

# Worldwide Opposition Grows To ICC Lies on Sudan

by Douglas DeGroot

March 31—Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir was given red-carpet treatment when he arrived in Qatar March 29, for an Arab League summit, despite the International Criminal Court's (ICC) call for his arrest. He was greeted at the Doha airport by the Emir of Qatar, and the summit welcomed Bashir warmly. Qatar is a U.S. ally, and hosts an American airbase.

In an otherwise contentious meeting, the Arab leaders expressed their full support for Bashir, "reiterating our solidarity with Sudan and our rejection of the measure of the ... International Criminal Court against his Excellency" Bashir, according to a final statement on the issue.

The purpose of the ICC stunt has nothing to do with justice in Sudan, but is intended to prevent a political solution to the rebellion that was launched from outside the country. That rebellion, in the western Sudan region of Darfur, is being used as the pretext to run a regime-change operation. Then, the preconditions for the eventual balkanization of the country would be set. The shift of conflict from the South to Darfur was organized when the Bashir government made a commitment to settle the 40-year North-South civil war, which had prevented national development up to that point. The move by the ICC endangers the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that the government signed with the South, which ended the civil war (1955-72 and 1983-2005). Balkanization will be sped up if the CPA doesn't survive.

In addition to the Arab League, all the African nations, as well as China, have called for the ICC proceedings to be suspended, because they stand in the way of bringing peace to Darfur, and relief from the suffering there.

So far, the Obama Administration has been very cautious, refusing to get drawn into the ICC-instigated phase of the crisis. This has been somewhat of a setback for the London-based imperial financial cartel which is trying to trap Obama in Sudan. The ICC move was timed to embroil the Obama Administration, as soon as it took power, in a manipulated crisis that could ultimately be pushed to the point of U.S. military intervention, which would be disastrous for the Administration's foreign policy.

The presence of the anglophile UN Amb. Susan Rice, and the George Soros-asset Samantha Power in the Obama Administration, increases the risk that the Administration will be trapped into an aggressive intervention to deliver retributive justice. Up to now, Rice has blocked information about the reality on the ground in Sudan from reaching the President. That reality bears no resemblance to what the anti-Sudan government advocacy groups are saying.

## **The Myth of Darfur 'Genocide'**

For the first time, a density of voices of senior scholars, specialists, and high-level former diplomats are aggressively challenging the myth of the "geno-



UN photo

*Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir has been targetted by the British Empire-run International Criminal Court for the crime of attempting to bring peace and development to his country. Bashir is shown here addressing a conference in Doha, Qatar, in November 2008.*

cide” of 300,000-400,000 Darfurians, and denouncing the ICC warrant against Bashir as a disaster for Sudan, and a foreign policy nightmare for the United States, should it be endorsed as U.S. policy. Andrew Natsios, the Bush Administration’s former Special Envoy to Sudan in 2006 and 2007, who has over 20 years of experience in dealing with foreign aid and crises; and Alex de Waal, an expert in the Darfur region, have stated that a hardline approach against the Bashir government will make the situation worse.

Lyndon LaRouche commented that the Obama Administration’s decisions on Darfur and Sudan will have a fundamental impact on U.S. foreign policy; this is especially true of the U.S. position on the ICC arrest warrant.

Speaking at Georgetown University yesterday, Natsios said that if you want a solution in Sudan, you have to work with the government. He said the ICC arrest warrant made Bashir’s National Congress Party stronger: other nations that didn’t approve of the way the civil war in Darfur was handled, have rallied to his defense since the ICC warrant. As for the hardline approach advocated by Susan Rice, Natzios admitted that he had insisted, at a National Security Council

meeting in 2004, that a no-fly zone be established in Sudan, “but I was wrong. I used to support Susan Rice, but the policy failed.”

In a *New Republic* blog March 9, Natsios warned: “I think an Obama administration policy of confrontation, military action or threats of it, and regime change may well result in a worst-case scenario of a collapsed state, more bloodshed, and human suffering on a grand scale—and certainly no political settlement to stitch the country back together again.”

On the same day, de Waal (who has either lived in or worked on Darfur for more than 20 years, and is not a supporter of the Sudan government’s policies there), said in the same blog, that he wouldn’t count the 150 fatalities per month now in Darfur “as anything except a low-intensity conflict.” He said this number includes “daylight robbery, of which there is much, and Arab inter-tribal fighting, of which there is more.” He advised Obama to “recognize that ad hoc escalation over the issues of the moment will not only undermine long-term objectives, but will damage the short-term aim of getting humanitarian programs back to where they were,” before the issuance of the ICC warrant. This number of deaths certainly can’t be characterized as “ongoing genocide,” he added. In 2008, de Waal had reported that the death rate of children in Darfur was below what it was before the civil war started.

The ICC arrest warrant on March 4 for President Bashir, on charges of War Crimes, and Crimes Against Humanity, is the latest move by the London-based financial cartel to overthrow the Sudan government and dismember the largest nation in Africa. The intent of London’s imperial move is to make any short-term political settlement of the conflict in Darfur impossible, induce the government to abandon the CPA agreement with the South, and break the commitment of Sudan, under the leadership of Bashir, to establish a unified, independent nation, a necessary precondition for economic development. Industrialization of the nation is the only way to break the decades-long cycles of violence in Darfur. The overthrow of the government and dissolution of the nation would have disastrous implications for the entire northeast African region.

## ICC Prosecutor Out of Control

The ICC is not part of the UN, and none of the world's Big Four powers—the U.S., Russia, China, and India—are members. Its creation was privately funded by British operative George Soros, an admitted former Nazi collaborator, who is now the leading advocate of legalizing drug production as a way of wrecking nations in the developing sector. Lord Malloch-Brown, who worked with him on the project, is now Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the British government with responsibility for Africa, Asia, and the United Nations.

ICC prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo is so intent on “getting” Bashir, that his publicity-seeking and extravagant claims have alienated many among the ICC staff. Some have accused him of grandstanding, according to reports. Many of them have quit.

Even the three-judge pre-trial ICC chamber which had to determine the veracity of the charges, threw out the genocide charges demanded by Moreno, and he has appealed to have this charge reinstated. But his former senior trial attorney for Darfur, Andrew Cayley, who quit his position at the ICC in 2007, wrote before the warrant against Bashir was issued, that: “Serious disagreement remains as to whether Al Bashir and the Sudanese government intended actually to destroy, in part, the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa peoples of Darfur.” Cayley added: “It is difficult to cry government-led genocide in one breath and then explain in the next why 2 million Darfuris have sought refuge around the principal army garrisons of their province.” He also pointed out that, “One million Darfuris live in Khartoum where they have never been bothered during the entire course of the war.”

As senior trial attorney at the ICC, Cayley was responsible for the investigation and prosecution of serious violations of international humanitarian law in Darfur, which he began in February 2005. Before that, he was a senior trial attorney at the ICC for the former Yugoslavia.

A founder and former president of Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders), Rony Brauman, was also critical of the genocide charge, considering how, in some cases, Darfuris had sought refuge near government installations: “Can one seriously imagine Tutsis seeking refuge in areas controlled by the Rwandan army in 1994? Or Jews seeking refuge with the Wehrmacht in 1943?” he asked. Médecins Sans Frontières has a presence in Darfur, which provided an accurate source for Brauman.

## Who Is Bashir?

Bashir came to power in 1989, in a coup organized by Hassan al-Turabi, the leader of the Sudan branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, which has been controlled from London since its inception. Turabi would not have been able to pull off a coup without at least a faction of the military, so he brought in Bashir, who was then a colonel in the Sudanese army.

Turabi attempted to create a radical Islamic government. He invited Osama bin Laden to Sudan, and began trying to build up capabilities in other African countries, to intervene in their internal affairs. This turned Sudan into a pariah country.

In 1999, when Turabi was on the verge of taking full control of the government, a leading Islamicist collaborator of Turabi's established a nationalist government. With Turabi out, the government began moving toward a settlement with the South, to end the civil war. The CPA agreement with the South was signed in Nairobi, Kenya, Jan. 9, 2005. On Jan. 11, Bashir told a crowd of 15,000 mostly Christian Sudanese in the southern city of Malakal: “We will build schools and hospitals and provide clean drinking water, electricity, and development projects.” The war had raged in and around Malakal for years. “From now on, there will be no more fighting, but development and prosperity,” he said. He called for ending dependence on foreign relief and becoming self-sufficient by cultivating Sudan's own arable land.

But, two years earlier, two groups formally mounted a rebellion against government institutions in Darfur, the poorest region of Sudan. One group, the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) was secular; the other, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), was founded by close Islamicist associates of Turabi.

In a region which was already the scene of violence and conflict, the rebellion led to a further breakdown of law and government authority. The government counterinsurgency crackdown in the 2003-04 period, in Darfur, before the CPA was signed, was the most violent period of the conflict.

## What Has Really Been Going On in Darfur?

Are the charges against Bashir, which have been endlessly repeated by the media, true? The anti-Bashir activists do not address the whole truth.

As Mahmood Mamdani, Herbert Lehman Professor of Government at Columbia University, points out, the ICC's Moreno charged Bashir with 1) polarizing Dar-



FIGURE 1



U.S. Central Intelligence Agency

furi tribes into two races (Arab, and Zurga, or Black); 2) waging a violent conflict (from 2003 to early 2005), which led to ethnic cleansing of Zurga ethnic groups from their traditional lands; and 3) planning the malnutrition, rape, and torture of internally displaced persons (IDPs), so they would die slow deaths in the camps. Moreno claimed this went on from 2003 until the application for the arrest warrant was filed in 2008.

Racialization of population groups was begun by the British during the colonial period, when the British tried to organize two confederations. The nomads were considered “Arab,” and the cultivators were “Black.” Policy was based on these distinctions. The British gave land rights, or a homeland, to the groups they called Blacks, but the nomads, who had no such rights, never constituted a single racial group. Arab tribes in Sudan, says Mamdani, did not come from the Middle East, but were indigenous groups that became Arabs, beginning in the 18th Century. There is no single history of Arab tribes in

Sudan. The nomadic Arabs are the poorest people in the country, and among them, the camel herders of North Darfur are the poorest of all.

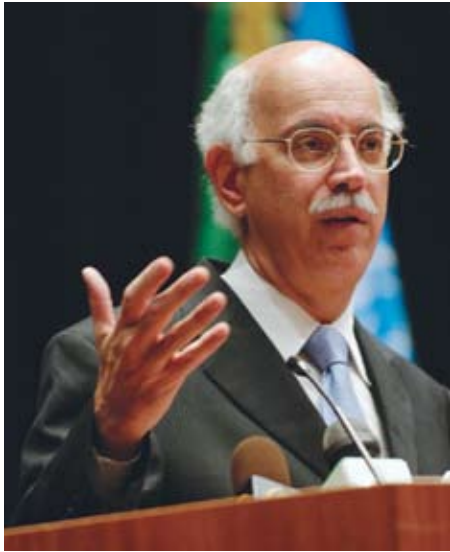
The Arab cattle-herding nomads of South Darfur were never involved in government-organized counterinsurgency from 2003 on. Those who were involved, were the camel herders, who were losing their assets as their camels died because the desert was spreading south, and nomadic refugees from Chad, of the Zaghawa tribe, also with no land rights, and very poor. So the idea being propagated by the media, and used as an argument by Moreno, that Arabs are a unified group, attacking black Africans, has been made up to demonize people who are called Arabs. In fact, both Arabs and groups referred to in the media as African, look alike, and originate from the same indigenous grouping that originally existed in the region.

The fighting has been over access to land that can support a human population. Because Sudan, like most of Africa, has not been able to industrially develop, and to provide a means of human existence, the growing population in Darfur has had to eke out an existence in the most marginal of areas. This is further aggravated by the desert expanding south.

In the system set up by the British, the nomads did not have a homeland, and had to fend for themselves, making arrangements with the sedentary population, to allow their animals to graze the fields after harvest, and so forth.

The fighting, which was taking place before Bashir took power, was triggered by the British-organized land system, the expanding desert, the Cold War, the conflict over Chad, and the government’s campaign against the insurgency led by three major tribes in Darfur: Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa.

The 1980s conflict over Chad saw Libyan leader Moammar Qaddafi, with some Soviet support, trying to get control of Chad, with the United States, France, and Israel supporting opposing factions. Qaddafi was also trying to Islamicize the African countries bordering the Sahara, by arming an Islamic Legion. Darfur then became awash with small arms for two decades before the anti-government rebellion, since Chadian opposition groups were mobilized and armed in Darfur. As a result, the traditional tribal conflicts in Darfur, i.e., the civil war over land, was militarized. One result of this,



UN/Fred Noy



Overseas Development Institute

*Both Andrew Natsios (left), the Bush Administration's former Special Envoy to Sudan, who has over 20 years of experience in dealing with foreign aid and crises; and Alex de Waal (right), an expert in the Darfur region, have stated that a hardline approach against the Bashir government will make the situation worse.*

was that the traditional forms of leadership fell apart. The young people had arms, and would no longer abide by the wishes of their elders. An extremely brutal war occurred in Darfur from 1987-89, before Bashir became the head of state. Thousands were killed, and many villages burned.

Once the counterinsurgent militias were organized from among the poorest elements of the nomadic population, they seized land of the sedentary population, so they would have a place to graze their herds.

### **Sophistries Used To Hide the Truth**

Moreno and the anti-Sudan movement use four sophistries so all the blame can be put on Bashir, for the benefit of the duped anti-Sudan activist movement:

- that the length of the conflict coincides with the Bashir Presidency. In fact, it began as a civil war in 1987, which is long before the beginning of the rounds of insurgency and counterinsurgency in 2003;
- that all the deaths above the normal death rate in Darfur resulted from violence. But World Health Organization sources, seen as the most reliable by the U.S. Government Accountability Office in 2006, report that 70-80% were caused by drought-related diarrhea, and the rest by direct violence;
- Moreno and the media blame all of the violent deaths and rape on Bashir, who is charged with being personally responsible. Natsios, however, in testimony

before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 11, 2007, indicated that it was not so simple: "The government has lost control of large parts of the province now. And some of the rapes, by the way, that are going on are by rebels raping women in their own tribes. We know in one of the refugee camps, it's now controlled by the rebels, formally.

"There have been terrible atrocities committed by the rebels against the people in the camps."

The truth is that soldiers, rebels, and the paramilitary Janjaweed have carried out rapes and killed civilians. Figures recently released by the UN-AU

Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), which does not make inferences and extrapolations, but keeps track of each individual death, including its circumstances, calculated that the number of conflict-related civilian deaths in 2008 amounted to 1,520, of which 600 resulted from conflicts over grazing lands among Arab tribes. Of the remaining 920, UNAMID reported that more civilians were killed by rebel movements than by government-organized counterinsurgency forces, according to Professor Mamdani.

- The last sophistry, or outright lie, is that, since the beginning of the counterinsurgency in 2003, the situation has not changed in Darfur. In fact, UN sources show a sharp drop in mortality rates since early 2005.

The perception managers who control the anti-Bashir activist crowd must not come cheap. Mamdani reported that he once asked the top UN official in Khartoum how much of the money raised by the Save Darfur Coalition made its way to Sudan. The official's reply was: None.

The AU peacekeeping force got the fatalities way down by early 2005. At a later point, all sides were on the verge of an agreement, when the EU, through a bureaucratic maneuver, interfered with the pay to the UN troops, and the deal fell apart. In 2007, a deal was again close, and George Bush picked that time to announce more sanctions against Sudan, which again killed the deal.