# THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF MASS ATROCITIES

The case of Darfur



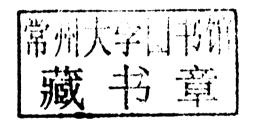
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## The International Politics of Mass Atrocities

The ongoing crisis in Darfur has stimulated a huge amount of political and academic interest across the world. The crisis has been both reflective and constitutive of key areas of contestation and change within contemporary international society.

This book examines the conflict in Darfur, Sudan, as a case study of some of the wider debates currently taking place within international relations theory, discussing what the situation reveals about the response of international actors to mass atrocities. It uses the conceptual framework developed by English School theorists, specifically their concept of international society and the related idea of 'good international citizenship' to provide valuable insights on a wide range of issues. These issues include foreign policy analysis, conflict management and resolution, peacekeeping, human rights, the role of international organizations and Africa's international relations.

Featuring chapters written by leading experts in their respective fields, including academics and practioners, this volume makes an important contribution to the debate about the meaning and limits of international society. It will be of interest to students and scholars of international relations theory, international security, foreign policy, international organizations, human rights, African politics, genocide studies and international law.

**David R. Black** is Director of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies and Professor of Political Science at Dalhousie University, Canada.

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The case of Darfur

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All royalties from this volume will be given to Darfur Peace and Development Organization (DPDO), a non-profit, non-sectarian organization with headquarters in Washington DC and offices in Khartoum and El Fasher, Sudan. DPDO provides humanitarian and development assistance to the victims of conflict in Darfur without regard to ethnicity, gender, age or religious beliefs. DPDO also works to foster reconciliation, to facilitate just governance and to enable Darfurians to rebuild their homeland in effective, sustainable ways. For more information on DPDO please visit http://www.darfurpeace.org/.

Finally, all projects of this type generate many personal debts. David Black would like to thank Jordan Guthrie, Carla Suarez, and Jenny Baechler for exemplary research assistance, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) for financial support. His biggest debt, as always, is to Heather Scott and to Elizabeth, Holly, and Rory, for their love and for keeping him grounded. Paul Williams would like to thank Ariela Blätter for her love and support as well as the insights derived from her own work on human rights issues in Sudan and Chad.

DRB and PDW May 2009

#### **Abbreviations**

ACP African, Caribbean and Pacific States
AMIS African Union Mission in Sudan
APC armoured personnel carrier

APF European Union African Peace Facility
APSA African Peace and Security Architecture

ASF African Standby Force

AU African Union

CAR Central African Republic

CDR Conseil démocratique révolutionnaire (Chad)

CFC Ceasefire Commission

CFSP European Union Common Foreign and Security Policy

CIDA Canadian International Development Agency
CNPC China National Petroleum Corporation
CPA Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005)

DCHA US Bureau of Disaster, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance

DDDC Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultations

DDRR Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration and Reinsertion

DFID UK Department for International Development
DGSE Directorate-General for External Security (France)

DITF Darfur Integrated Task Force
DJAM Darfur Joint Assessment Mission

DLF Darfur Liberation Front
DoP Declaration of Principles

DPA Darfur Peace Agreement (2006)

DPAIU Darfur Peace Agreement Implementation Unit

DPKO United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

DRC Democratic Republic of the Congo

EC European Commission

ECHO European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

EDF European Union Development Fund EMA État-major des armées (France)

EOSG Executive Office of the United Nations Secretary-General

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ESDP European Union Security and Defence Policy

EU European Union

EUFOR European Union Force

EUSR European Union Special Representative

FAN Forces Armées du Nord (Chad)

FCO UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office

FOMUC Multinational Force in the Central African Republic

FYROM Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

GAERC European Union General Affairs and External Relations Council

GNPOC Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company

GNU Government of National Unity

GoS Government of Sudan GWOT Global War on Terrorism

HCFA Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement

ICC International Criminal Court

ICI International Commission of Inquiry

ICISS International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty

IDP internally displaced person

IGAD Intergovernmental Authority on Development

JC Joint Commission

JEM Justice and Equality Movement
JIM Joint Implementation Mechanism

MINURCAT United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic

and Chad

MNF Multinational Force

MP Member of Parliament (UK)

MPS Mouvement patriotique de salut (Chad)

NAM Non-Aligned Movement

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NCP National Congress Party
NDA National Democratic Alliance

NEPAD New Partnership for Africa's Development

NGO non-governmental organization

NIF National Islamic Front

NISS National Intelligence and Security Service NMRD Movement for Reform and Democracy (Chad)

NOC National Oil Company
NRF National Redemption Front
OAU Organization of African Unity

OCHA Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
P5 permanent five members of the United Nations Security Council

PSC Peace and Security Council of the African Union

R2P Responsibility to Protect principle RDFF Revolutionary Democratic Front Forces

#### xiv Abbreviations

RoE rules of engagement
SAF Sudanese Armed Forces
SAT Special Advisory Team

SCR United Nations Security Council Resolution

SFDA Sudan Federal Democratic Alliance SLM/A Sudan Liberation Movement/Army

SPLM/A Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army

SRSG Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General

SSR security sector reform

START Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force

TCCs troop-contributing countries

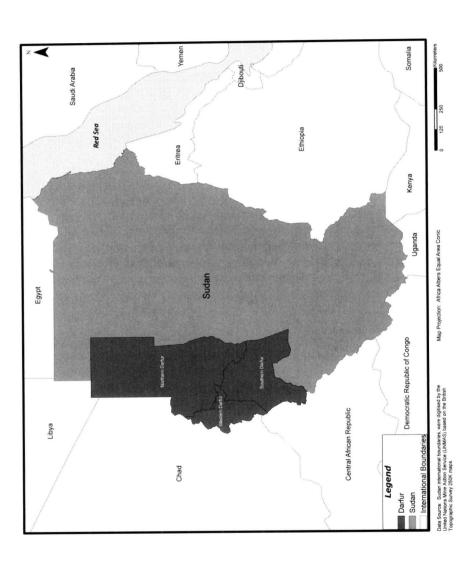
UN United Nations

UNAMID African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur

UNAMIS United Nations Advance Mission in Sudan

UNMIS United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNOSOM United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNSC United Nations Security Council

USAID US Agency for International Development



Map I Map of Sudan.



Map 2 Detailed map of Darfur. Source: Small Arms Survey.

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