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Peace can only last where human rights are respected, where people are fed, and where individuals and nations are free.
- Dalai Lama XIV

True peace is more than the absence of war; it is the presence of justice
– Martin Luther King Jr.

Poverty is the worst form of violence – Mahatma Gandhi.

Policy Brief No 1:
Peacebuilding: Planting Positive Peace in Darfur
Executive Summary

While a durable peace has been recognised by some international actors as key to terminating the conflict in Darfur, efforts to achieve this peace have yet to succeed. To date, peace initiatives, including the Darfur Peace Agreement and peacekeeping, have only intensified the conflict. Consequently, rape, violence and genocide continue to torment the region. As United Nations (UN) High Commissioner for Refugees Antonio Guterres declared, Darfur represents a “humanitarian catastrophe”.¹

This brief proposes a cross-sectoral approach to achieving a positive peace² in Darfur. Presently, human rights, development, security and the environment tend to be discussed in separate forums. However, the very intensity of the conflict in Darfur demands a collaborative approach – meaningful positive peace initiatives must engage a wide range of policies and actors, particularly those parties involved in the conflict and all limbs of the UN system. Efforts to create this positive peace must focus not only on eliminating violence, but most importantly must seek to eradicate inequities embedded in Darfur’s social structure.
The Darfur conflict in western Sudan is entrenched in a complex disagreement between the Arab-dominated Sudanese government and disillusioned indigenous African tribes. For years, indigenous African tribes have suffered from attacks by Arab militias collectively known as the “Janjaweed”, who are equipped and supported by the Sudanese government.³

Indigenous Africans have accused the government of neglecting Darfur and oppressing black Africans in favour of Arabs.

The conflict significantly escalated in early 2003 when persons from indigenous African tribes formed the Sudan Liberation Army and declared an insurgency against the Sudanese government. Another rebel group, the Justice and Equality Movement, established its own army soon afterwards.

The government’s response to the political demands of these two rebel groups was violent – no avenues for negotiation were pursued. Instead, the Janjaweed have been fighting against the indigenous Africans, using both aerial and ground tactics, presumably on the government’s behalf.⁴
Since 2003, inhabitants of Darfur have seen poverty and death grow exponentially. Citizens have perished from famine, disease and violence. Thousands have been injured, traumatised and disfigured from the conflict. The UN estimates that conflict-induced violence and disease have killed as many as 450,000 and displaced up to 2.5 million.

Challenges:

Efforts by the international community to build peace in Darfur have failed. The following lists some the problems with past and present peace initiatives, as well as challenges to achieving a positive peace in Darfur:

- **Failure to formally recognise genocide:** The situation in Darfur represents racial genocide: generally, the Arab Sudanese are killing the non-Arab Sudanese. This deliberate and systematic destruction of the non-Arabs clearly falls under Article 2 of the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. Despite this congruence, the UN is yet to condemn the war as genocide: the closest they came to doing so occurred in March 2007 when accusing the Sudanese government of orchestrating "gross violations" of international standards. Until all problems and sources of conflict in Darfur are properly identified, adequate initiatives to promote positive peace will fail.
Failed peacekeeping: The UN’s 17,300 troop peacekeeping force, approved under the Security Council’s Resolution 1706, was very slowly executed and moreover, unsuccessful. Sudan clearly rejected the resolution, perceiving the UN forces as foreign invaders. The Sudanese military launched attacks on the peacekeepers immediately subsequent to their arrival in Darfur.

Failed peace agreement: In May 2006, the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) was made between the Sudanese government and a division of the Sudanese Liberation Army. While the treaty signified the first step towards peace in Darfur, the negotiation process was flawed and the ensuing agreement was weak. The two major rebel groups refused to sign the document and the agreement has not been effectively endorsed. Since the agreement, violence has escalated, rebel groups have fragmented and proliferated, and the conflict has extended into Chad. Furthermore, systematic pillaging, displacement and rape, death and poverty have multiplied in Darfur since the agreement was made.
Failure to implement a strong positive peace that addresses structural and cultural violence: The Darfur Peace Agreement and other initiatives to date have failed to focus on alleviating the root causes of the conflict: namely poverty, the skewed distribution of political power, desertification and the fight for land, among others. A mere focus on suspending hostilities may be initially or partly effective, but lacks the longevity of structural change.

Recommendations: The Four P’s

To establish a positive peace in Darfur, social structural change must be achieved. This involves a consideration of the social, cultural, political, economic and ecological conditions that have fostered the conflict, including environmental degradation, skewed land distribution, poverty and unequal political representation. Given the diverse roots of the conflict, it is clear that sole actions by humanitarian organisations such as Piece of Peace will not lead to a comprehensive solution for Darfur unless a number of specialist international actors converge to address the conflict. Accordingly, the following recommendations are made as possible steps to planting positive peace in Darfur:
1. **Peacemaking**

   1.1 The promotion of a permanent, non-violent social and political dialogue between all parties in a diplomatic effort to solve conflicts as they arise. Parties include both the Government and non-governmental actors (civil actors, private sector, religious groups and media institutions).

2. **Peace agreement:**

   2.1 Facilitate dialogue between all parties in an environment that aids the negotiation of a multifaceted peace agreement to which all parties concur. This would involve the engagement of a number of representatives from external, specialist bodies who would use their knowledge to facilitate decisions made in relation to their areas of expertise.

   2.2 Immediately institute a national commission with the proper mandate to review all issues related to the implementation of the peace agreement, particularly issues of compliance.

   2.3 Violence and conflict monitoring and prevention through the transparent supply of regular information to the
The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man or one party or one nation. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

- Franklin Delano Roosevelt

national and international community.

3. **Peacekeeping:**

3.1 Restore security by employing proficient local and paid security forces to assist in disarmament and other security issues.

3.2 Third-party peacekeeping to assist parties in transitioning from violent conflict to peace after the agreement has been finalised, provided it is not paternalistic in nature.

4. **Peacebuilding:**

4.1 Restore a stable and transparent political framework by revising both legislative and judicial bodies and their effectiveness.

4.2 Promote and protect human rights by educating Sudanese residents on how to defend their rights and perform their duties. This could be achieved through a national educational programme and/or the establishment of a national and independent human rights commission.
4.3 Influence the Sudanese government to respect its legal commitments as per its national, regional and international standards, including obligations under ratified treaties.

4.4 Boost Darfur’s economy by opening schools, building roads and investing in agriculture. This is linked to moving Darfur’s population out from a condition of vulnerability and dependency to one of self-sufficiency through education. Grameen Bank’s micro-credit loans model should be considered as another viable option of encouraging self-sufficiency and development. (See Appendix 1 for model).

4.5 Rebuild and reintegrate communities, as well as reconstruct destroyed villages.

4.6 Create an environmental policy that takes positive steps towards sustainable development and countering desertification.
4.7 Establish dispute resolution mechanisms that enhance cooperation and dialogue among different identity groups so that parties can, in the future, manage their conflict of interests through peaceful means. This might include building courts of justice, establishing unions, reconciliatory bodies and a stable electoral process.\(^\text{18}\)

In short, the parties involved in the Darfur conflict, must replace the wave of violence and destruction with one of peace and development in order for a positive peace to ensue. The international community should also be prepared to assist the parties, in a facilitative rather than paternalistic manner, to generate an environment conducive to a self-sustaining and lasting peace.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Grameen Bank’s Credit delivery system.

This brief is the result of negotiations conducted at the Quest for Positive Peace conference, held by the Piece of Peace Learning Centre in Bali, February 2007.
APPENDIX 1

Credit delivery system

Grameen Bank credit delivery system has the following features:

1. **There is an exclusive focus on the poorest of the poor.**

   Exclusivity is ensured by:

   i. establishing clearly the eligibility criteria for selection of targeted clientele and adopting practical measures to screen out those who do not meet them

   ii. in delivering credit, priority has been increasingly assigned to women

   iii. the delivery system is geared to meet the diverse socio-economic development needs of the poor.

2. **Borrowers are organized into small homogeneous groups.**

   Such characteristics facilitate group solidarity as well as participatory interaction. Organizing the primary groups of five members and federating them into centres has been the foundation of Grameen Bank's system. The emphasis from the very outset is to organisationally strengthen the Grameen clientele, so that they can acquire the capacity for planning and implementing micro level development decisions. The Centres are functionally linked to the Grameen Bank, whose field workers have to attend Centre meetings every week.

3. **Special loan conditionalities which are particularly suitable for the poor.**

   These include:

   i. very small loans given without any collateral

   ii. loans repayable in weekly instalments spread over a year

   iii. eligibility for a subsequent loan depends upon repayment of first loan

   iv. individual, self chosen, quick income generating activities which employ the skills that borrowers already possess

   v. close supervision of credit by the group as well as the bank staff

   vi. stress on credit discipline and collective borrower responsibility or peer pressure

   vii. special safeguards through compulsory and voluntary savings to minimise the risks that the poor confront

   viii. transparency in all bank transactions most of which take place at centre meetings.

4. **Simultaneous undertaking of a social development agenda addressing basic needs of the clientele.**

   This is reflected in the "sixteen decisions" adopted by Grameen borrowers. This helps to:

   i. raise the social and political consciousness of the newly organized groups

   ii. focus increasingly on women from the poorest households, whose urge for survival has a far greater bearing on the development of the family

   iii. encourage their monitoring of social and physical infrastructure projects - housing, sanitation, drinking water, education, family planning, etc.

5. **Design and development of organization and management systems capable of delivering programme resources to targeted clientele.**

   The system has evolved gradually through a structured learning process, that involves trials, errors and continuous adjustments. A major requirement to operationalize the system is the special training needed for development of a highly motivated staff, so that the decision making and operational authority is gradually decentralized and administrative functions are delegated at the zonal levels downwards.

6. **Expansion of loan portfolio to meet diverse development needs of the poor.**

   As the general credit programme gathers momentum and the borrowers become familiar with
credit discipline, other loan programmes are introduced to meet growing social and economic development needs of the clientele. Besides housing, such programmes include:

i. credit for building sanitary laterines

ii. credit for installation of tubewells that supply drinking water and irrigation for kitchen gardens

iii. credit for seasonal cultivation to buy agricultural inputs

iv. loan for leasing equipment / machinery, ie., cell phones purchased by Grameen Bank members

v. finance projects undertaken by the entire family of a seasoned borrower.

The underlying premise of Grameen is that, in order to emerge from poverty and remove themselves from the clutches of usurers and middlemen, landless peasants need access to credit, without which they cannot be expected to launch their own enterprises, however small these may be. In defiance of the traditional rural banking postulate whereby "no collateral (in this case, land) means no credit", the Grameen Bank experiment set out to prove - successfully - that lending to the poor is not an impossible proposition; on the contrary, it gives landless peasants the opportunity to purchase their own tools, equipment, or other necessary means of production and embark on income-generating ventures which will allow them escape from the vicious cycle of "low income, low savings, low investment, low income". In other words, the banker's confidence rests upon the will and capacity of the borrowers to succeed in their undertakings.

The mode of operation of Grameen Bank is as follows. A bank branch is set up with a branch manager and a number of center managers and covers an area of about 15 to 22 villages. The manager and the workers start by visiting villages to familiarise themselves with the local milieu in which they will be operating and identify the prospective clientele, as well as explain the purpose, the functions, and the mode of operation of the bank to the local population. Groups of five prospective borrowers are formed; in the first stage, only two of them are eligible for, and receive, a loan. The group is observed for a month to see if the members are conforming to the rules of the bank. Only if the first two borrowers begin to repay the principal plus interest over a period of six weeks, do the other members of the group become eligible themselves for a loan. Because of these restrictions, there is substantial group pressure to keep individual records clear. In this sense, the collective responsibility of the group serves as the collateral on the loan.

Loans are small, but sufficient to finance the micro-enterprises undertaken by borrowers: rice-husking, machine repairing, purchase of rickshaws, buying of milk cows, goats, cloth, pottery etc. The interest rate on all loans is 16 percent. The repayment rate on loans is currently - 95 per cent - due to group pressure and self-interest, as well as the motivation of borrowers.

Although mobilization of savings is also being pursued alongside the lending activities of the Grameen Bank, most of the latter's loanable funds are increasingly obtained on commercial terms from the central bank, other financial institutions, the money market, and from bilateral and multilateral aid organizations.

Taken from: http://www.grameen-info.org/bank/cds.html
ENDNOTES


2 “Positive peace” was pioneered by Johan Galtung to describe a “just peace” that alleviates structural, cultural and direct violence while negative peace only seeks to overcoming direct violence.


4 Ibid.


6 Ibid.


10 Ibid.


12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.


STS PROJECT REPORT: DIALOGUE

Theory: Positive Peace and Peacebuilding

Case Study: Darfur Conflict

(Talarah is typing up her draft policy brief. The phone rings)

Talarah: Hello?

Tiana: Hi Talarah, it’s Tiana…

Talarah: Oh hey Ti, how have you been?

Tiana: Not too bad thanks. I was just ringing to see if you were available this arvo, for coffee or something? It’s been a while since we have caught up.

Talarah: Oh, Ti, I would love to make it, but can’t. Have I told you? I have been involved in preparing a policy brief for the organisation I am an intern for, *Piece of Peace*.¹ I really want to perfect my draft before I send it to the graphic designers tomorrow for jazzing up.

Tiana: Wow, I had no idea that you had an internship! Congratulations!

Talarah: Thanks! Yes, I’ve been working there for about two months. It’s a lot of fun.

Tiana: That’s fantastic! How did you find out about *Piece of Peace*? I’ve never heard of the organisation before.

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Talarah: I found out about *Piece of Peace*, which is actually a learning centre, at the Quest for Positive Peace Conference\(^2\) that I attended in Bali last February. *Piece of Peace* incorporates a “consortium of international organisations, corporations, NGOs, universities, thought leaders and consultants”\(^3\) who are devoted to promoting a global positive peace. They facilitate stuff like non-violent conflict resolution to fulfil their mission “to inspire, engage and empower individual and collective initiatives that generate a more humane” and sustainable positive peace in our world.\(^4\)

Tiana: Positive peace? What does the organisation mean by that? Isn’t that a bit tautologous?

Talarah: No actually. Positive peace isn’t just two words strung together by *Piece of Peace*, but a theory pioneered by a man called Johan Galtung.

Tiana: So what does it actually mean?

Talarah: Well, let me ask you this first: how would you define peace?

Tiana: I guess peace involves the absence of violence. So things like peacekeeping, ceasefires and the general alleviation of war are efforts of achieving peace.

Talarah: *(Chuckles).* That’s precisely the answer I anticipated. What you just defined perfectly embodies a negative peace.\(^5\)

Tiana: Negative peace? That’s a bit of an oxymoron.

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Talarah: No, I’m not using “negative” as a pejorative term. By negative peace I mean stopping things or preventing bad stuff from going on – like wars, conflict and so on.⁶

Tiana: Oh, so negative peace is the absence of violence?

Talarah: Spot on! I think the theory of negative peace is limited as it is essentially short-term and fragile. In the long run, negative peace efforts don’t seem to produce a more secure and humane world. Remember in STS390 when the topic for our one minute reports was on peacekeeping? Almost every person in the class reported on an article with negative undertones or a case study that evinced a flawed effort to promote peace.

Tiana: Yes, that was eye-opening. I guess we learnt that peace requires more than the mere eradication of war and direct violence.

Talarah: Exactly! Positive peace is more focused on alleviating what Galtung termed structural and cultural violence,⁷ which create unequal conditions of life. It’s peace with justice.⁸

Tiana: Structural and cultural violence? What are they?

Talarah: Well, they’re the other two classes of violence according to Galtung. In fact, Galtung developed a triangle concept, the “violence triangle”, to categorise the three types of violence that he says exist in society.⁹ So, as you know, direct violence refers to physical acts of violence such as those in actual

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⁶ Ibid.
⁸ Ibid.; That positive peace is a just peace is a common theme in the literature. Martin Luther King Jr. made this clear when he expressed “True peace is more than the absence of war; it is the presence of justice.”
⁹ Ibid.
military confrontations. Structural violence, refers to violence entrenched in the very social, political, and economic structures and processes governing societies. This type of violence can be characterised as a state of social inequality where human rights such as nutrition, education, health care, political power, legal standing and so on are denied. Finally, cultural violence, in the third corner of the triangle, often involves the legitimisation of direct and structural violence and the dehumanisation of people characterised as “other.”

Tiana: Ok, so I get direct violence, but how can structural and cultural violence be overcome?

Talarah: Well, I have Galtung’s definition of positive peace open on my screen now. I’ll read it to you – it might make things a little clearer. So, Galtung says, “Positive peace is more than the absence of violence; it is the presence of social justice through equal opportunity, a fair distribution of power and resources, equal protection and impartial enforcement of law.”

Tiana: Oh, ok. So I guess you could say positive peace involves addressing the root causes of problems like injustice, war and these other types of violence you’ve mentioned?

Talarah: Exactly! Positive peacebuilding involves helping nations develop more just systems in which poverty, illiteracy and other roots of conflict are eliminated.

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10 ibid.
11 ibid..
12 ibid.
13 ibid.
14 ibid.
and the poorer nations are given a boost in terms of economic development.

It can involve international law, social justice, civil peace, aiding development and effective conflict resolution, all in a conscious effort to build a non-violent and democratic society.  

Tiana: Ok, sounds a bit like Kant who we are learning about in Philosophy. In his paper “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch,” Kant asserted that peace is not “a mere truce, a suspension of hostilities,” but a world order that removes the incentives for war.

Talarah: Interesting. I suspect that Galtung derived some of his theory from Kant’s concept of perpetual peace.

Tiana: There definitely is a nexus. From what you have told me, it sounds like Kant’s perpetual peace can be linked to Galtung’s positive peace while short-term peace can be equated with negative peace.

Talarah: That’s right – a strength of positive peace theory that that a positive peace is a sustainable peace.

Tiana: But unfortunately positive peace initiatives aren’t implemented as often as they should be, which I guess is a weakness of the theory.

Talarah: Sometimes…

Tiana: Anyway, sounds like you have already become a bit of an expert in the field.

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15 ibid.
17 ibid, 93.
Talarah: It’s coincidental that you’ve asked me about positive peace actually. The brief I am currently writing makes recommendations on promoting a positive peace in Darfur.

Tiana: Darfur? I thought a peace treaty was signed sometime last year to fix that conflict?

Talarah: You’re right – in May last year to be precise. However, do you think the agreement was effective?

Tiana: Given the tone of your voice, no.

Talarah: That’s right. In fact, the Darfur Peace Agreement only worsened the situation in Darfur. This is why a few of my colleagues and I have chosen to draw the attention of Piece of Peace to this social issue. I think it’s an issue worthy of more media attention and an effective solution. I mean, it’s appalling to hear that rape, pillage and genocide continue to torment Darfur. If positive peace isn’t implanted into Darfur soon, I think the conflict will be well on its way to meeting the scale of atrocities in Rwanda. The United Nations has already described the conflict as one of the world’s worst humanitarian crises.

Tiana: Excuse my ignorance, but is it really that bad?

Talarah: Indeed. Around 2.5 million people have already been displaced as a consequence of the conflict, while over 4.2 million people have been

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19 ibid.
directly affected. They say 2,000 people per week are dying, but the United Nations refuses to call it genocide! You know the facts of the case right?

Tiana: Ummm… sort of.

Talarah: Well, in a nutshell, Sudan's Arab-dominated government is accused of recruiting Arab fighters to help attack non-Arab rebel groups that launched attacks on military targets in February 2003 after complaining of neglect and discrimination by the government. There is a lot of structural violence motivating the war including drought, desertification, poverty and overpopulation. These kinds of violence have increased competition between groups for the little futile land left in the region, and thus, war transpired.

Tiana: So what about the Darfur Peace Agreement? Why hasn’t that worked?

Talarah: Well, the document has serious flaws. To begin with, two major rebel groups have refused to sign the document and recently, more rebel groups have formed. There are no effective formal mechanisms to enforce the treaty either. The AU Mission in Sudan, who currently play a kind of peacekeeping role already have too much on their plate to do. And the UN

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24 ibid.
peacekeeping forces have been met with much dissent by the Sudanese government – so their potential is significantly hampered.

Tiana: Wow! Sound’s like you have done a lot of research. Where did you find all this information?

Talarah: In terms of theory, I’ve read bits and pieces of Galtung’s work on positive peace. I have also completed a bit of additional research on genocide, peacemaking, peacebuilding and peacekeeping by visiting UN documents and surfing the net. Due to time and space restraints, I didn’t get to research these areas as in depth as I would have liked to. I think these theories, as well as a further investigation into conflict resolution would really add to my policy brief. I just had difficulties finding time to complete it!

Tiana: Well, I would like to find out more about the Darfur conflict, it sounds very interesting, so how about I help you out? I can research some stuff at home for you and will email it through.

Talarah: Oh really Ti? That would be great. Well, there’s a plethora of information on Darfur on the internet, if you’re not clear on the case I recommend you visit the Darfur Australia site. It’s really helpful in disseminating the basic facts of the case. I also found newspaper articles on the net very helpful. I think the biggest difficulty you will find is staying on track. There is so much information out there for you to consume!

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Tiana: I can imagine! I will read up on Galtung as well. I want to see if this positive peace theory is really achievable, especially in such a horrific case like Darfur.

Talarah: Of course it is. Well that’s my perspective. I’m sure you will form your own opinion after conducting some research.
REFERENCES

Books / Journal Articles / Reports


Websites


