



PEACE AND SECURITY

# THE RESPONSIBILITY TO ACT

German UN Policy Promoting Stability and Development in Darfur

**Peter Schumann**  
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In July 2019 the UN Security Council will review progress in implementing the UNAMID mission mandate mission and decide on the shape of the transition process for 2019–2020.



The task for the Security Council is to establish on site a functioning institutional framework for effective cooperation between the UNAMID Peace Mission and the UN country team (above all UNDP, UNICEF, FAO and WFP).



As a member of both the UN Security Council and the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the German government is particularly well-placed to influence and shape this transition process.



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## 1

## INTRODUCTION

Germany campaigned for a seat in the Security Council of the United Nations as a non-permanent member for the 2019–2020 term on a platform of »peace, justice, innovation and partnership«. Cornerstones of German foreign and security policy are human rights and women's rights as well as the acceptance of climate change as a challenge »for which we can find an answer only by working together«. Other elements of Germany's political agenda in the Security Council will include conflict prevention, stabilisation and post-conflict peacebuilding. Within this framework Germany has not formulated political goals for dealing with specific crises and conflicts.

»It is an incentive for us to play our part in tackling the world's crises – and to do so with courage and confidence, but without over-estimating ourselves. We want to work with you as a reliable partner that puts dialogue and cooperation at the heart of what it does.« With these words German foreign minister Heiko Maas outlined the German government's agenda in the Security Council in his speech in the general debate of the 73rd General Assembly of the United Nations. It will be a challenge to implement the promises contained in this electoral platform within two years. Verifiable success is only possible if the German government sets clear objectives and assumes responsibility for achieving tangible results.

Given the recent history of the UN Security Council, it is unlikely that Germany will play a defining role in Security Council debates on crucial global challenges such as climate change. Elected representatives have always exercised greatest influence in the Security Council when they have focused on selected countries and conflicts. Hence, it would seem advisable for Germany to link its »thematic focus« to challenges in specific countries, drawing on existing resolutions as the basis for its actions.

The German government should continue to pursue the priorities of its previous membership of the Security Council in 2011–2012. These include the consequences of climate change for security and stability and conflict prevention, stabilisation and post-conflict peacebuilding in African countries. Both challenges, reducing climate-related security risks and shaping exit strategies for peacekeeping operations in African countries, are highly topical in the UN Security Council. Under Resolution 2429, passed in July 2018,

the Peacekeeping Mission in Darfur, the United Nations-African Union Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), is set to end in 2020. The Security Council agreed a complex two-year transition process with the aim of promoting sustainable security and development in Darfur. The intention is that Germany shall assume political responsibility for this transition process in the Security Council and clarify the specifics of its planning and implementation, including necessary changes so that UNAMID can take and enforce the necessary decisions. This includes clarification of the role of the African Union (AU) in the social and economic development, the cooperation between UNAMID and the United Nations country team (UN country team) in Sudan, which consists primarily of the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) and the UN World Food Programme (WFP). Furthermore it includes government institutions and civil society. How these open aspects are shaped will decide the success or failure of conflict prevention and operational stabilisation in Darfur.

## 2

## ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

### 2.1 THE STRENGTHS OF ELECTED MEMBERS: DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMACY AND A SPECIFIC AGENDA

The UN Security Council is regarded as a »power-sharing arrangement« in which functions and powers vary considerably. Compared to the five permanent members, the ten non-permanent members, which are elected for a term of two years, are regarded as second-class. Public discrimination of the non-permanent members is manifest in the weighting of their votes: unlike the permanent members they do not have a right of veto.

The fundamental distinction, however, is another, very political one: non-permanent members are elected and thus possess a high degree of democratic legitimacy. This can be used during the »legislative term« to implement a programme and correspondingly advocate objectives prioritised in the election campaign as essential for maintaining global security and enforcing the Charter of the United Nations. Owing to their short term in office, elected representatives in the Security Council can ignore debilitating bureaucratic routines; moreover they can circumvent restrictive conventions and insist on unconventional agreements. In particular, they can ask awkward questions and question answers. Elected members should also be answerable to their respective parliaments.

### 2.2 GERMANY IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL: RESPONSIBILITY FOR GLOBAL ACTION

If continuity, credibility and enforceability serve as important political principles in defining and asserting German policy in the Security Council, then political strategy needs to be based on specific situations and cannot remain general and noncommittal. To date, German foreign and security policy has been characterised by declamations: much is made of general principles such as peace, justice, innovation and partnership as well as unspecified demands in respect of human rights, climate change and women's rights. Focusing the UN Security Council agenda for the period 2019-2020 on existing security realities in Darfur, with reference to past resolutions and ensuing measures, will create credibility and demonstrate feasibility. This concerns in particular global security challenges, in which context they will also have to be

explained in the political debate in Germany. If Germany's role in the Security Council is defined by internal political interests, national topics of concern to Germany's political parties will also be aired in the Security Council. The global community has little interest in that. Moreover, it will have the effect not only of limiting Germany's options to define policy at a global level, but also of weakening Germany's own security interests. Migration, flight and displacement as well as the consequences of climate change are pre-eminently global topics, whose global resolution will influence domestic policy, but not vice versa.

## 3

## THE UNAMID MISSION

### 3.1 CONFLICT DYNAMICS IN DARFUR: CHANGES IN UNAMID

Since 2003 rebel groups have been fighting the Sudanese national government in the west Sudanese region of Darfur. In the following years most of the population in Darfur was affected by the armed conflict. In late 2007, after a lead time of three years and extremely complex negotiations in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, between all parties involved, in particular the AU, the UN and the national government, the foundation was laid for one of the largest interventions by the international community in Sudan. UNAMID was the first peacekeeping operation authorised by the UN Security Council to act as a hybrid operation with the equal participation of the UN and a regional organisation, the AU, in accordance with UN peacekeeping principles (neutrality, agreement of the parties to the conflict, appropriate use of force) under the control of the UN Security Council. In the course of the operation the relevance of the principle of »agreement of the parties to the conflict« declined steadily in particular because after ten years of armed struggle and several splits the rebel Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) persisted in rejecting a negotiated political solution. UNAMID's tasks as formulated in 2007 remained very limited: protection of the civilian population, support for humanitarian operations and the promotion of mediation between government and armed opposition.

Since about 2015 security conditions have steadily changed. There has been hardly any armed confrontation between rebels and government; political changes have been introduced within the framework of a peace agreement (the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur, Doha 2011) and partially put into effect. Other conflicts, which for the most part have their roots in the lengthy Sahel drought of 1980–1990, continue. Discriminatory political ideologies based on the claim of »Arab superiority« determine participation in state power and influence political reforms and security. Social change is driven by migration, irreversible loss of agricultural land and the increasing impoverishment of the population. The economic and social consequences of climate change have intensified since about 2014–2015. Persistent drought since 2015, which shows no sign of ending, constitutes an existential threat for the population in ever more areas of Darfur. The consequences of these climatic changes increasingly determine the scale and intensity of

conflict. The implementation of preventative measures has become a fundamental challenge for stability and development.

In 2017 the UN Security Council noted these changes in Darfur and urged UNAMID to react appropriately to these new realities. A comprehensive »Mission Review Process« was set up and in July 2018 the Security Council adopted a new UNAMID Resolution, Resolution 2429. A number of measures were included with the express aim of exiting the current peacekeeping operation by the end of 2020, while at the same time creating the foundations for stability and development in Darfur. In its resolution the Security Council outlines the limits to peacekeeping and refers to the absolute necessity of addressing the root causes of conflict, and making their transformation a task of the UN country team and its partners in Sudan.

UNAMID resolution 2429/2018 is characterised by the following features, whose implementation – above all within the framework of stability and reconstruction programmes in post-war phases – can result in security-related peacekeeping missions adapting to new realities:

1. The resolution notes the circumstances of the changed security situation in Darfur. It accepts that UNAMID's role has increasingly been reduced to a one-dimensional focus on security questions and urges the UN country team and the government in Khartoum to accept wider responsibility for consolidating security and promoting development and reconstruction. The Security Council urges the development of an exit strategy with the aim of ending the Mission's activities on 30 June 2020 and requests that it receive a report every 90 days on the effects of changes on the ground in Darfur.
2. The Security Council refers back to the various causes of conflict and describes their effects above all on the humanitarian emergency, in particular as it relates to displacement and the basic requirements for development and reconstruction. The Security Council notes that the effects of climate change, ecological changes and natural catastrophes have a lasting impact on developments in Darfur and decides to reduce the UNAMID mandate to areas in which military clashes between government and rebels are still ongoing.

3. The Security Council announces that it will review progress in the transformation of UNAMID and the increased role of the UN country team by the end of June 2019. This also includes the creation of a network of joint offices staffed by UNAMID personnel under the leadership of the UN country team. This two-pronged approach of proceeding with different actors in the UN system working under a single roof on one mission is new and raises challenges that are as yet unresolved. The UNAMID mission is answerable to the Security Council alone. The UN country team on the other hand works with the Sudanese government within the framework of a partnership of equals. This gives rise to a contradiction if both UN country team and UNAMID, including the Sudanese government, are expected to work together in the future with the aim of ensuring security and stability in Darfur. This contradiction will have to be resolved in a transition process, which will require agreement between the Security Council, the UN country team and the government of Sudan.
4. The Security Council appeals to all UN member states to support mission-critical operations in the medium- and long-term by voluntarily providing funds. To this end the Security Council delegates one of its primary tasks – safeguarding peace and security – to the voluntary action of the international community, something that has repeatedly failed in the past.

### 3.2 GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S OPTIONS FOR ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPLEMENTING CHANGE IN DARFUR

In the Security Council Germany should concentrate on »demonstrated strengths« in the fields of mediation, conflict transformation, humanitarian support and above all development and reconstruction programmes, rather than on implementing abstract, global »policy changes«. The strategy should focus on the political process and the binding aims agreed in Resolution 2429/2018 with the clear aim as defined of creating the conditions for successful implementation of the Resolution. This includes the following points: expanding existing partnerships with actors in Africa, in particular with South Africa, another non-permanent member of the Security Council (2019–2020), introducing competencies in the field of development and affirming the political will to take an operational, forward-looking, and creative approach to tackling the consequences of climate change.

During its Security Council term and beyond Germany can play a significant and above all sustainable role – »to shape things with courage and confidence« (Heiko Maas). The German government should seek to act in accordance with the following principles and realise them with the UNAMID peacekeeping operation:

1. The German government should focus on initiatives that can be completed within its 2019–2020 membership term, be operationally implemented and conform both

to procedures on which there is already political agreement and to the aims of the Security Council.

Resolution 2429/2018 determines the end of the UN/AU Hybrid Operation by the end of 2020. It defines principles for the transition of the peacekeeping operation, in particular with regard to the tasks of stabilisation and promoting development. Furthermore, it formulates the prerequisites under which UN development organisations will take operational decisions in cooperation with UNAMID and, for the first time in a peacekeeping operation, will have at its disposal substantial resources from the UNAMID budget and be able to request additional resources from the donor community.

Parallel to its membership of the UN Security Council, Germany is also one of the 54 elected members of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The German government should seek to create a uniform framework for action with a view to implementing development programmes in cooperation with UN peacekeeping operations. Within the framework of Resolution 2429/2018 the Security Council has established the possibility of financing programmes of the UN country team out of UNAMID's peacekeeping budget. As one of the leading donors to the UN development programme (UNDP) and other UN organisations as well as one of the largest donors to EU Programmes in Sudan, Germany, as a member of the Security Council, can intervene operationally and provide financial resources and technical skills.

2. The German government has built up a reservoir of political capital owing on the one hand to its long-standing support for the Darfur negotiation process between rebels and the government and on the other to its experience with development programmes on the ground. Mediation by the AU High Implementation Panel (AUHIP) should serve to support the inclusion of rebels and government in the peacekeeping process. The negotiations between the Sudanese government and representatives of the rebels were also supported by the German government. In 2018 negotiations in Berlin produced an agreement to continue negotiating in Doha. As a member of the Security Council, Germany should support bringing this process to a conclusion in the near future.

The recommendations of the independent panel of experts of the UN Security Council present a possible framework for action. This also contains selective measures against rebel leaders who refuse to accept the political negotiations within the framework of the Doha Agreement. Germany should support these recommendations of the panel of experts without limitation.

3. To push through credible, goal-oriented policies in the Security Council, Germany must deliver on its leitmotif of »peace, justice, innovation and partnership« in crisis management and sustainable security and peacekeeping policies at an operational level.

Resolution 2429/2018 includes an approach to dealing with the humanitarian challenges as well as the questions of displacement and development. The Security Council notes the effects of climate change, environmental changes and natural catastrophes on the situation in Darfur and highlights their direct relationship to drought, desertification, and concomitant loss of agricultural land and the growing scarcity of food. A key objective of German security and peacekeeping policies is to meet the challenge of climate change and security at an operational level within the framework of conflict prevention, stabilisation and post-conflict peacebuilding, thereby providing an exemplary demonstration of possible procedures in similar situations.

Human rights and women's rights provide similar challenges. In this regard, too, Resolution 2429/2018 offers an adequate framework to implement measures to protect civilians and support the criminal prosecution of violent crimes. In the Security Council the German government should ensure that UNAMID reports back on the measures actually taken to prevent and prosecute violent crimes.

4. In the Security Council Germany should ensure that decisions to reform UN peacekeeping operations, e.g. as presented in the *Report of the Independent High-level Panel on Peace Operations* (HIPPO Report), are put into effect in the reorganisation of UNAMID. In Resolution 2429/2018 the UN Security Council requests the UN Secretary General to initiate steps to restructure UNAMID in accordance with the changed conditions of conflict. An institutional framework for the joint approach of UNAMID and the UN country team should be established with the specific aim of dealing with causes of conflict within the transition programme 2019–2020. To date the call for »UN Reforms« and »coordinated approach« in response to unsuccessful peacekeeping operations has neither strengthened the operational approach nor resolved contradictions between the UN development system and the peacekeeping system. UN Blue Helmet operations and UN development projects are still subject to their own, very different rules, procedures and in particular governance arrangements. This directly affects the success of development and stabilisation programmes within the framework of a UN Security Council mandate to end an armed conflict. Mandates fail for the simplest reasons, e.g. unresolved responsibilities, the lack of or unclear decision-making processes, competing procedures, or an accumulation of bureaucratic complexity. There is no shortage of proposed solutions, including from the Security Council, but what is lacking is the political tenacity to push through a procedure that is binding on all actors and a common set of rules. This has still not been realised, nor will it be by the reform of UN peacekeeping operations announced at the beginning of 2019.

Germany should work to ensure that decisions on the reform on the UN peacekeeping architecture are implemented in Darfur in an exemplary manner at the opera-

tional level. This should apply as a matter of priority to the adaptation of UNAMID's capacities, so that it can deal with conflict scenarios, and to the creation of a joint transition structure consisting of UNAMID and the UN country team to implement stability and development programmes in the areas of Darfur from which the UNAMID as a Blue Helmet operation has been continually withdrawing since 2018.

5. With regard to climate change as a driver of conflict in particular, Sweden and the Netherlands performed groundbreaking preparatory work for Resolution 2429/2018. The German government should build on this important groundwork and contribute to continuity by working in concert with other members of the Security Council. South Africa is a very important non-European partner in shaping the future of Darfur. Germany should work in close understanding with South Africa, above all in the field of social and economic development, and sound out the future role of the AU in Darfur. This includes in particular the further development of the »Darfur Development Strategy« (2013–2019), which is part of the Doha Peace Agreement of 2011.



# 4

## SUCCESS OR FAILURE: THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISIONS IN THE COMING MONTHS

In July 2019 UN Security Council Resolution 2429/2018 will be reviewed and decisions taken on how to proceed further. As an elected member Germany should take its »responsibility to act« seriously to ensuring stability and development in Darfur in the future. In the Security Council Germany should advocate the use of all necessary measures so that UNAMID as a security instrument can be successfully ended by June 2020. At the same time, in its role as a key actor the German government should take steps to ensure that development policy in Darfur is recognised as a priority international commitment.

It is necessary that the Security Council comprehensively support the transition process in 2019–2020 above all to ensure that a functioning UN institutional framework is established consisting of UNAMID and the UN country team. This also includes cooperation by the Sudanese government. By focussing on this process, Germany should take a pragmatic approach to known and still unresolved problems associated with the ending of a UN peacekeeping operation and call for solutions.

As an elected member of both the UN Security Council and ECOSOC the German government is in an exceptional position to influence and shape this *transition* process. That said, the operational framework of the transition phase must include far more than the topics proposed to the Security Council by UNAMID and the Department of Peace Operations (DPO). Establishing the rule of law as represented by police, justice and correctional facilities, ensuring the livelihoods of displaced peoples and demanding respect for human rights were core concerns of UNAMID that were fulfilled only to a very limited degree. Above all the transition concept must seek to offer the people in Darfur a fresh development perspective in which the consequences of climate change as a cause of conflict are accepted as equal to the necessity of peacefully managing social change.



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Peter Schumann** served as Acting Deputy Joint Special Representative of the UN/AU *Peacekeeping Operation in Darfur* in Sudan. In this function he had the task of investigating the situation on the ground and developing proposals for the future orientation of the UNAMID mission. Peter Schumann worked with the United Nations from 1979 to 2007 as UN Resident Coordinator and UNDP Representative, among other positions, and managed complex development programmes in Somalia, South Sudan, Kosovo and Albania.

## IMPRINT

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung | Global Policy and Development  
Hiroshimastr. 28 | 10785 Berlin | Germany

Responsible:  
Konstantin Bärwaldt | Peace and Security Policy  
Phone: +49-30-269-35-7501 | Fax: +49-30-269-35-9246  
<http://www.fes.de/GPol/en>

To order publications:  
[Christiane.Heun@fes.de](mailto:Christiane.Heun@fes.de)

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## THE RESPONSIBILITY TO ACT

### German UN Policy Promoting Stability and Development in Darfur



In July 2019 the UN Security Council will review the mandate of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and decide measures for the pending transition process in Darfur in 2019–2020. The task for the Security Council is to establish on site a functioning institutional framework for effective cooperation between the UNAMID Peace Mission and the UN country team (above all UNDP, UNICEF, FAO and WFP).



Such a framework is necessary to provide the future-oriented guidance for the work of the United Nations in Darfur: successfully ending the UNAMID Mission to promote security and expanding the United Nations programmes to promote peace-building and development cooperation. As an elected member of the UN Security Council Germany should fulfil its responsibility to secure stability and development in Darfur in the future. The German government should act to ensure that all necessary measures are undertaken to enable UNAMID to successfully end its role as an instrument of security policy by June 2020.



At the same time, as a key actor in development the German government should work to ensure that development policy is a priority of the international involvement in Darfur. As a member of both the UN Security Council and the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the German government is particularly well-placed to influence and shape this transition process. In particular, the transition concept must aim to offer the people of Darfur a new development perspective in which as much attention is given to the consequences of climate change as a cause of conflict as to the necessity of promoting peaceful social change.

Further information on the topic can be found here:

<https://www.fes.de/en/shaping-the-world-justly/peace-and-security>