.

On 19 June 2007, Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir was quoted as saying that the forces "will be commanded by the AU and its troops would mainly come from African countries". He added that, "only technical and civilian personnel could be sent by non-African countries to join the peacekeeping force". The situation was further confused when assistant secretary-general Hedi Annabi said that the agreement was to find African troops wherever possible, and to use non-African troops where possible. Annabi suggested that the international community should ignore contradictory statements from Khartoum: 'We should all decide to have some hearing problems, because reacting to this or that statement may not be helpful.'<sup>8</sup> Whilst Annabi's statement may reflect his experience of working with Khartoum, it

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<sup>8</sup> 'UK, Ghana to introduce UN resolution to authorise Darfur force', *Sudan Tribune*, 28 June 2007, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article22596>

does not address the repeated difficulties the UN and other organisations engaged in peace-support operations face when trying to raise contributions for a peacekeeping force in a climate of political uncertainty.

While it is expected that a substantial proportion of the troops would come from African Nations, they cannot make up its entirety because there simply aren't enough suitable African forces available. Khartoum insistence that African troops make up all except the advisory positions in the force therefore amounts to ruling out a force altogether.

Currently, AMIS is made up of Nigerian, Rwandan, Senegalese, South African and Ghanaian troops. While these states are most likely contributing to the force for a variety of political, financial and humanitarian reasons, none are expected to increase their contribution significantly. A key concern of prospective African contributors, as in Somalia, is that after committing their troops they will not receive adequate support from the international community in making the mission a success. In the past, a lack of forthcoming support has led currently contributing states to threaten to withdraw. Rwandan president Paul Kagame said recently, 'If we had more troops, the proper equipment, the right mandate, and a no-fly zone to paralyze the air-force, we could protect the civilian population of Darfur'<sup>9</sup>.

China, Pakistan and India have expressed interest in contributing troops to the hybrid force, as have France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and Australia. Unless these offers are accepted, there is little chance that the hybrid force will be deployed to its full capacity and able to carry out its mission effectively. Khartoum knows this and will use this to undermine the force.

Furthermore, although the Sudanese Government has insisted that any mission should be led by the African Union and overwhelmingly staffed by African nations, the current African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) has been incapable of providing a sufficient guarantee of civilian security in Darfur and is unlikely to ever be capable of doing so. A recent report<sup>10</sup> by the International Peace Academy outlined several areas in which AMIS are failing, these are:

- Lack of clarity in the mission structure at field level and its inadequacy for the purpose of integrated management of the mission;
- Lack of strategic management capacity;
- The absence of effective mechanisms for operational level management;
- Lack of tools and know-how to handle the relations of the mission with a variety of external actors, including the Government of Sudan and international partners and agencies;
- Insufficient logistic support and ability to manage logistics;
- Insufficient capacity in the key area of communication and information systems, compounded by unclear reporting lines from the field to the AU Commission;

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<sup>9</sup> John Prendergast, 'The Answer to Darfur: How to resolve the world's hottest war', International Crisis Group, *Enough Project Strategy Paper 1*, March 2007

<sup>10</sup> 'The AU in Sudan: Lessons for the African Standby Force', *International Peace Academy*, March 2007, [http://www.ipacademy.org/asset/file/166/AU\\_IN\\_SUDAN-Eng2.pdf](http://www.ipacademy.org/asset/file/166/AU_IN_SUDAN-Eng2.pdf)

- Problems in force generation and personnel management; and
- Total dependence on external partners to finance the mission and provide technical advice and support.

Various European, African and Asian nations have expressed willingness to contribute forces to Darfur over the past year. In September 2006 it was suggested that a combined Norwegian and Swedish force of 450 military engineers could be contributed to a force for Darfur. Since September, Norway has indicated that it may contribute no troops at all, more recently 200 or 300 engineers, with the latest statement, on 19 June 2007, potentially committing 200<sup>11</sup>. On 28 February 2007, Danish ministers were said to be considering a contribution after the planned August withdrawal of forces from Iraq<sup>12</sup>. Denmark is believed to have between 450 and 500 troops currently serving with the coalition. On 15th June 2007 government ministers in the Netherlands stated their intention to investigate the possibility of committing a 'small contingent' of troops<sup>13</sup>.

On 30 May 2007 Pakistan confirmed that it had received a request from the UN for forces for Darfur. The details are as yet unspecified, but the Pakistani government has said that it is giving it due consideration<sup>14</sup>. On 2 April, India revealed that it had received a request for 3000 troops from the UN. The government is said to be considering this request. Some elements of the military command are thought to be keen to commit troops, as those chosen to go on UN missions receive a significantly increased salary<sup>15</sup>. After more than a month of speculation, China confirmed on 22 June 2007 its intention to send nearly 300 engineering troops to Darfur<sup>16</sup>. China's decision to commit troops has lead observers to conclude that they are attempting to neutralise bad publicity about their relationship with Khartoum prior to the Beijing Olympics in 2008.

In October 2006 Bashir declined an offer by the Arab League to send a contingent of Muslim/Arab troops<sup>17</sup>. On 17 May 2007 Egypt offered to send a solely Egyptian force of 2000 troops<sup>18</sup>. Further to the above, Tanzania and Bangladesh declared some interest in sending troops to the region in late 2006.

At present the AU's military capacity is seriously over-stretched. With 7000 troops already in Darfur the Union has struggled to meet the target of 8000 troops in Somalia. Consequently the UN has drawn up contingency plans to take over the

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<sup>11</sup> 'Norwegian troops ready for Darfur troops ready for Darfur peace mission', *The Norway Post*, 19 June 2007

<sup>12</sup> 'Denmark says ready to send troops to Darfur', *Sudan Tribune*, 1 March 2007  
<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article20506>

<sup>13</sup> 'Netherlands mulls sending troops to Darfur' *Sudan Tribune*, 15 June 2007  
<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article22392>

<sup>14</sup> 'Pakistan army in UN operations, troops to Darfur', [www.defence.pk](http://www.defence.pk), 29 May 2007

<sup>15</sup> 'India may send more troops on UN peace missions', [www.dailytimes.com.pk](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk), 2 April 2006

<sup>16</sup> 'Chinese envoy arrives in Sudan for Darfur talks', *Reuters*, 22 June 2007

[http://uk.reuters.com/article/homepageCrisis/idUKL22710145.CH\\_242020070622](http://uk.reuters.com/article/homepageCrisis/idUKL22710145.CH_242020070622)

<sup>17</sup> 'Arab League nations offer peacekeeping troops for Darfur', *Washington Post*, 9 October 2006

<sup>18</sup> 'Egypt: Country to send 2000 troops to Darfur', *Allafrica.com*, 17 May 2007  
<http://allafrica.com/stories/200705170311.html>

operation.<sup>19</sup> Evidently there is little chance that AU member states will offer much more in the way of troops or equipment to the Darfur operation. Khartoum's comments, combined with AU overstretch, have led a US state department spokesman to comment that, "to say that the force would be limited to only African troops is, in effect, to say that you are not agreeing to the full 17,000 to 19,000 troops". By allowing the Sudanese Government to insist that the force only be made up of African troops, the result will be little different from that on the ground at present. This would allow the Government of Sudan to continue to pursue its genocidal aims in Darfur.

#### d- Timetable for deployment

According to Resolution 1769, UN member states are to finalize their troop contributions to the new force within 30 days. Furthermore, UNAMID is expected to establish operational capabilities by October 2007 and to take command of the region from the 7,000-strong African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) by 31 December 2007, at the latest<sup>20</sup>.

Clearly, the hybrid force, even if it is deployed according to plan next year, doesn't address the urgent needs for safety and security in Darfur. With security concerns being cited as a reason for the delay of the heavy-support package, and the already four year long ordeal of the civilian population of Darfur likely to be extended into 2008, there is clearly a security gap that urgently needs to be filled. There are forces available in the EU and NATO that have been specifically designed to provide rapid-reaction in times of crisis. In particular, the EU's battle-group concept was formulated to provide crisis management with a stepping stone to UN deployment. A plan should be formulated, swiftly, to utilise such forces to provide quick relief in Darfur and to facilitate the deployment of the heavy-support package and the hybrid force.

#### e- Funding

The hybrid operation is expected to cost more than \$2 billion in the first year, yet no detailed long-term funding plan has been put in place.

On the 30 June 2007, EU aid chief Louis Michel revealed that the EU commission had no additional funds available to sustain AMIS until the hybrid force is deployed<sup>21</sup>. This is indicative of the problems faced by AMIS since its conception. It is a matter of concern that such problems have arisen even before the hybrid force has been deployed. This issue must be addressed as a matter of urgency. It is futile to consider the deployment of the hybrid force until a long-term and detailed plan has been formulated to ensure that it remains properly funded throughout its deployment. Any such funding plan should include contributions from the UN, EU, USA and the Arab

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<sup>19</sup> 'Burundi: Troops Soon to Be Deployed to Somalia', *Allafrica.com*, 20 June 2007  
<http://allafrica.com/stories/200706200100.html>

<sup>20</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1769 of 31 July 2007  
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2007/sc9089.doc.htm>

<sup>21</sup> 'EU says run out of cash for Darfur peacekeepers', *Reuters*, 30 June 2007,  
[http://today.reuters.com/news/articlenews.aspx?type=worldNews&storyid=2007-06-29T173734Z\\_01\\_L29688726\\_RTRUKOC\\_0\\_US-FRANCE-EU-DARFUR.xml](http://today.reuters.com/news/articlenews.aspx?type=worldNews&storyid=2007-06-29T173734Z_01_L29688726_RTRUKOC_0_US-FRANCE-EU-DARFUR.xml)

League and, ideally, should be based on actual contributions rather than pledges of future contributions that may not be fulfilled.

#### f- Sudan's delaying and obstructive tactics

The track record of hybrid force negotiations to date suggests that the Government of Sudan is deliberately delaying implementation by agreeing to the terms set-out by the UN, only to renege on these commitments a matter of days later.

In November 2006, Bashir agreed to the deployment of a hybrid AU-UN force only to declare days later that no UN forces would be allowed in Sudan. A month later, in a letter to the former UN Secretary-General Annan dated 23 December 2006, Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir approved the three-step plan for the AU-UN hybrid force. Two days later, Sudan's U.N. ambassador, Abdalmahmood Abdalhaleen, went back on most of the clauses of the agreement (size of the force, as well as command and control), insisting that the UN's role should be limited to financial and material support.

Again on 17 June 2007, Khartoum agreed to a force of 20,000 troops under UN control, in which the African Union would run day-to-day operations, and to which non-African countries would contribute only when African troops could not be found.

Ban Ki-Moon lauded the decision as a milestone,<sup>22</sup> and two days later, officials in Khartoum claimed that they had only agreed to an entirely African force, under the control of the African Union, with non-African personnel filling only advisory roles and non-African states only taking the role of financiers.

Bashir's grounds for refusing to have UN troops in Darfur rest on his claim that Western troops in Darfur would constitute a post-colonial invasion. Yet at the same time he has refused non-Western troops from Asian and Arab League states, and, confusingly, he has accepted Western troops in southern Sudan.

Bashir's boldness has even led him to demand an apology from the US regarding the Assistant-Secretary of State's comment that Bashir had gone back on promises in the past. Further, Bashir claimed that it had in fact been the US, and not his government, that had been promoting war and instability in the region<sup>23</sup>.

### **5- The Role of The French**

The French are currently militarily active in neighbouring Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR). They have an estimated 1000 troops in Chad (mainly air-force staff) and 500 military personnel in CAR. France also has a number of air assets based in Chad that have been used for both reconnaissance and limited offensive activities, mainly in CAR. Therefore it would be beneficial to have the support of France; and in particular, its express permission to station air assets at its bases in eastern Chad.

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<sup>22</sup> 'U.N. lauds Darfur pact but implementation difficult', *Reuters*, 13 June 2007  
<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article22380>

<sup>23</sup> 'Sudan may demand apology from US over remarks by its top Africa diplomat', *Sudan Tribune*, 21 June 2007 <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article22487>

The previous French administration used its regional forces to aid the regimes of both Chad and CAR in several questionable operations over the past nine months. These operations were conducted unilaterally, with little opportunity for international oversight, and they have resulted in accusations of French complicity in human right violations.

Nicholas Sarkozy, the new French president, has appointed Bernard Kouchner, a renowned champion of humanitarian intervention, as the new foreign minister. Already the French are using their air assets to fly humanitarian supplies into Chad<sup>24</sup>, offering some hope that the new French administration will be more willing to allow their air bases and assets to be brought into the wider international effort. French Defence Minister Herve Morin said recently that he expected French troops to make up the biggest national contingent of the hybrid force, but suggested that the priority of the French government was to police the border with Chad. 'We must ensure the security of the Chadian zone and then see if President Bashir will accept the idea of putting forces [in place] that will ensure the stability and security of refugee camps.'<sup>25</sup>

## **6- Conclusion**

Despite the recent agreement on the UN-AU force for Darfur, recent Sudanese policy announcements cast new doubts on Khartoum's sincerity and commitment to accept a hybrid force. The regime has already repeatedly backtracked after initially accepting the full UN deployment in Addis Ababa in November last year. The UK and other UN member states should therefore not soften their position with regards to Sudan. Instead, they should be pushing harder to implement the agreement on the hybrid force.

The current prospects for an effective hybrid force depend on the UN and other interested parties applying strong and consistent pressure on Khartoum to allow the deployment of UNAMID.

If the UN Security Council was able to deploy an effective peacekeeping force to Lebanon in the space of 4 weeks last year, surely it should and could do the same in Darfur, where the atrocities that have been committed and the number of civilians that have been killed have far outnumbered those in the conflict in Lebanon. The stability of the region as a whole, and the lives of millions of refugees and IDPs in Darfur and Eastern Chad are at stake.

## **7- Recommendations**

In light of the Government of Sudan's consistent and cynical policy of delaying the implementation of any measure that could successfully protect the civilian population of Darfur, the international community should stop addressing the conflict on Khartoum's terms. European Union and United Nations member states must apply a

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<sup>24</sup> 'First French flight of Darfur aid in Chad touches down' *AFP*, 17 June 2007, [http://rawstory.com/news/afp/First\\_French\\_flight\\_of\\_Darfur\\_aid\\_i\\_06172007.html](http://rawstory.com/news/afp/First_French_flight_of_Darfur_aid_i_06172007.html)

<sup>25</sup> 'Darfur hybrid force to be deployed by early 2008 – France' *Sudan Tribune*, 25 June 2007, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article22568>,

range of diplomatic, economic and military measures in order to pressure the Sudanese regime into complying with the following measures:

1. *Clarification of the mandate and troop composition of the agreed force and an end to backtracking on agreements reached with the UN and AU;*
2. *Insertion of the full hybrid force by 31 December 2007, which includes non-African troops when suitable African forces cannot be found;*
3. *Cessation of offensive flights over Darfur and respect for the monitoring of a NFZ;*
4. *Compliance with the DPA and existing ceasefire agreements and the DPA, and efforts towards a more inclusive agreement;*
5. *Extension of the arms embargo and strengthening of its monitoring.*

Further, Waging Peace urges European Union and the United Nations member states to:

1. *Create clear and efficient command and control structures for the mission addressing the concerns and needs of troop contributing nations*
2. *Allow the immediate deployment of an EU or NATO rapid reaction force to provide short term relief to the civilian population of Darfur and facilitate the full deployment of the hybrid force*
3. *Put in place a long-term plan to ensure continued and sufficient funding for the hybrid force*