

Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis or dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis or dissertation in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis or dissertation. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis or dissertation. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis.

Signature:

Vernon Branch Frazier, April 2, 2012

Approval Sheet

**King's Vision of the Beloved Community as a Model Christian Response to
the Genocide in Darfur**

By

**Vernon Branch Frazier
Masters of Theological Studies**

Candler School of Theology

**Dr. Ellen Ott Marshall
Committee Chair**

**Dr. Steven Kraftchick,
Director of General and Advanced Studies**

**Dr. Elizabeth Bounds,
Committee Member**

**King's Vision of the Beloved Community as a Model Christian Response to
the Genocide in Darfur**

By

Vernon Branch Frazier, JD

Thesis Committee Chair: Ellen Ott Marshall, PHD

**An abstract of
thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Candler School of Theology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters of Theological Studies
2012**

Abstract
**King's Vision of the Beloved Community as a Model Christian Response to
the Genocide in Darfur**
By
Vernon Frazier, JD

In 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG) in response to the Holocaust which claimed over 6 million lives. Since the conclusion of World War II and the United Nations adoption of the CPPCG, the world witnessed genocides in Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda and my topic of discussion, Darfur. In 2003, a counter-insurgency conducted by the Sudanese government and Janjaweed militia claimed over 300,000 lives and displaced over 4 million people by 2007.

On July 14, 2008, the ICC indicted President al-Bashir of ten counts for sponsoring war crimes and crimes against humanity under the Rome Statute articles 7 (1), 8 (1) and 8 (f).¹ Since the indictment, President al-Bashir is still at large and continues to commit atrocities against Darfuris with impunity such as dispelling 13 international humanitarian NGOs after the indictment was announced. It is my belief that the genocidal acts by the Sudanese government and Janjaweed militia between 2003 and 2007 are not isolated within this timeframe; however the consequences of the counter-insurgency have created conditions that have made the crisis in Darfur ongoing.

In his speech, *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence*, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. utilized his moral vision, *The Beloved Community*, to address the atrocities committed by US forces in Vietnam. King's moral vision can be used to inform an ethical response to atrocities of the Darfur genocide as well as offer potential solutions for reconciliation. Human rights violations such as the killing of civilians, the deprivation of civil liberties of its citizens that occurred in Darfur, parallels to what existed in Vietnam and during the civil rights movement in the United States. In my thesis, I will discuss the following:

- The sources of scripture, tradition, theology, politics, experience and reason King used in formulating his moral vision, "The Beloved Community."
- How King's moral vision can be used to point out the injustices of the genocide that occurred in Darfur
- A Christian response is necessary in post referendum Sudan; however, King's philosophy of nonviolence resistance could not be applicable in this situation

¹ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, (July 17,1998): <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/criminalcourt.htm> (accessed December 11, 2011)

**King's Vision of the Beloved Community as a Model Christian Response to
the Genocide in Darfur**

By

Vernon Branch Frazier, JD

Thesis Committee Chair: Ellen Ott Marshall, PHD

Table of Contents

Chapter One – Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and The Darfur Crisis.....	1
Chapter Two - A History of Darfur	13
Chapter Three – The Beloved Community – A Theology of Martin Luther King, Jr.	25
Chapter Four - An Analysis of the Darfur Crisis Through the Eyes of Martin Luther King, Jr.	44
Chapter Five - Conclusion: Is the Beloved Community Practical in the Darfur Crisis?	58
Bibliography.....	69

Chapter One Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and The Darfur Crisis

In addition to the achievements of the Civil Rights Movement from the Montgomery Bus Boycott to the passing of the Civil Rights Bill in 1964, Dr. King's concern for protecting the dignity of humanity went beyond the shores of America. King, whom Christian ethicist Reinhold Niebuhr referred to as a "realistic" pacifist, abhorred war.² On April 4, 1967, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his widely acclaimed speech, *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence*, at Riverside Church in New York City. Dr. King made this speech on behalf of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, a multi-faith organization that supported the Vietnam antiwar movement. King's speech was an official declaration against the United States participation in the Vietnam War. In his declaration, King used scripture, reason and experience as sources to formulate his moral vision to respond to the moral impropriety that existed as a result of the United States role in the Vietnam War.

King further discussed the misguided ambitions associated with the Vietnam War on February 4, 1968 in his last sermon, *The Drum Major Instinct*, at Ebenezer Baptist Church before his assassination. The United States involvement in the Vietnam War was on the list of several "inhuman acts against humanity" mentioned in *The Drum Major Instinct*. In this sermon, King states, "God didn't call America to engage in a senseless, unjust war as the war in

² Kenneth Smith. *Search For the Beloved Community-The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, (1974) Judson Press, Valley Forge, PA

Vietnam. And we are criminals in that war. We've committed more war crimes almost than any nation in the world, and I'm going to

continue to say it. And we won't stop it because of our pride and our arrogance as a nation.”³

The lack of political participation among parties and war crimes were some of the issues discussed in *Beyond Vietnam* and *The Drum Major Instinct*. In *Beyond Vietnam*, King states,

So they go, primarily women and children and the aged. They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them, mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.⁴

Long after King's death on April 4, 1968, the evils associated with war are still among us. Since 1968, the world has witnessed genocides in Cambodia, Bosnia and Rwanda, as well as, war crimes and crimes against humanity in Darfur, Sudan. In 2003, the Sudanese military and government-backed Janjaweed militia conducted a counter-insurgency against the Darfur rebel groups, Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudanese Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A). The counter-insurgency campaign by the Sudanese military and the government backed Janjaweed militia resulted in approximately 300,000 Darfuri lives lost in 2004, prompting United States Secretary of State

³ Martin Luther King, Jr. *The Drum Major Instinct* (February 4, 1968) Martin Luther King, Jr. and The Global Freedom Struggle http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_the_drum_major_instinct/ (access December 13, 2011)

⁴ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence* (April 4, 1967) Estate of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Intellectual Properties Management. Atlanta, GA <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm> (access December 13, 2011)

Colin Powell to classify it as genocide. Clearly, the war in Darfur differs in type from Vietnam. The Vietnam War was one of several imperialist conflicts deeply rooted in the Cold War politics of its day. On the other hand, Darfur is an internal conflict shaped by British colonialism. However, the atrocities of mass murder, rape and forced displacement committed by the counter-insurgency campaign against African tribes in Darfur run parallel to the atrocities King spoke about in the Vietnam War. The consequences of war King spoke about in *Beyond Vietnam and The Drum Major Instinct* are the same: forced displacement of civilians and the breakup of the family unit. The historical root causes, political and legal encumbrances and the consistent failure in peace initiatives are also contributing factors to the crisis in Darfur. In spite of the United Nations African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) presence in Darfur with several international NGOs providing aid and relief to Darfuris, human rights violations continue to occur in the region.⁵ One would wonder how serious the international community is in establishing peace. After the ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as well as a plethora of UN conventions and treaties that followed, all intending to protect the dignity of humanity, the evil consequences of war continue to plague our world today.⁶

In February of 2003 a joint campaign between Sudanese Liberation Movement (SLMA) and Justice Equality Movement (JEM) rebels attacked Sudanese government forces in Darfur. The SLMA and JEM insurgency in

⁵ Crisis Guide. *Darfur* Council on Foreign Relations (updated 2009): <http://www.cfr.org/sudan/crisis-guide-darfur/p13129> (access November 8, 2011)

⁶ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948):United Nations Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Introduction.aspx> (accessed April 6, 2012)

Darfur was an outcry in response to the unjust social strata that the central government in Khartoum allowed in Sudan. SLMA and JEM rebels caused substantial damage to the Sudanese military in Darfur and an ominous threat the rebellion would spill over to Khartoum. In response to the SLMA and JEM attacks, the Sudanese government led by President Omar al-Bashir conducted a counter-insurgency campaign with Janjaweed militia and Sudanese Air Force. From 2003 to 2005, the Sudanese government-Janjaweed campaign against Darfur rebels led to some of the most horrendous crimes against humanity since the genocide in Rwanda.

On September 18, 2004, the UN Security Council established the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur via resolution 1564 under chapter VII of the UN Charter. The purpose of the commission was to investigate the incidents occurring in Darfur between September 2003 and January 2005. In 2005, the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur revealed the following from their investigation: 1.65 million Darfuris internally displaced and 200,000 refugees in neighboring Chad; and the killing of civilians, torture, enforced disappearances, destruction of villages, rape, unlawful arrest and detainment impacting the following Darfuri tribes, Fur, Zaghawa and Massalit.⁷ The next stage of International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur was to determine if the Sudanese counter-insurgency policy constituted genocide under Article II of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG). The CPPCG defines genocide as “any of the following acts

⁷ International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur,(January 25, 2005):
http://www.un.org/News/dh/sudan/com_ing_darfur.pdf (accessed December 11, 2011)

committed with the intent to destroy , in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the groups conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”⁸ After the UN Commission ruling, the case was referred to the International Criminal Court for further investigation of the Sudanese government’s counter-insurgency policy. In 2004, the African Union established the African Mission in Darfur (AMID) which attempted to provide aid and security for Darfuri African tribes. Due to being poorly funded, equipped, trained and to having a limited numbers of troops, the AMID did little to deter the atrocities that were continuing in Darfur. In 2005, the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur did not rule the atrocities in Darfur as genocide; however, the commission referred the case to the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2005.⁹ In spite of the vast atrocities that were committed in Darfur, the UN commission ruled the Sudanese government policy in Darfur did not constitute genocide because, “the policy of attacking, killing and forcibly displacing members of some tribes does not evince a specific intent to annihilate, in whole or in part, a group distinguished on racial, ethnic, national or religious grounds. Rather, it would seem that those who planned and organized attacks on villages pursued the intent to drive the victims from their homes, primarily for

⁸ UN Documents: Gathering a Body of Global Agreements, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (December 9, 1948):, <http://www.un-documents.net/cppcg.htm> (accessed December 11, 2011)

⁹ International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur,(January 25, 2005): http://www.un.org/News/dh/sudan/com_ing_darfur.pdf (accessed December 11, 2011)

purposes of counter-insurgency warfare.” In May 2006, the UN Security Council proposed that a UN peace keeping force be deployed in Darfur; however, in August of 2006, the Sudanese government declined to allow a UN peacekeeping force to enter in Darfur claiming it would compromise Sudanese sovereignty. Others in the international community believe in addition to challenged sovereignty, the Sudanese government feared that a UN presence could encourage a total breakup of the nation by rebel factions. Finally in July 2007, the Sudanese government agreed to a hybrid African Union-UN peace keeping mission known as the United Nations African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) thus replacing the AMID in the region. The UNAMID mandate includes: protection of civilians; contributing to security for humanitarian assistance; monitoring and verifying implementation of agreements; assisting an inclusive political process; and contributing to the promotion of human rights and the rule of law.

After a three year investigation by the ICC, on July 14, 2008, Luis Moreno Ocampo, prosecutor of the ICC, indicted President al-Bashir of ten counts for sponsoring war crimes and crimes against humanity under the Rome Statute articles 7 (1), 8 (1) and 8 (f).¹⁰ In March of 2009, the ICC issued a warrant for President al-Bashir’s arrest. After the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for committing war crimes and crimes against humanity in March of 2009, President al-Bashir expelled 13 international NGOs from Darfur.

On July 9, 2011, after over 30 years of civil war with the Government of Sudan, a new nation was born in Africa, the Republic of South Sudan. Citizens

¹⁰ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, (July 17,1998): <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/criminalcourt.htm> (accessed December 11, 2011)

of the new nation celebrated in the streets with hope of peace in the region; however, the question remains, what about the rest of Sudan? Unfortunately, Darfur still remains an area of injustice and despair. Since the ICC's issuance of the arrest warrant in 2009, President Omar al-Bashir is still at large for war crimes and crimes against humanity. In spite of the presence of the UNAMID and international NGOs providing security and aid in the region, the number of Darfuri internal displaced persons (IDPs) has increased from 1.6 million to over 2 million. Darfuri refugees in Chad and the Central African Republic have increased from 200,000 to 250,000. Outside of refugee and IDP camps, Darfuri are still under attack by Janjaweed militia who are committing the same atrocities as they did in 2003: random execution of villagers as well as the systemic rape of women and girls. As a matter of fact, the atrocities that occurred in Darfur happened while the Government of Sudan was negotiating the CPA with the SPLM. How could such a thing happen?

The events that have occurred in Darfur stand in stark contrast to King's vision of a "community of love and justice."¹¹ The origin of King's vision of the Beloved Community traces back from the description of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's goal in 1957 as indicated in the "Newsletter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference." The purpose and goal of the SCLC according to King states,

"The ultimate goal of the SCLC is to foster and create the "beloved community" in America where brotherhood is a reality....SCLC works for integration. Our ultimate goal is genuine intergroup and interpersonal living – integration."¹²

¹¹ Kenneth Smith. *Search For the Beloved Community-The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 120. (1974) Judson Press, Valley Forge, PA

¹² Ibid., 120

King's "Beloved Community" is an "integrated society wherein brotherhood would be an actuality in every aspect of social life."¹³ King's vision comprised of his experience during the civil rights movement in which proponents of justice during the movement were diverse. In *Search For the Beloved Community-The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, Kenneth Smith explains that King "viewed the composition of the civil rights movement as a microcosm of the Beloved Community." Smith states, "The people who attended the mass meetings and rallies, who participated in the demonstrations, and who worked in other innumerable ways were from every segment of American society. Professional leaders (teachers, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, etc.) willingly walked and worked with domestics and day laborers. Every social class and every age group were represented. The educated and the illiterate, the affluent and the welfare recipient, White and Black – people who had heretofore been separated by rigid social mores and laws – were brought together in a common cause."¹⁴ Could this example of community be implemented in Darfur?

In September of 2011, I had the honor and privilege to be trained in the Kingian Nonviolence Conflict Reconciliation Program taught by Dr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr., senior faculty member at Candler and one of King's lieutenants during the Civil Rights Movement. During my training, I learned the six-step strategy for developing a nonviolent campaign: information gathering, education,

¹³ Ibid., 120

¹⁴ Ibid., 121

personal commitment, negotiation, direct action and reconciliation.¹⁵ That training informs my assessment of and reaction to the crisis in Darfur. In order to determine the root causes behind the crisis in Darfur, I will focus on the first step, information gathering. Information gathering is, “the way you determine the facts, the options for change and the timing of pressure for raising the issue is a collective process.”¹⁶ In my research on Darfur, I discovered the following root causes behind the crisis: a dichotomy between Darfuris in the West of Sudan and the Sudanese from Khartoum on the right of the nation. Darfuris of the west were marginalized while the Sudanese of the east were considered privileged or elite; an indoctrinated polarization between African Darfuris and Arab Darfuris; and establishing peace in Darfur was secondary to establishing peace between the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement. The root causes above existed before the atrocities of 2003 in Darfur. Like the plight of African-Americans and the poor in America, the East-West dichotomy and racial prejudices of Darfur were shaped by colonialism, the institution of slavery and the national authority that says “wait” to the marginalized people of their nation.

The factors regarding the East-West dichotomy, racial polarization and the disparate treatment of marginalized Darfuris as well as other Sudanese demonstrates a nation that has not embraced the spirit of brotherhood. A void of human interrelatedness exists that perpetuates a false sense of superiority in

¹⁵ Bernard LaFayette, Jr. and David Jehnsen. *The Briefing Booklet, A 2 Day Orientation to Kingian Nonviolence Conflict Reconciliation – 1st ed.*, 20 (2003) Institute for Human Rights and Responsibilities, Inc. IHRR Publications Galena, OH

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 20

Sudanese Arabs and diminishes the dignity of African Darfuris. For King, the interrelatedness of human existence hinges on his vision of the Beloved Community. The racial polarization that exists in Darfur is a failure of human interrelatedness. The Fur tribe being subject to murder and rape by the government backed Janjaweed is not a Fur problem, but a problem in which its terrible burden is placed on the entire region and nation. Establishing hope for Darfuris would not only restore their dignity but it would also emancipate Arab Sudanese from the barbarism of its government. The indivisibility of human existence was paramount for King.¹⁷ In his assessment of the indivisibility of human existence, King states, “In a real sense all life is interrelated. The agony of the poor impoverishes the rich; the betterment of the poor enriches the rich. We are inevitably our brother’s keeper because we are our brother’s brother. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly.”¹⁸

King’s moral vision, as illustrated in his declaration, can be used as a viable model for Christians to respond to the crisis in Darfur, Sudan. In my thesis, I discuss sources of scripture, tradition, theology, politics, experience and reason King used in formulating his moral vision, “The Beloved Community.” I will also explain how King’s moral vision can be used to point out the evils associated with the Darfur genocide. Finally, I will argue that King’s moral vision is applicable in the Darfur crisis.

¹⁷ Kenneth Smith. *Search For the Beloved Community-The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.*,122 (1974) Judson Press, Valley Forge, PA

¹⁸ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?*, 181 (1967) Harper & Row Publishers, New York, NY

Human rights violations such as the killing of civilians, the deprivation of civil liberties of its citizens that occurred in Darfur, parallel to what existed in Vietnam and during the civil rights movement in the United States. Just as in King's time, a Christian response is essential in Darfur.

King's moral vision is also still applicable in post-referendum Sudan. After the successful referendum for southern Sudan, human right violations remain an issue. Citizens of Northern Sudan are demanding freedom just as its North African neighbors of Tunisia and Egypt. Human rights conditions may improve in southern Sudan; however, human rights in northern Sudan still remain a dream deferred. King states, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."¹⁹ Here, the secession of the southern Sudan provides a short term solution to a deeper problem. The example of King's moral vision will not only point out the moral improprieties that exist in pre and post referendum Sudan, but will also provide suggestions to eradicate the vestiges of injustice that exist currently serve as a deterrent against potential injustices in the future.

The intellectual capital Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. offered during the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War anti-war movement is still applicable today. It is my belief that King's vision of the "Beloved Community" could serve as a model Christian response to the crisis in Darfur. This response offers an alternative method of analyzing the root causes of the crisis as well as provides an understanding of the behavior of the conflict's participants. In addition to analyzing the elements of the conflict, the Beloved Community's emphasis for

¹⁹ <http://www.martinlutherkingjrdayeveryday.com/Martin-Luther-King/Dr-Martin-Luther-King-Jr-Day-Products-Famous-MLK-Quotes-Injustice-Anywhere-Threat-Justice-Everywhere.htm>

nonviolent resistance to respond to societal injustices may serve as an alternative for the violence associated with Darfur. The Darfur community, a culmination of racial, ethnic and socio-economic tensions is in need of an alternative since peace in the region is not in the foreseeable future. In my study, I will first discuss the root causes and elements of the Darfur conflict. The root causes I will discuss are as follows: slavery, the dichotomy system and polarization in Darfur, priority of the Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement and China's economic interest in Sudan.

My second topic for discussion in my study will be a description of the elements of King's vision of the Beloved Community. King's moral vision of the Beloved Community comprised of the following sources: scripture, tradition, experience and reason.

My third area of my study will utilize King's analysis to draw parallels to the issues in Darfur to those of America during the Civil Rights and the Vietnam antiwar movements. The parallels I will draw from socio-political events during King's life and the human rights atrocities are as follows: the American Jim Crow parallels with the Sudanese East-West Dichotomy parallel; racism during the Civil Rights Movement in America parallels with racism between Arabs and Africans in Darfur and Sudan; Cold War politics in Vietnam parallel with the regional conflict between Libya and Chad; White American response African-Americans during the Civil Rights movement parallels with the international community response to the victims of Darfur.

Finally, I will discuss why King's philosophy of nonviolent resistance is not practical in achieving peace in Darfur at this time. Nonviolent resistance may not be practical in Darfur at this time due to Sudanese President Bashir's continually committing atrocities to Darfuri Africans with impunity; however, I will offer the following recommendations to assist in peace initiatives in Darfur. The first will be invoking the doctrine of the responsibility to protect because the atrocities in Darfur were inculcated by the Sudanese government's claim to preserve its national sovereignty. Next, I will offer an analysis by Nureidin Netabay on why previous peace initiatives failed in Darfur as well offer an alternative peace initiatives illustrated in an article by Khalid Ali El Amin. Finally, I will offer a public health study which measure human rights violations associated with causalities of war by Madelyn Hsaiao-Rei Hicks and Michael Spagat.

Chapter Two A History of Darfur

Darfur has consistently been a region that has possessed its own autonomy through much of its history. Darfur remained an independent sultanate from 1600 until its annexation to Sudan by British-Egyptian control in 1916. The racial-ethnic makeup of Darfur comprised of African tribes and Arab nomadic tribes. The three major African tribes in Darfur are Fur, Zaghawa and Massalit. The two major Arab tribes are Baggara and Rizeygat.²⁰ The region of Darfur is divided in three federal states: North Darfur, West Darfur and South Darfur. Since its annexation to Sudan, the central Sudanese government in Khartoum has provided few resources to Darfuris such as education and infrastructure development. The lack of educational resources and modern infrastructure has made Darfur reliant on agrarian economy comprised of crops from African tribes and livestock herding by nomadic Arab tribes. The isolation of Darfur from the remainder of Sudan has also resulted in a lack of political participation for Darfuris. In the midst of its isolation, Darfuris were predominately self-ruling by tribal-clan systems. The disinterest of the Sudanese government as well as the lack of political participation among Darfuris became the unfortunate building blocks of what was to come in Darfur.²¹

The reasons behind the atrocities in Darfur stem from a tenuous history long before the 2003 incident. As a matter of fact, some of the seeds of the discord in

²⁰ Alex de Waal. *Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African Identities, Violence and External Engagement* (2006): 1, http://www.justiceafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2006/07/DeWaal_WhoAretheDarfurians.pdf (accessed December 11, 2011)

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3-4

Darfur reflect the socio-political ills Martin Luther King, Jr. fought against in America during the Civil Rights Movement. The historic events in Darfuri history that led up to the crisis are include: Arab Darfuri involvement in the Egyptian-Darfuri slave trade; British-Egyptian colonization of Darfur; the indoctrination of Arab supremacy ideology in Darfur; and the consequences of the world “backlash” of the plight of Darfur. Comparisons with African-American history that come to mind are the American participation in the West African Slave Trade and Jim Crow laws in the southern United States from the late 19th century to the 20th century. In order to understand how the history of Darfur influenced the current crisis, we must examine the central themes associated with this history.

Slavery

The institution of slavery played a significant part in the history of Darfur. As early as the 14th century, the sultanate conducted slave raids on the Fartit people in the southern region of Sudan.²² Slaves were used for both the sultanate’s domestic and agricultural economy as well as an export to Egyptian merchants²³ If we look closely to the location of Darfur and South Sudan, we can see the roots of the tension between the peoples that classified themselves as African and Arab.

Dichotomy and Polarization in Darfur

²² R.S. O’Fahey. *The Darfur Sultanate. A History* (2008) Columbia University Press. New York, 244

²³ Julie Flint and Alex de Waal. *Darfur A Short History of a Long War* (2005) Zed Books London and New York, 10

Darfur has consistently been a region that has possessed its own autonomy through much of its history. Darfur remained an independent sultanate from 1600 until its annexation to Sudan by British-Egyptian control in 1916. As soon as Darfur was annexed to Sudan, the British government introduced the “Native Administrative” system.²⁴ This system of colonial government bestowed power to Darfuri chiefs to administer their tribes on the behalf of the British crown.²⁵ This system of government by far was efficient and economical because it require little to no resources to maintain the administrative practices of the chiefs. The intent of this British policy was not for the sake of Darfuri autonomy but to utilize local chiefs to protect the remainder of Sudan from infiltration of Mahdist uprisings.²⁶ In 1921, two British officials were killed in Nyala; Darfur by a Mahdist uprising led by Abd Allah al-Suhayni.²⁷ The Native Administrative policy also allowed the British to focus its energy in governing the Sudanese people of the North and Southern regions. During the British focus of the predominate Arab North, the government established universities, buildings and railroads while using the South region as a Christian buffer to contain Islam from spreading to other British colonies in the south such as Kenya and Uganda. The British policies in North Sudan allowed the Nile Valley region to develop industrially while Darfur and other regions in the colony were left out, thus subjecting them to other economic modes such as farming and herding. In

²⁴ Ibid, 12

²⁵ Ibid., 12

²⁶ Alex de Waal. *Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African Identities, Violence and External Engagement* (2006): 7, http://www.justiceafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2006/07/DeWaal_WhoAretheDarfurians.pdf (accessed December 11, 2011)

²⁷ R.S. O’Fahey. *The Darfur Sultanate. A History* (2008) Columbia University Press. New York, 299

essence, the British colonial policy of segregating North Sudan from the remainder of colony created a privileged society in the North and a society of have-nots in Darfur and the remainder of the Sudan. After Britain granted independence to Sudan in 1954, the central Sudanese government in Khartoum continued the segregationist policies that were initially established by the British. Darfur was left to rely on an agrarian economy comprised of crops from African tribes and livestock herding by nomadic Arab tribes. The reliance of an agrarian economy by Darfur later created the tension between Arabs and Africans for three principal reasons. First, Darfur experienced a population explosion between 1.5 million in 1956 to nearly 6.25 million.²⁸ The population explosion gradually created an environment in which resources from an agrarian economy were not enough to sustain the population, which led to the second reason. Desertification, soil erosion and limited water availability have exacerbated the tension between Arab herders and African farmers fighting over water availability. The third reason behind the tensions in Darfur due to the colonial policies established by the British is the failure of the central government in Khartoum to legitimize Darfur. Since the British did not have a vested interest to develop Darfur, the government of Sudan continued the disparate treatment of Darfur. In the midst of its isolation, Darfuris were predominately self-ruling by tribal-clan systems; however during the 1970's the worst form of illegitimacy by the Sudanese government toward the people of Darfur occurred.

During the height of the Sudanese civil war between the central government and South Sudanese rebels in the 1970's, a progressive movement

²⁸ Ibid., 301

to modernity by Sudanese President Numeiri began to dismantle the tribal governments in Darfur. Prior to the dismantling of tribal systems in Darfur, Richard Cockett claimed the movement of modernity was really a ploy to destroy Khartoum's political rivals in Darfur that supported the Umma Party.²⁹ Numeiri's political movement served as an example of the long lasting dichotomy between Darfuris in the West and the Sudanese from Khartoum on the right. Darfuris of the west were marginalized while the Sudanese of the east were considered privileged or elite.

The Sudanese East-West dichotomy evolved into an African-Arab polarization due to external influences of Sudanese neighbors, Chad and Libya. Darfur for both Chad and Libya, served as a military-strategic and ideological hub. For Chad, the conflict between Chadian African-Christian-Zaghawa majority and Chadian Muslim Juheiyana Arabs rebels spilled over into Darfur. For Libya, the spread of Pan-Arabism by the late Muammar Gaddafi resulted in his regime arming Darfuri Arab tribes to kill Darfuri African villagers over land rights to cross farm land with their livestock in order to obtain water.³⁰

The combination of the East-West dichotomy along with African-Arab polarization served as the tipping point for marginalized African Darfuris to speak out about the disparate treatment of African Darfuris by the central Sudanese government in Khartoum. In 2000, *The Black Book*, a publication authored by members of Darfur's intelligentsia in Khartoum regarding Darfuri grievances against the Sudanese government became the advent of two Darfuri rebel

²⁹ Richard Cockett. *Sudan Darfur and the Failure of an African State* (Yale University Press New Haven and London, 2010), 173

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 46-50

movements, the Sudanese Liberation Movement/Army (SLMA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM).³¹ The SLMA was founded in 2002 as the Darfur Liberation Front. The rebel group is comprised of the three major Darfuri African tribes: Fur, Zaghawa and Massalit. The SLMA is divided into two major factions after an internal dispute occurred over the Darfur Peace Agreement: Minnawi faction led by Minni Minnawi and the al-Nur faction led by Abdul Wahid al-Nur. Also in 2002, the JEM was founded by Dr. Khalili Ibrahim who many claimed him to be as one of the authors of the *Black Book*.³²

Contributing Motives behind UN Commission's Ruling

Since receiving its independence from Britain in 1956, the Sudanese government has been in a state of civil war with their southern rivals. The conflict between Arab Muslims in the North and African Christians and animists in South resulted in two civil wars from 1955-1972 and 1983-2002 in which the second civil war claimed over 2 million lives. In 2005, the government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.³³ Since the international community embraced the possibility of peace between Northern Sudanese and Southern Sudanese, the world neglected to focus its attention on the atrocities occurring in Darfur. What was at stake for Sudan during the negotiations of the CPA, was its government being removed from the US State Department's list of state sponsors of terror, billions of dollars from foreign donors to reconstruct the south and rest of Sudan and acceptance in the international community. In exchange for the government of

³¹ Ibid., 182

³² Ibid., 182

³³ Ibid., 250-54

Sudan signing the CPA, the US will continue to receive more intelligence about al-Qaeda. In an interview conducted by Richard Cockett, the African Editor of the *Economist*, Dr. Ghazi Atabani stated “The CPA is, objectively, a much bigger and more important agreement than a Darfur Peace Agreement.”³⁴

China’s Sudanese Agenda

After President al-Bashir refused to comply with the UN request to have a peace keeping force in Darfur in 2006, China was instrumental in 2007 for negotiating with the Sudanese government to agree to have a hybrid African Union-UN peace keeping mission known as the United Nations African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). Why were the Chinese such a factor in the process? Unfortunately, the Chinese intervention was not one out of benevolence but pressure from the international community.³⁵ The major source of revenue for Sudan is oil production in which the majority of its production is bought by China. Forty percent of the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (GNPOC) is owned by The China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC).³⁶ In the 2000’s the majority of the new infrastructure projects near Khartoum such as the Merowe Dam was partly funded and built by the Chinese.³⁷ In addition to Chinese government being Sudan’s largest oil purchaser and investor in infrastructure, many of the arms used to commit the atrocities in Darfur were Chinese made.³⁸ For China, it would be a threat to their economic interest in Sudan if they supported a policy ruling the acts in Darfur genocide. It is also

³⁴ Ibid., 178-180

³⁵ Ibid., 50

³⁶ Ibid., 55

³⁷ Ibid., 17

³⁸ Ibid., 185

important to note the oil revenue of Sudan in which China is its largest client, funded the government's counter-insurgency in Darfur. In the wake of China's preparation to host the 2008 Olympics, a partnership between human rights advocacy groups STAND, Human Rights First and Humanity United, pressured the Chinese government through media access such as the *Washington Post* and *Wall Street Journal* to respond to Sudanese intransigence with their "Genocide Olympics Campaign."³⁹ It certain would not look favorably for the host of the Olympics to support a government that allegedly committed genocide.

Public Health Implications from NGO Expulsion

Another issue related to public health implications is the lack of media exposure due to previous and potential future threats from the Sudanese government to expel NGOs providing aid to refugees and internally displaced people (IDP). After the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for committing war crimes and crimes against humanity in March of 2009, President al-Bashir expelled 13 international NGOs from Darfur. NGOs provided vital care and aid to refugees and IDPs. Any interruption to aid can be life threatening. The relationship between media coverage and previous expulsion of NGOs from Darfur is the expulsions were a form of intimidation to aid workers by the Sudanese government in order to deter accurate reporting of true mortality rates in Darfur. An April 2011 report from humanitarian news site, *AlertNet*, states, "Since then few reports have been published on the humanitarian situation in the region. News agencies have very limited access, and aid agencies are reluctant

³⁹ Rebecca Hamilton. *Fighting for Darfur Public Action and Struggle to Stop Genocide* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2011),139-40

to speak out for fear they will be expelled.”⁴⁰ Expulsion of NGOs can create obvious gaps in aid that can spike more malnutrition and communicable diseases. A report from the Humanitarian Policy Group had this to say regarding the gap in aid after expulsion; “at the time of writing, the UN and the government’s Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC) were conducting and assessment of the gaps in humanitarian assistance created by the expulsions, and initial estimates suggest that UN agencies will only be able to cover 20-30% of the shortfall.”⁴¹ The Sudanese policy of expelling NGOs happened as recent as January 2011 when International NGO, Catholic Relief Services were expelled from Darfur until April of 2011. Catholic Relief Services provide food, water and other aid to over 400,000 Darfuris.⁴²

An Unattainable Peace in Darfur

The combination of the East-West dichotomy along with African-Arab polarization served as the tipping point for marginalized African Darfuris to speak out about the disparate treatment of African Darfuris by the central Sudanese government in Khartoum. In 2000, *The Black Book*, a publication authored by members of Darfur’s intelligentsia in Khartoum regarding Darfuri grievances against the Sudanese government became the advent of two Darfuri rebel movements, the Sudanese Liberation Movement/Army (SLMA) and the Justice

⁴⁰ AlertNet (2011) <http://www.trust.org/alertnet/crisis-centre/crisis/darfur-conflict> (accessed December 11, 2011)

⁴¹ Sara Pantuliano, Susanne Jaspars, Deepayan Basu Ray. *Where to Now? Agency Expulsion in Sudan: Consequences and Next Steps* (2008) <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/docs/4190.pdf> (accessed December 11, 2011)

⁴² Catholic Relief Services. *Catholic Relief Services Forced to Close Food Program in Darfur* (March 26, 2011) <http://crs.org/newsroom/releases/release.cfm?id=2115> (accessed December 11, 2011)

and Equality Movement (JEM).⁴³ The SLMA was founded in 2002 as the Darfur Liberation Front. The rebel group is comprised of the three major Darfuri African tribes: Fur, Zaghawa and Massalit. The SLMA is divided into two major factions after an internal dispute occurred over the Darfur Peace Agreement: Minnawi faction led by Minni Minnawi and the al-Nur faction led by Abdul Wahid al-Nur. Also in 2002, the JEM was founded by Dr. Khalili Ibrahim who many claimed him to be as one of the authors of the *Black Book*.⁴⁴

Since receiving its independence from Britain in 1956, the Sudanese government has been in a state of civil war with their southern rivals. The conflict between Arab Muslims in the North and African Christians and animists in South resulted in two civil wars from 1955-1972 and 1983-2002 in which the second civil war claimed over 2 million lives. In 2005, the government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.⁴⁵ Since the international community embraced the possibility of peace between Northern Sudanese and Southern Sudanese, the world neglected to focus its attention on the atrocities occurring in Darfur. What was at stake for Sudan during the negotiations of the CPA, was its government being removed from the US State Department's list of states sponsors of terror, billions of dollars from foreign donors to reconstruct the south and rest of Sudan and acceptance in the international community. In exchange for the government of Sudan signing the CPA, the US will continue to receive more intelligence about al-Qaeda. In an interview conducted by Richard Cockett, the African Editor of

⁴³ Ibid., 182

⁴⁴ Ibid., 182

⁴⁵ Ibid., 250-54

the *Economist*, Dr. Ghazi Atabani stated “The CPA is, objectively, a much bigger and more important agreement than a Darfur Peace Agreement.”⁴⁶

Does Indirect war-related deaths constitute systemic annihilation?

As mentioned earlier, the UN did not rule the Sudanese policy in Darfur genocide due to the missing element from Article 2 of the CPPCG, the specific intent to annihilate. The systematic forced displacement of Furs, Zaghawas and Massalits by Janjaweed militia has created thousands of Darfuri refugees and IDPs. It is foreseeable to see the mortality rates among refugees and IDPs would be high due to malnutrition and communicable disease. A significant amount of the estimated 300,000 casualties in the Darfur crisis were from refugees living in Chad and the Central African Republic and IDPs in Darfur. The practice of forced displacement is still carried out by the Sudanese government from sporadic clashes with SLMA and JEM rebels. Lastly, the occasional expulsion of NGOs by the Sudanese government has threatened the lives of refugees and IDPs. The egregious loss of life of African Darfuris in an area in where resources are already limited would make the UN Commission’s finding of specific intent to annihilate questionable. Even the systemic raping of Fur, Zaghawa and Massalit women and girls by Janjaweed could also support the specific intent to annihilate with notion that children born from rape would be Arab since ethnicity in Sudan is passed to the child from the father. The atrocities, though not at the level in 2003, are still continuing and would possibly

⁴⁶ Ibid., 178-180

recommend an intervention in order to maintain the life and dignity of African Darfuris.

Chapter Three The Beloved Community A Theology of Martin Luther King Jr.

Why should we look at the Darfur genocide through the eyes of a twentieth century civil rights leader from the United States? It is my belief that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision of the Beloved Community can be applied to any situation of strife and turmoil that exist due to King's eclectic philosophy. King's vision of the Beloved Community is based on a theme that interrelatedness exists in all humanity. King states, "we are tied together in the single garment of destiny, caught in an inescapable network of mutuality... Strangely enough, I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be. You can never be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be. This is the way the world is made. I didn't make it that way, but this is the interrelated structure of reality."⁴⁷ The message King is conveying here is that an individual cannot reach his or her fullest potential of moral excellence unless the welfare of others is sustained. The vision of the Beloved Community is not only a philosophy, but also a way of life.

The Sources of King's Vision

King's vision of the Beloved Community is described in several ways. Some have commonly referred to it as a Christian "love-ethic," others have labeled it a philosophy. Regardless of the label, this vision, ethic or philosophy was not an isolated point, but one that persist from his experience as a youth in Atlanta to his tragic death in Memphis in 1968. The Beloved Community is

⁴⁷ Kenneth Smith. *Search For the Beloved Community-The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 122 (1974) Judson Press, Valley Forge, PA

informed by several ethical and theological sources, which King interpreted and applied throughout his life.

Scripture as source

Throughout the evolution of the Beloved Community, the use of scripture has been consistent in King's work as a minister and human rights advocate. For King, scripture served as the glue to his vision because it is in this source, scripture served as the starting point of this personal theology as well as providing relevance to the other sources he used in his vision. King demonstrated mastery in biblical hermeneutics and exegesis. The most obvious use of scripture for King is his application of the Book of Exodus. The story of Exodus served as the premise and foundation of the Civil Rights Movement for it enable African-Americans to recognize their plight as the marginalized people in their society; recognize the oppressors of their day, the Jim Crow system of government in the South; and the recognize their hope and deliverance in eradication of the Jim Crow law system. From the Montgomery Bus Boycott to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, King was an African-American Moses and his people were the Hebrews of their day. In his sermon, *The death of evil upon the seashore*, King utilized Exodus to display the struggle between good and evil. King states,

When the children of Israel were held under the gripping yoke of Egyptian slavery, Egypt symbolized evil in the form of humiliating oppression, ungodly exploitation, and crushing domination, and the Israelites symbolized goodness in the form of devotion and dedication to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Egypt struggled to maintain her oppressive yoke, and Israel struggled to gain freedom.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Strength to Love* (1963) Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA, 78-79

King went further to reveal hope for the plight of African-Americans lies in the truth that good overcomes evil stating, “the death of the Egyptians upon the seashore is a vivid reminder that something in the very nature of the universe assists goodness in its perennial struggle with evil.”⁴⁹

The use of scripture by King was also profound in supporting the theological presuppositions associated with his vision of the Beloved Community. The first theological presupposition supported by scripture is King’s doctrine of creation. Here, King utilizes the message in Genesis that since all men are created in the image of God, we are all “inseparably bound together.”⁵⁰ Here in the “inseparably bound together” notion lies his rationale that systems such as segregation are not only morally indefensible but are contrary to God’s divine will. King further supports this notion of universalism of humanity that transcends all distinctions in Galatians 3:28, “there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male or female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.”⁵¹

The second theological presupposition in King’s vision of the Beloved Community supported by scripture is the salvific promises of justice, peace, freedom, equality and harmony associated with the Messianic theme in the prophetic books of the Old Testament.⁵² We see this in Amos 5:24, “but let justice run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.” For King, God is a just and righteous God; therefore, since humanity is made in the image

⁴⁹ Ibid., 79

⁵⁰ Kenneth Smith. *Search For the Beloved Community – The Thinking of Martin Luther King Jr.*, 130. (1974) Judson Press, Valley Forge, PA

⁵¹ Ibid., 130

⁵² Ibid., 130

of God and has relationship with God, justice and righteousness are required for God's children.⁵³

The final theological presupposition in King's vision of the Beloved Community supported by scripture is *agape*, Christian love.⁵⁴ King defines *agape* as "redeeming good will for all menIt is the love of God operating in the human heart."⁵⁵ Here lies the concept of community for King, an obligation for humanity to perpetuate and sustain community. The biblical sources of this concept are found in the ministry of Jesus Christ in the New Testament. In his sermon, *On being a good neighbor*, King discussed the message of the Good Samaritan in contrast to challenge of humanity to embrace this message stating,

The Samaritan had the capacity for a universal altruism. He had a piercing insight into that which is beyond the eternal accidents of race, religion, and nationality. One of the great tragedies of man's long trek along the highway of history has been the limiting of neighborly concern to tribe, race, class, or nation.⁵⁶

Another scripture source of King's theological presupposition is found in his Christology through the symbol of the cross and resurrection of Christ. King wrote, "the cross is the eternal expression of the length to which God will go in order to restore broken community. The resurrection is a symbol of God's triumph over all the forces that seek to block community. The Holy Spirit is community creating reality that moves through history."⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibid., 130

⁵⁴ Ibid., 131

⁵⁵ Ibid., 131

⁵⁶ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Strength to Love* (1963) Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA, 31

⁵⁷ Kenneth Smith. *Search For the Beloved Community – The Thinking of Martin Luther King Jr.*, 131. (1974) Judson Press, Valley Forge, PA

As mentioned earlier, the Beloved Community is a way of life. Just as he used scripture to lay out the theological presuppositions of his vision, King also used scripture as a source in applying his vision. King used scripture as a guide and discipline for those among us who wish to adopt this way of life. First, King stressed the necessity of preparing our mind and hearts for this way of life because adopters of the Beloved Community will confront hostility and difficulty. King reiterated the message of Jesus to the disciples in preparing their ministry in Matthew 10:16, “Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.”⁵⁸ Here, adopters of the Beloved Community as a way of life must be cunning and tough like the serpent in order to think incisively, bring forth realistic appraisals and have the capacity to judge decisively.⁵⁹ To be harmless like a dove requires the adopter of the Beloved Community to have a tender heart which is essential in embracing King’s theological presupposition of *agape*.

Another example of how scripture is used as a source in the application of the Beloved Community is found in the themes of love in action and loving your enemies found in Luke 23:34 and Matthew 5:43-45 respectively. Luke 23:34 states, “then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.”⁶⁰ The first lesson King revealed in Luke is the expectation of allowing our actions to be consistent with our words. Here, we are expected like Christ to forgive those who persecute us free from condemnation. King states, “ He could have said, “Father get even with them, or “Father, let loose the mighty thunderbolts of righteous wrath and destroy them,” or “Father, open the flood

⁵⁸ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Strength to Love* (1963) Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA, 13

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 14

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 39

gates of justice and permit the staggering avalanche of retribution to pour upon.” But none of these was his response.”⁶¹ The second lesson King revealed in Luke is the rationale behind why we should forgive. In second part of Jesus’ prayer, “they know not what they do,” King states, “it is an expression of Jesus’ awareness of man’s intellectual and spiritual blindness.”⁶² Here, as adopters of the Beloved Community we are expected to recognize and appreciate the condition of the humanity’s limitation to understand and appreciate some of the vicious acts committed towards one another. In Matthew 5:43-45 lay the source of one of the most fundamental concepts of the Beloved Community, loving your enemies. Matthew 5:43 states, “Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy, but I say unto you, love you enemies, bless them that curse you, do good them that hate you and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be children of your Father which is in heaven.”⁶³ In this biblical source, lies King’s reasoning for how and why we should love our enemies. King’s exegesis of how we should love our enemies in Matthew 5:43-45 are: developing a capacity to forgive; recognizing the evil deed of the enemy-neighbor, the thing that hurts, never quite expresses all that he is; we must not seek to defeat or humiliate the enemy but to win his friendship and understanding.⁶⁴ Developing a capacity to forgive is the starting point for loving our enemies. Forgiveness not only relinquishes guilt from those that hurt us but, frees the victim from bitterness. The evil deed committed by the

⁶¹ Ibid., 39-40

⁶² Ibid., 41-43

⁶³ Ibid., 49

⁶⁴ Ibid., 50-51

one that hurt us is not a definition of their entire character because like ourselves, our enemies are also children of God; possessing the innate capacity to do good. Finally, we must not humiliate our enemies because doing so will become the catalysts for further hatred; diminishing hopes to ever alleviate it. The “why” behind loving our enemies focuses on breaking the cycle of hate. King provides three reasons why we should love our enemies: returning hate for hate multiplies hate; hate scars the soul and distorts the personality - hate is just as injurious to the person who hates; love is the only force capable of transforming an enemy to a friend. The revelation in King’s exegesis of Luke 23:34 and Matthew 5:43-45 is a commission for the adopters of the Beloved Community as a way of life is live our lives by seeking Jesus not as a mere object of faith but to live life as Jesus as the subject of our faith, to perpetuate community among humanity with unselfish, redemptive and transformative love.

Tradition as source

In addition to scripture, King also used tradition as a source to framing his vision of the Beloved Community, tradition is another source King utilized. As an eclectic intellectual, King used various forms of tradition from religious and theological to philosophical and political. The combination of these various forms of tradition enables King to better embrace and apply the concept of universalism beyond the parameters of the Christian Gospel.

Religious Traditions

King’s *telos* in his vision of the Beloved Community is found in the teachings of Jesus Christ; however, the tactics in achieving the Beloved

Community were provided by Hindu human rights advocate, Mahatma Gandhi.⁶⁵ The moral means King used in fighting the injustices in America were Gandhi's principles of *satyagraha* and *ahimsa*. The principle of *satyagraha* is based on the ideal of self-realization. *Satyagraha* commands its practitioner overcome personal challenges of such as fear and insecurities. The premise of *satyagraha* in seeking "Truth is God" requires an elimination of antagonisms without harming the antagonists themselves and seeks to transform or purify it to a higher level.⁶⁶ The principle of *satyagraha* is also referred to as the "universal force" which arms its adopter with moral power rather than physical power. It is in this "universal power" where the exercise of civil disobedience and non-cooperation to unjust laws is based on the "laws of suffering," the doctrine under that the endurance of suffering is the means to an end.⁶⁷ The principle of *satyagraha* parallels with concept of *agape* as well as other Christian principles such as forgiveness of our persecutors.

The principle of *ahimsa*, nonviolent resistance, was not originally established by Gandhi; however Gandhi was the first to apply it in a large scale political cause. Recognizing the value of *ahimsa* in political resistance, King became the second human rights advocate to utilize this "tactic" during the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955. For King, the evils of poverty, racism and war can only be defeated by nonviolence. Through the use *ahimsa* or nonviolence,

⁶⁵ Ibid., 7

⁶⁶ Gandhi, M.K. "Some Rules of Satyagraha" *Young India (Navajivan)* 23 February 1930 (*The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* vol. 48, p. 340)

⁶⁷ Ibid., 340

the end telos is redemption and reconciliation; the *telos* of nonviolence is the establishment of the Beloved Community.⁶⁸

Theological Traditions

As mentioned earlier, King states, “Christ gave us the goals,” and “Mahatma Gandhi provided the tactics;” however, King’s revelation of these Christian goals were not only shaped by scripture but by the tradition of several other Christian theologians. King’s influence by other Christian theological traditions is as eclectic as his overall use of other traditions. The three prominent Christian theologians that come to mind that shaped King’s vision of the Beloved Community are Walter Rauschenbusch, Reinhold Niebuhr and Howard Thurman.

Walter Rauschenbusch and the Social Gospel Movement

The theological basis of King’s social concern is found in the Social Gospel Movement of Walter Rauschenbusch. King acknowledges his influence by Rauschenbusch when he wrote, “....Rauschenbusch gave to American Protestantism a sense of social responsibility that it should never lose. The gospel at its best deals with the whole man, not only his soul but also his body, not only his spiritual well-being but also his material well-being. A religion that professes a concern for the souls of men and is not equally concerned about the slums that damned them, the economic conditions that strangle them, and the social conditions that cripple them, is a spiritually moribund religion.”⁶⁹ The theological tradition of the Social Gospel Movement arose during the Industrial Revolution in which exponential growth of economic growth and wealth resulted

⁶⁸ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Strength to Love* 8 (1963) Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA

⁶⁹ Kenneth Smith. *Search For the Beloved Community – The Thinking of Martin Luther King Jr.*, 33. (1974) Judson Press, Valley Forge, PA

in a rise of systemic injustices such as unfair wages, labor policies and poverty. The central theological assumption in Rauschenbusch's Social Gospel Movement is that the doctrine of salvation "had a social as well as an individual dimension and those social institutions had to be "saved" as well as individuals. For Rauschenbusch, all societal ills have a moral dimension and as Christians we are commissioned to be concerned about social justice and social structures as well as the individual morality of workers and businessmen."⁷⁰ King adopted much of Rauschenbusch's theology; however there are three key concepts King used from Rauschenbusch that had primacy over others: the prophetic model of religion; the relationship between the church and the world; the kingdom of God and human community. The prophetic model of religion derived from Rauschenbusch's own use of scripture by the example of Jesus and the prophets of the Old Testament that stemmed from the tension of "what ought to be" as God's will and "what is" as the will of the present.⁷¹

In the second concept, the relationship between church and society, Rauschenbusch deviates from the tradition position of the Church to withdraw from the world due to its evil nature but challenges the Church to participate in the world to confronting societal evil. For Rauschenbusch, the purpose of the Church's call to action to confront societal evils is to preserve the Kingdom of God.⁷² In this theological theme, Rauschenbusch insist theology "must not only make room for the doctrine of the Kingdom of God, but give it a central place and

⁷⁰ Ibid., 35

⁷¹ Ibid., 38

⁷² Ibid., 43

revise all other doctrines so that they will articulate organically with it.”⁷³ The meaning of this theme that we are commissioned as Christians to “transform human society into the kingdom of God by regenerating all human relations and reconstituting them in accordance with the will of God.”⁷⁴ Here, the Kingdom of God is not an eschatological after life event, but it is available in the present as well as the responsibility to sustain it. The societal ills that impede sustaining the Kingdom of God in Earth are contrary to the divine will of God. For Rauschenbusch the societal ills created from the Industrial Revolution challenged the will of God in his day while for King, the societal ills of segregation challenge the will of God in his day.

Reinhold Niebuhr’s *Moral Man and Immoral Society*

In order to effectively apply the Beloved Community as a way of life, a clear understanding of the behavior of humanity is essential. The theological tradition of Reinhold Niebuhr assisted King to appreciate the relationship between morality and power as well as the behavior of groups and nations. King states, “his theology is a persistent reminder of the reality of sin on every level of man’s existence....Moreover, Niebuhr help me to recognize the complexity of man’s social involvement and the glowing reality of collective evil.”⁷⁵ Before the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955, it was Niebuhr in 1932 that revealed the economic power of the consumer in his book, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* which influenced King and the civil rights movement to use tactics such as

⁷³ Ibid., 43

⁷⁴ Ibid., 43

⁷⁵ Hanes Walton, Jr. *The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.* 43-44(1971) Greenwood Publishing Corporation. Westport, CT.

economic boycotts. Niebuhr states, “boycotts against banks which discriminate against Negroes in quantity credit, against stores which refuse to employ Negroes while serving Negro trade, and against public service corporations which practice racial discrimination, would undoubtedly be crowned with some measure of success.”⁷⁶ Niebuhr also supported nonviolence in uplifting the plight of African-Americans because it combined the “aggressiveness of young blacks with the patient forbearance of their elders.”⁷⁷ Niebuhr’s tradition also assists King to discern the distinction of how man behaves within a group versus acting alone.⁷⁸ Throughout history, we have seen this notion in the civil rights movement where the collective efforts several people brought about change such as in the civil rights movement verses the negative as was experience in Nazi Germany where the inaction of many Germans allowed Hitler to rise to power committing one of the largest atrocities against humanity.

Howard Thurman’s *Jesus and the Disinherited*

During the civil rights movement, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. always had two books in his possession, the Holy Bible and a copy of Howard Thurman’s *Jesus and the Disinherited*. King may not have quoted Thurman as much as Rauschenbusch or Niebuhr; however, King’s understanding of the role of Jesus in 1st century Palestine as well as his insight on fear, deception, hate and loved, one can easily see how Howard Thurman influenced his personal theology. Like King, Howard Thurman was ordained as a Baptist minister and a graduate of

⁷⁶ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?*, 181 (1967) Harper & Row Publishers, New York, NY

⁷⁷ Hanes Walton, Jr. *The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.* 25 (1971) Greenwood Publishing Corporation. Westport, CT.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 56

Morehouse College (a classmate of King's father). Unlike King, Thurman had the opportunity to meet and befriend Mahatma Gandhi. The influence of Mahatma Gandhi on King derived from the mentorship of Thurman. Thurman's theological tradition set forth in *Jesus and the Disinherited* assisted King to embrace the role of Jesus not as object but subject matter. This notion is indicated in chapter one of *Jesus and the Disinherited* which explains the significance why Jesus was a poor Jew in an oppressive Greco-Roman society. Thurman's account of Jesus enabled King to discern and live as a marginalized individual fighting the status quo in an oppressive society.⁷⁹ Like Niebuhr, Thurman also provided insight to King regarding the behavior of man on the topics of fear, deception and hate in what Thurman refers to the "persistent hounds of hell that dog the footsteps of the poor, the dispossessed, the disinherited."⁸⁰ The problem with fear, deception and hate according to Thurman is the issue of a segregated society in which humanity has "contacts without fellowship."⁸¹ This message according to Thurman is also paralleled in King's quote from *Strive Towards Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, "Men often hate each other because they fear each other; they fear each other because they don't know each other; they don't know each other because they cannot communicate; they cannot communicate because they are separated."⁸² Finally, King's theological presupposition of *agape* can be paralleled by Thurman's love-ethic.⁸³ Thurman regarding the love exhibited by

⁷⁹ Howard Thurman. *Jesus and the Disinherited* 15-19 (1976) Beacon Press, Boston, MA

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 37- 88

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 75-76

⁸² Martin Luther King, Jr. *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, Martin Luther King Jr. (1958) Harper & Row Publishers, New York, NY

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 89

Jesus states, “a twofold demand was made upon him at all times: to love those of the household of Israel who became his enemies because they regarded him as a careless perverted of truths of God; to love those beyond the household of Israel – the Samaritan, even the Roman.”⁸⁴ Here, Thurman explains the radical nature of true love and the consequences of exhibiting this love-ethic. For King, the demonstration of this radical love is what he referred to as *dangerous and excessive altruism*.⁸⁵

Political Traditions

In addition to religious and theological traditions to shape his vision of the Beloved Community, King consistently used the political traditions that were available to him as an American. The themes of freedom, peace, justice and liberty were not only revealed to King in scripture and the religious theological traditions of Gandhi, Rauschenbusch, Niebuhr and Thurman but were also revealed to him in the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution. In his “*I Have a Dream*” speech, King’s appeal for justice to America was made in his reference to the preamble of the Declaration of Independence,

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Ibid., 90

⁸⁵ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Strength to Love* 33-35 (1963) Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA

⁸⁶ Martin Luther King, Jr. “*I Have a Dream*” (1963)
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkhaveadream.htm> (accessed March 13, 2012)

In that same speech, King asserts that the peace and justice for African-Americans is not unique from the rest of America but is in line with the American dream guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution, "And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream." "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."⁸⁷

Experience as source

Martin Luther King, Jr. relied on several sources to shape his vision of the Beloved Community. The source King relied upon to recognize and understand the use of his other sources, scripture and tradition was the individual perspective of experience. King, a product of southern segregation in Atlanta, understood what it means being marginalized in an oppressive society. An example of how King utilized experience in his vision of the Beloved Community was during his declaration against Vietnam War in his *Time to Break Silence* speech at Riverside Church in 1967. The sources of experience King used were his pastorate at Dexter Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, the calling of being the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, and the experience gained during the Civil Rights Movement. King elaborated how these three experiences in his life called him and required each American to be obligated to seek the truth of the injustices of the America government's role in Vietnam perpetuated. King recognized how his experience as a pastor compelled him to bring the issue of the Vietnam War in his moral vision by stating; "Since I am a preacher by calling,

⁸⁷ Ibid.

I suppose it is not surprising that I have seven major reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America.”⁸⁸ As a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, King described the award as furthering his obligation to speak out against the war in his comment, “I cannot forget that the Nobel Peace Prize was also a commission, a commission to work harder than I had ever worked before for “the brotherhood of man.” This is a calling that takes me beyond national allegiances, but even if it were not present I would yet have to live with the meaning of my commitment to the ministry of Jesus Christ.”⁸⁹ King not only reflected on his own experiences as an advocate of Civil Rights, but describe the plight of the Vietnam people. This was most self-evident in King’s brief history of Vietnam; “For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to recolonize Vietnam. Before the end of the war we were meeting eighty percent of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of their reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at recolonization.”⁹⁰ For King, experience provided the foresight to

⁸⁸ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence* (April 4, 1967) Estate of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Intellectual Properties Management. Atlanta, GA <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm> (access December 13, 2011)

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

recognize injustice, possess the knowledge of the impact of injustice to its victims and purveyors, and bring awareness of our calling as Christians to be advocates for justice.

Reason as source

In King's eclectic blend of scripture, tradition and experience we can include reason as another source used to shape his vision of the beloved community. During his matriculation at Morehouse, Crozier Theological Seminary and Boston University, King studied the works of philosophers such as Hobbes, Rousseau, Marx, Kant, and Nietzsche; however, the philosophies of Henry David Thoreau, Martin Buber and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel profoundly impacted King's use of reason as a source to his vision of the Beloved Community.

King's first introduction to nonviolence and resistance occurred while a student at Morehouse College when he read Henry David Thoreau's *Essay on Civil Disobedience* which taught it was irrational for humanity to cooperate with an evil system.⁹¹ In King's philosophy Thoreau is considered one of the big three along with Jesus and Gandhi.

While a student at Crozier, King adopted the philosophy of *personalism* set forth by Martin Buber. Buber's doctrine asserts that humanity "must look to the personality for the meaning of the universe, and not only man but God too is supremely personal."⁹² As a result King's adoption of *personalism*, two convictions were shaped: "Personalism gave me metaphysical and philosophical

⁹¹ Hanes Walton, Jr. *The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.* 41 (1971) Greenwood Publishing Corporation. Westport, CT.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 44

grounding for the idea of a personal God, and it gave me a metaphysical basis for the dignity and worth of all human personality.”⁹³

The philosopher that enabled him to manage different and conflicting theologies, philosophies and perspectives was the philosophy of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. King’s reading of Hegel contributed to structuring his political philosophy.⁹⁴ King believes life is a “creative synthesis of opposites in fruitful harmony.” King’s belief is based on the Hegelian methodology which states, “that truth is found neither in the thesis nor the antithesis, but in an emergent synthesis which reconciles the two.”⁹⁵ The Hegelian methodology allowed King to rationally critique and access the value of other perspectives for the dismissal of one could comprise truth.

I believe King’s vision of the Beloved Community is a model response to the intransigencies that the world witnessed in Darfur. This way of life evolved from King’s experience in the civil rights movement and the antiwar movement of Vietnam can address all the intransigencies that have occurred in the Darfur crisis: war, oppression and poverty. It also can address the roles of the oppressed and oppressor involved in the conflict. King’s vision of the Beloved Community is a way of life that possesses fluidity. As a way of life, it requires the discipline to eternally strive for a *telos* that is beyond our own existence indicative of the virtue of altruism.

King’s moral vision of the Beloved Community is a methodology that responds to the injustices of the world in manner that holds the purveyors of

⁹³ Ibid., 44

⁹⁴ Ibid., 44

⁹⁵ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Strength to Love* 13 (1963) Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA

injustice accountable for their actions without seeking their destruction. It is a discipline that empowers the utilizer to embrace their own self-worth as well as recognize that the purveyor's unjust acts do not define the totality of their character. The Beloved Community enjoins its followers to seek relationship with all humanity, friend and foe and love one another fully in the spirit of the Kingdom of God for Luke 17:20 states, "...the kingdom of God is among you."

The elements of King's Beloved Community; scripture, tradition, experience and reason, are applicable to the Darfur crisis. The theological presuppositions King raised from scripture speak directly to the injustices of the Sudanese counter-insurgency policy in Darfur. King's experience as a human rights advocate during the Civil Rights Movement and Vietnam War can offer insight in the management of the systemic racism and human rights violations that are ongoing in Darfur. Finally, King's utilization of theological, political and philosophical traditions can also be utilized in Darfur to better discern and alleviate the root causes associated with the crisis.

Since we have an understanding of the history and current affairs associated with people and genocide of Darfur set forth in chapter two as well as an understanding of the foundation of King's vision in this chapter, I am now prepared to critique the crisis in Darfur through the eyes of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Chapter 4

An Analysis of the Darfur Crisis Through the Eyes of Martin Luther King, Jr.

On December 25, 2011, Khalili Ibrahim, leader of the Darfuri rebel group, Justice Equality Movement (J.E.M.) was assassinated by a Sudanese government aerial bombardment. Minni Minnawi, leader of the other Darfuri rebel group, Sudanese Liberation Movement (S.L.M.) said the death of Ibrahim would not only impede the peace process in Darfur, but also deepen the crisis.⁹⁶ Ibrahim experienced the same fate thousands of Darfuri civilians had by the Sudanese government. The war between the J.E.M.-S.L.M. rebels and the Sudanese government is ongoing. The Darfur crisis is by far one of the most complex situations the world has witnessed. The initial atrocities committed by the Sudanese government and Janjaweed from 2003 to 2007 claimed over 300,000 lives. However, what about the current affairs in Darfur? After the I.C.C. charged him for war crimes and crimes against humanity in 2008, President Bashir still remains in power and continues to act with impunity. So if Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. were alive today, how would he view the Darfur crisis? What issues involving the Darfur crisis would he address? Why would his vision of the Beloved Community be an ideal lens to view the crisis?

The issues revolving around the Darfur crisis are issues King discussed before in his life. In addition to his work during the civil rights movement, King also was a staunch opponent to the evils associated with war; in particular the atrocities the United States government was committing during the Vietnam War.

⁹⁶ *All African News*. (2011) <http://allafrica.com/stories/201112260326.html> (access March 15, 2012)

It is my opinion that King would consolidate his experience during the civil rights movement and his anti-war position in Vietnam in viewing the Darfur Crisis.

Why? The Darfur crisis is a combination of and parallel to the societal ills associated with segregation during the civil rights movement and the atrocities of war in Vietnam. The societal ills of racism, classism, and violence against women, poverty, and war crimes are all ingredients of this human rights crisis. In my final chapter, I will draw the parallels between the American Civil Rights Movement-Vietnam War and the Darfur human rights crisis.

Jim Crow Segregation – Sudanese East-West Dichotomy Parallel

The Jim Crow system in America was an era in which Whites and African-Americans were prohibited from sharing public facilities and a time when African-Americans were disenfranchised from the political process. Jim Crow refers to a system sanctioned by the *Plessey vs. Ferguson* Supreme Court ruling in 1898 where Americans can live “separate and equal.” The Darfur parallel to Jim Crow occurred after its annexation to Sudan in 1916. A political and cultural dichotomy between Darfur and the central government of Khartoum was established by the colonial practices of the British and later adopted by the Sudanese government in the 1950’s. While Khartoum and the Blue Nile region of Sudan were developed, Darfur in its isolation to serve as a security buffer for Britain remained undeveloped. Immediately, a stigma existed in which citizens of Khartoum and the riverside states were called *awlad-al-beled*, children of the country and Darfuris *al-gharb*, children of the west. This British colonial practice and later Sudanese indoctrination became Darfur’s *Plessey vs. Ferguson*.

The above parallel summation between Jim Crow and the Sudanese East-West dichotomy would be one made through the eyes of King. In *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community*, King describes the history responsible for such “unequal” systems in American and Darfur, “For more than two hundred years before the Declaration of Independence, Africa had been raped and plundered by Britain and Europe, her native kingdoms disorganized, and her people and rulers demoralized. For a hundred years afterward, the infamous trade continued in America virtually without abatement, even after it had ceased to be legal on this continent.”⁹⁷ As mentioned earlier, the Sudanese East-West dichotomy is not based on racism since prior to annexation, Darfuri Africans and Arabs were able to co-exist and self-govern; however, the implications associated with it are very similar to the effects of Jim Crow on African-Americans. King would recognize the isolation of Darfur by Britain and the Sudanese central government resulted from indoctrination that separate people based on perceived superior and inferior qualities while maintaining a notion of a unified Sudan. King states, “thus through two centuries a continuous indoctrination of Americans has separated people according to mythically superior and inferior qualities while a democratic spirit of equality was evoked as the national ideal.”⁹⁸ King would recognize this duality as deeply rooted to the factors that led to the crimes against humanity in Darfur. This duality in Darfur unfortunately evolved from an unjust ethnic isolation from the remainder of

⁹⁷ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?*, 71 (1967) Harper & Row Publishers, New York, NY

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 80

Sudan into an internal, visceral form of racism injected by regional power players in my next parallel.

Racism and Cold War Politics and Libya and Chad's involvement in the Darfuri Arab-African Polarization Parallel

The next parallel is the epitome of why King's civil rights and anti-war experience should be consolidated when viewing the Darfur crisis. Here, like the violence African-Americans faced in the south by the Ku Klux Klan, Darfuri Africans faced violence at the hands of the Arab Janjaweed militia; both perpetrators of violence were motivated by racist ideology as well as their actions endorsed by their respective systems of law; Jim Crow in the American South and the counter-insurgency policy of the Sudanese government. In addition to the heightened racist hostility, America and Sudan were involved in dangerous international politics. During the civil rights movement, the Cold War between America and the Soviet Union and China was also taking place while Vietnam served as the battleground of that day. The racist violence committed by Janjaweed militia in Darfur was a byproduct of the tension between two nations, one Arab, Libya and one African, Chad while Darfur served as its battleground. King skillfully addressed the issues of racism and dangerous international politics in his *Drum Major Instinct* sermon. The premise of King's sermon was that societal ills such as racism and war derive from a "perverted drum major instinct." On the topic of racism King states, "Do you know that a lot of the race problem grows out of the drum major instinct? A need that some people have to feel superior. A need that some people have to feel that they are first, and to feel that

their white skin ordained them to be first.”⁹⁹ On the topic of the competing interest of nations, King states “And not only does this thing go into the racial struggle, it goes into the struggle between nations. And I would submit to you this morning that what is wrong in the world today is that the nations of the world are engaged in a bitter, colossal contest for supremacy.”¹⁰⁰ In this parallel I will unpack the societal ills of racism and war through the eyes of King.

Regardless if we are on the riverbanks of the Mississippi in America or the Nile in Sudan, the impact of racism on its victims are all the same. King had the opportunity to read Dr. George Kelsey’s book, *Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man*. King lamented on Kelsey’s definition of racism:

Racism is a faith. It is a form of idolatry....In its early modern beginnings, racism was a justificatory device. It did not emerge as a faith. It arose as an ideological justification for the constellations of political and economic power which were expressed in colonialism and slavery. But gradually the idea of the superior race was heightened and deepened in meaning and value so that it pointed beyond the historical structures of relation, in which it emerged, to human existence itself.¹⁰¹

King also used Ruth Benedict’s definition of racism in her book *Race: Science and Politics* as,

The dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to hereditary inferiority and another group is destined to hereditary superiority. It is the dogma that the hope of civilization depends upon eliminating some races and keeping others pure. It is the dogma that one race has carried progress throughout human history and can alone ensure future progress.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Martin Luther King, Jr. *The Drum Major Instinct* (February 4, 1968) Martin Luther King, Jr. and The Global Freedom Struggle http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_the_drum_major_instinct/ (access December 13, 2011)

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 69

¹⁰² Ibid., 69

Racial hostility African-American and Darfuri Africans experience in their respective nations by their oppressors clearly matched every element of Kelsey's and Benedict's definitions. Just as King witnessed the economic and political impact of racism against African-Americans, being the marginalized people condemned by nature, King too would see the same impacts of racism on Darfuri Africans. Already marginalized as Darfuri and further marginalized as African, Darfuri Africans had limited political power resulting in the Darfur rebellion by J.E.M and S.L.M. forces. Also, being limited to an agrarian economy, this means of sustainability was taken away during the Sudanese counter-insurgency when the Sudanese Air Force and Janjaweed militia killed and forced Darfuri Africans from their land. The pattern of killing, forced rape and displacement of Darfuri Africans by the Janjaweed and Sudanese government is an example how each of them believe the hope of their civilization depends on the annihilation Darfuri Africans. The atrocity of genocide was not foreign to King when he stated,

Since racism is based on the dogma "that the hope of civilization depends upon eliminating some races and keeping others pure," its ultimate logic is genocide. Hitler, in his mad and ruthless attempt to exterminate Jews, carried the logic of racism to its ultimate tragic conclusions. While America has not literally sought to eliminate the Negro in this final sense, it has through the system of segregation, substituted and subtle reduction of life by means of deprivation.¹⁰³

Here King revealed the obvious form and the latent form of genocide. Both forms of genocide, direct violence and systemic reduction of life are both evil; unfortunately for the people of Darfur, they have experienced both forms. So, what would be the latent form of genocide in Darfur that King would recognize? In spite of Sudanese President Al-Bashir's conviction of war crimes and crimes

¹⁰³ Ibid., 70

against humanity by the International Criminal Court in 2008, the crisis in Darfur still continues due to the unaccounted loss of life from malnutrition, communicable diseases and violence that exist in IDP and refugee camps. Darfur is a region that is a chaotic microcosm of brutality which has replaced hope of human dignity with an eternal nightmare of despair for its victims. The consequences from the form of genocide through direct violence have sustained a latent genocide from King's revelation; manufactured poverty as a result of African Darfuris being forced from their homes. It is this type of racial hostility that created the Janjaweed from a perverted drum major instinct, a desire for the Arab Darfuri to be superior to their fellow African Darfuri. As a result of this hatred, the Janjaweed discovered an opportunity that compelled them to murder and rape African Darfuris in an attempt to acquire land.¹⁰⁴ The intentional displacement of African Darfuris by the Sudanese-Janjaweed counter-insurgency led to these conditions. The systematic driving of people from their homes without food and water has provided an undesirable insurance that more lives will be lost; an amount that will rival the 300,000 that were already lost. The numbers of deaths that resulted from the conditions in IDP and refugees camps are on a fast track to exceed the 300,000 deaths that occurred from the counter-insurgency between 2003 and 2005. As I mentioned earlier, the Janjaweed utilized their participation in the counter-insurgency to acquire land in the region. Considering the scarcity of land and water in Darfur, it is foreseeable to see

¹⁰⁴ Martin Luther King, Jr. *The Drum Major Instinct* (February 4, 1968) Martin Luther King, Jr. and The Global Freedom Struggle http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_the_drum_major_instinct/ (access February 11, 2012)

further loss of life to villagers in the region that were immediately forced from their homes without alternatives to sustain their welfare. How could the intentional extermination of African Darfuris occur to acquire land in a region as large as France? What is most sad about that state of affairs in Darfur is that the nomadic Arab tribesman who are members of the Janjaweed are also marginalized; victims of the Sudanese government's manipulation to commit these atrocities. The atrocities committed by a marginalized group like the Janjaweed is very similar to poor whites in the southern United States that were some of the worst purveyors of violence against African-Americans. King discussed this irony in his *Drum Major Instinct* sermon. Here is the exchange between King and a white warden while he was in jail in Birmingham:

The other day I was saying, I always try to do a little converting when I'm in jail. And when we were in jail in Birmingham the other day, the white wardens and all enjoyed coming around the cell to talk about the race problem. And they were showing us where we were so wrong demonstrating. And they were showing us where segregation was so right. And they were showing us where intermarriage was so wrong. So I would get to preaching, and we would get to talking—calmly, because they wanted to talk about it. And then we got down one day to the point—that was the second or third day—to talk about where they lived, and how much they were earning. And when those brothers told me what they were earning, I said, "Now, you know what? You ought to be marching with us. [*laughter*] You're just as poor as Negroes." And I said, "You are put in the position of supporting your oppressor, because through prejudice and blindness, you fail to see that the same forces that oppress Negroes in American society oppress poor white people. (Yes) And all you are living on is the satisfaction of your skin being white, and the drum major instinct of thinking that you are somebody big because you are white. And you're so poor you can't send your children to school. You ought to be out here marching with every one of us every time we have a march."

"Now that's a fact. That the poor white has been put into this position, where through blindness and prejudice, (*Make it plain*) he is forced to support his oppressors. And the only thing he has going for him is the false feeling that he's superior because his skin is white—and can't hardly eat and make his ends meet week in and week out. (*Amen*)¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

King would assert when a community lives contrary to the message in 1 Corinthians 12:12 “For just as the body is one and has many members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ.” It is not only contrary to the will of God. Like the example of the Janjaweed in Darfur and the poor white in Birmingham, it defies logic.

In addition to the Janjaweed actions, President Bashir introduces another form of latent genocide, intimidation. After the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for committing war crimes and crimes against humanity in March of 2009, President al-Bashir expelled 13 international NGOs from Darfur. NGOs provided vital care and aid to refugees and IDPs. Any interruption to aid can be life threatening. The relationship between media coverage and previous expulsion of NGOs from Darfur is the expulsions were a form of intimidation to aid workers by the Sudanese government in order to deter accurate reporting of true mortality rates in Darfur. A report as recent as April 2011 states, “Since then few reports have been published on the humanitarian situation in the region. News agencies have very limited access, and aid agencies are reluctant to speak out for fear they will be expelled.”¹⁰⁶ Expulsion of NGOs can create obvious gaps in aid which can spike more malnutrition and communicable diseases. The Humanitarian Policy Group reported that UN agencies will only be able to cover 20-30% of the shortfall in humanitarian aid as

¹⁰⁶ *AlertNet* (2011) <http://www.trust.org/alertnet/crisis-centre/crisis/darfur-conflict> (accessed February 11, 2012)

a result from the NGO expulsions by the Sudanese government.¹⁰⁷ The Sudanese policy of expelling NGOs happened as recently as January 2011 when our very own Catholic Relief Services were expelled from Darfur until April of 2011. Catholic Relief Services provide food, water and other aid to over 400,000 Darfuris.¹⁰⁸

The indirect and long-term impacts of war's overall human cost are often grievously under-estimated.¹⁰⁹ It is foreseeable that consequences in direct conflict such as destruction of infrastructure and shelter would result in further deaths, thus becoming the proximate cause of future collateral damage. The indirect, war-related deaths from this manufactured poverty are alarming. According to one source, since 2004, over 70,000 refugees died. Of the 70,000 refugee casualties in refugee camps compared to 10,500 refugees died from direct violence. The remainder of the refugee deaths resulted from diarrhea, fever and respiratory diseases.¹¹⁰ At this pace, the mortality rates of displaced African Darfuris will be substantially higher than in the initial genocide.

A perverted *Drum Major Instinct* in what King referred to as the struggle among nations also deviates from our innate capacity of humanity to live in

¹⁰⁷ Sara Pantuliano, Susanne Jaspars, Deepayan Basu Ray. *Where to Now? Agency Expulsion in Sudan: Consequences and Next Steps* (2008) <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/docs/4190.pdf> (accessed February 11, 2012)

¹⁰⁸ Catholic Relief Services. *Catholic Relief Services Forced to Close Food Program in Darfur* (March 26, 2011) <http://crs.org/newsroom/releases/release.cfm?id=2115> (accessed February 11, 2012)

¹⁰⁹ Oskar NT Thomas and James Ron. *Debate Public health, conflict and human rights: toward a collaborative research agenda*, (2007);, <http://www.conflictandhealth.com/content/1/1/11> (accessed February 11, 2012)

¹¹⁰ Naomi Koppel. *The World Revolution* (October 15, 2004) <http://www.worldrevolution.org/article/1563> (accessed February 11, 2012)

fellowship. King spoke about this danger in the struggle among nations from this excerpt of his sermon referring to the United States role in Vietnam:

But this is why we are drifting. And we are drifting there because nations are caught up with the drum major instinct. "I must be first." "I must be supreme." "Our nation must rule the world." (*Preach it*) And I am sad to say that the nation in which we live is the supreme culprit. And I'm going to continue to say it to America, because I love this country too much to see the drift that it has taken. God didn't call America to do what she's doing in the world now. (*Preach it, preach it*) God didn't call America to engage in a senseless, unjust war as the war in Vietnam. And we are criminals in that war. We've committed more war crimes almost than any nation in the world, and I'm going to continue to say it. And we won't stop it because of our pride and our arrogance as a nation.¹¹¹

The polarization between African and Arab Darfuris was a byproduct of the war between Libya and Chad in the 1970s. Amid the disorganization and isolation of Darfur from the rest of Sudan, Colonel Muammar Ghadaffi of Libya desired to consolidate Sudan, in particularly Darfur with Libya. In his vision to create an "Islamic Pan-African Legion" (African referring to the continent not the race) by arming Arab tribes in Darfur.¹¹² The influx of arms to Darfuri Arabs made occasional, minor tensions among Arab herders and African farmers over land and water rights to a more aggressive campaign that evolved into what was to become the Janjaweed. Ghadaffi's Chadian longtime rival, Idriss Dèby has had a substantial history in Darfuri politics.¹¹³ First, Dèby in spite of being Christian, is a member of the Zaghawa, one of the largest African tribes in Darfur. As a matter of fact many of the members of the J.E.M. belong to the Zaghawa tribe. This is normal since Chad and Darfur share an immediate border along

¹¹¹ Martin Luther King, Jr. *The Drum Major Instinct* (February 4, 1968) Martin Luther King, Jr. and The Global Freedom Struggle http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_the_drum_major_instinct/ (access February 11, 2012)

¹¹²Richard Cockett. *Sudan Darfur and the Failure of an African State* 46 - 47(Yale University Press New Haven and London, 2010)

¹¹³ Ibid.,

with a common heritage. Also, the coup that brought Dèby into power in Chad was launched in Darfur. As soon as tensions began to rise between African and Arab Darfuris, Dèby armed the J.E.M. rebels. What is most shameful about this political struggle, for the exception of a few minor tensions between Arab nomadic herders and African farmers, Arab and African Darfuris lived in peace. Arab and African Darfuris shared a common religion in Islam and as a matter of fact, Arabs and Africans intermarried. Like America's role in Vietnam War, Darfur served as the battleground for proxy wars between Libya and Chad; a struggle of two nations based on each other's arrogance and pride from the Pan-Arabism rhetoric of Muammar Ghadaffi to the Zaghawa tribal solidarity of Idriss Dèby.

The White Response to the Civil Rights Movement – International Community's Response to the Darfur Genocide Parallel

My final parallel in viewing the Darfur crisis through the eyes of Martin Luther King Jr. is the dynamic associated with human rights movements. King recognized some of the challenges associated with whites who participated in the civil rights movement. Some of those challenges are latent prejudices, their acquiescence to the injustices African-Americans face. King states, "in a sense the white liberal has been victimized with some of the same ambivalence that has been a constant part of our national heritage."¹¹⁴ As for Darfur, the parallel with the civil rights movement in America lies in the acquiescence of the international community to allow President Bashir to act with impunity from 2003 to 2007. Participants of a movement that do not share the identity of the

¹¹⁴ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?*, 88 - 89 (1967) Harper & Row Publishers, New York, NY

oppressed often times are confronted with the challenge of having their self-interest comprised or experience a transformation in their role as soon as the oppressed develop their voice. What King is referring to is love based on condition. King states, "Love at its best is justice concretized. Love is unconditional. It is not conditional upon one's staying in his place or watering down his demands in order to be considered respected. He who contends that he "used to love the Negro, but..." did not truly love him in the beginning, because his love was conditioned upon the Negroes' limited demands for justice."¹¹⁵ As for Darfur, the international community's "love by condition" impeded the possibility of the international community preventing the genocide. Some concerns were legitimate, such as respecting the sovereignty of the Sudanese government and the concern of nations having their citizens lose their life if military intervention in Darfur was exercised. However, there are several issues involving the international community King would consider acquiescence. Former Deputy Director of the Council of Foreign Relations and current Ambassador of Poland, Lee Feinstein specified four reinforcing problems resulting from genocidal events in Darfur: "states of different cultures and economic circumstances continue to pursue ethnic cleansing as a national security strategy; prevailing international rules and practices have been a bar to international action and an excuse not to respond in cases where states do not believe their national interests are at stake; international capacity to act, especially regional capacity, is limited and ad hoc, a function of poor planning and deliberate political choices; public support to take action to prevent mass

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 90

atrocities is episodic or nonexistent and the result and product of a historic lack of political leadership around the world.”¹¹⁶ There are several examples of acquiescence King would point out in the international community’s response to the Darfur crisis. One example King would point out is the United Nations and the International Criminal Court failure to rule the crisis in Darfur genocide. Another example of acquiescence King would identify is the United States involvement in the Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement securing coveted intelligence from the Sudanese government on al-Qaeda. Another example of acquiescence King would identify is China’s failure to act in Darfur in order to preserve its economic interest. A final example of acquiescence King would identify in the international community’s response to the Darfur crisis is the Arab Union’s failure to respond to the Darfur crisis because to do so would jeopardize the possibility of Sudan to become an Islamic state.

In spite of these compelling challenges, King would want us to press on because his vision of the Beloved Community is not a silver bullet against social injustice and human rights violations, but it is a way of life that requires patience and an eternal life commitment. We have now recognized the societal ills associated with the Darfur crisis through the eyes of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; however, would King be able to offer solutions to this ongoing crisis?

¹¹⁶ Lee Feinstein, *Darfur and Beyond – What is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities* CSR No. 22, 3 (January 2007 Council on Foreign Relations).

Chapter Five
Conclusion:
Is the Beloved Community Practical in the Darfur Crisis?

As my journey comes to end on whether King's vision of the Beloved Community can be applied to the Darfur, let's review what my research has revealed thus far. First, the eclectic nature of King's theology-philosophy makes it adaptable. Its principles can be embraced by all peoples and faiths. Next, the Beloved Community is a reflection of King's evolution as a Christian man from his experiences as a marginalized citizen during the Jim Crow era as well as an advocate against the unjust war in Vietnam. The elements in King's life that shaped his moral vision parallel the experiences the people of Darfur had to bear against the Sudanese government; however, what about the principle of *ahimsa*?

King's theology can be applicable in analyzing and identifying the root causes of the conflict in Darfur. However, can the nonviolent philosophy of King used during the Civil Rights Movement be applicable in the Darfur crisis? In his *A Time to Break Silence*, King offered the following resolution to stop the violence in Vietnam:

In order to atone for our sins and errors in Vietnam, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war. I would like to suggest five concrete things that our government should do immediately to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict:

- End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.
- Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.
- Take immediate steps to prevent other battlegrounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military buildup in Thailand and our interference in Laos.
- Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and in any future Vietnam government.

Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva agreement.¹¹⁷

After his untimely death in 1968, the Vietnam War continued until 1975. Just as in the Vietnam War, political parties and leaders to the conflict were unable to relinquish their respective positions to be right in order to establish peace. President Al-Bashir is committed to establish an Islamic state in Sudan (including Darfur) by any means. In order for any attempts for conflict transformation to occur, a willingness by each party to commit to peace means must exist. In spite of the atrocities that were committed against African American during the Civil Rights Movement in the South, the political structures in the South as well as the United States were stable. The stability of these political structures was based on the principles of our nation's Declaration of Independence and Constitution. In addition to the tradition of scripture, King utilized these principles as a basis for his reprieve to America to sustain liberty for African Americans. King held the government of the United States accountable for allowing the injustice of Jim Crow laws in the South. These laws are contrary to our nation's guarantee to preserve the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; however, the principles we see in America are not available in the current Sudanese regime. King's nonviolent tactics relied on the ability to mobilize a mass group of people in order to make nonviolent resistance effective. The ability to implement this in Darfur is not feasible due to the consequences

¹¹⁷ Martin Luther King, Jr. 1967. *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence*, Estate of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Intellectual Properties Management. Atlanta, GA
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm> (accessed February 28, 2012)

African Darfuris faced as a result from the Sudanese government's counter-insurgency. Mobilizing Darfuris to engage in nonviolent resistance is nearly impossible when 1.65 million Darfuris are internally displaced and over 200,000 are refugees in Chad and the Central African Republic. When life's priority for Darfuris who are among the internally displaced or refugees is securing food, water and shelter, a venue for nonviolent resistance is not sustainable. Sudan, a nation that was engaged in a civil war that claimed over 2 million people, does not have the political stability like the United States in order for a marginalized group to utilize nonviolent resistance. Also, the rebellion initiated by the JEM and the SLM against the Sudanese government was not pursued by nonviolent means but by armed conflict. It would be difficult to determine what would happen if the JEM and SLM initially used nonviolent resistance rather than take arms in their plea to the Sudanese government for justice.

It is my assessment of King's vision and the crisis in Darfur, (before *ahimsa* can be applied), several things must occur first. First, eliminate President al-Bashir's ability to commit human right atrocities with impunity. A civil rights movement in Darfur would not be feasible when a head of state like Bashir clearly does not appreciate the dignity of human life. In addition to Darfur, President al-Bashir is utilizing a similar policy in the South Kordofan region of Sudan. Since the government of Sudan continues to display an unwillingness to acknowledge the dignity of African Darfuris, nonviolent techniques such as the Kingian nonviolent training I received in September would not be feasible; however, several potential alternatives are available in establishing peace. First,

I would adopt the recommendation set forth by Ambassador Lee Feinstein. Feinstein stresses since genocide is an imminent threat, military options short of war should be available as deterrent to genocide. Feinstein bases this premise on the nation's responsibility to protect.¹¹⁸ In the event if a nation fails to or is unwilling to provide the basics needs for its citizens, then the necessity to compromise the nation's sovereignty should be reserved to prevent genocide; if not, the possibility of impunity would occur encouraging more atrocities.¹¹⁹ What Feinstein suggests to prevent impunity of a violating state is allow forcible humanitarian intervention to be an option once political and diplomatic options have been exhausted.¹²⁰ In his report, Feinstein uses the failure in Rwanda not to intervene with the successful intervention of NATO in Bosnia, but to demonstrate the consequences for inaction and action when states egregiously violate its citizens' human rights. In the event that forcible intervention is necessary, Feinstein recommends that peace keeping forces including the US should be trained and equipped to conduct stabilization and reconstruct missions.¹²¹

The next action that is needed before nonviolent resistance would be effective in Darfur is to have all the 2.6 million IDPs in Darfur and over 250,000 Darfuri refugees in neighboring Chad and the Central Republic of Africa return home. Once home, the government of Sudan must include all potential parties to

¹¹⁸ Lee Feinstein. *Darfur and Beyond – What is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities* CSR No. 22, 3 (January 2007 Council on Foreign Relations)

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 9

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 13

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 37

the conflict to the negotiation table. Nureidin Netabay's *The Darfur Peace Process: Understanding the Obstacles to Success* discuss the five contributing factors why peace initiatives have failed in Darfur: "mutual mistrust between the government of Sudan and the rebel movements; weakness of the mediation process; inconsistent strategy of participation; the fragmentation of the rebel movements; and the inability of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) to address power and resource-sharing, and security issues."¹²² The mutual mistrust according to Netabay includes the government's fear of uprising from other marginalized areas in Sudan and the rebel factions such as JEM and SLM/A mistrust of the Sudanese government due to the lack of representation in negotiations. The weakness in the mediation process stem from unskilled mediators as well as internal disputes from rebel factions. Finally, the inability of the Darfur Peace Agreement to address power and resource sharing is problematic because lack of clarity among the parties involved can lead to future conflicts. Netabay suggest the following to correct these five factors contributing to failed peace initiatives in Darfur: resource and power sharing must be address immediately, mediators should engage grass roots communities such as religious leaders all peace negotiations must be inclusive.¹²³

Based on the recommendations Netabay provided; can we find a slice of the Beloved Community in Darfur? According to Khalid Ali El Amin, hope does exist in making peace initiatives in Darfur more effective. El Amin introduces

¹²² Nureidin Netabay. *The Darfur Peace Process: Understanding the Obstacles to Success* (2009) http://www.beyondintractability.org/case_studies/darfur_peace_process.jsp?nid=6823 (accessed November 11, 2011)

¹²³ Ibid.

such hope in his article *Darfur, Grand Conflict: Inter-Communal Rift and Grass-root Initiatives for Reconciliation*. In his article, El Amin address the break down in previous peace initiatives resulted from political and sectional elite domination; however, the reconciliation efforts in grass roots have succeeded in spite of their lack of attention. This peace initiative allows communities to address their needs to those in power to influence their decision.¹²⁴ The motivating factor behind some of these Darfuri communities is the economic interdependence among African peasants and Arab herders. For example, the Sudanese government involvement in displacing African tribes created an undue burden on Arab pastoralist that depended on the African farming communities for food supplies and other goods and services.¹²⁵ Finally in spite of occasional conflict between African peasants and Arab pastoralists, these groups were able to reconcile these conflicts without violence which led El Amin to make the following recommendations: “local leaders should be empowered to preserve peace and security in Darfur; local leadership should be involved with the administration of justice; local leaders not social elites should represent the interests of their communities; the communal groups within the regions should establish post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction projects for establishing sustainable peace.”¹²⁶

Since the Sudanese counter-insurgency in 2003, a reduction of atrocities has occurred. The hybrid coalition of the African Union and United Nations, the

¹²⁴ Khalid Ali Amin. *Internal-Communal Rift and Grass-root Initiatives for Reconciliation* (2010) 93 African Peace and Conflict Journal, 3:2

¹²⁵ Ibid., 96

¹²⁶ Ibid., 105

United Nations African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) has been in Darfur assisting with the protection of Darfuri civilians. The majority of international NGOs are back in Darfur providing aid to thousands of refugees and IDPs in the region. The efforts of the Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement brought a referendum to the people of southern Sudan to voice their destiny which resulted in a new nation, South Sudan; however, peace has yet to be achieved in Darfur. The regional dichotomy, racial polarization and the overshadowing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement above two Darfuri peace agreements has established a mutual mistrust between the government of Sudan and the Darfuri rebel movements.

In addition to the daily risks associated with refugees and IDPs from malnutrition and communicable diseases, Darfuri refugees and IDPs are still subject to attack by Janjaweed militia. As for peace in Darfur, two Darfur Peace Agreements, the Abuja Agreement of May 2006 between Sudanese government and SLMA faction, Minnawi and the Dohu Agreement in July of 2011 between the Sudanese government and the Liberation Justice Movement (LJM), have been deemed ineffective due to weaknesses of the mediation process; inconsistent strategy of participation; the fragmentation of the rebel movements; and the inability of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) to address power and resource-sharing, and security issues.¹²⁷ The indictment of President al-Bashir

¹²⁷ Nureidin Netabay. *The Darfur Peace Process: Understanding the Obstacles to Success* (May 2009) http://www.beyondintractability.org/case_studies/darfur_peace_process.jsp?nid=6823. (accessed on December 11, 2011)

by the International Criminal Court for war crimes and crimes against humanity has not deterred the government's violation of Darfuri African's human rights. With the increase of Darfuri refugees and IDPs as well as the interruption of aid by government expulsion of NGOs, it appears the UN Commission not ruling the Darfur crisis genocide has created a degree of impunity for President al-Bashir. The international community must be open to new methods of research and collaborative research in conflict matters to evaluate its collateral health implications that could also constitute continued human rights violations. Accurate reporting of mortality is a challenge for the crisis in Darfur. Madelyn Hsiao-Rei Hicks and Michael Spagat offer a tool that may be able to fill the gap of mortality data. The "Dirty War Index" (DWI), "a data driven public health tool that measures populations during war (e.g., civilian death, child injury, or torture)."¹²⁸ (Hsiao-Rei Hicks & Spagat 2008, 1658) The formula for the "Dirty War Index" (DWI) is calculated as:

$$\text{DWI} = \frac{\text{Number of "dirty," i.e., undesirable or prohibited cases}}{\text{Total Number of cases}} \times 100$$

My introduction of the "Dirty War Index" is to serve as a potential tool to measure mortality rates associated with human rights violations. For Darfur, it is difficult to get an accurate number of casualties due to absence of independent observers;

¹²⁸ Madelyn Hsiao-Rei Hicks, Michael Spagat. *The Dirty War Index: A Public Health and Human Rights Tool for Examining and Monitoring Armed Conflicts Outcomes*, volume 5, issue 12, e243 (December 2008) www.plosmedicine.org. (accessed December 11, 2011)

however, the majority of the deaths in Darfur have been civilian. For calculation purpose for Darfur, I will use a testimonial from Human Rights Watch.

“Ahmed M., 60 told Human Rights Watch how on February 3 the militia forces surrounded his village, looted property, arrested a group of Zaghawa men, and shot six of them dead.¹²⁹

The example is a typical raid on a village by Janjaweed militia. The total number of casualties would be six. There was no military/rebel personnel involved, so the calculation would go as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Number of "dirty," i.e., undesirable or prohibited cases –} \\ \text{6 Zaghawa civilian deaths} \\ \\ \text{DWI} = \frac{\text{Total Number of cases - 6 deaths}}{\text{Total Number of cases - 6 deaths}} \times 100 \\ \text{100} = 100\% \end{array}$$

Based on the above example, this incident between the Zaghawa villagers and Janjaweed militia would be 100%, the worst score any one could have constituting an overt violation of human rights in combat situation. The DWI formula can be applied to all the “undesirable-prohibited” acts of war in Darfur including indirect war related deaths resulting from destruction of villages (for the

¹²⁹ Human Rights Watch (2011)
<http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/sudan0611webwcover.pdf> (accessed December 11, 2011)

DWI, the destruction of infrastructure essential for civilian survival such as food and water sources).¹³⁰

Finally, the international community must follow El Amin's recommendations for peace initiatives to be thorough and inclusive to grass roots communities. Genocide is too great an issue to allow ineffectiveness in evaluation and prevention methodologies; for when human dignity is at issue, due diligence and care are paramount. It will require a paradigm shift in how the world responds to manufactured poverty caused by war and genocide. World leaders must inspire its citizens that crisis in Darfur is not just a Darfuri issue, a Sudanese issue, or an African issue, but it is an issue that belongs to the entire world. The world must treat and see every person in the world as a neighbor and invoke mercy and compassion. Martin Luther King Jr. speaks of this obligation to invoke mercy and compassion for all humanity in *The World House*. King focuses on the moral fact that all humanity is made in the image of God that bestows an "infinite metaphysical value" in all of us. As a result of that moral fact, King states, "we cannot be content to see men hungry, to see men victimized with ill-health, when we have the means to help them."¹³¹

Interdependence exists in all humanity. In order for the world to end genocide and the other evils associate with it, we must take ownership of this crisis as our own, just as in 1 Corinthians 12:12-13. The world is one, just as the body is one and has many nations like members of the body and all the nations of the world,

¹³⁰ Madelyn Hsaiao-Rei Hicks, Michael Spagat. *The Dirty War Index: A Public Health and Human Rights Tool for Examining and Monitoring Armed Conflicts Outcomes*, volume 5, issue 12, e243 (December 2008) www.plosmedicine.org. (accessed December 11, 2011)

¹³¹ Martin Luther King Jr., *The World House*, p. 8, copy right 1967 heirs to the estate of Martin Luther King Jr.

though many are one world, one body in Christ. When we accept this commission as members of the “World House” an establishment of the Kingdom of God is in our mist. Our success in accepting this commission is inevitable for King, in his vision of the Beloved Community made us realize “the arc of the moral universe may be long but it bends toward justice.”¹³²

¹³² *Quoteland.com* 2012. <http://forum.quoteland.com/eve/forums/a/tpc/f/99191541/m/8511049341> (accessed April 2, 2012)

Bibliography

1. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 1998. <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/criminalcourt.htm>
2. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1968. *The Drum Major Instinct* Martin Luther King, Jr. and The Global Freedom Struggle http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_the_drum_major_instinct/
3. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1967. *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence*, Estate of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Intellectual Properties Management. Atlanta, GA
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm>
4. Crisis Guide 2009. *Darfur* Council on Foreign Relations – updated 2009
<http://www.cfr.org/sudan/crisis-guide-darfur/p13129>
5. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights,
<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Introduction.aspx>
6. International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur, January 25, 2005,
http://www.un.org/News/dh/sudan/com_inq_darfur.pdf
7. UN Documents 1948. Gathering a Body of Global Agreements, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,
<http://www.un-documents.net/cppcg.htm>
8. Kenneth Smith 1974. *Search For the Beloved Community-The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Judson Press, Valley Forge, PA
9. Bernard LaFayette, Jr. and David Jehnsen 2003. *The Briefing Booklet, A 2 Day Orientation to Kingian Nonviolence Conflict Reconciliation – 1st ed.*, 20 Institute for Human Rights and Responsibilities, Inc. IHRR Publications Galena, OH
10. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1967. *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* Harper & Row Publishers, New York, NY
11. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1963. *Strength to Love* Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA

12. M.K. Gandhi 1930. "Some Rules of Satyagraha" *Young India (Navajivan)* 23 February 1930 *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* vol. 48
13. Alex de Waal 2006. *Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African Identities, Violence and External Engagement*, http://www.justiceafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2006/07/DeWaal_WhoAretheDarfurians.pdf
14. R.S. O'Fahey 2008. *The Darfur Sultanate. A History* Columbia University Press. New York, 244
15. Julie Flint and Alex de Waal 2005. *Darfur A Short History of a Long War* Zed Books London and New York
16. Richard Cockett 2010. *Sudan Darfur and the Failure of an African State* Yale University Press New Haven and London
17. AlertNet 2011. <http://www.trust.org/alertnet/crisis-centre/crisis/darfur-conflict>
18. Sara Pantuliano, Susanne Jaspars, Deepayan Basu Ray 2008. *Where to Now? Agency Expulsion in Sudan: Consequences and Next Steps* <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/docs/4190.pdf>
19. Catholic Relief Services 2011. *Catholic Relief Services Forced to Close Food Program in Darfur* <http://crs.org/newsroom/releases/release.cfm?id=2115>
20. Rebecca Hamilton 2011. *Fighting for Darfur Public Action and Struggle to Stop Genocide* Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY
21. Hanes Walton, Jr. 1971. *The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Greenwood Publishing Corporation. Westport, CT.
22. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1963. "I Have a Dream" <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihavedream.htm>
23. Howard Thurman, 1976. *Jesus and the Disinherited* Beacon Press, Boston, MA
24. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1958. *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story, Martin Luther King Jr.* Harper & Row Publishers, New York, NY
25. All African News 2011. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201112260326.html>

26. Lee Feinstein 2007. *Darfur and Beyond – What is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities* CSR No. 22, 3 January 2007 Council on Foreign Relations.
27. Nuredin Netabay 2009. *The Darfur Peace Process: Understanding the Obstacles to Success*
http://www.beyondintractability.org/case_studies/darfur_peace_process.jsp?nid=6823
28. Madelyn Hsaiao-Rei Hicks, Michael Spagat 2008. *The Dirty War Index: A Public Health and Human Rights Tool for Examining and Monitoring Armed Conflicts Outcomes*, volume 5, issue 12, e243
www.plosmedicine.org.
29. Human Rights Watch
2011. (<http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/sudan0611webwcover.pdf>)
30. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1967. *The World House*, Estate of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Intellectual Properties Management. Atlanta, GA
31. *Quoteland.com* 2012.
<http://forum.quoteland.com/eve/forums/a/tpc/f/99191541/m/8511049341>