



PERIODICAL OF THE SCIENTIFIC BOARD OF MILITARY SECURITY OFFICE

CURRENT ISSUES

Cooperation: an increasingly developing response to
the new challenges in the national security sphere
Security geographical analysis of Kosovo
Some Crime-related Issues of Incomplete Mini-
Schengen Zone on Balkans
The Rubik's Cube of Democratic Development
a Normative Model of Statebuilding
The Validity of Security Geography
CIMIC activities in the African Union Mission in
Sudan
The Water Conflicts in Africa
The Hungarian prison service system and its
enterprises
About Aggression in a Nutshell

2010/2
SPECIAL ISSUE

FORUM of PhD CANDIDATES

Maj. János Besenyő

CIMIC ACTIVITIES IN THE AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN SUDAN (AMIS)

In the armed forces of First World countries, Information Operations (INFOOPS) are little short of being considered a new branch of service. According to the NATO definition, INFOOPS is a military function, which influences the intentions, comprehension and ability of enemy forces through advising and the coordination of military information operations in order to achieve the desired impact, thus supporting the mission goals of the allied forces. On a tactical level, it means the influencing of the decision-making system of local (political, religious, etc.) leaders with a view to achieving that their decisions create an advantageous position for the commander and the troops.¹

Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) is an essential capacity of information operations. While CIMIC activities have been increasingly efficient at the Hungarian units serving in various missions and formations (KFOR contingent, Afghanistan PRT, etc.), Hungarian soldiers have seen service in individual assignments, including under the aegis of the UN, the EU and the AU.² In such missions, CIMIC activities often manifest themselves quite differently from those under Hungarian conditions or in NATO-led missions. I would like to share my relevant experiences obtained in 2005, in the Darfur peace-keeping mission led by the African Union. I hope that these pieces of information will also prove useful for others (I work as a functional expert in humanitarian aid in the Expert Group of the Civil-Military Cooperation and Psychological Operations Centre of the Ministry of Defence). It should, however, be noted that the views expressed below reflect my own personal experience rather than the position of the Hungarian Defence Forces.

Before I proceed, I would like to share a few pieces of information on Darfur and the situation there. **Darfur**, originally *Dar fúr* ('the Fúr people's home) is the name of a region in western Sudan, adjacent to the Central African

¹ http://www.hm.gov.hu/honvedseg/missziok/infoops_es_bekefenntartas_koszovoban (downloaded 02.02.2010)

² http://www.hm.gov.hu/honvedseg/missziok/reszvetel_bekemuveletekben (downloaded 02.02.2010)

Republic, Libya and Chad. A conflict of international scale has been going on in the region since 2003.³

Darfur covers an area of 493,180 km², about the size of France. The region largely consists of an arid plateau and the Jabal Mara Mountains rising to 3,000 metres. In 1989, following the military coup, General Omar El-Bashir ordered that the territory of the earlier sultanate, annexed by the British to Sudan in 1917, be divided into three federal states.⁴

They are Garb Darfur (West Darfur), Djanub Darfur (South Darfur) and Samal Darfur (North Darfur), their centres being respectively Al Geneina, Nyala and El Fasher.

The population of Darfur is app. 7.4 million. The economy is mainly agriculture-based, the main crops are fruits, tobacco and grain crops. Main languages: Arabic, Beigo, Daju, Erenga, Fongoro, Fulbe, Fur, Kujarge, Massalit, Sinyar, Tama and Zaghawa.⁵

In 2003, a bloody insurgency broke out in Darfur, in which the Arab-controlled Sudan government was opposed to two African insurgent groups, the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). The rebels were accusing the government with giving preference to Arabs over Africans.⁶

The government responded with bombings and the deployment of military and police units and later of the 'Janjaweed' militia (armed Arab horsemen). The Janjaweed are charged with the massive violation of human rights, including mass murder as well as the pillaging of the non-Arab population of Darfur and rape.

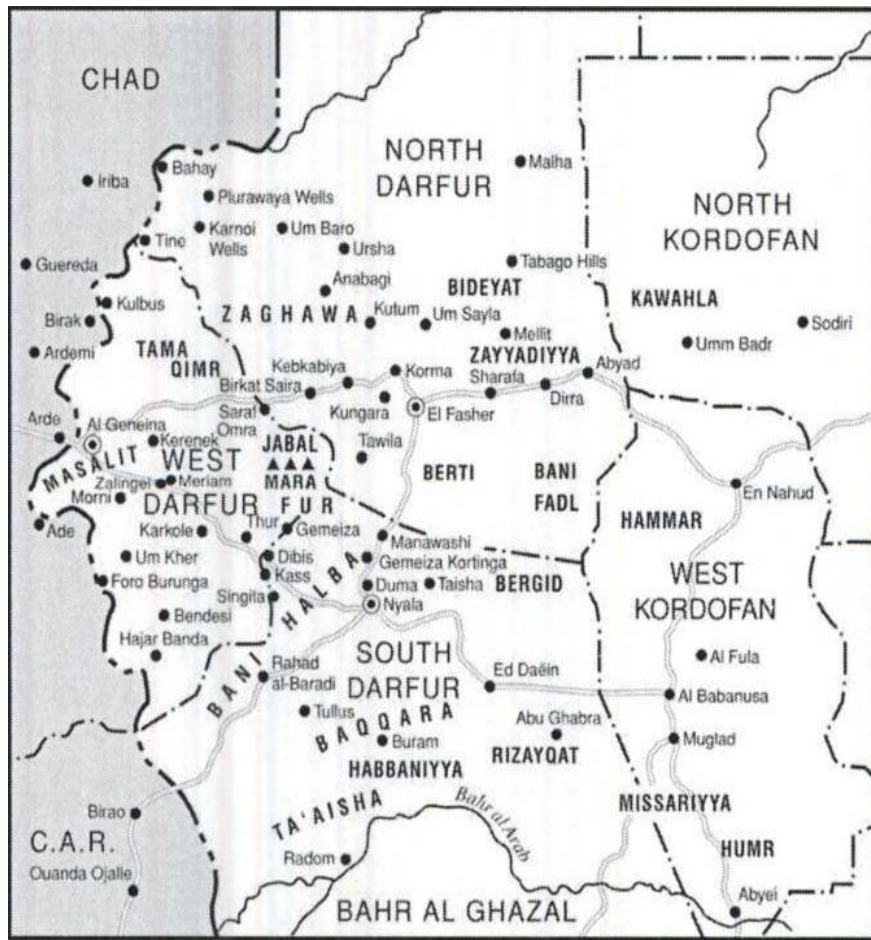
By spring 2004, thousands of people had been killed and hundreds of thousands had been forced to leave their homes due to the humanitarian disaster afflicting the region. The Arab paramilitary troops, however, continued looting, including the raiding of refugee camps in Chad.

³ Mohamed H. Fadlalla: Short History of Sudan, p. 57

⁴ J. Millard Burr, Robert O. Collins: Darfur: The Long Road to Disaster, p. 287

⁵ Mohamed Fadlalla: The Problem of Dar Fur, pp. 23-28

⁶ J. Millard Burr, Robert O. Collins: Darfur: The Long Road to Disaster, pp. 292-293



Source: civil war and revolution in the Sudan p.12

At international pressure, the belligerent parties made truce on April 8th 2004.⁷ The ceasefire was also signed by Chad and representatives of the international community. While the armistice took effect on April 14th, it was repeatedly infringed by both sides.⁸ At the same time, the UN adopted a decision, calling the African Union to organise a peace-keeping mission. At increasing pressure by the international community, the setting up of the mission was approved by the Sudan government and the opposition organisations. At the start of the mission (AMIS-I), 138 military observers (MILOB) and a 195-strong Force Protection Unit were posted in Darfur.⁹

The number of the mission was increased in October the same year (AMIS-II), as a result of which 686 military observers, 815 policemen (CIVPOL) and 1,700 armed troops were now posted in Sudan. African politicians, however, soon realised that these forces were insufficient to control

⁷ Samuel M. Makinda, F. Wafula Okumu: The African Union: challenges of globalization, security, and governance, p. 83

⁸ J. Millard Burr, Robert O. Collins: Darfur: The Long Road to Disaster, pp. 295-296

⁹ Samuel M. Makinda, F. Wafula Okumu: The African Union: challenges of globalization, security, and governance, p. 85

a region the size of France.¹⁰ Partly because of that, and partly in order to prevent the first independent AU peace-keeping mission from failure, a decision was adopted on increasing the number of the contingent as soon as possible (Addis Ababa meeting of March 19th 2005). According to the decision, by September 2005, the strength of the mission reached 7,731 (6,171 soldiers and 1,560 policemen).¹¹ In 2006, the leaders of the AU intended to increase the strength of the mission by a further 4,000 troops. That objective, however, failed due to the reluctance of the participating states and the lack of funding. According to General Romeo Dallaire, leading the UN mission in Rwanda, the success of the Darfur mission would have required the sending of at least 44,000 peace-keepers, which, however, did not come about.¹²

Since the AMIS was unable to pacify the region, the UN took charge of the control of the operation on January 1st 2008.¹³ While UNAMID, the new mission, has also witnessed a number of problems and challenges, the situation has more recently been stabilised to a certain degree, even if experts claim that hostilities may renew at any time. Over 200,000 people are estimated to have been killed and at least 2.5 million have been displaced.

The UN first called attention to the Darfur crisis in 2003, giving top priority to the adoption of the decision that would offer a long-term solution to the problem for the Security Council and two successive UN Secretaries-General. In addition to the efforts for a political solution, the UN, in cooperation with its partners, has given the highest amount of aid to Darfur and the refugee camps set up in Chad and the Central African Republic.¹⁴

The Darfur Peace Agreement, achieved under the aegis of the African Union (AU) and with the support of the UN and its partners, was signed on May 5th 2006.¹⁵ An intensive diplomatic and political campaign has been conducted in order to involve non-signatory parties in the peace process. In addition to that, the UN has provided logistics and technical support to the observers sent to Darfur since 2004 as well as drawn up and implemented plans for the multidimensional peace-keeping operation and the setting up of a joint UN-AU 'Hybrid Force'.¹⁶

¹⁰ Center on International Cooperation: Annual review of global peace operations, p. 42 and János Besenyő: Logistic Experiences: The Case of Darfur, p. 42

¹¹ <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/321/37/PDF/N0532137.pdf?OpenElement> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

¹² Samuel M. Makinda, F. Wafula Okumu: The African Union: challenges of globalization, security, and governance, 86-87. oldal

¹³ <http://unamid.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=890> (letöltés ideje: 2010. 02.03)

¹⁴ Robert O. Collins: Civil wars and revolution in the Sudan: essays on the Sudan, pp. 158-159

¹⁵ Center on International Cooperation: Annual review of global peace operations, p. 30

¹⁶ Human Rights Watch: Imperatives for immediate change: the African Union Mission in Sudan, pp. 10 and 47

The decision adopted at the November 16th 2006 high-level meeting in Addis Ababa (attended by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, the representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council, delegates of the Sudan government, AU countries and other countries and organisations having political influence in the region as well as some countries sending troops to the African Union Mission in Sudan) proposed the establishment of a joint AU-UN peace-keeping force. Sudan gave its approval to the deployment of the contingent in June 2007. The operation of the contingent officially began on January 1st 2008, by incorporating existing AU troops in Darfur into its organisation.¹⁷

On July 30th 2004, by Resolution 1556, the Security Council adopted an arms embargo against all non-governmental entities and individuals in Darfur, including the Janjaweed militia.¹⁸ Resolution 1591, adopted in 2005, increased the severity of the sanctions by extending the validity of the arms embargo and ordering a travel ban against and the freezing of the assets of four individuals, including two insurgence leaders, a former commander of the Sudan air force and the leader of the pro-government militia. Unfortunately, as Sudan, as a state, was not included in the embargo, the Janjaweed have been continuously supplied with weapons and equipment by government forces.

UN humanitarian organisations are currently coordinating the largest aid campaign worldwide, in an attempt to give assistance to about 4.2 million people afflicted by the Darfur crisis. Of these, 2.5 million have been forced to migrate within Sudan, whereas 236,000 currently live in refugee camps in Chad. This year alone, Darfur will receive an aid of \$650 million. Coordinated by 13 UN agencies, the Red Cross and the Red Crescent and 80 NGOs, over 12,000 humanitarian aid workers currently operate in the region, helping those in distress.¹⁹

In recent years, the lives of hundreds of thousands of people have been saved by this humanitarian activity. The mortality rate has been reduced below the critical level and general malnutrition has been reduced by fifty percent compared to the peak of the crisis in mid-2004. Nearly three-fourths of the Darfur population now have access to healthy drinking water. However, the forceful displacement of the population has continued as a result of raids from all sides, affecting app. 140,000 people during the first five months of 2007 alone.²⁰ A lot of refugee camps, however, have reached the limits of their

¹⁷ <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unamid/background.shtml> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

¹⁸ Samuel M. Makinda, F. Wafula Okumu: The African Union: challenges of globalization, security, and governance, p. 86

¹⁹ http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/sudan/ (downloaded 02.02.2010)

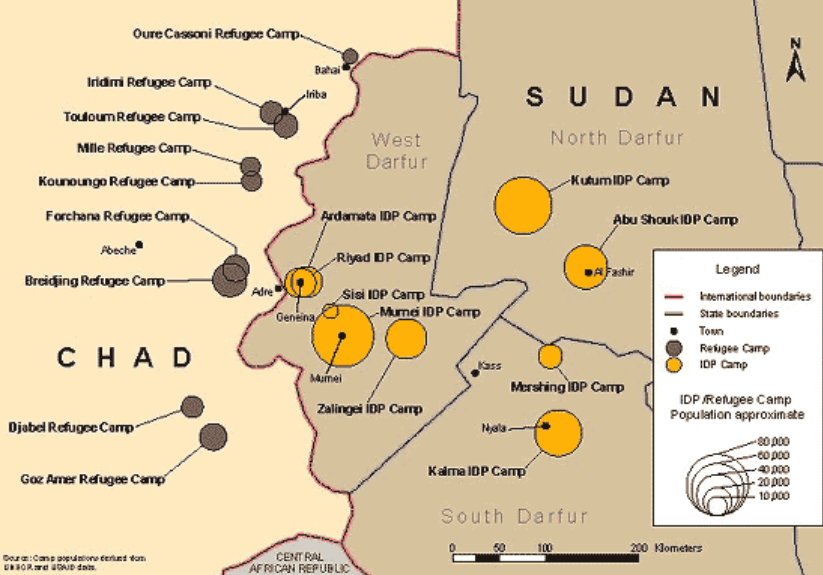
²⁰ Samuel M. Makinda, F. Wafula Okumu: The African Union: challenges of globalization, security, and governance, pp. 87-88

capacity and tensions have grown with the increase of the number of refugees. Despite the relative ‘peace’ in Darfur during recent months, most refugees have not dared to return to their ransacked homes. Instead, they are attempting to stay at the camps for as long as possible.²¹

The humanitarian mission and its personnel are particularly exposed to violence. Since June 2007, 132 persons employed by the mission have been kidnapped for various periods, 35 convoys have been assaulted or ransacked and 64 vehicles have been hijacked. Some NGO’s have withdrawn from the country because of the violence.²²

According to UN estimates, over half million people still have no access to any kind of humanitarian assistance in Darfur. Since, however, in February 2007, that number was 900,000, the efforts, often entailing major sacrifices, of the humanitarian workers, with a view to accessing people in the areas afflicted by the crisis have been successful, despite the unchanging security situation. The UN has put the Khartoum authorities under continuous pressure with a view to improving the security of aid workers and the accessibility of the population, as a result of which a joint communication was issued in April 2007 by the Sudan government and the UN in order to ensure and promote efficient humanitarian activities in Darfur.

The map below shows the major refugee camps, with the estimated number of their inhabitants:



Source:

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4f/Darfur_refugee_camps_map.gif

²¹ <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/terrorism-security/2009/0828/p99s01-duts.html> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

²² <http://www.afrika.no/Detailed/15187.html> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

62 percent of the Darfur aid campaigns are financed by donors, having earmarked \$396 million of the desired \$652 million since June 15th 2007, primarily for food aid. Since some other areas are rather underfinanced, further offerings are required.

Let us, however, return to 2005, the year the Republic of Hungary contributed to the operation of the EU-AU JLOC-Joint Logistic Operational Centre by sending a military advisor (logistics specialist).²³ Appointed for the position of the expert, I travelled to the mission area on June 28th 2005, setting to work without delay.

We were responsible for the full supply and servicing of the Darfur mission. The mission area was divided into 8 sectors. A unit the size of a battalion was deployed in each sector by setting up camps operated by the force of about a company in addition to the battalion command.²⁴ The camps were established in the vicinity of major settlements and refugee camps in the clear hope that they would have a positive influence on the security of their respective area. While initially it went according to plan, later on the AU was no longer able to guarantee even the security of its own camps.²⁵

The sectors were divided in a way that they were assigned under national control, i.e. the unit deployed in each sector (Rwandan, Nigerian, Senegalese or South African) gave the sector commander and the substantial part of the staff. Since Nigeria and Rwanda sent the most troops, 3 battalions each, each could control 3 sectors, while the Senegalese and South Africans shared the remaining two.²⁶

A Gambian company and a Kenyan military police unit were responsible for servicing the mission command and the alert service. The soldiers were under the command of a Nigerian general. Some of the policemen were accommodated in the same camp as the soldiers, while a smaller part permanently remained at the posts set up in the refugee camps. The policemen were under the command of a South African police general.

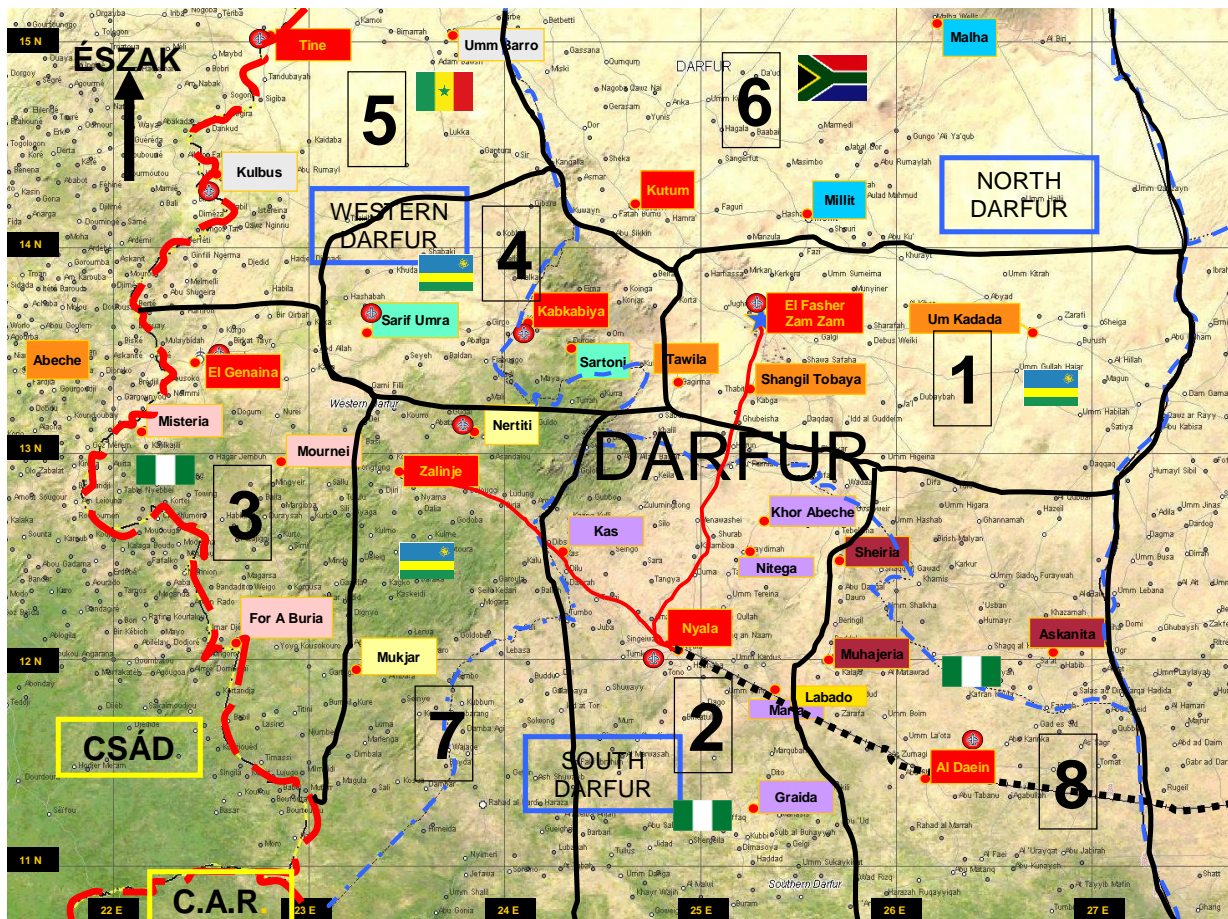
The following map shows the locations of the AMIS sectors and the camps:

²³ Markus Derblom, Eva Hagström Frisell, Jennifer Schmidt: UN-EU-AU Coordination in Peace Operations in Africa, pp. 40-41

²⁴ Human Rights Watch: Imperatives for immediate change: the African Union Mission in Sudan, p. 31

²⁵ <http://articles.latimes.com/2008/apr/27/world/fg-peacekeepers27> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

²⁶ János Besenyő: Logistic Experiences: The Case of Darfur, p. 49



Source: AMIS

The Cease Fire Committee (CFC) was also located at the general headquarters in El Fasher. While it was led by the politician heading the mission, the work was in fact done by his deputy, a French general delegated by the EU (civilian employees were also under his command). Unfortunately, the soldiers, policemen, the members of the ceasefire committee and civilians were all carrying out their tasks without any kind of coordination or joint command. In fact, open hostilities were not uncommon between them.²⁷ Obviously, it negatively affected work until these components were finally put under joint control in late 2006.

At that time the mission's military component did not have a separate CIMIC division (G9). Such issues were addressed by the operational division (G3), the logistics division (G4) and the ceasefire monitoring committee when it was necessary.²⁸

²⁷ Human Rights Watch: Imperatives for immediate change: the African Union Mission in Sudan, pp. 40-42 and János Besenyő: Logistic Experiences: The Case of Darfur, p. 55

²⁸ Human Rights Watch: Imperatives for immediate change: the African Union Mission in Sudan, pp. 20-21

As is known, the CIMIC can be applied in Crisis Response Operations (CRO), when military leaders are required to take into consideration the social, political, cultural, religious, economic, environmental and humanitarian factors of the operational area. In addition to the above, they also need to reckon with the presence of a large number of international and non-governmental organisations, whose objectives, techniques and future activities must be reconciled with military interests. The presence of the media and the (legitimate and less justifiable) expectations of the local and the international community present an added challenge in peace-keeping operations. It results from the above that efficient relations between civil organisations and the military are of fundamental importance with a view to resolving the conflict. While CIMIC would therefore be responsible for the communication between the military and civilians, the borderlines often become blurred, often requiring CIMIC experts to also maintain relations of a political nature.

As is known, the long-term objective of CIMIC activities is to establish, maintain and improve cooperation with the civil population and institutions in the area of operation (governmental and non-governmental, international and regional organisations) in order to ensure the success of the mission (with the slightest possible interference with civilian life!) and the establishment and maintenance of the conditions required for the resolution of the crisis.

Since the mission lacked a special CIMIC division, the following tasks were addressed on an ad hoc basis by the offices of the operational and logistics divisions and of the AU diplomat leading the mission:

- All levels of communication with civil organisations.

This was done mainly by civilians, as the staff of the AU diplomat heading the mission included a civilian press communications official and a humanitarian official (the African Union ultimately managed to send a civil expert to the centres of each of the three Darfur federal states to work in cooperation with the humanitarian organisations). Obviously, the logistics division also maintained a continuous relationship with the non-governmental organisations engaging in charitable and humanitarian activities in the mission area. We often gave them purified and chlorinated water, among other things, or provided, in cooperation with the operational division, armed escort for their shipments or occasional pre-dispensation storage capacity.

- Involving specific NGO's, which possessed the required information, in the strategic and operational planning of the mission (both before and during the operations).

This was particularly important in order to prevent unfriendly reception by the communities along the routes of our convoys from. On one occasion, we

only a minimum number of armed escort were available to protect a convoy passing through a specific region. We added another mistake by failing to negotiate with local leaders (the ‘umdah’) and the armed SLA personnel operating in the region. The convoy was attacked halfway between our camps, near Khor Abechi. Two civilian drivers and five soldiers from the escort were killed in the attack. It was the first major loss of the AU since the launch of the mission.²⁹ This was a consequence of the fact that the sector commander did not attribute importance to establishing good relations and consult with the ‘civilian’ population operating in the area to a reasonable extent. Obviously there were various other situations and events similar to the above, where their unique experience and local knowledge made civilians valuable to us and where we were able to cooperate with them with comparative success. Unfortunately, since the sectors were enjoying a kind of independence from the mission HQ (due to political and communication-related issues), communication and cooperation with NGO’s was often determined by the disposition, education or the personal interests of the commander.

- The continuous monitoring and assessment of the civil environment, including the extent of needs and the method of satisfying such needs.

It partly meant that the civil media communication employee monitored international, regional and local news, putting together a summary made available to the mission components. However, there were frequent problems with the flow of information from the civilians responsible for humanitarian matters, while hardly any information was received from the sectors and the camps unless in crisis situations. The latter included the raid on the town of Sheriyya, when the first pieces of information on the conflict were received when the camp of the peace-keeping forces was surrounded by nearly 5,000 refugees without drinking water, food or shelter, added to which a cholera epidemic broke out among them within a week. If HQ had received the required information at the start of the hostilities, the escalation of the situation could have been prevented by negotiations (in which the peace-keepers could have played a mediatory role). The stationing and supply of the people fleeing from the city could also have been organised in cooperation with aid organisations and NGO groups. As I have said, the supply of needs also had an ad hoc nature, varying from sector to sector. In Sector 6, for example, where the South African battalion was stationed, very good relations were established between the inhabitants of the town of Kutum and the Sector command and the other camps within the Sector. In the Kulbus camp, a well was shared by the military and the civil population for a long time without problem (until another well was bored

²⁹ Human Rights Watch: Imperatives for immediate change: the African Union Mission in Sudan, p. 28

by the Red Cross, supplying locals with drinking water). The South Africans also gave assistance to the restoration of a bridge and supplied useful devices to schools. While similar steps were taken in other sectors, too, they tended to be individual initiatives, which were sometimes supported by the mission command.

At the El Fasher headquarters, a Nigerian Protestant minister organised church service for Christian officers and servicemen. While nearly 65 percent of the mission staff were Christian, since Sudan is a Muslim country, Christian religious services, even within the camps, could only be held under very strict conditions so as not to 'offend' Muslim sensitivity. At the end of the church services, the minister collected donations for the inhabitants of the nearby Abu-Shouk refugee camp, Darfur's one and only Christian church and the adjoining school. For me, that enterprise had added importance as I was personally affected. When I came back for a leave, I could show my sons under what kind of circumstances children had to live in the refugee camps. Horrified at the sight, they responded quite positively, deciding to send toys to refugee children. They took two days sorting their toys. Some toys were put in and then removed from the package three times, being so hard to part with. In the end, I carried two large kits of toys and a huge parcel of powdered instant soup (courtesy of the Knorr company) back to Darfur. Also, the Hungarian Baptist Charity sent money that enabled the construction of four additional classrooms in the school. While I was aware of various such initiatives, they were not officially supported by the mission command.

- Monitoring activities of the military affecting the civilian sphere.

This was mostly the task of the reconnaissance (G2) and the operational divisions. Based on their advice, the mission commander issued a uniform command to regulate the relations between the military and civilian organisations. Unfortunately, a number of fields were not covered by the regulation, occasionally enabling different legal interpretations.

- Cooperation with the other organisations of the mission concerning the resolution or handling of specific situations.

Among other things, the logistics service and the Force Medical Officer collectively arranged that the wounded inhabitants of a village raided near one of our camps (Graida) could receive medical treatment. In addition to that, medical treatment was also given on several occasions to local or tribal leaders regardless of their alliance with the insurgents or the government forces. Once we needed to resort to the help of the civilian company (PAE) serving the camps, in order to put nearly 20 injured Sudanese soldiers into safety from the insurgent troops attacking Sheriya. According to local custom, they would

probably have been executed by the occupying troops. However, we managed to put them in a cooling container out of use at the moment, which ultimately saved their lives. In addition to the risk of that move, it was also difficult to justify morally, as the Sudanese military and the Janjaweed kept terrorising, even murdering the local population and the inhabitants of the refugee camps.³⁰ Some were on the view that these Sudanese soldiers would only have been returned what they had done to the locals. In the end we hid them out of humanitarian considerations so they survived the two weeks of combat. Once the government troops recaptured the town and the soldiers returned to their barracks, relations between the camp and the representatives of the local power spectacularly improved and our work was no longer hampered by them.

- Providing experts to Quick Impact Projects resulting in benefits for the mission.

Their success also tended to be rather occasional, e.g. when various buildings had been damaged during the rainy season in the town of Marla located in the South African sector, which the South African technical staff helped to restore. While that enterprise was appreciated by the mission commander, later he refused to give permission to use the mission's equipment in a similar project in another sector. Less than a week had passed between the two incidents and the security situation had not deteriorated in the mission, so nothing could possibly justify the refusal to give assistance, especially if one considers that a minimal expense would have been sufficient to gain the confidence of the population of a village located at hardly one kilometre from the camp. On the other hand, it was arranged that the camp physicians could hold consultation hours and give basic medical treatment to those in need in nearby settlements and refugee camps.

- Drawing up forecasts and giving advice, if appropriate, to the civilian, military and police leaders in command of the mission.

While all the divisions referred to above were involved in these activities, the commanders often did not even bother to read the forecasts. Even when harm had been done, the division leaders tended to hold them up for their own protection, without following the recommendations.

These deficiencies alone were sufficient to prevent the achievement of the three chief functions of CIMIC:

- Civil-military communication
- The supporting of the civil environment
- The supporting of the armed forces

³⁰ <http://www.afrika.no/Detailed/15187.html> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

In the Civil-Military Cooperation Doctrine of the Hungarian Defence Forces, civil-military communication is defined as follows:

*'The task of civil-military communication is to provide the required coordination in order to support and facilitate the planning and implementation of operations. The establishment of that communication in the early phase of planning and following the deployment of forces will lay the foundations for the development of further CIMIC functions. This will be an essential basis for the planning and development of the subsequent main CIMIC functions. Communication with the civil authorities and organisations is facilitated, among a lot of other things, by appropriate mass communications. It requires the timely communication of the achievements of civil-military cooperation with a view to facilitating the obtaining of the support of the population, the international and non-governmental organisations.'*³¹

As seen from the above, that function could not be fully achieved, due partly to organisational deficiencies as well as the fact that this area was not given sufficient importance at the beginnings of the mission.

In the Civil-Military Cooperation Doctrine of the Hungarian Defence Forces, the supporting of the civil environment is defined as follows:

*'A wide range of CIMIC activities are embraced by the supporting of the civil environment in accordance with the mission of the military forces employed. The support is normally governed by a non-civilian authority. It may encompass a wide range of military resources, including information, personnel, materials, equipment, communication facilities, devices, experts and training. It is normally established when and where this is an essential condition of the implementation of the military mission if local civil authorities and agencies are unable to carry out the specific task. The decision on the extent, duration and quantity of the aid must be adopted on a high level, taking into consideration political, military and civil factors.'*³²

This should include, among other things, the plans for the evacuation of the civilian population, humanitarian aid (food and water supply), participation in the restoration of the critical infrastructure and, in cooperation with the NGO's, the organisation of the stationing and supply of refugees.

Even that could not be fully achieved, as the mission was only granted restricted rights by the Sudanese government.³³ It must be kept in mind that Darfur is part of Sudan, a functional sovereign state despite its perception as a

³¹ Civil-Military Cooperation Doctrine for all services of the Hungarian Defence Forces, p. 10

³² Ibid.

³³ Samuel M. Makinda, F. Wafula Okumu: The African Union: challenges of globalization, security, and governance, pp. 85-86

‘pariah state’ under economic sanctions, in which members of the government and the militias aided by the government carry out activities against humanity (methodical genocide, the burning down of villages, etc.). In other words, the Sudanese sovereign power is, in theory, functional and it is extremely difficult to change anything from outside. The agreement between the AU and Sudan and the signing of various treaties (SOFA, SOMA) had all been in vain, since they were interpreted by the Sudanese authorities at their will, including deliberately obstructing peace-keeping activities on many occasions.³⁴ Restrictions (curfews) were often extended to AMIS personnel. The issue of the evacuation of the civilian population was therefore quickly brushed aside whenever it was brought up, pleading that the Sudanese state machinery was working efficiently so there was no need for ‘foreigners’ to meddle in the problems of the local population. It could be observed in other respects that the Sudanese military/police units were, in concert with the Janjaweed militias, doing everything in order to achieve that as much of the native population should leave their homes and relocate into the refugee camps as possible. It had various reasons. Firstly, this enabled government troops to eliminate the supply bases of the rebels (food, shelter, manpower replacement and information flow) with increased efficiency and, secondly, it was easier to control the population in refugee camps.³⁵

Since the camps were also under the control of the Sudanese government, humanitarian organisations were required a special permit in order to operate in the camps. During my service, several NGO’s were expelled because of giving some kind of trouble to the Sudanese authorities (for criticising the Sudanese police operating in the refugee camps for failing to defend inhabitants against the cruel acts of militias or often abusing the confidence of the people they were supposed to protect).

Camp infrastructure, as such, was non-existent. The building of wells and latrines and any efforts with a view to organising the life of the camps were the results of the efforts of charitable organisations.³⁶ As I have mentioned, the AMIS was only involved in such activities unofficially, on an ad hoc basis, especially as it lacked sufficient finances for the purpose.³⁷ Activities concerning the refugees were mostly limited to the AU installing mobile police stations with Norwegian sponsorship in order to ensure increased protection to the refugees.³⁸ However, that program only partly lived up to the expectations, since the AU

³⁴ <http://www.enoughproject.org/blogs/un-sudan-officials-obstruct-peacekeeping-darfur> (downloaded 03.02.2010), and Markus Derblom, Eva Hagström Frisell, Jennifer Schmidt: UN-EU-AU Coordination in Peace Operations in Africa, 38

³⁵ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7685248.stm> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

³⁶ <http://www.afrika.no/Detailed/15187.html> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

³⁷ Markus Derblom, Eva Hagström Frisell, Jennifer Schmidt: UN-EU-AU Coordination in Peace Operations in Africa, p. 24

³⁸ <http://uniteamholding.com/newsflash/police-stations-in-darfur.html> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

policemen had very limited opportunities to intervene in the interest of camp-dwellers (lack of authorisation, restrictions on the use of firearms, etc.).³⁹

In the Civil-Military Cooperation Doctrine of the Hungarian Defence Forces, the supporting of the forces is defined as follows:

*'Within the area of operation, depending on the specific circumstances, commanders may, in various fields and on repeated occasions, need civilian support, the controlling of the population and local resources and, subsequently, access to civilian resources (fuel, food, water) and civilian sources of information. Commanders are required to make all efforts in order that the population accept the presence and the activities of (peace-keeping) troops as legitimate and lawful, with a view to gaining as wide support from the population as possible for the implementation of the operations. In that regard, CIMIC has a fundamental role.'*⁴⁰

While the mission was initially received with great expectations by locals (the expectations concerning the peace-keepers had perhaps even been raised too high), their friendly attitude later turned into indifference or often even into open hostility. I heard a lot of complaints by locals that African soldiers had only come to Darfur to have three proper meals a day and draw a big wage. It is extremely difficult to explain to a person having one meal of millet or durrha a day and meat maybe once a week and having to spread out the daily wage of a peace-keeper (US\$ 120 a day) for an entire month in order to support his family, that we have come to help him. It is particularly difficult if he sees that the observers do nothing but sit in their camps for weeks, sometimes patrol, without really helping civilians, while the same people rule over them who have caused their plight in the first place.

They also took offence when the peace-keepers failed to intervene in order to protect civilians when they were attacked by militiamen. In one of our camps, the distance between the camp and the village was only 6-700 metres, and therefore the relations between soldiers and locals became very friendly. One day the village was attacked, Janjaweed horsemen massacring over twenty people and burning down most of the village together with the mature crop still awaiting harvest, in full view of the observers. While a few soldiers and policemen wanted to intervene, which they did not receive permission for, on the grounds that *'we are but peace-keepers who are not in the position to draw*

³⁹ Human Rights Watch: Imperatives for immediate change: the African Union Mission in Sudan, p. 39, and <http://www.usnews.com/blogs/sam-dealey/2009/01/26/the-un-shares-blame-for-darfur-atrocities.html> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

⁴⁰ Civil-Military Cooperation Doctrine for all services of the Hungarian Defence Forces, p. 10

the anger of the belligerent parties upon us and who must maintain our neutrality'. The observers watched the attack to the end, documenting it (taking photos during the raid and subsequently of the dead) and reporting it to HQ.

Understandably, the villagers were later not really disposed to make friends with the peace-keepers. In 2007, unidentified armed persons attacked the camp, killing eight and leaving further eight peace-keepers seriously wounded.⁴¹ Later it was found that one of the attacking groups had come from that village...

When all is said and done, rather than gaining the widest possible support from the civilian population, the AMIS even managed to lose its initial support.⁴² Unfortunately, the joint UN-AU *Hybrid Force* was similarly unable to win the effective support of the local population as the latter tended to consider the peace-keeping troops parasites who drew a salary despite failing to protect them from the armed attackers belonging to various groups. In addition to that, peace-keepers also had to face being regarded targets by both government and insurgent troops during attacks.⁴³ In order to fully achieve these objectives, the African Union would have needed CIMIC abilities, which did not even exist at the time, even if some elements of the organisation managed to incorporate some of the tasks into their sphere of activities. The CIMIC only represented an additional task to the divisions on top of their activities. This ability can be considered available if the following three elements exist and 'function':

- **Theory:** established guidelines, doctrine and concepts
- **Training and exercise:** The ability to translate the doctrine into practice (training, exercise and general preparedness)
- **Physical component:** The availability of the actual capacity, representing a trained personnel, deployed units and support units.

Since the African Union was a recently established organisation (even if its predecessor, the Organisation of African Unity, had been operating for decades), the AMIS being its first official military mission, it did not have doctrines and guidelines in accordance with the planning system of the organisation or the required system of planning and procedures in the field in question (CIMIC).⁴⁴ Obviously, that left its mark on the activity of the mission. While in their declarations, AU politicians have kept emphasising that the Darfur peace-keeping mission was the first independent African mission, this is not really so. Previously, they had launched a mission in the territory of Burundi, which soon collapsed due to the lack of organisation, insufficient

⁴¹ <http://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/doc/doc589950.pdf> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

⁴² <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL17742685> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

⁴³ <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/africa/07/09/darfur.peacekeepers/index.html> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

⁴⁴ Markus Derblom, Eva Hagström Frisell, Jennifer Schmidt: UN-EU-AU Coordination in Peace Operations in Africa, p. 25

training and the lack of required funding (when South Africa had withdrawn their sponsorship). The UN had to intervene at very short notice by taking over the mission, in order to prevent further loss of prestige.⁴⁵ Now it is clear that a similar situation was arrived at in the Darfur mission, which, for that matter, could only be maintained by the serious funding and the provision of equipment by the US, the NATO, the UN and the EU. As a consequence of the typical African circumstances (corruption, scrappy planning, insufficient funds, rivalry, etc.), the EU had to take over the command of the mission yet again, even if this was carried out under a 'joint' UN-AU peace-support operation in order to keep up appearances.⁴⁶

It is already clear that the AU's third mission in Somalia may end up in a similar situation as the only troops so far have been a 2,700-strong contingent sent by Uganda,⁴⁷ and 3 Burundian battalions.⁴⁸ While the envisaged strength would be 8,000 troops, African countries are reluctant to command the troops they have offered to Somalia.⁴⁹

It shows that despite the quick establishment of the AU, apart from the distribution of the leading positions, they have not been able to carry out any serious work in the field of peace-supporting operations, which has partly been due, as I have said, to the lack of established doctrines and concepts. That does not only apply to CIMIC.

Training, exercises and general preparedness are similarly problematic, due to the fact that, rather than sending the experts supposed to carry out CIMIC activities, the people delegated to the various NATO, UN and EU courses, seminars and conferences are still selected in a sort of 'feudatory' fashion. I remember receiving a training group from the Norfolk NATO command who held seminars on CIMIC activities among other topics, for several weeks.⁵⁰ The courses were chiefly attended by the senior officials of the mission, while the executive personnel were only enrolled in the trainings every once in a while. When I left the mission, there was a field officer who had attended all the courses offered for the AMIS by other international organisations, despite the fact that they were completely irrelevant in his position. This reminded me of the situation in Hungary after the fall of Communism, when staff members

⁴⁵ http://www.foi.se/upload/projects/Africa/FOI2561_AMIB.pdf (downloaded 03.02.2010)

⁴⁶ Markus Derblom, Eva Hagström Frisell, Jennifer Schmidt: UN-EU-AU Coordination in Peace Operations in Africa, pp. 40-42

⁴⁷ <http://allafrica.com/stories/200907300007.html> (downloaded 03.02.2010)

⁴⁸ http://www.hiiraan.com/news2_rss/2009/Aug/burundi_sends_troop_reinforcements_to_somalia.aspx (downloaded 04.02.2010)

⁴⁹ <http://www.africa-union.org/root/AU/AUC/Departments/PSC/AMISOM/amisom.htm> (downloaded 04.02.2010)

⁵⁰ Human Rights Watch: Imperatives for immediate change: the African Union Mission in Sudan, p. 33

about to retire were sent on 10-month intensive language courses and other foreign trainings of varying length, while the effective strength carrying out the actual operations were thinking wistfully of such opportunities. Fortunately, while we have left that kind of thinking behind, the AU still appears to be at that stage. Obviously, it would not be a problem if the commanders were the first to receive such types of trainings provided that they drew the required conclusions and applied them in the future or they were incorporated in their training system (Lessons Learned). Unfortunately, this was not achieved while I was in the area and the situation has improved at a very slow pace ever since.

Today, while the mission now employs experts responsible for humanitarian issues and for liaising with the various charitable civil organisations, professional CIMIC staff are still not available, there is no trained personnel or established units specialising in implementing such tasks and the required support capacities are also missing.

After the UN took over the Darfur mission, changes were also effected in these respects, as the leaders of the UN had realised that CIMIC abilities have become indispensable with a view to the success of peace-supporting operations. However, they have been unable to fully make up for the shortcomings of the training of the incoming officers and soldiers. While a remote training program has been launched, its results are still to be seen.⁵¹

Literature:

1. Besenyő János: Logistic Experiences: The Case of Darfur -Promoting Peace and Security in Africa – Finnish Department of Strategic and Defence Studies (2006 – Series2 No 35), pp. 41-59
2. Center on International Cooperation (New York University): Annual review of global peace operations, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007, 391 pages, ISBN: 9781588265098
3. Human Rights Watch: Imperatives for immediate change: the African Union Mission in Sudan, Human Rights Watch Vol. 18. No. 1A, 2006, 55 pages
4. Magyar Honvédség Összhaderőnemi Civil-katonai Együttműködési Doktrína. P. 11. Published by the HM HVK HDMKIKCSF, Budapest, 2004.
- 5- Markus Derblom, Eva Hagström Frisell, Jennifer Schmidt: UN-EU-AU Coordination in Peace Operations in Africa, Swedish Defence Research Agency, Defence Analysis, November 2008, 87 pages, ISSN: 1650-1942
6. Millard Burr, Robert O. Collins: Darfur: The Long Road to Disaster, Markus Wiener Publishers, 2008, 347 pages, ISBN: 9781558764705
7. Mohamed Hassan Fadlalla: The Problem of Dar Fur, iUniverse, 2005, 212 pages, ISBN: 9780595365029
8. Mohamed Hassan. Fadlalla: Short History of Sudan, iUniverse, 2004, 154 pages, ISBN: 9780595314256

⁵¹ <http://unamid.peaceopstraining.org/courses.php#course72> (downloaded 04.02.2010)

9. Robert O. Collins: Civil wars and revolution in the Sudan: essays on the Sudan, Southern Sudan and Darfur, 1962 – 2004, Tsehai Publishers, 2005, 408 pages, ISBN: 9780974819877
10. Samuel M. Makinda, F. Wafula Okumu: The African Union: challenges of globalization, security, and governance, Routledge, 2008, 209 pages, ISBN: 9780415403498

Nóra Nábrádi

WHAT IS ASSESSED IN THE STANAG LEVEL 2 READING COMPREHENSION EXAM?

Summary

Being a multinational organisation, NATO has always attached considerable importance to the teaching and testing of the English language, which has intensified in the last few years due to a massive increase in joint military operations. The adoption of the NATO STANAG 6001 in 1976 responded to a need to define language proficiency: it provided (and still does) a common scale with formal descriptions of the base levels in four skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing). All member countries that develop their own NATO STANAG 6001 language testing system must observe and act in compliance with the common scale. This paper, after presenting a brief overview of the STANAG 6001 scale and the testing of reading, examines the four tasks of the STANAG 2 reading comprehension exam accredited in Hungary. The focus of my analysis is on looking at the reading sub-skills the tasks are intended to measure and also relating the text types to the common scale (NATO STANAG 6001 Edition 3).

Introduction

Of the two official languages (English and French) at NATO, English has become the operational language, and the teaching and testing of English in NATO countries have had special importance in the last few years due to the accession of new member states and a considerable number of joint tasks, e.g. exercises, training, operations, posting at multinational NATO headquarters. English language teaching and testing carry high stakes for individual military professionals and the member (and partner) countries alike. To ensure interoperability in joint operations or NATO positions, military (and civilian)