



The UN Security Council and the Darfur Crisis: A Country-by-Country Analysis

October 31, 2006

On August 31, 2006, the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed Resolution 1706, authorizing the deployment of a robust UN peacekeeping force to provide protection for the people of Darfur. This proposed force would transition from the current African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), which has had neither the resources nor the numbers to ensure security in the region. Africa Action welcomed the passage of this Security Council Resolution as an important step forward. It recognized the need for an international intervention in Darfur and the responsibility of the international community to take new action on this crisis.

The following is an overview of the statements and actions of UN Security Council members on Darfur in recent weeks. Although the implementation of Resolution 1706 remains stalled, this document reveals that there is broad support within the Security Council for a UN transition in Darfur. What is also clear, however, is the need for new diplomatic engagement to overcome current obstacles surrounding the deployment of a UN force. There is not yet full consensus within the Security Council on the need for a UN transition, and a number of Security Council members maintain that the consent of the government of Sudan is required for such a transition. These challenges illustrate the urgent need for strengthened diplomatic efforts, within the Security Council and with the government of Sudan, to move forward on Resolution 1706.

With the AMIS mandate now set to expire in December 2006, Africa Action asserts that there is a renewed imperative for the UN Security Council to demonstrate its firm commitment to a UN transition and to overcome obstacles to the implementation of Resolution 1706 now.

NOTE: Security Council member countries are listed below in alphabetical order. Five countries – China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States – are permanent members of the Security Council, while the other ten serve fixed terms. At the end of 2006, Argentina, Denmark, Greece, Japan and the United Republic of Tanzania will rotate off and be replaced.

1. Argentina

Argentina co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 1706 on **August 31, 2006**, and it has emphasized that the purpose of the force is to protect civilians, not to violate sovereignty. Argentina remains committed to the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), and it urges Sudan's consent to an international peacekeeping force. It maintains that governments have a responsibility to their people, but that the international community also has a responsibility to ensure that governments respect their duties.

Argentina's Permanent Representative to the UN is **Cesar F. Mayoral**. On **September 14, 2006**, at the Arria-style meeting on Darfur at the Security Council, Argentina invoked the

“Responsibility to Protect,” saying that the Security Council must implement its decision on Resolution 1706. The representative also underscored that a UN transition would be intended to protect those who are defenseless.

2. China

China has expressed concern about the Darfur crisis, and is in favor of a UN transition. However, it feels the Security Council should be patient in its approach to Darfur. China believes that the Sudanese government’s cooperation is critical in finding a solution and it will only support a UN peacekeeping force if the government consents. China abstained on Resolution 1706 because language requiring Sudanese consent was not added to the resolution.

Wang Guangya is China’s Permanent Representative to the UN. On **August 31, 2006**, China abstained from the vote on Resolution 1706, and released an explanatory statement, saying:

“China is in favor of replacing AMIS with UN operation. This is a good idea and realistic option, and it will help improve the situation on the ground and serve the interests of all parties. We therefore support, with the consent of the Government of National Unity, to deploy UN troops in Darfur as soon as feasible...”

At a Security Council meeting to discuss Resolution 1706 on **September 11, 2006**, Representative Liu Zheming insisted that the Council respect the wishes of the Sudanese government. On **October 26, 2006**, the Sudanese ambassador to China, Mirghani Mohamed Salih, acknowledged that China coordinates its stance at the UN Security Council with Sudan, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This accounts for the persistent parallels between China’s stated positions and the interests of the government of Sudan.

3. The Republic of the Congo

The Republic of the Congo seeks “bolder, more effective action” on Darfur and calls on Sudan to truly appreciate the gravity of the situation. Its Permanent Representative to the UN is **Basile Ikouebe**. On **August 31, 2006**, the Republic of the Congo voted in favor of Resolution 1706.

On **September 19, 2006**, the President of the Republic of the Congo, **Denis Sassou Nguesso**, made his remarks at the opening of the UN General Assembly. He also holds the position of Chairman of the African Union. He said:

“The unshakeable commitment of the AU to peace in Darfur has never been denied. It still remains true that the gravity of the situation in that region of Sudan calls for bolder, more effective action. The Sudanese government, to which we direct a solemn appeal, should take full measure of this tragedy that is taking place before our eyes.”

4. Denmark

Denmark rejects Sudan's claim that a UN force would violate its right to sovereignty, citing the higher priority of the Darfuri population's right to protection. Moreover, Denmark reaffirms the international community's "Responsibility to Protect" if Sudan does not accept that role.

Denmark's Permanent Representative to the UN is **Ellen Margrethe Løj**.

On **August 31, 2006**, Denmark co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 1706. At the Opening of the UN General Assembly on **September 22, 2006**, Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs **Per Stig Møller**, stated:

"The Council's decision to continue preparations for a UN peacekeeping force to relieve the African Union force and stop the senseless carnage of civilians in Darfur drew sharp criticism from the Government of Sudan and was denounced as neo-colonialism and a violation of its sovereign rights. But whose rights are really being violated here? Rather than the Government of Sudan, I submit that it is the right of the population of Darfur to get protection that is being violated. And it is incumbent on the international community to act, if a government fails to fulfill this responsibility. I call upon the Government of Sudan to work with us, not against us, in protecting the population in Darfur."

5. France

France views the situation in Darfur with great concern and is working with the U.S. to convince Sudan to accept a UN force. France also thinks that the deployment of a UN force would need Sudan's approval. **Jean-Marc de La Sablière** is the Permanent Representative to the UN.

France co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 1706 on **August 31, 2006**. On **September 19, 2006**, French President Jacques Chirac delivered his remarks at the Opening of the UN General Assembly:

"I call on Sudan to accept the United Nations peace mission without delay. ... "The Responsibility to Protect" — that was what we affirmed. In Darfur, millions of people are threatened. A crime against humanity looms ... France entreats the international community to ward off a further humanitarian catastrophe."

On **October 24, 2006**, a French Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson outline the country's position:

"We believe we have to respect Sudanese sovereignty because the force has to be deployed in Sudan. So we have to engage in dialogue with the Sudanese authorities to persuade them to agree to the force. We need to make it quite clear to the Sudanese that this force is not directed against them...and that it is in their interest to work with the international community in this matter."

6. Ghana

On **September 14, 2006**, while in a UN Security Council Arrria-style session, Ghana invoked Article 4 of the African Union (AU) Constitutive Act, concerning intervention in the case of crimes against humanity. Under this article, AU countries have an obligation to intervene to protect civilians.

Ghana's Permanent Representative to the UN is **Nana Effah-Apenteng**. On **August 31, 2006**, Ghana co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 1706, and Ambassador Effah-Apenteng said, *"This resolution does not close the door to further dialogue with the government of Sudan."*

"We should bear in mind that two million people are suffering in Darfur. I think the lives of those people should weigh heavily on the minds of everybody, and that is why the council is going ahead."

At an Arrria-style Security Council meeting on **September 14, 2006**, Ghana posed the question of whether the government of Sudan deserves more protection than the people of Darfur. The representative expressed hope that the government of Sudan will consent to a UN force but stated that he would not wait indefinitely for Khartoum to change its mind.

7. Greece

Greece is committed to the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) and has called for a robust UN mandate to be granted to the AMIS force in Darfur. It has also vowed to help bolster the humanitarian effort on the ground. **Adamantios Vassilakis** is the Permanent Representative to the UN.

On **August 31, 2006**, Greece co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 1706. Following a Security Council debate on Darfur on **September 11, 2006**, Greece released a statement:

"The Members of the Council stand united that this situation is unacceptable and that it must be addressed urgently. The response from this Council, but also from the international community as a whole, should involve persuading Khartoum to accept a UN deployment, reviving AMIS and applying pressure on the non-signatories to participate in the DPA."

On **September 14, 2006**, during an Arrria-style Security Council meeting on Darfur, Greece maintained that Darfur should be no exception to the "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine and supported full implementation of Resolution 1706.

8. Japan

Japan supports a UN peacekeeping force for Darfur and increased international funding for

humanitarian efforts. However, Japanese representatives argue that Sudanese government consent is needed in advance of the deployment. **Kenzo Oshima** is the Permanent Representative to the UN for Japan.

On **August 31, 2006**, Japan voted in favor of Resolution 1706. On **October 5, 2006**, in response to a letter distributed by the Sudanese mission at the UN, declaring any support of a UN peacekeeping force for Darfur to be a “hostile” act against Sudan, Ambassador Oshima states that the letter “was inappropriate in language and tonality.”

Ambassador Oshima commented on humanitarian conditions in Darfur on **October 27, 2006**, stating, “*The Council Members are very deeply concerned at the continuing deterioration in humanitarian and security conditions in Darfur.*”

9. Peru

Peru has pointed to the violence in Darfur as a situation that demands UN protection of civilians, emphasizing that the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) has provided little benefit for the region’s population. Peru will hold the presidency of the Security Council in November 2006, and its Permanent Representative to the UN is **Oswaldo de Rivero**.

In a **June 28, 2006** statement, Ambassador Rivero said:

“In the case of Darfur, my delegation considers that is urgent to give AMIS a strong mandate to protect civilians and to transfer its functions by the end of this year to a United Nations force with the adequate capacity to implement the DPA.”

On **August 31, 2006**, Peru voted in favor of Resolution 1706.

10. Qatar

Qatar considers Sudan a “fraternal” neighbor. Its stated priorities include supporting the country’s unity and territorial integrity. Qatar opposes a UN peacekeeping force for Darfur as a threat to Sudanese sovereignty. It frequently supports the positions of the Sudanese government in its statements, and it has fulfilled a pledge to support the AU force rather than a UN transition. Qatar will hold the presidency of the Security Council in December 2006, and its Permanent Representative to the UN is **Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser**.

On **August 31, 2006**, Qatar abstained from the vote on Resolution 1706, saying that more efforts should have been made to secure Sudan’s “voluntary consent.” On **September 11, 2006**, Representative **Jamal Nasser Al-Bader** said that positive developments had occurred in Darfur and that the continuing violence was the fault of the non-signatories to the Darfur Peace Agreement.

At the Opening of the UN General Assembly on **September 20, 2006**, Heir Apparent of Qatar Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani said:

“We want to pay tribute to the government of Sudan that has succeeded after tireless efforts in realizing peace in the South. It continues to make sincere efforts to achieve security and stability in different parts of the country. We fully support these efforts and look forward to more support by the international community to fraternal Sudan in order to preserve its unity and territorial integrity.”

On **September 19, 2006**, Qatar made the first contribution towards the \$150 million pledge of the Arab League to fund AMIS, providing \$2.3 million out of its \$7 million share. Qatar supports financial and logistical support of AMIS as an alternative to implementing Resolution 1706.

11. Russian Federation

Russia has expressed support for all efforts to resolve the Darfur issue, provided that Sudan’s territorial integrity, sovereignty and the will of its people are respected. Russia’s Permanent Representative to the UN is **Vitaly Churkin**.

Following the passage of Security Council Resolution 1679, which supported the AU decision to transition to a UN peacekeeping force, the Russian Mission to the UN issued a press release on **May 17, 2006**, stating:

“[I]n Russia's view, an obligatory condition of the establishment of a UN peacekeeping presence in Darfur has to be having the Sudan government's agreement.”

On **August 31, 2006**, Russia abstained from voting on UN Security Council Resolution 1706, citing the failure to obtain Sudan’s consent in advance. On **September 11, 2006**, at the Security Council meeting to discuss Resolution 1706, Ambassador Churkin criticized the UN for moving forward without adequate consultation with the Sudanese government.

12. Slovakia

Slovakia has invoked the “Responsibility to Protect” for Darfur and calls on the Sudanese government to consent to the UN force. Its Permanent Representative to the UN is **Peter Burian**. On **August 31, 2006**, Slovakia co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 1706. At an Arria-style meeting on Darfur on **September 14, 2006**, the representative from Slovakia expressed serious concerns about the deteriorating situation and urged the government of Sudan to cooperate with international efforts.

In Prime Minister **Robert Fico**’s remarks at the Opening of the UN General Assembly on **September 12, 2006**, he said:

“When peaceful means prove inadequate and national authorities are failing to protect their own citizens, the international community has the responsibility to act collectively through the Security Council and prevent another Rwanda or Srebrenica. It is our shared responsibility to protect tens of thousands suffering in Darfur.”

13. United Kingdom (UK)

The UK is committed to the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) and maintains that Sudan should accept a UN peacekeeping force. The UK urges all sides to abide by the DPA and encourages those who have not signed to do so. **Emyr Jones Parry** is the UK’s Permanent Representative to the UN.

On **August 31, 2006**, the UK co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 1706. On **September 14, 2006**, during an Arria-style meeting on Darfur, the representative of the UK pointed out that it is not tenable that the rhetoric of “never again” applies only in Europe and emphasized that the UN has no hidden agenda against Sudan.

Margaret Beckett, UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, delivered her remarks on **September 22, 2006**, at the Opening of the UN General Assembly:

“Darfur remains in crisis. I pay tribute to the African Union and its peacekeepers. Wednesday’s decision to expand their mandate averted a security vacuum; we must now reinforce AMIS, the African Union force. But it can only be a temporary reprieve. ... [W]e urgently need a greatly strengthened international presence on the ground, with the active engagement and support of Asian and Muslim, as well as African, countries. That is why the Security Council authorized the deployment of UN peacekeepers in Darfur. I urge President Bashir to extend Sudan’s relations with the United Nations in a common purpose to bring lasting peace, and genuine stability to the whole of Sudan.”

On **October 6, 2006**, Ambassador Jones Parry outlined a “four-point” Darfur strategy, beginning with the strengthening of AMIS. He emphasized the need to continue international efforts to secure Sudanese consent for a UN peacekeeping force for Darfur.

14. United Republic of Tanzania

Tanzania strongly supports a UN transition and seeks to break the impasse of Sudan’s rejection of Resolution 1706. Tanzania emphasizes the importance of diplomatic engagement between the Security Council and Khartoum, in the face of further deteriorating humanitarian conditions.

The Tanzanian Permanent Representative to the UN is **Augustine P. Mahiga**. On **August 31, 2006**, Tanzania co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 1706.

A statement from the Ambassador dated **September 11, 2006** reads:

“We have Security Council resolution 1706 before us which has been rejected by Sudan because of perceived mistrust of a United Nations force presence in Darfur to implement the Darfur Peace Agreement. We are intrigued by this argument because the United Nations presence in Darfur is not going to be any different as that in South Sudan except in size and composition. There is urgent need at this hour for the African Union and the United Nations to re-engage the government of Sudan to explore mutually reassuring approaches to implement the Council Resolution.”

At an Arria-style meeting on Darfur at the Security Council on **September 14, 2006**, the representative from Tanzania stated that the Security Council is at a crossroads on this issue. The representative also highlighted AMIS’s role as an advance mission, which has already done its part and which was designed to pave the way for a UN force.

15. United States (U.S.)

The U.S. has called on Khartoum to accept the authorized UN force, and it has sent high-level officials and a special envoy to Khartoum. The U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN is **John Bolton**. On **August 31, 2006**, the U.S. co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 1706. On **September 14, 2006**, Ambassador Bolton delivered his statements at an Arria-style meeting on Darfur:

“I am pleased to say that as a Security Council, we have worked to bring relief to Darfur through the adoption of a resolution to transfer the African Union mandate to a UN peacekeeping mission. This resolution must be implemented.”

On **September 19, 2006**, at the Opening of the General Assembly, President **George Bush** stated:

“If the Sudanese government does not approve this peacekeeping force quickly, the United Nations must act.”

After a meeting with U.S. Special Envoy to Sudan **Andrew Natsios**, on **October 31, 2006**, President Bush made the following remarks:

“[T]he United States is going to work with the international community to come up with a single plan on how to address this issue and save lives. ... One element of the plan is something that I strongly supported all along, and that there needs to be a credible and effective international force to go into Darfur to save lives, to make it clear that the international community respects human life, and the international community will work in concert to save human life.”

