

 An International Film Circuit release  
of a Break Thru Films Production  
in association with  
Global Grassroots and Three Generations

# THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK

A FILM BY ANNIE SUNDBERG AND RICKI STERN



**WINNER**

SEEDS OF WAR AWARD  
FULL FRAME DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL



**WINNER**

FULL FRAME / WORKING FILMS AWARD  
FULL FRAME DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL



**WINNER**

WITNESS AWARD, SILVERDOCS



**OFFICIAL SELECTION**

SUNDANCE, CINEVEGAS, TRIBECA  
HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH FILM FESTIVAL (Closing Night Film)

[www.thedevilcameonhorseback.com](http://www.thedevilcameonhorseback.com)

US, 2007, Color, 85minutes

**New York Press Contact:**

Sophie Gluck & Associates  
Sophie Gluck [Sophie.gluck@verizon.net](mailto:Sophie.gluck@verizon.net)  
Sylvia Savadjian [gluckpr@verizon.net](mailto:gluckpr@verizon.net)  
Tel: (212) 595-2432

**Distribution Contact:**

International Film Circuit inc  
Wendy Lidell [wlidell@infic.us](mailto:wlidell@infic.us)  
Andy Robbins [atrobbs@gmail.com](mailto:atrobbs@gmail.com)  
Tel: (212) 777-5690

**Washington DC/National Press Contact:**

Venture Communications  
Jamie Shor [jshor@venturecommunications.com](mailto:jshor@venturecommunications.com)  
Tel: (202) 628-7772

Hi Resolution Images are downloadable at: [www.infic.us/devil](http://www.infic.us/devil)

## **SYNOPSIS**

THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK exposes the tragedy taking place in Darfur as seen through the eyes of an American witness who has since returned to the US to take action to stop it.

Using the exclusive photographs and first hand testimony of former U.S. Marine Captain Brian Steidle, THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK takes the viewer on an emotionally charged journey into the heart of Darfur, Sudan, where an Arab run government is systematically executing a plan to rid the province of it's black African citizens. As an official military observer, Steidle had access to parts of the country that no journalist could penetrate. He was unprepared for what he would witness and experience, including being fired upon, taken hostage, and being unable to intervene to save the lives of young children. Ultimately frustrated by the inaction of the international community, Steidle resigned and returned to the US to expose the images and stories of lives systematically destroyed.

## **DIRECTORS' STATEMENT**

This is a film that came upon us quickly and urgently. We first met Brian Steidle in the early spring of 2005, just as we were in the midst of finishing our film "The Trials of Darryl Hunt." We had heard about Darfur, but like many Americans, only vaguely. The news that emerged was often buried deep inside the international section of a handful of US newspapers. But we had seen Nicholas Kristof's groundbreaking series of Op-Eds on Darfur in the New York Times, in particular his series about "The American Witness" which marked the first time photographs were included on those pages. These were photos taken by a former Marine who had been an African Union monitor in Darfur. They were haunting and unforgettable.

We met Brian through his sister Gretchen, who had become a passionate advocate for the victims and women refugees of Darfur. Together they were in the beginning stages of mounting an international journey to get the word out about what Brian had seen. They were meeting with US political leaders and soon to embark on a trip to the UK where Brian had been invited to show his photographs in a special meeting of members of Parliament. We felt that Brian was just halfway through a journey that began in Sudan's Nuba mountains, and only just beginning to come to grips with what he had witnessed. For us as filmmakers, it was a perfect opportunity.

As the tragedies unfolded over the past decades in Sudan, from the North South civil war that resulted in thousands of young refugees, Annie and Ricki had watched for a means of telling an evolving story about the corruption and conflicts in Africa which seemed repeatedly to politically marginalize these countries. Rwanda was another recent horror, and such a marked international failure, that it was incredible to watch it happen again, but

in agonizing slow motion. What was truly happening on the ground in Darfur, what were the causes? And what was keeping the world from intervening?

In spring 2005, we began to collaborate with Brian, who still seemed shell shocked by what he had experienced in Darfur. We began with nothing more than Brian's personal story of what he witnessed, and his collection of exclusive photographs, smuggled out of Sudan in a risky move to leave with what would prove to be damning evidence that implicated the Sudanese government in what was happening in Darfur. He, like us, seemed to be struggling with what to do next, and what could make a difference. We started by filming Brian's return to Africa, to the refugee camps in Chad, and when he made the decision to start talking to people all around the world about his story, we followed. We were curious to see how Brian would change, from a Marine raised in a tradition of duty and respect, to an ardent educator, passionate about intervention, who was driven by the nightmares of his time in Sudan.

The fact that Brian was American offered a unique perspective on the crisis, and that he was "just a guy" who went to do a job and found himself in the worst place imaginable, gave us hope that a wide audience would connect with Brian and his experience – and be compelled to become educated and involved in what continues to unfold in Darfur. We also came to see this film as the darkest type of political thriller, and it was all too real.

We are thankful to the humanitarian agencies and individuals who offered their footage to us, and to all those who shared their perspectives, political insight and testimonies.

The biggest risks of all in making a film like this are borne by those who assisted us on the ground in Darfur and Chad. Our translator who accompanied and aided Brian and the team in the refugee camps in Chad was arrested (and later released) shortly after Brian returned back to the states. Most importantly, every Darfurian who shared their story with us on camera is at risk of Sudanese governmental reprisal. We are profoundly grateful for their willingness to bear witness, and we hope this film will help to end the violence and bring protection to those still on the ground in Darfur and Chad.

### **FILMMAKERS' NOTES**

Sudan is the largest country in Africa, and one of the most violent. The recent 20-year civil war between the government backed Arab North and the Christian South claimed the lives of more than 2 million people.

Now in Darfur, the killing continues.

The crisis in Darfur began in 2003 when a non-Arab rebel group seeking more wealth and autonomy for Darfur attacked a military airport. The Arab dominated government responded by unleashing Arab militias known as the Janjaweed – "Devil on Horseback" – upon the non-Arab tribes. The attacks were so brutal, deadly and systematic that many have called this conflict genocide. More than 400 thousand have been killed in Darfur, and almost 3 million have been forced from their homes. This is a crisis based on race and the

government is targeting its own citizens.

THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK exposes the genocide in Darfur, Sudan as seen through the eyes of an American witness, former U.S. Marine Captain Brian Steidle, who served as an unarmed military observer with the African Union from 2004 through 2005.

Shaped by Brian's personal journey -- using on-the-ground video and more than 1,000 of his exclusive photographs of the emerging crisis in Darfur -- the film reveals the horrors of a government waging a dark war on its citizens, creating a gripping and uncompromising expose of this ongoing genocide.

Brian spent over a year in Sudan, and six months as an official military observer in Darfur, with military intelligence and access to parts of the country that no journalists could penetrate. Just 27 years old, Brian was unprepared for what he would experience -- daily he witnessed the brutal slaughtering of men, women and children yet was unable to intervene -- and for what he would learn about Sudan and its government.

Armed with a pen, paper and a camera, Brian's only defense was to document the evidence and capture proof of an Arab government bent on destroying its black African citizens. Ultimately frustrated by the African Union's inability to take action, Brian resigned and smuggled more than 1000 photographs back to the United States. Haunted by what he witnessed, Brian became driven to expose the images and stories behind this ongoing genocide, with the hope of compelling international intervention.

In March 2005, Nicholas Kristof, journalist for the New York Times, first published Brian's photographs and broke his story. There was enormous public and media response. The U.S. State Department contacted Brian to ask him to stop showing his photographs to the American public. He was warned by the African Union that he was putting himself at risk. He was accused of profiteering. Brian discovered that he was on the Sudanese Government's watch list. Brian responded by taking his photos on the road to educate political leaders and people worldwide about what was unfolding in Sudan.

In late 2005, now unable to return to Darfur for fear of his own safety, Brian was hungry for current information on the crisis. He wanted an update from people on the ground, and he wanted to connect with survivors for personal reasons, in an effort to make sense of what he had witnessed in Darfur. He traveled to refugee camps in Chad, searching for survivors of the violence he documented, and seeking relatives of the dead he photographed.

After Chad, Brian traveled to Rwanda for the genocide memorial, and to understand the emotional and political struggles faced by countries that seek to rebuild after genocide. Brian met with survivors from Sierra Leone, from Rwanda, from Cambodia, from the Holocaust. He went from Rwanda back into the speaking field, touring again in the US and internationally, this time to build awareness for a Washington DC rally in late April 2006 geared to motivate US political leaders to take action in Darfur. Days after this rally, a fragile peace agreement was signed in Darfur between the Sudanese government and the largest rebel group. As shown by increasing aggression, this agreement is not holding and the crisis is now spreading into Chad, threatening to destabilize the region.

The film hauntingly chronicles Brian's life-altering time in Darfur and his journey to make public his experience and responsibility to this crisis. Drawing from personal interviews, Brian's home movies, video and audio recordings from the field in Darfur, his travels in the US, Chad, the UK and Rwanda – intercut with the most recent footage obtainable provided by renegade sources in Darfur – the film cinematically details the events and causes that shape this crisis.

2007 is estimated to be the deadliest year yet in Darfur, as the violence spreads and humanitarian groups begin to leave the area. Our hope as filmmakers with THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK is to inspire and empower people to get involved and become active in bringing peace to Darfur, and to motivate international leadership to create foreign policy to respond effectively to this crisis before it becomes even worse.

**THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK  
A FILM BY ANNIE SUNDBERG AND RICKI STERN**

**BRIAN STEIDLE**

Former United States Marine Brian Steidle served for six months in Darfur as an unarmed military observer for the African Union. There he witnessed first-hand the ongoing genocide, and documented every day of his experience using email, audio journals, notebook after notebook and nearly 1,000 photographs.

Brian and his sister Gretchen Steidle Wallace wrote the book *The Devil Came on Horseback*, based on their correspondence throughout his time in Darfur. Fired upon, taken hostage, a witness to villages destroyed and people killed, frustrated by his mission's limitations and the international community's reluctance to intervene, Steidle resigned and has since become an advocate for the world to step in and stop this genocide. The book, which will be released this spring, depicts the tragic impact of an Arab government bent on destroying its black African citizens, the maddening complexity of international inaction in response to blatant genocide, and the awkward, yet heroic transformation of a former Marine turned humanitarian. It is a gripping and moving memoir that bears witness to atrocities we have too long averted our eyes from, and reveals that the actions of just one committed person have the power to change the world.

Brian, a former Captain in the Marine Corps, worked for the African Union where he served in Darfur. He has made several return trips to Africa and now gives lectures across the country, including Harvard, Princeton, Stanford and UCLA, about Darfur. He lives in Los Angeles. Gretchen, Brian's sister is the founder of Global Grassroots and has a BA in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia and an MBA from the Tuck School at Dartmouth College. She lives in New Hampshire.

**A NOTE FROM BRIAN STEIDLE**

I am telling the stories of the Sudanese people because it seems unthinkable not to. While in Darfur I witnessed villages of up to 20,000 people torched to ashes, men castrated and left to bleed to death, innocent families locked inside burning huts, children shackled and tortured, young girls gang-raped, fields of bones and executed corpses. I felt I had to expose these unmentionable atrocities to the American public. The conflict still rages in Darfur and our leaders, despite calling it genocide, have yet to step in to prevent further violence.

I want people to feel compelled to take action to end this conflict and do whatever necessary to prevent future conflicts like this from happening. I want people to care about Africa.

The events that I witnessed must be made public both for the sake of each Darfurian still struggling to survive and in honor of the millions who have perished under acts of genocide while the world remained cowardly and silent.

## **THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK A FILM BY ANNIE SUNDBERG AND RICKI STERN**

### **BACKGROUND ON DARFUR**

In Southern Sudan, civil war has raged for more than twenty years, with an impoverished and marginalized south fighting for better representation from an increasingly Arabic northern government. This bitter struggle has spawned what is now labeled as the most urgent humanitarian crisis in the world.

In February 2003, civil unrest broke out among black African rebel groups in Sudan's western region of Darfur, seeking equal rights from the Arab Government of Sudan. In response, the Government began sponsoring militias among Arab nomadic tribes to squelch the rebellion. These militias have become known as the "Janjaweed" (devil on a horse). The Janjaweed are well armed and directed by the Government of Sudan, with the shared goal of eliminating all black African tribes in Darfur. Together, they began violently attacking not just the rebel groups, but black African civilians.

Since fighting broke out it is estimated that nearly 400,000 Africans have perished and over 2.5 million displaced by the violence. Based on survivor testimony and eye-witness accounts, militia members and government troops have systematically bombed and then burned African villages, tortured civilians, raped thousands of women, slaughtered hundreds of thousands of villagers and forced the remaining to flee their homes with nothing. Black African civilians are being locked in their huts and burned alive. Torture before execution is common, and men are often castrated, their eyes plucked out and their ears and limbs cut off. Rape is used as a further tool of genocide, with the goal of producing lighter skinned babies and degrading the Black African population. For larger attacks on villages, the Government of Sudan drops bombs from Antonov aircraft and uses helicopters to fire rockets filled with tiny nails that tear through human bodies.

Millions trapped within Sudan and those who have escaped to neighboring Chad are forced to live in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps or refugee camps, while humanitarian aid groups struggle to meet their basic needs for survival. Within Sudan, the government consistently impedes the ability of the African Union peace monitors and aid workers to assess the violence and treat the needs. It is estimated that at the height of the conflict up to 15,000 people were dying each month both on account of the violence and also as a result of the difficulties surviving homeless in the harsh desert climate including disease, lack of medical care for injuries, shortages of water and food, and inadequate shelter. This ongoing ethnic and racial cleansing engineered by the Sudanese Government is threatening to extinguish the African population from the Darfur region completely.

Women and children unarguably bear the greatest burden of this conflict. IDP camps are filled with families that have lost their fathers. Most significantly, rape is used as a widespread violent tool of war. During attacks, girls as young as 8, women as old as 78, and women even seven months pregnant have been reported to have been gang raped by Arab militias. Even after they relocate to IDP camps, women are forced to leave the camps

daily to seek firewood with the almost certain risk of rape from the Janjaweed militias. Often women are sexually assaulted even within the supposed safety of the IDP camps.

Frequently, rape victims are ostracized and others face unwanted pregnancies. When women report their rapes, they are often arrested for having sex out of marriage or experiencing an “illegal pregnancy”. Many are required to undergo virginity testing, and others face sexual assault within prison. When women finally are able to return home and rebuild their lives, many are abandoned by their parents or husbands because they are now considered “tainted” property. Countless women are left to support themselves and their unwanted children alone.

In July 2004, US Congress unanimously agreed that genocide was taking place in Darfur. Beyond supporting unarmed observers and continuing to supply humanitarian aid, there has been no intervention by the US or the international community.

The International Criminal Court Chief is demonstrating leadership on Darfur. UN Resolution 1593 adopted in March 2005 referred the situation in Darfur to the Prosecutor. Since then the ICC has sent 5 missions to Sudan to gather evidence of crimes against humanity. A sixth mission is slated for June 2007. Chief Prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo formally presented cases to the ICC judges in February 2007 naming Ahmad Harun, former State Minister of The Interior of Sudan and Janajweed militia chief Ali Kushayb. The Court now awaits the response of the judges to determine their next steps.

Since the beginning of 2007 the crisis has continued with no concrete progress. Attacks on aid workers have killed twelve people in the last six months, and humanitarian access to those who need it is now worse than at any point since the crisis began. If the aid groups leave, another 4.5 million lives will be put at risk.

On June 12<sup>th</sup> 2007 the Sudanese Government agreed to a hybrid UN –AU peacekeeping force for Darfur. This came with promises of “expeditious” deployment. The track record of the Government of Sudan in complying with prosecution and protection remains poor. The hybrid force, slated to be about 19,000 strong, will need to be funded by the UN. The Security Council will have to pass measures to raise this money and full deployment will take months. In the meantime the rainy season has begun, increasing death from disease and making access harder. Oxfam announced it would be withdrawing its mission, serving 130,000 IDPs from Gereida due to the failure of the Government of Sudan to arrest or prosecute those responsible for harming their aid workers.

During the Rwandan Genocide more than 800,000 people were killed in 100 days equating to 8000 innocent people murdered a day.

The killing in Darfur, although happening more slowly, is steadily approaching the numbers of Rwanda. It is only a matter of time.



**THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK**  
**A FILM BY ANNIE SUNDBERG AND RICKI STERN**

**PRODUCTION PERSONNEL & BIOS**

Directed by	Annie Sundberg & Ricki Stern
Produced by	Annie Sundberg, Ricki Stern, Gretchen Wallace, Jane Wells
Editing	Joey Grossfield
Music	Paul Brill
Cinematography	Jerry Risius, Phil Cox, Tim Hetherington, William Rexer II, Annie Sundberg, John Keith Wasson,
Visual FX	Yorgo Alexopoulos
Sound Design	Brad Bergbom, Rusty Dunn
Sound Supervisor	Tom Efinger
Production Manager	Katie Brown
Assistant Editor	Kristin Rodriguez
Associate Producers	Seth Keal, Jed Alpert, Ted Greenberg
Producers	Ira Lechner & Eileen Haag, Cristina Ljungberg

**CREW BIOS**

**DIRECTORS AND PRODUCERS – ANNIE SUNDBERG AND RICKI STERN**

Annie Sundberg and Ricki Stern recently co-directed and co-produced the award-winning documentary “The Trials of Darryl Hunt,” a production of Break Thru Films. “The Trials of Darryl Hunt” was short-listed for the 2007 Academy Awards for Best Documentary Feature, and was a 2007 Independent Spirit Award nominee for Best Documentary. That film won awards at more than twenty festivals to date, and premiered on HBO in spring 2007, with theatrical release (ThinkFilm) in summer 2007.

**Annie Sundberg** is director and writer for film and television. She produced the independent feature film *Tully*, nominated for four 2003 IFP Spirit Awards (Best Film, Best Screenplay, Best Debut Performance, Best Supporting Actor). *Tully* screened at Toronto and London Film Festivals, and received Best Film at eleven festivals, including the Los Angeles Film Festival. Recent television directing credits include “Trailer Fabulous” for MTV. Prior to that, she directed the pilot for the series “Behind the Bash with Giada DeLaurentiis” (Food Network). Annie was Series Producer on “Family Plots” (A&E) following a family run funeral parlor in San Diego. Additional producing credits include a four part series on the Mayo Clinic for Discovery Health (2004) and the 1996 Academy Award and Emmy winning *One Survivor Remembers*, a co-production of HBO and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. She was co-producer of *In My Corner*, a feature documentary film on the world of amateur boxing and the lives of young men who train in the South Bronx, which premiered nationally as part of PBS’ award winning P.O.V. series (1999). She is currently at work on her first screenplay.

**Ricki Stern** is a director, producer and writer whose films have shown on HBO and PBS. Ricki is the director and co-producer of the award winning *In My Corner*, a documentary film on the world of amateur boxing and the lives of the young men who train in the South Bronx. The film was nationally broadcast as part of PBS’ award winning documentary series P.O.V. (Point of View). She directed and produced the EMMY nominated *Neglect Not The Children*, a documentary about a

Harlem based youth program. *Neglect Not The Children* was hosted by Morgan Freeman and nationally aired on PBS. Ricki's producing credits include the HBO's series on forensic science "Autopsy I, II, III" and "Murder 9 to 5," on workplace violence. Ricki is the author of a children's book series "Beryl Bean: Mighty Adventurer of the Planet" published by HarperCollins. She founded Break Thru Films, inc. in 1990. The company is currently working on the feature film version of Darryl Hunt's story.

## **PRODUCERS – GRETCHEN WALLACE AND JANE WELLS**

**Gretchen Wallace** graduated in 1996 with BA in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia and received her MBA in 2001 from the Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth College. From 1996-1999 she worked in international project finance for PMD International, Inc. From 2002-2003 she worked as Managing Director of Youth Venture for Ashoka, an international non-profit organization advancing the profession of social entrepreneurship. In 2004 she led a team to South Africa to study the impact of HIV/AIDS and the work of social entrepreneurs combating the disease. In late 2004, she founded Global Grassroots to invest in emerging social entrepreneurs working for women's rights in developing countries. In 2005, she launched her work in the Darfur refugee camps of eastern Chad, and in 2006 expanded to Rwanda to offer social venture training to widowed genocide survivors. Gretchen is a co-author of her brother's memoirs, titled "The Devil Came on Horseback: Bearing Witness to the Genocide in Darfur", published by PublicAffairs.

**Jane Wells** is a freelance writer and activist who went to Sudan in March 2005, to bear witness to the genocide unfolding in Darfur. She subsequently visited the refugee camps in Chad to deepen her knowledge of the crisis and to take more witness testimony. She became producer of *The Devil Came on Horseback* to help bring Brian Steidle's unique witness to as wide an audience as possible. In 2006 she went to Rwanda with Brian Steidle and Gretchen Wallace to learn about that genocide and gather footage for *The Devil Came on Horseback*. She has written dozens of articles about this genocide that have appeared in *Vogue*, *Diversions* and *The Huffington Post*. She formed Three Generations to deepen her efforts to pressure politicians, the media and the public at large to act and to protect in the face of genocide, the greatest crime against humanity. Three Generations honors her father's work as a filmmaker in World War II documenting the Holocaust. (He filmed the liberation of Bergen-Belsen in 1945). Her work on "The Devil Came on Horseback" takes up the same mantle hoping to use the medium of film to make "never again" finally mean something. She was raised and educated in the UK. Since moving to the US in 1984 she has worked for Granada Television, First Run Features and Circulo de Lectores. She is a Contributing Editor at Aspen Magazine.

## **CINEMATOGRAPHERS – JERRY RISIUS, TIM HETHERINGTON, PHIL COX, WILLIAM REXER II, and JOHN KEITH WASSON**

**Jerry Risius'** work includes the films "Unzipped," "Muskrat Lovely," "Out of Laos," "Dreaming in Cuba" and "Our Brand Is Crisis." He has extensive field producing and cinematography credits for television shows including "No Reservations" featuring Anthony Bourdain, National Geographic specials and the PBS series "NATURE."

**Tim Hetherington** was born in Liverpool, UK, in 1970. He started photography in 1996, and was a member of Network Photographers from 2000 -2004. His interest lies in creating diverse forms of photographic communication from long-term projects, and his experiments have ranged from digital projections at the Institute of Contemporary Art in London, to fly-poster exhibitions in Lagos.

Recent projects include "Healing Sport" (1999 – 2002), "Blind Link Project" (2000 -), and "Liberia" (2003 -).

He is a recipient of numerous awards including a Fellowship from the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (2001), a Hasselblad grant (2002), and two World Press Photo prizes (1999 + 2001). In 2003, he worked as a cameraman, and was involved in making five films for UK and US TV. He received an award from International Documentary Association (IDA) for his work on "Liberia: An Uncivil War" (2004), and the film was awarded the Special Jury Prize at the International Documentary Film Festival in Amsterdam (IDFA). For the last five years, he has worked consistently in West Africa, where he also teaches for the British Council.

**Phil Cox** produced and directed his first films in Scotland whilst based at the Edinburgh Film and Video Centre, also completing an honors degree in languages and literature at the University of Edinburgh. With a primary interest in documentary he created Native Voice Films with his brother in 1998. For the last 6 years he has worked both as a director and producer of broadcast and indie documentaries as well as an award winning freelance news cameraman.

Phil also teaches the Brunel University MA in Documentary and the MA in Visual Anthropology at Manchester University for DFG ([www.dfglondon.com](http://www.dfglondon.com)). He is fluent in Spanish and has lived and worked for a considerable period in Latin America. He has recently been filming at length in Iraq and Sudan. In 2004 he was the first filmmaker to film the Darfur conflict traveling with the SLA rebels and was awarded the 2004 Rory Peck Award for this work. Phil has a passion for his bicycle and chocolate cake.

Early in 2004, Native Voice Films director Philip Cox and his Sudanese guide Dawd Abute were the first filmmakers to smuggle themselves into the troubled state of Darfur in Western Sudan. Over two weeks they lived and traveled with the Sudanese Liberation Army rebel groups. They filmed the first testimonies of an unreported violent removal of over 150 000 African people from their native land by horse riding Arab militias supported by the Khartoum government. Recording the voices of pilots in the Sudanese bombers flying overhead to the desperate desire for peace and games of football by the young and tired SLA fighters, the report offered a human insight into an unreported and devastating conflict now widely recognized as the world's greatest humanitarian disaster.

In response to the broadcast Channel 4 / Native Voice Films exclusive report on the massive and systematic ethnic cleansing in Darfur, the English and European Parliaments, as well as the Prevention of Genocide Committee requested private screenings and testimony from the Native Voice Films. Philip Cox also appeared before the UN commission on human rights in Geneva. His footage will be used for future war crimes prosecutions in Darfur.

**William Rexer II** is a director of photography of feature films, commercials, and documentaries. Recent feature films include: *Prime* (in production, dir Ben Younger); *Fierce People* (dir Griffin Dunne); *Nights in Phnom Penh* (in production); *Lisa Picard is Famous* (dir Griffin Dunne, Official Selection Cannes, 2000); *Unmade Beds* (dir Nicholas Barker, a BBC & HBO co-production, 1997, Telluride, Toronto, Venice, London Film Festivals, 1997); *Blue Note: A Story of Modern Jazz* (international theatrical release, 1998, Bravo, 1997, and SDR Arte, 1998, GRAMMY nomination, 1997); and *A,B,C...Manhattan* (dir Amir Naderi, Official Selection Cannes 1997 Un Certain Regard and Sundance 1998).

As a documentary cinematographer he has worked for several companies, including the BBC, Channel 4, PBS, ABC, NBC, MTV, Audubon, and the Discovery Channel. His documentary films for television include *Obsession with Orchids* (PBS/Nature/BBC, 2000); *David Blaine: Magic Man* (ABC, 1999); *In My Corner* (ITVS, 1998); *John Denver: Let This be a Voice* (PBS/Nature, 1998);

*Side by Side, AIDS and Zimbabwe* (Berlin Film Festival, 1994); *Belly Talkers*, (Sundance Film Festival, 1996); *Neglect Not the Children* (1993 Cine Golden Eagle & Emmy Nominee, PBS, 1993). His early work includes *White Dresses* and *when God doesn't Listen*, two political shorts made in Nicaragua by the award-winning documentary director Ana Coyne Alonso. In 2001 the Sundance Film Festival presented two of his shorts: Simon Blake's *Minotaur* (Sony Dreams HD-24P) and Ralph Macchio's *Love Thy Brother* (Showtime. 2002). His commercial clients include AT&T, BMW, Mercedes, Heineken, Delta Airline, United Airlines, Sony and Toshiba.

**John Keith Wasson** was trained in London, and has worked on controversial viral marketing campaigns for clients such as *Ford, Trojan Condoms, and The Sun*. In addition, he shot or directed several short films, music videos, documentaries, and commercials. His clients included *FIFA*. One of the short films he shot, *Montesacro*, won two festival awards.

Since moving to Los Angeles, the scope of John Keith's work has shifted from drama to documentaries and reality TV. He helped develop the reality series *Preacher Man*. Currently he is developing a documentary about the plot to kill Hitler.

### **EDITOR – JOEY GROSSFIELD**

**Joey Grossfield** has been working as an editor in New York since 2001 bouncing back and forth between the worlds of narrative and documentary. During this time Joey has written and directed several short films. His 2003 film *The Sun Is One Foot Wide*, a verite-style science fiction essay, received an honorable mention from The New York Expo of Short Film and was granted a screenwriting award from the Santa Cruz Film Festival. His 2006 short film *Illusions* has played as part of the DC International Film Festival, Santa Cruz Film Festival, Cinequest, and is still on the festival circuit. Joey has lived in New York City since 1993 when he began attending The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. He is in pre-production on his latest short film *Kaleidoscope* and is currently writing his first feature film of the same name.

### **MUSIC – PAUL BRILL**

NYC native **Paul Brill** first chipped his musical teeth on the icy landscape of North-Central Vermont, wood-shedding and 4-tracking while holed-up in a bleak, rustic cabin. After a few light-deprived winters, Paul sold his belongings and fled for sunny western shores, dabbling in brief stints as an herbal smokes salesman, street performer, valet, corporate errand boy, and marine biology instructor before finding sure footing in the sand. It was during this time that Brill began pursuing music in earnest - writing inspired new material at a feverish clip, recording in random ramshackle studios, and performing extensively across the U.S. Paul was soon lured home to NYC, his songwriting similarly taking striking new turns, fusing disparate acoustic and electronic elements into a hybrid Pop collage. In addition to writing and recording songs for his own albums, Paul has composed music for several films, commercials and, most recently, the theme for a new NPR program. Paul's original score for the upcoming HBO feature documentary film, "The Trials of Darryl Hunt," was hailed by Variety Magazine as "memorably chilling, sounding notes of purest dread," and was widely praised at the 2006 Sundance Festival.

### **PRODUCTION MANAGER – KATIE BROWN**

Katie Brown is an independent filmmaker who joined Break Thru Films in 2004. Brown produced the documentary film, *The Trials of Darryl Hunt*. She is the Outreach Coordinator for the film's national outreach campaign, which promotes the film's use as an educational and advocacy tool. Brown directed and produced *Mother Trucker*, a feature documentary profiling the life of Stacey McCaig, a 34 year old mother, grandmother, and professional truck driver. Prior to that, Brown

worked in production at Harpo Studios (Chicago) and London Management Talent Agency. Brown is a graduate of Northwestern University and currently resides in the West Village of Manhattan.

**THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK  
A FILM BY ANNIE SUNDBERG AND RICKI STERN**

EXCERPT FROM BOOK  
THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK  
by Brian Steidle with Gretchen Steidle Wallace  
(PublicAffairs, March 2007)

On July 29, 2004 another contractor from our camp returned from a trip to Darfur where he was helping the military observers with the African Union set-up. When he arrived back at our headquarters, he seemed shaken.

“How is it over there, what’s really going on?” I asked him.  
“Brian,” he said in a hushed tone, “you have to see something.”

Curious, I followed him into his office. He hesitated, then went to his bag and pulled out a laptop. “This is what’s happening in Darfur.”

As he handed me his computer, a series of the most disturbing images I had ever seen came across the screen. I saw the charred remains of tiny school girls who had been shackled with makeshift handcuffs and had crouched together while they were set afire and burned alive outside their elementary school. Family members that likely tried to save them were shot dead or burned elsewhere in the village. Rings of ashes indicated where grass huts once stood. I was horrified.

I gulped. “What the hell is going on over there? These are children!”

We had heard that villages had been torched and we had heard that people were being killed in the fighting. But I could never have imagined atrocities on this scale. Looking at these photos – photos of children – this was unbelievable! This was no longer war; this was definitely genocide. Even though the word was floating around in the international community, people could not truly understand what that meant until they saw it in front of their eyes.

My colleague explained that the African Union had assembled this confidential report to condemn the Janjaweed militias for the slaughter. Since the report was classified, it could not be distributed. Nevertheless, he felt compelled to bring it back to the JMC mission to show us what was happening in Darfur. But, he refused to share the files with me for fear of risking his career.

“If these photos were released to the public there would be troops in Sudan in a matter of days!” I exclaimed. “How can anyone ignore this?”

"You'd be surprised," he said, and shut his computer.

Why was the U.S. letting this happen? I had such faith that the United States government would put an end to the violence if only it had accurate and complete information. I couldn't get Darfur out of my head, day or night. Images and voices of young girls haunted my dreams.

And I was hardly alone: Everyone in the operations room who looked at the horrendous photos felt helpless. We had our mission and there were others in Darfur handling that region. What could I do, what could I do? Nothing had ever rocked me like this. I emailed home to my family and friends about what I had seen:

*I have to write to you to get this out of my mind. I don't know whether or not you are aware about the African Union's recent statements. They have released a report that states that they have evidence that individuals have been chained and burned alive by the Janjaweed. This is from a confidential AU report, and it included photos. I am not permitted to send them nor do I wish on you the same nightmares that I have had as a result of these photos. The individuals that were burned were children, from a girls' school and their families that tried to save them. I have never seen anything more disturbing. I saw girls that had their hands bound by makeshift cuffs, huddled together and burned alive. Men strewn all over the village, burned alive - this because they were trying to protect their family. The entire village was in ashes. If these photos were released to the public there would be troops in here in no time. What is going on here is most definitely a "crime against humanity" and most definitely "genocide." There is no question about that. These people have been burned alive because they are "too dark." This is what they are told when they are raped in front of their families. They are told that when the child is born to leave them behind because they will not be "too dark" and leave this country now or they will die. Why is the world so slow to act? Why are we sitting here letting this happen? This is not the doing of humans; this is the work of the devil. We as human have to stand up for what is right. There is no group of people in any place in the world that I have ever heard of that can condone these atrocities. If we fail to act, I fear for the future of mankind. Please feel free to forward this to whomever you want. The world must know what is happening here.*

Gretchen immediately wrote back:

*Brian, did you say the AU report was CONFIDENTIAL? Are you serious? What authority has the right to keep such atrocities – genocide – confidential?!! Who are they hiding this information from? Why should the world not know about these things? How could any parent anywhere possibly stand aside and let this happen if they really knew what is going on there?*

The fact was no one had the right to hold genocide in confidence. The fact was that the entire world had a right to know.

**THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK  
A FILM BY ANNIE SUNDBERG AND RICKI STERN**

**OUTREACH, MARKETING & CONSULTING PARTNERSHIPS**

**Global Grassroots**

The producers, led by Global Grassroots, are creating a strategic outreach campaign to promote the film as the centerpiece in a broader grassroots advocacy effort for Darfur. The focal point of this outreach is a nation-wide speaking and promotional film tour featuring Brian Steidle. The tour will be organized in conjunction with (a) a wide-reaching communications campaign announcing the film, (b) a series of action-oriented university campus events; (c) an internationally traveling photography exhibit featuring Brian's photographs; (d) the publication of his memoirs in April 2007; (e) the joint-development of interactive and educational materials for schools; and (f) coordinated media relations. There are several strategic partnerships Global Grassroots has formed with NGOs, universities, political entities, faith-based organizations, the media and other institutions that will contribute to this campaign.

**Three Generations** is a producing partner of The Devil Came On Horseback. Three Generations was established to archive acts of genocide and to use the medium of film and photographs to help document and prevent genocide. Three Generations is using Brian Steidle's witness as well as interviews with dozens of other survivors to archive this genocide in addition to supporting the work of partners Global Grassroots and The Aegis Trust in educating about genocide.

**Save Darfur Coalition** The Save Darfur Coalition ([www.savedarfur.org](http://www.savedarfur.org)) is an alliance of over 100 faith-based, advocacy and humanitarian organizations representing 130 million members. Save Darfur has become a significant sponsor of the film, and we are developing outreach strategy – including national and international events – with Colleen Connors, Director of Communications at Save Darfur. In March and April of 2006, the Save Darfur Coalition designed and implemented a 22-city, 22,000-mile national speaking tour for Brian Steidle among universities, synagogues, churches and local community groups. This speaking tour was augmented by a highly coordinated PR campaign, which resulted in hundreds of local, regional and national news stories of Brian's experience and the Darfur crisis. The Coalition credits Brian's witness testimony and this powerful speaking tour as one of the key drivers of attendance at the historic rally for Darfur in Washington, DC last spring. Save Darfur continues to invest heavily in using targeted advertisements to keep Darfur in the eyes of the public (recently shown during a CBS 60 Minutes segment on Darfur) and in major publications including the New York Times and Variety, among others.

**Genocide Intervention Network & Students Taking Action Now – Darfur**

The Genocide Intervention Network (GI-Net), which has begun to absorb the college clubs of Students Taking Action Now – Darfur (STAND), currently has a presence at 500 college campuses in North America. We will be working especially closely with GI-Net and STAND to coordinate our nation-wide, university speaking tour for Brian to promote the film. Each appearance will involve a series of locally-organized events, including film screenings, photo exhibits, panel discussions, book signings, media interviews, letter-writing campaigns, local debate, classroom visits, etc. to maximize exposure of the crisis to engage the academic and broader local community. We will work with GI-Net to package and make available organizing kits for each university-based series. Furthermore, as we coordinate the nation-wide speaking tour, we will reach out to satellite cities within a reasonable proximity to ensure maximum exposure.

### **Brian's Memoirs & PublicAffairs Books**

Brian's memoirs from his tenure in Sudan were published in April 2007 by PublicAffairs. The book, which has the same title as the documentary, is a strong complement to the film. The memoir focuses exclusively on Brian's time on the ground in Sudan offering a closer look at the intensity of his work as a military observer, while the film follows Brian's subsequent transformation into a human rights advocate and the present day international dialogue on the conflict. PublicAffairs has assigned the book a dedicated publicist who has provided ongoing support for the coordination of the nationwide tour, and who has committed to incorporate film promotion with any book promotional events.

### **Bright Earth Project**

Brian's photographs and evidence from Darfur have been incorporated into the Bright Earth Project, an endeavor initiated by individuals at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Journal Nature to plot on Google Earth's platform extensive humanitarian aid information and data from the conflict in Darfur. This information includes the locations and size of refugee/internally displaced populations in Darfur and Eastern Chad, the locations of damaged and destroyed villages, high-resolution satellite imagery and photographic evidence of camps and burned villages, mapping of camps and humanitarian staging areas, survivor interviews and event narratives linked to the village of each occurrence. We have already discussed embedding streaming video clips from our film of testimonials from survivors onto this digital platform, offering us a new venue through which to promote the film. We are also eager to incorporate a version of the Bright Earth Project on our DVDs to provide further educational content for the use of libraries, schools and universities in educational settings.

### **Darfur/Darfur & Hill & Knowlton**

Darfur/Darfur is a traveling exhibit of digitally projected changing images, including Brian's photographs, which celebrates the Sudanese culture while exposing the horrors of the crisis. The exhibit, co-sponsored by Global Grassroots with pro bono PR support from Hill & Knowlton, features a trailer of *The Devil Came on Horseback*, and will continue to promote the film throughout its 24-city, two-year international tour. Most recently, the exhibit received high accolades for its weeklong projection on the exterior of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, resulting in front-page Style Section coverage in the Washington Post. The Darfur/Darfur tour will offer another entrée into intellectual and art communities in the U.S. and Europe through its premiere at prominent museums, galleries and art institutions. We will coordinate with each scheduled Darfur/Darfur exhibit to conduct screenings and other joint-promotional events for the film.

### **Educational Materials & the Council of Holocaust Educators**

We are currently working with the Council of Holocaust Educators and will coordinate with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Save Darfur Coalition, Bright Earth Project and GI-Net to develop a teacher's guide, classroom discussion materials, smaller film segments and interactive tools to complement the feature-length documentary. Topics may include a history of the Darfur conflict, international foreign policy issues, the impact of genocide on women and children, and genocide throughout modern history. Promoting the educational content, we will seek inclusion of the film in various curricula for use in libraries, reading groups, high school and university classrooms, allowing us to reach young people from 6<sup>th</sup> grade through college.

### **U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum**

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's Committee on Conscience has agreed to share news of the film's release with their expansive membership. In conjunction with the Save Darfur Coalition and Jewish World Watch, another of the film's contributors, we anticipate we will reach nearly every Jewish organization and faith-based organization engaged on Darfur throughout the U.S.



## **Aegis Trust, UK**

The Aegis Trust, a UK institution dedicated to fighting genocide worldwide, has agreed to promote the film to its members throughout Europe, make the film available for sale through their Holocaust museum store in the UK and help coordinate a campus tour of British and European universities using the model we are developing with GI-Net for the U.S.

## **About the Distributor**

### **International Film Circuit Inc.**

International Film Circuit (InFC) was founded in 1987 to bring quality international cinema to American audiences through innovative distribution strategies. At its inception, InFC circulated touring packages of films to media art centers nationwide. In the 90s, it turned toward more conventional film and video distribution, culminating in a six-year strategic alliance with Fox/Lorber Associates (aka Wellspring Media), which ended in 2004. Since then, InFC has released many acclaimed films, including ***Darwin's Nightmare***, which earned an Academy Award nomination for Best Documentary, and ***Flanders***, winner of the 2006 Cannes Film Festival Grand Jury Prize.

**“What do Chen Kaige, Nanni Moretti, Raul Ruiz, Alexander Sokurov, and Hou Hsiao-hsien have in common? All of these directors have been introduced to American audiences by Wendy Lidell, founder of International Film Circuit.”** – *Steve Erickson, Village Voice*

**THE DEVIL CAME ON HORSEBACK**  
**A FILM BY ANNIE SUNDBERG AND RICKI STERN**

**TIMELINE: SUDAN**  
**chronology of key events**

**1881** - Revolt against the Turco-Egyptian administration.

**1899-1955** Sudan is under joint British-Egyptian rule.

**1956** - Sudan becomes independent.

**1958** - General Abbud leads military coup against the civilian government elected earlier in the year

**1962** - Civil war begins in the south, led by the Anya Nya movement.

**1964** - The "October Revolution" overthrows Abbud and a national government is established

**1969** - Jafar Numayri leads the "May Revolution" military coup.

**1971** - Sudanese Communist Party leaders executed after short-lived coup against Numayri

**South gets autonomy**

**1972** - Under the Addis Ababa peace agreement between the government and the Anya Nya the south becomes a self-governing region.

**1978** - Oil discovered in Bentiu in southern Sudan.

**1983** - Civil war breaks out again in the south involving government forces and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), led by John Garang.

**Islamic law imposed**

**1983** - President Numayri declares the introduction of Sharia (Islamic law).

**1985** - After widespread popular unrest Numayri is deposed by a group of officers and a Transitional Military Council is set up to rule the country.

**Civil war pitted Muslim north against Christian, animist south**

**1986** - Coalition government formed after general elections, with Sadiq al-Mahdi as prime minister.

**1988** - Coalition partner the Democratic Unionist Party drafts cease-fire agreement with the SPLM, but it is not implemented.

**1989** - National Salvation Revolution takes over in military coup.

**1993** - Revolution Command Council dissolved after Omar al-Bashir is appointed president.

## US strike

**1995** - Egyptian President Mubarak accuses Sudan of being involved in attempt to assassinate him in Addis Ababa.

**1998** - US launches missile attack on a pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum, alleging that it was making materials for chemical weapons.

**1998** - New constitution endorsed by over 96% of voters in referendum.

**1999** - President Bashir dissolves the National Assembly and declares a state of emergency following a power struggle with parliamentary speaker, Hassan al-Turabi.

## Advent of oil

**1999** - Sudan begins to export oil.

**2000 September** - Governor of Khartoum issues decree barring women from working in public places.

**2000 September** - President Bashir meets for the first time ever leaders of opposition National Democratic Alliance in the Eritrean capital, Asmara.

**2000 December** - Bashir re-elected for another five years in elections boycotted by main opposition parties.

**2001 February** - Islamist leader Hassan al-Turabi arrested a day after his party, the Popular National Congress, signed a memorandum of understanding with the southern rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

## Food shortages

**2001 March** - UN's World Food Programme struggles to raise funds to feed 3 million facing famine.

**2001 April** - SPLA rebels threaten to attack international oil workers brought in to help exploit vast new oil reserves. Government troops accused of trying to drive civilians and rebels from oilfields.

**2001 April-May** - Police continue arrests of members of Turabi's Popular National Congress party (PNC).

**2001 25 May** - Police use tear gas to disperse thousands of demonstrators at funeral of Ali Ahmed El-Bashir from opposition Islamist Popular National Congress party, who died from wounds sustained while being arrested.

## Peace plan

**2001 June** - Failure of Nairobi peace talks attended by President al-Bashir and rebel leader John Garang.

**2001 July** - Government says it accepts a Libyan/Egyptian initiative to end the civil war. The plan includes a national reconciliation conference and reforms.

**2001 September** - UN lifts largely symbolic sanctions against Sudan. They were imposed in 1996 over accusations that Sudan harboured suspects who attempted to kill Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

**2001 October** - US President Bush names Senator John Danforth as special envoy to tackle Sudanese conflict.

**2001 November** - US extends unilateral sanctions against Sudan for another year, citing its record on terrorism and rights violations.

**2001 December** - More than 14,500 slaves - mainly blacks from the south - are said freed over past six months following campaigning by rights activists.

### **Ceasefire deal**

**2002 January** - SPLA joins forces with rival militia group, Sudan People's Defence Force, to pool resources in campaign against government in Khartoum.

### **Eight-year peace process ended with deal to end conflict in south**

Government and SPLA sign landmark ceasefire agreement providing for six-month renewable ceasefire in central Nuba Mountains - a key rebel stronghold.

**2002 20 July** - After talks in Kenya, government and SPLA sign Machakos Protocol on ending 19-year civil war. Government accepts right of south to seek self-determination after six-year interim period. Southern rebels accept application of Shariah law in north.

**2002 27 July** - President al-Bashir and SPLA leader John Garang meet face-to-face for the first time, through the mediation of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni.

**2002 October** - Government and SPLA agree to ceasefire for duration of negotiations. Despite this, hostilities continue.

### **Peace in south inches closer**

**2002 November** - Negotiations stall over allocation of government and civil service posts, but both sides agree to observe ceasefire.

**2003 February** - Rebels in western region of Darfur rise up against government, claiming the region is being neglected by Khartoum.

**2003 October** - PNC leader Turabi released after nearly three years in detention and ban on his party is lifted.

### **Darfur crisis**

#### **Darfur: Conflict has killed tens of thousands, displaced millions**

**2004 January** - Army moves to quell rebel uprising in western region of Darfur; hundreds of thousands of refugees flee to neighbouring Chad.

**2004 March** - UN official says pro-government Arab "Janjaweed" militias are carrying out systematic killings of African villagers in Darfur.

Army officers and opposition politicians, including Islamist leader Hassan al-Turabi, are detained over an alleged coup plot.

**2004 May** - Government and southern rebels agree on power-sharing protocols as part of a peace deal to end their long-running conflict. The deal follows earlier breakthroughs on the division of oil and non-oil wealth.

**2004 September** - UN says Sudan has not met targets for disarming pro-government Darfur militias and must accept outside help to protect civilians. US Secretary of State Colin Powell describes Darfur killings as genocide.

Government says it has foiled a coup plot by supporters of Islamist leader Hassan al-Turabi.

### **Final peace**

**2005 January** - Government and southern rebels sign a peace deal. The agreement includes a permanent ceasefire and accords on wealth and power sharing.

### **Ex-rebel John Garang's time in government was cut short**

UN report accuses the government and militias of systematic abuses in Darfur, but stops short of calling the violence genocide.

**2005 March** - UN Security Council authorises sanctions against those who violate ceasefire in Darfur. Council also votes to refer those accused of war crimes in Darfur to International Criminal Court.

**2005 April** - International donors pledge \$4.5bn (£2.38bn) in recovery aid for southern Sudan.

**2005 June** - Government and exiled opposition grouping - National Democratic Alliance (NDA) - sign reconciliation deal allowing NDA into power-sharing administration.

President frees Islamist leader Hassan al-Turabi, who was detained in 2004 over an alleged coup plot.

### **Southern autonomy**

**2005 9 July** - Former southern rebel leader John Garang is sworn in as first vice president. A constitution which gives a large degree of autonomy to the south is signed.

**2005 1 August** - Vice president and former rebel leader John Garang is killed in a plane crash. He is succeeded by Salva Kiir. Garang's death sparks deadly clashes in the capital between southern Sudanese and northern Arabs.

### **African Union has struggled to contain Darfur violence**

**2005 September** - Power-sharing government is formed in Khartoum.

**2005 October** - Autonomous government is formed in the south, in line with the January 2005 peace deal. The administration is dominated by former rebels.

**2006 May** - Khartoum government and the main rebel faction in Darfur, the Sudan Liberation Movement, sign a peace accord. Two smaller rebel groups reject the deal. Fighting continues.

**2006 August** - Sudan rejects a United Nations resolution calling for a UN peacekeeping force in Darfur, saying it would compromise Sudanese sovereignty.

**2006 September** - Sudan says African Union troops must quit Darfur when their mandate expires at the end of the month, raising fears that the region would descend into full-blown war.

Activists rally in major cities around the world calling on Sudan to allow UN peacekeepers into Darfur.

**2006 October** - Jan Pronk, the UN's top official in Sudan, is expelled.

**2006 November** - African Union extends mandate of its peacekeeping force in Darfur for another six months.

Hundreds are thought to have died in the heaviest fighting between northern Sudanese forces and their former southern rebel foes since they signed a peace deal last year. Fighting is centred on the southern town of Malakal.

**2006 December** - Outgoing UN Secretary General Kofi Annan asks how the world can allow the "horror" in Darfur to continue.

Sudan agrees in principle to accept the deployment of UN troops in Darfur as part of an expanded peacekeeping force.

**2007 February** – Chief Prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo, under UN Resolution 1593 submits evidence that Ahmad Harun and Ali Kushayb should be prosecuted by the International Criminal Court.

**2007 May** – President Bush announces fresh sanctions against Sudan

**2007 June** – The Government of Sudan agrees to a hybrid AU-UN force of peacekeepers in Darfur slated to be 19,000 strong. However the Security Council will have to authorize funding and the force will not be deployed before 2008.

Oxfam announces its withdrawal from Darfur after the failure of the government of Sudan to prosecute the perpetrators of attacks on their aid workers.

UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon blames climate change for aggravating the crisis in Darfur.

## **DARFUR – THE CRISIS IN DETAIL**

### **2003 to mid-2004**

The United Nations has an extensive timeline for this time period. Key points:

- \* March 2003: Fighting breaks out in Darfur between government forces and rebels. Refugees start fleeing into Chad
- \* January 2004: Aid agencies' response begins in earnest to help thousands of displaced
- \* 2 April: UN says "scorched-earth" campaign of ethnic cleansing by Janjaweed militias against Darfur's black African population is taking place
- \* 4 May: UN officials describe Darfur as one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world
- \* 7 May: Two human rights reports find Sudanese government and Arab militias carrying out massive human rights violations which "may constitute war crimes and/or crimes against humanity"

### **July 2004**

In early July 2004, Annan and then-United States Secretary of State Colin Powell visited Sudan and the Darfur region, and urged the Sudanese government to stop supporting the Janjaweed militias. Annan described the trips as constructive.

The African Union (AMIS) and European Union have sent monitors (as of 5 July 2004) to observe the cease-fire signed on 8 April 2004; however, the Janjaweed's attacks have not stopped, as noted by the United States and more recently Human Rights Watch.

According to the BBC in July, analysts estimate that at least 15,000 soldiers would be needed to put an end to the conflict.

On 22 July 2004, the United States Senate and House of Representatives passed a joint resolution declaring the armed conflict in the Sudanese region of Darfur to be genocide and calling on the Bush administration to lead an international effort to put a stop to it.

On 30 July, the United Nations gave the Sudanese government 30 days to disarm and bring to justice the Janjaweed, in UN Security Council Resolution 1556; if this deadline is not met in 30 days, it "expresses its intention to consider" sanctions. The Arab League asked for a longer term and warned that Sudan must not become another Iraq. Resolution 1556 also imposed an arms embargo on the Janjaweed and other militia.

From the Sudanese government's point of view, the conflict is simply a skirmish. The Sudanese president, Omar Hassan al-Bashir, said, "The international concern over Darfur is actually a targeting of the Islamic state in Sudan." Sudan has warned Britain and the United States not to interfere in the internal affairs of the East African country saying it will reject any military aid, while asking for logistic support.

### **August 2004**

In August 2004, the African Union sent 150 Rwandan troops in to protect the ceasefire monitors; however, "their mandate did not include the protection of civilians." [34] Rwandan President Paul Kagame declared that "if it was established that the civilians are in danger then our forces will certainly intervene and use force to protect civilians"; however, such an effort would certainly take more than 150 troops. They were joined by 150 Nigerian troops later that month.

Peace talks, which had previously fallen apart in Addis Ababa on July 17, were resumed on August 23 in Abuja. The talks reopened amid acrimony, with the SLA accusing the government of breaking promises that it made for the little-respected April ceasefire.

The UN's 30 day deadline expired on August 29, after which the Secretary General reported on the state of the conflict. According to him, the situation "has resulted in some improvements on the ground but remains limited overall". In particular, he notes that the Janjaweed militias remain armed and continue to attack civilians (contrary to Resolution 1556), and militia disarmament has been limited to a "planned" 30% reduction in one particular militia, the Popular Defense Forces. He also notes that the Sudanese government's commitments regarding their own armed forces have been only partially implemented, with refugees reporting several attacks involving government forces. He concludes that:

*Stopping attacks against civilians and ensuring their protection is the responsibility of the Government of Sudan. The Government has not met this obligation fully, despite the commitments it has made and its obligations under resolution 1556 (2004). Attacks against civilians are continuing and the vast majority of armed militias has not been disarmed. Similarly, no concrete steps have been taken to bring to justice or even identify any of the militia leaders or the perpetrators of these attacks, allowing the violations of human rights and the basic laws of war to continue in a climate of impunity. After 18 months of conflict and 30 days after the adoption of resolution 1556 (2004), the Government of Sudan has not been able to resolve the crisis in Darfur, and has not met some of the core commitments it has made.*

and advises "a substantially increased international presence in Darfur" in order to "monitor" the conflict. However, he did not threaten or imply sanctions, which the UN had expressed its "intention to consider" in Resolution 1556.

## **September 2004**

On September 9, 2004, then-US Secretary of State Colin Powell declared to the US Senate that genocide was occurring in Darfur, for which he blamed the Sudanese government and the Janjaweed. This position was strongly rejected by the Sudanese foreign affairs minister, Najib Abdul Wahab. The United Nations, like the African Union and European Union, have not declared the Darfur conflict to be an act of genocide. If it does constitute an act of genocide, international law is considered to allow other countries to intervene.

Also on September 9, 2004, the US put forward a UN draft resolution threatening Sudan with sanctions on its oil industry. This was adopted, in modified form, on September 18, 2004 as Resolution 1564 (see below.)

On September 13, 2004, WHO published a Darfur mortality survey, which was the first reliable indicator about deaths in Darfur. It reported that 6,000–10,000 people were dying each month in Darfur. Many were related to diarrhoea, but the most significant cause of death was violent death for those aged 15–49. The Darfur mortality rates were significantly higher than the emergency threshold, and were from 3 to 6 times higher than the normal African death rates.

On September 18, 2004, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1564, pressuring the Sudanese government to act urgently to improve the situation by threatening the possibility of oil sanctions in the event of continued noncompliance with Resolution 1556 or refusal to accept the expansion of African Union peacekeepers. Resolution 1564 also established an International Commission of Inquiry to look into human rights violations, and to determine whether genocide was



occurring. [33]In the wake of this resolution, the peacekeeper force was to be expanded to 4,500 troops.

On September 30, 2004, during the first of three U.S. presidential debates, Jim Lehrer, the moderator, asked why neither candidate had discussed committing troops to Darfur. Senator John Kerry replied that "one of the reasons we can't do it is we're overextended," but agreed that he'd use American forces "to some degree to coalesce the African Union." President Bush cited aid committed to the region and agreed that action should be taken through the African Union. Both candidates agreed that what was happening in Darfur was genocide.

## **October 2004**

On October 15, 2004 World Health Organization official David Nabarro estimated that 70,000 people had died of disease and malnutrition in Darfur since March.

On October 17, 2004 in a meeting between leaders of Libya, Sudan, Egypt, Nigeria and Chad, the idea of foreign intervention was rejected. They stated that they believe it to be a purely African matter. Egyptian presidency spokesman Magued Abdel Fattah said that the international community should "provide Sudan with assistance to allow it to fulfil its obligations under UN resolutions (on Darfur) rather than putting pressure on it and issuing threats."

The African Union had expected to have 3,000 additional troops in place in the region sometime in November, but cited lack of funds and 'logistical difficulties' in delaying this deployment, waiting on the AU's Peace and Security Council to meet on October 20 and decide on the expanded duties and numbers of the force. It was decided that these AU troops, from both Nigeria and Rwanda, will be deployed by October 30.

The United Nations pledged \$100 million dollars to support the force, about half of the \$221 million cost to keep them deployed for a year. The European Union mobilised the remainder, an additional EUR 80 million on October 26 from their African Peace Facility to support the deployment and operations of the 3144-strong AU observer mission which will monitor the implementation of the cease-fire agreement.

Peace talks between Sudan and Darfur rebels were scheduled to resume on October 21 in Abuja, Nigeria. However, rebels showed up late and the talks did not begin until October 25. Two more rebel groups now want in on the negotiations, and an existing cease-fire agreement is considered shaky. The talks are still in progress, but a humanitarian agreement is expected to be hammered out during the course of the talks.

## **November 2004**

On November 2 the United Nations reports that Sudanese troops have raided the Abu Sharif and Otash refugee camps near Nyala in Darfur, moving a number of inhabitants and denying aid agencies access to the remaining inhabitants inside. [43] Meanwhile, the Abuja talks continued, with attempts made to agree on a no-fly zone over Darfur in addition to a truce on land and a disarmament of the militias.

A third UN resolution is being considered, calling for a speedy end to the conflict.

On November 9 the Sudanese government and the two leading rebel groups, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM), signed two accords aimed toward short-term progress in resolving the Darfur conflict. The first accord established a no-fly

zone over rebel-controlled areas of Darfur—a measure designed to end the Sudanese military's bombing of rebel villages in the region. The second accord granted international humanitarian aid agencies unrestricted access to the Darfur region. The accords were the product of African Union sponsored peace talks in Abuja that began October 25. Delegates stated that a later round of negotiations expected to begin in mid-December would work on a longer-term political accord. The talks may have produced the breakthrough accords because of a looming meeting of the UN Security Council, which many expected would have imposed oil sanctions on the Sudanese government if progress had not been made.

Despite the November 9 accords, violence in Sudan continued. On November 10—one day after the accords—the Sudanese military conducted attacks on Darfur refugee villages in plain sight of UN and African Union observers. On November 22, alleging that Janjaweed members had refused to pay for livestock in the town market of Tawila in Northern Darfur, rebels attacked the town's government-controlled police stations. The Sudanese military retaliated on November 23 by bombing the town.

### **January 2005**

The International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur hand their report to the Secretary General on January 25. The Commission found that the Government of the Sudan and the Janjaweed are responsible for serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law amounting to crimes under international law. But the Commission stopped short of calling it genocide. The Commission identified 51 individuals responsible for the violation of human rights and recommended immediate trial at the International Criminal Court.

### **March 2005**

On March 7, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan spoke to the UN Security Council requesting that the peacekeeping force in Darfur be increased to support the 2000 African Union troops already deployed. A resolution for the deployment of an additional 10,000 peacekeepers has been delayed by the failure of the Security Council to agree on the mechanism to be used to try war criminals and the application and extent of sanctions. A number of Security Council members want war criminals to be tried by the International Criminal Court; the United States refused, however, to support that proposition. An African-run tribunal has been proposed as a countermeasure, and proposals have been made for trials to be held in Tanzania and Nigeria. The current resolution has also been criticized, as it is unclear as to whether the peacekeepers will be deployed to Darfur or to monitor peace in the south of Sudan. [53] On March 24 a peacekeeping force was approved to monitor peace in the south of Sudan, however the Security Council still remains deadlocked over Darfur.

On March 29 Security Council Resolution 1591 was passed 11–0. The Resolution strengthened the arms embargo and imposed an asset freeze and travel ban on those deemed responsible for the atrocities in Darfur. It was agreed that war criminals will be tried by the International Criminal Court.

The United Nations released a new estimate of 180,000 who have died as a result of illness and malnutrition in the 18 months of the conflict. It has not attempted to estimate the number of violence-related deaths.

### **April 2005**

On April 5 it was reported that the UN has given the ICC the names of fifty-one people suspected of war crimes. The list may include high government officials of Sudan. The Sudanese Government has said it will not hand over the suspects.

The sealed list, presented to the International Criminal Court, was drawn up following an investigation by the UN into claims of killings, torture and rape committed by Government forces and militias in the Darfur region. Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, backed by huge protests against the UN in Sudan's capital of Khartoum, snubbed the UN resolution passed on March 29 to bring the suspects to trial before the court, adding that he "shall never hand any Sudanese national to a foreign court."

On April 29 it was reported that the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush had forged a "close intelligence partnership" with the Sudanese government despite their presence on the U.S. list of state sponsors of international terrorism and the declaration of genocide in Darfur by that administration's former Secretary of State, Colin Powell.

### **May 2005**

Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi has somewhat championed the cause of African unity. This sentiment has led him to invite the leaders of Sudan, Nigeria, Egypt, Chad and Eritrea to a summit in Tripoli regarding the conflict in Darfur.

The two main rebel groups in Darfur, the Sudan Liberation Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement, announced they wanted to resume peace talks. Previous negotiations were to be disbanded in favor of new dialogue hoping to solve their differences.

It seems that a possible hinge of the negotiations is compliance or refusal of handing over war crime suspects to organizations such as the International Criminal Court in The Hague.

Medecins Sans Frontieres doctor Paul Foreman was arrested by Sudanese authorities over the publication of a report detailing hundreds of rapes in Darfur.

Claims began to surface that the Bush administration's noticeable toning down of its description of the situation in Sudan - it stopped calling the Darfur conflict a genocide, and claimed that United Nations death toll estimates may be too high - was due to increased co-operation from Sudanese officials towards the War on Terrorism. The claim asserted that Major General Salah Abdallah Gosh who is said to have been involved in training the Janjaweed, was flown to Washington for high-level talks with his United States counterparts, related to global terrorism.

### **June 2005**

The International Criminal Court announces an investigation into crimes against humanity related to the conflict that is taking place in Darfur.

Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL) introduces the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act in the House on June 30.

### **July 2005**

Security in the region is improving, according to the commander of the African Union peacekeeping force. There have been no major conflicts since January, and the numbers of attacks on villages has been dropping. There are currently around 3,000 troops there to keep the peace, and more are

due to arrive in the coming months, expecting to reach 7,000 troops in September. In keeping with a decision made by the Peace and Security Council, Nigeria sent a battalion of 680 troops on Wednesday, July 13, 2005 with two more coming soon thereafter. Rwanda will send a battalion of troops, Senegal, Gambia, Kenya and South Africa will send troops as well. Canada is providing 105 armoured vehicles, training and maintenance assistance, and personal protective equipment in support of the efforts of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS).

On July 10, Ex-rebel leader John Garang was sworn in as Sudan's vice-president. A new constitution was adopted, and all parties should be represented more fairly. The United States Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick has applauded the political changes and the improving security. Kofi Annan and South African President Thabo Mbeki watched the ceremony.

On 21 July, Sen. Sam Brownback (R-KS) introduces the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act in the Senate.

### **August 2005**

On August 1, newly-elected Sudanese vice-president John Garang, a former leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), who was seen by many to be a crucial element of a Sudan that is free of genocide, died in a helicopter crash. This has sparked renewed concerns throughout the international community, of Sudan's ability to unite in the face of genocide.

The long-term implications of Garang's death are still unclear; and, despite the recently improved security, talks between the various rebels in the Darfur region are going slowly, with no sight of a final peace agreement.

### **September 2005**

On September 15, a series of African Union mediated talks began in Abuja, Nigeria. Representatives of the Sudanese government and the two major rebel groups are participating in the talks, however the Sudan Liberation Movement faction refused to be present and according to a BBC reporter the SLM "will not recognise anything agreed at the talks".

### **October 2005**

After a government-supported Janjaweed militia attacked the Aro Sharow refugee village on September 28, killing at least 32, the African Union on October 1 accused both the Sudanese government and rebels of violating the ceasefire agreement. Associated Press reports the African Union as condemning the government's "acts of 'calculated and wanton destruction' that have killed at least 44 people and displaced thousands over two weeks."

On October 9, a rebel group abducted 18 members of an African Union peacekeeping team, but released most of them after negotiations.

Following an increase in fighting in the region, on October 13 the UN announced that it will withdraw all non-essential staff from Darfur. West Darfur is reportedly too dangerous for aid-agencies to operate.

### **November 2005**

Attacks on African Union peacekeepers by rebels led to the Sudanese government approving the deployment of 105 Grizzly armored personnel carriers donated by Canada to aid African Union peacekeeping forces in the western region of Darfur.

On 18 November, the United States Senate passes the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act by unanimous consent.

The seventh round of peace talks began on November 21.

### **December 2005**

An attack on the Chadian town of Adre near the Sudanese border led to the deaths of three hundred rebels. Sudan was blamed for the attack, which was the second in the region in three days. The escalating tensions in the region led to the government of Chad declaring its hostility toward Sudan and calling for Chadian citizens to mobilise themselves against the "common enemy". (See Chad-Sudan conflict)

On 24 December, the United States Congress rejected Condoleezza Rice's request to restore \$50 million in aid to the African Union that human rights groups say had been cut from the budget in November.

### **January 2006**

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations called for \$40 million to support its agricultural relief and recovery activities in Sudan in 2006, stressing that humanitarian assistance needs to be coupled with longer-term development aid to ensure lasting peace in the country. The appeal is part of the 2006 Work Plan for Sudan, which outlines the activities to be carried out by the UN and its partners in the country in the coming year. "FAO's role is particularly crucial given the importance of agriculture in the country," said Anne M. Bauer, Director, FAO Emergency Operations and Rehabilitation Division.

The Save Darfur Coalition, representing over 160 humanitarian, faith-based, advocacy, and human rights organizations, launches its "Million Voices for Darfur" campaign to urge President Bush for a larger, more robust multinational peacekeeping force in Darfur.

### **February 2006**

On February 3, 2006, as the United States began its month-long presidency of the United Nations Security Council, the U.S offered a motion to begin plans to send UN peacekeepers to Darfur. The Security Council agreed unanimously to begin the planning process to send the troops, with a final decision to come later. It called for a 12,000 to 20,000 troop presence in Darfur with the 7,000 African Union troops already there being given new weapons and being incorporated into the UN mission. Furthermore, they would have a greater mandate to protect civilians. Nevertheless, difficulties are expected to arise in finding states willing to contribute troops to the UN mission. Although the United States offered the motion, the U.S is not expected to contribute troops to the mission. Also, Omar al-Bashir, the leader of Sudan who is widely believed to be backing the Janjaweed militias in Darfur, has also frequently stated his opposition to UN peacekeepers in Sudan further complicating the problem. Assuming these problems are overcome, UN troops are still not likely to appear in Darfur for nearly a year.

### **April 2006**

On 5 April, the House passes the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act in a vote of 416 to 3.

A series of rallies were held to call for more aid and an increased role for international peacekeepers. The largest one was held on 30 April in Washington D.C. on the National Mall, sponsored by the Save Darfur Coalition, American Jewish World Service, the Genocide Intervention Network, Students Taking Action Now: Darfur and dozens of others, where celebrities and lawmakers came together with nearly a hundred-thousand protesters. Students from at least 46 states attended the rally in Washington DC.

Dr. Eric Reeves released a report arguing that the number of deaths in Darfur had likely surpassed 450,000.

Osama bin Laden condemned peacekeepers in Darfur, claiming they conducted atrocities against Muslims. The government of Sudan distanced themselves from his statements, but continued their vociferous condemnations of any potential deployment of UN troops.

In a speech commemorating the victims of the Holocaust, Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick connected the victims of Nazi aggression with those who died in Rwanda and continue to suffer in Darfur.

US Ambassador to the United Nations John Bolton presented a draft resolution calling for sanctions imposed on four people implicated in the continuing genocide in Darfur. China and Russia blocked the proposal.

## **May 2006**

On May 5, 2006, the government of Sudan signed an accord with the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA). However, the agreement was rejected by two other, smaller groups, the Justice and Equality Movement and a rival faction of the SLA. The accord was orchestrated by the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick, Salim Ahmed Salim (working on behalf of the African Union), AU representatives, and other foreign officials operating in Abuja, Nigeria. The accord calls for the disarmament of the Janjaweed militia, and for the rebel forces to disband and be incorporated into the army. But the agreement, signed in Abuja, was rejected by a smaller SLM faction and the rebel Justice and Equality Movement.

Research by the UN indicated that violence in Darfur after the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement actually increased. Within days of the deal, most sides continued hostilities reaching new levels of violence.

The African Union expressed willingness for the United Nations to replace them in peacekeeping duties in Darfur. The under-funded mission acknowledged the potential effectiveness of a fully-equipped UN force. However, there was no indication from Sudan's government there would be permission for the entry of UN peacekeepers.

The humanitarian activist and rock singer Bono visited Darfur with an NBC reporter to raise awareness among the general public about the crisis.

## **June 2006**

One critic of United States involvement in Darfur, claims that U.S. promotion of human rights in Darfur is only intended to take attention away from Iraq, and make U.S. foreign policy appear to be more humanitarian than it actually is.

On June 19, 2006, President al-Bashir insisted that he would prevent a UN peacekeeping force from entering Sudan. He stated:

"I swear that there will not be any international military intervention in Darfur as long as I am in power. Sudan, which was the first country south of the Sahara to gain independence, cannot now be the first country to be recolonized."

Al Bashir further blamed Jewish participation for causing the possible UN military presence:

"It is clear that there is a purpose behind the heavy propaganda and media campaigns.... If we return to the last demonstrations in the United States, and the groups that organized the demonstrations, we find that they are all Jewish organizations."

On June 25, 2006, the Sudanese Foreign Ministry spokesman Jamal Ibrahim announced the imposing of a partial ban on UN operations in Darfur, after accusing the UN of violating an agreement on its mandate by giving the rebel leader Suleiman Adam Jamous a helicopter ride.

On June 29, the Save Darfur Coalition's "Million Voices for Darfur" campaign formally ended with Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist and Senator Hillary Clinton signing the 1,000,000th and 1,000,001st postcards, which called on President Bush to support a stronger multinational peacekeeping force in Darfur.

Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick announced his resignation from the Bush administration. He served as the most outspoken voice against the Darfur genocide within the White House. Many anti-genocide organizations were concerned that his absence would lessen the administration's resolve in remaining proactive against the killings in Darfur.

The Japanese government announced that it would send \$10 million in humanitarian aid for the victims of the genocide in Darfur. The assistance would reconstruct water supply facilities and medical supplies, among other things.

## **July 2006**

The Sudanese government launched new attacks against rebel positions in West Darfur.[80] The attacks were significant in that they were the first overt military operation conducted by the government since they signed the Darfur Peace Agreement.

At the 2006 African Union summit held in Banjul, Gambia, it was decided that AU peacekeepers would remain in Darfur until the end of 2006 at the request of the United Nations; however, a request to allow UN peacekeepers into the area was refused by Omar Hassan al-Bashir. [82] Jan Pronk, head of the United Nations mission in Sudan, claims that fighting has worsened since a peace deal was signed two months ago, stating that "It's non-implementation of the text which is creating a problem, not the text."

Relations between Chad and Sudan worsened to the point where Sudanese officials insisted that all Chadian troops in the AU peacekeeping force leave immediately.

S. Res. 531 was introduced in the Senate by Sens. Joseph Lieberman (D-CT), Conrad Burns (R-MT) and ten other bipartisan co-sponsors. The Lieberman-Burns Envoy Resolution urged President Bush to send a Presidential Special Envoy to Sudan to fully implement the Darfur Peace Agreement.

Increased fighting has hampered humanitarian groups in Darfur. Oxfam temporarily closed two of its offices in Northern Darfur following the capture of one of their employees. The aid agency also cited increasing insecurity and called on the international community to strengthen the African Union force.

A Reuters poll, consisting of over 100 humanitarian experts named Sudan as the world's most dangerous spot for children.

At a UN donor conference in Brussels, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Jendayi Frazer stated that the United States would not fund the AU peacekeeping force past September 2006. This caused consternation amongst the anti-genocide movements in the United States,[16] as the UN peacekeeping force would be deployed at the earliest in January 2007.

At the same conference, eight humanitarian groups, including CARE International, Islamic Relief and Oxfam International, insisted that AU troops in Darfur were bound to fail unless funding was dramatically increased.

On July 31, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan proposed a UN peacekeeping force of roughly 24,000 for Darfur. In Annan's proposal, about 5,300 international police officers would deploy initially, followed by the main UN force.

### **August 2006**

Tomo Križnar, a Slovenian special envoy to Sudan, will stand trial there on charges of espionage. He was arrested in July for not possessing the proper entry visa. He admits to entering the country illegally, but denies charges of spying.

The National Foreign Trade Council, a group representing more than 300 multinational companies, challenged Illinois' ban on Sudan-related investments. The Illinois law removed about \$1 billion in pension funds from companies operating in or doing business with Sudan. The NFTC's lawsuit will claim that this law is unconstitutional based on a previous US Supreme Court ruling that struck down a Massachusetts ban on investments in companies operating in Burma.

On August 17, the Genocide Intervention Network released the first Darfur congressional scorecard rating members of Congress on legislative action relating to Darfur.

On 31 August, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution calling for a UN peacekeeping force to expand from Southern Sudan into Darfur, with the permission of the government of Sudan. The resolution passed with 12 votes in favor and three abstentions, by China, Russia and Qatar. The government of Sudan immediately announced its opposition to the expansion of the peacekeeping force.

### **October 2006**

On 13 October, President Bush signed into law the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act, previously passed by the House and Senate. The bill restated the government's opinion that genocide was being committed, directed support to the African Union peacekeeping force in Darfur, endorsed assistance for the International Criminal Court investigation and imposed some economic sanctions. Bush also signed a companion executive order specifying in detail these sanctions.



## **PEACEKEEPING AND MILITARY RESPONSE TO DARFUR**

Although African Union military forces are present in the form of the African Union Mission in Sudan, they have been largely ineffective at stopping the violence, and lack the logistical support and expertise to be an effective deterrent. Because of this, there have been international calls for Western European military forces under the United Nations to be deployed to Darfur, as well as American military forces who also would fall under the United Nations, to help stabilize the country.

On 16 May 2006, the UN unanimously passed a resolution allowing a peacekeeping assessment team to deploy to Sudan to prepare for the United Nations to take control of an African Union-led peacekeeping mission now in Darfur. The resolution came two days after the African Union agreed to transfer authority for its 7,300-member peacekeeping force in Darfur to the United Nations by the end of September or earlier if the U.N. is ready. The Security Council urged groups that haven't signed the peace agreement to do so immediately. It said it would "consider taking, including in response to a request by the African Union, strong and effective measures ... against an individual or group that violates or attempts to block" the peace deal.

On 31 August 2006, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution calling for a UN peacekeeping force to expand from Southern Sudan into Darfur, with the permission of the government of Sudan. The resolution passed with 12 votes in favor and three abstentions, by China, Russia and Qatar. The government of Sudan immediately announced its opposition to the expansion of the peacekeeping force. Since that time the African Union peacekeepers have agreed to stay on, and in October the United States passed the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act which, among other provisions, provides additional support for the AU forces.

United States force deployments in Iraq and elsewhere make intervention by the US itself a difficult proposition, and not one often suggested. The United States also faces difficulty stemming from its commitment to the peace process ending the Second Sudanese Civil War, which it fears may be derailed. If the US did get involved, it would likely be engaged in setting up No-Fly Zones, which are logistically difficult considering the remoteness of Darfur, the lack of infrastructure in potential airbase neighbors, and the issue of airspace rights for flyovers to Darfur from other neighbors.

In the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom and France, a strong lobby exists opposed to intervention in countries whose internal strife is not clearly related to the nation's own interest. Therefore intervention by any of these countries or NATO is unlikely, though not impossible.

According to the UN report on Darfur, those who have committed war crimes and crimes against humanity in the region will be held accountable, one reason the government of Sudan opposes the expansion of the UN force authorized on 31 August 2006. The UN has not declared whether prosecution would commence in the International Criminal Court or a provisional tribunal, such as the one used after the ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and in the Balkans. The Bush administration has stated its opposition to the ICC, but in the 2006 Darfur Peace and Accountability Act nonetheless supported the ICC's investigation in Darfur.