

Darfur Peace Agreement

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 negotiations**
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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.

Key Words

Qatar Diplomacy- Darfur – Darfur Crisis – Tribal Institution – Darfur Peace Agreement – Darfur Sultanate- Ali Dinar- rehabilitation.

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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⁽²⁾

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

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" (3). 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"⁽⁴⁾, This study shed light on the problem in its historical, social

² A.Y. Atta, development in Sudan, Darfur as case study, PHD Thesis, (unpublished, U of Neilain , Sudan 2008,)

³ Dr. Osama Ali, Darfur Historical background of the crisis and the reasons for its development, Al-Shorouq channel website, Khartoum, 2007.

⁴ Dr. Mahmoud Mumdani, Darfur Rescuers and Survivors, Politics and the War on Terror, First Edition, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Morocco, 2012.

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 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" ⁽⁵⁾, 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" ⁽⁶⁾. 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 Innovations and Disruptive Conflict" ⁽⁷⁾, 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.

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

6Dr. Balqis Badri, Darfur Peace Agreements: Efforts and Challenges of Implementation, Chapter VII, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, The Arabi Science Foundation, Doha, Qatar, 2013

7 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.

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.⁽⁸⁾

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 Turkey in World War I.⁽⁹⁾

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.⁽¹⁰⁾

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.⁽¹¹⁾

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.

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, education services, health services, infrastructure and clean water.⁽¹²⁾

⁸<http://www.mfr.sd.org/mb,23432,2017>.

⁹ Sheikh Abdullah Abdul Majid, *The People and Preachers*, Khartoum, 2008, p. 259.

¹⁰ Ahmed bin Abdullah Al Mahmoud, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Qatar, Conference of stakeholders in Darfur, Doha, State of Qatar, 2011.

¹¹ Robert Collins, *Sudan's Modern History, Darfur Crises*, Taha Al-Khalifa Taha, Khartoum, 2013.

¹² 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.

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.⁽¹³⁾

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⁽¹⁴⁾ 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 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.

Development for peace and social stability

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

¹³ International Red Cross Bulletin, Darfur Office, El Fasher, December 2007.

¹⁴ Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Press Conference, United Nations Headquarters, New York, 2009. Top of Form

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.

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. ⁽¹⁵⁾ ⁽¹⁶⁾

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).⁽¹⁷⁾

The outcome of the rehabilitation and development program in Darfur, until the end of 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⁽¹⁸⁾ / ⁽¹⁹⁾

¹⁵ [http://www.au.com/Darfur Peace Agreement Document\(DPA\)](http://www.au.com/Darfur%20Peace%20Agreement%20Document%20(DPA))

¹⁶ <http://al-Arabia.net/news.April,07/2012>.

¹⁷ <http://www.aljazeera.net.../16/07/2016/...>

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ Early Recovery Program for Darfur, Qatar-funded projects with UNDP, Proceedings of a press conference, El Fasher, December 2017

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 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.

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

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?

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 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.

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: Fourth: 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 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 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.

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

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.

Discussion

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.

Conclusion

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 and acceptable solutions, and adding an enormous amount of experience and spreading them to resolve similar conflict.

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