

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES

STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE

OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

United Nations Security Council's Double Standards

Case Study:

Sabra and Shatila Massacre 1982 and Darfur Crisis 2003

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Master Degree**

By: Meryem GANA

Ahlam SOUAADIA

Academic Year: 2017

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Publically defended before the following jury:

Mr.	University of M'sila	Chairperson
Mr. Mohamed GOUFFI	University of M'sila	Supervisor
Miss	University M'sila	Examiner

Academic Year: 2017

DECLARATION

We hereby declare that the dissertation entitled "*The Double Standards of the United Nations Security Council: Case Study Sabra and Shatila Massacre of 1982 and Darfur Crisis of 2003*" is our own work and that all the sources we have quoted have been acknowledged by means of references.

Signature

Date:

Acknowledgement

First and foremost we should be very much grateful to Allah the almighty for giving us the strength and patience to conduct this humble work.

We are also thankful to our supervisor Mr. Mohamed GOUFFI for his highly constructive comments, corrections, and encouragements throughout the course of writing this dissertation, as well as his patience, guidance, and sincerity.

Abstract

This dissertation is an analytical investigative study of the practice of the United Nations Security Council. The chosen corpus of this study is Sabra and Shatila massacre and Darfur crisis as one of the big historical issues. The study provides historical proofs that show the United Nations Security Council's controversial policy. The major purpose of the current study, hence, is to delve into the double standards of the Security Council, subsequently, to verify the Council's credibility in taking actions in times of conflicts and disputes. To achieve the goals posed so far, a comparative approach is to be adopted. The latter, in fact, best suits the context of the study as it goes in the direction of revealing the similarities and the differences. The first theoretical chapter discusses the United Nations Security Council as an organization of maintaining universal peace, adding to that, it describes the two cases taken by the UNSC concerning the Sudan and Israel. The second analytical chapter elucidates the UNSC response in treating both issues.

ملخص

هذه المذكرة هي دراسة تحليلية تحقيقيه تفحص مدى ازدواجية المعايير لدى مجلس الأمن التابع للأمم المتحدة حيث تم اتخاذ مجزرة صابرة وشاتيلا (1982) و أزمة دارفور (2003) كمحور أساسي للدراسة من خلال تقديم دلائل وبراهين تاريخية تظهر السياسة المتناقضة لمجلس الأمن المعتمدة في حل هاتين الأزميتين. الهدف الأساسي من هذه الدراسة هو التحقيق في ازدواجية المعايير لمجلس الأمن الدولي وبالتالي التحقق من مدى مصداقية هذه المنظمة في اتخاذ الإجراءات اللازمة في أوقات الحروب والنزاعات. وللإجابة عن هذه الإشكالية المطروحة، تم اتخاذ المنهج المقارن هذا الأخير يتناسب و سياق الدراسة لأنه يكشف أوجه التشابه والاختلاف. يناقش الفصل الأول كل ما يتعلق بالمنظمة لاعتبارها المسئول الأول في نشر الأمن والسلم الدوليين، كما يسلط الضوء على وصف الوقائع والأحداث بشأن السودان وإسرائيل كحالتين اتخذتا من طرف مجلس الأمن. بينما يوضح الفصل الثاني رد مجلس الأمن في معالجة كلتا القضيتين.

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List of Abbreviations

WWI: World War One

WWII: World War Two

UN: United Nations

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

ICC: International Criminal Court

US: United States

UK: United Kingdom

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PLO: Palestinian Liberation Organization

IDF: Israeli Ministry of Defense

SLM: Sudan Liberation Movement

JEM: Justice and Equality Movement

AIPAC: American Israel Public Affairs Committee

General Introduction

Prior to the establishment of the United Nations, the League of Nations was responsible for maintaining world peace. However, after WWII erupted, the League was deemed ineffectual, therefore, the idea of the United Nations was born in 1943, yet, it existed effectively in 1945. The organization is separated into a number of administrative divisions, this includes the Security Council.

The Security Council, as a main body of the United Nations, was in charge of maintaining global peace and security. Particularly, the Security Council is responsible for encouraging the peaceful settlement of disputes, for creating peacekeeping operations, for imposing sanctions and, and for authorizing the use of military force.

Much has been said about the legitimacy of the Security Council's decisions as well as the implementations of practices. In short, it was criticized as an unfair organization that works on double standards policy.

Regarding what has been mentioned earlier, this research is an attempt to reveal the double standards of the Security Council in dealing with international conflicts, taking the case of Sudan and Israel as samples. This work is going to show the flagrant biases of the United Nations Security Council's decisions in imposing sanctions on the perpetrators: the Sudanese president Omar Hassan Al Bashir and the Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon.

The findings of this study will clarify the double faced policy that was adopted by the Security Council in dealing with the issue of Sabra and Shatila and Darfur, so as to provide a clear understanding of how this organization functions. The study will be

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helpful in exposing, to a limited extent, the bad practices of the Security Council's policy that became irrelevant due to inaction on some international skirmishes.

Owing to the fact that the Security Council's main mission is promoting international peace and security and preventing tragic conflicts, yet its credibility is doubted. The crisis in Darfur and the genocide in Sabra and Shatila knew different responses. The Security Council intervention in solving both issues was paradoxical when two inequitable resolutions were adopted. Both perpetrators were accused of committing crimes against civilians, and Omar Al Bashir was issued an arrest warrant as a reaction of his crime, while Ariel Sharon has not been punished.

The main mission of the Security Council has deviated; from an organization that should be acting neutrally in protecting human rights, and working for the stability of the countries, to an organization that serves its interests. In the light of the statement raised earlier, the question that will be the departing point of this study is: The United Nations Security Council used double standards policy in treating both crises Sabra and Shatila massacre and Darfur Crisis when imposing sanctions on perpetrators. How was this double standards policy of the United Nations Security Council?

The current research question is too broad for which an apparatus of sub-questions will help expound the research. The questions are the following: what are the motives that pushed the United Nations Security Council to intervene in Sudan while it did not in Israel? Why did not the United Nations Security Council impose sanctions on Israel despite its destruction, killing and slaughtering of the Palestinians since both actions were considered as humanitarian catastrophes? What measures did the UNSC take to punish the responsible?

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This dissertation is going to tackle the main idea of the double standards of the Security Council, taking Sudan's president Omar Al Bashir (Darfur) and, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon (Sabra and Shatila) as a case study of this research, with the attempt of mentioning the basis of this organization and how it functions whether neutrally or having other hidden interests.

This study makes resources to comparative approach in research, best suits in fact the context of the study as it goes in the direction of revealing the similarities and the differences between two cases taken by UNSC concerning the Sudan and Israel. In fact comparative method in research proved to an operative qualitative and quantitative tool in various researches conducted in politics, historical studies. On that basis, the study at hand uses comparative method where a qualitative comparative analysis is done. It therefore constitutes an overarching instrument in revealing patterns of similarities and differences across a sample of cases that this study involves.

Not long ago, researchers, writers along with journalists have shown interest to the massacre in Sabra and Shatila, as well as the crisis in Darfur and the role of the United Nations Security Council in acting on the two issues. The Israeli Palestinian conflict seems to be an everlasting conflict. Sabra and Shatila massacre which took place over three bloody days in the Lebanese capital Beirut is an example on that. The book *'From Beirut to Jerusalem'* was written by a Christian British Singaporean woman surgeon on the Sabra and Shatila camps, Ang Swee Chai. The writer tends to describe the situation of the Palestinians in the camps after Israel had declared a ceasefire. Ang Swee Chai narrates what happened during those three days inside and outside the hospital. *'Sabra and Shatila September 1982'* is another book was written by Bayan

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Nuwayhed to describe the cruelty of Israel. The book covered the history of the massacre in which the writer provided interviews of victim's families.

On the other hand, one of the works includes ‘*Omar Al Bashir's Sudan (Dictatorship)*’ by Diana Childress. In this book, the writer attempted to describe the Sudanese president Omar Al Bashir as the dictator of Sudan. Another book was written concerning this subject is ‘*A History of Modern Sudan*’ by Robert O. Collins in which he talked about the history of Sudan from the beginning of the nineteenth century as he named those years as ‘the making of modern Sudan’.

The works mentioned so far discussed one of the issues related to Palestinian context. Some others focused on Darfur crisis, and they estimated the number of people who were killed, injured, and displaced. The question was covered from different tokens; but those works do not compare the question of Sabra and Shatila to the humanitarian crisis of Darfur and this is what this dissertation is going to bring to light.

The novelty this study is likely to bring is to compare two different cases. One that was against refugees in Lebanon and the second was in province of Darfur, which is actually a part of Sudan. Two leaders were accused of genocide and criminality, but the difference lies in the fact that the UNSC issued two resolutions by which Israel was not held responsible for the crime. While Omar Al Bashir was brought to justice and ICC issued him an arrest warrant.

Structurally speaking, the work is divided along two main chapters. The first chapter will be devoted to a theoretical framework, it is entitled “*A Historical Background of the United Nations Security Council, Sabra and Shatila Massacre and Darfur Crisis: A Historical Framework*”. It provides a general overview on the

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United Nations Security Council and its mission of maintaining peace. Besides that, it presents the two issues that are the centre of this study.

In contrast to what have been said in the theoretical chapter, the second chapter under the heading of “*The United Nations Security Council Double Standards: Sabra and Shatila Massacre and Darfur Crisis*” will be the analytical framework. It casts light on the response of the Security Council in resolving both upheavals.

Chapter One:

The United Nations Security Council, Sabra and Shatila Massacre and Darfur Crisis: Historical Framework

Chapter One: The United Nations Security Council, Sabra and Shatila Massacre and Darfur Crisis: Historical Framework

Introduction

After the two tragic, devastating and horrible wars; WWI and WWTT, the United Nations was born as an international organization to replace the League of Nations that did not succeed in achieving its main goal as an organization of world peace. The United Nations was designed nearly for the same reasons: resolving conflicts, promoting international co-operation among its nations, maintaining world peace and safety, more importantly, preventing a third World War from happening. The Security Council, as the permanent international peacekeeping organ of the United Nations, was given the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Sabra and Shatila massacre and Darfur crisis were among the most critical issues along history. One centered in Lebanon in 1982. Palestinian refugees were killed by the Phalangists group with the help of Israel along three days which caused a huge number of victims. The other one centered in West Sudan in 2003. Two rebel groups known as Darfur Liberation Movement as well as Justice and Equality Movement launched a war against the Sudanese government accusing it for marginalizing and neglecting the African tribes. These two horrific events destabilized the stability of their countries as well as the international peace and security.

This theoretical chapter serves to show a historical background and gives a general overview of the League of Nations as the first attempt to create an international organization for world peace, more than that, it provides a general description of the United Nations organization as its successor. This part provides an explanation of the origins of these two events as well by demonstrating the nature of the conflicts, reasons behind these crimes, and casualties of the dead people.

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I. Historical Background

1. The Birth of the League of Nations: Successes and Failures

At the aftermath of the disaster caused by WWI and the loss of thousands of civilians, President Woodrow Wilson began his effort to initiate an international association for peace, that became his recognizable success and revolutionary step which paved the way for world peace. It made also a sense for an immediate action so that such a human-caused catastrophe would never happen again. Thus the League of Nations was born.

The League of Nations which officially existed between the years 1920 to 1946 was the world's first attempt that was created to provide the framework for the new world order. It was set up in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles that ended WWI to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security. It was established by the victorious states, the Allies: Great Britain France and Russia, on one side and by the neutral nations: Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary and Mexico, on the other. The Allies, however, were the original members of the League, except the United States that refused to ratify the Treaty of Paris. The headquarters were located in Geneva, Switzerland. It was created after WWI for resolving international disputes. It also supported and shared an optimistic belief that the new era of international relations was started. (Harberman 16)

The League of Nations was dedicated to ensure the security of its member countries and promote peace among them. Furthermore, to stop wars and conflicts between nations. The league had four main aims. Firstly, to encourage co-operation among the world countries. Secondly, disarmament was regarded as essential measure for achieving peace. The idea was

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trying to disarm the World's countries of weapon. Next, was to improve people's living standard; this meant to cure diseases, improve working conditions.. etc. Finally, the League's main aim was achieving world peace (Wiebercht 2).

The main principles of the League can be found in the covenant that marked its beginning. It consisted of twenty six articles. From one to seven, it described the major bodies of the league like the Security Council and the General Assembly. Additionally, it listed the conditions of all member states that they should follow. From article eight to nine, it focused on the main goal of the League of Nations, "disarmament," by reducing the amount of arms.

Article from ten to twenty one listed the rights as well as the obligations of the member states for the promotion of international peace and security. From twenty two to twenty three, it explained the League of Nations way in expanding its relations concerning trade, finance and transport. Next, it provided healthcare and fought against slavery expansion and drugs. Finally, from twenty four to twenty six, it was concerned with the support of the Red Cross and the League of Nations function when it is needed to include any amendment to the covenant ¹(History of the League).

There were three major bodies that can be mentioned in the League of Nations. The first body was the Council. It was established in article four of the covenant; it consisted of more powerful and dominant members of the League. The Council was the most important part and the most powerful executive body in decision making and was responsible to intervene in crises happening in the world. The main goal of this body was preventing international

¹[http://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/\(httpAssets\)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/\\$file/Historical_overview_of_the_League_of_Nations.pdf](http://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/$file/Historical_overview_of_the_League_of_Nations.pdf)

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conflicts and solving disputes among nations. Moreover, it included four permanent strong powers (Britain, France, Italy and Japan). Also, it was consisted of other four non-permanent members (Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain). The second part of the league was the Assembly. It was established in article three of the covenant. This body holds only one meeting a year, each member of the League sent three representatives to discuss the urgent issues of the day. The last part of the League of Nations was the secretariat. It was its civil service that was responsible for meetings, preparing agenda and publishing reports. This body was the slowest part in the League because it took long time for doing missions and jobs (Housden 12-14)

During the first decades of its establishment, the League of Nations solved a number of international problems and achieved considerable successes. First and foremost, it brought several disputes to an end; these include preventing a war between Finland and Sweden over the Aland Island in 1920. I.e. the League brought the countries together and resolved the trouble. It could settle hostilities between Bulgaria and Greece and helped Austria in economic disaster. Too, the League accomplished many humanitarian assistances, it arranged an efficient repatriation of thousands of displaced persons, aid refugees and prisoners of war. Moreover, it provided works in surveys of health, education and giving a financial help to needy states in large scale. Another point worth mentioning is that the League pressed constantly against human exploitation, slave trade, and international drug trade (Simons 33)

By the time, the League of Nations started to lose most of its power as an international body for world peace. The League was no longer able to solve problems, especially, when it failed to take action to stop the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Another failure was that the League did not have army and, therefore, no powerful means to enforce its decision; instead it relied on countries such as Britain and France. The outbreak of WWII marked the

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end of this organization, i.e. the League of Nations failed to achieve its main goal as the first international organization for world peace. As a matter of fact the League of Nations' failure paved the way for the establishment of a new organization as its successor whose main objective was to prevent a Third World War (Otono 6)

Despite the League of Nations failing, the idea of international body that strove for world peace among nations was still designed by many countries especially after WWII. This new body was the United Nations organization that came into existence to prevent a third world war.

2. The United Nations Organization: Purposes and Principles

The United Nations is an international organization that was founded after the devastation caused by WWII. The name United Nations was an initiative of the United State president Franklin D. Roosevelt, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and the leader of the Soviet Union Joseph Stalin, when they met and promised to work together to achieve world peace. In August 1944, representatives from different countries including China, the Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and the United States met in Dumbarton Oaks, located in Washington D.C to ratify the main principle of this new organization which was providing security all over the world. In June 1945, fifty countries came together in San Francisco at the United Nations conference to sign the charter of the United Nations. After the negotiations, the new organization came into existence officially on October 24, 1945(Hanhimaki 13-14).

The Charter of the United Nations is the foundational treaty of the international organization called the United Nations. It listed the instruments of all the member states, their rights, as well as their obligations. That is to say, the charter is the constituent treaty and all members are bound by its articles. The charter had four main aims: achieving world peace,

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protecting human rights, uphold respect for international law, developing social progress and improving standards of living (Hanhimaki 1). The charter is consisted of preamble and series of articles grouped into chapters. The preamble of the charter began with the following expression “*We the people of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generation from the scourge of war, which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind*” (Bookmiller10)

The preamble explained the main and common goals of the state members of United Nations. They promised to work hard in order to provide world peace as well as, to secure the new generations from entering a Third World War, to achieve equal rights between neighboring countries and live together in peace, based on tolerance and solidarity, nevertheless, not to regenerate the horrors caused by both WWI and WWII, that affected deeply the whole countries and influenced much of their economic and political structure.

The charter consisted of multiple chapters; within the first one, it stated the purposes and principles of the organization by taking inclusive strategies to prevent conflicts using peaceful means. The second chapter involved the membership of the United Nations. It gave the Security Council a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has the right to use its veto power (negative vote). Chapter three contained the six main organs of the United Nations which are: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship, the International Court and Justice and, the Secretariat (Hanhimaki 16).

Originally the charter was signed by 51 founding countries. Today, the number grew to 193 member states. According to the charter of the United Nations, all states from different countries are welcomed to join the United Nations Organization, i.e. all peace loving states

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that are able to accept all the obligations, duties, and rights listed in the charter are welcomed. These states are admitted to membership in the United Nations by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Concerning the languages of the state members Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish were adopted. Later, Arabic language was added as an official language to General Assembly, the Security Council and Economic and Social Council (Conforti 24).

The United Nations has many parts to it, it deals for instance, with matters of economics and social policy, and it deals with matters of human rights and violations. This includes: the General Assembly, The Economic and Social council, The Trusteeship, the Council, the International court of justice and finally the Secretariat. Yet the most important part of the United Nations is the Security Council. It was given the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This organ was seen as the key element of the UN that had the power to authorize sanctions and use force if necessary. The other body that is very important was the General Assembly which includes all the member states of the UN. Both the Security Council and General Assembly passed what is called resolutions to make policy for the world. The Security Council was given unlimited power, when it came to dealing with violations of peace. Its resolutions were compulsory on all member states. The Security Council has 15 members; five are permanent members that have the right to use the veto power. If any member disagrees on any resolutions, this later could not be passed, while the other ten members are called the non-permanent members. These non-permanent members should follow the decisions taken by the permanent members (Basu 62).

The main and essential purposes of the United Nations can be seen in the article one of its charter. These purposes include, firstly, the maintenance of international peace and security was deemed as its main goal to achieve world peace, providing better standards of living by

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protecting the rights of its entire people and live in peace with one another. Secondly, this organization sought to develop a good relationship between countries in all over the world based on respect, freedom, tolerance, and solidarity. Thirdly, the United Nations aimed at promoting international co-operations in dealing with conflicts and solving disputes using peaceful means without taking into consideration race, sex, gender and religion, and most importantly, to be a center for harmonizing the actions of the nations in achieving these goals. That is to say, the last goal is the essential element for better understanding the importance of the organization; the main role of the UN as an international center to discuss any matter or concern in the world, make it unique among the other organizations (Bookmiller 11). The United Nations works in accordance with a number of principles. Primarily, treating all its member states equally, each state, however, should remain loyal to the UN and follow all the obligations that stated in the charter. Last but not least, solving disputes between nations by using peaceful means. Eventually the UN should abstain from the threat to use force against any other state (UNDOPI 5)².

Among these six offices of the United Nations, the Security Council was given primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It has the right to intervene in disputed countries to resolve their conflicts and prevent hostilities among Nations.

3. The United Nations Security Council; Membership, meetings and Maintaining Peace and Security

Since the foundation of the United Nations Security Council, the organization faced criticism either on its methods of ruling and working or concerning its relations with the General Assembly (Okovat3). The organization tends to work on a double standards policy,

² <http://www.un.org/ar/geninfo/pdf/UN.today.pdf>

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that is, it works to serve its interests or in another word, it acts in accordance with the interests of the allies.

The United Nations Security Council is one of the principal offices of the United Nations; it was created after the Second World War for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security of any settlement and disputes, for imposing sanctions and even authorizing the use of military power.

The council membership is limited to 15 states divided into two categories: the first category represents the five world power (the p5)³, which are the victors of the WWII. This includes the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Russia, France and China (UNCh.ChV.A23). These countries are the five largest producers of weapons in the world, and this comes against the UN principles. These five permanent powers or countries have the veto power whereby any resolution of the council can be blocked if only one negative vote.

The second category is composed of the non-permanent members. Those members are elected for two years by the General Assembly. Each of the members has one representative. Resolutions require nine affirmative votes in order to pass as indicated in the United Nations charter: *“Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members...”* (UNCh. ChV. Ar27). The right to veto is wielded solely by the big five.

Most of the Security Council's meetings are public meetings in which four options were set by the president on the council's working methods. It is divided into four categories (Sievers and Daws21). the first one is briefing meeting. It is somehow limited since only members of the council are concerned to pass any declaration or announcement. (21)

³ The five permanent members of the Security Council.

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The second one is debate meeting (23). Contrary to the previous one, it is not limited to the council members, but rather the non-council member states can participate as well. It was the council that dealt with issues like the war in Afghanistan and Haiti. Mostly, this kind of meeting ends within only one session of discussion.

The open debate is the third category. Each state that has a request can participate i.e. all states of the United Nations can participate, usually, this open debate deals with subjects like women's peace and security, protecting civilians in times of wars...etc(23)

The last category of public meetings is adoption. The council can invite the non-permanent members to participate when having a request. This format can be held when a draft of resolution was adopted and the Security Council is intending to act on it (24).

Other meetings are closed meetings in which the Council decides to take actions, as Loraine Sievers and Sam Daws stated in their book *"The 2010 note by president on working methods explains that the function of private meetings is to conduct discussion and/or take actions.. Without the attendance of the public or the press"* (28). Private meetings mission was either to hold debates on the discussed issues, or to adopt some measures secretly without any public presence.

The first meeting of the Security Council was held in January 17, 1946 in Westminster, London, and other sessions were held in Addis Ababa, in Ethiopia, in Panama City, in Geneva, and in Switzerland. The permanent site of the Security Council became New York⁴. Members of the organization meet to discuss any power to make regulations, and the UN resolutions and decisions. Each member is allowed to use only one vote. It must remain a present representative member of the Security Council, so that members of the council can

⁴ The United Nations Security Council « <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/> »

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meet at any time. Members of the UN who are not members in the Security Council can participate in discussion of any issue that the Security Council brings, but without vote. (UN Ch. ChV. A21)

The United Nations Security Council's main objective is maintaining peace and security *“In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, Its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf”* (qtd in The Procedure of the UNSC.⁶)

The Council's mission of creating peace keeping operations comes when the SC has a complaint concerning a threat; the council usually initiates recommends that the sides try to reach an agreement through peaceful means (ChapterVI. Article33). Therefore, the council will either conduct investigations or appoint special envoys or requests the security General Assembly to use its good offices for the settlement of the conflict by peaceful means.

But when this dispute grows and leads to hostilities, the primary concern of the council will be to put an end to hostilities either on working on the ceasefire by using directives which would prevent the growth of the conflict, or by sending military observers (peace keepers)⁵. Those peacekeepers help to ease tensions and establish an atmosphere of calm to get peaceful solutions; otherwise, the Security Council will take enforcement measures including economic sanctions, travel bans, severance of diplomatic relations.

⁵United Nations Military Observers (UNMO)-missions have different tasks and assignments in different countries. They can consist of different professional components, such as a civil part, a military component and a police response.

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When the peaceful solutions fail and become impossible, states may be punished by the Security Council. The later will impose sanctions or even authorize the use of military force. (ChapterVII. Article41.42)

4. The Veto Power

The veto power is granted for the five permanent members only (Hashim2012). This power turned to be a tool for protecting interests of the permanent members, because these permanent members can cancel any resolution with a single negative vote. Scott Sheeran in his article described the UNSC's policy: *"as things stand, the Security Council's permanent members (the U.S., U.K., France, China and Russia) continue to protect their privilege"* (Sheeran2014). The world governance is embodied within those five members.

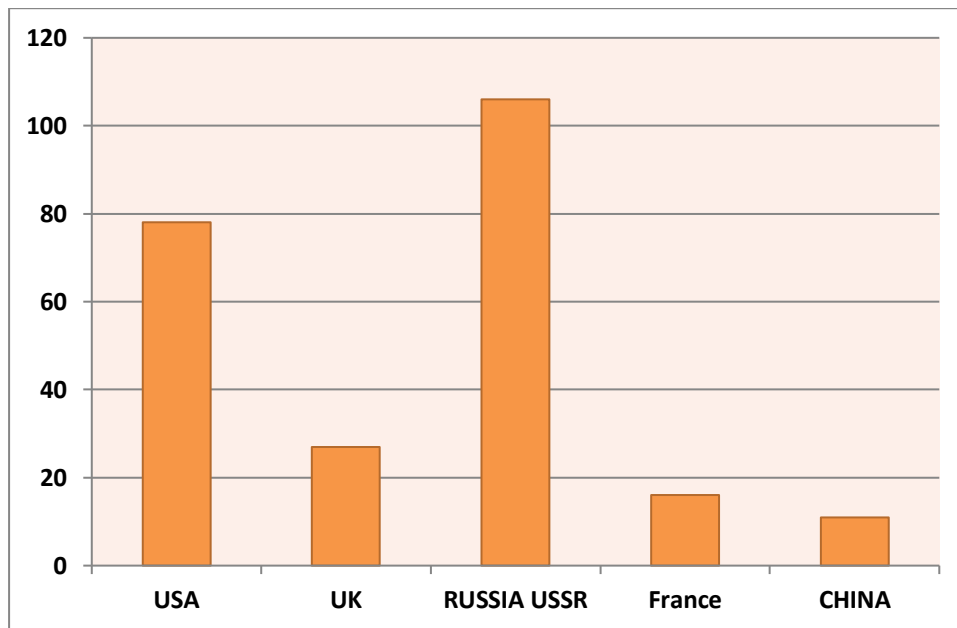
The United Nations sovereign members accepted it even though it was not in accordance with democratic principles. Edward C. Luck clearly stated that in his book: *"The UN's 192 sovereign member states have agreed, under its Charter, to accept the decisions of the Council's fifteen members as binding, despite ceaseless complaints about its undemocratic and unrepresentative character"* (Luck 1). In response, there were proposals for a reform of the Veto due to its violations and unfair treatment among the Security Council members.

The Security Council was inactive at many international conflicts, yet the Israeli-Palestinian issue is still debated. The council could not put an end to the violence and settlement activities by passing resolutions. Subbarao once described the use of veto in his thesis : *"The use of veto has been widely considered as very frequent and this was quickly identified as the prime reason for the inefficiency of the Security Council in discharging its*

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primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security”(167). The Security Council’s permanent member’s use of veto is considered to be a success for the member itself.

The council member’s use of veto varies from one to another. The chart below shows the use of veto by the permanent members⁶ :



The chart displays how the use of veto differs from one permanent member to another. USA used most of its vetoes on the Israeli Palestinian issue, whereas, most of Russian vetoes were used during the Cold War by the USSR⁷. The veto power was used in two crises. This includes Sabra and Shatila massacre and Darfur crisis.

II. Sabra and Shatila Massacre and Darfur Crisis

1. Sabra and Shatila Massacre

1.1 The Status of the Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon

⁶ « <http://research.un.org/en/docs/sc/quick/veto> »

⁷ Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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After the end of the WWI, Britain had promised the Jews to establish their own state in Palestine. Lord Arthur Balfour had passed his promise that is known as the Balfour Declaration in November 2, 1917 on the expense of Palestinian people and their homeland Palestine. This declaration marked the birth of Israel (Resenburg 2017). Palestine then was divided into three areas: the West Bank, Gaza, and the lands of the Forty Eight that became the Israeli lands. Many Palestinians were deported and displaced towards different Arab countries including Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon (Bastaki2015).

The Palestinian refugees in Lebanon constitute approximately 13.8% of the total number of the Palestinian refugees. Palestinians chose Lebanon for several reasons. At first, the Lebanese community was one of the largest Arab communities in Palestine and that led to the emergence of good relations between the two countries. Secondly, the borders between Palestine and Lebanon were not closed to citizens. In addition to that, there was a considerable overlap between the Southern population of Lebanon and Northern population of Palestine, so that led to close relations among them. Finally, Palestinians believed they will return their lands, for that they chose areas near their villages on the Lebanese borders. (MuhammedSaleh23) [Trans mine].

Palestinians has settled in four main camps, Tyre area camps, Sidon area camps, North Lebanon camps, and Beirut camps where the massacre of Sabra and Shatilla happened (MuhammedSaleh). Palestinians were welcomed at first, but by time, their lives turned into a tragedy in those camps.

Palestinian refugees often refer to themselves as the forgotten people where they live in an environment which is against their fundamental human rights. Refugees found themselves in conflicts that are beyond their control. They are fighting to survive within the restricted

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systems as Bolestad declared "*Palestinians in Lebanon seem to be the worst affected. Being constantly denied any rights Palestinians are forced to struggle for life*" (14). Palestinians suffered and still are suffering, till the present time, in Lebanon. Palestinians are deprived from owning property or work.

Palestinian refugees in the Lebanese camps were suffering from different problems including poverty, unemployment, and the displacement from one territory to another. They were not permitted to practice some works inside the camps like bringing construction materials. Marina Da Silva described the situation:

"According to Unrwa, 60% of Palestinian refugees live in poverty and as many as 70% are unemployed. Until recently there were 72 jobs they were unable to practice outside the camps; they were not allowed to bring construction material into the camps; and they cannot leave or re-enter Lebanese territory without a visa, which lasts for only six months"(Da Silva.2006)

Adding to that, most of Palestinian refugees are undocumented persons. This problem prevented them from not leaving the camp: "*A whole generation of undocumented persons is now coming of age with no prospect of participation in social and economic life*" (Petrigh15). The people without official papers have no document to prove their identity; they cannot practice their life since they are not registered. A generation is denied also identity papers.

2. The Situation in Lebanon before the Massacre

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When Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982, Lebanon was in a civil war between the Christian Maronite ⁸ and the Palestinian forces, especially Palestine's Liberation Organization. Israel had interfered with that war for the sake of transforming Lebanon into a Christian ruled ally that would stand against the Palestinians who built up a state within a state. The president of the time period was Bashir Gemayel, the leader of the Phalangists, a Lebanese Christian Militia which already massacred Palestinians residing in Lebanon during the Lebanese civil war, helped Israel to realize its plan of making Lebanon a Christian ally for Israel, but he was soon assassinated.

When Gemayel was elected, Muslims boycotted the elections ⁹ (Sabra and Shatila) claiming that this president is a candidate of Israel. Israel thought that this stood with its will to set up a friendly relationship with the Lebanese government (Hatem Chapter7). However, president Gemayel has been assassinated before taking office. The president was murdered by pro-Syrian militant, but the Phalangists blamed the Palestinians. As a result, they decided to take revenge. The assassination of Gemayel faded the Phalangists Israeli dreams, because it wanted the president to sign a peace treaty to guarantee the Israeli presence in Lebanon.

The question that can be asked here is: what would have happened if president Gemayel signed a peace treaty with Israel? The answer of the question is obvious. Israel wanted to dominate all Lebanon, not only the South. If president Gemayel agreed to sign this peace treaty, this would facilitate the Israeli control over the Palestinians. The assassination of the president led to the accusation of Palestinians, which made it easier for Israel to get into Beirut where the massacre over the two camps began.

⁸The Maronites are a Christian group who adheres to the Maronite Church and mainly hail from Mount Lebanon and the surrounding regions in the Levant. They derive their name from the Syriac Christian Saint Maron.

⁹<http://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance>

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It is said that the main reason behind this massacre was Israel's desire to drive out the PLO¹⁰, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people inside and outside Palestine. It is the organization that is responsible for the refugees in Lebanon. It was under the leadership of President Yasser Arafat who organized an armed military to fight against any struggle with Israel. Southern Beirut camps became under Palestinian military leadership and control¹¹(Sabra and Shatila1).

3. The Massacre

During the Lebanese Civil War, Philip Habib, as a special envoy by the US, has been sent to negotiate the agreement of the Palestinian forces withdrawal from Beirut. Safety was guaranteed to all the remaining Palestinian civilians in Lebanon according to that agreement which was under the protection of the US government, (Azzam2015), as well as its preventing the Israeli armed forces from entering West Beirut. Israel, at first, confirmed this guarantee, but later on, it broke the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla in September 15, 1982.

The Israeli military forces surrounded the camps on Wednesday morning¹²(Sabra and Shatila), the 15th of September by gunboats and tank shelling and military weapons. On Thursday September 16th the Israeli Ministry of Defense (IDF), under the leadership of Ariel Sharon, ordered the IDF to seize the city of Beirut. He permitted the Phalangist forces to get in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.

The first day of the massacre was on Thursday afternoon, when the Phalangists, under the order of the IDF, were ordered to enter the camps of Sabra and Shatila looking for the

¹⁰Palestinian Liberation Organization

¹¹ (<http://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance>) p 1

¹²(<http://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance>)

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remained two thousand armed terrorists, as the Israeli IDF claimed. When the PLO and the Palestinian forces that participated in the Lebanese Civil War¹³ left Beirut, Israel claimed that there were still around two thousand terrorists inside the camp. As a result, Israel wanted to kill them. In time of massacre, several Israeli leaders were met discussing the slaughter there in Lebanon. Ariel Sharon said: *"if you don't want to kill them, we will kill them"* (qtd in A preventable Massacre). He declared his intention of killing the Palestinians.

The Israeli military command and the Phalangists held meetings in Beirut. The first unit of the Phalangists, which was composed of 150 men, got in the camps and started killing people. They had cut off electricity but the camps were lit by the flares of the IDF in the sky of the camps. People were shot, men were slit by knives, hatches or axes, women and girls were raped before they were killed. Wounded people were taken to the Gaza Hospital in the North of Sabra, where there were foreign nurses and doctors. The British surgeon in Gaza Hospital, AngSwee Chai, an eye witness of the crime described the situation in her book saying: *"throughout the night, the camps surrounding the Gaza Hospital were lit up by flares shot into the sky, and the shootings continued. I did not sleep at night, neither the rest of the medical team"* (Swee Chai 71).

The 17th of September, the second day of the massacre, another phanalgist group entered the camp. They were about four hundred, they killed people all day long, houses were demolished, private goods like money and jeweleries were looted, bodies were thrown up on the streets, and many others were driven out the camps. Robert Fisk, a journalist from Washington and an eye witness of the massacre wrote in his article:

¹³ Lebanese Civil War was a multifaceted civil war in Lebanon, lasting from 1975 to 1990 and resulting in an estimated 120,000 fatalities. Fighting between Maronite and Palestinian forces (mainly from the Palestine Liberation Organization) began in 1975, then Leftist, pan-Arabist and Muslim Lebanese groups formed an alliance with the Palestinians.

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“There were women lying in houses with their skirt, torn up to their waists and their legs wide apart, children with their throats cut, rows of young men shoot on the back after being lined up at an execution wall. There were babies- black babies because they had been slaughtered more than 24 hours earlier and their small bodies were already in a state of decomposition” (Fisk. Sabra and Shatila)

On the last day of the massacre, the 18th of September, inhabitants were ordered to surrender, the murders were taking people out of their home to attack them, and others were arrested for interrogation ¹⁴(Sabra and Shatila 3-4). At first, it was thought that the massacre was over, afterward, the Israeli took other men to interrogate them to see if they were terrorists. Mr. Draper, one of the Israeli members of the meeting of the 17th of September, criticized Sharon saying: “*you should be ashamed, the situation is absolutely appalling. They are killing children*” (qtd in A Preventable Massacre).

During three days, men, women, and even children were being coldly slain and the Phalangists (Al Kataeb) continued their “bloody work”. Israeli forces surrounded the camp and closed all its exits to prevent any Palestinian refugees from escaping. Phalangists were supplied with bulldozer in order to cover the bodies which were killed and burned in the ruins. Israel did not kill itself, but it let the killings continue even after the massacre was over. During the war, Phalangists were even sent to the camps when the Kahan commission was held on Wednesday 15th of September.

4. The Kahan Commission

The Kahan commission, which is known as “the commission of inquiry into the events at the refugee camps in Beirut,” was established to look for the reasons behind the massacres of

¹⁴<http://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance>

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Sabra and Shatilla, and the first responsible of that crime (First Lebanon War: the Kahan Commission of Inquiry). The Kahan report accused the state of Israel as an indirect responsible *“On February 9th, 1983, an Israeli commission of inquiry into the massacres concluded that the State of Israel and several individual Israelis, including Ariel Sharon, were "indirectly" responsible for the massacres”* (Utah Law Review 347). Commissioners reported that they found the Israeli Defense Minister bore personal responsibility for the massacre.

Israel contributed hugely in helping the Christian armed forces especially in the supply of weapons, but here is a paradox in that report in which firstly Israel was indirectly responsible in the massacre, then, it came up with the conclusion that the primary and the direct responsible for that massacre were the Phalangists and that Israel does not have a hand in the massacre, as it was mentioned in the report *“Sabra and Shatilla had become a little more than a battle ground for reputations and political aspirations”* (Kahan report 375).

The massacre of Sabra and Shatilla was a crime against the innocent Palestinian civilians who paid high prices for it. John H. Kelly described the massacre: *“the world reacted with shock and condemnation”* (Kelly, Lebanon: 1982-1984).

2. Darfur Crisis

1. Geographical Profile, Ethnographic Background

Sudan is the largest country in Africa and one of the most geographically diverse States, with an estimated forty million population. Arabs and Black Africans are two major cultures in Sudan. The majority of its population centered in the Northern part. Whereas the South, it is dominated by tribal groups.

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Darfur or the land of the Fur was an independent sultanate between 1600 and 1916, till the British captured it and incorporated it into Sudanese state. Darfur located in the western part of Sudan. It is the largest Sudanese's region because of its vast landmass and huge population, with approximately four to five million people. The region of Darfur bounded by three States, the Republic of Chad to the West, Libya to the North West, and Central Africa to the South West. The topography of the area is different from desert in the North, fertile in the South. This latter is characterized by the Jebel Marra¹⁵, which is considered as one of its richest places for agriculture. Later, the region was divided into five districts which are defined as: Central Darfur, East Darfur, North Darfur, South Darfur, and West Darfur where the conflict took place (Tar 412-413).

Darfur has more than thirty ethnic groups. It covers about one-fifth of Sudan vast territory and home to one –seventh of its population. It contains a mixture of two ethnic groups, the Arabs and Non-Arabs, and both are Muslims (Totten 168). During the period between the fourteenth and nineteenth century, the Arabs arrived to Darfur. These Arabs fall into two categories. The first one is the Baggara¹⁶, or 'cattle people,' who settled in Southern Darfur, while the second group is called the Aballa or 'camel people' whose group is located in Northern Darfur.

The Non-Arab groups or the "blacks" also, fall into two groups, those of the central Darfur including the Fur tribes. They live around the volcanic mountain range of the Jebel Mara. The fur are the largest ethnic groups in Darfur; they are farmers who live on agriculture. While those who are centered in the Northern Darfur called Zaghawa. They are the second largest

¹⁵ Jebel Marra: Famous Mountain range in Darfur known for its temperate climate and predictor high levels of rainfall. As Drought induced competition for land has created instability in Darfur. Its desirable climate has made Jebel Marra one of the region's most fiercely contested areas.

¹⁶Baggara : The Baggāra are a grouping of Arab ethnic groups inhabiting the portion of Africa's Sahel mainly between Lake Chad and southern Kordofan, numbering over one million.[5] They are known as Baggara in Sudan

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group, and are mostly nomadic and great warriors (Grunfeld,Veneulen 50). According to some historians and scholars, the people of Darfur are either Arabs or Africans. As De Wall suggested that *“from the viewpoint of Darfur and its Sudanic orientation, Arab is merely one subset of African”* (F. Grzub 8).

The region of Darfur is one of the largest, mixed, and diverse in terms of the ethnic groups in Sudan, with wide culture which contains vast populations, each of which is a part of other group. All parties' weather they referred to Arabs or Africans are less than one orientation. I.e. all are equally blacks and equally Muslims, regardless of their religious or racial differences.

2. The Crisis 2003, Factors Contributing to the Crisis

Sudan has been a place of civil conflict that lasted for a long time. This latter affected its neighboring regions, taken as an example ‘the crisis in Darfur’ that was one of the most terrible humanitarian crises that ever happened in the region West of Sudan. Darfur associated its name to a disaster, tragedy, and horror. Darfur has been a state of instability since Sudan became independent. As Jan Egelandstates *“Darfur, Sudan, to be one of the most forgotten and neglected humanitarian crisis in the world”* (F.Gruzb 3). Darfur has been called the scene of bloody conflict, the site of terrible violence, and the worst humanitarian crisis of the early twenty first century that brought the death of thousands of people.

Decades of marginalization, neglect and oppression led to rebellion against the Sudanese government. The conflict took place on February 2003 in Sudan, Darfur region, when two rebel groups under the name of Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM)¹⁷ and Justice and

¹⁷ Sudan Liberation Movement: is a Sudanese rebel group active in Darfur, Sudan. It was founded as the Darfur Liberation Front by members of three indigenous ethnic groups in Darfur, the Fur, the Zaghawa and the Masalit among whom were the leders Abdul Wahid al Nur of the Fur and Minni Minnawi of the Zaghawa.

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Equality Movement (JEM)¹⁸ took up their arms and attacked, the Sudanese Government argued that the government of Sudan discriminates against African tribes in Darfur. The rebels' group declared that Omar Al Bashir favored the Arab over the Non-Arab peoples. For that reason They asked for an end of marginalization and demanded security from the Non-Arab groups (7 Grzyb).

Zaghawa, Masalit and the Fur formed the SLM and JEM, and then demanded equality, stopping the aggression of Arab militias and socio-economic development for the Darfur region. As a reaction, The Sudanese government responded with heavy bombing air force with nomadic tribes (Arab militias), known as the “Janjaweed”¹⁹, which were almost interpreted as the “devils on horseback” started to attack villages. The Janjaweed killed men and women, destroyed and burned homes, stole food supplies and blocked international aid. The Government soldiers and its allies the Janjaweed attacked the African tribes and they killed nearly 400.000 people which led to a disaster in Darfur. Many people remained homeless and more than two million people have been displaced from their homes and they became refugee camps in neighboring Chad under the force of Janjaweed (Levy 6). In April 2004, the Government signed a cease of fire agreement but the Janjaweed continued fighting and carried out their attacks on villages and refugee camps (The Telegraph 2004)²⁰.

There were over 200.000 Sudanese refugees living in Chad, most of them have fled Janjaweed militias that burned their homes and killed their families. Thousands of Darfur people settled in Garga in eastern Chad. Darfur refugees in Chad were living in measurable conditions. Refugee camps were on the brink of starvation. Mohamed Dafallah the head of

¹⁸ Justice and Equality Movement: was another group active in western Darfur; its aim is to achieve peace and security in the region.

¹⁹ Janjaweed: Janjaweed, also spelled Janjawid, Arab militia active in Sudan, particularly in the Darfur region. The militia's name is thought by many to be derived from the Arabic jinnī (spirit) and jawad (horse), although its etymological origins are not completely clear

²⁰ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1467967/Background-to-the-Sudan-conflict.html>

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Farhana camps has stated that” *the camps population has reached the brink of starvation. They are now eating grass, and digging in ant’s hills in search of food*” (Reeves 2014). The situation in the refugee’s camps was a humanitarian disaster, they faced a severe food and water shortages, deterioration in health and educational services. The conflict between the government of Sudan and the two rebel groups that began in 2003, gave rise to the worst humanitarian and human rights crisis in the world today.

The situation in Darfur was affected by some factors; the seeds of the conflict in Darfur can be traced back to the independence of Sudan. Darfur citizens claimed that they were neglected, marginalized and manipulated by the Sudanese government; they were left out without infrastructure, neither schools, nor hospitals which led heavily to the current conflict in west Darfur, an ethnically mixed region of Africans and Arabs (Clough 3).

The region of Darfur as one of the largest in Sudan suffered for so many years from tensions between its ethnic tribes. First of all, ethnicity can be seen as the main driver of the conflict in Darfur. Darfur has a rich culture with vast diversity makes the conflict more complex. This mixture of diversity escalated conflict and violence. Nevertheless, terrible ideas of superiority between different ethnic groups made the region of Darfur one the bloodiest places and mainly affected its people (Tar 419).

Another factor is the desertification and drought that the region suffered from since a long period. These ecological changes led to poverty, famine, and a sharp decline of its productivity and many people started to live in tents instead of homes. They had no access to infrastructure, and the Darfur region had no longer enough lands and water to maintain the normal life of its people.

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The long period of drought affected most of the fertile lands in the Northern side of Darfur; as a result, it led the Darfurian tribes to migration toward the south in order to search for water and better conditions (O'Reilly 7). Furthermore, the lack of natural recourses played a vital role in escalating the conflict between farmers and nomadic groups. They started competing each other over water, graze and lands since droughts affected most of the region (Sikainga2009).

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Conclusion

The United Nations Security Council as an international organization for global safety bears the primary responsibility in ending conflicts among nations and providing a platform for non-violent peaceful resolutions. The United Nations and the Security Council put on efforts together to illuminate further disputes and hostilities from occurring, as well as, to realize universal peace which is their ultimate goal.

Sabra and Shatila massacre and Darfur crisis were two major incidents in the history of humanity. The massive number of victims in both sides raised the alarm that two genocides were being committed which might lead to a humanitarian catastrophe. This led to the urgent intervention of the Security Council to investigate the events and bring up immediate solutions to resolve the crises.

In the next chapter, the United Nations Security Council reaction towards the two events is going to be analyzed. The chapter also discusses the measures that were undertaken by the SC in order to provide solutions, with shedding light on the five permanent members' reaction, more specifically, by focusing on the United States strategy as the first power in the world in dealing with both cases.

The United Nations Security Council is said to be a neutral organization that treats disputes in nations neutrally without serving any side's interests. The following chapter examines the credibility of this claim.

Chapter Two:

***The United Nations Security Council Double Standards, Sabra
and Shatila Vs Darfur: an Analytical Framework***

Chapter Two: The United Nations Security Council Double Standards, Sabra and Shatila Vs Darfur: Analytical Framework

Introduction

The Sabra and Shatila massacre is distinguished from the massacre and the genocide that was committed in Darfur, this is apparent in one significant aspect which is the role of the United Nations Security Council in setting up disputes on the killing side, i.e. both of the massacres knew a massive international response, but the reaction against those who committed the crime differed.

The United Nations Security Council had imposed sanctions against the Sudanese president Omar Al Bashir, against whom an arrest warrant was issued by the International Criminal Court of Justice. In the case of Sabra and Shatila, on the other hand, the criminals have not been held accountable for their crime. They escaped justice; furthermore, there were no direct charges against the perpetrators, for both sides: the Phalangists or the Israeli forces, albeit the international community knows well who did the massacre.

This part analyzes the United Nations Security Council response, as well as the International Criminal Court of Justice in particular. The focus is going to be on the role the Security Council played in setting up these upheavals, and at the same time on punishing the convicts of carrying out war crimes against humanity. Equally important are the uses of the Veto power by the permanent members mainly the United States, as a superpower, and China.

The Zionist pressure plays a principle role on the US decisions and on its foreign policy. i.e. Israel is the ultimate ally for America, which paved the way for the use of US veto to protect Israel from UNSC's resolutions against it. This chapter discusses also the Israeli pressure on the United States Congress in vetoing resolutions taken by the SC on behalf of Israel.

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I. Darfur Development

The Ongoing crisis in the region of Darfur, was first noticed and voiced in the United Nations in 2003 by the United Nations forces. The agencies reported that the conflict in Darfur reached its high level, villages and houses were burned, women were raped, and people were killed. These tragic events brought attention to the United Nations member States. As a result, the Security Council began its mission as the main body for the maintenance of international peace and security. During the meetings held by the Security Council on debating the need for the protection of human rights and civilians. Jean Egeland, a humanitarian chief of the United Nations, reported that 600,000 people were displaced in Darfur (Weschler⁵). In addition to that he stated that the situation in Darfur is to be considered as the “*the Worst in the World*” (Clough³). Many reports later started to emerge in the United Nations forums about the devastating situation in the region

II. The Role of Media as an Effect of Orienting the Security Council Decisions

Media is an effective element in times of wars and conflicts, as it conveys facts and realities to the world. On top of that, it addresses crimes made by individuals. Media had a vital influence on the Security Council’s decisions towards crises in the world by producing pressure in order to take serious solutions. In the light of that, two variables are to be analyzed: the Sabra and Shatila massacre that happened in Beirut, capital of Lebanon in 1982, and Darfur crisis that happened in West Sudan in 2003. Media succeeded in bringing the two issues to the international level, but each of them was portrayed differently. That is to say, one was simplified and the other was exaggerated.

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Media played a significant role in Sabra and Shatila massacre. *The New York Times* wrote thousands of articles on the massacre (Bennet Jones 2013), the facts revealed led to demonstrations in Israel, especially in Tel Aviv. It was considered to be the largest demonstrations in the history of Israel. The Kahan Commission condemned Israel and accused Sharon, who was later dismissed as Defense Minister, as the indirect responsible of the massacre,.

International media revealed the facts in Lebanon as genocide. Foreign journalists run the news that a massacre was committed in Sabra and Shatila. Some of them witnessed the massacre, yet the issue did not take that huge response from the first organization of the maintenance of international peace and security

Unlikely, the situation in Darfur that attracted media attention in a large scale. Uncountable number of reports was done concerning the crisis. The situation was portrayed by the United Nations as the “*world’s worst humanitarian crisis*”. *The New York Times* published in 2004 a number of articles claiming that there were genocide and abuses committed in the region by the Sudanese government with its Arab Militias known as “Janjaweed”. It was revealed that the non-Arab Africans were killed by the Arab Janjaweed. Canadian Media also began to report more heavily on the conflict of Darfur. It also portrayed the situation as “genocide” and that the Arabs were killing the Africans (Mansson. A CMADC)

Much was done by media to refer the situation of Darfur to the ICC¹ as genocide despite the fact that the International Commission of Inquiry concluded that no intention of doing genocide by the President Omar Al Bashir was reported. All the evidence fit with the Massacre of Sabra and Shatila, since Ariel Sharon intended to commit this crime as he stated

¹ International Criminal Court of Justice

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clearly: “if you don’t want the Lebanese to kill them, we will kill them”(Anzeska A Preventable Massacre). There was no response from the Security Council nor from the International Criminal Court.

Media aimed at exaggerating the conflict in Darfur while simplifying Sabra and Shatila Massacre. The journalist Abd El Bari Atwan² acknowledged the exaggeration of the events in Darfur by the western media, when he said “... *But we can say that the western media overstated what is happening in Darfur in a bid to back a western plan to break up the country*” (AMDID). Crisis in Darfur was considered as opening doors for the American Israeli dominance in Africa. The United States of America as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, and as the first world power did a lot to reveal the situation as ‘genocide’. President George Bush stated that “*Genocide has taken place in Darfur*” (Ben Okolo 46). Ali Fodil³ argued that western media gave much consideration to Sudan, particularly the situation in Darfur, as he said “*their media is working hard to demonize Omar Al-Bashir in the same manner they used against Iraq*” (Al Jazeera. Arab Deny Ignoring Darfur). Thus, the media was working hand in hand with western governments to drive away attention of what was happening in Iraq and Palestine and they wanted to attract all the world’s concern to focus on Darfur.

From above, the question that can be asked here is: why this blackout of media in reporting the crime in Sabra and Shatila camps? Atrocities were committed in Palestinian refugee camps but no response from the Security Council. Many reports were done concerning the crisis in Darfur, news about atrocities, rapes and killing by the Sudanese government against Africans. The Iranian media reported that all the crimes and abuses in the

² the chief editor of London-based Arabic daily Al Quds Al Arabi

³ the chief editor of the Algerian daily Al-Shorooq

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region of Darfur are a “conspiracy”. Moreover, it is a secret plan by the Jews to integrate the African tribes and make it part of Israel, and that the United states of America tried to control the Sudanese oil, uranium and other natural resources. Meanwhile, Omar Al Bashir stated that *“the western plots against Sudan have been organizing since the land was occupied by the British, and that lust for Darfur’s treasures was feeding the current crisis”* (Stalinsky. *Darfur and the Middle East*)

III. Responsibility for the Atrocities

Sabra and Shatila massacre and Darfur crisis are two major conflicts that the world witnessed. These two crimes resulted in massive victims. Israel in accordance with the Phalangists killed nearly 3,500 Palestinian refugees. While the conflict in Darfur affected 200.000 people, including two millions who were displaced into neighboring Chad. UNSC response to the two events was controversial in terms of the real responsible for the killings in both events and who bears responsibility for committing genocide. It also concerns the measures that were taken by the Security Council in punishing those criminals.

1. The Kahan Commission

The Kahan Commission, or the Israeli Commission that was organized to investigate the massacre, was described as the only evidence that makes Ariel Sharon responsible for the massacre. Kevin Barrett reported that till now the Kahan commission of Itzhak Kahane is the only investigation that was held concerning the massacre. Barrett continued saying that the Kahan reported Sharon alone as the responsible for the massacre and that he must bear the consequences (104 Report of the Commission of Inquiry).

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The Israeli Ministry of foreign Affairs described the massacre of Sabra and Shatillaas being under the responsibility of the Phalangists and that Israel is not responsible: “*No Israeli was directly responsible for the events which occurred in the camps. But the commission asserted that Israel had indirect responsibility for the massacre*” (Salaita What Was the 1983 Kahan Report Commission About?).

The Kahan Commission was reported after holding different meetings since 60 sessions were held and 58 witnesses were being heard. The report concluded that Sharon bears indirect responsibility for the massacre carried out in Lebanon and that:

“We have found, as has been detailed in this report the Minister of Defense bears personal responsibility [for the massacres]. In our opinion, it is fitting that the Minister of Defense draw the appropriate personal conclusions arising out of the defects revealed with regard to the manner in which he discharged the duties of his office and if necessary, that the Prime Minister consider whether he should exercise his authority (..) The Government, according to which "the prime Minister may, after informing the cabinet of his intention to do so, remove a minister from office” (Malone374).

2. International Commission of Inquiry

Following a Declaration of September 9, 2004, the Secretary of State Colin Powell reported that crimes in Darfur were classified as genocide. Additionally, he stated that after collecting evidence by the state department team “*Genocide has been committed in Darfur and that the government of Sudan and the Janjaweed bear responsibility and genocide may still be occurring*” (Dagne16). Media, on the other side, started to uncover what was happening in Darfur. Several months later the Security Council agreed to include Darfur in its agenda and that the situation in Darfur is no longer to be ignored or neglected. Nevertheless,

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it started to pay attention to the conflict. The resolution 1564 was adopted. It requested that the General Assembly Kofi Annan established an International Commission of Inquiry. This commission aimed at bringing reports about the atrocities in Darfur (Clough Darfur: Whose Responsibility to Protect).

As a response to the situation, the General Secretary Kofi Annan made a direct call for the international community to take action in Darfur. The fact-finding team that was sent in the region of Darfur to make an investigation about the conflict reported that atrocities and abuses were being practiced by the Government of Sudan and they sought to remove all African tribes including the Fur, Masalit, and zaghawa. In January 2005 Kofi Annan established another commission known as the International Commission of Inquiry to investigate whether genocide was committed or not in Darfur. It reported that the government of Sudan committed crimes against the African tribes and it bore the responsibility for these crimes and violations. The commission, however, reported that the government of Sudan had no intention to violate the law and pursued a policy of doing a genocide acknowledging that “the *crucial element of genocidal intent appears to be missed*” (Dagne. Sudan: The CDSNSPA). After all the reports that were collected by the secretary General Kofi Annan, and with the resolution of 1953, the Security Council referred the situation to the International Criminal Court.

IV. United Nations Security Council Response on Sabra and Shatila Massacre and Darfur Crisis

1. The International Criminal Court of Justice is Taking Actions

On March 2005 the United Nations Security Council, under chapter seven of its charter, referred the situation in Darfur to the International Criminal Court. It was a Court designed to

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prosecute individuals accused of any of the World's most horrific crimes. It was the first permanent International Criminal Court that was established in 2002 under the treaty of the Rome Statute. The headquarter of the ICC was in Hague in Netherlands. The court deals only with Genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The main goal of the ICC is to put an end to serious crimes and bring to justice individuals who committed one of these crimes: Genocides, crimes against humanity and war crimes (Bannet. The ICC's Ineffective Enforcement Mechanism).

The Sudanese President, Omar Al-Bashir, was accused of war crimes by the ICC. The Prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo⁴ was elected to investigate the situation in Darfur. After doing his mission in Darfur, he reported that genocide was committed by the Sudanese government against the African tribes: the Fur, Masalit and Saghawa. He said that Omar Al Bashir introduced a plan to damage all non-Arab tribes and this was coordinated with the definition of genocide. However; this was controversial of Darfur views about the conflict and also with the definition of the term 'genocide.' Genocide is an act to destroy a community with intent whether in whole or part, racial, ethnic or religious groups. According to the Human Rights Watch and the Amnesty International, both have reported that Darfur's crime does not apply with the term genocide because the main element of "intention" to destroy an ethnic group has not been proven at first. Moreover; the Sudanese president should not damage the African tribes but rather should protect its civilians from the rebel groups (Blair. SDOBFWCC)

2. Ariel Sharon Vs Omar El Bashir

Israel has been accused of the responsibility for the killing of civilian defenseless people in this massacre. This responsibility concerns huge contribution in facilitating the killing

⁴ is an Argentine lawyer and the first Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC)

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operations for the Phalangists, and that was by securing the camp and closing all its exits, thus for making it easier for the Phalangists to capture and seize the weapons of the Palestinian fighters (the Sabra and Shatila Massacre 2012). Israel also fired flares and lights to facilitate the killing and to arrest the refugees who tried to flee. Israel in its alliance with America broke the covenant and betrayed the Palestinians. When Philip Habib sent the document with Yasser Arafat, the leader of the PLO, the document that granted safety to all Palestinian refugees in the camps, Israel as usual, committed a crime. Ariel Sharon was at the end of his political and military career, this work was to seal his career, declaring that he is not afraid of punishment as he said: *"I vow I'll burn every Palestinian child that will be born in this area. The Palestinian women and children are more dangerous than the man because the Palestinian child's existence infers that generations will go on,"* and his declaration of killing in the meeting of the Israeli leaders *"if you don't want the Lebanese to kill them, we will kill them"* (Anzeska. A Preventable Massacre). From that saying, it is obvious that Ariel Sharon intended to carry out this massacre which was done intentionally for the purpose of killing the largest number of Palestinians. From above, it can be said that this can be regarded as a reason to be against Ariel Sharon as a war criminal. The International Criminal Court of Justice punishes everyone who holds the responsibility for war crimes. Its laws are based on four important elements which are war crimes, international crimes of genocide and crimes against humanity. America and Israel did not ratify the organization.

Sharon was not afraid of committing this massacre because of the great influence of Israel in the world. Sharon was well aware that he was supported by the higher body. When Shimon Perez was urging him to respond to the American voice of ceasefire, Sharon told him: *"don't worry about American pressure on Israel. We, the Jewish people, control America, and the Americans know it"* (Barret. Burying Sharon) from that, a conclusion can be drawn to answer

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the following question: how could a country as America not guarantee safety for Palestinian refugees? The answer is already stated by Sharon that America and Israel are the ultimate allies. Israel murdered the Palestinians intentionally since it declared that there were 2000 terrorists of the followers of the PLO which Israel called it a terrorist organization. So, since this organization was considered by Israel to be a terrorist organization, and as the first representative of the Palestinian people, it means that all the followers of that organization (the Palestinians) are terrorists. For that, Ariel Sharon, the architect of the massacre, was clever in stating his goal which is to kill the 2000 terrorists who remained in the camps. Here is a language game by Ariel Sharon, when he said, terrorists, he did not specifically mean the Palestinian fighters, but rather all the Palestinians who were in the camp. Another point can be raised which is Israel was insisting on the number of terrorists, it was aware of what to do. Indeed, more than 2000 unarmed civilians from the Palestinians were killed.

Another reason for the continuation of the killings for a longer period is the cooperation of the Phalangists with the Israeli forces. That is, each of them is an ally for the other, they were killing, hand in hand, as much as they can the Palestinians, so that there will be no evidence on the massacre, as the Israeli forces denied the existence of a massacre from the ground. The soldiers of Israel provided a contradictory ceremony. Weizfeld mentioned that “ *the soldiers of Israel provided contradictory testimony While witnessing the massacre, they deny its existence from one sentence to the next* ” (59).

The Israeli leader Sharon was smart in choosing the suitable time for the crime, which coincided with the Jewish New Year or what is known as the “Rosh Hashanah” which is about two days of celebration, newspapers were not published. This helped in the late of Israeli media and the reaction of the Israeli people who took part in demonstrations.

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Omar Al-Bashir was the first sitting head of state to be wanted and indicted on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity. He claimed that the United Nations Court was working on double standards and conducting a campaign of lies on him because there were other crimes which were obvious and clear to whole globe and humanity like Iraq and Palestine but why there is no response from the ICC? Taking the example of Ariel Sharon who committed war crimes against Palestinians. The ICC kept watching the disasters and atrocities that were committed by Israel. It is clearly true that the ICC is working on double standards. Returning back to the definition of genocide, It is an act with intent to destroy as Ariel Sharon said if they did not kill them he would kill them. So, he intended to destroy the Palestinian population and this is the proof that even if Sharon said this expression in front of all people and the world as well, the ICC would not take measures against him.

Another concrete example that the United Nations was working on double standards is that the United Nations estimated that 300.000 people were killed and about 2.7 million were displaced, whereas the Sudanese government opposed the results of the conflict. It stated that 10.000 people died and 70.000 were displaced. This is another proof that the United Nations intended to accuse Omar Al-Bashir of committing genocide by exaggerating the number of victims. Omar Al-Bashir argued that “*[they] had human lose but it is not close to the number being mentioned in the western media, these numbers are in fact being exaggerated for a reason*” (SIRP) If compared to the situation in Lebanon, it would be noticeable that nothing was done by the United Nations to make the situation reach to the ICC (Simon Tisdal in Khartoum). It was the first time the ICC requested an Arrest Warrant for a sitting head of state. Bashir refused and defied the International Criminal Court arrest warrant, in recent interview, Bashir announced that “*the International Criminal Court is a tool to terrorize countries that the west thinks are disobedient*” (SIRP).

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3. Belgium Reaction towards the Massacre

Souad Sorour Al Marei is one of the survivors of the massacre who was pursuing Sharon on charges of war crimes in Belgium. She was narrating what happened for her and many others who did not tell their stories. She provided enough evidence to condemn Ariel Sharon for committing war crimes against defenseless civilians. Belgian court proved the cruelty of Israel and Sharon and agreed to accuse Sharon of being criminal of war and decided he would be arrested if he ever entered the Belgian territory: *"Belgium's highest court said today in Brussels that Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel could be tried for war crimes under the nation's laws"* (Simons. SFBTATE) Sharon at that time was about to visit Belgium but later on he had cancelled it because he was refused to be received by the Belgian Parliament. Shimon Peres told the Belgian government that none of his fellow Ministers will risk visiting Brussels if the action proceeds.

Robert Fisk, an American journalist in his article entitled 'Ariel Sharon', described him saying: *"Israel's Prime Minister was a ruthless military commander responsible for one of the most shocking war crimes of the 20th century,"* while George Bush acclaimed him as *"a man of peace"* (Shlaim. Man of peace'?)

Ariel Sharon resigned his portfolio during that period, but in fact, he still in the cabinet. This crime of Sabra and Shatila remains unpunished. So, from all what have been said, what was the reaction of the UNSC towards this crime?

4. Chad Response to the ICC Arrest warrant

After accusing President Omar Al-Bashir of committing genocide against the African tribes, and issuing him an arrest warrant by the International Criminal Court of Justice,

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president Omar denied and rejected all the charges against him and traveled through Libya, Qatar and Chad (SIRP). His travel to Chad which lasted three days concurred with the Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International's order to the Chad government to arrest Bashir. Chad refused to arrest Omar Al-Bashir and considered the arrest warrant as a direct tool for distracting Africa. The question that must be asked here is why did the International Criminal Court Arrested Omar Al-Bashir, whereas not Ariel Sharon? The answer is because there is pressure from the Security Council members taken the example of US support that favored the referral of the situation to Darfur to the ICC.

5. The United Nations Security Council Response on the Massacre

Despite all that have been mentioned above, the United Nations Security Council issued nothing against Ariel Sharon. The Security Council held a meeting under the title of the Situation in the Middle East in which it passed resolutions condemning the heinous massacre of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and the aggression of Israel against the Palestinians inside and outside Palestine, especially those who are in Lebanon. It confirmed that Israel lacked the credibility in its peace operations declaring that it was only carrying genocide against Palestinians. The United Nations Security Council adopted two resolutions, resolution 520 of 17 September 1982, and resolution 521 of 19 September 1982.⁵

The government of the Syrian Republic sent a letter in which it rejected Israel's distortions, and it strongly condemned Israel of carrying genocide against Palestinians. The Syrian government accused Israel of being "a terrorist". The Security Council acknowledged that the massacre was genocide. Noam Chomsky said: "we look at one of the most shocking

⁵Security Council resolution 521 (1982) on the massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps <http://dag.un.org/handle/11176/66261?show=full>

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incidents in the career of the late former Israeli Prime Minister Sharon: The Sabra and Shatilla massacre'' (Noam Chomsky: Sabra and Shatila Massacre)

The United Nations contributed hugely on the escape of justice for those who committed the crime in Beirut, unlike the situation of Darfur, in which the Security Council condemned the genocide and prosecuted Omar Al-Bashir who was, later on, issued an arrest warrant by the ICC. The Security Council adopted several resolutions condemning the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, by contrast, it did not declare any sanctions or punishment against the responsible for crime. Here is a table that shows a comparison between the two responsible for killing hundreds of people:

OMAR AL BASHIR	ARIEL SHARON
President of Sudan	Israeli Defense Minister
Perpetrator of the massacre in Darfur 2003	Perpetrator of the massacre of Sabra and Shatilla 1982
2000 to 3000 people were killed	3000 to 3500 Palestinian civilian were killed
He was not charged with war crimes before	He was charged with war crimes
He was issued an arrest warrant by the ICC	He was accused as the indirect responsible of the massacre

The Security Council has issued two main resolutions at that time:

Resolution 520(1982) of 17 September 1982: in this resolution, the United Nations Security Council condemned Israel for its violations in Lebanon, particularly, its violations of

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the ceasefire agreement. It supported the Secretary General effort in sending more United Nations observers to investigate the situation and to take control over there in Beirut to stop the killing. This resolution called also for the total respect of sovereignty and insisting on the Lebanese political independence. It came to reaffirm the resolutions 512-513 (1982) that called for the protection of civilians without any discrimination and abandoned any act of violence being practiced against them. On September 1982, Greece and Jordan requested an urging meeting with the SC to investigate the situation in the refugee camps and Resolution 521 was adopted.⁶

Resolution 521(1982) of 19 September 1982: the Security Council heard the Secretary General's report on the 2396th meeting, in which it was noted that⁷ the Lebanese government agreed to send additional observers to uncover the situation in Beirut. The Security Council condemned the massacre of the Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatila camps, and reaffirmed again the respect of the lives of civilian people without any discrimination or any act of violence against them.

The number of the United Nations observers was increased for the purpose of the possible integration in protecting people's lives. The Security Council requested the Secretary General to report everything that happens during the next forty eight-hours of the massacre, and consider the possibility of sending other United Nations forces if the situation requires that.

Resolution 542 (1983) of 23 November 1983: Once again, the UNSC put all its concern on the respect of sovereignty and the protection of the civilians lives, neglecting its primary mission in ending disputes and punishing criminals for their crimes.⁸

⁶ http://dag.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/66261/S_RES_521%281982%29-EN.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

⁷ http://dag.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/66261/S_RES_521%281982%29-EN.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

⁸ <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/454/00/IMG/NR045400.pdf?OpenElement>

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The Security Council held a meeting on February 25, 1985. It discussed the abuses and the aggression of the Israeli forces in Southern Lebanon. A negative vote was owned by one permanent member of the UNSC when a draft resolution was issued, in which Israeli acts of violence were condemned in Lebanon.

Fighting continued with the Secretary General still working to end up violence in the area. On May 30, 1985, the SC was requested by Egypt to hold an urgent meeting to discuss the protection and safety of the Palestinians in the refugee camps. Lebanon declared that the UNSC should not interfere in that crisis claiming that it is an internal matter.

The SC adopted the resolution 564 on May 31, 1985⁹, in which it called for the cessation of violence against Palestinian civilians in the refugee camps. Other drafts were issued against the Israeli abuses and violence against Palestinian civilians. In January 1986, 1988, when Lebanon requested a meeting of the SC to take strict measures to put an end to those illegal practices, another negative vote was held by one of the permanent members of the council.

Another meeting was held by the UNSC on May 30, 1988, discussing the Lebanese declaration against the Israeli aggression of its territories. Once again, the draft that condemned the Israeli violations failed because of the negative vote of a permanent member.

V. Permanent Members Use the Veto Power to Serve their Interests

Israel was an alternative to America. It helped for the defeat of the Soviet Union ideology spreading out during the Cold War. In response, America became the ultimate friend of Israel. It helped Israel militarily, industrially, financially and diplomatically. According to

⁹http://repository.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/63100/S_RES_564%281985%29-EN.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

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John Mearsheimer, US vetoed 32 Security Council resolutions since 1982 (Mearsheimer) This help due to the pressure being practiced by the Zionist organizations or what is known as the 'Lobby'.

1. China Response to the UNSC Non Probity

The veto power of the five permanent members of the Security Council like United State of America and China gave them a strong and unique power to exercise. Unlike, the case of Sabra and Shatila, United States used its veto for several times to save Israel, as well as to prevent the referral of massacre to ICC. Meanwhile, with the case of Darfur the U.S made a financial step and worked hard to refer the case of Darfur to the International Criminal Court, besides that, to bring to Justice Omar Al Bashir by accusing him of committing Genocide. United States of America supported the referral of Darfur issue to the ICC, this action paved the way for the International Criminal Court to exercise its mission to serve its own interests. The result was issuing an arrest warrant of Omar Al-Bashir for committing a war crime, crime against Humanity and genocide. (Hyder. UNSC's RCDICIUSOC)

The Darfur campaign achieved the interests of USA imperialist policy. First, the crisis in Darfur increased the level of demonization of Arabs and Muslims. Second, it drove attention from the human rights violations caused by cruel and heinous US war and the occupation of Iraq, which killed hundreds of thousands of Iraqis. Nevertheless, the crisis in Darfur deviated attention from the US support and financing activities of Israeli war against Palestinians. More importantly, it is a strategy to control the region of Darfur which Omar Al-Bashir called "the [Colonialism]" (Flounders. The USRD)

China, as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council plays a vital role in the Security Council's resolutions and actions. The best example is the case of Darfur in

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which, china considered the main obstacles for stopping further atrocities from happening in region in order to save its own interest, because China imported 40 percent from Sudan's oil. (Clough. Darfur: WRP) It is the major permanent trading partner with Sudan (Maru.The Global Response to the Darfur Crisis). In 2004, the resolution 1564 was passed by the Security Council threatening oil sanctions until the Sudanese Government stopped committing a crime against the African tribes. This action by the Security Council led China to threaten with veto if any measures or actions will be taken by the Security Council against the Sudanese Government. China blocked any actions to prevent further crimes from occurring in the Darfur, it used its veto power on its own behalf. (Adenauer. CDFG)

2. The Role of the Lobbyist Organizations in the Two Massacres

The term Lobby is used to describe a group of Israeli activists or organizations who work to manipulate the US foreign policy and decisions taken by the Congress to benefit the state of Israel on the expense of the national interest of the US. No one is free to oppose or refuse the Lobby policy; it is a taboo for the Americans to do so. The Israeli Lobby is guiding policy decisions in Washington. An African bishop said once: *"people are scared in this country to say wrong is wrong because the Jewish Lobby is Powerful, very powerful"*. (Mearsheimer)

2.1 Zionist Pressure on US Foreign Policy Threatens the UNSC

AIPAC¹⁰ as a strong government that has influence on the US Congress, had a huge impact on the US policy, that is, the Lobby succeeded in controlling the US Congress because some of the important members are Zionists.They are working to protect Israel and support its interests. US elections need money and AIPAC makes sure its members and friends have considerable financial leverage in order to carry out election campaigns in favor

¹⁰The American Israel Public Affairs Committee is a lobbying group that advocates pro-Israel policies to the Congress and Executive Branch of the United States.

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of its Jewish candidates. The organization also provides money to newspapers' editors encouraging them for letter writing campaigns for its candidates (Mearscheimer)

AIPAC has a huge impact on Capitol Hill, as Douglas Bloomfield, a former AIPAC member said: *"it is common for members of Congress and their staffs to turn to AIPC first"* (qtd in Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy 18). AIPAC, as a de facto¹¹, is the most controlling power in Congress. During the presidential election, Jewish voters' main concern is the close elections, for that they focus on some states like Florida, California, New York, Pennsylvania for the great extent.

The Lobby also used media as a tool to manipulate people's perspective, especially in dealing with US foreign policy towards the Middle East. Israel boycotted news outlets that revealed facts against Israel. Israel's pressure affected media to control the Middle East coverage and that led the US press to hold less criticism to Israel. the Middle East media also sympathized. Lird Bergh described the situation: *"their greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our government"* (Webber. A Look at the Powerful Jewish Lobby)

From all what was mentioned above, US Congress or US leaders are programmed under the Zionist organizations' pressure, so that they act immediately on behalf of the Israeli interests. In 1982, when Israel went deep into Lebanon, Washington did not oppose that. Later on, he vetoed UN resolutions critical to Israel calling for the withdrawal from Lebanon. (Looneyed 310-323).A senate staff member said: *"AIPAC has strong grass-roots operation that can deliver letters and phone calls to members of Congress from their home states. At any given moment, it can mobilize"*. (qtd in One Nation Under Israel93).

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2.2 The Role of Zionist Organization in Darfur

Similarly the Zionists in Sabra and Shatila put a pressure on U.S to protect Israel from being accused of doing any crimes. The Zionists in Darfur devoted themselves in large scale to putting pressure not on the U.S, but rather worked as an ally with United State of America in order to propagate the conflict in Darfur.

The Zionist organization had a plan in Darfur which Omar Al Bashir referred to as the aimto dismember Sudan and redraw the region. Their main goal was to provide protection and security to Israel. The Zionist group overstated the crisis in Darfur. As Ali Ahmed Karti¹² said *“Zionist organizations are paying funds in major newspaper in the United State so as to reflect a distorted image on the situation in Darfur.* (Sudan Tribune. SSUSEDIPA)

Tehran Times wrote an article in 2005 which stated that the Zionist organization aimed to weaken the Muslim countries. Firstly, it aimed at increasingcivil wars, and more importantly at redrawing Sudan by providing weapons to rebel groups. The major goal of this organization was to build a Jewish country. (Stalinsky. Darfur and the Middle East Media)

Ahmed Harun¹³ *“accused the Zionist entity of supplying the rebels with weapons in the framework of Israel's plan that targets Arab nations.”*(Goldstein). Sudanese government also, said that the situation in Darfur was under the participation of the Zionist aw well, the Jewish groups in which Israel is the main deriver behind the rebellions in the region. Samir al Shayban argued that *“....These powers want to dismember Sudan and replace this government with another one that serves their strategic interests, represented in obliterating Sudan's Arab identity.”*(Goldstein)Among these powers is the Zionist lobby which looks to Darfur as a Jewish issue that needs a help and solidarityfor Zionist group, hand in hand with

¹² Sudanese State Minister for Foreign Affairs

¹³ Sudanese Interior Minister.

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the United State administration. It devoted huge funds to media and diplomatic campaigns in order to exaggerate the situation in Darfur, both allies have done much enough to make the atrocities in Darfur to be genocide. In 2004, *Jerusalem Post* published that Israel for the first time provided assistance to Sudan. More specifically, Israel wanted to save Darfur and to put an end to the humanitarian crisis in the region (Goldstein Save Darfur is Conspiracy). A question must be asked here which is: how did Israel, as a first enemy to Arabs and Muslims, suddenly want to provide aids to “save Darfur”? and how did the Jews that killed hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and committed heinous crimes in the history of humanity for a long period intervene to save Darfur?

The answer to this question is “*Save Darfur*” is a conspiracy: it is a “bluff”. Behind its help were secret plans. Israel had two major goals: first, it is to show a good image of itself, i.e. Israel has a good intention to help illuminate the crisis in Darfur. Second, it is to draw attention away from its crimes against the Palestinians by attracting the world’s attention to focus on Darfur (Stalinsky). So, Darfur was a tool to this bluff to wash its hands from committing crimes against Arabs. Israel was the driving force that supported the rebel groups in Sudan by weapons and arms. Adding to that Israel increased violence in the region by inciting the rebellions not to sign any peace agreement with the Government of Sudan as karti said that “*Israel is providing political, material and media support to the parties which refused to sign Darfur peace agreement through the Zionist organizations that are working all over the world*”¹⁴(Stalinsky).

The coalition to “*save Darfur*” was a conspiracy led by the Zionist organization to destabilize Sudan as a Whole. Arab Muslims, Sudan and its minorities were a threat to Israel

¹⁴ Sudan says US efforts on Darfur for internal political agenda. Sudan Tribune, Sunday 24 September, 2006

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¹⁵(Shahak).Darfur was targeted by Israel as well the Zionists because Darfur was the gate for Africa. Hisham. D¹⁶ declared that *“Israel and Zionist organization have been interested in issues of race and ethnicity in the Arab world”*.¹⁷ The Zionists were responsible for what happened in Darfur in order to cause disorder in Sudan. Moreover, it was a plan to subjugate the government of Sudan within the west and replace it by a Jewish organization.

The Zionist organization, the United States and Israel together were behind what happened in Darfur, they worked hardly to make the situation seem worse to the whole world. These allies had a serious mission which was controlling the Sudanese recourses; the American intervention to save Darfur was just a conspiracy to control the Sudanese oil as Omar Al Bashir said *“a Zionist plot to dismember his country and plunder its resources....particularly its oil reserves, then place it under the de facto U.N trusteeship”* (Stalinsky).

Conclusion

After the close analysis of the Security Council’s role in dealing with both crises in Sabra and Shatila and Darfur, one can conclude the following result: the Security Council’s response was controversial in one specific aspect which is how the perpetrators of these crimes were treated.

The United Nations Security Council referred the issue of Darfur to the International Criminal Court of Justice accusing the Sudanese President Omar Al Bashir of committing genocide by issuing him an arrest warrant, albeit the International Commission of Inquiry

¹⁵Shahak, Israel The Zionist plan for the Middle east. Association of Arab American University Graduates, Inc. Belmont, Massachusetts, 1982.

¹⁶Aidi of Columbia University’s Middle East Institute.

¹⁷Goldstein, Ned save Darfur is conspiracy, October1, 2006.

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concluded that he did not intend to commit this genocide. By contrast, the case is different with Sabra and Shatila massacre. The Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon received no sanctions, even though he stated clearly that he intended to kill the Palestinians.

The five permanent members of the Security Council acted accordingly to what served their interests that is they used the Veto power on behalf of their benefits. When the UNSC issued sanctions against the Sudanese Oil, China threatened to use its Veto if this sanction passed because China is considered to be the largest buyer of the Sudanese Oil, and any sanction against Sudanese Oil will not serve its interests.

On the other hand, United States used most of its vetoes to protect Israel due to the Zionist pressure on it. Israeli Lobby was pressuring the US Congress to pass resolutions in favor of protecting Israel, for that Ariel Sharon was not punished and even the massacre of Sabra and Shatila was denied. The Zionist pressure also had an impact on the crisis in Darfur. Together with the United States, they exaggerated the conflict to be considered as genocide in order to bring the world's attention to this issue rather than shedding the light on the Israeli Palestinian conflict.

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General Conclusion

Throughout this study, the United Nations Security Council reaction, as an organization of maintaining world peace, on the two crises, Sabra and Shatila and Darfur, was discussed. It was an attempt to prove that the United Nations Security Council is working on double standards policy.

Theoretically speaking, the first chapter discussed all what concerns the United Nations Security Council: origins, establishment, principles, it discovered that the main mission of the Security Council is to spread peace around the world and preventing further conflicts from escalating. Sabra and Shatila massacre and Darfur crises were two tragic events in the history of humanity. Thus, the chapter discovered that these two horrific conflicts urged the Security Council to take actions.

The Security Council's reflection was contradictory to an extent that both conflicts were not treated equally. Media coverage played an important role in revealing realities on both sides; yet, the volume of coverage was not even on the same scale. Volume and tone and the urgency of the coverage were nowhere near as it has been, that is to say, one was simplified and the other one was exaggerated.

Following the main question that this study raised regarding the double standards, and regarding the methodology that this study used 'the comparative method'; this dissertation reveals that the United Nations Security Council's intervention in Sabra and Shatila and Darfur was paradoxical in terms of condemning the perpetrators. Therefore, the main mission of the Security Council as the primary responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security was elusive.

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The SC referred the situation in Darfur to the International Criminal Court of Justice which in turn issued an arrest warrant against Omar Al Bashir accusing him of carrying out genocide against Darfuris, neglected the situation in Sabra and Shatila. Despite the fact that the Kahan Commission charged Ariel Sharon as the indirect responsible for the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, the situation received no response.

It is noteworthy that the five permanent members of the Security Council, which hold the right to use their Veto power, are the biggest nuclear weapon stockpiles, and that comes against the Security Council values. This organization that was created mainly for eliminating disputes by peaceful means turned to be an organization that serves the interests of its members.

From the investigations carried out throughout the two chapters, this work found out that the Security Council is a double faced organization. The best example is the United States use of the Veto power to protect Israel. Palestinians were prosecuted by Israel, thus, the US uses most of its vetoes to prevent any resolutions against Israel to pass. While the US response on Darfur was different since it favored the referral of the situation to the ICC for its hidden interests. China, on the other hand, threatened to use its Veto if any sanctions against the Sudanese government were passed since they have a deep trade and investment ties. More than that, oil is the major part of that relationship. This led the Security Council to lose its effectiveness which questioned its credibility.

This study also revealed the tactics of the Zionist lobby organizations and its effect on the US foreign policy. Thus, the Zionist organizations pressure on the US Congress to use its Vetoes for issues they care about. Therefore, the US foreign policy

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was being manipulated by the Jewish Lobby. For that, decisions were made at the expense of Israel. Jewish organizations manipulate media as well. Media is pressured from revealing facts and reality. The US supported Israel and defended its policies, it provided it with the crucial military, diplomatic and financial backed.

The Zionist ideology concerning the case of Darfur took another path, in which the US and Israel worked as allies to, firstly, implement their strategic plan to dismember Sudan into small states so that Israel could get rid of it, and secondly, they worked hard to propagate the conflict as a genocide. The study shows that the US support of Israel is unique.

Owing to the fact that Darfur was a religious region, it was targeted by the Zionists. This work proved that there are religious purposes behind the US and Israeli intervention in Sudan. The coalition “*save Darfur*” was a bluff to redraw the Sudanese government as well as replace it with a Jewish organization. Conflict in Sudan was a conspiracy led by the US, Israel, and the Zionists to distract Arabs from each other in order to eliminate Islam. It is simply a war on Islam.

A careful analysis of the Security Council's double standard, taking Sabra and Shatila massacre and Darfur crisis as a case study for this research, shows that the United Nations Security Council as an organization that was created for achieving world peace is a mere propaganda; that is it could not punish the perpetrators of the massacres. Sabra and Shatila massacre was neglected, denied, and ignored. War crimes, wars against humanity, genocides were committed by Ariel Sharon against Palestinians inside and outside Palestine, yet, he has never been condemned by the Security Council. By contrast, Darfur witnessed an ethnic conflict between Arab Nomadic Herders and African farmers. The Bush administration worked harder to

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refer to the situation as genocide. As long as Omar Al Bashir denied any relation within “Janjaweed groups”, he was charged with an arrest warrant. This shows clearly the double standard of the first organization of spreading world peace.

As a suggestion for further studies, the double standards of the Security Council can be studied from another angle because it has been tackled in terms foreign policy specifically with Israel and Sudan. Future researchers can investigate the Security Council members’ foreign policies adopted in intervening in other countries to serve their interests, taking the conflict in Syria as a valid example of US and Russian foreign policy.

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