

PEACEBUILDING

The Challenge of Darfur



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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.

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Student Materials

- 1 **Issue Background**
- 5 **Crisis Map**
- 6 **Summary of Recent Events**
- 7 **Worksheet 1: Questions to Think Through**
- 8 **Worksheet 2: Possible Actions**
- 9 **Tools for Negotiating Effectively**
- 10 **Glossary of Terms**

Tragedy. Civil war. Ethnic cleansing. **Genocide**. It is 2009, and whatever label we use, the world cannot ignore the escalating 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 fact, the government responded to the emergence of armed Darfurian rebel groups in 2003 by recruiting and supporting local **militia** groups, most notably the infamous “**Janjaweed**,” to unleash a brutal campaign targeting civilians and 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. The factors include those rooted in the colonial period from 1898 to 1956, the famine and drought beginning in the 1980s, decades of ongoing conflict (internal and cross-border) in Sudan, and the myth of Arab cultural superiority, an ideology espoused by the current government. Given these complexities, a comprehensive solution to the conflict will clearly take time, but the international community has determined the current humanitarian crisis must be addressed immediately to save the people of Darfur.

Background: 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 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 established a presidential republic form of government in January 2005, with one President and two Vice Presidents. In 2009, the president, Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir has been in power 20 year since when he led a military coup against a democratically elected government.

Since its independence, Sudan has experienced almost constant ethnic and religious strife. Northerners, who traditionally control the country, have tried to unify the country along the lines of Arab identity and Islam, despite the opposition of non-Muslims, southerners, and marginalized peoples in the east and west. Sudan’s conflict has affected all the countries bordering Sudan, especially Chad, which has received a large influx of **refugees**. **The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)** between North and South Sudan, signed in January 2005, formally ended that decades-long civil war. Years of internal strife and cross-border fighting with Chad have limited Sudan’s economic and political development and resulted in massive internal displacement.

Background: Darfur

Darfur is an area in western Sudan approximately the size of Spain. The people of Darfur have traditionally been marginalized politically, militarily, and economically by the Sudanese government in distant Khartoum. Darfur’s relatively sparse population is largely composed of Muslim ethnic groups, many with their own languages and customs, but there is a clear cultural and political divide between “African” and “Arab” communities. In Darfur, the terms serve primarily to differentiate between groups that were traditionally sedentary farmers, the Africans, whose forebearers had their roots in Africa, and the Arabs, who were nomadic herders, whose primary language was most often Arabic, and whose forebearers came from areas

in the Middle East. Intermarriage and migration over the centuries have blurred the distinction based on ancestry. Arab or African is a self-identity based on a mix of factors, including an ideology promoted by some Arab communities and political groups. This ideology, or cultural stereotype, maintains that Sudan's ethnic Arabs are heirs to a superior, more advanced culture and have a greater claim to the land and resources of Sudan.

Historically, these two groups coexisted in Darfur. Sedentary and nomadic tribes shared land resources, engaged in trade, and intermarried. There were frequently local conflicts that were usually settled by councils or elders. The dramatic escalation of conflict (and resulting hostilities along ethnic lines) in Darfur result from a number of factors: increasing competition for dwindling resources; the erosion of traditional tribal leadership structures; growing Arab resentment of the land-owning African communities; the emergence of armed Darfurian rebel groups in 2003; and the sudden flood of arms and weapons into Darfur from other countries. The Arab-based government in Khartoum was motivated to violence by anger at growing rebel attacks, long-term enmity against Darfur based on its large non-Arab population, and a desire to control oil reserves in Darfur, especially as it faced losing access to the oil reserves in what would soon be an autonomous South Sudan.

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 a subsistence existence for their families. Arab herders could not find grazing land or water to sustain their herds. In response, some of these men and/or their sons joined the **Janjaweed** in the 1990s when it focused on small-scale local raiding.

The Darfur conflict began in 2003 as several rebel (anti-government) movements emerged in the lead-up to negotiations to end the 20-year civil war between North and South Sudan. Among 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 perceived disregard for Darfur and its non-Arab population.

The Sudanese government responded by bombing rebel forces and authorizing the **Janjaweed** to attack the rebels and African non-combatant communities in Darfur. The **Janjaweed** was primarily composed of men from Arab nomadic groups. These men traveled by horse or camel and often coordinated attacks with Sudanese police and military. The Sudanese government had begun supporting and arming the **Janjaweed** around 2000 and played a role in recruiting and selecting additional militia members, placing a high value on those with deep enmity for the African people.

As the attacks by the **Janjaweed** and government forces intensified, **refugees** began fleeing from Darfur to **refugee** camps in the neighboring country of Chad. Many others were displaced within Darfur. 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. Survivors of the attacks, along with international observers, reported that 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 and children raped, kidnapped, or killed. The raiders then destroyed the village by burning homes, poisoning wells, killing or stealing animals, and claiming anything of value. International observers and human rights groups agreed the purpose was to not only attack the people, but to destroy their communities so they could not or would not return.



Through these reports, the international community learned what was happening in Darfur and many countries sought to pressure the Sudanese government to end the violence. 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 tenuous peace agreement between North and South Sudan. The situation in Darfur, however, continued to deteriorate.

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** (i.e. the **Janjaweed**) 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.

This freed the international community to take greater action against Sudan regarding the crisis in Darfur. The 2005 **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 on **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**.

In May 2006, the Government of Sudan and the Sudan Liberation Movement signed the **Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA)**. 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 the AU force, African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), 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 the **African Union-United Nations Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)**. **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 Darfur 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, to ensure international **NGOs** are permitted to provide aid to over a million displaced people, to support **peacekeeping** efforts in the region, and to establish incremental steps towards sustainable **peacebuilding** as the region begins to recover from years of warfare.

Today's exercise will simulate an international diplomatic meeting called to address a fictionalized instance of a real world problem. There will be a Chair to call the meeting together and moderate. Each of you will be a member of a delegation for one of the following groups:



The U.S. Department of State



The United Nations



Government of the People's Republic of China



The African Union



The Government of Sudan



Save the Children (NGO)





SUMMARY OF RECENT EVENTS

In July 2008, an **International Criminal Court (ICC)** prosecutor filed charges against Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir. This was the first time the **ICC** had charged a sitting head of government. 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 increased 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. The number of international aid workers dropped from roughly 18,000 to 6,800, leaving many **internally displaced people** in Darfur without assistance. Bashir's actions left hundreds of thousands of individuals without access to clean water, food, and medical care. By removing aid workers from refugee camps, Bashir also removed an important level of protection for those in refugee camps, leaving them vulnerable to renewed **Janjaweed** attacks.

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; some aid workers have been kidnapped and murdered. Even UN **peacekeepers** have been attacked. While it is not unusual for **peacekeepers** and **NGOs** to experience thefts at home or on compounds, this level of violence has 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 has the ability to disarm the **militias** now. Bashir has stated in the past that the **militias** were beyond governmental control.

The president of China, a powerful ally of Sudan, has defended Sudan's **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.

The current Sudanese government 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 the Sudanese delegation that the continuing violence in Darfur is not in the interest of Sudan. To address the crisis effectively, the international community should also consult with each other to see where and how they can act to promote a resolution to the crisis, together and individually.



WORKSHEET 1: QUESTIONS TO THINK THROUGH

Whom do you represent?

What is your overall goal?

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

Who can help you?

Who might oppose your approach?

What incentives and disincentives can you offer to persuade others?

What should be your strategy in dealing with the other parties, i.e., with whom should you speak first?

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.

WORKSHEET 2: POSSIBLE ACTIONS

The following points are possible actions to be taken. Prioritize your top two choices according to your delegation's policy position. Feel free to add actions. You will share your priorities with the other delegations in your opening statement.

- 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: _____

Other: _____

Other: _____



Clearly Determine Your Position And Agree On Your Strategy:

- Clarify or restate your position if it is mis-represented by one of the other stakeholder groups.
- If during informal discussions you decide your group should change its position, discuss it with the other 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?
- Watch for unintended consequences.

Analyze 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, what can you agree on with others?

Identify 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.

General Tips*:

- Separate the people from the problem.
- Interests: Focus on interests, not positions.
- Options: Generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do.
- Criteria: Insist that the result be based on some objective standard.

*Excerpted from “Getting To Yes”, Roger Fisher and William Ury, Random House Business Books, 1981



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 one armed opposition group 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 administrative status of Darfur, and measures to promote the flow of humanitarian aid into the region. The 2006 **DPA** was followed by the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur, signed in Doha Qatar 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 entity 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 armed opposition groups that formed in Darfur and played a part in the rebellion against the government of Sudan.

African Union–United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)

The African Union/UN Hybrid operation in Darfur was established on July 31, 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.



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