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A NEW EXPERIENCE FOR QATARI DIPLOMACY IN CONFLICT

RESOLUTION ACCORDING TO TWO ASSUMPTIONS:

- **PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN EXCHANGE FOR A CESSATION OF WAR.**
- **PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES IN NEGOTIATION.**

(DARFUR PEACE AGREEMENT AS CASE STUDY)

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Abstract

This paper addresses the role of Qatari diplomacy in carrying out the function of mediator in one of the most complex crises in the Centre & West African region, the Darfur region crisis in Sudan ,the complexity of this crisis comes from the intersection of the local agenda and the intersection of the local agenda with the regional and international agenda, as well as the complexity of the agenda and its many coordinates.

In this paper, the researcher presented a qualitative experience in conflict resolution diplomacy with moral and humanitarian characteristics. The idea of experimentation is: stopping the war and signing a peace agreement in exchange for comprehensive development and reconstruction. Which highlighted a tool and a new direction for the resolution of disputes open to a wide space of theories, tools and academic methods and combined this experience to take advantage of the traditional local heritage to resolve conflicts in Darfur and work on its development and modernization? Through this, Qatari



diplomacy succeeded in reaching the Doha Agreement for Darfur Peace 2011, which ended more than ten years of bloody conflict in Darfur..

The researcher conducted a survey of 200 Darfurian on the impact of the development and reconstruction catalyst on the success of Qatari diplomacy in ending the war and signing the Darfur Peace Agreement.

An important conclusion has been reached that development incentives, credibility and credibility of the Qatari mediator and his experience as well as the confidence of the local and international community is the main reason for the signing of the Doha Agreement, which will be a major reason to prevent the re-production of the crisis in Darfur.

KeyWords: Qatar Diplomacy, Darfur , Darfur Crisis , Tribal Institution , Darfur Peace Agreement , Darfur Sultanate, Ali Dinar, rehabilitation, janjaweed.



Definition of the main concepts

Marginalization

Means deliberate or unintentional disregard for a populated geographical area and not including in national social and economic development plans in a repetitive manner, for geographical reasons or because of lack of resources or for regional, tribal, religious, political, intellectual, linguistic, punitive or on the basis of gender or component, which has caused social, economic or environmental retardation as a result of the process of marginalization in that area. (1)

Peripheries Areas

In this study, we mean the states located in Sudan's geographic periphery far from central Sudan, which means the states of Khartoum, al-Gezira, the White Nile and Sennar, which have benefited from development and services more than other states.

Local heritage in conflict resolution

In this study, we mean the traditional local mechanisms of conflict resolution and reconciliation in the local community, the most famous of which was the Joodia. It means, intermediation between the conflicted parties, and al- Rakuba, which is a special mechanism for compensation as well as religious rulings.

The stakeholders

In this study, we mean the components of the community that are truly benefiting from peace. They include voluntary civil society organizations, women, political parties,

¹ A.Y.Atta, development in Sudan, Darfur as case study, PHD Thesis,(unpublished, U of Neilain , Sudan2008,)



traditional civil administration, representatives of displaced persons in the camps, youth representatives, students, important community figures, traders, expatriates, intellectuals and others.

1. Literature Review

There are several previous studies that dealt with parts of the subject of this study, the most prominent of which are:

Study of Dr. Osama Ali, entitled "Darfur: Historical Background of the Crisis and the Causes of its Development" (2). This study aimed to focus on the fact that the phenomenon of tribal conflict in Darfur is ancient and dated by the establishment of the second Fur Sultanate in 1605, The writer also pointed out that the wars in Darfur have continued since the Turkish colonization of Sudan, under the reign of Salatin Pasha, and then in the reign of the Kalefa Abdullah Al-Taishi During the Mahdia revolution, however, the researcher did not address historical results and detail, so that , what we will address in this study.

Study of Dr. Mahmoud Mumdani , entitled "Rescuers and Survivors - Politics and the War against Terror")3(, This study shed light on the problem in its historical, social and political context, starting from thinking about four assumptions concerning heritage, ethnic origins , Tribe and location. He then analyzed the causes of the conflict in Darfur, revealing the role of the old and modern colonialists in establishing and deepening the conflict, limiting the definition of the conflict in Darfur to the North-South axis, and managing the war through tribal institutions. In my opinion, the writer did not succeed in this research to

2 Dr. Osama Ali, Darfur Historical background of the crisis and the reasons for its development, Al-Shorouq channel website, Khartoum, 2007.

3 Dr. Mahmoud Mumdani, Darfur Rescuers and Survivors, Politics and the War on Terror, First Edition, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Morocco, 2012.



address all the frameworks, which contributed to this crisis, he concentrated only on historical, social and political, and overlooked the economic aspect, which is one of the main reasons for the outbreak of this conflict.

Study of Dr. Hamid Al-Tijani,, entitled "The Economic Cost of the Darfur War" (4), in which the researcher pointed out that the war in Darfur reached a high cost on both the economic and humanitarian levels, and that the Government of Sudan spent \$ 24.07 billion on the Darfur war, Which is equivalent to 162% of GDP during the war years. Over the past two decades, the government spent 23% of the annual budget on the war effort. But the researcher, in my opinion, did not indicate that there are solutions, if put on the ground, the Government of the Sudan may have spent this money on development.

Study of Dr. Balqis Badri,entitled "The Darfur Peace Agreements ... Efforts and Challenges of Implementation" (5). This study focused on the challenges facing the peace agreements that have been signed on Darfur, and presented a number of practical proposals to address the shortcomings that have transformed the region of Darfur to a laboratory, to try the principle of responsibility for protection, adopted by the United Nations at the summit in New York in 2005, but the researcher did not address the shortcomings of the international community in this crisis, and the neglect that led to the complexity of this crisis, so there is a blame on the international community that they did not seek seriously to give solutions.

Study of Dr. Alex de Val, entitled "The Regional Role in the Crisis: Creative

4 Dr. Hamid Al-Tijani, The Economic Cost of the Darfur War, Paper presented to the 11th Al-Jazeera TV Forum, Doha, Qatar, 2011.

5Dr. Balqis Badri, Darfur Peace Agreements: Efforts and Challenges of Implementation, Chapter VII, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, The Arabi Science Foundation, Doha, Qatar, 2013



Innovations and Disruptive Conflict" (6), concluded that, countries such as Chad, Libya and Eritrea have played a particularly important role in the continuation of the crisis. This differs from the role played by the African Union and Qatar in tackling the crisis. It also ignored the local role. Dr. Alex said that, this crisis should not be left unresolved because the local impact of this problem will be reflected by regional repercussions if left unanswered. In my opinion, if the researcher added the local causes to the regional causes, it would be more complete and more effective. All the reasons that led to the conflict, including the internal causes of this region, must be mentioned.

2. Introduction

The states of Greater Darfur come in third place in terms of area for Sudan as a whole , and cover the western part with total area of 570,888 square kilometers or 140,000 square miles, which is equivalent to 20% of the area of Sudan. It is bordered to the west by Chad, Central Africa, the north-west by Libya, and the south, by southern Sudan, as well as by its borders with the states of Kordofan and Northern Sudan. , The population of Darfur according to the 2008 census is 7.5 million people belonging to about 160 tribes, about 75% of the populations of Darfur live in the countryside, 15% are pastoralist, 10% live in cities and work in different occupations, and about 6% of the population is engaged in agriculture.(7)

Until 1916, Darfur was an independent state, it had been annexed to the modern Sudan by Britain after the defeat of its ruler, Sultan Ali Dinar, who declared his bias towards

6 Dr. Alex de Val, Regional Role in the Darfur Crisis, Creative Innovations and Disruptive Conflict, Chapter XI, The Gezira Center for Studies, The Arab Science Foundation, Doha, Qatar, 2013.
8<http://www.mfr.sd.org/mb,23432,2017>.



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Turkey in World War I.(8)

Darfur is rich in natural resources of minerals, oil, fertile land suitable for agriculture and huge livestock of cattle, camels and cows. It is also rich in natural forests, valleys, coves, rain and grasslands.(9)

The Darfur region has suffered from economic and social underdevelopment and lack of development since it was annexed to Sudan, and has suffered continuously and devastated from tribal conflicts. Since the middle of the last century, the region has been suffering from environmental degradation and desert encroachment, which is resulted in intense competition and persistent conflicts between farmers and pastoralists over declining natural resources and water scarcity.(10)

Indeed, the issue of environmental degradation and underdevelopment, both economic and social, has been the main cause of all conflicts in Darfur's contemporary history.

3. Darfur Crisis

In April 2003, armed conflict erupted in Darfur, by armed political movements, because of social and economic injustice.

The armed opposition movements in Darfur attributed the causes of underdevelopment to the deliberate marginalization by Khartoum as the center that exercised marginalization against Sudan's peripheral areas, including Darfur, after that, the concept of marginal peripheral areas spread. The armed opposition movements were accompanied by political slogans, for the first time, in order to achieve, better advantage of economic development,

⁸ Sheikh Abdullah Abdul Majid, *The People and Preachers*, Khartoum, 2008, p. 259.

⁹ Ahmed bin Abdullah Al Mahmoud, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Qatar, Conference of stakeholders in Darfur, Doha, State of Qatar, 2011.

¹⁰ Robert Collins, *Sudan's Modern History, Darfur Crises*, Taha Al-Khalifa Taha, Khartoum, 2013.



education services, health services, infrastructure and clean water.(11)

The civil war has led to extensive destruction in vulnerable infrastructure, especially in the countryside, which has lost its entire infrastructure and burned entire villages. According to estimates by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), about 300,000 people were killed and more than 2 million people displaced from war zones to camp around major cities and relatively safe areas. Some resorted to neighboring countries.(12)

Many attempts have been made by several mediators to reach solutions to the crisis in Darfur, which was classified by the Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan(13) as the worst humanitarian crisis in the era. Attempts, initiatives and agreements reached a large number, more than twenty attempts to break the crisis and reach a solution that satisfies the conflicting parties. All failed and could not find solutions.

The State of Qatar and Sudan have strong ties to Arabism and Islam. They also have great diplomatic relations. Sudan was the first Arab country to congratulate Qatar on its independence from British colonialism, in addition to the fact that the Sudanese president was the first Arab president to visit Qatar after its independence. In addition to excellent relations, at the grassroots level between the two countries , and significant Qatari investments in Sudan.

Qatar has succeeded in entering as an acceptable mediator between Darfurian armed

11 Dr.. Khalid Al-Tijani, Economics of War and Economic Wars, Darfur as a Model, Chapter V, Al-Jazeera Center for Studies, Arab Science Foundation, Doha, Qatar, 2013.

12 International Red Cross Bulletin, Darfur Office, El Fasher, December 2007.

13 Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Press Conference, United Nations Headquarters, New York, 2009.Top of Form



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movements and the Sudanese government. Qatar diplomacy was able to bring them together around the negotiating table in 2008. After long, arduous and difficult negotiations, the Doha Piece Agreement (DPA) was signed in Doha on 14 July 2011.

3.1. Collapse of the crisis from domestic to globalization

Due to the developments of the crisis, a new reality is being created on the ground due to the huge number of international relief and humanitarian aid organizations, international and regional civil society organizations, international and Western civil society organizations and pressure groups, with all the tools, capabilities, support and agenda. The crisis has become more complicated. The interchanges of the international agenda have multiplied. The crisis has emerged from its traditional domestic framework to the international community and to the concepts and assumptions of globalization. The Darfur armed movements opposed to the government, which until then did not have a clear vision, programs and solutions to the problems of Darfur, became hostage to the initiatives and the mediation agenda. They became a means of international intervention in the Darfur internal affairs. The movements and the crisis in Darfur became part of the tools and intersections of the international conflict in Africa.

Official statistics show that the number of foreign organizations working in Darfur increased by the end of 2013 to more than 258 foreign organizations, 1,580 foreign employees, 14,500 national employees and 2,000 mobile vehicles. These voluntary organizations operate in various fields of food and logistics assistance, health services, water services, environmental protection, family reunification and other social and humanitarian services, church religious organizations also, in addition to the heavy



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presence of intelligence from various countries of the world. Because of the increasing complexity, the crisis has turned into an international one. (14)

The United Nations and the UN Security Council have taken great interest in the Darfur crisis through a series of recommendations and decisions. Under international pressure from various quarters, the United Nations has warned of the seriousness of the conflict, which resulted in the deaths of more than 200,000 people, Two million people from their homes. The conflict has become a concern of the Security Council and the United Nations Secretariat. By the beginning of 2004, the Security Council had begun to take decisions that did not go beyond the call to stop fighting or extend the mandate of the international forces to protect civilians. From 2013 until now, the Security Council has issued 20 resolutions on the Darfur crisis, but the most important decisions that formed the main points of the conflict are: (15)

- The UN Security Council passed resolution 1556 in June 2004 imposing sanctions on the supply and export of military equipment to non-governmental entities, including the Janjaweed and rebel factions.
- In 2005, the Security Council, in its resolution 1590, authorized the establishment of the Darfur Observation Mission (UNAMID).
- The Security Council passed Resolution 1591 in 2005, extending the scope of sanctions to other measures, including travel bans on individuals, as well as the seizure of financial assets.
- In 2005, the Security Council adopted resolution 1593, which referred the situation in

¹⁴ Voluntary organizations working in Sudan, Darfur states, Sudanese Council of Voluntary Societies.

¹⁵ archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=4&article=509379.



Darfur to the International Criminal Court, to consider charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

- In 2006, the Council passed Resolution 1706, which authorized UNMIS to strengthen the presence of African Union forces in Darfur.
- In the same year resolution 1755 was also issued to strengthen the presence of African troops and to provide logistical and military support and to approve the so-called heavy equipment package.
- In July 2007, the Security Council adopted its resolution 1769, in which it authorized the deployment of the so-called Joint Forces of the African Union and the United Nations, with a force of 20,000 troops and 6,000 civilian police.
- Thus, the Darfur crisis has escalated into the spaces of globalization and has become the focus of the international, regional and local human rights organizations and has become the leading news bulletins in satellite channels, social media sites, newspapers and political magazines.

The development and globalization of the Darfur crisis have led the International Criminal Court to indict the Sudanese President and a number of government officials in Sudan for war crimes and ethnic cleansing.

3.2. Participation of Local Community in negotiation



After classifying the Darfur crisis as one of the most complex crises in the history of Africa's conflicts and crises, it is also one of the most pressing problems for both negotiators and mediators. It requires a tremendous amount of brainstorming and handling of changing and unpredictable situations. Sometimes the negotiators change their positions and agendas, and it occurs during the session that the number of parties has doubled, due to disagreements and divisions among rebel movements, hasty positions, lack of strategic ideas and strategic objectives. The regional and international agenda is always on track of negotiations, therefore, the Darfur problem certainly needs an unconventional mechanism that forms a means of community pressure on key negotiators and a means of monitoring their performance to achieve the community's aspirations for peace and development.

Although Qatari diplomacy has great and fruitful experiences in mediating and finding solutions to difficult and thorny problems at the regional and international levels, especially in the Middle East, when it comes to the Darfur problem, we find ourselves in a labyrinth, and we need negotiation skills. And the ability to achieve a major breakthrough in the crisis, lead the parties to the table of dialogue and reach a consensus leading to peace and security, In order to achieve human development as a final goal sought by life.⁽¹⁶⁾

The crisis in Darfur is intertwined with strategic accounts of regional and international powers. Moreover, Darfur has become a hotbed of conflicts and settling scores of international intelligence agencies in various forms and agendas, and has become a haven for criminals, arms dealers and drug gangs. Drugs, as well as ethnic and tribal roots, as well as the failure to give the population the right to participate in power. The absence of

¹⁶[http:// www.sudantribune.net/22/12/2014](http://www.sudantribune.net/22/12/2014)



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economic development and the spread of poverty, ignorance and disease, in addition to the failure of more than twenty agreements and the Declaration of Principles, by the African Union, the United Nations, African countries, European and regional organizations to reach a solution to end the crisis.

One of the most important features of the Darfur Peace Agreement is the participation of representatives of the Darfurian community, as an integral part of the agreement, which allows for a broad public base for the content of the agreement. This is a new trend in conflict resolution that offers guarantees of success that are stronger than the guarantees that may be given by international, regional or Sudanese partners. The creation of stakeholder participation in the negotiations is one of the innovations of Qatari diplomacy to solve one of the most complex African conflicts. . The strategic location of the region remains the envy of the world's major powers, as one of the gates of the spread of Islam in West and Central Africa in addition to its animal, forestry, mineral and petroleum resources.

The conference of stakeholders (held in Doha in May 2011) is a qualitative leap in the history of conflict. The aim of the conference is to give the Darfurian the peace process and mobilize support for the implementation of the terms of the final agreement.

The conference included a large crowd of Darfurian civil society and Sudanese political leaders from various parties, in the presence of international partners, representatives from the Arab League, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the African Union and the Qatari mediator.

Al Mahmoud, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar, confirmed during the shareholders' conference in May 2011 in Doha that the conference was held in



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accordance with the Qatari mediation guidelines as follows:

- War does not serve the interests of Sudan, and negotiation of solutions is the only option available to settle the conflict.
- The negotiating platform should not exclude anyone.
- The need for all stakeholders, including IDPs, refugees, all segments of civil society, nomads, political parties and government officials to participate in their capacity and vision.

The importance of the conference of the people of interest is that it is considered as a declaration of acceptance by the people of Darfur for peace based on the terms of the Darfur Peace Agreement. This is the basis for a sustainable peace that everyone hopes will put an end to the Darfur crisis.

A panel discussion was held in which the parties, displaced persons, refugees and displaced people, elected leaders, political parties and civil society participated. It was considered a historic meeting in the literature of the negotiations, in which the representatives of all concerned parties were discussed in a rare democratic and humanistic scene. That gave the agreement legitimacy, and confirmed the satisfaction of everyone that the agreement is equivalent to their ambitions. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, welcomed the Doha peace document adopted by stakeholders as a basis for ending the eight-year conflict in western Sudan. The AU also supported the Qatari mediator and the Doha Agreement.⁽¹⁷⁾

3.3. Peace and development in exchange for a cessation of war

¹⁷<http://www.albashir.sd/.../7055> جهود دولة قطر في تحقيق السلام وإعادة-ال-7055



The DPA paid due attention to the issue of economic and social underdevelopment in Darfur by making the development and reconstruction incentive for the cessation of war a win-win card for all parties in the negotiating process to resolve the crisis. The Qatari diplomacy has also benefited from customary local traditions in conflict resolution and thus, involved the local community in the negotiating process, which gave the Convention a public dimension.

Thus, the focus has been on the use of development for peace and social stability, as a necessary condition for ending poverty and achieving prosperity. In accordance with the widespread impact of the conflict in Darfur and the influx of refugees and displaced persons, peace and stability in Darfur have become of paramount importance, characterized by the local, regional and international dimension.

The State of Qatar has committed itself to achieve the condition of development if an agreement is signed to stop the war and bring peace to Darfur and called on the international community to support this trend during the course of the negotiations.

The State of Qatar has many successful and credible experiences in settling local, regional and international conflicts in many regions of the world. Qatar has also won the confidence of the international and regional communities in this field. Qatar has been able to gain the trust and acceptance of the conflicting parties in Darfur and also the confidence of the local community as an acceptable, and credible mediator.

4. Darfur Peace Agreement



The DPA document came in about 106 pages, in addition to definitions of terms preamble and final provisions. Included seven chapters are as follows:

Chapter One: Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

Chapter Two: Sharing power and the administrative situation of Darfur.

Chapter 3: Sharing wealth and national resources.

Chapter IV: Compensation and return of displaced persons and refugees.

Chapter Five: Justice and Reconciliation.

Chapter Six: Permanent ceasefire and final security arrangements.

Chapter 7: Dialogue, internal consultation and implementation modalities.

The agreement also included an annex in the form of a timetable for implementation.

Following the signing of the agreement, a committee was formed to follow up the implementation of its provisions under the chairmanship of the State of Qatar. (18) (19)

In April 2013, Doha hosted the Donor Conference for rehabilitation and Development in Darfur, with the participation of delegations from 36 countries, 22 United Nations agencies and 60 international and national organizations. The commitments of the Conference to contribute to the Darfur Development Strategy Programme amounted to (\$ 3,689,656,700.) The Government of the Sudan pledged (\$ 2,000,000,000), the State of Qatar (\$ 500,000,000), the Arab Development Bank (\$ 200,000,000), the European Union (\$ 35,000,000), Turkey (\$ 50,000,000), the Federal Republic of Germany (\$ 20,892,000), and the Arab Islamic Organizations Group (\$ 206,000,000). (20)

The outcome of the rehabilitation and development program in Darfur, until the end of

¹⁸ [http://www.au.com/Darfur Peace Agreement Document \(DPA\)](http://www.au.com/Darfur%20Peace%20Agreement%20Document%20(DPA))

¹⁹ [http://al-Arabia.net/news.April,07/2012.](http://al-Arabia.net/news.April,07/2012)

²⁰ <http://www.aljazeera.net.../16/07/2016/...>



the transitional period in 2017 included:

1. 20 model villages, were built with the full facilities and services. Their sites were agreed with local stakeholders and government officials, four villages in each state.
2. More than 10,000 fighters of the armed opposition movements have been reintegrated into civilian life to contribute to development and rehabilitation..
3. The establishment of the Bank of Darfur with a capital of one billion dollars as an important tool to assist in the process of development and rehabilitation in Darfur.
4. Launching education and health programs by establishing and rehabilitating of hospitals and health centers and building and rehabilitating schools in various stages.
5. 300 water stations, 200 wells and a large number of water harvesting rigs have been completed. (21) / (22)

5. Methodology

The researcher conducted a questionnaire simple for a sample from people of Darfur about the impact of the development and rehabilitation factor In addition to the participation of stakeholders in the negotiations, on the success of Qatari diplomacy, in ending the war in Darfur and signing the Darfur Peace Agreement and its steadfastness.

Observations and interviews were also important tools used by the researcher in this study.

The researcher distributed (200) questionnaires. 198 respondents responded to the questionnaires, i.e. about 99% of the target population. In order to produce accurate results

²¹ Darfur Needs Committee, Documents of the Interim Authority for Darfur Region, Minutes of the Committee for Monitoring the Implementation of the Convention, Khartoum, 15/06/2017.

²² Early Recovery Program for Darfur, Qatar-funded projects with UNDP, Proceedings of a press conference, El Fasher, December 2017



as far as possible, the researcher is keen to vary the sample of the study in terms of its coverage on the following: Individuals of sexes, different age groups and different educational qualifications. He also ensured that the questionnaire includes various tribes, various professional jobs and social situations.

6. Analysis and discussion

The questionnaire contained a main question and seven sub-statements.

6.1. The main question:

"Are development incentives and the participation of the stakeholders in the negotiations' made the State of Qatar the appropriate mediator and therefore gave the password to reach the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement?

6.1.1.The first statement: The Doha Agreement provided a new vision for the resolution of disputes in conjunction with the political solutions and rehabilitation of the war destroyed for the first time.

Table (1)frequency distribution of the responses of the members of the study sample on
second statement

Answer	Number	%
Strongly Disagree	20	10.1
Disagree	40	20.2
Neutral	8	4



Agree	51	25.8
Strongly agree	79	39.9
Total	198	100

Source: Preparation of the researcher from the field study

Table (1) shows respondents' answers to the phrase: The Doha Agreement provided a new vision for resolving disputes in conjunction with political solutions with the rehabilitation of the war destroyed. For the first time, 65.7% agreed with the statement and 30.3% disagreed.

The responses of the respondents were based on the launching of early recovery projects for Darfur between the State of Qatar and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) immediately after the signing of the agreement, whereby the program and other UN organizations implement several projects in Darfur in the first phase; to include health, education, water, sanitation, roads, For the implementation of the Darfur Development Strategy adopted at the International Conference of Donors for Reconstruction and Development in Darfur.

This is the stage that the Darfur stakeholders expect, to judge the promises made by the State of Qatar, development in exchange for stopping the war, because they do not trust the donors very much according to their experience.

These projects on the ground were an important element in the steadfastness of the agreement and the credibility of the Qatari mediator. Darfur has become more secure and the war has stopped in most parts of the region.



6.1.2. The second statement: the combination of incentives for development and political solution at the same time made the Qatari mediator the most reliable and credible and acceptable to the citizen of Darfur.

Table (2) frequency distribution of the responses of the members of the study sample on the third statement

Answer	Number	%
Strongly Disagree	27	13.6
Disagree	31	15.7
Neutral	19	9.6
Agree	42	21.2
Strongly agree	79	39.9
Total	198	100

Source: Preparation of the researcher from the field study

From Table (2), it is clear from the respondents' answers that the combination of incentives for development and political solution at the same time has made the Qatari mediator the most reliable, credible and acceptable to the Darfurian citizen. 61.1% support the validity of the statement while 29.3% oppose it.

Indeed, the main reasons for the war in Darfur were economic, social and political underdevelopment. Therefore, when the State of Qatar offered the impetus for



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development in exchange for stopping the war, it promised to respond to the demands of the Darfur armed movements. The respondents agreed that it was one of the reasons that made the Qatari mediator the most reliable and acceptable.

6.1.3. The third statement: The Qatari mediator is the closest to the psychology of the Sudanese in general because of the religious affiliation and the relationship of blood among all the intermediaries and the most taken advantage of their trust.

Table (3) frequency distribution of the responses of the members of the study sample on fourth statement

Answer	Number	%
Strongly Disagree	33	16.7
Disagree	22	11.1
Neutral	11	5.6
Agree	52	26.3
Strongly agree	80	40.3
Total	198	100

Source: Preparation of the researcher from the field study

Table (3) of respondents' answers to the phrase:: The Qatari mediator is the closest to the psychology of the Sudanese in general because of the religious affiliation and the relationship of blood among all the intermediaries and the most trusted: 66.7% strongly agree and agree with the statement while 28.8% disagree with that.



The respondents' answers illustrate the great role played by the People's Diplomacy in bridging the distances between the peoples of Qatar and the most significant indication of the great presence of the Qatar Charity Foundation in the city of Nyala in South Darfur since 2007. It is the only Arab and Islamic organization that initiated the work within International and regional civil society organizations in Darfur at the peak of the conflict in Darfur.

In addition, Qatari diplomacy has made the study of the local Darfurian society in all its historical, social and political dimensions, its customs, traditions, tribal structure, heritage, interrelationships, ambitions and motivations of forming its armed movements one of the most important tools of mediation. All of this , in addition to the strong ties between the people of the State of Qatar and the Sudanese people, represented in the Islamic religion and the relationship of Arab blood. This was included in the coordinates of the crisis in terms of form and content, to be consistent with the tools of modern diplomacy and then used in resolving the conflict in Darfur in new molds that are closer to the psyche of the local citizen. The agreement received full satisfaction from the people of Darfur. That they participated and made with the mediator this agreement. This participation was a new breakthrough in how to employ the psychological factor to obtain positive results in building peace and stability.

6.1.4. The fourth statement: The confidence of the international community in the tools and capabilities of the Qatari mediator to resolve the conflict in Darfur is one of the reasons for the success and sustainability of the Doha Agreement.

Table (4) frequency distribution of the responses of the members of the study sample on the



fifth statement

Answer	Number	%
Strongly Disagree	34	17.2
Disagree	28	14.1
Neutral	8	4.1
Agree	61	30.8
Strongly agree	67	33.8
Total	198	100

Source: Preparation of the researcher from the field study

Table (4) of respondents' responses to the phrase: The international community's confidence in the tools of the Qatari mediator to resolve the conflict in Darfur is one of the reasons for the stalemate of the Doha agreement. 64.6% agree with the statement while 31.3% disagree.

The responses of the respondents confirm that the general features of the political and strategic approach of Qatari diplomacy to deal with the crisis in an adult manner, by benefiting from excellent and deep relations with the countries surrounding Darfur and the West African region in general. The developmental contributions, grants, relief work and the performance of Qatari diplomacy The region and all the neighboring countries of the Sudan, which have a direct or indirect relationship to the Darfur crisis, including inter-ethnic and common economic interests, and Doha stand at a distance from all parties to previous conflicts mediated by the Plate, Qatari diplomacy took advantage of it to start



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finding channels for normalization between Khartoum and these countries, paving the way for negotiations without external interference hinder the movements of the Qatari mediation.

The international support for the Qatari diplomatic efforts, the affirmation of the American and European positions, and the international community, has enabled Doha to resolve the undesirable crises affecting international peace and security. , Which is exacerbated by the American and European intervention to complicate the conflict of international interests, in addition to the failure of all mediation to resolve these crises and conflicts, to which all parties calculate their accounts according to a conflicting agenda, so the American and European support and support of the international community, in addition to the experience and reliability of the Qatari mediator in conflict resolution, has contributed a lot to achieve positive results in Darfur.

6.1.5. The fifth statement: The Qatari mediator is the most acceptable to the Government



of Sudan.

Table (5) frequency distribution of the responses of the members of the study sample on the sixth statement

Answer	Number	%
Strongly Disagree	18	9.1
Disagree	7	3.5
Neutral	10	5.1
Agree	46	23.2
Strongly agree	117	59.1
Total	198	100

Source: Preparation of the researcher from the field study

Table (5) of respondents' responses to the phrase: The Qatari mediator is the most acceptable to the Government of Sudan, 82.3% agree with this while 12.6% oppose. Indeed, the Sudanese government has found in the Qatari initiative to solve the Darfur crisis, promising to respond to the demands of the armed movements and the political opposition, which contributes to reducing the government's troubles and helps in the development and services. In addition to saving the high costs of the war budget that can be spent on development. The government was therefore the first to welcome Qatari mediation. This was reflected in significant facilities and unlimited support for the success



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of the Qatari initiative.

6.1.6. The sixth statement: The Qatari mediator is the most acceptable to the armed and political opposition in Darfur.

The respondents' responses confirm that the State of Qatar has gained the confidence and authority of the local community. And has enabled it to develop its strategic plan and vision and the means of penetrating the crisis through field visits and held extensive consultations with Darfurian civil society, displaced persons and refugees in Chad and other stakeholders. The aim was to bring the parties closer together. They also met with leaders of armed movements in Chad and other countries , Who appeared to have confirmed their acceptance of the State of Qatar as an intermediary and held fruitful meetings and consultations in 2008.

This resulted in the hosting of the first round of negotiations between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) on 17 February 2009 in Doha, Qatar.

The State of Qatar hosted Sudanese political parties, Darfurian civil society, traditional civil administrations, displaced persons, refugees and representatives of the legislative councils in Darfur. It also held meetings with other stakeholders and with the participation of all political entities from the government and the opposition.

The main stakeholders' conference was hosted in Doha on 28-31 May 2011.

All this helped to reach a lasting peace and solution in Darfur. Despite the difficulties faced by the Qatari mediation, especially the fragmentation and division between the Darfurian



movements and their disagreement on a single negotiating position, efforts have been fruitful. However, consensus on the acceptability of the Qatari mediator from all stakeholders in Darfur was important for reaching the peace agreement.

Table (6) frequency distribution of the responses of the members of the study sample on seventh statement

Answer	Number	%
Strongly Disagree	44	22.2
Disagree	29	14.6
Neutral	20	10.1
Agree	41	20.7
Strongly agree	64	32.4
Total	198	100

Source: Preparation of the researcher from the field study

Table (6): The Qatari mediator is the most acceptable to the armed and political opposition in Darfur. 53.1% agree with this while 36.8% oppose it.

The respondents' responses to the above statement confirm that the armed opposition movements and the traditional political opposition did not stand against the Qatari initiative to resolve the Darfur crisis, although some movements such as SLA and JEM were not part of the Darfur Peace Agreement in Doha, The armed movements and the political opposition decided to be in a state of waiting for what would result from



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implementing the agreement on the ground. The reason for this is due to the lack of confidence in the credibility of the government, according to previous experience in signing agreements that failed in the implementation process.

Conclusion

Through the statistical analysis of respondents' responses to the main question: ""Are development incentives and the participation of the stakeholders in the negotiations' made the State of Qatar the appropriate mediator and therefore gave the password to reach the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement?

In terms of the priority of the Doha Platform and the outcomes of the Darfur Peace Agreement, which proposed solutions that accepted its ability to succeed and steadfastness, by providing new visions for the first time in conjunction with political solutions and the rehabilitation of what was destroyed by the war?

The Qatari mediator began to fulfill its obligations immediately after signing the agreement, this gave it unprecedented advantages and distinguishing it from other former agreements, which had been inserted to resolve the crisis, and are all collapsed and turned back the parties of conflict to the first point of the crisis.

This feature has highlighted a new tool and approach to conflict resolution that opens up to a wide space of theories, tools and academic methods, coupled with this unique experience of realistic diplomacy, which made use of the traditional local heritage of peoples, and develop it to accommodate the scientific academic paradigms to be close to



the psycho-sociology, of the people of Darfur, and the familiar ways of dealing with their problems in daily lives. This experience provides an opportunity for discussion on the possibility of developing and shaping it, and adds access to pave ways to resolving disputes , acceptable solutions, adding an enormous amount of experience and spreading them to resolve similar conflict.

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