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The international association's interventions and governments role in disasters

Failures and Successes

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Abstract

The debate on international intervention is a very difficult topic. As a main issue in it, the differences lie on decisions regarding - *what, when and who*. This essay will address the importance of accurate intervention in disaster affected states. It will identify what types of interventions that is most commonly used and if there is one type of intervention that are the most effective one. It will show if the disaster in it self related to the area in question will determine what kind of intervention that should be used – is the identification of them two the deciding factor or is there one particular intervention model that is better to use? The essay will also question whether intervention might lead to a weakened state sovereignty and if sovereignty has to be protected and be taken in consideration before any intervention can be done. To address this, recent history is analysed with two cases as examples – the Darfur conflict and Cyclone Nargis that struck Burma in 2008. The conflict in Darfur is a man-made disaster which lead to plenty of suffering and many lost lives. Cyclone Nargis was a natural disaster which in it self caused many deaths. In Darfur the discussion regarding *what, when and who* delayed actions from the international association. It was also disrupted by the government in Khartoum constant refusals of help from the outside world. In Burma, relief could be sent in the initial phase, however, the government was hard to cooperate with, which made it quite impossible for the relief to reach all the affected areas.

Putting the empirical part against those theories that has been brought up in this essay, the thesis of it has been answered with the conclusion that whether one type of intervention model is being used or another model, the most important part in any kind of intervention is that the humanitarian assistance along with the provision of needs for survival will reach those who has been affected by a disaster, also, not to create any kind of pressure against the affected state in question, this to prevent further conflicts.

Keywords: International association, intervention, sovereignty, The United Nations, Burma, Sudan, Darfur, disaster management

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Introduction

The occurrence of disasters has increased rapidly during recent history. Because of climate changes and international and national conflicts people are now suffering from famine, malnutrition, oppression and such because of the increased extent of disasters. It is therefore very important for the world to cooperate in order to keep people from more suffering. However, differences such as social, religious, political and economic are just a few factors that stands in the way for the world to sustain global peace. The United Nations, who should work as a main actor in peace keeping has shown it self of being weak in the process. It is, among other things, the earlier mentioned differences that has weakened their role in this matter. All member states has different interests in each countries. The interests and the differences stands in the way for the international association to intervene in a disaster affected state. The affected state might not be interested of getting any help from the outside world, other countries might stand in the way for the international association to take actions in the disaster affected area if the operation should in some way affect themselves negatively. Laws of intervention and state sovereignty might also delay relief efforts to reach the affected area. It is clear that the discussion on intervention is a very complex subject.

Some states says that intervention shall be taken whether the state in question is allowing it or not, if global laws will be followed or not and if state sovereignty will be weakened or not. Other claims that intervention has to be well thought through and all aspects needs to be taken in consideration before any intervention can be performed. However, both actions has in some cases shown it self of leading to even more suffering for the affected people - the Darfur conflict as an example, which will be brought up as an example in the following chapters. Interventions that has been taken into actions in an initial phase of a disaster has shown itself of being more effective for those who are in need for help. However, something that determines whether the intervention can reach the affected area in an early stage is the allowance of interventions from the state in question. In these cases it might be necessary for the international association to cooperate with the state in question in order for them to help the affected people. This way was used when Cyclone Nargis struck Burma in May 2008. The Burmese government was not very fond of the international associations role in the disaster management process. However, the association negotiated and cooperated with the government which made it possible for the association to help the people in need.

Purpose and problem definition

The purpose with this essay is to study governments role and international association with the UN as main actor in a disaster related context. According to the following theoretical chapter, there are three different meanings of intervention; *humanitarian aid*, *military intervention*, *humanitarian military intervention*. The meanings can be seen as models of intervention and these will be studied and analysed according to different events in recent history where intervention has been taken place. What is questioned in this debate is if there is a specific model that is the most effective to achieve peace or if each event demands different kinds of intervening. The main thesis is to look back at the history of intervention and see if there has been one type of model that has showed it self to be the most effective one in order to answer the main questions in this essay. Governments decisions on whether international intervention will be allowed or refused in a disaster within their borders will be allowed or denied and what the consequences of their choices and actions are will be addressed in the following chapters of this essay. The purpose with this is to analyse the failures and successes in disaster management that has occurred because of governments and international actors decisions and actions.

Two different kinds of disasters will be studied and the outcomes of decisions and actions will be addressed and analysed. These two disasters are the recent conflict in Darfur, Sudan that has become a humanitarian disaster because of the government in Khartums actions and oppressions against the African black people and the natural disaster in Burma, caused by Cyclone Nargis in 2008 along with the Burmese national authorities refusal of international intervention. What will be answered what kind of models of interventions that where used in these disasters and which one of them that turned out to be the most effective one – the outcome of intervening.

With this, the following questions will be answered:

- Is there a specific model of intervention that are most effective – why?
- What consequences has occurred in Darfur and in Burma because of the governments decisions regarding the allowance and refusals of international interventions?
- If there is an obvious need for help, but the governments refuses intervention, is it always right to go against the governments will – why?

Method

Chosen method and delimitations

The method that has been chosen for this essay is a qualitative method where the information that will be collected is based on secondary data such as literature, articles, and publications. The subject that will be studied is physically too far away which means that information can not be collected in any other way than through the earlier mentioned types of data, i.e. the subject will be studied from an outside point of view rather than being studied from the inside as it would be if the chosen method was to be quantitative. As a main thread, the analysis will be concentrated on different kinds of interventions that has been performed during the last half of the 20th century and the beginning of this present century. To define this issue and to be able to create a concrete picture on the subject, a comparison between two countries that has been suffering from two different kinds of disasters, in which the intervention has been performed in both the same and in different ways. This will give an overall picture on how the outcome of interventions in disasters would generally look like. The thesis is to determine which of the three types of interventions that will be explained and analysed, that has shown it self of being more sufficient in a disaster related context or if it is the disaster in itself that determines what type of intervention that should be used. The empirical study will portray Sudan with its Darfur conflict and Burma with Cyclone Nargis versus the interventions that has been performed in those disasters by the international association with the United Nations as a main actor.

The essay will not analyse the history of intervention more than giving a general view on interventions in well known events of recent history, i.e. a further investigation on how international intervention have changed during recent years will not be given. However, a history on how the situation on conflicts and governmental actions in Sudan and Burma will be given in order to understand underlying factors that may have had an impact on the disaster and the following intervention.

Criticism of resources

The selection of resources in this essay is concentrated on academic literature, with different theoretical perspectives in order to get an objective view on the subject. It is also based on neutral facts on recent history, which will be analysed according to the theoretical literature that has been used. The debate on international intervention is constantly on the global agenda. Therefore, it has not been difficult to find information on this subject, nor has it been difficult to find neutral facts, which can be common when there is an acknowledged political issue on the global agenda of

discussion. Facts on international intervention is not based on the general perspective regarding intervention, i.e. the different models that are presented will be based on specific facts that are related to each model. However, what has been difficult to find is theoretical facts on the refusals of international intervention from states. Parallels on this matters will therefore be drawn according to the theoretical resources related to facts on recent history.

Disposition

This essay is divided up in different parts where the matter of international intervention is brought up in the theoretical part which is based on earlier academic resources. The two cases, Darfur and Burma will be brought up in two chapters where the first one gives an overall view on the background of the two countries and what stands as an underlying factor of why the intervention in the matter of the disasters that has occurred in the areas were difficult to perform. The empirical part will portray the two disasters where one of them is hand made and the other one is caused by nature. Thereafter, a result on what the empirical part addresses in relation to the questions that has been chosen to study will be answered and the theoretical perspectives on international association will be compared with what has been acknowledged in the empirical part. Last, a conclusion of the main thread that has been brought up in this essay along with a discussion regarding the matter of intervention and its difficulties.

Background

In order to understand the man-made disaster in Darfur, Sudan, the country's history has to be understood. The natural disaster in Burma, Cyclone Nargis that struck the country in May 2008 was noticed by the whole world which led to an initiative from the international association to take actions and help Burma with the following disaster management. However, Burma's long history of being a secluded country made the international association initiatives to help rather difficult. In the following chapter, a background of both countries' histories will be given in order to understand the difficulties that occurred in both of the events.

Sudan

Republic of the Sudan, in conventional short form – Sudan, is the largest country in Africa. It is located in the north-eastern part of the continent nearby the Nile and the Red Sea. Libya, Egypt and Chad are some of their neighbour countries, which are those who during recent history has had greater involvements in Sudan.

The politics of Sudan has, since their independence from Britain in 1956, been influenced by military regimes who has a great interest in Islamic governance. The country has been suffering from two civil wars during the 20th century, in which both of them were based on ethnical and religious differences.¹

After the first world war, a Sudanese nationalism started to grow stronger and nationalists established organisations in which their goals were for Sudan to become a self-governed state – united with Egypt. During the second world war, the British, who had interfered in Sudan since mid 19th century, came to an agreement with the nationalists that a consulting body with Sudanese members should be established. However, this would only concern the northern part of Sudan. In 1948, Sudan got a legislative body and in 1948 and on the 1st of January 1956, they achieved full independence. But at this point, rebellions in the southern part of Sudan had started because of the fear for Sudan to have an Arabic-Muslim governance. These rebellions degenerated and in 1958, the military took power over the country. These rulers were overthrown in 1964 but yet a new military coup disrupted the reinforcement of parliamentary governance in 1969. This coup was led by Jaafar Nimeiry who, in 1971 became president and chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), which he continued to be until 1985. In 1972, Nimeiry succeeded to reach an agreement with the southern guerilla on the basis of regional self-governance. But fundamentalists in the northern parts pressured him into introducing an Islamic law, called Sharia. Because of this, the

1 CIA – The World Factbook (2009-11-30)

rebellions in the southern parts started again and was now lead by John Garang. This lead to the fall of Nimeiry in 1985 and another attempt to reinforce parliamentary governance were made. However, in this period of time, the economic circumstances were difficult which made it possible for the military junta to take over the power in Khartoum and the Islamic party, National Islamic Front (NIF), soon to become the National Congress Party (NCP), was now the only allowed party in 1989. This junta were disbanded in 1993 and replaced by a civil government lead by the current president of Sudan, Omar al-Bashir, the same man who were the colonel of the military junta. Hassan al-Turabi, who were the president of the former National Islamic Front, were during a long time al-Bashir's ally, but in 2000 a power struggle among the regime arose and al-Turabi and his men were relieved from all their assignments. This lead to an alliance between al-Turabi and the other opposition, who together with pressure from the international association forced the regime to introduce peace agreements with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) ,who were the southern guerilla.² In this period of time, a majority of the employees in the government of Sudan belonged to three ethnic groups who represents only 5,4 % of the total population in Sudan. In addition to this, unfortunately a majority of this group came from the northern part of Sudan, i.e. the southern part were extremely excluded.

On January the 9th 2005 in Nairobi, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) were signed, after three years of difficult negotiations. The leader of Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) John Garang died in a helicopter accident on the 30th of July that same year. Garang was elected vice president of the Government of National Unity (GoNU), temporary government in Sudan but after only three weeks after the election the accident happened and CPA then became endangered. The CPA will only solve one of Sudan's many issues but it gives the nation hopes and contributes to great development. On the other hand, the CPA is a threatening factor against Darfur because of the fact that it is an agreement between the military elites in the north and the south which marginalises Darfur's rights to share the power and the resources of Sudan with the rest of the country. I.e. the military elites actions becomes a determine factor if the suffering in Darfur will end or not.

In this period of time, a declaration with a political framework for peace were signed by the Sudanese government and the rebel groups in Darfur, Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). This declaration was arranged by the African Union (AU) and reflected a more realistic attitude amongst the three parts, which also decreased the gap between them.³

2 Nationalencyklopedin – Sudan 2009-11-30

3 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konfliktens bakgrund Page 9-11

Darfur has, during the recent 20 years, been under a great pressure, something that has resulted in an explosion of violence. The United Nations explains the violence as “the world’s worst humanitarian disaster” and the US is referring to it as “genocide”. Darfur is a complete Muslim region in Sudan and the tragedy has been going on for a long time. However, the surrounding world noticed it too late. The government in Sudan has ignored it and the conflict has at the same time been less prioritized because of the civil war in the southern area of the country. It was not until 2004 when it was impossible to ignore the conflict any longer.⁴ People living in Darfur started to migrate to Chad because of their fear of staying in their homes. More than two million people have been forced to leave their homes. And in addition to this, 200 000 people are considered as refugees. The number of deaths were at its top in 2004 but the occurrence of deaths has now decreased. However, there is still a great need for aid and other assistance amongst the affected people. Unfortunately, the response from the outside world came too late and has been insufficient. Still, today Darfur needs great help to be able to manage and develop socially and economically. The lasting issue on how Sudan, Chad and other countries in the Sahel area are going to be governed is the greatest issue in this matter and has to be solved before any justice and peace can be achieved in those areas.⁵

4 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konflikten bakgrund Page 9

5 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konflikten bakgrund Page. 10-11

Burma

Burma, also known as Myanmar, located in the south eastern Asia, is one of the worlds most secluded countries, dictated by the military junta. The country has a 1000 years long history of war, conflicts, military oppressions and other social disturbances.⁶ Many public figures has been struggling for Burma to become a democratic country, however, without any significant successes. One of these figures is Aung San Suu Kyi, the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize winner who at this point are put under house arrest by the military junta. The issue regarding Burma has been on the international agenda for a long time and the international association has been taken several actions against the junta with the purpose to reach a solution. Some countries has proceeded sanctions against them and other has encouraged an interaction of their global affairs on the global market with the hope to reach economic development in order to fulfil the goal for Burma to become a democratic country. It is not just the junta that has been a part of the insurgencies in Burma, the civilians who are fighting towards freedom has in some ways destroyed the country from the inside which in some cases can be defined as civil war. Burma's access to natural resources are large but their economic difficulties makes it impossible for them to distribute it properly. If the Burmese junta could cooperate with the opposition, Burma's future would look much brighter. What is questioned is what kind of intervention that would be the most suitable one for Burma to become democratic. The two interventions that has been discussed is either to cooperate with the junta or to isolate it.

Burma has had some outstanding figures that has been fighting for peace in their country. Aung San Suu Kyi was not the first in her family to embrace the struggle. Her father, Aung San was one of the key leaders in the struggle for Burma to reach full independence. During the second world war he cooperated with the Japanese, who promised to help him and his movement to achieve Burma's independence. In the beginning of 1945 Aung San ended his cooperation with the Japanese and joined the british and their allied in the struggle against the Japanese. The year before that, Aung San started the The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), an underground party who became a dominated part in the british party who ruled Burma in 1946. In 1947, the british agreed with Aung San that Burma would be free and independent in one year, however, Aung San was murdered in that same year. Fortunately, in 1948 the british handed over the power and left Burma on the 4th of January and gave Burma full independence. Burma were established as a federation with self governance for the minor ethnic groups and gave Shan, Kachin and Chin, three Burmese ethnic groups, the right to be a part of the government. Some groups were left out, Karen

6 Selth A. (2002) Burma's armed forces. Power without glory. Page 7

and Karenni, two of the most important ethnical groups in Burma, something that decreased the credibility of the agreements between the actors. After this Burma went into a civil war and during 1949 the government was not able to handle the country on their own. The civil war was not just a conflict between ethnical groups there was also a threat from the outside world. China tried to create a haven for them to use while they fought against their president Mao Zedong and his communist forces. Then, around 1951 the government were able to take control over their nation again. This government, lead by U Nu, the successor for Aung San, wanted to create a social welfare society in Burma and accomplished a land reform, nationalised foreign companies and established a socialistic way of running their industry. This had both successes and failures. Some of the failures included economic backlashes which trapped Burma in a stagnated economy. Although they were in a difficult economic situation, Burma refused help from the US as long as they supported the Chinese nationalistic army who still had their movements on Burmese land. These decisions were made by general Ne Win, U Nu's successor, who did not take any democratic rules in consideration. However, U Nu won back the power with a majority of the peoples votes. At that point, U Nu proposed some changes that the military did not approve of who feared that such changes could divide Burma. The army answered with a armed force military cup in 1962 and general Ne Win regained his power and U Nu and his government were sent to prison. After that, the only allowed party in Burma was Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) lead by Ne Win. The BSPP introduced policies that was based on Marxism, Buddhism and Nationalism which lead to a catastrophic economy and armed rebellions among the smaller ethnical groups. The military juntas goal was to create a socialistic society through a one party system. This was the beginning of the military oppression that has exposed the Burmese for in over thirty years and the military controlled the country with its people and forced Burma into total isolation.

The economic disturbances continued during the 1970's and the 1980's which lead to consequences of disturbances and violences all over the country. At the end of 1980, Aung San Suu Kyi came back to visit Burma, she was immediately thrown in to the political situation in the country and became a public figure, fighting for freedom. In the summer of 1988 it looked like the BSPP would leave their posts at the regime and that Burma would be able to reach democracy but shortly after that, the so called Saw Maung-coup was carried through lead by Saw Maung who was Ne Win's successor and soon to become chairman of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), the council that now was in charge of Burma. The SLORC carried through several violences against human rights. As a response to this, the opposition parties started a coalition party called the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB).

By the end of 1980, SLORC promised that party elections were to be fulfilled. 234 parties

applied to participate in the election, 5 of them were seen to have change of winning, one of them was the National Unity Party (NUP), lead by Aung San Suu Kyi. But SLORC became uncertain of how their future would turn out if they went through with the election. Therefore, the regime decided to imprison those who were politically active or placed them under house arrest. Aung San Suu Kyi among them. SLORC were also afraid for the international associations involvement in Burma and democracy. Because of this, they destroyed a whole business centre in Bagan, Burmas most attractive town for tourists. In addition to this the citizens of Bagan were moved a few kilometres outside the town just to keep them from having any contact with the foreigners that were present in the area. However, on the 27th of May 1990 the election was fulfilled and SLORC's attempt to disturb the elections did not have any successes, NLD with Aung San Suu Kyi won the election with a majority of the peoples votes. Yet again, SLORC did everything to keep the power over Burma. They delayed the relinquishment of the power and made several changes in the constitution of it. When the NLD did not accept the SLORC's behaviour and refused their demands, the junta decided to take actions of the situations and further opposition members were imprisoned.

The international association are working towards a democratic Burma and many approaches has been purposed and put into practice. The US and the EU member states has been supporting the democratic movements in Burma with different instruments and been taking a critical attitude against the country. Some states has initiated refusals of any involvement with Burmese companies, trade, investments and such. However, some other countries have had some objections to these kind of approaches since they can be seen as a violation against world trade. Not only economic sanctions has been initiated against Burma, even political cooperation from some actors in the international association has been ended.⁷ However, it is not only the political and economic factors that are standing in the way for Burma to become democratic. The country is considered to be one of the worlds most complex ethnic countries. The 48 million people who lives in Burma consists of approximately 100 different ethnic groups, where each one of them have varying traditions and languages. The country has, because of this, been affected by civil wars during their whole modern history.⁸

Although the fact that Burma has a good access to natural resources, i.e. food, there are many who are living under food poverty. It is also estimated that one third of the people in the country are not living above the poverty line. It is mainly the country's unfortunate economy and unstable weather that affects the access to their resources and makes a livelihood hard to maintain. It also affects their access to essential needs for survival such as facilities, safe drinking water and

7 Sholto C. (1998) Burma – den svåra vägen mot demokrati. Page 21

8 Ibid., 27

health care. Malaria is a big issue in Burma. Approximately 2000 deaths are reported each year and in addition to this, 1 million new cases occurs per year as well. The spreading of Malaria is at high risk whenever a disaster hits an area with numbers like these. Other diseases like diarrhoea and measles are also continuously at high risk in the country.⁹

⁹ Myanmar. Tropical Cyclone Nargis. Flash appeal 2008

Theoretical perspectives and earlier research

In this following chapter, an identification on what kind of theories that can be put in perspective with international intervention in a disaster related context will be identified. These has be used as analytical tools during the progress of this essay, when reading and analysing the historical facts regarding the two cases that will be compared in this essay – Burma and Darfur, Sudan.

International intervention – a global debate

There has been an intense debate on international intervention during the last decade. In this debate, the main issue that has been discussed is the strained relation between the United Nation with its laws on international politics and the extent of states sovereignty. The use of force in interventions versus human rights has also been a main topic in this debate. The essence of the discussion is to define the behaviour of the UN, states and non-governmental actors and what the consequences of their actions are. In this, questions regarding existing or non-existing legal rights of humanitarian intervention, lack of attention to and prioritizations of ethnical aspects, politics in international organisations and difficulties that may occur in interventional actions will be addressed.

In the book *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*, edited by Jennifer M. Welsh, three main subjects in humanitarian intervention are defined. As first, it covers the expansion of international intervention during the last decade, with the 1990's Cold War as a hot spot in this period of time. During the cold war, military actions were a dominated intervention rather than interventions for humanitarian purposes. The conflict between human rights and state sovereignty were explicit. In this conflict, it was questioned if the purpose of states sovereignty was to have control over its territory rather than a responsibility to protect and respect the minimum standards for human rights. It was also questioned if the extent of the first mentioned purpose would be a threat to world peace. In the case of the Cold War, this kind of threat was a fact and therefore the UN became authorized to take actions with or without state approval. There are several negative and positive aspects that can be identified in states before any intervention can be done; states that has achieved complete failure in their state structure, which is common in societies in conflict; the extent of vulnerable groups in the state; the level of the awareness of human rights; the extent of positive international relations; and the ambition for political reformation. These are indicators that the UN and other intervention related actors are considering and evaluates when they are identifying the extent and what kind of interventions that are necessary.

As second, there are now a great tolerance in this matter but it is still an argued issue. This is because of the continued opposition from some member countries in the international association and because of the negative consequences that intervention may have on a state. These consequences involves decreased sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, the affected peoples expectations for help from the international association that may not be achievable, short-term interventions that transforms to unnecessary long-term intervention and consequences from the use of force.

Third, as the two earlier mentioned subjects are pointing out, there are still several aspects that are troubling actions of intervention. To sum up these, international organisations capacity and will to manage intervention is the main issue. Arguments among institutions, mainly regarding economic interests between member countries, are damaging their authority and weakens the ability to stay neutral in global issues.

When analysing the debate on international intervention, three underlying principles is defined – politics, law and ethics, which often determines the actual intervention. During the recent decade some intervening actions has not completely followed the law of humanitarian intervention. When a state does not approve any intervention it is difficult for international actors to maintain respect for these laws and this often occurs in actions where armed force is used. When an evaluation and/or analysis of a certain intervention is made it is most common to look at the consequences of the actions rather than to the purposes of it.¹⁰

Models of intervention

Intervention theories identifies different meanings of intervention in which the context of it decides the meaning. *Humanitarian aid* is the type of intervention where assistance, such as food and water supplies, medical help and such are given to countries that has been exposed by a disaster. This type of intervention usually means that the intervention does not include any military involvement. A second meaning of intervention are *military intervention* where, as the term is referring to armed force or similar coercive involvements in a specific state by outside parties where the state in many cases have not asked for any actions. This type of intervention is most common in the matter of global affairs. The first mentioned meaning, *humanitarian aid* and the second, *military involvement* are in some cases combined and are taking place in the same intervention. This third kind of *humanitarian military intervention* are common in cases where the crisis has occurred as a consequence from war and where the state is refusing intervention and involving armed force against intervening parties themselves. However, some academics are questioning this kind of

10 Welsh J.M. (2004) Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations. Page 1-3

intervention and if they are justified to be combined in one term. What has been established by many is that the purpose of the combined intervention between the two and in what extent the purpose of the intervention is because of humanitarian needs, determines if they are justified to be combined in the same category of intervention. However, this combination can go extremely wrong and turn into a disaster in itself. An example of this is the US actions in Vietnam during the 1950's – 1970's where the US claimed that the purposes of their actions were to protect the Vietnamese people from suffering. Since then, we have learned that this intervention took a negative turn and did not fulfil the purposes of being referred to as a humanitarian intervention, i.e. the military involvement had a greater extent rather than the humanitarian aid involvement. Any interventions shall have the purpose to make peace and protect human rights. It shall lead to greater possibilities for the affected country to achieve development in a right direction and to be able to make their country a safer place to live in. However, in many cases of military intervention, consequences such as further violence is unfortunately a fact. In the book *Ethnics and Foreign intervention, 2003*, the editors explain humanitarian intervention combined with military intervention as following,¹¹

“Furthermore, it cannot literally mean the same thing as 'morally justified', as there is always the logical possibility that some humanitarian interventions may not be morally justified, all things considered, even if motivated by purely humanitarian purposes. In practice 'humanitarian', in the context of military interventions, usually refers to only certain kinds of moral concerns, such as protecting the welfare of some group of people, where this involves preventing widespread human-rights violations, preventing genocide, or preventing mass expulsions”¹²

Theories regarding international intervention will be used as a tool in this essay in order to be able to analyse the outcome of what has happened in Darfur and Burma. If the interventional actions that was taken with its consequences lies in accordance to those theories that has been used.

State sovereignty

It is questioned what kind of responsibility the international community has in the matter of humanitarian violations that is committed within a state and what kind of consequences intervening may have on state sovereignty. In other words, the dilemma between state sovereignty and responsibility remains a great issue in emergency politics.¹³ After the Cold War a promise of a greater approach towards peace in state crisis was given. However, since then, violations in states has increased and the given promise of peace is therefore harder to achieve. Africa has during the

11 Chatterjee D.K. & Scheid D.E. (2003) *Ethnics and Foreign Intervention*. Page 1-3

12 Ibid. Page 3

13 Keren M. & Sylvan D.A. (2002) *International Intervention, Sovereignty versus Responsibility*. Page ix

last decade been suffering from famines, genocides, civil wars, massacres and other disasters and in many of these cases, humanitarian relief effort has been aborted by states. The states within Africa are dependent on both commodity export and overseas aid where the dependency on aid are at a disproportionately level. These facts brings out difficulties to maintain stable politics and economy which often results in state violence. The differences between ethnic groups, religious views, traditions and such in the African countries are most common and the gap between them often worsen the violence. As recent history can confirm, this has been going on for a long time and it is one of the reasons why arguments in African countries is immediately answered with violence. It is because of this that the discussion on whether global governance is the solution to achieve global peace.¹⁴

Discussions on the responsibility of states versus the international association and state sovereignty is an on going discussion and has been a hot topic in global politics during the last decade. The general picture of sovereignty that theories on the subject gives is that states has full power of the people and the land within their boarders and have full responsibility over their domestic jurisdiction. That they only have to follow the laws that they have established and those international laws that they have ratified. This view also include the power of allowance of international intervention. In the matter of the last mentioned point of view, the sovereignty and power of intervention has during recent years weakened. An underlying factor of this is because of a growing globalisation. If a state are taking place in an international context, i.e. on the global market and in the global economy, it is impossible for them not to follow international laws. Therefore, laws within a state is becoming more and more diffuse and weakened. When states insists on maintaining their own laws, which may not correspond with international laws, conflicts in the global politics occurs and the state in question may evolve a defence mechanism. When the power of sovereignty turns a state into an extremely closed country and the interaction between other countries is weak, other states does in many cases not feel responsible to help this kind of state if they were to be exposed by a crisis. Henry Schemers explains this aspect as “*international solidarity*”, in the book *State Sovereignty, and International Governance, 2002*. Furthermore, the international community has no responsibility for the governance of the individuals in a state. Civil services such as police forces, hospitals, schools and to uphold laws in the domestic jurisdiction relies only on the state in question which is a matter of sovereignty. However, if a state is running a governance that goes against human rights and performs humanitarian violations, it is then impossible for the international community, not to interfere. It is because of an increasing number of troubled states with bad governance along with the international communities view on the

14 Ibid. Page 3-9

importance of human rights that state sovereignty nowadays are not that strong in some states – most common in developing countries.¹⁵

In the empirical part of this essay, the actions that was taken in the disaster management process in Darfur and Burma will be addressed with a following analyse where the above mentioned theories on state sovereignty will be used as a tool to investigate whether the actions that was taken has decreased both countries sovereignty or not.

The United Nations and its responsibilities

In the matter of international intervention, the UN and its Security council (UNSC) have a leading role. After the Cold War, the UN's role as a leading organisation increased and it was given great potential to success. From its beginning it was established that the UNSC's main purpose is to protect future generations from war and its consequences. But during recent years their credibility has decreased rapidly. As an example, the US war against Iraq – in this the UN had difficulties to fulfil the purposes that was written in its founding Charter. It is in situations like the Iraqi war that the role of the UN and the UNSC is put on its utmost point. It is now questioned what has happened and what has gone wrong since the expectations and promises that were made after the Cold War. A strained answer to this is because of the UNSC's politics and laws. Regulations and rules that has to be followed and events that demands new methods, which often takes a long time to establish, this, in many cases, weakens their credibility to protect peace.¹⁶

In the Charter of the United Nations, chapter I – Article 1 and 2, with the headline Purposes and Principles (Appendix A), a conclusion of the organisation's purposes is to maintain global peace and to encourage international relations.¹⁷ In Article 2 however, when comparing to the global situation today, it is noticeable that the lack of achievement of what is established in it is a fact.¹⁸

15 Kreijen G. (2002) State, Sovereignty, and International Governance. Page 185-186

16 Fenton N. (2004) Understanding UN Security Council, Coercion or Consent. Page 1-2

17 United Nations (1945). Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice. (2009-12-09)

18 Fenton N. (2004) Understanding UN Security Council, Coercion or Consent. Page 11-12

Empirical Study

Sudan – The Darfur conflict

Following, with the background on Sudan that has been given, this chapter will address the conflict in Darfur that has created a disaster where lives has been taken, whole communities has been ruined and people has been living under life threatening circumstances for several years. What will be addressed is a background on the actual conflict, the governments oppressions against the civilians in Darfur and their war methods. Thereafter, facts on what happened on the global agenda, where the discussion regarding the conflict was focused on followed with an identification on what kind of actions that was taken when the international association finally took actions against the government's long time oppressions against the african-black people, will be given.

To understand the conflict

In 2004, a ceasefire ended a civil war in Sudan that had been going on for approximately 20 years. The negotiations on a peace accord between the Sudanese government and the rebellions did not include the Darfur area. As established in the background chapter of this essay, the negotiations were strictly between the northern Muslim parts and the rebellions in the southern part of Sudan and the aim was to end the 2 decade long civil war. What was not acknowledged by the international associations nor the national authorities were that Darfur wanted to be included in the government and to gain economic development on their land. However, the government in Khartoum was strictly against any involvement from the Darfurians.

To understand the conflict that emerged in Darfur and threatened to ignite the entire region there are several aspects that has to be acknowledge. As the previous chapter that addresses the civil war in Sudan establishes, it is clear that a majority of the government in Khartoum consists mainly with Muslim arabs. Three ethnic groups in Darfur, Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa are mainly African black people who has their roots in slavery and other aspects that the arabs sees as indicators of being less valuable. Some of these Darfurians are like the arabs – Muslims, however according to them, this is not enough for the Darfurians to have a right to be acknowledge in their own country.¹⁹

The Muslim-Arabs war against the African-black people

The governments war efforts constituted three components; the airforce, the military intelligence service and the Janjaweed.²⁰ The Janjaweed is an afro-arab armed force group that has

19 Stern R. & Sundberg A. (2007) *The Devil Came on Horseback*

20 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) *Konfliktens bakgrund*. Page 109

oppressed black africans in Darfur since the 1990's. Their insurgencies in Darfur were based on an aim to have control over the land. The government used the Janjaweed in order to run Darfur according to the arab-Muslim standards. The Janjaweed's insurgencies in Darfur took a great turn in 2002. However, the disturbances in Darfur began much earlier. When the conflict in Darfur were fully acknowledge by the international association, the Janjaweed's insurgencies in Darfur were considered as genocide. Unfortunately, this acknowledgement came to late.

When the opposition in Darfur grew stronger, the government took immediate actions to mobilize their people in Darfur. Musa Hilal, main figure of the Janjaweed, were supported by the government who provided him and his men with arms, ammunition and transportations. In October 2002, the Janjaweed forces made their first strike against the Fur people. In this strike, just as in many of their other actions, men were killed, women raped and children abducted. The villages were burned to the ground and other infrastructure were systematically ruined. In the beginning of 2003, at least 160 civilians had been killed, and in addition this, hundreds of people had been hurt and the same amounts of villages had been destroyed. At this point, the people had no other choice than escape from their villages. This was just the beginning of the Janjaweed actions in Darfur. It was now established that the Janjaweed could act without any hindrances.²¹

The Janjaweed became a paramilitary force with full equipment, provided by the government. The government continuously denied that they supported the Janjaweed. However, it is a fact that they allowed the Janjaweed to burn and rape what ever they wanted to. The Janjaweed on the other hand were honest about their role in the conflict and did not denied any involvements in Darfur. The Janjaweed forces destroyed everything that were essential for the survival of the Darfurian people. What was not able to take were immediately burned down. According to the UN, this was a nightmare imbroglio based on violence and rape and they estimates that between 700-2000 villages has been destroyed wholly or partially.²² General Ibrahim Sulayman, chairman of the committee that president Bashir established to re-establish state governance and security in Darfur, dissuaded the government from using the Janjaweed because of his belief that a mobilisation based on race related opinions would have devastating consequences on the people in Darfur. He believed that the best way to re-establish security in the area were to find a political solution with development programmes supported by the international association. However, the government did not acknowledge his requests. Although they were completely aware of what was going to happen if they used the Janjaweed. In 2003, Musa Hilal moved several thousands of Janjaweed from the southern Darfur up to the northern parts. At this point there were at least six Janjaweed brigades

21 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konflikten's bakgrund. Page 74-75

22 Ibid Page 121

who operated along with the regular forces. Several recruitments for young men to join the governments forces and the Janjaweed had been going on but it was clear that they excluded people from the african tribes. In fact, at some recruitments Masalits were gathered but none of them were recruited and the only reason for them of being gathered were for the government to see how many young Masalit men there were in the area. While more and more guns reached the Janjaweed during October 2003 the pattern of how they used to attack changed. At first, they attacked the rebellions camps but now the target was villages that were placed far away from the rebellions, i.e. the Janjaweeds attacks against the civilians in Darfur increased.²³ In August 2003, 30 people were killed during one day and the UN established that there were no rebellion activities in that area at that time but accepted the governments explanation that the attack was a mistake. The attack was not a mistake, it was directly aimed at civilians, which was confirmed by villagers who escaped the Janjaweeds in that area.²⁴

The regime claimed that the rebellions were criminals but a majority of them were regular farmers who had been driven away from their destroyed homes. Their choices were to escape to Chad and live in refugee camps, stay in Darfur with the risk of being tracked down by the Janjaweed and other troops or leave their families and join the armed rebellions, which were the most common choice. In this period of time, the end of 2003 to the beginning of 2004, several attacks and mass killing were made by the Janjaweed, allied with the intelligence service were both leaders of the SLA were tracked down, brought to police offices and executed, civilians were burned alive and villages were destroyed. The intelligence services purpose with their attacks were to combat the rebellions and the Janjaweed wanted land and chiefdoms. As established earlier, the regime denied any support and cooperation with the Janjaweed. They promised the outside world that they would disarm the Janjaweed and arrest them. However, this never happened. In late august 2004 they arranged a meeting for a representative for UN secretary-general Kofi Annan were the visitors could witness that the Janjaweed surrender their weapons. It took one day for the government to return the Janjaweeds weapons. This kind of way of keeping the governments actions in the dark was now common. At one point, when Kofi Annan himself went to one of the camps that was officially known as one of the worst camps in Darfur, no people were found, it had been emptied the day before but the government claimed that the people had moved to another camp with the explanation that the camp was threatened to get flooded because of the rain season.

In the beginning of 2005, approximately 2 million people had been forced to leave their homes and were chased in to camps with no sufficient humanitarian services that were essential for

23 Ibid Page 109-102

24 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konflikstens bakgrund. Page 114

their survival. In addition to this, 200 000 people were forced to seek protection in Chad. The government used their experience of block, delay, or obstruct relief actions with well-calculated confusing bureaucracy. The government had an obvious underlying will with this humanitarian catastrophe. The voluntary workers had to apply for a specific visa to be able to enter Sudan along with another visa to enter Darfur. In addition to these visas they needed daily permission to travel across the regions. Medical equipments and staff and transportations were often confiscated for investigation by the government, which delayed the relief. The UN accused the governments forces of strategically and intentionally evoke famine. When the government realized that they could no longer refuse the humanitarian relief efforts from the international association they tried to incorporate them in to their military strategy and proposed several programmes that concerned replacements with the claimed purpose to provide the people with protection and humanitarian services. They called it “peace villages”.²⁵

During the whole conflict in Darfur, the government has used their authority and sovereignty in a way that can not be described as anything else but manipulative and abusive. The crimes that has taken place does not need any further investigations. The government has done everything to keep their actions in the dark. News reports that were sent from the area was immediately drawn back and it was common that journalists were captured and assaulted. Newspapers were withdrawn and TV-channels were shut down. Even the parliament were forbidden to discuss the situation in Darfur and when the government could no longer refuse intervention, the Sudanese people were told to keep silence. The secrecy was one of the most important things in the governments war actions.²⁶

The international association – genocide or not?

The African Unions (AU) defence force has a leading role in the matter of the conflict in Darfur. In 2007, their forces had increased from 3000 men to 12000 but the UN submitted the case of Darfur to the International Criminal Court (ICC) and has approved some sanctions that stands in the way for the AU as well as other actors to achieve peace making.

Darfur needed a peace keeping force and the AU was assigned to provide with this in april 2004. It was then, in May 2004, that the situation in Darfur was at the AU's agenda for the first time. After this, the AU became peace mediators in Darfur. Their troop reached the area in only six weeks. However, their troops was overall just a small group of men, estimated with approximately 3000 men and they did not had enough equipments that was needed to perform the work that was necessary in the area. It also took a long time before this deficiency were to become replaced with

25 Ibid. Page 116-122

26 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konfliktens bakgrund. Page 122-123

full capacity. The government in Chad had started negotiations on ceasefire between the Sudanese government and the rebellions, which only lead to a few successes. During the AU meetings in April 2004, the government in Chad proposed that they should attend at these meetings. However, their involvements in this delayed the mediations. This was because of the Chad attendees language difficulties. Something that the Sudanese government took advantage of. Other attendees at these meetings, mainly those who were a part of any Arabic coalition, did everything they could to obstruct the mediations. While this was going on, the Janjaweed and other governmental troops were ravaging freely in Darfur.²⁷ It was a fact that the AU did not have nearly as much resources to make peace in Darfur as the US, Britain and Norway used in the negotiations between the southern and northern Sudanese to end the 2 decade civil war. It was now questioned why the same competence and resource that was used then was not at place in Darfur.²⁸

In 2005 acted the international association just as confusing and unclear as they had done since the beginning of the Darfur conflict. In the end of 2005, the UN Emergency Relief Coordinator estimated that 10 000 people died each month and people in Darfur become victims for diseases, famine and such.

In the beginning of 2004, Mukesh Kapila, the UN's representative in Khartoum said that the situation in Darfur was the worst humanitarian catastrophe in the world. It was not until 5 months after Kapila's statement that the question of Darfur was introduced in the Security Council. After his statement Kapila did not get his employment renewed and there were members among the UN that were relieved by this. They saw him as drastic and were afraid of his confrontations. It seemed as if the international association did not want to acknowledge the extent of the situation. When the African Union espoused the matter of Darfur, the Security Council were relieved and adapted the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations – The Brahimi Report. This report was made in 2000 by Lakhdar Brahimi which states that it is first of all the regional organisations that shall be responsible for conflicts in their nation. The UN therefore handed over the Darfur matter to the AU. However, the AU could not achieve any successes in the conflict if they did not get help from western countries. Unfortunately, the US, Britain and Norway, were still focused on the war between the south and the north. The UN and the western government had spoken in public about the situation in Darfur but their real actions were few. A wide range of other difficulties stood in the way for the UN to make any approaches in Sudan. For example, if they would have issued a weapon embargo against the Sudanese Army, they would meet resistance from Russia who sells MiG planes to Khartoum. An other way was to forbid Sudan to export their oil but this would

27 Ibid. Page 125-127

28 Ibid. Page 133

immediately be stopped by China who was the biggest investors in the Sudanese oilfields. The Security Council passed resolution 1556 in June 2004 where the main demands were for the Janjaweed to be unarmed, that their leaders should be arrested and that humanitarian relief efforts should have free entrance to the area at all time. All of this was supposed to be achieved during thirty days but it was up until that point clear, that a military intervention with purpose to disarm the Janjaweed was impossible. This approach had been tried before, without any success. Therefore UN envoys in Sudan, who acknowledged that this approach was going to be unsuccessful, introduced other goals to the Sudanese government and these goals should have been achieved after ninety days. The thirty days that Resolution 1556 had set up went by, also the ninety days for the new approach, still the government had only made it easier for the humanitarian organisations to enter Darfur. Negotiations between the AU and the government were at the agenda during the whole year of 2004 and the government promised that they should withdraw their troops several times, but yet again they continued to bomb and attack civilians as well as the continuous movement of the Janjaweed. The government also made statements where they made it clear for the international association that they would interrupt the ongoing peace process regarding the 2 decade civil war in Sudan if the association went out to hard regarding the situation in Darfur. Which forced the main actors in the civil war negotiation not to prioritize Darfur.

One of the underlying main factors on why the UN and the rest of the international association acted as confused and unclear as established in this chapter is because of the legal difficulties regarding whether or not the situation in Darfur was justified to be called genocide.²⁹

In the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide the definition of genocide shall be as following:

“In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such”³⁰

What this establishes is that it is the intentions of the person/persons who performs the killing that determines whether or not the situation can be defined as genocide, i.e. facts is not enough evidence.³¹ In addition to this, the seventh chapter of the UN charter establishes that;

“The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other

29 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konflikstens bakgrund. Page 133-141

30 The United Nations (1948) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (2009-12-16)

31 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konflikstens bakgrund. Page 138

means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations”³²

This means that the UN does not, legally, have any obligations to introduce military intervention in a situation where the appearance of genocide is argued. The Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which Khartoum had signed, only demands that those who are suspected for performing any crime shall be prosecuted and punished if they were to be found guilty. In the end of January 2005, The International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur (ICID), a commission that was established by the UN with the purpose to investigate the situation in Darfur, released a rapport where they confirmed the violence pattern that the government had been using and what in fact, already had been established by the US Department of State when their Minister for Foreign Affairs, Colin Powel, in september 2004 who said that,³³

“Genocide has been committed in Darfur. The government of Sudan and the Janjaweed bear responsibility and that genocide may still be occurring.”³⁴

However, the ICID did not found any evidence that proved that intentional killing from the central governments side had been going on in Darfur. The attacks did not proved that the intentions were to annihilate one specific group, which according to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide determines if the situation can be defined as genocide. Nevertheless, some specific employees in the government were accused of a possible intention of performing genocide but this could only be confirmed in an accurate international court of justice. However, genocide or not, what could be confirmed is that the actions that took place in Darfur could be classified as war crime and violence against human rights and the line between this and genocide where thin and obscure. In the same month as the ICID released their report, January 2005, the CPA peace agreement regarding the former civil war was finally signed.³⁵

After Colin Powels statement regarding the committed genocide in Darfur, the House Concurrent resolution 467 was declared and thereafter passed on July 22 that same year. The resolution declares that genocide had been committed according to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and that the government of Sudan had violated the convention. Thereafter, the US decided to provide with \$70 million in assistance for the humanitarian crisis in Sudan and an additional \$25 million for the refugee camps in the are and in

32 The United Nations (1945). Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice. (2009-12-17)

33 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konfliktens bakgrund. Page 137-141

34 PBS. (2004) Powell declares killing in Darfur 'Genocide' (2009-12-17)

35 Flint J. & de Waal A. (2007) Konfliktens bakgrund. Page 137-141

Chad.³⁶ In addition to this, later that year, they provided the African Union with \$75 million in order for them to be able to continue their peacekeeping operation in the region and an additional \$18 million to the earlier given \$70 million in humanitarian assistance. These efforts would be put in to action in 2005. Later on in 2004 the president of the United States signed the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004 and it was made into law. The act establishes that humanitarian assistance in the region of Darfur and Chad are now authorized to address the extent of the crisis and that the US president should implement sanctions against Sudan in order to protect peace.³⁷

In September 2006, the House Resolution 723 passed, which called for the international association to take immediate actions to ensure civil protection in Darfur. It also calls for the Sudanese government to obey the UN Security Council and to end the military actions in the region, disarm the Janjaweed and not to disturb the UN employees in the area. A US civilian force was also proposed to be present at the area during the meantime. Resolutions like this were constantly passed with initiations from the US ever since their first declaration of the committed genocide. During 2007 and 2008, the US called upon help from the international association and wanted them to support the peacekeeping operation in Darfur with necessary equipments so that the African Union were to be able to finish their work in the region.³⁸

The Darfur conflict was, by people worldwide, seen as the biggest humanitarian crisis at that time. After the outbreak of it the discussions on how the UN and the AU would cooperate and what actions they should take. The expectations on the UN to take actions, intervene and use their advantages to obtain peace, grew stronger. What the surrounding world wanted is for the UN along with the rest of the international association, to make sure that a crisis like the Rwanda genocide would never happen again. Unfortunately, it took the UN over three years to meet the AU in their struggle to achieve peace in Darfur. Nevertheless, with or without help from the UN, the AU made some progresses in the area, e.g. to block and disturb the Janjawees in their killing, despite a great lack of resources, which constantly stood in the way for them to achieve any further goals.

International intervention – taking real actions

In 2005 the United Nation estimated that the Darfur conflict has affected one third of the population. The response from the international association has, ever since the rising of the conflict in 2003, been weak – especially in the initial phase of it. As established in recent parts of this chapter, this is because of the governments hard restrictions of interventions and the confusing discussions among the international association, nonetheless – the UN. However, when the outside

36 Save Darfur (2004-2009) Passed Legislation (2009-12-20)

37 The Senate of the United States (2004) Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004 (2009-12-20)

38 [Save Darfur \(2004-2009\) Passed Legislation \(2009-12-20\)](#)

world decided to take real actions against the government and pressured them to allow intervention, engagement among international organisations increased and the government was forced to end their refusals. Even though the engagement and the involvement from organisations increased, the security in Darfur continued to be extremely hard to coop with. At the same time as the intervention increased, the violence also increased, which meant that the relief efforts continued to be insufficient.³⁹

Figure 1 Estimated number of IDPs and the total affected population (OCHA, 2005,1)

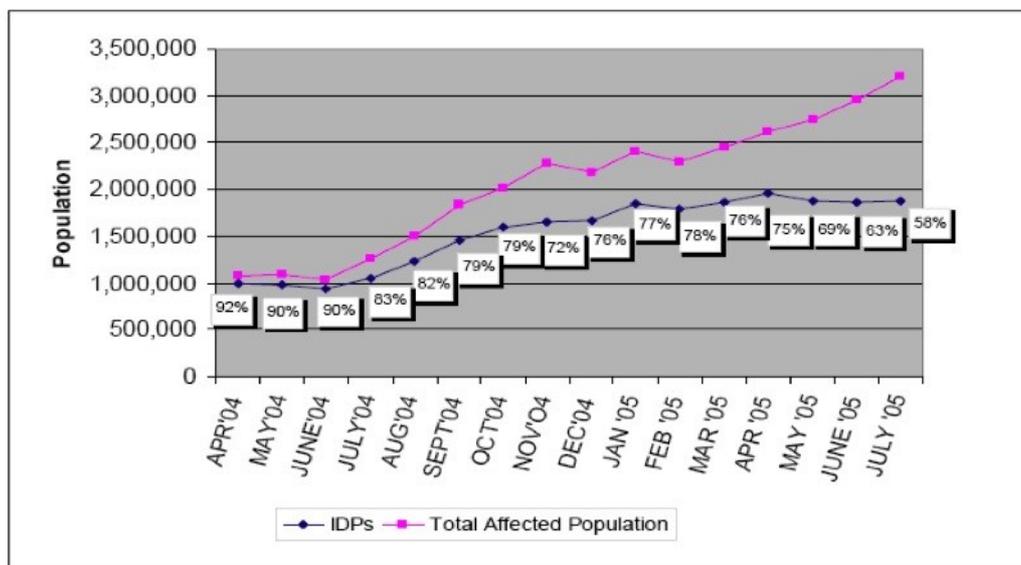


Figure 1: Source: WHO & Federal Ministry of Health (2005) Mortality survey among Internally Displaced Persons and other affected populations in Greater Darfur, Sudan. Page 9

As the figure above establishes, the people who was affected by the crisis increased rapidly during just one year between 2004 and 2005. It was now time for the surrounding world to set up and implement concrete disaster management programmes.⁴⁰

When the international association finally took real actions against the government and started their humanitarian operations in the area their main focus was to stabilise the situation for the affected people and ensure their safety. This would be achieved with concrete humanitarian aid and disaster management where focus in general would lie on food, shelter and water and sanitation. In countries like Sudan, the most vulnerable groups are women and children. Because of the countries long history of war, women and children's conditions was already hard and during the conflict, the conditions for those in Darfur decreased even more. Even though the international associations relief efforts had some great successes, the matter of women's and children's

39 UNICEF (2008) Sudan – Darfur – overview (2009-12-20)

40 WHO & Federal Ministry of Health (2005) Mortality survey among Internally Displaced Persons and other affected populations in Greater Darfur, Sudan

circumstances remains a great issue. During the conflict, the mortality rate among children under five years old increased rapidly but in 2007 it had decreased to 0,67, almost 0,4 from what it was estimated in 2004.⁴¹

Figure 2 Affected population accessible to UN humanitarian aid (ibidem)

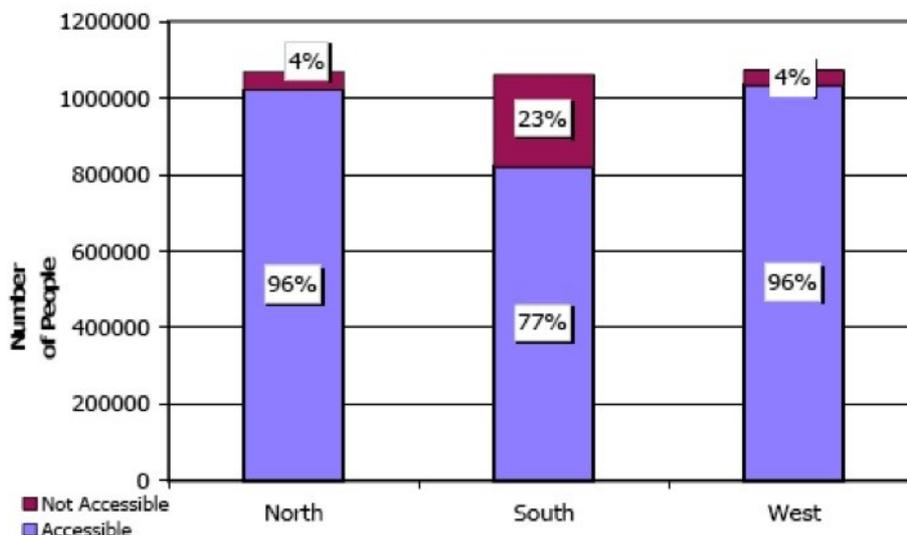


Figure 2: Source: WHO & Federal Ministry of Health (2005) Mortality survey among Internally Displaced Persons and other affected populations in Greater Darfur, Sudan. Page 10

The figure above establishes that in 2005, after serious actions was taken, many of the affected people had access to the UN's provided humanitarian aid. However, as the middle bar shows, only 77 % of the affected people in the southern areas of Darfur had access to assistance, unfortunately the most populated area in Darfur.⁴²

In 2007, 3 million of the affected people was able to access health services and the access to water had increased to 76 %. However, in 2008, some internally displaced persons camps (IDPs) was still reporting that they had lack of water supplies. In that same year, they also reported that the violence against both civilians and humanitarian aid workers among the camps was still a great issue. Since the attacks includes the humanitarian aid workers, organisations, which workers has been attacked, answered with reductions of their provision of water and food and among other supplies. This left the civilians to more suffering, however, organisations can not promise that their assistance will be accurate if they are not able to operate during safe circumstances. In 2007, the malnutrition rates In Darfur reached 16,1 %, which is far above what is estimated as an malnutrition emergency. The nutritional situation in the area was during 2006 and 2008 hard to coop with.

41 UNICEF (2008) Sudan – Darfur – overview (2009-12-20)

42 WHO & Federal Ministry of Health (2005) Mortality survey among Internally Displaced Persons and other affected populations in Greater Darfur, Sudan

Because of this, the shortfall of food stock worsened the humanitarian circumstances in the affected areas.⁴³ An Emergency Food and Security Assessment, presented by the World Food Programme, the Food and Agriculture Organisation and UNICEF revealed that the food security situation in the area was at an extremely high level, which was most truly to evolve in to a famine catastrophe. In 2005, it was estimated that 465 000 households was in need of agriculture assistances along with continued food aid, since many of the affected people can not survive without the provision of food and the numbers of those people were about to increase. Priorities on water and sanitation remained to be one of the most important part in the operation. In 2005, it was estimated that 60 % of those living both inside the camps and outside the camps did not had access to safe drinking water and an additional 70 % was not able to manage excreta disposal and such due to lack of sanitation supplies. Since the spreading of diseases like malaria increased rapidly, some priorities would lie on a stabilisation of the immunisation of it. Since the troubling circumstances in the IDP camps, supplies for shelter and other non-food items was inadequate, it was therefore necessary for the international association to make sure that the provision and distribution became more stabilised.⁴⁴ As established in this chapter, the priorities of relief efforts would lie on food, water and sanitation, shelter and non-food items where approximately 2,2 million people was in need of this. In 2004, the WFP with its partners distributed food to approximately 600 000 people, however, during the distributions of it several disturbances occurred, which delayed the operations. That same year, the WFP estimated that the affected peoples needs for food reached almost 35 000 metric tonnes for each month. The UN distributed shelter supplies to 90 % of the affected people. UNICEF and NGO's were in charge of the nutritional supplies, where the affected children's needs was the first priority.⁴⁵

SUMMARY BY PROGRAMME CATEGORY		
ASSISTANCE CATEGORY	TOTAL (US\$)	PROJECTS
Humanitarian Action	600,955,451	55
Recovery	19,555,066	21
Development	840,000	3
TOTAL	621,350,517	79

Figure 3: Source: United Nations and Partners (2005). Work plan for Sudan 2005 Page 101

The figure above (Figure 3) shows a summary on how many projects and how much money that was used in the United Nations with its partners operations in 2005. It is clear that the need for humanitarian assistance to ensure health was at a high level at this point. This can also be confirmed with the numbers shown in the figure below (Figure 4) where the most amount of money was spent

43 UNICEF (2008) Sudan – Darfur – overview (2009-12-20)

44 The United Nations and Partners (2005). Work plan for Sudan 2005 Page 98-102

45 The United Nations (2004) Fact Sheet Humanitarian Assistance for Darfur, Sudan (2009-12-22)

on the provision of food and the provision of health assistance had the highest amount of implemented projects.⁴⁶

SUMMARY BY SECTOR		
SECTOR	TOTAL (US\$)	PROJECTS
Education and Training	20,664,398	7
Food Aid	368,079,183	1
Food Security and Livelihoods	18,246,063	8
Health	35,848,642	25
Multisector Support for Return and Reintegration	22,742,000	4
Nutrition	4,427,946	2
Protection	33,427,688	19
Shelter and Non-food Items	47,942,841	2
Water and Environmental Sanitation	45,274,987	4
Coordination and Common Services	24,696,769	7
TOTAL	621,350,517	79

Figure 4: Source: United Nations and Partners (2005). Work plan for Sudan 2005 Page 101

Up until now, in 2009, the conflict in Darfur has continued. In May, approximately 137 000 people had been moved from their original camps because of a never ending conflict between the government and the rebellions. Some of those international organisation who was encouraged to assist in Darfur is now longer involved, which has lead to a lack of provision of disaster management provision and relief efforts. This have had tremendous consequences on the affected people. Millions of people who is in need for food assistance, health services, water and sanitation and non-food items has been unable to receive this because of the removal of NGO's. In fact, in many affected areas there are no longer any workers at place at all.⁴⁷

What has been portrayed in this part of this essay is the conflict that has been taken place in Darfur, which has put a large group of people in several life threatening situations. Still, on this day, news reports are yet again, after having said that the conflict is going towards its end, saying that the suffering in the area has not stopped and that the two decade civil war between the southern and the northern part of Sudan is yet again an on going fact. After several similar conflicts during recent history, Rwanda as an example, we said – this can not happened again, but yet here we are again.

46 The United Nations and Partners (2005). Work plan for Sudan 2005 Page 98-102

47 The United Nations and Partners (2005). Work plan for Sudan 2005 Page 98-102

Burma – Cyclone Nargis

In this following chapter a whole different kind of disaster will be portrayed. It will address what happened in Burma, also known as Myanmar, when Cyclone Nargis struck Burma in 2008. In the initial phase of the disaster, the international association decided to initiate some disaster assistance to the affected area. However, since the extent of Burma's secluded situation towards the surrounding world and because of other factors such as a hard controlling junta, several disturbances stood in the way for the international association to intervene in the area and help those in need. All of this will be explained in the following text.

Burma – decades of isolation

The governments refusals of international intervention has had a great impact on the people living in the country. Their health, economy, social conditions etcetera continuously affects their life standards. Before, Burma was a large exporter of rice on the global market, however, the oppressions and insurgencies performed by the government, caused by civil wars and such has made it impossible for them to maintain their role in the global market. The consequences of the military regimes actions has left the population to famine and malnutrition. There are only a few organisations that are allowed to intervene in the area, the World Food Programme among them. Every operation that any organisation, allowed in the country or not, has to follow the governments restrictions and strategies, measurements, reports and such has to be cleared before they can be carried through. These kind of behaviours is sometimes responded with suspensions of international organisations ongoing programmes in such closed countries as Burma, rather than cooperate with the government in order to reach agreements. However, these responses has turned out in to further suffering among the civilians. Decisions regarding intervention in countries where the government refuses help from the international association is a continuous difficult discussion on the global political agenda. Authorities refusals of aid has through out history, in most cases, only developed even more suffering.⁴⁸

During the second and the third day in May 2008, a cyclone swept across Burma and almost devastated two towns. Some aid workers at place considered the cyclone to be even harder to manage than the 2004 Tsunami even though it affected a smaller area than the tsunami did. This is because the wide range of difficulties that was disturbing the relief efforts after the cyclone. Not only was the area in Burma extremely hard to reach, also, the government in Burma is based on a military regime who, as established before, continuously keeps Burma isolated from the outside

48 Conor Foley, The Guardian (2008) Amid such carnage, political concerns must come second (2009-12-19)

world. Such interventions that took place in the 2004 Tsunami is therefore hard to accomplish in such a country. During the relief efforts that took place after Cyclone Nargis, the government controlled all work that was performed and provided by international actors. It did not take that long before the government allowed international intervention, however their suspiciousness against foreign organisations was high. They used several ways of controlling work and incoming supplies, fees had to be paid before anything could be imported to the country, they also did not allowed aid workers to intervene freely in the area and was not allowed to operate at all in some parts of the affected region. None of the international authorities wanted to push the government to hard since it could lead to further conflicts or total refusals of intervention. Therefore, it was important for them to involve locals in the relief efforts and to see if there was supplies available in those areas that was not affected.⁴⁹ Even though the government and the organisations would come to an understanding, the recent civil wars has resulted in separations of areas where each part consists of its own fief with local leaders. This means that when organisations want to assist an area, further allowance from the local leaders is needed. In addition to this, the man-made disasters leaves them incapable of dealing with natural disasters⁵⁰

The disaster hits Burma

When the cyclone had struck, Rangoon and Irrawaddy in the southwestern coastal part of Burma was declared as the main disaster regions, where the coastal region of Irrawaddy was damaged the most. At this point, infrastructure, power and electricity, communication lines, buildings and such was under severe damage. At first, it was difficult to estimate the consequences of the disaster, how many people that died, went missing, houses that had been destroyed and such. After 2-3 days, state authorities estimated that up to 10 000 people had died and an additional 3000 people were missing in the Irrawaddy region and the global media estimated that around 23 000 people had died and 40 000 people were missing. With this, hundreds of thousands were at this point without safe drinking water and shelter.⁵¹

49 Julian Borger, The Guardian (2008) The devil's in the details - agencies deal with the junta (2009-12-20)

50 Conor Foley, The Guardian (2008) Amid such carnage, political concerns must come second (2009-12-19)

51 Ibid. (2009-12-19)

Summarized Table of Natural Disasters in Myanmar for 2008

		# of Events	Killed	Total Affected	Damage 000 US\$)
Storm	Tropical cyclone	1	138,366	2,420,000	4,000,000
	ave. per event		138,366	2,420,000	4,000,000

Figure 5: Source: EM-DAT. The International Disaster Database (2009-12-17)

The figure above (Figure 5) is showing a summary of disasters that occurred in Burma during the year of 2008. What is shown is that there was only one natural disaster that year – Cyclone Nargis. The figures below (Figure 6&7) shows the top ten natural disaster that has killed and affected Burmas population during the whole 20th century and up until now. In both figures, the same date is shown – 2 May 2009, i.e. Cyclone Nargis. They also shows that a majority of the natural disasters that hits Burma and has the highest rates of occurred deaths and affected people are storms. In the first table that shows numbers of killed people, the gap between the top one and top two is very large, which can confirm the extent of the disaster, its consequences and that the people was in great need of help from both their own government and from the international association.⁵²

⁵² EM-DAT. The International Disaster Database (2009-12-17)

Top 10 Natural Disasters in Myanmar
for the period 1900 to 2009
sorted by numbers of killed:

Disaster	Date	No Killed
Storm	2-May-2008	138,366
Storm	19-May-1926	2,700
Storm	10-May-1968	1,070
Storm	21-Apr-1936	1,000
Storm	4-May-1902	600
Earthquake (seismic activity)	5-May-1930	500
Storm	19-May-2004	236
Storm	May-1975	200
Storm	23-Oct-1967	178
Storm	23-Oct-1965	100

Figure 6: Source: EM-DAT. The International Disaster Database (2009-12-17)

Top 10 Natural Disasters in Myanmar
for the period 1900 to 2009
sorted by numbers of total affected people:

Disaster	Date	No Total Affected
Storm	2-May-2008	2,420,000
Flood	15-Jul-1974	1,400,000
Storm	23-Oct-1965	500,000
Flood	13-Jul-1991	359,976
Flood	Jun-1976	200,000
Storm	21-Apr-1936	150,000
Flood	21-Aug-1997	137,418
Storm	17-May-1978	132,000
Storm	16-May-1967	130,200
Flood	6-Jul-2007	101,920

Figure 7: Source: EM-DAT. The International Disaster Database (2009-12-21)

Approximately 50% of Burma's total population are living in the areas where Cyclone Nargis

swept over. There are over 6,5 million people living in the Irrawaddy, which make the town Burma's heaviest populated area. The area does also hold many important natural resources that has a great contribution to the countries economy. These factors makes the area that got struck even more vulnerable since the consequences of a natural disaster may have a great effect on the whole country. The severe damages on the agriculture in the region, which many of the people are depending on for their survival, resulted in an urgent demand for assistance so that a rehabilitation could be started as soon as possible. Other parts of the affected areas are semi-rural, urban and peri-urban, where the last mentioned society is populated with a wide range of poor people. The population in Burma are in general quite young which means that many of those who are affected are children.⁵³

In the initial phase of the disaster, the government was not able to get full contact and reach the surrounding islands and villages located in the lower areas because of the flooding that occurred because of the cyclone. The OCHA established that 95 % of those villages that is located in some coastal areas of Irrawaddy had been destroyed by the cyclone. It was not only because of the flooding that the government and other organisations had difficulties to reach the lower areas, communications, telecommunications, roads and such was also destroyed which made it almost impossible for them to provide assistance those the affected people.⁵⁴

International intervention – humanitarian aid

It did not take long before the relief efforts arrived to the area. 10 assessment teams was immediately sent to the affected areas, initiated by UNICEF, Myanmar Red Cross Society (MRCS) and the ICRC. In the initial phase of the disaster, the MRCS got support from the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) with sufficient relief supplies and with \$189 000 to facilitate their relief efforts. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a political and economic association with 10 countries from the south-eastern parts of Asia, gathered their members and decided to take immediate actions in the disaster even though the government in Burma had not asked for their help. By the 7th of May countries like Thailand, India, Italy, Japan, Bangladesh and China had been either in the area with relief efforts or had sent supplies such as tents, health kits, water supplies, first-aid kits and such. Other larger organisations were also involved in the relief efforts at an early stage. The World Food Programme provided with food, such as energy biscuits, which was distributed by NGO's at place. The availability of safe drinking water had decreased rapidly and many organisations worked together in order to solve that issue, this with e.g. water purifiers and other solutions. The spreading of infectious diseases was now at high risk

53 The United Nations (2008) Myanmar. Tropical Cyclone Nargis Flash Appeal. Page 1

54 USAID (2008) Burma – Cyclone Fact Sheet #1, Fiscal Year (FY)

and organisations had to take actions immediately. There was a great concern on whether or not a wide spreading of measles would take place in the area since some village did not have adequate access to vaccine. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) initiated a HIV, tuberculosis and malaria control programme and engaged health staff in the area to coop with this programme in order to prevent further spreading. The IOM cooperated with the Ministry of Health and received funds, medical supplies and other essential survival kits from UNICEF and WHO, among others. Since the spreading of diseases were at such high risk, the morbidity and mortality rate increased rapidly. Not only is diseases and insufficient access to needs for survival a threat to those affected in a disaster. As an example, the rate of how many orphans there are in the area should now increase since many children would loose their families to the disaster. This does not only lead to long-term issues, it also cause additional difficulties in the work during the aftermath in the disaster, where the maintenance of sustainable camps becomes at risk. The main priorities in the initial phase after the cyclone was for people to get access to safe drinking water and to have shelter. Other critical needs was expected to be cooking supplies, mosquito protection, health kits and food. As established, because of economic instability and such, the food security in the country were already severe and after the disaster it then became even more acute. However, all of the above given facts of what needs that were necessary to help the Burmese with, it was difficult for the assistance to be able to get to the affected area since a big part of transportation and other communication related infrastructure was damaged. National efforts were coordinated by the Burmese government who initiated a disaster management plan and some parts of them are leading the relief response. Their work is supported by the UN who engaged the Humanitarian Country Team (HCT) to take actions. The HCT is composed by national and international actors who was divided in to different clusters, each divided in to different sectors. Strategies in each sector was set up and were to be achieved by each cluster. Following establishes briefly which main objectives that was set up in the initial phase of the disaster;

Sector – Water and Sanitation

- Assess the extent of the damages in the area and what kind of assistance that was needed.
- To make sure that the affected people had adequate access to safe drinking water, water supplies and water sanitation.
- Ensure safe hygiene and provide with hygiene supplies, establish rehabilitation strategies for the facilities in the area and to set up facilities that was designed in accordance to each affected groups needs, e.g. separate facilities for women.
- Make sure that the waste treatment was safe

Sector – Health

- To reduce the morbidity and mortality among the affected
- Ensure that health care was coordinated and that sufficient assistance were at place and available to the affected
- Put up prevention strategies for disease breakouts and take actions in the matter of disease control.

Sector – Shelter

- Ensure that emergency shelters were at place with provision of survival items
- Maintain adequate distribution of supplies, such as tents, blankets, kitchen sets, stoves and such.

Sector – Logistic

- To provide accurate coordination to the humanitarian assistance workers at place
- Manage information and make sure that it reaches all involved parts
- Ensure that relief that was sent to Burma would be distributed to where it was supposed to be and to be able to provide equipments that was needed to achieve correct distribution

Sector – Telecommunications

- Facilitate work and costs for telecommunication agencies
- Ensure that the telecommunication with its data and other communications was effective, transferred between agencies and available for the whole community.
- Set up strategies and coordinate work so that duplication and unnecessary expenditures was avoided

Sector – Food

- As priority number one, meet the most affected peoples needs for food.
- Ensure adequate distribution of each different meal
- Make sure that field staff was at place and that the distribution of each meal was well coordinated, correct delivered and that the quantity and the quality of the food was kept under constant observation.

Sector – Nutrition

- Assess the situation and make measurements on existing needs
- Ensure that nutrition intake among infants and young children was safe
- Provide the affected people with nutritional supplements
- Identify vulnerable groups and meet their nutritional needs
- Maintain communication and cooperation

Sector – Education

- Coordinate post-disaster re-establishment of education
- Make sure that school areas were to be clear and safe when the children would return to school;
- If the area would not be safe when the children was about to return, temporary educational places has to be provided
- Prioritize focus – 1) primary school, 2) middle and high school
- Learning packages and other tutorial supplements would be provided

Sector – Child Protection

- Coordinate child protection mechanisms
- Assess needs in the affected areas with focus women and children
- Coordinate family tracing and reunification, prevent further separations, offer psychosocial support and keep children safe from any kind of abuse or unsafe place.

Sector – Early recovery

- Stabilise the area and build up opportunities for the affected people to avoid further collapses
- Facilitate the transitional period between relief and self-support
- Cooperate and communicate with locals
- Implement recovery frameworks, strategies and programmes⁵⁵

Cluster	Cluster Lead
Water/Sanitation	UNICEF
Health	WHO
Emergency Shelter	IFRC
Logistics	WFP
Food Assistance	WFP
Agriculture	FAO
Nutrition	UNICEF
Emergency Telecommunications	WFP
Emergency Education	UNICEF and Save the Children
Child Protection	UNICEF
Early Recovery	UNDP

Figure 8: Source: *The United Nations (2008) Myanmar. Tropical Cyclone Nargis Flash Appeal. Page 10*

As established, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), Burma's ruling junta, accepted intervention from the international association but when the assistance arrived to the affected areas, the SPDC did not cooperate with the organisations as they had promised. In addition to this, although the junta was informed by surrounding countries that the disaster would strike them, they did not inform their whole population. The junta on the other hand claimed that they did inform the population. Not only did they not cooperate with the international assistance, their own humanitarian efforts were focused on areas where members of their party lived. Other areas were left out without little help or no help at all.

At first, some countries urged the international association to intervene in Burma although they did not have the government's approval. They claimed that non-intervening would go against UN resolutions, where it says that the UN has the obligations to protect a nation if the government in it is not able or willing to do so. However, to approach the government with confrontations rather than negotiations can have additional consequences on the population. The UN therefore claimed that the best way of intervening is to support the government with relief efforts and give them the responsibility to protect their people. A week after the cyclone, the international association pledged aid that was worth more than \$32 million.⁵⁶

What has been portrayed in this part of this essay is the natural disaster that struck Burma in

⁵⁵ The United Nations (2008) Myanmar. Tropical Cyclone Nargis Flash Appeal. Page 11-34

⁵⁶ USAID (2008) Burma – Cyclone Fact Sheet #1, Fiscal Year (FY)

2008 where the assistance was able to reach the affected area in just a few days which have had a great impact on the outcome of the disaster and several lives could be spared because of the successes in the disaster management process. The part also establishes that the state refusals that was given by the government constituted a great threat against the efforts that was taken by the international association. As a conclusion of what happened, it is clear that the intervention strategies that was taken in Burma had much greater successes than those that was taken in Darfur. However, it may not be appropriate to compare these disasters and expect that the outcome of an initiated intervention model would be the same. This will be analysed and discussed in the following chapters of this essay.

Result

- In the Darfur conflict a mixture of the different intervention models were used. At first, negotiations and some *humanitarian military intervention* was used, where the African Union used military mechanisms in order to protect humanitarian aid workers that was provided from some actors from the international association. Negotiations has had a significant role throughout the whole intervention process. No military interventions that can be compared with those in the US Iraqi war was used.

- The intervention model has been “diffuse” but it can, in general be identified as a *humanitarian military intervention* with emphasis on aid.

- When Cyclone Nargis struck Burma, actions was taken quite fast and the international association could provide the affected people with relief in the initial phase after the disaster's occurrence. In comparison with the Darfur conflict, no significant military actions was taken in the operations.

- The intervention model that was used is clear and can be identified as a *humanitarian aid* with support from military forces where they was a part of the humanitarian assistance operations.

- Complete *military intervention* has, according to recent history, shown itself of being an indicator to further conflicts.
- When real interventional actions are taken and emphasis lies on the implementation of humanitarian assistance, relief efforts are, according to recent history, more likely to succeed.

- *Humanitarian aid intervention* is the most effective model of intervention with, **if needed**, some support from military forces (*humanitarian military intervention*), which has to be executed in a civilized manner in order to prevent any offensive actions from the government in question. It is important not to pressure the government too forcefully. As the theoretical part of this essay establishes, with the United States actions in Vietnam during the 1950's-1970's as an example, a combination of *humanitarian aid intervention* and *military intervention* might lead to a disaster in itself. The purposes of the intervention has to be cleared and followed – protection of those in need with humanitarian help comes first!

- States that refuses international intervention are often in some kind of conflict where, e.g., parts of the population are being oppressed by the government. Refusals of

interventions is therefore most likely to result in further suffering for the civilians.

- Those who suffered in Darfur were those who was the main target in the alleged and thereafter proved genocide – African-black people

- Those who suffered in Burma in the post-disaster period, besides those who were directly affected when the disaster struck the area, was those who did not lived in the parts that was favoured by the government since adequate assistance did not reach those areas.

- In order to keep state sovereignty it is important to have continuous negotiations with the government in question. Such communication will also prevent further conflicts.

Analysis

Intervention models – the best way of intervening?

Each disaster and each affected area has to be identified at all time before any disaster management can be sent to an area in order for the assistance to be accurate. It is therefore the unique situation in itself that determines the intervention. However, some intervention models has shown itself of being, in general, more effective. It is clear that if assistance can reach the disaster affected area in an initial phase, the situation will most likely be easier to handle. It is because of this that the intervention model, *humanitarian aid* is the most effective one since its key actions is to send humanitarian needs such as food, water, shelter and such supplies. Since focus lies on these provisions, people who are suffering will more likely survive the disaster. However, in the matter of Burma and Darfur, other ways of intervention was necessary. The disaster in Darfur was man-made and was a result of the governments violences and oppressions against some groups of their population. In Burma, where the disaster was not man-made, there was some behaviours from the government – the junta – who constituted a threat against the disaster management. It is because of such armed threats, that the *humanitarian aid* intervention might not be the most effective one.

In addition to the three intervention models – *humanitarian aid*, *military intervention* and *humanitarian military intervention* – there are some surrounding ways that can be seen as intervention; e.g. economic sanctions. Economic sanctions might however lead to further suffering for those in need if supplies that are necessary for their survival were to be withdrawn. In the matter of Darfur, such intervention was suggested to be implemented, however, economic interests forced the international association not to implement such intervention. One other part of each intervention model is the negotiation process. In the matter of Burma, such intervention was performed which was one of the determine factors to why the humanitarian aid could reach the affected people. It is very important not to pressure a state that refuses intervention since this might lead to further conflicts. In the matter of Darfur, no significant negotiations was performed. It could either not be performed because of the governments unwillingness to cooperate or because of the international associations unwillingness to cooperate which a government with such behaviour. It can be questioned what would had happened if a larger extent of negotiations and compromises between the international association had been performed. On the other hand, is it really ethically right to compromise with a government with that kind of behaviour.⁵⁷

57 Chatterjee D.K. & Scheid D.E. (2003) *Ethnicity and Foreign Intervention*. Page 1-3

According to the empirical part of this essay, the intervention model that was used in Darfur is hard to identify. However, it can in general be identified as a *humanitarian military intervention* where, at first, the African Union took actions and its armed forces protected aid workers and the civilians. Further actions could not be taken by them because of their inadequate resources to help. When the international association took real actions and its military forces were able to reach the area, no larger absolute *military intervention* was taken. It was rather a *humanitarian military intervention* that was implemented where the association helped the AU and provided assistance and needs for survival to the refugee camps. This, while the part of intervention that concerns negotiations took place on a political level between the international association, the government and the two rebel groups Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), where the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) were to be signed. Putting the case of Darfur against the theoretical views on intervention in accordance this essay's purpose and problem definition, the outcome of the intervention process can be seen as following;

- The negotiation process – At first, negotiations did not fully include the government, it was rather a discussion between the international association on whether the crime that had been committed could be identified.
- If the discussion on whether genocide had been committed or not had not been of such large extent and rather been focused on a crime against human rights where humanitarian aid without any greater pressure on the government and if the international association should had helped the African Union in an earlier stage, many lives could have been spared.
- It is clear that, when actions from the international association was finally taken, those actions that concerned humanitarian aid intervention with protection from the associations military forces, i.e. *humanitarian military intervention* was the most effective one.
- At first, the Sudanese government did not gave the international association an absolute no to intervention, however, they did everything they could in order for them to keep the outside world from getting access to the country. The consequences were, obviously, even more suffering for those in need. Since they only allowed African countries to help them, who does not possesses such resources as the outside world does, inadequate disaster management could only be performed. Their manipulative behaviour from keeping the international association away from Darfur made the discussion on the definition of

genocide and the negotiation process even harder to coop with.

Putting the case of Burma against the theoretical views on intervention in accordance this essay's purpose and problem definition, the outcome of the intervention process can be seen as following;

- The negotiation process between the government and the international association had a great impact on the intervention process. The compromises in it that was taken made it possible for the relief to reach the area.
- In the initial phase of the disaster management process, a *humanitarian aid* intervention was implemented. Some support from the international associations military forces was used, however, their appearance did not have a larger extent of armed forces nor did it have an aggressive behaviour i.e. a *humanitarian military intervention* with a great emphasis on *humanitarian*.
- Since the negotiation process with its compromises had a significant role, the sovereignty of the Burmese state was not at any larger risks. Their involvement in the disaster management made them able to still have control over their domestic jurisdiction, which in many cases of intervention is hard to maintain and is a determine factor of why state sovereignty is at risk.⁵⁸
- Relief reached the affected area within just a few days, it was because of this that adequate assistance and provisions of survival needs could be distributed to the affected people which spared many lives.

International intervention – whether to take actions or not?

In the end of the Cold War, the UN started to take more actions in the matter of international intervention. They wanted to make sure that such humanitarian disaster would not happen again. However, their actions prompted them to use more military intervention than the restrictions in the UN Charter establishes. These analyses is one of the reasons why the UN Security Council nowadays do not take any precipitated actions and instead choses to follow the UN Charter, something that in many cases delays assistance to reach the affected people – Darfur as an examples. The discussions of non-intervening or intervening is based on the importance to follow global laws and to ensure state sovereignty in international politics.⁵⁹ In the matter of Darfur this discussion was thoroughly performed. As the empirical part of this essay established, laws was

58 International Intervention Michael Keren and Donald A. Sylvan page 56-57

59 Fenton N. (2004) Understanding UN Security Council, Coercion or Consent. Page 206-208

strictly followed and the hardest thing was to define the crime that took place in the area. The UN did not want to take any actions that is allowed to take according to the UN Charter and the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide before the crime could be defined as genocide – they did not want to go against the global laws. In the matter on Burma, these discussions were also performed, however, the negotiations between the government and the international association had great success which resulted in a sufficient disaster management. The chapter on Burma in the empirical part of this essay however establishes that some of the compromises that was made was that the government should be those who controlled the humanitarian aid i.e. the distribution of assistance, provision of food, water and such, which, because of the governments selective behaviour, meant that not every parts of the disaster affected area had access to the assistance. Unfortunately, in some cases, these kind of compromises has to be taken in order to help a majority of those in need. Such negotiations is of great importance since the intervention shall not constitute any kind of pressure against the government, something that could lead to aggressive actions from the government and thereafter further conflicts and suffering.

To go against the ruling of a state – a matter of sovereignty?

The discussion on responsibility of peace keeping is complex. It should be every persons responsibility to make sure that our fellow human beings does not suffer and that they are living in peace. However, to achieve this many other factors might be at risk – sovereignty as an example. When sovereignty are being ignored in the matter of intervention, further conflicts, both national and international are likely to follow. But as established, protection of those in need, whether following consequences, determines human mortality. The questions will thereby lie on whether sovereignty should be respected which might lead to violations against social responsibility or if intervention should be performed whether it violates sovereignty or not.⁶⁰ In the matter of the Darfur conflict, the discussion regarding intervention was not mainly about the possible weakening of Sudan's sovereignty, it was more likely about what kind intervention that was legally allowed to use where laws on state sovereignty was taken into consideration. In the matter of Burma, some sovereignty was taken in consideration in an early stage and cooperation with the Burmese government was a determine factor to why the international association was allowed to help those in need. The sovereignty was also taken in consideration when the international association decided to encourage the locals as well as the ruling leaders to be a great part in the disaster management process. A main foundation of sovereignty is that each state is responsible for their domestic jurisdiction. In some cases of intervention it is hard not to intervene in a states domestic jurisdiction

60 International Intervention Michael Keren and Donald A. Sylvan page 40-41

which might lead to a weakened sovereignty.⁶¹

61 Ibid Page 56-57

Discussion

As declared in the chapter about the crisis in Darfur, Sudan, it is clear that the international association with the United Nations as a main actor had many opportunities to react against the Sudanese government and their oppressions against the african-black people. However, rules and discussions on definitions stood in the way for the members of the international association to take real actions against it. Some of the major actions that were on the agenda, was soon neglected. The determine factors in why these were neglected was, unfortunately, sometimes based on economic interests from some actors in the international association with explanations that such actions would be violations against world trade, as an example. However, a majority of actions like that would have been immediately approved by some if it was a matter of the US Iraqi war. The extent of the discussion about whether the actions would have been violations against trade and economy would then not had been as large as it was in the Darfur conflict. On the one hand, actions like those, who according to some actors in the international association is a violation against world trade, may result in further conflicts between those countries who possesses the economic interests in the country in question. China and Russia as examples in the matter of Darfur. On the other hand, it can be questioned how a conflict like that would look like. Would it really lead to a larger conflict than Darfur, where 10000 people was killed each month? And should we accept that our fellow human beings are suffering because of a non-taken action with the explanation that it might be a violation against world trade? – What is really most important to us – life or money?

When analysing the facts that are given in the empirical part of this essay, it is clear that the United Nations role in the matter of international intervention in a disaster related context, does not meet the global expectations on them neither their role as a leader in peacekeeping. The European Union and other associations are working together towards global peace, however, it can be questioned, according to the earlier given facts, if they and the UN have as great power in the matter of intervention as our hegemony the United States has. It was not until Colin Powel, one person, declared that genocide had been committed in Darfur, after almost three years of conflict, that the entire world gathered and fully acknowledged the situation, took real actions and cooperated with the African Union in their struggling operations towards peace in Darfur. This statement can also be corroborated when looking at the United States great power in the matter of the US Iraqi war. It was not a matter of an approval of intervention from the UN, it was rather a matter of a cooperation between them two, which the UN did not participated in. If they do not agree with the US, is it then right to intervene in the way that the US did in Iraq? Clearly, it is the United Nations who establishes the global laws on peacekeeping. However, the US Iraqi war is a whole different subject,

with its own complications, but it can surely be questioned why actions like those in Iraq was not taken in Darfur.

It is obvious that the whole world considered the Darfur conflict as genocide since the discussion on it was so focused on whether the governments actions could be defined as genocide or not. What can be questioned is what would have happened if the discussion would had been focused on crime and violations against human rights, where the intervention most common would be performed according to the *humanitarian aid* model of intervention, rather than genocide where military intervention might be necessary. Would the intervention had been taken as long as it did if focus had been moved away from genocide and actions against violations against human rights had been taken, where humanitarian assistance is the major tool in the intervention process.

To compare with the US Iraqi war again, where actions was taken immediately against terrorism which resulted in tremendous consequences on the civilians in Iraq, because of the United States unconsidered decisions. In Darfur on the other hand, every action that was taken had to be well thought-out before it could be carried through, which also had tremendous consequences on the civilians, because it delayed the intervention. In this matter, if appropriate to compare, the extent of the consequences in Darfur was much higher than those in Iraq. It is clear that both of those decisions – act without thinking or think before acting – may have a negative effect on the civilians in question. Is it better to, as what was done in Darfur, wait and act strictly in accordance to those rules that are set up, respect them and not to create some kind of anarchy in the global politics or is it better to, in some way, ignore the international laws and act immediately against those who constitutes some kind of threat? Of course, each disaster is unique and determines the outcome of the chosen model of intervention. The 2004 Tsunami as an example, had “helpful” ground conditions for intervention. As first, the extent of the disaster affected many countries, not only because of the natural extent of the disaster itself, also because of great tourism, many countries became involved in the disaster. Also, religious and ethnical aspects in this matter, which in some cases might stand in the way for intervention was not a greater issue. In the cases of Burma and Darfur this was not a matter of course, something that was acknowledged by the international association, who in an early stage knew that because of this, intervention could be difficult.

The intervention in Burma achieved plenty successes since the assistance was able to reache the area and people were provided with essential needs for survival such as food, water and shelter. However, people was left out because of the compromises that had been done between the government and the international association where it was decided that it should be the government who should distribute the aid – everything had to go through them before it could be used. The international association was aware of the governments secluding behaviour but it was a matter of

going against the government and help those areas that were to be secluded by the junta, which might have led to further conflicts, or to compromise with them and only to assist where they were allowed to. None of the decisions stands without complications. It is a decision between conflicts and conflicts, deaths and deaths. What has to be done is to, based on what could be seen as “guessing”, choose which decision that would result in least suffering.

“*Is there a specific model of intervention that are most effective – why?*” the first question from the chapter – Purpose and Problem definition in this essay has, after just reading the facts that can be found regarding the cases of Burma and Darfur, not been hardly difficult to answer. It is clear that whether it is a matter of a man-made disaster or a natural disaster, what is most important is that humanitarian assistance and provision of needs for survival will reach the affected area. This kind of approach lies within the frames of a *humanitarian aid* model of intervention, where the essence of it is the provision of food, water, shelter, health supplies and such. Therefore, the *humanitarian aid* model of intervention is exclusively the best way of intervening. However, since the uniqueness in every disaster, additional tools and some other models has to be used so that the *humanitarian aid* intervention can be performed. Among those additional tools that may have to be used is support from military forces i.e. *military intervention* involvement.

“*What consequences has occurred in Darfur and in Burma because of the governments decisions regarding the allowance and refusals of international interventions?*” the second question from the chapter – Purpose and Problem definition in this essay, has, just like the first question an obvious answer. Because of the troubling circumstances in both cases, where some circumstances has occurred because of some kind of oppression or similar behaviours from the government that has affected the civilians negatively, it is clear that the authorities decisions regarding the allowance and refusals of international intervention has led to further suffering for those in need. In some cases of intervention in a disaster related context, the state in question can be able to handle disaster management themselves. However, this demands working policies where the purpose of it shall, in all cases be to protect every human being who lives inside the borders of the state in question. But in the matter of both Darfur and Burma, this has not been a matter of course.

“*If there is an obvious need for help, but the governments refuses intervention, is it always right to go against the governments will – why?*” the third question from the chapter – Purpose and Problem definition in this essay, has during the time of this study, shown itself of having a great importance in the matter of intervention. In a discussion about intervention between laymen it is

often questioned why the UN does not take any actions at all in many cases and why their role as a peace keeping leader are so weak. Such discussion does also often say that their act of non-intervening is a lack of encouragement from the member states, a constant eager for money and the United Nations fear of taking actions that would upset any country and lead to further conflicts. This may be true. However, it is clear that those rules that has been set up by, not only the United Nations, is in many cases too difficult to handle, too many and too complex. But they are also very important and they have to exist in order to keep the society going. The case of the Darfur conflict portray this problem and it is clear that the discussion of laws regarding genocide, sovereignty and such made it somehow impossible for the UN to react. However, what did their decision of non-intervention lead to? That is clearly something that is not difficult to neither see nor to answer.

In order to maintain harmony in every sector in society – economic, political, etcetera, and not to create some kind of anarchy, it is important to follow our global laws. However, is it ethically right to follow them if our fellow beings are suffering as a consequence of it?

Appendix A

“Article 1 - The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 2 - The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.”⁶²

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