Peacebuilding:
The Challenge of Darfur

United States Diplomacy Center

Discover Diplomacy

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Simulation Background

Tragedy. Civil war. Ethnic cleansing. **Genocide**. Whatever label we use, the world cannot ignore the murder, rape, pillage, and displacement of people in Darfur, the western region of Sudan. The Sudanese government has attempted to frame the conflict as an intensification of long-term tribal conflicts. In reality, the government responded to the emergence of Darfurian rebel groups by recruiting and supporting local militia groups, most notably the infamous **"Janjaweed,"** to unleash a brutal campaign aimed at destroying and driving out the majority "African" communities.

According to the United Nations (UN), the crisis has forced over 2.1 million people from their homes and killed up to 70,000, but other estimates put the death toll as high as 400,000. The causes of this crisis are complex and involve many factors, including those rooted in the colonial period from 1898 to 1956, the famine and drought beginning in the 1980s, and the civil war and rebellions in Sudan and neighboring countries over the last 50 years. A comprehensive solution to this conflict will take time, but the current humanitarian crisis must be addressed immediately.

Darfur is Sudan's largest region and is approximately the size of Spain. The sparse population is composed of many Muslim groups or tribes, many with their own languages and customs. "African" and "Arab" are the terms used by the groups themselves to discuss the opposing sides in Darfur and, therefore, have been adopted by the international community as well. However, these terms can be misleading and tend to oversimplify the groups in this richly diverse region. In Darfur, the terms served primarily to differentiate between groups that were traditionally farmers (Africans) and those groups that were nomadic herders (Arabs).

The historic friction between the two cultures eventually led toethnic cleansing, atrocities, and mass murder due to a number of factors. These include a devastating drought, competition for increasingly scarce resources, Arab resentment of the African majority in Darfur (fanned by government propaganda), African resentment regarding the government's lack of assistance, and hostility directed at Darfur from the Arab-dominated government in Khartoum, along with the government's desire to exploit oil reserves in Darfur. Additionally, guns and other weapons poured into the region, intensifying local disputes.

Geography and climate contributed to the crisis. The northern part of Darfur is a desert that extends to the borders of Libya and Egypt. A severe drought in the region, beginning in the 1980s, caused desert sand to blow onto the once fertile pastures and fields of Darfur. This sharply diminished water resources and the local food supply. Tensions increased between the Darfuri farmers and the nomadic Arab herders as they competed for land and water rights in a struggle to provide subsistence existence for their families. This tension erupted into sporadic armed conflict.

To further complicate a difficult situation, in 2003 several rebel groups formed in the lead up to

negotiations to end the 20 year civil war between North and South Sudan. Two of the most prominent groups were the **Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)** and the **Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A**). Both groups attacked Sudanese government installations to protest against perceived disregard for Darfur and its non-Arab population.

The JEM and SLM/A do not always agree. Even when they work together, each group maintains its separate identity, which can lead to tensions. The rebel groups do share similar political demands for any peace agreement, however: political empowerment, security, and adequate restitution for the Darfuris who had their livestock, land, and possessions stolen or destroyed by government-sponsored militias.

The Sudanese government bombed rebel forces in retaliation and authorized a **militia** to attack the rebels and civilian farmers of Darfur. The **militia** was known as **Janjaweed**, which in English means “a man with a gun on a horse.” The **Janjaweed** was primarily composed of Arab nomadic groups who traveled by horse or camel and often coordinated attacks with Sudanese police and military. The Sudanese government played a role in recruiting and selecting militia members, placing a high value on those with deep enmity for the African people.

Refugees began fleeing from Darfur to **refugee** camps in the neighboring country of Chad. Many others were internally displaced within Darfur. When they arrived, they reported that the **Janjaweed** were attacking individuals as they fled their villages. The **refugees** believed that the government of Sudan approved these attacks. A typical raid began with an aerial attack by the Sudanese air force followed by a group of **Janjaweed** riding into the village. Men were killed or mutilated, women raped, and children kidnapped or killed; some civilians were taken hostage. The raiders then destroyed the village by burning homes, poisoning wells, and stealing items of value.

The international community was aware of what was happening in Darfur. China, Russia, and a number of other countries, however, were unwilling to openly criticize the Sudanese government. Some countries claimed that they did not want to interfere with the peace process, pointing to the tenuous negotiations between North and South Sudan. The situation in Darfur, however, continued to deteriorate while peace negotiations in Sudan stalled. By early 2004, there were 600,000 internally displaced persons in Darfur and 95,000 **refugees** in Chad living in squalid conditions with inadequate health care, security, and food.

The UN Security Council threatened **sanctions** against Sudan if the violence in Darfur continued. Sudan’s President Bashir stated that his government was not afraid of the UN, the resolutions were unfair, and the **militias** were beyond government control. In a reversal shortly thereafter, Bashir promised to comply with UN demands to reestablish security and disarm the **Janjaweed**. By the end of 2004, however, Sudan had not fulfilled its promises and continued to ignore UN Security Council resolutions without facing any sanctions. Bashir eventually allowed UN humanitarian workers into a few areas of Darfur and a small African Union (AU) peacekeeping force into Sudan. This was a step forward, but it did not begin to address the

urgent needs in the region.

The **Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)** between North and South Sudan, signed in January 2005, formally ended the war. This freed the international community to take greater action against Sudan regarding the crisis in Darfur. The UN **International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur** concluded that although genocide had not occurred, the government of Sudan, the **militias**, and the rebels were all guilty of human rights violations.

The determination of genocide is critical because it would invoke specific United Nations mandates. The **Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide** of 1948 states: “Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.” If Bashir or any members of his government, the Sudanese armed forces, or the **militia**, were found guilty of genocide, a path to accountability would have been clear. Since the situation in Darfur was not defined as genocide, it was referred to the **International Criminal Court**.

The Government of Sudan and the Sudan Liberation Movement signed the **Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA)** in May 2006, but many other rebel groups involved in the conflict were not included and did not agree to the terms. The Sudanese government provided little support for the **DPA** and did not explain the terms of the agreement to the citizens of Sudan, including Darfur’s Arabs or the masses in displaced camps. The government did not build consensus or support for the terms, which weakened the agreement before implementation could occur.

When the UN Security Council authorized a UN **peacekeeping** force in 2006 to bolster **AU** forces, the government of Sudan refused. Bashir claimed that the AU had contained the situation and that Sudan was not interested in being "re-colonized" — a reference to over 50 years of British rule. The following year, in 2007, the UN Security Council passed **UNSCR 1769**, authorizing **United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)** to replace the AU mission. **UNSCR 1769** provided for 26,000 UN **peacekeepers** in Darfur to protect civilians and aid workers.

In this simulation exercise, you will focus on the crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan at the end of 2009 as part of a diplomatic negotiation. As you address this situation, you will find that each group has different objectives. You will need to find common ground to solve the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, support **peacekeeping** efforts in the region, and make incremental steps towards **peacebuilding** as the region begins to recover from years of warfare.

The instructor will assign each participant to a delegation representing one of the following **stakeholders**:

Government of Sudan
United Nations (UN)
United States Department of State (DOS)
African Union (AU)

People's Republic of China (PRC) Save the Children (NGO)

Simulation Scenario

In July 2008, an **International Criminal Court (ICC)** prosecutor filed charges against Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir. The warrant alleged that he was criminally responsible for the crisis in Darfur and had orchestrated **genocide**, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The mandate of the **ICC** is to try individuals, rather than governments, and to hold such persons accountable for the most serious crimes of concern to the international community.

Tensions arose in March 2009 when the **ICC** issued an arrest warrant for Bashir for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. However, Bashir was not indicted for **genocide**, as **ICC** Chief Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo had requested. Ocampo announced that he would appeal the decision and pursue the **genocide** charge.

In response, the Sudanese government expelled 13 international aid organizations and closed three Sudanese aid agencies. Bashir accused the aid agencies of cooperating with the **ICC** and providing witnesses against him. Bashir's actions left hundreds of thousands of individuals without access to clean water, food, and medical care. The number of international aid workers dropped from roughly 18,000 to 6,800, leaving many **internally displaced people** in Darfur without assistance.

As a result, the UN has called for diplomatic negotiations to attempt to resolve the current humanitarian crisis that has arisen since the aid organizations were forced to leave the country. The UN has tried to fill the gap for aid, but it relies on private aid groups to deliver essential services. Those that remain are stretched to the limit. Attacks in Darfur continue, and the work of relief organizations has been limited by concerns over staff safety. Even UN **peacekeepers** have been attacked. Gunmen wounded four UN **peacekeepers** in Western Darfur. While it was not unusual for **peacekeepers** and **NGOs** to experience thefts at home or on compounds, this level of violence had not been seen before.

Disarming the **Janjaweed** is essential to any solution. The government of Sudan helped arm the **Janjaweed** who have conducted joint operations with the Sudanese military in the past. It is not clear if the Sudanese government maintains the ability to disarm the **militias** now, however. Bashir has stated in the past that the **militias** were beyond governmental control.

The president of China, a powerful ally of Sudan, has defended its **sovereignty** and provided millions of dollars of aid to the Sudanese government, including military weapons. In return, Sudan provided favorable prices to China for its offshore oil.

Sudan has a record of breaking promises and stalling the implementation of agreements. The

Sudanese government often agrees to requests from the UN and **NGOs**, but then creates difficult bureaucratic procedures that prevent change. It is important for the members of the international community, including the UN, the AU, and DOS, to convince President Bashir that the presence of **peacekeeping** forces in Darfur is to Sudan's advantage, and then slowly build up the numbers of forces to bring about greater stability.

Map of Darfur Region in Sudan

Fact Sheet:

Government of Sudan

Sudan is the largest country in sub-Saharan Africa. The capital city is Khartoum. Oil and agriculture are its most significant industries. Situated along the Red Sea, Sudan shares borders with the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, and Uganda. Sudan's population, estimated at 41 million, is one of the most diverse on the African continent. There are two distinct major cultures — Arab and African — with hundreds of ethnic and tribal subdivisions and language groups. This diversity can make effective cooperation and communication between groups a major political challenge.

About 70% of the Sudanese are Sunni Muslim, 25% hold indigenous beliefs, and 5% are Christian. Independent from British rule since 1956, Sudan has a presidential republic form of government established in January 2005, with one President and two Vice Presidents. The current president, Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir, however, has been in power since 1989 when he led a military coup against a democratically elected government.

Since its independence, Sudan has experienced almost constant ethnic and religious strife. The protracted conflict is rooted in cultural and religious divides. Northerners, who traditionally controlled the country, have tried to unify it along the lines of Arab identity and Islam, despite the opposition of non-Muslims, southerners, and marginalized peoples in the east and west. The conflict has affected all of the countries bordering Sudan, especially Chad, which has experienced a large influx of **refugees**. The civil strife has limited Sudan's economic and political development and forced massive internal displacement.

The people of Darfur have been marginalized politically, militarily, and economically. In the 1980s, factions from Chad promoting Arab rule occupied Darfur as a military home base for their conquests. They exploited natural resources and food supplies in local villages. Following the occupation, in the early 1990s, two prolonged civil wars between North and South Sudan continued for more than a decade. During the war, competition over scarce resources and the discovery of oil in Western Sudan fueled an increased militarization of the isolated and impoverished region.

In the aftermath of the second civil war, South Sudan gained political power while instability grew in Western Darfur. The presence of offshore oil and the potential for revenue drew national and international attention to the region. Allegations were made that the largely Arab Sudanese government was arming Arab rebel groups known as **Janjaweed** to raid non-Arab villages in Darfur. These claims contributed to increased racial tension and led the Sudanese government to attack North Darfur in hopes of stifling dissent. Many people fled Darfur to neighboring Chad and Libya seeking refuge from the armed rebels.

Sudan has defended its actions in Darfur as the right of a sovereign nation to put down a rebellion within its borders. It implies that the rebel groups are denying free access to water and land resources that should be available to all of Sudan's citizens.

Opening Position:

- You are in favor of inviting the African Union to act as **peacekeepers,** but in limited numbers.
- You are not convinced that UN **peacekeepers** are necessary.
- You want to invite the rebel leaders to negotiate a political settlement.
- You believe Sudan has **sovereignty** over its country and has the right to deal with an internal rebellion.
- It is your position that the rebels in Darfur are blocking access to natural resources that belong to *all* Sudanese people.
- You are protecting the national security of your country by putting down rebel groups.
- You state that the international community is exaggerating the problem in Darfur.

Questions to Consider:

- What is the Sudanese government's vision of its country's future?
- How does it view Darfur, the people there, and what is going on now?
- What allies and partners does the government have? What resources and capabilities do they provide?
- How do different international players and countries view the Sudanese government?
- How could the Sudanese government be influenced to alter its policies on Darfur?

Fact Sheet:

United Nations (UN)

The United Nations (UN) is an association of sovereign states formed in 1945 after World War II to promote global peace and security. Starting with 51 members, the UN now has 191 member states – virtually every nation in the world. The goals of the UN, as stated in its 1945 charter, are to:

- Maintain international peace and security;
- Develop friendly relations among nations;
- Promote cooperation among nations for the purpose of solving international, economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems, and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- Serve as a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

The UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), established in March 2005, was a full-fledged UN peace support mission. It was tasked with working in southern Sudan at the end of the 21-year civil war in that region after the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) signed the **Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)**. **UNMIS** responsibilities included ensuring that the CPA was implemented, assisting with the return of **refugees** and displaced persons to Darfur, and protecting human rights in Sudan.

UN Security Council Resolution 1706 (SCR 1706) expanded the UNMIS mandate to cover Darfur in western Sudan. It also authorized UNMIS to deploy up to 17,300 **peacekeepers** and 3,300 civilian police personnel to Darfur in addition to existing UNMIS operations. The resolution provided that UNMIS could use "all necessary means" to protect itself, prevent attacks against civilians, support the **Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA)** process, and seize illegal arms. However, Article 1 of **UNSCR 1706** "invites the consent" of the Sudan government and the Sudanese government did not consent to the terms.

In May 2006, the **DPA** was signed. Only one major rebel group signed the **DPA** and implementation was threatened by the many rebel groups vying for power. Conflict continued in the region between the Sudanese Armed Forces and non-signatory rebel groups. Additionally, cross-border violence continued along the border between Chad and Darfur.

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR 1769) created a hybrid UN-AU **peacekeeping** mission. It authorized the deployment of 26,000 infantry troops and police officers to Darfur. However, the **United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)** struggled to be deployed. As of May 2009, **UNMIS**, which was still in place, had fewer than 10,000 uniformed personnel on the ground, including troops, military observers, police, international civilians, local civilians, and UN volunteers.

Opening Position:

- You want all parties in Sudan to cooperate with further UN-AU **peacekeeping** missions.
- You want the Sudanese government to authorize the safe return of **refugees** back to Darfur.
- You encourage the Sudanese government to cooperate with the **ICC** in handing over those indicted on human rights violations.
- You want the Sudanese government and all **militias** to continue negotiations to broker a political solution.
- You need to convince Sudan that the **peacekeeping** troops will provide security for all parties.
- You stress the importance of making incremental steps to build peace in Darfur.

Questions to Consider:

- What has the UN accomplished in Sudan?
- What additional action can the UN take?
- How should the UN coordinate with the African Union in Sudan?
- How should the UN and Sudanese government interact in Sudan?
- What are the views of the UN Security Council on Darfur?
- Why is China expected to act on Sudan?
- How could action in Darfur be funded? Which countries might contribute troops? Are troops the answer to Darfur's security problems?
- Specifically, representatives of which groups, people, government, or organizations should be involved in helping resolve the Darfur crisis?

Fact Sheet:

United States Department of State (DOS)

The State Department leads the United States in its relationships with foreign governments, international organizations, and the people of other countries. It aims to promote the security, prosperity and interests of the American people around the world. It does so by creating American jobs through support for open markets for U.S. companies; by issuing passports and providing emergency assistance to U.S. citizens abroad; by negotiating treaties to reduce nuclear weapons and equipping countries to respond to their own security challenges; by helping countries with health, food and humanitarian crises; by promoting stability, peace and human rights; and by increasing understanding of American society and values.

Sudan has been a top foreign policy priority for the United States. The United States is determined to stop the killing in Darfur, and is the only country so far to call the killings "**genocide**." The United States is committed to working through the UN to end the crisis in Darfur. In September 2006, former President Bush appointed a **Special Envoy** to Darfur stating, "We believe the world has a responsibility to respond to what this government has called **genocide**. …. The United Nations can play an important role in helping us achieve our objective, which is to end human suffering and deprivation."

The United States is the largest single international aid donor to Sudan, providing more than 65% of the World Food Program aid to Sudan in 2006 and 2007. The U.S. provided over $1 billion for humanitarian, development, and **peacekeeping** assistance for Sudan in 2007. The following year the United States provided an additional $100 million to train and equip African **peacekeepers** going to Darfur as part of the **United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)**. The U.S. also provided over $450 million in support for base camp construction, equipment, and training to the African Union Mission in Sudan, the predecessor to the current **peacekeeping** mission.

On May 29, 2007, the State Department imposed new economic **sanctions** on individual Sudanese and rebel leaders and on 30 companies owned or controlled by the government of Sudan. These were added to more than 100 other Sudanese companies currently sanctioned by the U.S.

In March 2009, President Obama appointed General Scott Gration as the new **Special Envoy** to Sudan. Gration made several trips to Sudan and the region and hosted an international conference to reinvigorate the **Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)**. U.S. officials are concerned about the regional impact of the violence in Darfur, especially in Chad and the Central African Republic.

Opening Position:

- You urge that the **sanctions** on rebel leaders tied to human rights violations and Sudanese state-owned businesses ought to remain in place until a political solution is implemented.
- You believe that China should join the United States in applying economic and political pressure on the Sudanese government and Sudanese state-owned businesses.
- You support the joint UN and AU **peacekeeping** presence in Darfur to ensure implementation of political agreements between the Sudanese government and rebel groups.
- You want the humanitarian aid to Darfur to continue unimpeded.

Questions to Consider:

- What is the policy of the United States government on Darfur?
- What actions has the United States taken to date? What additional actions can the it take?
- What is the level of U.S. aid for Darfur?
- In what ways have U.S. policy goals been frustrated?
- What are the limitations on further U.S. actions such as **sanctions** against Sudan?
- Why is it essential to include the UN, the AU, and the government of China in a solution to the Darfur crisis?
- Should the United States forcibly provide humanitarian aid if the government of Sudan refuses? How important is this aspect of the solution for the United States government?

Fact Sheet:

African Union (AU)

The African Union (AU) originally formed as the Organization of African Unity. In 2000, on adoption of its constitution, the organization officially became known as the African Union. The AU aims to protect the security of the continent rather than the **sovereignty** of individual states — a change from the mission of its initial organization. Fifty-four countries in Africa are members of the AU, which is headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The AU is the world's only regional or international organization that explicitly recognizes the right to intervene in a member state on humanitarian and human rights grounds.

The AU played an increasingly high-profile **peacekeeping** role in Sudan, most prominently in Darfur. Initially there were 7,200 troops, military observers, civilian police, and civilian staff in Darfur. In September 2006, the AU extended the mandate of its **peacekeeping** forces in Sudan's Darfur region after the Sudanese president refused to accept a UN **peacekeeping** force of 20,000 authorized by **UN Security Council Resolution 1706 (UNSCR 1706)**.

The AU authorized its forces to monitor the ceasefire and to help improve overall security, but only to protect civilians who were under immediate threat in sight of AU **peacekeepers**. This mandate expired when **UN Security Council Resolution 1769** went into effect on January 1, 2008. This resolution authorized the deployment of 26,000 infantry troops and police officers to Darfur and the AU troops became part of the **United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)**.

The members of the AU appear to have a complicated relationship with Sudanese president Bashir. In January 2007, AU members at the annual summit refused to grant the presidency of the AU to Bashir even though he would have been eligible for this office in the normal rotation. Instead, they named President John Kufuor of Ghana. Nonetheless, AU member countries have rallied around Sudanese President Bashir in a show of support after he was charged by the **International Criminal Court (ICC)** in 2008. Several AU members threatened to withdraw their membership in the **ICC** if Bashir were to be indicted.

Opening Position:

- You believe that the AU and UN should have a significant **peacekeeping** presence in Darfur to ensure the implementation of political agreements.
- You believe that efforts to broker a political peace between the government of Sudan and rebel groups should be led by African nations.
- You encourage the United States to continue providing training and monetary aid to support AU **peacekeeping** missions.
- You do not believe that President al-Bashir should be prosecuted by the **ICC.**

- You need to convince the Sudanese government that **peacekeeping** troops will provide security to all parties.

Questions to Consider:

- What is the current strength and scope of AU operations? Is the mandate sufficient?
- What is the view of the government of Sudan regarding an increased AU role?
- What else could the African Union do?
- What are the limitations on further AU action?
- How can President al-Bashir be held accountable for the humanitarian care of all people in Sudan from this point forward in the negotiations?
- Why is the Sudanese government concerned about peacekeeping troops being stationed in the country?

Fact Sheet:

People's Republic of China (PRC)

The People's Republic of China (PRC) in East Asia is the world's most populated nation. China is one of the largest exporters and importers in the world, consuming a third of the world's steel and over half of the world's concrete. China has been led by the Communist Party of China since 1949 and is a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

China's investment in Africa, roughly $50 billion in 2006, boosted growth rates and spurred much-needed infrastructure improvements. Some Africans welcomed this investment "China knows what it means to be poor, and has evolved a successful wealth creation formula that it is willing to share with African countries," stated a former Nigerian finance minister. But resentment against China in Africa—where many complain that cheap Chinese-manufactured goods are damaging local industry—is growing.

Western officials and human rights organizations express alarm at China's willingness to invest in countries with questionable human rights records. For example, under Beijing's policy of "noninterference in domestic affairs," China is investing in Sudan and buying its oil despite Sudan's refusal to accept UN **peacekeeping** troops in Darfur. It also conducts business with the repressive regime of Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe. These countries welcome China's cash, technology, and political protection from international pressures. Chinese purchases of Sudanese oil provide much needed income for the Sudanese government.

China is also a major supplier of weapons to the Sudanese government, which has spent $100 million on Chinese fighter planes alone. Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Sudan in February 2007 and called on nations to "respect the **sovereignty** of Sudan." He promised to build a new presidential palace for the Sudanese president, cancelled $80 million in debt, and announced plans to build a new road to an oil refinery partly owned by China.

International pressure was put on China to use its influence with the Sudanese government. In 2007, China assumed the rotating presidency of the UN Security Council and pushed hard to ensure that **UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1769** passed. The resolution authorized the deployment of 26,000 infantry troops and police officers to Darfur. To demonstrate interest in bringing peace to Sudan, China sent 150 engineers to the Darfur **peacekeeping** mission and held an international conference on Darfur. It also designated a Special Representative for Darfur, Mr. Liu Gui-jin, who was active in diplomatic dialogue with Sudan.

Opening Position:

- You believe the Sudanese government is a sovereign nation and therefore has the right to conduct internal affairs without the scrutiny of outside parties.
- It is your position that the governments of China and Sudan should be free to broker business agreements that are beneficial to both states.
- You believe the **ICC** has no jurisdiction in Sudan and should not prosecute any member of the Sudanese government since **genocide** has not been proven.
- You believe that the UN should not impose **sanctions** on the Sudanese government.
- You do not condone the **sanctions** imposed by the United States on Sudanese businesses.
- China is a friend to many governments on the continent of Africa and is helping to advance the economy of several African countries through investment.

Questions to Consider:

- What is the nature of China's investments in Sudan? How do China and the government of Sudan benefit?
- What does China think should be done in Darfur? Why?
- What is China's view on UN **peacekeepers** going into Darfur?
- What could motivate China to use its influence on the government of Sudan to stop the violence in Darfur?
- How are the views of the Chinese government about sovereignty shaped by its own experience in international relations?
- Are there limits on the sovereignty of nations if certain conditions are met? Why or why not? If there are limits, under what conditions can sovereignty be challenged?
- What are some methods of influence available to the Chinese government on this issue in Sudan?

Fact Sheet:

Save the Children

Non-Governmental Organizations (**NGOs)** are independent non-profits that often receive both private and government funding. They often work to relieve suffering, promote the interests of poor and displaced people, protect the environment, provide basic social services, and undertake community development. Most **NGOs** depend on charitable donations and voluntary service, but can receive government funding to carry out specific projects. **NGOs**, though not directly affiliated with any national government, can have a significant impact on the social, economic, and political activity of a country or region in which they operate or are involved.

A number of international **NGOs** identified Darfur as an extremely high priority issue. They worked to influence governments and international organizations and to mobilize citizens around the world to stop the killing in Darfur. **NGOs** can be very effective at giving voice to victims of injustice.

A range of **NGOs** are active on Darfur, including Oxfam, Care International, and Save the Children. Some deliver humanitarian assistance and mobilize public opinion while others gather data and prepare policy options to address the crisis. Save the Children began working in Sudan in 1984 and has worked since that time to provide humanitarian aid and emergency response to children and families living in communities affected by ongoing conflict. These communities face extreme poverty and lack basic services, such as safety and health care.

In March 2009, the Government of Sudan expelled 13 international aid organizations including Save the Children and closed three national **NGOs**. Save the Children had worked to support women and children by offering quality education, health care, and livelihood programs in four humanitarian aid camps in Sudan for five years. The removal of the aid groups resulted in a massive drop in assistance to vulnerable populations as access to clean water, medical treatment, food, and shelter became limited. The departure left the aid effort in disarray and put many lives at risk.

The government accused the **NGOs** of collusion with the **International Criminal Court (ICC)** and of overstepping their mandates. Four new organizations were allowed into the country later, but reports indicate that aid was not fully restored and that government interference and obstruction to **NGOs** operating in the country persists.

The challenges faced by children in Darfur are enormous. Because of ongoing conflict, many children live under the constant threat of violence, as well as the possibility of exploitation and abuse. They have inadequate food and water, healthcare, and education. As a result, Sudan has one of the highest infant mortality rates. Many children are growing up knowing only violence and fear.

Opening Position:

- You believe the welfare of non-combatants in Darfur is of the highest priority.
- You believe that the members of the government of Sudan who are responsible for human rights violations should be held accountable.
- You believe that non-governmental aid workers and observers have the right to operate in Darfur.
- You believe that the United States and the United Nations have a moral imperative to intervene in stopping human rights violations.

Questions to Consider:

- What conditions are necessary for aid workers to deliver assistance?
- What is beyond the scope of their action?
- What action have **NGOs** taken to ease the humanitarian crisis in Darfur?
- What limits further action by **NGOs**?
- How long will aid be needed?
- What are the short term goals of humanitarian aid? Long term goals?

Tools for Negotiating Effectively

Clearly determine your position and agree on your strategy

- Clarify or restate your position if it is misrepresented by another **stakeholder** group.
- If during informal discussions you decide that your group should change its position, discuss it with your group members as soon as possible.

Realistically evaluate possible actions before you propose them

- Are the proposals **possible**?
- Will they **achieve** the results you want?
- What are the potential **unintended consequences**?

Analyze the other groups' positions

- Why do they **hold** that position?
- Why do they **oppose** or support your proposals?
- Can you apply **pressure** to make **stakeholders** re-evaluate their positions?
- Can you offer any **incentives** to make **stakeholders** re-evaluate their positions?

Build alliances

- **Identify** which **stakeholders** share your position and which do not.
- Do not spend all your time trying to persuade others. **Listen** carefully to other delegates and absorb what they are saying.
- Try to identify **common interests** and concerns you share with other **stakeholders**.
- Even if your end goal is different, are there areas of agreement?

Incentives and disincentives ("Carrots and Sticks")

- Consider what incentives you can safely offer to other groups.
- Explain to other **stakeholders** the negative consequences (either direct or indirect) that may follow if they oppose your position.

Worksheet 1:

Questions to Think Through

Remember: There is no "right" or "wrong" outcome. This is not a debate in which you need to win the argument; your goal is to work together to find a workable solution. Build upon common ground and look for areas where you and other parties can agree. Where you disagree, try to create options that address the other parties' concerns.

Whom do you represent?

What is your overall goal?

What goals (in priority order) would you also like to achieve?

What are you willing to compromise? Always have something that you are willing to give up to help the negotiation process achieve something.

Who can help you?

Who might oppose your approach?

What incentives and disincentives can you offer to persuade others?

What is your strategy in dealing with other parties? With whom should you speak first?

Worksheet 2:

Possible Actions

Here is a list of *possible* actions to be taken. Prioritize your **top 2** priorities according to your group's policy position. Feel free to add new actions. You will share your group's prioritized list of actions when the formal negotiation begins.

- Stabilize the Darfur region and border areas of Chad so **refugees** can return home.
- Bring those responsible for the killings to justice.
- Bring in new business opportunities for the people of Darfur to rebuild the region's economy.
- Implement a viable ceasefire in Darfur.
- Deliver emergency humanitarian assistance to **refugees** in neighboring countries and **internally displaced persons** in Darfur.
- Open Darfur for foreign business and tourism.
- Implement the terms of the **Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA)** of May 2006 or devise another political process to prevent future conflict in Darfur.

- Other action_____

- Other action _____

Glossary

Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) – An agreement signed on January 9, 2005, by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the Government of Sudan. The CPA was meant to end civil war, develop national democratic reforms, and share oil revenues.

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide – The convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 9, 1948.

Article 2: In the present Convention, **genocide** means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article 3: The following acts shall be punishable:

(a) Genocide;
(b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
(c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
(d) Attempt to commit genocide;
(e) Complicity in genocide.

Article 4: Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials, or private individuals.

Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) – An agreement signed in 2006 between rebel groups and the Sudanese government that included issues on political power-sharing, demilitarization of the **Janjaweed** and rebels, a system of federal wealth-sharing to benefit Darfur's economic interests, a referendum on the future status of Darfur, and measures to promote the flow of humanitarian aid into the region. The 2006 **DPA** was followed by another version in 2011.

Genocide – As defined by the United Nations Genocide Convention: "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group." Genocide is a criminal act under international law. (See Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide)

Internally Displaced Person – Someone who is forced to flee his or her home, but who remains within his or her country's borders.

International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur – The mandate of the commission was: (1) to investigate reports of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law in Darfur by all parties; (2) to determine whether or not acts of **genocide** have occurred; (3) to identify the perpetrators of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law in Darfur; and (4) to suggest means of ensuring that those responsible for such violations are held accountable.

International Criminal Court (ICC) – An international court backed by the United Nations created for the purpose of prosecuting individuals for the crimes of **genocide**, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, as defined by international law.

Janjaweed – A **militia** of Sudanese Arab Muslims backed by the Sudanese government to fight rebel groups in Darfur.

Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) – JEM is one of the Sudanese opposition groups that is active in Darfur.

Militia – A group of civilians who are not part of the armed forces of a country but are trained like soldiers.

Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) – A not-for-profit organization that is independent of government and is often involved in human rights, the environment, health, and/or development.

Peacebuilding – According to the UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee "Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development."

Peacekeepers – Personnel put into conflict zones, usually by multinational organizations (e.g., United Nations or African Union), to aid and observe a peace processes. Peacekeepers often involve military, law enforcement, and civilian personnel.

Peacekeeping – Peacekeeping is one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist host countries transition from conflict to peace. UN Peacekeeping is guided by three basic principles: the consent of the parties; impartiality; and non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate.

Refugee – A person who flees to a foreign country or power to escape danger or persecution in their own country.

Sanctions – An action that is taken to force a country to obey international laws by limiting or stopping trade with that country or by not providing economic aid for that country, etc.

Sovereignty – The right of a state, as recognized by international law, to control affairs within its own borders.

Special Envoy – An individual chosen by his/her government to focus on a particular issue or crisis in a country.

Stakeholders – A person, organization, or government who has an interest in a specific event or issue.

Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) – One of several rebel groups that formed in Darfur and played a part in the rebellion against the government of Sudan.

United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) – The African Union/UN Hybrid operation in Darfur was established on 31 July 2007 with the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1769. UNAMID has the protection of civilians as its core mandate, but is also tasked with contributing to security for humanitarian assistance, monitoring and verifying implementation of agreements, assisting an inclusive political process, and contributing to the promotion of human rights and the rule of law.

United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) – UNMIS was tasked with providing support to the implementation of the **Comprehensive Peace Agreement**, to perform certain functions relating to humanitarian assistance, protection, promotion of human rights, and to support the African Union Mission in Sudan.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1706 (UNSCR 1706) – This resolution authorized the deployment of UN **peacekeeping** troops in Darfur, but could not be instituted unless Sudan's government agreed to the troops' presence.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1769 (UNSCR 1769) – This resolution authorized a joint UN-African Union **peacekeeping** force of 26,000 in Darfur.

Assessment

Have students write a response essay, reflecting on one or more questions about their experience during the simulation.

1. Which **stakeholders** made the most progress advancing their interests during the simulation? What kinds of negotiation strategies did those **stakeholder**s use to make them successful?

2. How were **stakeholders** able to balance their competing economic, political, and human rights-based concerns? What common interests were **stakeholders** able to find among these concerns?

3. How were **stakeholders** able to work within the confines of existing agreements between the Sudanese government and Darfurian rebel groups? How did **stakeholders** work to make sure their agreements were possible under previous agreements?

4. How did **stakeholders** ensure that their agreements would not have any unintended circumstances, such as alienating the allies of the Darfurian rebels or the Sudanese government? What part did the larger issue of **genocide** play in the negotiations?

Rubric

Stakeholder: _____

Student names: _____

Stakeholder Planning	Points	Maximum Possible
Each stakeholder is appropriately prepared by reading the Background, Scenario, and Fact Sheet.		10
The entire group helps develop their stakeholder's position, outlining their chosen goals, and explaining why they have been chosen.		10
Worksheets: Questions are addressed seriously. Information from the Background, Scenario, and Fact Sheet is incorporated. Answers match the realities of the Scenario.		15
Negotiation and Resolution		
Opening Statement: Statements clearly relay the group's goals, giving a brief reason for each choice. The statement is clear and conveys the point to the other stakeholder groups.		10
Informal Negotiations: Everyone participates. Group members negotiate with other stakeholders based on the information in the Background, Scenario, and Fact Sheet. Discussions are two-way, with listening, responding, and compromising.		20
Formal Negotiations: The parties push hard for their goals and maintain dialogue. Discussion remains on topic. Group members ask questions and take notes.		15
Post Simulation Debriefing: Reflects the conclusions of the final formal negotiations. All groups achieve some of their goals. Consensus is reached, or a clear effort is made to reach consensus.		20
Total Points		100

Additional Resources

Background on Sudan and Darfur for All Stakeholders:

- "Darfur and Beyond: What is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities," by Lee Feinstein (January 2007). Council on Foreign Relations. *This special report discusses challenges for the U.N. and the U.S. in offering support to unwilling governments and provides recommendations for U.N. and U.S. leadership to place genocide prevention as a top priority for international involvement.*
  http://www.cfr.org/publication/12444/darfur_and_beyond.html
- "Tragedy in Darfur," by Alex de Waal (October 5, 2004). *Boston Review*. *Analysis of the Darfur Crisis including parties involved, geography, and Sudan's historical political environment.*
  http://bostonreview.net/de-waal-tragedy-in-darfur
- Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. December 9, 1948. Human Rights Web. *The text of the Convention as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly.*
  http://www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html

Government of Sudan:

- Embassy of the Republic of Sudan, Washington, DC. *Resources and information on Embassy news and events, U.S-Sudan relations, and Sudan's foreign policy.*
  http://www.sudanembassy.org/
- "The Capital Interview: Sudan's U.S. Ambassador Says Darfur Crisis Exaggerated." Robert McMahon, June 5, 2007. Council of Foreign Relations. *This interview transcript addresses the implications and potential of UN-AU forces in Darfur and the actions of the Sudanese government in supporting peace movements within the country.*
  http://www.cfr.org/publication/13544/
- "Sudan's Plan for Restoration of Stability in Darfur." August 17, 2006. *Sudan Tribune*. *Letter to the UN Secretary General outlining the government of Sudan's plan for restoring stability and protecting civilians amidst the crisis in Darfur by use of military involvement in the region.*
  http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article17352

United Nations:

- United Nations homepage. *Resources detailing all of the operations of the United Nations including its purpose, objectives, structure, international involvement, and media presence.*
  http://www.un.org/
- "News Focus: Sudan and South-Sudan." UN News Centre. *Recent news stories focused on issues in Sudan with the inclusion of interactive media elements detailing the crisis in Darfur from an eyewitness' perspective.*
  http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocusRel.asp?infocusID=88&Body=Sudan&Body1=
- Women and Children in Darfur: Fact Sheet, (February 2009). UNICEF. *Demographic information on topics such as education, health and nutrition, water and sanitation, UNICEF-supported achievements, and security incidents in Darfur during 2008.*
  http://www.unicef.org/sudan/UNICEF_Darfur_fact_sheet_February_2009.pdf

United States Department of State:

- "Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan." U.S. Department of State: Diplomacy in Action. *Information on the Office of the U.S. Special Envoy for Sudan and the mission of U.S. involvement in Sudan.*
  http://www.state.gov/s/sudan/index.htm
- U.S. Diplomacy Center. *This link most notably provides educator resources regarding diplomacy, diplomatic simulations, external links for educators, and a guide to both online and in-person collections and exhibits at the U.S. State Department's new museum.*
  https://diplomacy.state.gov/
- Discover Diplomacy. *An introduction to the people who conduct diplomacy, the places where the Department of State engages in diplomacy, and the issues diplomacy helps resolve.*
  https://diplomacy.state.gov/discoverdiplomacy/

African Union:

- "Backgrounder: The African Union," by Stephanie Hanson, (October 6, 2006). Council on Foreign Relations. *Information on the operations, interventions, organization, and leadership of the African Union with specific links to the AU's role in Darfur.*
  http://www.cfr.org/publication/11616/
- "The African Union and Darfur," (January 2005). Human Rights Watch. *Criticism of UN, AU, and U.S. peace efforts in the Darfur crisis as well as the implications of relying heavily on one entity for aid if efforts were to fail in the region.*
  http://hrw.org/wr2k5/darfur/5.htm

China:

- "Africa." Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the UN. *Statements regarding the situation in Darfur, Sudan.* **http://www.china-un.org/eng/chinaandun/securitycouncil/regionalhotspots/africa/**
- "The Perils of Beijing's Africa Strategy," by Elizabeth C. Economy (November 2, 2006). Council on Foreign Relations. *This article details Sino-African relations and discusses possibilites for the future as a result of emerging social, political, and economic tensions.* **http://www.cfr.org/publication/11886/perils_of_beijings_africa_strategy.html**
- "China in Africa: Strictly Business," by Stephanie Hanson, (November 6, 2006). Council on Foreign Relations. *Examination of Chinese trade in Africa and criticism of economic involvement regarding human rights issues and Beijing's policy of "noninterference in domestic affairs."* **http://www.cfr.org/publication/11907/china_in_africa.html**

NGO Community:

- "Darfurian Voices." 24 Hours for Darfur. *Report and a video detailing the efforts of the Darfurian Voices project highlighting the "views of Darfurian refugees on issues of peace, justice, and reconciliation."* **http://www.24hoursfordarfur.org/**
- Save the Children. *Save the Children comprises Save the Children International and 30 member organisations working to deliver change for children in 120 countries.* **https://www.savethechildren.net/**

Diplomatic Simulations

The U.S. Diplomacy Center offers educators immersive programs that explore the goals and practice of diplomacy, teach diplomatic skills, build global competence, and illustrate how the critical work of American diplomats impacts people's everyday lives. Lesson plans emphasize 21st century skills: creativity and innovation; critical thinking and problem solving; and communication and collaboration. These skills are keys to success for the next generation of global citizens.

The Diplomatic Simulation Program is the Center's premier educational tool. In a collaborative learning environment, students step into the shoes of real-life diplomats. The diplomatic simulations are designed for 15-30 participants, plus a teacher/moderator. Students receive a scenario related to a global issue, which could be real-world or hypothetical, current or historic. Within each simulation, there are five to six stakeholder groups (e.g., foreign ministries, NGOs, and international organizations), each with different perspectives and priorities. Students role-play these stakeholders in small teams of three to five. Under set time constraints, the groups are challenged to negotiate a peaceful solution to the crisis in the scenario. Students use the information provided in the simulation packet to develop their group's policy positions and defend or modify their choices in real time.

The simulations have no right or wrong actions or solutions because the process, rather than the end result, is the goal. The learning experience develops organically as the students engage in the simulation. Once the simulation has been completed, students are encouraged to express how their views on diplomacy have evolved as a result of the simulation, and to contemplate how they can apply diplomatic skills to their everyday lives.

Contact our Education Office at **USDC@state.gov**
for more information.

This document and all associated materials are intended exclusively for educational use.

United States Diplomacy Center

Discover Diplomacy

About the U.S. Diplomacy Center

The U.S. Diplomacy Center is a public-private partnership, an apolitical and non-partisan museum and education center dedicated to telling the story of American diplomacy. The Diplomacy Center is located at the Department of State's historic headquarters, the Harry S Truman building in Washington, D.C. The Center will invite visitors to explore the history, practice and challenges of American diplomacy through interactive exhibits, artifacts, hands-on education programs, diplomatic simulations, and the expertise of foreign affairs specialists.

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