

**NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
MASTER'S PROGRAMME**

**How the United Nations facilitate the conflict resolution process? The Case of
Darfur.**

**PREPARED BY
Johannes Chimhanda**

**SUPERVISOR
ASSOC. PROF.DR. ZELIHA KHASHMAN**

**NICOSIA
2017**

**NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**International Relations Master Program
Thesis Defence**

**How the United Nations facilitate the conflict resolution process? The Case of
Darfur.**

**We certify the thesis is satisfactory for the award of degree of
Master of INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**Prepared by
Johannes Chimhanda**

Examining Committee in charge

Dr. Bilge Azgin

**Near East University
Department of Political Science**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zeliha Khashman

**Near East University
Department of International
Relations**

Assit.Prof.Dr. Dilek Latif

**Near East University
Department of International
Relations**

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa SAĞSAN

Acting Director

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents Mr and Mrs Chimhanda and my family for all the support they give me all times.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all, I would like to take this opportunity to give praise to the Almighty who have taken me this far and gave me the ability and potential to complete my Masters thesis. My sincere and heart-felt gratitude is extended to the Near East University International Relations teaching staff for their cooperation and patience during the period I have been taking my program courses. I am truly grateful for all your efforts you gave molding me into what I am today. To all the Near East University staff, I would to thank you all for the conducive atmospheric prevalence that you have provided me with thereby putting my mind at ease and also making me feel at home in a foreign land. Basically, I would be out of my mind if I were not to pass a gesture of thanks to the following experts:

Dr. Bilge Azgin

Assit. Prof. Dr. Direnc Kanol

Assit. Prof. Dr. Sevki Kiralp

Special mention goes to my mentor, my lecturer and my thesis supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zeliha Khashman. You have shown unwavering support, encouragement and love to keep me going until I finish my thesis, thank you so much.

Mr and Mrs Manhanga, I don't know how to thank you for all the love and financial support that you have given me. Without you, this wouldn't have been a success. May God richly bless you.

To all my friends and also those who participated in the research Dorothy Chinozho and Macmillan Nyamukondiwa, thank you for your cooperation and everyone whom I have not mentioned specifically, your contribution is highly valued. I cherish your contributions and sincerely acknowledging your assistance.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to give an explanation to the Darfur conflict outlining the root causes and the UN activities to resolve the conflict in the Darfur region, looking also into the approaches of peaceful mechanisms that the UN has been using and try to give recommendations which will assist the UN in improving the facilitation of the conflict resolution process. The United Nations intervened with an effort to bring the conflict to an end, unfortunately it failed due to various challenges that it has been facing which posed some hindrances to effectively attain its mandates like the abuse of the veto power by the permanent members of the UN Security Council, lack of coordination within the UN body, lack of adequate resources among others.

Key words: UN, conflict resolution, facilitate

Öz

Dolayısıyla, bu tezin amacı, Darfur'daki çatışmanın temel nedenlerini ve BM'nin Darfur bölgesindeki çatışmayı çözme faaliyetlerini ortaya koyan bir açıklama yapmak ve BM'nin kullandığı barışçıl mekanizmaların yaklaşımlarına da dikkat çekerek, çatışma çözme sürecinin kolaylaştırılmasında BM'ye yardımcı olacak öneriler sunmaktır. Birleşmiş Milletler daha sonra çatışmayı sona erdirme çabası ile müdahale etti; ne yazık ki BM Güvenlik Konseyi daimi üyeler tarafından veto yetkisinin kötüye kullanımı, Birleşmiş Milletler bünyesinde koordinasyon eksikliği, ve diğerleri arasında yeterli kaynak bulunmaması gibi görevlerini etkin bir şekilde yerine getirmek için bazı engellerin bulunduğu çeşitli zorluklar nedeniyle başarısız oldu.

Anahtar kelimeler: BM, çatışma çözümü, kolaylaştırmak

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AMIS	African Union Mission in the Sudan
AU	African Union
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
OCHA	Office for Coordination of Human Affairs
SLM/A	Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
SPLA	Sudan People’s Liberation Army
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	UN-AU Mission in Darfur
UNAMIS	United Nations Advanced Mission in the Sudan
UNCHR	United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights
UNCR	United Nations Commissioner for Refugees
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund
UNISFA	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in the Sudan
UNPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

For centuries now, the humanity has been facing a numerous number of conflicts around the world. As proven by the history, millions of people have lost their lives due to small misunderstandings including the demolitions of everything built years back through hard work, for example, the case of the two World Wars. It has been proven by the history that millions of people have lost their lives as a result of small understandings. Nevertheless conflicts may vary and are not always a substitute of war and or violence.

During the 1960s, quite a number of nations were becoming independent, in which a large number of them were from the African region. Those newly autonomous nations found it difficult to rule their Nations that were ethnically separated, with officials who were leaders and not skilled. Adding on to that, in the 1980s, when the Cold War ended, many countries were left exposed to numerous forms of conflicts as a result of the separation conveyed by the indirect confrontation between the United States and the Soviet. Hence, new forms of conflicts came up (especially those related to resource distributions, power sharing and above all ethnicity).

Background history of the Darfur conflict

The region of Darfur occupy about 20 percent of Sudan area, covering a rough estimate of about 4593, 180 square kilometres. Darfur shares its borders with Chad to the West, Central African Republic to the South West and Lybia to the North¹. Since the time of Darfur sultanate in the 1950s, about three major ethnic groups have occupied the Darfur region. The camel nomads (Zaghawa) who dominated the northern Darfur, the millet cultivating ethnic group (Massailet), the sedentary farmers “black” non-Arabs. According to (Quach, 2004), Darfur always enjoyed its independence from the Central government up until 1956 when the Sudan Government attained its independence. The majority of the educated elites in Darfur are the Fur ethnic group descendants.

¹ Sudan’s Geographical location see www.globaldreamers.org

Although, there has been a strong division between the black Africans and the Arabs during and after the British occupation, the identity of the Darfurians has not been clearly stated in the region. The Khartoum's "Islamization" promoted the identity clash and fuelled it over fighting for natural resources due the 1980s deadly drought they faced. The National Congress Party (NPC)² came into power in 1989 and made some attempts in obtaining a greater control of the Western Sudan using their same "divide-and-rule" tactic it had used in the south over the West so as to exercise control over resources on its people. (Quach, 2004)

Nevertheless, scholars perceive that the Janjaweed militias were not only armed as a retaliation measure against the Darfur people but rather, the insurgency against the government of Khartoum began as a comeback reaction to the militia patterns of massacres that had already spread throughout (Power; 2004)

The militias sponsored by the government were committing reign of terrors, burning crops, harassments, looting villages and brutally killing the Darfuris. So many people died, villages were completely destroyed, most of those who survived the attacks fled to the neighbouring countries (Chad and Central Africa Republic) where they were temporarily accommodated as refugees staying in camps.

The situation worsened and the country was called for a state of emergency which needed urgent attention. Individuals, government agencies, international organisations quickly chipped in to send relief and support people in Darfur. In 2003, a conflict broke out in the region of Darfur, western part of Sudan. This conflict has created one of the most devastating, horrible and dramatic humanitarian crisis of this new century. John Holmes, the UN secretary General for humanitarian Affairs, indicated that over 300,000 death tolls were reached. According to amnesty international, the number of those people who have been internally displaced approximately reached to 2.3 million and roughly 240,000 people living in 12 different camps in Chad. The population of people in Darfur is approximately 5-6 million. Darfur literally means the homeland of the Furs.

² The National Congress Party (NPC), this is the Sudan's governing official political party which is headed by the Sudanese President Omar al Bashir.

These Furs living in the region of Sudan are also dominated with other ethnic groups (baggara, Zagawa, Massalites and the nomads). Nevertheless, the origins of the conflict are deeply rooted in the historical development of Sudan, with some factors arising from region of Darfur itself but the focus of this study is going to be centred from those events that transpired from 2003 up-to-date.

What exactly caused the Darfur conflict has always (and still remain) a paradox as a result of the different views and details given by those different groups which were involved in the conflict together with the perspectives and views of the scholars on the conflict. Leif Manger argued that the Darfur conflict was a result of the old socio-political structure mismanagement skills (Manger, 2004). At a later stage, this was transformed into a state dominated structure in which the non- Arabs were alienated. Therefore a new dominated socio-political structure was created in Sudan. Adding to that, following the years of independence, the newly embraced system of the Western statehood focused their previous power of ethnic and regional dominating sultanates and landlords to a federal government in Khartoum which made changes from the developmental process that generated misinterpretation from the different regional groups.

Furthermore, the Darfur conflict is not only viewed as an internal matter but also a regional crisis since the artificial boundaries created by the colonizers (French, British) brought the separation of the ethnically homogenous groups. For example, identification problems (who is who? from where?) as some Zagawa were found in Chad and others were found in Sudan (Giroux, 2009).

The Sudanese Government has rejected all the allegations of the responsibility and has further denied the existence of those reports of large-scale deaths despite the evidence by the UN investigation committees and other international media groups which stated that the Government of Sudan has been engaging itself in different forms of crimes which were against the UN and International laws.

The United Nations has classified South Sudan, alongside Yemen, Syria and Iraq as one of four “Level 3”³ (highest level) humanitarian emergencies internationally as well as the only country in Africa. This basically makes South Sudan conflict (Darfur) an area of interest. Extensive documentation by the human rights organisations, the media and the UN gives us pure evidence that the government of Sudan together with the Janjaweed committed massive crimes against humanity and war crimes and this has happened for so many years.

The United Nations is currently experiencing challenges in dealing with many conflicts around the world emanating from different angles, for example, terrorism, human rights issues, environmental problems among others. The United Nations is an organization set up for the upkeep of security and peace around the globe: nevertheless the organisation has faced a number of challenges in trying to resolve global conflicts and most commonly those emanating from Africa.

The UN Charter’s first article stipulated that, “the UN is there to maintain International peace and security through peaceful behaviours and paying attention to the principles of justice and the International law”⁴. Nevertheless this objective was confronted soon after the Second World War ended and beginning of the Cold War until the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 90s. A quite number of Nations that got their independence in the 1960s are facing challenges in dealing with internal conflicts, especially power sharing, ideologies, ethnicity and interest based divisions. In Africa, some of the States affected are Nigeria, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Cote d’Ivoire and Zimbabwe.

Since 2003, many casualties have been left from the conflict in Darfur, western part of Sudan. In order to resolve the conflict, the United Nations intervened as a mediator through the African representatives. However the conflict has been affecting some neighbouring countries, for example Chad and Central African Republic. This

³Level 3. This is the classification given by the UN to those cases with the most severe, large scale humanitarian crises that have been triggered by conflict, natural disasters among others

⁴ The purpose of the UN is to maintain world peace and security by mainly abiding to the justice and international law. See UN Website <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/> Chapter 1: Purposes and principles.

basically brings out the bigger challenges that the International Organisations deals with, especially the UN, that is, dealing with intrastate conflicts which pose to threaten International peace and security.

All the attempts to bring the violence acts to an end whether by the Western states, UN Security Council, regional organisations or even neighbours proved to be so ineffective. The question everyone will ask is, why did all the external actors including the UN itself failed to end this conflict? This thesis also intends to pinpoint at which stage might the conflict have been prevented, managed or minimized as well as stipulating what the various actors engaging with the government of Sudan should and could have done at different time intervals. The major reason that led to the failure of external actors was the Naivasha talks pushed by the UN which gave so much hope to the whole world that the conflict was going to be managed and or resolved before it manifested. This first move by the UN made the other external actors get reluctant as they believed that the UN would succeed in dealing with the conflict. Therefore, if only the UN had quickly intervened in the conflict, it would have managed to deal with the conflict before it started escalating.

Therefore, this thesis is going to make an analysis on the concepts of conflict resolutions and the efforts made by the UN in dealing with the Darfur conflict and highlight the loopholes in the United Nations which should be addressed to assist the UN to effectively facilitate an end to world violence as well as creating a path towards peace and reconciliation. However, from these explanations only, one cannot get a clear picture of the whole situation without first taking a glance closer look into the Darfur conflict origins. Therefore the origins of the Darfur conflict shall be explained below.

The origins of the conflict

The Darfur conflict as well as those in the Eastern and South Sudan was centred on the same issues such as political marginalization and power sharing. Weak central government in under developed regions triggered social discontent. The structural cause of the conflict in Darfur was due to the battle that occurred between the Darfur region and the central government in Khartoum (Quach; 2010).

Nevertheless, the factors leading to this battle between the periphery and the centre is much connected to the system that was inherited from the colonials and the post-colonial state of Sudan (Peace; 2010). The Nile and its affluent mainly covers its territory, thus Sudan's major resource is from hydropower. The Nile's fertile soils have also made Sudan the centre for Agricultural activities bring the country to be the "breadbasket" of the continent.

The administration of the Sudanese central government was formed and located in Khartoum's Northern region but used resources (agricultural products like spices, grains, cotton as well as oil revenues) and labor from both the south and the western regions. Sudan was negatively affected by the economic system which they adopted during the British colonial period which later made the regional exploitation of resources become very much unavoidable.

This as a result forced the Khartoum government to rely heavily on these regional resources which then kept the regime's military and political strength. The division of the political and administrative structures is not a new encounter in the Sudanese capital. This phenomenon is connected to the prior, manipulative or oppressive powers that existed in Sudan as well as in the 18th century (Egyptian and Turkish then later British). These powers came up with the divide and rule concept that basically affected the country even up-to present day as well as the irregular progression around the country.

This concept of divide and rule by the British colonies created both geographical and ethnical divisions within Sudan. This later emerged into some form of new division that was solidified by religious beliefs as well as regional differences like Arabs and black Africans or south and north. Due to these factors, a Sudanese state based on discrimination, exploitation and division was therefore created (Peace; 2009).

Root causes of Darfur Conflict

Deng(1995) and Johnson(2003) cited the concept of the capital, Khartoum, "core" as well other various factors such as economically, politically, socially and cultural "peripheral" as the causes of the 20 year civil war which broke between the Southern Sudan and Khartoum and also applies to the Darfur conflict.

The historic exploitation and marginalization of Darfur are basically derived from the regions the region's financial, material neglect and economic underdevelopment in the times of natural disasters an ideology of Arab supremacy and geopolitical influences which are stated to have caused the instability and prosperity erosion of Darfur and also contributing to the violence which is haunting the region in the present day (Prunier 2005).

Legacy of economic underdevelopment

During the British Colonial Rule (The Condominium era; 1899-1956)⁵, only 5-6% of the investments would be assigned to Darfur which had a population of 3 million people, Khartoum was allocated 56% of the investment together with the northern province which even had a smaller population of 2.5 million people (Prunier 2005). In the Darfur region, during this period, there were only four primary schools, while the transportation and hospital services were very scarce⁶. Even after Sudan attained its independence, the lack of economic development still continued. According to (Power, 2004) the government of the Sudanese so much neglected the region's development as they rarely payed for the schools, roads, communication facilities and hospitals or even civil servants.

Material and Financial Neglect During Crisis

The situation of neglecting Darfuris continued and this underdevelopment resulted in the region more prone to drought during the 1980s period (Johnson, 2006). This led to famine and desertification in Northern Darfur. When the Arab pastoralists from the North were displaced by the droughts they then encroached on the central farming belt which had fertile land primarily belonged to the African Agriculturalists. The conflict over water, land and other resources were basically not racially driven on the basis of Arabs

⁵Condominium era. During this period Sudan was being ruled by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium since 1899. Nevertheless, in reality Egypt had very little influence then calls the condominium a "British rule with Egypt as a rubber-stamp". So since the British had no power to occupy Sudan, the instituted the "divide and rule" policy in Sudan just like in other colonies across Africa. Instead of the Sudanese to fight against their colonizers, they were made to distrust, fear and fight each other.

against Africans but rather economic conflicts as a result of the increasingly scarcity of resources due to desertification as well as drought⁷

The government of Khartoum completely failed to cater for the Darfur people with resources so that they would cope up with the drought. Additionally, temporary movements across territories, tribal administrations in Darfur, traditional means of negotiating seasonal had been destroyed by Khartoum (Harir, 1993 and Johnson, 2006).

Influence of Geopolitics

The 1980's Chadian civil war further catalysed the Darfur conflict. Chad's civil war broke between African majority in the south and Arab minority in the north. This civil war was internationalized as the battleground for the indirect confrontation of USA and Lybia (Johnson 2006; 94). As a way of showing support to the Chadian president Hissen Habre, USA then channelled its help to the Southern Chad through Chad providing them with armaments and guns. (Prunier, 2005) stipulated that Quaddafi broadcasted the Pan- Arab Islamic Legion, which favoured the ideology of Arab supremacist soon after Lybia was defeated in 1988. The Islamic legion got disbanded and the majority of its members "trained, armed and instilled with a new ideology settled in Darfur (de Waal 2004; 26).

Ideology of Arab Supremacy

Although ethnic divisions have been one of the intensifying factors of the recent Darfur crisis, history highlights that ethnic identities were quite fluid. For instance, a farmer from the fur group invest in cattle, the moment the cattle reach a certain number, financially, it would be advantageous for that farmer to cross the ethnic frontier and become Baqqara and after a few years his children will authentically have Arab genealogy (O' fahey, 2004).

⁷ This policy of the "divide and rule" separated the south part of Sudan from the rest of the country thereby slowing down the social and economic development processes of all the provinces in the South of Sudan. The people from the south were then blamed by the British authorities that they did not want to modernize and assisted the Arab people from the north Sudan to modernize and heavily invested there to boost their political, social and economic lives

According to (de Waal, 2004), despite the violent confrontations between the Darfur ethnic groups which had historically occurred, the different communities interacted together and cooperatively allocated resources and joined together through adoptions of lifestyles and marriages. (Mamdani, 2004; O’Fahey, 2004; Verney, 2004; Johnson, 2006) asserted that the racial problem that broke up between Africans and Arabs in the recent conflict, “does not lie at the heart of the local war” but rather “has been part of the manipulation of national project emanating from the centre used as a divide and rule method. From a broader view of African specialists and experts the Darfur conflict was not caused by racial or ethnic animosity, rather it was due to the region’s history political and economic marginalization by Khartoum.

The conflict in Darfur is a complex event that has brought so much human suffering in the province as well as the surrounding regions. To some extent, the Western media coverage of the conflict affects ways in which the International community understands and forms opinion about the causes, implications and conflict solution (Zuckerman, 2004; Gamson & Madigliani, 1989). Making reports on the complex causes of the Darfur conflict is important as this may affect how the International Community sees and responds to the conflict.

Intervention of agencies or actors and their approaches

The African conflict intervention efforts as for the past 2 or 3 decades of the 20th century reviews two major trends regarding the vital actors or agencies and also the approaches used. According to the reviews available the main intervention actors in Africa are mainly those from outside Africa and these include organisations, individuals, institutions and even countries. As stated by (Cohen; 2002) up until 1993 Africa was strongly depending on entities outside Africa and these include the former colonial masters, United Nations, The European Community , United states of America.

Also Africa could get assistance from regional organizations which include Economic Community of West African States in West Africa, the Inter- Governmental Authority on Drought and Desertification in East Africa and some individuals who were

non- governmental and these include Julius Nyerere and Jimmy Carter⁸. Basing on the intervention literature, there is another idea that is brought forward, that is of conflict management rather than resolution as an intervention approach in Africa. Much detail about the conflict management and conflict resolution will be outlined in chapter two (2).

Intervention by individual external powers

As previously stated before, African conflicts were mainly addressed by the efforts of former colonial powers. For example during the 1990s, the Portuguese coordinated the negotiations of Angola's factions in 1990-1992, Italians intervened in the civil war of Mozambique in 1991-1993 then USA also made efforts on Somalia in 1992-1993 as well as Ethiopia in 1990-1991. The United States of America and the Organisation of African Union (OAU) collaborated in striving to eliminate the organisation's mechanism of conflict management within the structure of the African Resolution Act of 1994. Also the French intervention came under the umbrella of European Union in post-colonial African conflicts.

In 1994-1995 France and Britain made some conferences in African where they facilitated on the issues of development consensus on conflict management policy and approaches made for African circumstances under African leadership. France intervened by funding for the settlement and prevention of conflicts as well as West African democratic transition which was held under the Paris-based multilateral Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation. It was also France's interest of the development of an inventory of available military assets in West Africa for a sub-regional peace-keeping contingent (Cohen 1996:5). Other interventions made by France militarily include Chad (2008), Mali (2013), Cote d'Ivoire (2003 & 2010), the main aim was to achieve what is known as the "peace and stability" rather than conflict resolution with both sides participating in trying to find solutions favourable to both and as a result, self-sustaining.

⁸Julius Nyerere was the first President of Tanzania after it gained its independence and he served the country from 1961 up until he retired in 1985. Then Jimmy Carter was an American politician who became the 39th President of USA and he served his term from 1977 – 1981.

International organisations

The main international organisations involved in African conflicts are OAU and UN. The United Nations intervened in the African conflicts as from the time they attained independence for example in the case of Kinshasa or Congo Leopoldville. In the last two decades of 20th century the UN also intervened in some of the African states like Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Western Sahara and the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Most of the UN interventions in Africa were in the form of peace-keeping.

According to the secretary general of UN, Boutros Ghali, in his annual report on peacekeeping to the general Assembly noted that there was a possibility of extracting a stockpile of military tools, in most cases (remains from the terminated United Nations peacekeeping operations) to be used on short notices given by African delegations (Cohen; 1996:6). By this given report, it shows how the world body approach the African conflicts.

Until 1990, OAU could not intervene in African conflicts following the doctrine that it was not supposed to deal with internal affairs of the member states. This was then revised by the two gurus J. Foltz and W. Zartman while Zartman came up with the ideas that there were no matters that were on OAU in African conflicts since they are only members their interests were to come first. Foltz (1991:349) stated that actually “it was the organization’s role to make it a point that it protects the autonomy of member states from interference or coercion by other members or by the organization as a whole”

Following the commands from the African Heads of States and government, the OAU conflict management instrument made an effort to be involved in the conflicts, for example, Republic of Congo in 1993, after the problems of democratic elections in 1992 and Burundi conflict which brought instability and massive violence after the president was assassinated in October 1993. Just like UN, OAU put more emphasis on conflict management and not addressing the important issues which divided the parties leading to conflicts and this can only be temporary measure rather than conflict resolution approach especially in cases of Central African Republic (1996), Sudan (2004-2006, linked to Darfur conflict) and Somalia (2007).

OAU intervention through peacekeeping has been seriously disadvantaged by the three important principles, which are; the inviolability of boundaries inherited from colonisation, non-interference in internal issues of member states and territorial integrity (Cohen 1996:2-3). In addition to these hindrances, there are also other factors which include funding, inadequate trained troops and political willpower among AU nations to effectively partake in all African conflicts. Looking at it from a conflict resolution point of view, Feldman's critiques that "When an AU military force which is strong enough to be capable to provide effective interventions is absent, the majority of African conflicts will either continue to rely on external forces from outside the continent which impose non-African solutions on them or they will remain unresolved", is not valid because it is not the duty of the military forces to 'resolve conflict' Feldman (2008:267).

The international community

One can safely state that the international community was, towards the end of the 20th century, responsive to the African conflict situation if one considers the number of seminars and conferences organised around the theme of conflict management in Africa as a reliable indicator. It can be safely noted that international community has been responsible for African conflicts considering the number of seminars and meetings held under the theme of conflict management in Africa. The general tendency was for donor governments to support capacity-building in the continent to deal with its conflicts.

Conflicts in the different sub-regions of Africa

Taking into consideration of the examples that have been given, it is quite clear that the most dominant approach used in African conflicts is that of conflict management. Significant examples of such conflicts in Africa taken from different sub regions are as follows, in East Africa the war in South Sudan, the collapse of States in Somalia, the Rwanda - Burundi conflicts and also the wars in Zaire. Although the conflict in Burundi needed all the urgency and attention the main provided focus was diplomatic interventions by several actors and agencies.

The results of the interventions were the establishment of war Crime Tribunals, where none of the actors paid attention to the needs of those in the conflict. It seems like

the tribunals were there to punish those who were chosen by the powerful stakeholders for destruction and not bringing out the causes of the conflict which are deeply rooted in the respective societies. The War Crimes Tribunal in Rwanda managed to bring justice to the situation which transpired and this is so hard to imagine. This also took place in the case of Liberia and Sierra Leone.

In the case of south Sudan the intervention was mainly sporadic from 1990. It remained very difficult to state the efforts of the agencies in addressing the profound causes of the conflict in spite of the fact that the conflict was colonial based. Cohen (1996:4) summed it all when he noted that neither the international community nor the AU had been successful to advance conflict management without the humanitarian intervention in this sub region, East Africa.

ECOWAS⁹ since 1990 has been involved in peace-keeping operations in West Africa, very good examples where ECOWAS intervened financially and materially getting the support from the international community that is United States are Liberia and Sierra Leone (Cohen 1996). Although there were very large numbers of human lives and material lost in Sierra Leone and Liberia, the main focus of the peace-keeping interventions was on achieving “peace and stability” as the main actors termed it.

This research is going to be based only on qualitative data. The aim of chapter 1, chapter 2 and 3 of this research is mainly to test the hypothesis and answer the sub questions below;

Sub-questions

- 1. What are the roles of the UN in conflict resolution?*
- 2. What were basically the successes and failures of the UN in its efforts to resolve the Darfur conflict?*
- 3. What are the general and particular challenges that the UN faced in striving to end the Darfur conflict?*

⁹ Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) - This is a regional group which comprise of 15 countries and it was founded in 1975 to promote regional economic integration. See <http://www.ecowas.int/about-ecowas/basic-information/>

Hypothesis

- 1) Lack of adequate resources and cooperation within the UN institution causes the UN not to effectively facilitate the process of bringing conflict to an end.*
- 2) A reduction in red-tape will lead to an increase in the UN's responsiveness.*
- 3) The use of veto power causes the UN to fail to achieve its mandates therefore the UN should put limits on the extent to which the veto power should be exercised.*

In an effort to tackle these questions the researcher will take a case of Darfur conflict so as to give some explanatory arguments that explain the role of the UN in conflict resolution. This will help in finding the missing gaps that would have assisted in resolving the Darfur conflict.

To be able to come up with a comprehensive study, the researcher made use of some UN documents and resolutions, articles, several books, websites as well as journals. The methodology of this study will be based on both primary and secondary documents. The research's study will be designed as follows, in the first chapter (1): General Introduction – briefly discussing about the topic by firstly looking into the background history of the Darfur conflict, the key aims of the research and its general importance. I shall also briefly look into the different external agencies or actors that have intervened in Darfur in an effort to resolve the conflict. The reasons why all these external agencies failed to end the Darfur shall be revealed in the third chapter. In the second chapter (2): There are conceptual definitions and review of the related literature about the conflict management, peacekeeping and conflict resolution concepts used by the UN when resolving conflicts as well as outlining the different roles played by the UN during the conflict resolution process. Third chapter (3) will constitute of the individual external actors and UN's responses to the Darfur conflict by basically looking into the successes, failures and the challenges that the UN faced in striving to resolve the conflict. This section will outline why all the external actors including the UN itself failed to bring the Darfur conflict to an end. In the final chapter, fourth chapter (4): Conclusion remarks,

the researcher will summarize the thesis bringing out the research findings and also provide some future prospects.

General relevance of the thesis

To the University

The study will benefit those students in the tertiary institutes who are undertaking researches on the similar topic area and it will also equip the students with more knowledge in understanding the areas covered by conflict and conflict resolution.

To the researcher and the reader

This study has provided the researcher with an opportunity to have a practical knowledge of what exactly happens on the ground when a conflict arises and how it is resolved. This conflict in Darfur is a crucial case study as it helps the reader to have a better understanding on the descriptive analysis administered with the different concepts of conflict resolution. It is also helpful to the researcher in completing the degree course since it's a partial fulfillment of the Near East University requirements of a Master degree in International Relations.

To the United Nations and other States

The study is of paramount importance to the United Nations as it provides some future prospects which can assist in creating good pathways to the UN operations during the conflict prevention, management and resolution process. The study outlines the stages at which it will be best for the external actors to intervene when a conflict arises so as to increase the chances of succeeding in resolving conflicts.

To the African States

This study will help the African states by equipping them with better understanding of how conflicts can be detrimental to the political, economic and social sectors if they are not resolved at early stages. At the same time this study will also

outline the impact of external actors through their different interests when they intervene during the process of conflict resolution.

CHAPTER TWO

Conflict definition?

Conflict has been defined by Burton as an “action over non-negotiable human needs”, in which he says are different from disputes that bring tension over “negotiable needs”. His argument was based on the differences that exist between what he calls ontological needs from values and interests. He said ontological needs are basically those needs that transcend from human nature and cannot be negotiated whatsoever. Nevertheless, values and interest are solvable characteristics. Burton further explained that ontological needs are universal. These are the nine (9) ontological needs he identified; control, justice, security, response, stimulation, role defence/self-defence, meaning esteem/recognition and rationality (Burton; 1990, p.338).

Wallensteen, (2002) argued that “conflicts are solvable”. According to him, no matter the circumstance or outcome, conflicts will end some day and their resolution then precedes, which is one to achieve a conflict solution peacefully. This chapter will bring out the definition, explaining and discussing through the theoretical approaches and scholars’ works on what conflict and conflict resolution mean. In most cases, conflict is expressed as a situation whereby two sides on the brink of opposing sides and having different positions concerning a specific matter. Each on conflict carries its on characteristics. It is very crucial to mention that the concern of this thesis is to discuss about conflicts that include groups of people and their societies between two states or within one specific state. Therefore the aim will be more focused on pointing out the common factors that explain the actions and reactions like why conflicts occur and what basically differentiate them from one another.

Though the definition concepts of conflicts differs from one to another providing different understanding, they all meet on a common point as they all emphasize the issue of actors or parties, presence of action and also the existence of incompatibility. According to Wallensteen, conflict is a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire the available set of scarce resources at the same moment (Wallensteen; 2002 p.16). Are all conflicts about resources? There are some conflicts about cultural differences, religious ideologies among others. However these factors

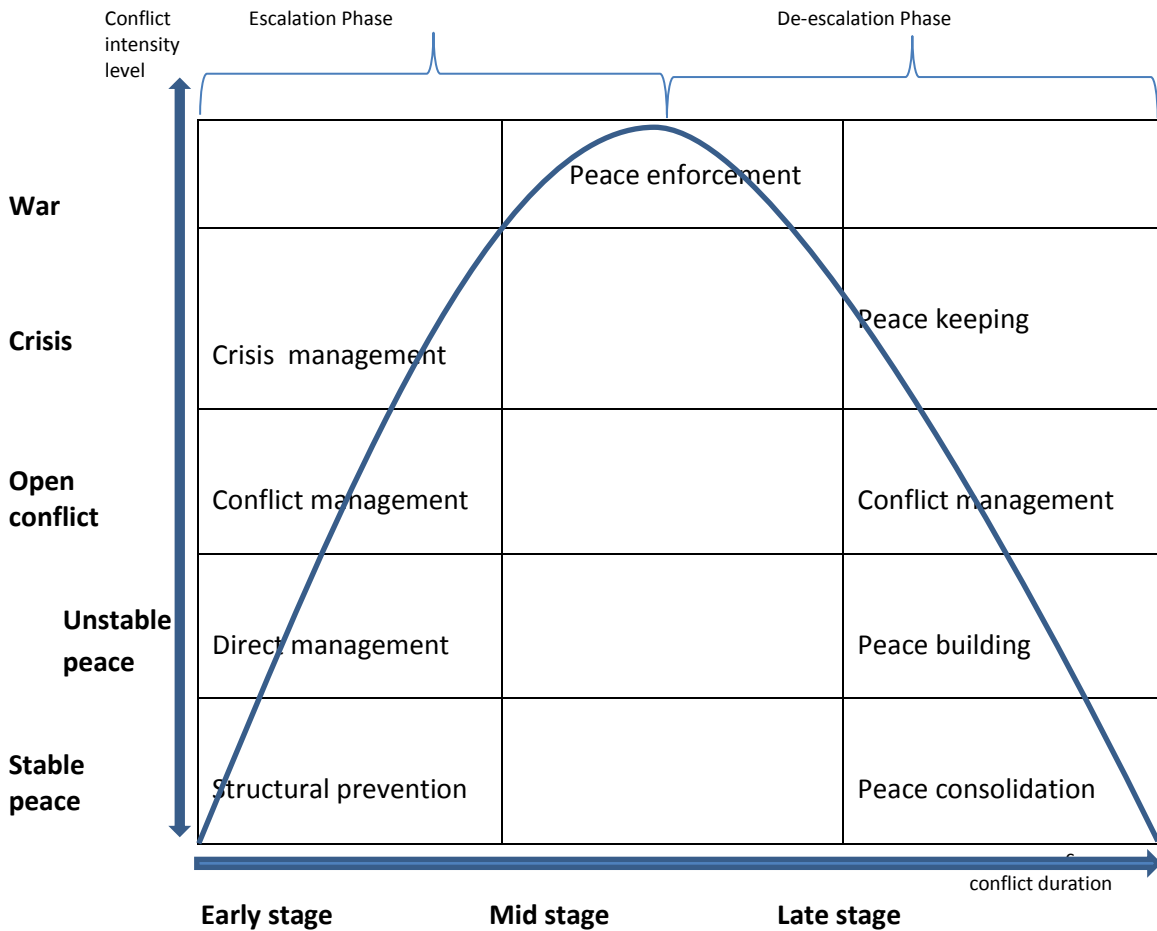
cannot be related to resources because the conflict that emerges over resources mostly requires the existence of tangible goods like oil, money but this does not stem resources equal materials. It could be services, for instance, a group of people excluded from the public services based on region, religion or ethnicity. Such a scenario possibly brings awareness and the chances of conflict arising in a country are high. Therefore a conflict can be defined as a state of affair whereby two or more actors are opposing or basically think they are being opposed on a specific period. The confrontation is due to some misunderstandings on issues that directly or indirectly affects any of the sides.

According to the Danish Centre for Conflict Resolution (2007), they defined conflict as “the disagreements that lead to tension within and between people”. This definition of course gives the best simplified truth, and also covering a complex reality. The disagreements are centred on the issue whereas the tension effects the relation. Conflict deals with both an issue and relation. For us to have an effective conflict resolution, the situation must address both issue and relation.

Kurt Lewin, defined conflict as a “situation of tension” that has been caused by several factors including the extent to which the person’s needs were in satisfaction or state of hunger (Mills, 2006. p.2). Kurt Lewin’s definition does not clearly clarify the degree to which we can determine the needs but rather exposing us to the dissatisfaction and tension over needs.

The cyclical perception and the division into phases of conflict has actually been the starting point for researchers on the issues of conflict prevention, conflict management and conflict resolution. The general principle of these three is regarded applicable in different stages of the conflict. Conflict prevention measures are specifically designed for an early stage of the conflict, that is, right before the conflict has started manifesting. The conflict management phase is when the measures are applied after the conflict has already manifested but before the violence breaks out. There is also conflict resolution which on the other hand could be applied in the de-escalation stage after the violence has already occurred. Nevertheless, several actors have been arguing that as soon as the conflict has manifest then resolution can be applied in all stages.

Fig: 1. The Conflict cycle



Source: conflict, conflict prevention and conflict management, Swanson Weissmann (2005)

This curve is divided into five levels of conflict intensity (War, crisis, stable peace, unstable peace and open conflict). Stable peace is that moment when tension between the existing parties is calm and different forms of connections and cooperation between those parties are present. These normally include environmental and economic cooperation and also cooperation that exists within other non-sensitive issue areas. At the phase of unstable peace, tension has just increased and there is no more guarantee in peace. Open conflict is when the conflict is defined and measures have been taken by the parties to deal with it although no militarized options are adopted. Crisis phase, the risks of having a war breaking out are looming and there are more likely chances of militarized options. At this stage, sporadic violence between the parties maybe present, however regular open violence does not exist.

In the war phase, there is a huge widespread of extreme violence. Then in de-escalating stage, the pattern comes in reverse form, it moves from war to crisis via open conflict and unstable peace up until it finally reaches a stable peace situation.

The connection that exists between phases of conflict cycle from conflict prevention to conflict then finally to conflict management needs to be developed further. To make the separation between the concepts easier, the main focus should be on the time factor. Starting off with conflict prevention by definition, is applied before the conflict becomes noticeable and violent erupts, that is, preventing conflict not to emerge in the first place or to prevent the re-escalation of the conflict in a post-conflict phase.

The measures of conflict prevention are said to be effective at the levels of stable peace and unstable peace before a conflict is noticed. At this phase, it is crucial to distinguish between structural and direct preventive measures. The former best apply in stable peace phase and contain of structural measures that normally targets specific groups or matters like cultural autonomy, political participation and economic development. The advantages of using the structural measure at an early stage is because the level of acceptance of preventive measures seems to be a bit higher during the low levels inter-party suspicion. Therefore more institutional and far reaching measures can be implemented. Implementing structural preventive measures at an early stage, including both development of trust and building of institutions and (long-term) cooperation, decreases the alleged need to, thereby increasing risk of a potential conflict issue to an extent of unstable peace.

The more the conflict is pronounced, the more the requirements of specific measures although at the same time, as a probable strategy, these structural measures are losing importance. In the phase of unstable peace, the direct preventive measures are set to deal with issues that have a short-term goal in mind, that is, reducing tension and creating trust between the actors. Direct preventative measures can either be formal or informal that for example deals with possible conflict issues. Their target may also be aimed at bringing openness in rescue operations. Other examples are problem-solving, sanctions, the dispatch of special envoys and coercive diplomacy.

It is important to note that the difference between different prevention and structural is unclear and that the aspects the two normally overlap. As soon as the conflict has been identified, conflict management can be enforced in an effort to reduce the existing tension and preventing further escalation. Several direct measures can be designed to handle the conflict such as third party intervention informal and formal communications or reduction of military forces and reverse the behaviour of being destructive into constructive. At this stage, the measures are normally bilateral as the questions are perceived to be sensitive and seen to be not threatening. Nevertheless multilateral forms like the United Nations are increasingly being used nowadays.

Before the war erupts, crisis management is employed and its only for a short time frame, then, when the conflict is rapidly escalating the time for management measures becomes limited. Scarcity of time and other resources to address the conflict and inadequate information are the characteristics of this stage. More drastic measures are entitled by the crisis management than the conflict management and with all available means targets to prevent the outbreak of militarized conflicts. Third party intervention by actors such as UN and NATO is one of the examples of the measures that can be applied. Neither prevention nor management is possible during the war stage. The primary tool used is the military means although economic, social and political tools are used simultaneously to lower down the willingness and or capability of the opponent to fight.

Normally, at this stage, the actors can either fight things out until they reach a point known as “hurting stalemate” whereby conflicting parties will come to a realization of the need to end the conflict or peace has to be enforced by external actors. Many different measures could be utilized at this stage, but amongst them all, a few are peaceful. Preventing military from spreading to other states or regions is one example of the possible measures. It is also important to note that, in most cases, there has been a great reluctance of allowing intervention from external actors before a hurting stalemate and war tiredness has been reached.

The possibilities of reversing the positions of the actors as well as making them adopt more constructive behaviours are high if the militarization of a conflict is temporarily controlled through either a ceasefire or a peace treaty. This phase is similar to

the crisis stage in the escalation phase and normally involves the intervention of the third party actors that helps with monitoring and or peacekeeping. The conflicts will move into the conflict management phase when the more imminent re-escalation threats have been dealt with as further opportunities for less short-term and direct measures exists. Imminent threat of war is no longer there but the risk of escalation still exists.

A phase of peace building follows after the conflict has further de-escalated thereby giving allowance for more long-term measures. In the event that the peace building efforts have finally succeeded, the conflict will shift to the peace consolidation stage in the main agenda is making the actors to be more cooperative as well as creating an inclusive peace for all the parties involved. In other words, the de-escalation stage and escalation stage shares many similarities. The last stage of peace reconciliation and peace building normally carry high financial costs and enormous requirements of economic and political commitment from the International Community and also the involved actors. The citizens will be affected more especially those from the poorer sections of the society.

In the de-escalation phase, the measures used are much more political and financially demanding than in the escalation phase where the measures are pro-active. Additionally, after a war, the measures applied should often involve third parties like stronger military actors or the UN that gives security assurance for all actors involved which to the same extent in the escalation stage is not needed. In an environment that lacks trust, this demands intense negotiations and a lot of political compromises. In reality, there is little or no trust until a point of peace consolidation has been introduced. Without exception, after a militarized conflict, trust between involved parties is lacking and the tremendously difficult although rebuilding it is not impossible.

Finally, regarding to conflict resolution, a few comments needs to be made. These measures may possibly be initiated in all the levels of the conflict curve, even though some writers argue that those actions are only confined to after the militarized phase. It is of course possible to resolve conflict differences without specifically fighting a war; therefore we disagree to these remarks. Indeed, the Cuban missile crisis and the border

conflict between Kyrgyzstan and China are some of the examples of conflicts that were resolved or handled before the eruption of a war.

Conflict resolution concepts

Stephen Ryan (1990:50) conflict resolution is utilized as a cover-all terms that neglects to confront up to the diverse procedures required in the diminishment or ending violence. This statement is by all accounts extremely clear of the circumstances of African conflicts particularly when researchers and experts allude to the treatment of African conflicts. It is important to investigate the principle components of conflict resolution and conflict management. On the other hand, advocates of the management approach believe that efforts of resolving conflicts are impractical, so instead of dealing with general issues, more devotion should be focused on amending the conflict symptoms, which in this way reduces (Ryan 1990:102).

Conflict resolution approach scholars made arguments that the conflicts with an unsolvable nature are more apparent than solvable ones. These scholars maintain that viewing conflicts in win/lose terms may be incorrect, and that a win/win situation is possible if our thoughts are based on different assumptions. For example, John Burton (1979; 1984, 1987; 1990), says human needs approach should be adopted as he argues for a paradigm shift in how conflicts are analysed. According Burton, conflict emerges because there could probably be one or more groups which have been denied access to their basic human. This idea by Burton is seconded by other scholars like Galtung (2004), Doyal and Gough (1991).

Another aspect to look into is the third party roles when responding to violence. Most of the advocates of the resolution approach have a tendency of not believing in imposed settlements. But when looking into the resolution approach, the agreement and satisfaction of the parties to a conflict are central. In this approach, the conflict solutions ought not to be forced from outside. Therefore in such a scenario, the third party plays an important role, but limited with the extent to which the third party assists the interaction process. Edward de Bono (1985:76) deeply looked into ways in which this can be achieved. He then put it this way;

“A situation where there is a conflict and two or more parties are failing to stand outside their own views. A third party is needed so that there is a possibility to move from a point of argument up-to the consensus stage. This third party is not a mediator, negotiator or a go-between. Basically, the third party is acting as an overview, a provider of provocation and director of thinking as well as a mirror”.

Burton (1979, p. 120), asserted that, an imposed settlement is not conflict resolution, also, Groom (1986:86) seconded the idea of conflict resolution above a settlement, as he argued that resolution is basically not a consensus forced upon by a powerful third party or a victor, but somewhat a new state of affair that is arrived by the parties themselves, freely and knowledgeably.

From the management point of view, this scenario is different. As pointed out by Ryan (1990:105), “the term management itself, even entails a certain extent of arm-twisting, and power is required for this to be effectively done. The belief that general or basic matters cannot be logically resolved encourages the postulations that conflict is the natural state of affair between parties and that a third party is needed for the purposes of ensuring stability and an acceptable degree of order Burton; (1979).

A form of coercive intervention should be taken, and sometimes, by military or paramilitary forces. A conflict intervention review in Africa over the past decades entails that conflict resolution in Africa has rather been more about conflict management as it has mainly concentrated on coercive military and para-military forces as well as certain amount of arm-twisting. As indicated by Zartman (2000:2), in the 1990s alone, nine peace-keeping missions to Africa have been deployed by the United Nations.

The ideal point in this study is that management approach advocates prefer coercive interventions and their reliability is less when seeking agreement from all parties. Ryan (1990:106) quoted case of Cyprus as an example that the London Conference of 1959 led to Cyprus independence. This was to illustrate a point that third parties may try make efforts to enforce a solution by working behind the backs of the heads of the main rivals. It was revealed that Britain and Greece forced Archbishop Makarios to accept conditions which he did not approve.

In Africa, the conflict resolution notion is said to be colonially designed and the way in which the solutions are implemented is often coercively enforced on parties which are weaker. Colonial powers have been actively participating in the issues of their former colonies, for instance, the recent case of France intervening in Mali conflicts. There are also some African conflict cases which are similar to that of Cyprus, in which powerful third parties have been working above the heads of some contenders or behind their backs.

In the general cases, the emphasis has been mainly centred on the use of power at the removal of former colonial states to enforce every solution that the powerful third parties deem interested in intervening Skjelsbaek and Fermann (1996) and Webb, Koutrakou Walters (1996). An indication was made by Skjelsbaek and Fermann (1996) that, even in cases where the mediations are carried out under the backings of the United Nations with international relations actors who claim neutrality; these conferred interest considerations are always experienced. The treatment that the Southern Cameroons and John NguFoncha received from the United Nations, France, United Kingdom and La République Cameroun in 1961 is typical examples Munzu (1995:1).

Conflict resolution can also be taken as any process at which conflict is resolved or brought to an end through methods which can include warfare or violence. On the other hand, others can view it from a different perspective as a non-violent process in which conflict is managed through compromise or through the intervention of a third party who either facilitates or enforces an agreement or resolution. There are many conflict resolution processes and they vary from collaborative, informal, participatory, non-binding processes (like conciliation, mediation, third party negotiation) to fact oriented, adversarial, legally binding and imposed decisions that ascend from institutions like courts and tribunals (Boulle. 1996). In contrast, for those participants who are seeking to resolve their differences in a cooperative way negotiation, mediation or conciliation are the activities that facilitate communication.

Other commentators like Fisher and Ury (1996) and Werthein et al (1998) are of the belief that focusing on interests rather than positions is the key to resolving conflicts, which is basically the solution that one party pursues to enforce on the other. Burton (1986,

cited in Tidwell, 1998) has been arguing that a resolution between two conflicting parties can only happen when “relationships have been re-examined and re-aligned” (p.9). This form of resolution is not always practicable although it may be regarded by some as more desirable. According to Laue (cited in Charles Sturt University, 1998) conflict can be considered as resolved, only if the following conditions are obtained;

- The solution has been passed via joint agreement and the interest and needs of the parties have jointly been identified.
- The values of either party are not compromised by the solution
- The solution is not repudiated by the parties, even if they have the power to do after the conflict is settled.
- The solution should be fair and just.

This form of resolution seems ideal as it aims at achieving outcome. However, it is not always realistic in some situations for example, when there is no ongoing relationship to be maintained or in the event that the relationship between the two parties is severely strained. In cases like this, the conflicting parties will often try to maximise their benefits by manipulating the other party through the bargaining or negotiation process (Boulle, 1996).

Nevertheless, on the other hand, conflict resolution can be viewed as a problem solving process designed to provide the parties with an opportunity to collaboratively resolve their differences. Third parties are often in this process whereby they employ techniques and methods aimed to facilitate communication between those parties involved in the conflict.

How is peace-making related to conflict resolution?

Before attempting to answer how peace-making and conflict resolution are related, it is crucial to first make a consideration of defining what is meant by the term “peace-making. According to Laue (cited in Charles Sturt University, 1998) peace-making is the active process of peace, the behaviour of actors and institutions that leads to more peaceful relations (p.303). Laue considered peace as the state of relations that exist between groups or individuals characterized by the presence of social justice and economic wellbeing, respect of human rights and absence of war.

Galtung (1985, cited in Barash, 1991) have been using the term “positive peace” to signify a free overt society and structural or institutional violence that allows its local citizens to enjoy their freedom of oppression, political equality, economic and social advancement. From the previous definitions of conflict resolution, it is at this juncture that we can conclude whether conflict resolution is related to peace-making as well as answering the question of whether the process of conflict resolution facilitates peace.

Applying processes such as negotiation or mediation to organisational, community or interpersonal disputes is debatable whether these processes constitute of activities that can possibly be considered as peace-making. Even though the conflict resolution process may generate a settlement that is mutually agreed upon as well as enhancing relations between the parties, it does not necessarily meet Laue’s and Galtung’s definitions of peace-making activity. The agreement by these commentators is that peace is defined by the absence of war or structural violence as well as by the presence of justice and equality in society.

Though the process of conflict resolution reveals a society that promotes reconciliation between individuals for example, (in interpersonal, community or organisational context) it cannot be viewed as “peace-making) except it has addressed issues that ascend from the absence of peace for example (structural violence, injustice or war).

Scimecca, (1993) debated whether arbitration, mediation, third party facilitated negotiation, conciliation among others simply manage conflicts or they can totally resolve them. During mediation process, if for instance, the financial resources of one party exceed that of the other, already, there is a potential power imbalance that exists and there is a high possibility that this can translate into a gain.

According to Myer (1987), those individuals who possess poor persuasive skills with low self-esteem and little or no knowledge of their rights have less chances to successfully negotiate their way using a mediated settlement than an articulate or informed contestant. For mediation and other conflict resolution processes to become social control the reality of power difference should be ignored and perpetuate the status

quo (Scimecca, 1993). The neutrality of third party is regarded as skills or attributes vital in successfully mediating between conflicting parties (Turner and Saunders, 1995).

When faced with two unequal parties, the dilemma of the mediator is whether to maintain the stance on a neutral ground thereby reinforcing the status quo or attempting to balance the imbalance that exists between the conflicting parties. When dealing with conflicts that involves oppression or structural violence, it is important to understand whether the conflict resolution processes are best suitable in dealing with such conflicts and also whether these conflicts can simply or even appropriate for them to be eliminated through an agreement achieved via mediation process.

Conflict management

According to Fred Tanner (2000), conflict management is the mitigation, limitation and or the containment of a conflict without necessarily bringing a solution to it. Other scholars like Peter Wallensteen and Niklas Swanstrom have also seconded this definition as they argued that when talking of conflict management, change should be implied in the mode of interaction that is from destructive to constructive P. Wallensteen and N. Swanstrom (2002). Another writer, William Zartman also brought an argument that conflict management refers to the elimination of violent and any violent related actions as well leaving the conflict to be solved on a political level.

Zartman somewhat criticized as academic institutions and NGOs have been emerging as vital actors and they currently have so much influence on the process of conflict management Zartman (2002). Wallensteen also added that conflict management typically pay more attention on the conflicts that deals with armed aspects Wallensteen (2002) yet on the other hand Swanstrom has brought an argument that it is not necessarily the armed conflict that should be present for the conflict management to be used Swanstrom (2002).

In Swanstrom's argument, he lamented that soon after a direct conflict is manifest or the structural problem is stated, without being materialised, at that phase it can and should be addressed by International Community and other active parties. Once a conflict is militarized, the momentum has already been lost; the economic and political cost to

resolve and manage that conflict escalates very fast. It will be very much easier to change the interaction mode from the destructive to constructive when the conflict is in its early stage rather than late.

Distinction between conflict management and conflict resolution

Conflict management process is basically the basis for a conflict resolution which is more effective. Since the concepts are normally integrated or confused in an appropriate manner, a distinction between conflict management and conflict resolution is crucial as a kicking point. Conflict resolution is bringing solutions to the underlying incompatibilities that exists in a conflict and bringing the conflicting parties to a mutual understanding Wallenstein (2002), whereas conflict management is a process of coming up with measures that mitigate, limit and or contain a conflict without necessarily bringing a solution to it. William Zartman stipulated that for us to yield positive results, both the conflict management aspects and conflict resolution aspects (negotiation) are needed, “they are both end of the continuum” he said Zartman (2002). The aim of one end is to resolve the current situation so that peace or business prevails while the other is striving to resolve the deeper underlying conflict in due course.

The difference between the two approaches lies on the chances of coming out with a self-sustaining outcome or settlement. Conflict resolution provides a conflict outcome which is viable because a conflict is converted into a shared problem whereby a process is set up for the two parties in conflict to participate on an equal basis to find a self-sustaining solution acceptable to both (Light; 1984:151). Those experts who have advanced the management approach argue that the most that can be hoped for is the elimination of overt violence or suppression rather than looking at the lack of community interests.

Conflict resolution can either be formal or informal. Either it can resolve or terminate the conflict in a transparent and predictable process in line with the legal principles Fredrick Kirgis (2000) or focusing on “efforts to increase cooperation among the parties to a conflict and deepen their relationship by addressing the conditions that led to the dispute, fostering positive attitudes and allaying distrust through reconciliation

initiatives and building or strengthening the institutions as well as processes through which the parties interact” Machael Lund (1997).

Many scholars, especially those from the Non-Western countries have been arguing that for resolving conflicts over a longer period of time, conflict management is the best tool, as it also create the basis for coming up with an effective conflict resolution “Kwok Leung and Dean Tjosvold (1998). The Western argument contrasts that, the significance of conflict management is based in its ability to come up with solutions to short-term conflicts. However, many scholars especially from the Western countries claim that the only difference is on the time frame, long-term and short-term perceptions (either resolve underlying problem or current problem). These concepts, conflict resolution and conflict management are different though they are closely related.

Working towards conflict resolution: methodology

There are several methods that are utilized when dealing and working with conflicts. The following will outline the different ways of dealing with conflicts. The conflict resolution methods start the point of investigating the root source of the conflict. This can be achieved through mapping the conflict up to the point of mediation process between the parties in conflict.

Mapping the conflict

One of the ways to deal with a conflict that involves many people is to map it out. At times conflicts constitute large population, the entire village, country, region or even world. During times like this, it is crucial to identify those different parties involved in the conflict as well as their unique role and the relationship that is there between the conflicting parties. For a map of conflict to be created the following needs to be done, examine and uncover;

- Who are those people directly involved in the conflict
- Identify persons not involved in the conflict and find out if they are able to influence the ones in the conflict.
- Among them, who is more influential or in a more state of power?
- Who are more open, most radical and accessible?

- Who are the most respected people by both conflicting sides?
- Are there people who can assist and give support to the ones directly involved in the conflicts?
- Find out about the knowledge of the community people and what they think about the conflict?
- Do we have any people who, for any different reasons may not wish for the conflict resolution?

After gathering this information, one will be in a position to draw a map of conflict. This map of conflict will constitute of every person who in a way or the other is important as far as conflict resolution is concerned, people include in the conflict as well as those who directly or indirectly influence the conflict. By doing this, a clearer view of the matter is achieved and bringing into awareness the challenges that needs to be addressed at every stage.

According to Marshall Rosenberg (Non-Violent Communication), for us to be in a position to reach the heart of the conflict, it is sensible to approach conflict from an angle perspective point of feelings, facts, possible action and needs.

Feelings

The process of expressing, acknowledging and accepting the feeling that the incident or matter has impelled may provide valuable insights into the needs that have possibly been not fulfilled. Feelings are very much considered to be important due to their existence; (everyone has feelings)

Facts

Giving an explanation of what exactly transpired or to be more precise, one party interpreting what has transpired. In a situation where conflict is escalating, one tends to confuse opinions, facts, feelings and prejudices. It is very important to separate these when dealing with conflicts so as to gain some perspectives. Parties should be asked questions which are as precise as possible;

What exactly transpired?

When was that?

Who did what?

Needs

To any conflict resolving work “needs” are pivotal. What causes one to have feelings is because his/her needs have not been met or they have been violated. Such needs include; needs to be trusted, to be accepted, need for recognition, need for respect among others. The moment one is aware of what needs of his/hers have been violated, then, there is a possibility to examine the actions that should to be undertaken in order to recognize or fulfil those specific needs and thus coming up with a solution to the conflict.

Role and purpose of the United Nations in resolving conflict

For one to basically understand how to resolve a conflict there is need to understand the basic mechanisms and institutions developed for conflict resolution. It has been the duty of the United Nation to make efforts in reducing conflicts and seeking for global peace. The United Nations’ role in conflict resolution has different dimensions, all depending on the possible approaches to be used in resolving the conflict and also the legality laid by the Charter (Boulden, 2003).

Under the Peace and Security umbrella, the UN provides diverse approaches to resolving conflicts. For example, the UN Charter Chapter VI highlights more on settling disputes using peaceful methods. Article 33 of the UN Charter says parties which are in conflict shall therefore resolve their differences by “arbitration, conciliation, judicial settlement, mediation, resort to regional agencies or arrangement or other peaceful methods of its choice.” Charter of the United Nations Chapter I- art.1 (accessed on 25 February 2011).

Adding to these peaceful methods of resolving disputes, when there is an act of aggression, rapture of peace or when the International peace is at stake, Chapter VII concentrate on taking actions. This chapter is going to be mainly focusing on the roles played by the United Nation in conflict resolution in African countries and in international politics.

The UN's purpose is to bring all nations together into a friendly environment and maintain a global peace. The United Nation strives to bring all nations to a common ground whereby it will tackle social issues as well as combating the general problems like poverty, assisting developing countries to come up with better systems of education, reducing hunger levels, expand human rights respect and eradication of diseases.

The UN has a wide range of activities and counts 193 members. Peacekeeping is of the most known key activities of the UN whereby forces of the blue helmets are deployed to areas torn by conflicts to maintain peace. However, consent of the parties coinciding is required for the UN to deploy peacekeeping forces. These peace-keepers are obliged not to use any form of force unless it's a situation of self-defence and they should pose a stance of neutrality.

It is also the role of the UN to engage itself in matters of conflict prevention, peace building, humanitarian intervention and conflict resolution. Additionally, the organization is responsible for working on other significant issues that cover social life. For instance, the UN works on protecting environment, rescuing natural resources victims as well as refugees. Above all, the organization works on promoting democracy, gender equality, social development and human rights. Nevertheless, our major worry here is on dealing with the process of the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

National, regional and International problems of members were solved through the UN general assembly which has also been a forum of discussing and resolving problems. The UN is also at times taken as a problem solving institution as it acts as a third party intervention in resolving conflicts. The UN basically uses many different ways to intervene as third party thereby ranging from the point of negotiations up-to judicial settlements.

We can stem our evidence of existence of conflicts in international politics through the possession of various types of weaponries found in almost every state in the world. The atomic bomb launched on Japan in 1945 has marked the rise of production of nuclear bombs and other weapons of mass destruction. There are several countries which have consumed their resources on making weapons whilst others believes weapons signify

your political power level and primary component of available funds. Therefore the United Nations has been making so much effort to come up with policies which eradicate or hinder the use of nuclear bombs in any circumstance.

The UN believes that advocating for disarmament is crucial so as to keep the world at peace. The UN is therefore responsible for closely monitoring the status of weapons manufacturing around the world as well as setting guidelines for disarmament and the benefits of harmonizing with the other United Nations departments. The United Nations is underway in making investigations into the finding more secured future as well as the possibilities of holding meetings and conventions so that they can pursue disarmament deals.

It is the UN's belief that in international politics, the initial policy for discontinuing conflicts is not have it started from the onset. In some cases, we find no other means than to resort to military activities in responding to troublesome threats and in the event of artificial internal problems so as to protect the civilians (Pugh, 2003). Moreover, the UN have a belief that military initiatives should only be made which the situations get to the worst as the last and final possibility and where the situation will give greater advantages. The amendment of the provisions for Security Council roles that had been proposed by the majority of the Member States has been one of the numerous issues that the United Nations failed to effectively accomplish.

Comprehending the conflict causes and the connected elements in every specific risk situation is one of the UN policies to stop conflicts in international politics. The important point in regard to conflict is that, it always has a specific perspective. One crucial aspect in UN's efforts to end conflicts in international politics is to completely know and be ready to effectively implement the situations as they evolve. This constitute of the scope of likely approaches that can possibly be implemented in handling difficult circumstances using both the future and immediate practical methods (Hampson, 2002). Conflicts may be stopped through various ways, including economic and military measures, political and peaceful tools or methods like agreements on resource allocations and lawful tools like protecting people's rights.

For an excellent initial conflict stoppage, one of the most vital requirements is an immediate warning and reaction capacity. The role to protect societies through stopping criminal acts against people around the world is one of the least acknowledged UN's achievements. The global community is needed during the amendment process to assist the UN in creating a preliminary warning capacity system. Polices have been established by the UN which encourage governments in making use of their resources by utilizing the influential powers possessed by most of the currently present civil societies and institutions. The concern of the next part of this chapter is to discuss the different methods used by the UN in conflict resolution.

The UN is striving to come up with all possible outcomes that can help to eradicate the sources of conflicts in politics at an International level. The ending of global conflicts and peace advocacy basically takes different structures (Boulden, 2003). The initiation of the UN has turned even more vital because weaponries have shifted into more deadly killing agents after the world war. There is huge amount of resources in the world and the imbalanced allocation of resources has caused conflicts leading to a bigger gap between the impoverished and the wealthy. This is evident in all the nations and the situation in the Eastern and Western countries is actually getting worse.

Eventually, UN came to realize that in places where poverty is so severe, conflicts in international politics develop effectively. As a result of this, the UN then decided to make it a goal to assist in the encouragement of females, eradication of poverty support of liberal entities and safeguarding the environment. It is so fortunate that apart from the UN, there are also plenty more institutions which are also making efforts in their own individual ways to make sure that the world is at peace.

The UN comes with a belief that, lack of education and access to it can possibly lead to the outbreak of some sort of new conflicts in international politics. Normally, a country with people who have a low literacy rate have less capabilities of comprehending for the one they choose as their country leader or even the decisions made by the leaders themselves (Ramsbotham, 2005). There are high chances of conflict emerging in communities between those who are literate and those who have a very low literacy rate because a huge gap is created between these two groups thereby promoting some levels

of manipulation (literate people manipulating illiterate people. Policies advocating and providing access to education has have already been developed by United Nations. All Nations are present to promise that the rights of the people are respected, justice, and acknowledgement of basic liberties, regardless of gender, religious perspective or ethnicity.

The issues of the management of available resources may also be connected to the reasons behind the emergence of present conflicts in International politics. The UN highlighted that, the emergence of long term conflicts in international conflicts may be prevented if there is more effective handling of these resources. For example, effects of environmental degradation may swiftly get worse and claim better global solidarity. Territories planned by people may not really be considered by environmental degradation. There are several environmental issues that have been caused by its mismanagement over the past decades. Issues concerning environments have been rapidly increasing due to the failure posed by nations to implement the basic protocols for the environment protection.

This failure encourages specific states to implement policies which are not strict so as to stimulate the organization to give its best efforts in operating part or the whole entity from these states. The UN is basing its initiatives from this aspect around the world to make alterations on the perspectives pertaining environment. Multilateral meetings on ecology awareness are being held in attempting to push forward the world legal structure for the environmental security. Cooperation from a bigger global level implies lesser issues on environment thereby lesser conflicts in international politics regarding this environment matter.

Acknowledging people's rights are one important situation that helps create peace in the world. The Universal Declaration of human rights was established and declared in 1948, by the countries comprising the United Nations (Fisher, 1997).the fundamental rights of all mankind were created by this announcement. Although people's rights are ignored during times of conflicts, acknowledging the rights of people plays a vital role in preventing tough times from escalating into severe conflicts or violence.

The UN's responsibility is therefore to make sure the rights of all people are advocated. The UN also has to portray by effectively initiating, the global community's passion and desire to assure that the rights of all the people will be recognized. Apart from educating people about the need to vitalize the human rights, the UN also assists by offering technical support or offering the right education of law enforcement units. The UN is not the only organization responsible for advocating of people's rights.

How the UN operates as a dispute settlement body

The UN is an organisation responsible for maintaining International peace and security, deliver humanitarian AID, promote sustainable development, promote Human Rights and uphold International law. The UN's work is on a global basis therefore it touches the lives of billions of people in all the regions of the World that is Africa, Americas, Asia and the Pacific, Middle East, Europe and Central Asia. To be able to actively participate in its duties, the UN has created UN political offices in all of these five regions.

It is important to examine the UN's current obstacles that its facing right now then try to make a consideration as to how this may be strengthened and linked together to improve its effectiveness. It has been argued by many scholars that the UN should be given adequate resources during the times they intervene to settle disputes. According to David Hamburg, there are crucial models that have been emerging to assist in the better construction of the system of conflict resolution. Basically, first and foremost is to understand the causes of the conflict, then look into the ways in which the different approaches may affect it and finally how these different mechanisms may be put together to improve on the effectiveness of the UN operations.

In the literature of conflict resolution, there are three basic approaches that have been identified namely; Rights based approach, power based approach and interest based approach (Ury, Brett and Goldberg 1988). In the rights based approach conflicting parties will strive to make a determination of who is wrong and who is right in relation to a particular standards. In most cases, in accordance to the International law, the conflicting

parties in power based approach engage in a power contest in order to determine who is the most powerful and in the international relation conception, the obvious extreme version of this approach is war. Then with the interest based approach, the conflicting parties will come together with the aim to reconcile their underlying interests through finding solutions which unite them by bridging the gap between their differences in terms of aspirations, fears, needs or issue that is acceptable to both parties. The three approaches are however often said to be related to each other. The reconciliation of interests takes place within the context of the parties' rights and power. Thus, in the process of resolving a dispute, focus may shift from interest – rights to power and back again (Ury et al 1988 p, 9).

Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice¹⁰ is the source in which the International law spells out everything that states are expected to adhere to. The purpose of having this was, in the event there that there has been a dispute between states, the conflicting sides were expected to resolve the dispute through peaceful ways and one of the procedures is stated in Articles 33¹¹. A political forum (The Security Council) and the judicial forum (The International Court) were present in giving assistance. If these states fail to settle down their differences on their own or if they failed to be abided by the recommendations and judgements of the UN's organs as well as if their misunderstandings has posed some threats to the peace and security, the UN had the authority to now intervene and use its own power-based approach on behalf of the International Court so that peace is maintained and restored and enforcing compliance through “collective security”.

Basically, in bringing the World at peace by the resolving of conflicts and reconcile conflicting parties, the UN Charter framers incorporated the three approaches into the structures of the UN. From the literature, it is evident that the UN's different organs focus roughly on each of these three methods in its effort to settle down conflicts. Interest based dispute settlement appears to be offered most through the good offices and mediation by the Secretary General together with his representatives. The Security

¹⁰ See <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/un-charter-full-text/>

¹¹ See <http://www.unwatercoursesconvention.org/the-convention/part-vi-miscellaneous-provisions/article-33-settlement-of-disputes/>

Council focuses on using the power-based approaches at its disposal whilst the International Court of Justice plays the most vital role in rights-based dispute settlement. Below is an illustration of how the UN is currently exercising its peace practices during conflict times against the recommended approaches that could assist in improving the UN's mandates during its peace-keeping process.

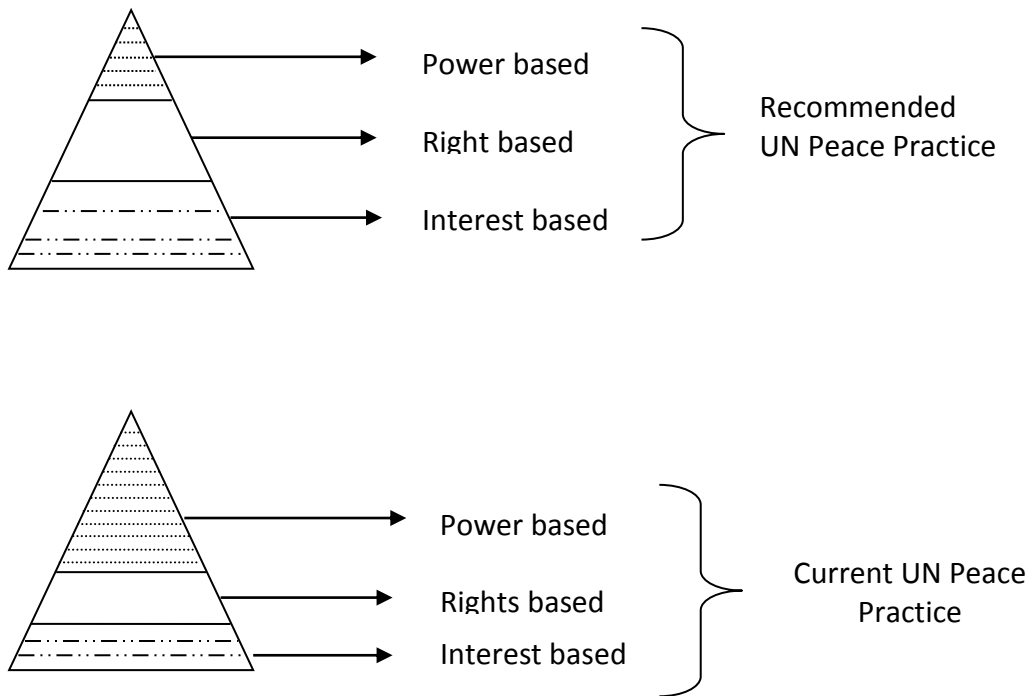


Fig 2: Changing the emphasis of the UN's role in peace and security (Peck 1996)

Article 2(7)¹² of the UN Charter has set out to prohibit the intervention of the UN into internal affairs of Member States. This Article thereby generated so much misunderstanding over when and whether the UN should even intervene. Due to this issue, a consensus has been difficult to reach leading to the organisation waiting for a long time as the conflict escalates to such a level that it poses some threats to the international peace and security through what is known as “spill-over” effect or when there is a massive violation of human rights or a major concern that the UN did not intervene in some conflicts for example in Rwanda.

¹² See <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/>

In recent years much of the UN's efforts have been more focused on what basically should be taken as internal problems. In spite of the Article 2(7), most of the UN's peacekeeping missions were related to intra-state problems for example El Salvador, Cambodia, Angola, The former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Mozambique, Somalia, Namibia and Rwanda. It is the UN peacekeeping forces which also deal with such issues. Normally, these are approached with the knowledge of the parties since they are highlighted under Chapter VI. The question which is not clear enough is that of why the governments might not welcome the offers of this fairly preventive diplomacy or pre-conflict peace-making assistance. Of course this clearly shows that most of the governments have a tendency of getting reluctant in accepting the help from the UN up until that point when they are so in a desperate situation with their problems.

Mechanisms used by the UN to resolve conflicts

The types of conflicts have been changing around the World from time to time for the past years. Evidence from the statistics shows that about 90% of the existing world conflicts are now more of internal conflicts than inter-state conflicts. In the 90s century, the UN has been so much actively participating in ending wars and bringing peace in different countries like Sierra Leone, El Salvador, the former Yugoslavia, Republic of Congo among others. Various ways have been used by the UN to assist in resolving the conflicts and maintain peace. Some of the approaches that the UN has been using are;

- **Ceasefires and peace talks:** In this approach the UN calls for a ceasefire during the time of the conflict then the two conflicting sides are expected to stop the fight and allow those parties to peacefully talk about the ways in which they can end the conflict by solving their differences.
- **Peacekeeping:** This normally takes place after a ceasefire process then the UN can now deploy peacekeeping forces to maintain peace between the two conflicting sides and make sure that the conflict between them does not resume again. These UN peacekeeping forces are mostly soldiers from the different UN member states.
- **Sanctions:** Sanctions are used as a form of a punitive measure for disobeying laws or rules. These sanctions normally come in different forms. They can be trade

sanctions where a country is not allowed to buy or sell their goods to stated countries or regions as stipulated in the sanctions statements. They can also be arms embargoes whereby a restriction on the sale of weapons to some countries is put. These sanctions are imposed after there has been multiple encounters of failure of compliance between the UN and its target.

- **Military Action:** This involves the deployment of troops to conflict areas or even aircrafts so as to bring the conflict to an end.
- **Peace plans:** This approach was used in the former Yugoslavia during the war in 1993. The UN came up with a suggestion of a peace plan that was to split the country between the three warring groups; the Bosnian Muslims, the Croats and the Serbs.

The limitations of the UN and Reforms

The UN was originally established to safeguard the world peace; however, it has been facing several drawbacks during its operations. One of the most severe disadvantages of the United Nations is the abusiveness of the veto power by the big five states. The most typical example was the political conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War period. The consequences of the Cold War made the peacekeeping agreements extraordinarily difficult because of the abruption of the world into hostile groups.

Another fatal vulnerability of the UN was the lack of strong security measures which would safeguard the world at peace. The UN failure to prevent the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda was as a result of the divergence in Security Council about the interventions and military action. To assist in creating, confirming and enriching global norms is one of the effective measure or strategies that the United Nations can promote in order to prevent international conflicts.¹³

The UN peacekeepers continue working in the climates of continued armed conflicts, at times in areas with borders or ceasefire lines which are poorly defined thereby exposing their lives and safety at very high risks. PetruDimitriu's argument was that, due

¹³ See <http://www.un.org/en/sections/priorities/international-peace-and-security/>

to this new and complex environment that has been created in the world together with the United Nations' ambitious objectives and the continued of pressure on the scarce resources has brought some imperatives than ever to have some thoughts about when and how the United Nations should chip-in in the peacekeeping operations (Dimitriu, p. 225).

The UN does not have a clear and strong chain of command to create a sense of accountability and responsibility in order to enhance the proper execution of the organisation's mandates. According to Mats Berdal, "the fundamental distinction between enforcement and peacekeeping should be maintained". The effective case with combined peacekeeping and enforcement action in one operation is the UN's Operations in Somalia which carries considerable political and military risk (Berdal, p.6). The cases of Bosnia, Angola, Somalia and Cambodia have brought new challenges to the peacekeeping tasks. Several issues are raised when peacekeeping is elevated to peace enforcement. The major issue is whether the United Nations has been provided with sufficient resources to be able to undertake some mandates which certainly need enforcement action. One other aspect to look into is the scenario of whether the UN is in a position to develop competent structures to undertake enforcements taking into consideration situations where military risk is high. Legitimacy is another problem that the UN is facing, whether the impartiality in UN peacekeeping operations can be maintained.

The UN is failing to get adequate support to undertake its operations more effectively. The five permanent members of the Security Council are unwilling to politically, financially and logistically support the UN. When the resolutions are passed under the UN chapter VII, with the organisations not provided with adequate resources for them to undertake their mandate normally drains the credibility process. In July 1995, thousands of Muslims were slaughtered by the Serbs forces in the eyes of the UNPROFOR contingent who were lightly armed and their mandate never allowed them to use force in protecting civilians. Therefore mandates should always suit the situation. Peace enforcements must be prepared to work in hostile environments.

The issue of sovereignty has been another constraint to the UN operations. The rise of intra-state wars and globalisation has reduced the states powers as conflict players,

and the UN is supposed to adapt to this political landscape change. In principle, the UN Charter certainly upholds sovereignty, but the UN was established to “save the next generations from horrors of war” and not to protect the States and governments. As stated under the Chapter VII of the UN Charter, “breaches to peace, acts of aggression or threats of peace” calls for intervention. One UN official condemned the aggressive approach saying it will worsen the situation and make it even more difficult for the UN agencies to effectively achieve their mandates (Petterson, 2003).

CHAPTER THREE

United Nations' response to the Darfur Conflict

For a period of more than a year, from early 2003 up until mid-2004, the first priority of the UN Security Council was the negotiations in Naivasha (Kenya) to bring the North-South civil war to an end but the conflict was actually escalating. There was a false optimism that the negotiations would bring a quick settlement to change the political situation in Sudan. Initially, this could be what caused some member states to pay little attention to the escalating Darfur crisis. At a later stage after noticing that it has become increasingly impossible to ignore the evidence of the human rights violations and serious violence going on in Darfur, then, due to fear that the discussion of Darfur may possibly cause the government of Khartoum to withdraw from the Naivasha talks, the Security Council tried to keep Darfur off its agenda. This resulted in the Security Council passing the Resolution 1547¹⁴ which established the United Nations mission in Sudan to get ready on monitoring the implementation of the final agreement between the SPLM/A and the government of Sudan but Darfur was barely mentioned in this Resolution 1547.

Before late July 2004, the only action by the UN Security Council was the statement by the Council President when he called for the Government of Sudan to disarm the Janjaweed militias on May 25, 2004. The Council was briefed on the findings of the two missions of grave humanitarian need as well as massive human rights violations and after several months of repeated appeals that Darfur was not “on its agenda”. Two months down the line, there has been a growing number of humanitarian and human rights groups as well as visits to Darfur by many foreign Ministers from Europe, the United States and the Secretary General Kofi Annan who kept on appealing.

¹⁴ Resolution 1547 established the UN mission in Sudan to prepare themselves to monitor the implementation of the final agreement of the six protocols that had been signed between the Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army (SPLM/A). The problem with this Resolution 1547 was that it barely mentioned Darfur on its agenda. This somehow portrayed it like the UN had neglected Darfur at the same time failing to intervene as a neutral external actor to resolve the conflict. See [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1547\(2004\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1547(2004))

The UN then responded by passing Resolution 1556¹⁵ which called for the disarmament of the Janjaweed by the Sudanese government as well as bringing to justice all those who were responsible for the inciting violence and carrying out human rights abuses on the civilians. The government was threatened by the Council outlining that further sanctions were to be imposed in the event that they fail to comply with the demands of the Resolution.

The United Nations also endorsed the deployment of an African Union force that was going to be monitoring the April 2004 ceasefire agreement between the rebels and the government as well as imposing a ban on the sale of arms to all the individuals and non-governmental entities in the whole region of Darfur. This basically meant that the rebels and Janjaweed were the ones targeted in the sanctions imposed but this did not put a restriction on the same government that was organizing, financing, directing and supplying the Janjaweed. A 13-0 vote approved this Resolution 1556 with Pakistan and China abstaining.

On the part of the Security Council, Resolution 1556 was actually a significant step forward, despite its obvious weaknesses. With various opinions and views, it has been picked in the eyes of many observers that, this move by the Council was just yet another example of the abrogation of its responsibilities. In late June, the UN Secretary General Annan admitted and told the reporters “we all agree that serious crimes are being committed, we don’t need a label to propel us to act and so I think we should act now and stop arguing about which label to put on it” (www.sudantribune.com). Additionally, there had been already quite a number of well documented reports outlining direct involvement of the Sudanese government in the perpetration of the massive violations human rights in Darfur and eyewitness accounts of the joint ground attacks on the civilians by both the Janjaweed and the government as well as some official documents that contained orders requesting for additional recruitment and supply of military ethnic groups.

¹⁵ Resolution 1556 condemned all acts of violence and human rights violations and international humanitarian law by all parties to the conflict especially by the Janjaweed. This Resolution mainly emphasized on the Sudanese government to immediately disarm the Janjaweed militias as well as bringing to justice the Janjaweed leaders who had incited violence and involved in carrying out human rights and international humanitarian violations. See [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1556\(2004\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1556(2004))

In July 2004, much of the stronger measures had been drafted directed to the government and these were ruled to be justified and necessary measures. Unfortunately, they failed to be adopted due to at least one permanent member, China and possibly Russia were assumed to have vetoed any resolution that authorized direct UN intervention or carried any form of sanctions against the Sudanese government¹⁶ (Shinn 2009).

The resolution 1564 was passed on September 18 after seeing that the security and humanitarian conditions have worsened and also failure of the government to fulfil the commitments to disarm the Janjaweed or protect the civilians. “A grave concern” was declared stating that the Sudanese government had failed to fully meet its obligations. In addition, the Security Council also called for the expansion of the African Union monitoring mission in Darfur as well as establishing a commission of enquiry that would investigate reports of human rights law and international humanitarian law and also make a determination of whether or not acts of genocide had transpired.

Finally a threat was passed to the government of Sudan by the UN Security Council that in the event that they fail to comply with the previous Resolutions, additional measures were to be taken. An example of the sanctions that were to imposed would affect the Petroleum sector of Sudan, individual members of the government of Sudan and the government itself. This Resolution 1564 passed by 11-0 vote with Pakistan, Algeria, Russia and China refraining¹⁷(Zygar, 2004). Thus the Security Council was still largely limited to investigations, entreaties, support for an AU force and indirect threats.

¹⁶ China and Russia had interests in Sudan on top of that these two countries are permanent members of the UN Security Council. The two countries, especially China would veto any efforts by the UN directed against the government of Sudan. The relations between China and Sudan were diplomatically established in 1959. These relations were strongly strengthened in the 1970s after the Chinese government offered Sudan a loan and began a multitude of aid projects in the country. China is also said to have owned about 40% of the oil fields in Sudan. Therefore, in the conflict that broke out between the North and the South, China supported Khartoum.

¹⁷The Council could not get adequate attention and also the lack of commitment from the government authorities. The other problem was the issue of interest, the members of the Security Council shared different perspectives pertaining imposing sanctions against the government of Sudan. If this opportunity had succeeded, it might have pushed the government of Sudan to end the tragic moments which were taking place in Darfur. In actual fact, this Resolution 1556, was really a significant step forward despite its obvious weaknesses.

A special session was held by the UN Security Council on November 18-19, 2004 in Nairobi the capital city of Kenya. The agenda of this session was basically to put more pressure on the SPLA/M and the government of Sudan to finalize the Naivasha Agreement. The Security Council then watered down all its earlier commitments to end Darfur conflict during the process of trying to promote the settlement of the North-South Darfur. The UN Security Council passed another Resolution unanimously, Resolution 1574¹⁸.

This Resolution failed to outline any specific criticism of the Sudanese government for their failure to meet the demands for disarming and bringing the Janjaweed to justice, which were included in Resolution 1556 and 1564. Therefore, the Resolution 1574 replaced the previous mild threats with just a mere warning statement which was vague. It stated that in the future “appropriate action against any party failing to fulfil its commitments might consider to be taken”.

Even if efforts were made by the Council to find solutions to the crisis in Darfur, the situation never got any better. Resolution 1590 was further adopted to establish a six month period of the UNMIS¹⁹ to take action. This UNMIS consisted of up to 715 civilian police personnel, an appropriate civilian component and up to 10,000 military personnel. (UN Security Council Resolution 1590, 2005. para.1). The government and the rebel forces had to sign the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the UNMIS was to support this implementation as the decision which came from the Council. It was also the duty of this Mission to facilitate the return of the refugees and those who were displaced, also giving them special assistance and most importantly paying attention to the

¹⁸ Resolution 1574 watered down all the promising achievements that had been earlier set out in the previous resolutions. The UN could not pinpoint any criticism on the Sudanese government for their failure to meet the demands of the UN resolutions especially that of disarming the Janjaweed militias and also to bring to justice the perpetrators of violence. The weakness of this Resolution is unveiled on the part where it stated that in the future “appropriate action might consider to be taken against any party that fails to fulfil its commitments”.

¹⁹ The UN Security Council established United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) under Resolution 1590 in response to the signing of an agreement between the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army and the government of Sudan. This agreement was called the Comprehensive Peace Agreement which was signed in Nairobi Kenya, on January 9 2005. Basing on the terms of the resolution, the Council declared that the rebel forces, armed groups in Darfur and the government of Sudan had failed to comply fully with their commitments and demands of the Council in respect to the former resolutions.

international efforts on promoting and protecting human rights in Sudan. The Security Council then made a decision to delegate the UNMIS authority of making sure that the deployed UN personnel were protected and ensuring that civilians had freedom of movement and were secured under the physical violence threats.

The journey of the Security Council to promote peace in Sudan continued and they also went on further to adopt the Resolution 1591. A committee was to be formed, that was responsible for monitoring the sanctions which were imposed on Sudan with the inclusion of freezing of assets, weapons and travelling ban (UN Security Council Resolution 1591, 2005. para.3). A request to the Secretary General was also made that there was need for a Panel of three Experts from Ethiopia, which on regular intervals would be patrolling in the regions of Sudan for six months operating under the direction of the Committee.

The Council mentioned that in the event that the Darfur situation continues to deteriorate and the parties fail to comply with the terms and demands outlined in the Resolutions, further measures would be taken as stated in Article 41 of the UN Charter. The Council remained detained to the matter while it waited for positive results from the parties to the conflict (UN Security Resolution 1591, 2005. para.9).

Since there was no full compliance to the former resolutions the Council suggested to vote for resolution 1593²⁰ to take the situation to the International Criminal Court so that the crimes committed in the region will be clarified. The Council decided to invite the African Union (AU) and the court to make discussions concerning the practical arrangements that would facilitate the Prosecutor's work and that of the Court and also the chances of holding proceedings in the region which would assist in fighting for peace (UN Security Council Resolution 1593, 2005. para.3).

The council then later voted for resolution 1672 after the Darfur case was referred to be dealt by the International Community Court. This resolution imposed financial

²⁰Eleven votes favoured the resolution 1593, none against and there were 4 abstentions Algeria, Brazil, China, and United States (UN Security Council Resolution 1593, 2005. para.1). The Council also made a decision that the government of Sudan and all other parties which were in the conflict of Darfur had to fully cooperate with the Court and Prosecutor in giving as much assistance as they could following resolution 1593 (Statement by Security Council Representative, 2005).

sanctions and travel restrictions. The Council came up with a decision that requested all States to make sure that all elected persons by the Committee formed under the resolution are restricted entry or even transit entries through their territories (UN Security Council Resolution 1672, 2006. para.3). It is very important to note that an accord had been signed in May with the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) factions requesting the Janjaweed militias and rebel forces to disarm and disband and to incorporate them into the army (Aljazeera.Net, 2006), nevertheless, this accord did not succeed since the other two smaller groups, the rival faction of SLA and JEM rejected it (Kessler et al, 2006).

For the Council to give full support to the early application of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) and to include its deployment to Darfur as well as expand the mandate of UNMIS it adopted resolution 1706 on 31st August 2006. (UN Security Council Resolution 1706, 2006. para.1). For the adoption of the resolution 1706, 12 votes were in favour, none against and 3 abstentions (China, Qatar, and the Russian Federation).

A deployment was to be done in Darfur and then the Council called for the accord of the Sudanese Government of National Unity and asked the Member states to make sure that a rapid deployment was done. In accordance to the Chapter VII of the UN Charter, UNMIS was authorised to use any means it deemed fit in line with the Charter to solve the Darfur situation (UN Security Council Resolution 1706 para.12). The Council decided to make an extension of the UNMIS mandate until the 31st of October 2007, by unanimously adopting the Resolution 1755. This resolution basically requested the Secretary-General to immediately assign a new Special Representative for Sudan (UN Security Council Resolution 1755, 2007. para.1).

Resolution 1755 also called for the CPA parties to increase development on the implementation of all their commitments, specifically in carrying out the formation of security sectors as well as Joint Integrated Units. The Council invited the parties to the communiqué of 28 March 2007, the CPA, the DPA, the N'Djamena Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement, the Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement to venerate their pledges and instrument fully all facets of the arrangements short of postponement. Also the parties which had not signed the DPA were called to sign without failure and not to behave in

any way that would disturb the arrangements. (UN Security Council Resolution 1755, 2007).

In continued positive efforts to end the Darfur conflict, the Security Council went on further to unanimously adopt Resolution 1769. This Resolution authorized the deployment of 26,000-strong joint force of the United Nations-African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) (UN Security Council Resolution 1769, 2007). Resolution 1769 entitled the 15-member body to have up to 19,555 military personnel, constituting of 19 special police units with up to 2,660 officers; 360 military observers and liaison officers and a civilian component of up to 3,772, international police. (UN Security Council Resolution 1769, 2007. para.2). From Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the UNAMID was authorized by the Council to take the necessary action which supported the implementation of the DPA and protecting its civilians and personnel “without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Sudan” (UN Security Council Resolution 1769, 2007. para.3).

The Resolution was welcomed by the Security Council Members. The ultimate goal was to bring the sufferings in Darfur to an end and secure a lasting peace²¹ (UN Security Council Resolution 1769, 2007. para.9). Most of the speakers were enjoining the parties and mostly the Sudanese Government to fully -unite with the deployment and pursuing a genuine pathway to a peace settlement. The JEM and the Sudanese Government signed a ceasefire agreement in February 2010. According to (BBC News, 23 February 2010), basing from the talks, the JEM had hopes to gain the most than the South.

Nevertheless, the peace talks between these two parties were impeded by the accusations that the Sudanese Army violated the February agreement after they resumed attacks raiding a village and conducting air strikes (BBC News, 4 May 2010). The JEM

²¹, The Security Council had threatened to sanction the government of Sudan on the conditions that failed to comply. An African Union force was also endorsed to be deployed so that they would monitor the April 2004 ceasefire agreement that had been signed between the rebels and the government as well as the imposed ban on the sale of ammunitions to “individuals and non-governmental entities” in Darfur, that is, the Janjaweed militias and the rebels but not the Government which organized, financed, directing and supplying the Janjaweed. This was a weak policy and it failed to implement as the Sudanese government continued to get supplies of arms and the government would provide those arms to the Janjaweed militias.

then threatened to boycott any further peace negotiations after the accusations which were levied against the Sudanese government. (BBC News, 4 May 2010). All the efforts by the Council to achieve a stable peace environment in the Darfur region have been counter-productive. The Council cannot therefore rely solely on the Resolutions that have been previously adopted. A stronger military operation is needed to pose the Janjaweed and the different rebel factions. In making decisions that have impact on peace processes, the Council should be united and bit more authoritative. The power to make decisions is basically the Council's primary right included in the UN Charter; therefore, it comes as a legal duty of the Council to consume such a delegated authority.

A special session on Sudan was held by the United Nations Security Council in Nairobi, Kenya. The major objective of this session was to pressurize the Sudanese government and SPLA/M to finalize the Naivasha Agreement. As the UN was in the process of striving to settle down the North-South crisis, the Security Council ended up watering down their earlier commitment to stop the sufferings of the Darfur civilians. The unanimously passed resolution 1574, failed to embrace any specific issues criticizing the Sudanese Government for their failure in meeting the demands of disarming and bringing to justice the Janjaweed militias which were stated in the Resolution 1556 and 1564 thereby replacing the serious sanctions threats with those which carried vague warning that, in the future, the institution might make considerations to take "appropriate action against any party failing to fulfil its commitments". Adding on to that, the UN was called as well as the World Bank to provide debt relief and development aid to the same government which had been labelled genocidal by US and others.

However apart from the Resolutions that the UN passed in an effort to end the Darfur conflict, the UN has also been a major partner of the Sudanese people. The United Nations has mainly been focusing its efforts on trying to reduce humanitarian suffering, saving people's lives, provide essential and resilience and also to support through the work of so many different Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). The UN used the area-based approach so as to be in a position to identify and focus only on the areas of developmental, recovery intervention and humanitarian. Some of these United Nations Organisations and NGOs which were actively working in Sudan were;

- **United Nations Advanced Mission in the Sudan (UNAMIS)**

This organisation was formed on the 11th of June 2004 to assist on the movement of the progress that had been agreed upon in the peace process between the SPLM/A and the government of Sudan under the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) as well as to prepare for the envisaged peace support operation following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace agreement.

- **United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)**

This was established on 24 March 2005. Its main agenda was to support the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that had been previously signed on the 9th of January 2005 between the SPLM/A and the Government of Sudan. It also had other duties to perform relating to the protection and promotion of human rights and humanitarian assistance.

- **African Union/United Nations hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID)**

This organisation was established on 31 July 2007 by the Security Council through the adoption of resolution 1769. Its mission was basically to support the early and effective implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement as well as the negotiations outcome between the UN Special Envoy for Darfur, the African Union Special Envoy for Darfur and the government of Sudan. On 31 December, the African Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) formally left the operations for the UNAMID to take over from them.

- **United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA)**

Established on 27 June 2011 to verify and monitor the redeployment of any Sudan People's Liberation Army, Sudan Armed Forces or its successor from the area of Abyei. It also facilitated the delivery of free movement of relief workers in and around Abyei and the delivery of humanitarian aid.

- **United Nations Mission in the South Sudan (UNMISS)**

Formed on 8 July 2011 to consolidate peace and security as well as to assist in the establishment of the deployment conditions with an aspiration of strengthening the government of Republic South Sudan's capacity to effectively govern with democracy

and establish good relations with its neighbours. Other organisations which were assisting in the Darfur conflict included;

- UN Commissioner for Human Rights (UNCHR)
- UN Commissioner for Refugees (UNCR)
- UN Development Fund (UNDP)
- UN Population Fund (UNPA)
- Office for Coordination of Human Affairs (OCHA)
- Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO)

The UN has also been responsible for endorsing agriculture and food security as a mode of alleviating conflicts thereby promoting peace. The humanitarian aid organisations were also present in Darfur to assist the affected civilians who were in desperate need of the humanitarian aid. The situation in Darfur has been declared by the Food and Agriculture Organisation as the worst humanitarian disaster ever. Food World Programme also made a report that their mandates to assist the civilians has actually managed to serve approximately 355, 000 people who were starving from death. Several delegations were attacked following the air droppings of aid packages by the Red Cross²². Although the efforts by these organisations to water down the conflict in Darfur was so noticeable due to their presence during the time of the conflict, their operations were severely limited as a result of the ban on foreign organisations and or aid groups.

There has been also the involvement of the International Criminal Court which made efforts to make sure that those responsible for inciting violence in the country were brought to justice and sentenced. The Janjaweed leader Ali Kushayb and Sudanese minister Ahmed Haroun were both accused of 51 counts of crimes against humanity and war crimes. The President of Sudan Omar Al Bashir was also accused of crimes of genocide and also crimes against humanity.²³

²² Lack of coordination and resources has been one of the UN weaknesses that has actually expose so many people's lives at risk as they were ordered to undertake their mandates with inadequate resources on the ground thereby increasing their chances of getting attacked by the rebels.

²³ The ICC exposed its weaknesses when it left the cases of the Sudanese minister and Janjaweed leader unfinished. They never got arrested or charged for those crimes they had been accused for. In 2010 the ICC issued an arrest warrant for the President of Sudan but no further action was taken to make sure that

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

In an effort to make an evaluation on the UN involvement in the Darfur conflict and provide an answer on how the UN failed to meet its obligations of ending the conflict, many analysts and scholars gave various opinions and reasons. Some say the major factor that generated to the UN failure was its reluctance in intervening in the Darfur conflict. The UN even failed neither to minimize the conflict nor to manage it as dozens of people kept on being killed in the eyes of the UN peacekeepers. The blame is on the UN for its lack of neutrality in its general collective security operations. The intervention of the UN with an aspect of favouring one party would further ignite the violence to a higher level. The UN failure on the veto raised by China and to some extent Russia is one of the major downward pull factors of the UN to achieve its mandates in Darfur. The reason why the UN has been failing to end the Darfur conflict is because of the intense lack of coordination between the UN agencies, Sudanese Government officials and the UN officials. Lack of adequate resources, weak Resolutions, lack responsiveness, Naivasha talks, lack of unity within the UN body members are some of the factors which have hindered the UN from attaining its mandates. Nevertheless, it is crucial to look into all these factors raised by different analysts against the expected roles and purposes of the UN in order to be able to critically analyse why the United Nations failed to deal with the conflict in Darfur.

The essential functions of the United Nations Security Council as mentioned in the Charter of the UN- Chapter VI and VII is the responsibility to maintain international peace and security. This is actually the major issue that establishes the collective security system so as to save the world from war outbreaks by taking necessary measures.²⁴

he is arrested. China and the Arab league continued to give support to the al Bashir as they made an announcement that they expose his extradition. China is one of the UNSC permanent member states but it supported the works of the regime of Sudan because of the relations that existed between that regime and China therefore kept on protecting them.

²⁴The procedures set forth in the Chapter VII in the Article 39 that in the event that there is no solution to the conflict or failure to bring the conflict to an end and there are signs of threats to the international peace and security or in a case where the act of the aggression is a critical variable as in the case of the

The UN has showed a grave weakness in Darfur. A former French diplomat named Herve Ladsous, the UN top peacekeeping official said;

“It was no secret that the relationship with the government has always been challenging, In every mission there is a tension between the necessity preserve the consent and goodwill of the host government required to allow our peacekeepers to do their job and sometimes contradictory imperative to report accurately and candidly on any and all incidents of violence”(www.webtv.un.org).

Bad relations with any host government can make it impossible for a mission to operate, to move around the country, to have their equipment cleared by National customs, to deploy new personnel.

USA has actively prevented the Security Council from adopting that condemned the settlement activities of Israel in East Jerusalem. US asked that the Israel forces should be withdrawn from Gaza as they claimed that the constitution of Security Wall in the West Bank was illegal and various matters that constituted the condemnation of any actions that were carried out by Israel²⁵. The degree of political isolation of United States pertaining its decisions towards the conflict of Israel-Palestine is illustrated by the fact that the US was the only country among the other which casted a negative vote (D’Almeida, 2011). This demonstrates how the use of a veto power hinders the UN from attaining its mandates of ending conflicts and peace building, same with the case of Darfur.

Russia and China refused the UN Security Council to condemn violations of human rights in Zimbabwe and Burma because they had economic interests in both countries. Currently in Zimbabwe, the government is heavily relying on China for its

Darfur conflict. The UN Security Council failed to gradually implement the measures of the UN Charter as it implicates.

²⁵Ibid

power levels, this goes also to Burma which heavily relies on China of its political support²⁶.

The permanent members have been using the power of veto in line with their national interest ever since the establishment of the Security Council. The use of the veto has been distancing the UN from achieving some of its mandates. Evidence where the veto has been exercised in the Security Council is mainly for self-interest or interest of the allies. This is believed to be undemocratic because it gives considerable privileges and power to certain states in the world.

Additionally, the issue of the veto power posed some problems in the Security Council to be able to achieve their mandates successfully. This is because the five permanent members of the Security Council (China, Russia, the United Kingdom, France and United States) are given a unique power to protect and promote their own national interests at the expense of the international interests. In the case of Darfur, China has been the main obstacle to the actions of the Security Council. China owned almost 40 percent share of the main oil producing field in Sudan. In November 2004, at the Council's special session in Nairobi, Resolution 1574 was threatened by the use of the veto to pressurize other members of the Security Council to decline the adoption of this Resolution 1574. This veto was used by China and possibly Russia, which is suspected to be the main suppliers of arms to the Sudanese government (Shinn 2009).

According to (Reeves 2004; 1), The UN Humanitarian Coordinator for Sudan stated in February 2004, that, "the only difference between Rwanda and Darfur now are the numbers involved". The Sudanese Government chose to retaliate against the UN by lodging a protest claiming that it was false statement. Additional reports stated that the Sudanese Security forces painted their helicopters white so that they would look like the UN and AU's vehicles as they carried out repressive attacks against civilians (Egland, 2006). In April 2004, the UN stated requesting that-a-fact-finding mission should be implemented in Darfur to assess the situation. This shows that the Sudanese government

²⁶See Website http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/research_report_3_the_veto_2015.pdf

declined the efforts by the UN to end the Darfur conflict thereby prolonging the conflict period.

Lack of neutrality on the part of UN when dealing with conflicts has been another factor which has been fuelling up conflicts in different regions. Russia vetoed the resolutions which were directed to the conflict in Yugoslavia and the intervention of the NATO's military in Kosovo so as to protect Yugoslavia (O'Connell, 2000 p 76). The UN passed a resolution that emphasised that considerable action would be taken in the event that the contents of the Resolutions were not met and additional measures would be put forward so as to maintain or restore peace and stability in the region (UN Security Council Resolution 1199; 1998). In this Resolution, no regional organisation or any country was authorised to launch military intervention. Nevertheless, the NATO began its bombing campaigns over Yugoslavia on March 24, 1999. In any of the Resolutions which were later on passed after this, the UN did not make any condemnations regarding these actions by NATO. This act actually exposed the weakness of the UN by failing to take a stance against NATO actions.

Many states have been hiding their gross citizenry abuses through the norm of the non-intervention in "internal affairs" of an independent state. Most of the governments around the world, especially those in Africa, Latin America and Asia mostly regard this norm as one of their few shields against pressures and threats from those more powerful international actors with more wealth that are seeking to promote their own political and economic interests. But legitimate governments have been using this norm of non-interference as a way to block international efforts to bring to an end the gross citizenry abuses. This is basically what transpired in the case of Darfur; sovereignty is what Khartoum used, first, as a shield to cover-up its violent campaigns against the African villages then later on, as a veil to make sure that the calls for international action to assist and protect its victims were all fend off.

The balance of power is shifting in the global economy, China now taking the lead after the US has once been the world's biggest superpower for half a century. Turkey has also emerged with its four cities ranked as the fastest growing cities in the world and the other four are from China and none of the top fastest growing cities were either from

the Europe or US. This means that those Western countries that used to dominate most on the global decision making are now under pressure. Therefore geopolitics will have impact on NGOs and generally the operations of the countries where the NGOs they fund are situated. For instance, governments will get reluctant to provide funds to states that are having their own programmes. A government that provide more aid to a country will end up getting full control of that country's operations through the NGOs.

The results gathered from the Darfur conflict shows that the involvement of the power states with strong national interests in a certain region, the geopolitics situation can be detrimental causing serious obstacles in bringing up the solutions to the conflicts. In this case, it shows that China has been strongly protecting Sudan, economically, militarily and politically. In 2007, that is when China finally agreed to the deployment of some UN peacekeeping forces but already it was too late because hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians had been victimized in Darfur leaving approximately 2,5 million resorting to refugee camps in Sudan whilst others fleeing to neighbouring Chad.

Although the UN came up with policies restricting the sale of arms to the Sudanese government, China kept on providing arms to Sudan. The Chinese argued that these sales did not violate the embargo policy unless the Sudanese armed forces used the weapons in Darfur. China also assisted Sudan to make an establishment of its own arms industry and Sudan is now ranked as the third largest on the African continent after Egypt and South Africa (Shinn 2009).

Another factor to look into is the issue of the external interventions. The external actors who intervened in the Darfur conflict actually added more sparks to the already existing explosive situation. The West supported the Chadian regime of Hissène Habré²⁷ who were non-Arabs and armed them whilst on the other hand Moammar Qaddafi²⁸ armed the Arab tribes to fight against Habre. Darfur became the battlefield for all these events thereby increasing the quantities of weapons in region (Mamdani, 2009).

²⁷Hissène Habré: Chadian president from 1982-1990. He was brought into power through the support of France and USA as they provided arms, financing and training.

²⁸Moammar Qaddafi: Was a Libyan dictator for 40 years who seized control of Libya from 1969 up until he was overthrown from power in 2011.

However, the UN has been able to make recognisable efforts to end the Darfur conflict. On 22 July 2004 UN Security Council adopted resolution I556 which was giving Sudan until August to make sure that the Janjaweed have been disarmed. November 19, UN Resolution 1574 was passed which called for an end to the violence. In March 2005, Resolution 1591 was passed which further strengthened sanctions that had been imposed by the UN Security Council as well as providing an agreement to hand over Darfur to the ICC.

Without proper reconciliation the conflict may break out again. By nature, reconciliation is said to be a “bottom up” process therefore it must not be force upon by the state or any organisation. The UN tried to reconcile the Sudanese government with the rebels through providing the gaps to the interest of the parties for example on the issue of drought and shortage of resources which was the other reason which triggered the conflict in Darfur. The UN had different programmes that it engaged on in Darfur like the UN Development Fund (UNDF), Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), UN Commissioner for Human Rights (UNCHR), UN Commissioner for Refugees (UNCR) among others.

A distressed system has been resembled by the UN since most of the International conflicts failed to be resolved and others were late to be addressed so that they are stopped before their escalation into full a full blown dispute. In practice the UN has never been able to make a full development into aspects of effective conflict resolution system.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

- **Quick Responsiveness**

Decision making bodies like the UN Security Council must be prepared to act on the early stage of conflict, rather than delaying to wait until the violence has intensified. It must always be clear on the part of the diplomats if they are intervening on behalf of the people and not an insurgency. The UN must be quick to remind rebel groups of their responsibilities as well as their own accountability, be it, regarding to the international prosecution for war crimes or sanctions and humanity crimes.

- **Clearly stated agendas**

The moment the International Community comes into play threatening to use some forms of coercive action against a state that commits atrocities, those local forces opposing the state are bound to view the external actors as their allies thereby start acting accordingly. These indigenous forces will also have the sense of righteousness and the inevitable victory of their struggles is enhanced when they discover that international community is on their side.

- **Strongly acting in line with the demands of the Resolutions**

The Sudanese government limited the UN access to some specific areas at the same time the UNAMID convoys and personnel are being attacked at regular intervals. This has posed some major drawbacks on the operations of the UN in Darfur. The UN should always act accordingly to the things they state in their resolutions so that the governments should always be hesitant of the position of the UN especially when it outlines its demands and requests. Continuously posing threats over and over again will not stop the conflict but rather catalyse when the opposing side note the UN weaknesses.

- **Security Council seats**

Increasing the number of seats in the Security Council is actually more acceptable than to just reform or remove the veto. There has been a universal agreement about the former whilst the latter has been seen as a controversial matter. This is seconded by the words of the last Australian Ambassador to UN who sat on the Council, Richard Woolcott as he said, *“you can make a difference if you are on the Security Council”* (Kingston, 2003).

- **Circumstances to which the veto power should be exercised**

The Security Council should cease employing or pass threats of employing the veto in those cases where the state have proved failure of protecting their citizens and to reach a settlement which is mutually acceptable to that effect. The issue of permanent members of the Security Council remains doubtful whether in the future they will still be able to use the veto in those cases which involves war crimes, genocide crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing.

- **Lobbying**

Instead of abusing the veto power, the permanent members should try to resort to the tactic of lobbying so that they prevent higher chances of coming up with any controversial issues to the Council. However this tactic poses weaknesses as the countries will start to threaten the use of a veto so as to keep some issues off the agenda yet at times some of the matters will be very crucial to be brought forward to the Security Council.

- **Strategic structuring of the UN**

The UN is spending little resources on the most cost-effective parts of the peacebuilding system as well as preventive diplomacy. The organisation should then be structured in a way which offers preventive assistance in a strategic manner through increasing the resources and capacity (Peck 1996). Pre-conflict peacebuilding and preventive diplomacy is the real key to prevent both International and Intra-state conflicts because they address the conflict from its root causes. In terms of reconciliation and conflict resolution, the UN has expanded considerable amount of peacebuilding activities in Darfur but the contributions to both the conflict resolution and reconciliation seem to be limited.

- **Flexible operations**

A sophisticated mechanism have been created by the Security Council's resolutions on children and armed conflicts that pursue to monitor and impact the conduct of rebellious group and government associated with children and armed conflicts around the world (UN Security Council Resolution 1612, July 26, 2005). Therefore the moment the Security Council determines that a situation involves war crimes, genocide crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing poses threats to International peace and security, it would not require the prior referral to take collective action from any UN body. In the event that the Security Council has failed to take collective action in a decisive and timely manner, in responding to the state authorities manifest failure to protect their citizens from mass violence, the General Assembly can make a consideration of coming up with appropriate measures, like the deployment of peace operations under the "Uniting for Peace Procedure or binding sanctions" (UN Secretary General, January 12, 2009).

- **Closer co-operations with Regional Organisations**

The peace process in Burundi could be a better example to show how preventative diplomacy by regional and traditional actors can assist in preventing mass atrocities. The political situation in Burundi appeared with almost exactly the same face as that of its neighbouring Rwanda before genocide was reported. The sustained engagement by the regional and International actors is what actually helped to prevent the Burundi civil war in the mid 1990s. This clearly tells that the UN should seek closer cooperation on peace-making with regional organisations. Collective security should be imposed as stipulated according to the UN Charter and solve conflicts between or within the states through peaceful measures as outlined in the articles 33 of the UN Charter.

- **Bureaucracy**

The UN should also readdress its issue of red-tape. It takes long to respond to conflict yet civilians will be killed whilst they start organise how to deal with the conflict. In most cases, the more the conflict escalates the difficulty it becomes to resolve or manage it. This is the situation that happened in Sudan, the UN took long to respond to the conflict whilst the tension was escalating and by the time they wanted to intervene it was already too late to resolve or effectively manage the conflict. Therefore it is crucial for the UN to cut the red-tape in order to effectively facilitate an end to conflicts.

- **UN principle “Responsibility to protect”**

Unless and until the UN agrees to accept the principle, change is not likely to happen. The International commission recommended on the intervention and State Sovereignty and High level Panel on Threats, that all the States are assigned to the “responsibility to protect” citizens challenged with disasters which are avoidable as well as rape, mass murder, deliberate starvation, exposure to disease, ethnic cleansing by forcible expulsion and terror. After identifying the “responsibility to protect”, the Security Council will then be provided with the basis that it requires to be able to directly act in the face of a sovereign state that is refusing to protect its own people. The moment the UN Security Council orders peace operations in striving to support the demobilization, reintegration and disarmament of former combatants, resilience of a society is also nurtured to risking future mass atrocities. The Council can inspire states to fulfil their responsibility to protect when they are confronting a crisis by using effective

preventive diplomacy. It should also make sure that its plans are always matched by the required necessary resources as well as political will so that they can easily safeguard the protection of citizens from the mass atrocities.

- **Coordination**

For the UN to become more effective, a mechanism should be identified to attract the international community and their leverage to lower down the antics of the coinciding parties, perhaps by embarking more firmly on fundraising efforts as well as introducing a clear and meaningful chain of command so that the coordination of inter-agency is facilitated. If only the major power states had willingly summoned to act in one accord, further cases of violence would have been brought to end or at least limited. The Security Council allowed Russia and China to challenge their influence of power. The Council works as a decision-making body and not as an operational body, nevertheless, it has managed to come up with mechanisms like the sanctions committee which enforces its own interests or decisions. As a result these bodies are more likely to be easily influenced by those UN members with their own nation's interests.

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