

**THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN
CONFLICT MITIGATION: A CASE STUDY OF SUDAN (2005-2018)**

FAITH AWUOR OGWENO

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SUPERVISOR: PROF. FRED JONYO

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented in any other University for an academic award.

Sign 

Date 22/10/2019

Faith Awuor Ogweno C50/87210/2016

APPROVAL

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the official university supervisor

Sign 

Date 22. 10. 2019

Prof. Fred Jonyo

University Supervisor

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

DEDICATION

This work is entirely dedicated to my parents David Ogweno and Margaret Akinyi. A special dedication also to my siblings Effie, Molly, Emmanuel and Annabel.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I thank the Almighty God for his guidance and protection throughout this entire period.

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ABSTRACT

Sudan has been blessed with abundance of natural resources which ranges from fertile land to oil. However this sector has been abused in the region and it has led to conflict and disagreements in the region. The link between ethnic rivalries, armed groups, resources, political instability has all created a complex security situation in the region. In addition, the historical roots on how the region was being ruled in the colonial era further divided the region. In sum, the ability to deal with the conflict in Sudan is very low. The government of Sudan lacks the necessary capacity to deal with the conflict and protect its country. This study assessed the role of the United Nations in conflict mitigation in Sudan. The research design used in this study was a longitudinal research design and more specifically a case study method. The area of study was Sudan but the data collected relied on the Sudanese Embassy in Nairobi, civil society groups, UN mission officers and other professionals. The data was collected through focus group discussions, interviews and also use of resources from the library. For the purpose of the study, the target population was a total of 40 individuals. This was stratified through the various groups as a target. The data collected was categorized into various thematic concerns and analyzed to offer clarification, verification and explanation. The study concludes that the major cause of conflict in Sudan is ethnic rivalry and also the struggle over natural resources majorly oil. The study also concludes that a way to resolve the conflict is to engage in home based negotiations like the one that took place in Somali in fighting against the warlords. Based on the findings, the study recommends that there should be a collective action against those that violate the peace agreement, the UN should engage in an inclusive approach in resolving the conflict and also the government should ensure that reconciliation, accountability and healing process has taken root in Sudan. The international bodies must provide interventions so as to avoid a negative outcome of the conflict and also the local actors should act upon the needs and peaceful co-existence of the people so as to bring a culture and structure that is conducive for all its citizens.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMIS:	African Mission in Sudan
AU:	African Union
CAR:	Central African Republic
CPA:	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DPA:	Darfur Peace Agreement
HEC:	High Executive Council
IDPs:	Internally Displaced Persons
IFAD:	Inter-Fund for Agricultural Development
IGAD:	Inter-Governmental Authority for Development
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
IOM:	International Organization for Migration
JEM:	Justice and Equality System
NMAC:	National Mine Action Center
SAF:	Sudan Armed Forces
SLA:	Sudan's Liberation Army
SPLM/A:	Sudan's People Liberation Movement/ Army
SSLM:	South Sudan Liberation Movement
UN:	United Nations
UNAMID:	United Nations- African Union hybrid operation in Darfur
UNAMIS:	United Nations Advanced Mission in Sudan
UNDP:	United Nations Developmental Programme
UNEP:	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNHCR:	United Nations Commission for Refugees

UNMAS: United Nations Mine Action Services
UNSC: United Nations Security Council
UNISFA: United Nations Interim force in Abyei
UNMIS: United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISS: United Nations Mission in South Sudan

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The “Agenda for Peace” report by Boutros-Ghali which was presented in 1992 was the first document to popularize the concept peacekeeping. He defined peacekeeping in the report as a varied range of activities which are meant to identify and also support structures which will tend to solidify and strengthen peace so as to avoid a relapse into conflict. Before this report was presented, peacekeeping was mainly limited to activities designed to consolidate peace in the post conflict countries in order to avoid relapse into war. After this report, peacekeeping became a very expansive and broad term (Ghali 1992). Kofi Annan in “Agenda for Development” identifies that peacekeeping might involve a series of activities which includes the prevention of a conflict, management of a conflict, having negotiations, advocacy, peacemaking, providing humanitarian assistance, development work, emergency management and post conflict reconstruction (Annan 1997). This therefore means that peacekeeping involves a long term process to development and reconstruction of a region affected by war so as prevent a conflict or even the conflict from re-occurring again.

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) discusses the political aspects of peacekeeping before conducting any deployment. It adopts resolutions in order to establish peacekeeping operations, determine mandates, establish the time frame and authorize troop deployment. Before a peacekeeping operation is mandated, the Security Council considers as to whether the parties in conflict have commitment in reaching a peace agreement. The council would also put in place as to whether the parties have agreed on ceasefire and also they need to be assured on the security of the UN personnel who are going to be deployed to assist in peacekeeping (Dick 2010).

This study analyzed the role of the United Nations peacekeeping operation in conflict mitigation; a case study of Sudan. Peacekeeping process in Sudan began in order to deal with the security threat posed to the nation. The conflict is caused by rebel groups whose main aim ranges from political to ethnical rivalries (Garba 1998). This has resulted to more than 300,000 people dying, properties being destroyed and approximately 3 million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), hence resulting into poor development in Sudan. The UN decided to intervene in Sudan so as to

maintain a peaceful co-existence in the country, this was after the situation in Sudan gained an international recognition. However, even after the intervention of the UN, the country has not fully recovered. In order to understand why Sudan has experienced a relapse into conflict even after a peacekeeping intervention, the study explored the role played by the UN in the peace process, the causes of the conflict experienced and challenges faced.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Sudan is located on the northern side of Africa and its current population is 41,793,896 based on the United Nations estimate in 2018. Indigenous Sudanese constitutes the Nilotic people whereby the Dinka form the largest portion and constitutes 52% of the total population, Arabs an estimate of 39% of the total population and Beja constitutes of 3%. Foreigners and other groups constitute the remaining 3%. The country is blessed with abundance of natural resources ranging from oil to fertile land. However, the sector of oil has been abused by different factions in Sudan's conflict (UN Peace building Commission).

The end of the civil war which was between the North and the South gave rise to complex violence which is not only characterized by political interests, but also due to the mismanagement, misuse and exploitation of the major economic resource which is oil and also ethnicity and criminal actions. The government of Sudan which was strongly centralized for decades resulted into a great cause of civil war, because of the political and regional disparities and also the marginalization of the people from the East, West and South of Sudan (Nhema 2008). The conflict has resulted into unstable political system, civil strife, drought and famine, increased number of unemployment and emergence of more than 3 million IDP's. The United Nations estimated that in the first year alone more than 300,000 people were killed in air raids, shelling and attack on villages. The unrest in Sudan paved way for the need of peace in the region.

It is in view of the foregoing that the study addressed the role of the UN peace keeping operation in conflict mitigation; a case study of Sudan, from 2005-2018. This period was chosen for the study because in 2005, UN saw that the conflict in Sudan continued to deteriorate and this interfered with peace in the country. The UN Security Council adopted resolution 1590 in 2005

and the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) was formed. This was the first mission to be deployed by the UN in Sudan. UNMIS was mandated with foreseeing that the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was successfully implemented, provide humanitarian assistance, ensured that the people who fled away because of insecurity successfully returned to their homes and also to contribute towards the international efforts to promote of human rights.

The instability in Darfur and Abyei led to the formation of the United Nations- African Union Hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID) which was adopted in 2007 under resolution 1769 to run its operation in Darfur and the mission was mandated with protecting civilians in the region, to ensure that the agreements discussed in the DPA were implemented, to help in the implementation of an inclusive political system in Darfur, to promote human rights and finally to monitor and report on the border situation along Central African Republic (CAR) and Chad. Later on United Nations Interim Force in Abyei (UNISFA) was established through the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1990 (2011) with its core mandate being monitoring the withdrawal of Northern and Southern troops from Abyei, to create and guarantee a demilitarized zone and provide a de-mining assistance. Its secondary tasks were to facilitate humanitarian assistance, to build up the Abyei police service and protect civilians in the area (Collier 2006).

1.3 Research Questions

This study answered the following questions:

- 1) How has the Peace process in Sudan evolved?
- 2) What role has UN played in conflict mitigation in Sudan?
- 3) What are the challenges of UN peacekeeping operations in Sudan?

1.4 Objective of the Study

The core objective of this study was to examine the role of United Nations peacekeeping operation in conflict mitigation; a case study of Sudan (2005-2019). More specifically the study aimed to:

- 1) To examine the peace process in Sudan.
- 2) To examine the role of UN in dealing with the conflict in Sudan.

3) To examine the challenges of the UN peacekeeping operation in Sudan.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Academic Justification

This study examined the peacekeeping process in Sudan with a focus on the peacekeeping deployment of UNMIS, UNAMID and UNISFA. The peace process in Sudan involves a varied range of policy implications at both local and international level. This study therefore contributed to the growing body of knowledge on the capabilities of the international community to extend protection in the war prone environments. The study also added to the larger study on peacekeeping operations by providing a redefinition of peacekeeping practices that can be reviewed and compared to similar studies. These broader lessons are deemed to be important to the dialogue on chapter VI and chapter VII peacekeeping operations and humanitarian interventions.

Policy Justification

Across the region of Sudan a lot of lives have been lost, people displaced and also tension around the neighboring countries has increased because of conflict. The need for peacekeeping has increasingly been adopted. Ethnic conflict might be avoided and when it happens, it might be stopped before it causes a huge damage. In this case it is important for these states to be informed on the loss gained in a conflicting state. The study specifically identified the role played by the UN in peacekeeping operation in Sudan. This study provided robust insights intended to build sustainable peace.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study covered a scope of literature focused on peacekeeping and the function of the United Nations in Sudan. The conflict in Sudan has contributed towards negative impact which has left thousands dead, millions misplaced, it has caused hunger due to farmers not tilling their lands because of conflict and hence leading to humanitarian assistance. UN intervened in Sudan to help bring peace in a country which had not known peace in a period of more than twenty one years. The mission is faced with challenges which range from political to operational difficulties. The scope of this study covered on conflict and the peace process in Sudan in order to answer the research questions.

The United Nations peacekeeping operation in Sudan was implemented when the country was one and its task was to help in implementing the CPA which contained six protocols. Despite the success UNMIS, some aspects of the CPA still remained unimplemented. The referendum for the Abyei area did not occur because of the disagreement between leaders from both the North and the South. Since the creation of the peacekeeping operation in Sudan its mandate has been changing but the core mandate still remains on maintaining peace.

1.7 Definition and Operationalization of Concepts

1.7.1 Peacekeeping

Conceptual Definition

Boutros-Ghali in his article an Agenda for Peace defines peacekeeping as a varied range of activities which are meant to support and identify structures which will solidify and strengthen peace in order to prevent a country from relapsing into conflict. It includes the deployment of the multinational forces which includes the UN, with the consent of the conflicting parties to help resolve conflict. This normally involves the use of unarmed or very lightly armed military personnel. Force may be used in a situation where ceasefire has failed and this may be against the consent of the conflicting parties (Ghali 1992).

Operational definition

The study adopted peacekeeping as a dynamic and unique instrument which has been developed by the UN in order to assist countries that are affected by conflict to create better condition for a lasting peace.

1.7.2 Conflict Resolution

Conceptual Definition

Conflict resolution refers to a process of settling a conflict or disagreement between the parties in conflict. The process of conflict resolution aims at promoting human rights. The conflicting parties decide to reach an agreement that will aim at resolving the differences between them (Woodhouse 2002).

Operational definition

In the study conflict resolutions referred to actions undertaken to bring together previous adversaries into a long lasting peace.

1.7.3 Conflict

Conceptual Definition

Tom Woodhouse defines conflict as the tension which arises between people who have incompatible goals that each one wants to achieve in order to satisfy their own interests, needs and values (Woodhouse 2002). Hugh Mial gives us another definition of conflict whereby he states that conflict in the social change, conflict is an inevitable aspect. It expresses fulfillments of one's interest, values and beliefs. This eventually leads to a new formation that is generated by social change (Mial 1999).

Operational definition

The study adopted the idea that conflict is a clash of incompatible goals and interests pursued by different groups.

1.8 Literature Review

Under the literature review, the study reviewed written literature related to the subject of peacekeeping as done by different scholars, authors and researchers. The materials used are drawn from journals, publications, books and articles which are related with the subject under study. The study of peacekeeping needs to start with a conceptual understanding of peacekeeping and conflict.

1.8.1 The Concept of Peaceful Societies

Peaceful societies can be described as a society that has oriented its culture and cultural development towards peacefulness. It has developed ideas, morals, value systems and cultural institutions that minimize violence and promote peace. Peaceful societies can be a resource to learn from.

The human society is not a static entity but rather they represent dynamic forces of cultural adaptation and evolution. In other words, what makes up a human society is not just attributes but also is socio cultural dynamics (Kemp 2004). The society is not all about a social gathering, but the group gathers with a purpose or intension to meet certain changing needs. In this light, the people in a social group can either promote violence or peaceful behaviors; this depends entirely with the need they want to fulfill. A peaceful society therefore can also mean a society that is able to minimize violence and promote a peaceful coexistence. The fact that conflict may occur in a society is a result of the social decision made. This means that a society can alter itself from violence to peace. War can be seen as an instrument of social advancement or pursuit for defense.

The UN General Assembly in 2000 passed a resolution which called for the promotion of culture of peace. The move for culture of peace is not just a Utopian desire but rather survival demands for it. As societies seek to have a culture for peace the problem has been on how to accomplish the changes.

Violence is not only about physical violence. It can be described in three forms; direct violence, indirect violence and structural violence. Direct violence is normally perceived as physical violence. Indirect violence entails inflicting harm indirectly or by exclusion, such as spreading rumors or gossips and also character assassination whereas structural violence involves inflicting harm to people through societal institutions such as in the case of slavery, racism and class systems. This denies the people their equal rights as members of a society (Galtung 1965). A society might appear to be peaceful because it does not experience physical violence but peace might be achieved through structural or indirect violence.

Traditional Concepts of Peace in Peace Studies.

The early studies on peace were motivated by the growing threat caused by nuclear war; this eventually led to the study of war and the causes of war in order to have international peace. Pioneering studies such as those of Theo Lentz (1955) and Lewis Richardson (1960) are examples of these early approaches. Richardson (1960) assessed war in the approach of statistics in that he says, “war arises from measureable conditions surrounding and measureable relations between nations, groups and individuals.”

Quincy Wright who uses an approach similar to Richardson also regards the study of war as the key to preventing it or abolishing it. Wright's analysis on war was on the conditions that cause a conflict to occur and minimizing these conditions would eventually lead to the control or minimization of conflict (Wright 1965). Wright attempted to isolate the measurable or at least recognized factors that influence the causes of conflict. This study was based on the behavioral and qualitative data. According to Wright certain factors bring peace but the loss of balance in these factors that eventually lead from peace to war.

In the early 1960s, the study of peace developed new concepts in that it was viewed as either positive or negative peace. Negative peace was first viewed as "the absence of organized violence between major human groups" and later on it was altered and it became "the absence of direct violence" (Galtung 1965). Johan Galtung first outlined the positive peace as "a pattern of cooperation and integration" between societies or nations and later on "as the absence of structural violence". This eventually led to the expansion of the study of peace and other forms of violence.

Direct violence is an aggression that leads to war or any other visible confrontation. Direct violence has an effect to one's body and mind thus affecting the mental realization (Galtung 1965). It is physical. The structural violence is built in the political, economic and cultural society. It has the ability to harm one though it operates at a slower pace. Structural violence is associated to social injustice and inequality. The effects of a structural violence are visible. Galtung writes, "if one person kills another, and particularly if a group attacks another, these are clear cases of direct violence, but what if the social structure, inside and between nations, is made up in such a way that some people are permitted to live full, complete, long creative lives with a high level of self-realization, whereas others are killed slowly because of wrong nutrition, protein deficiency, inadequate health facilities, deprivation of all kinds of mental stimuli and so on." This type of reflection leads to the distinction between the direct and structural violence (Galtung 1965).

Negative and Positive Peace

Johan Galtung, the father of peace studies often refers to the distinction between 'negative peace' and 'positive peace' (Galtung 1996). Negative peace refers to the absence of violence. When, for example, a ceasefire is enacted, a negative peace will ensue. It is negative because something undesirable stopped happening (e.g. the violence stopped, the oppression ended). Positive peace is filled with positive content such as restoration of relationships, the creation of social systems that serve the needs of the whole population and the constructive resolution of conflict.

Peace does not mean the total absence of any conflict. It means the absence of violence in all forms and the unfolding of conflict in a constructive way. Peace therefore exists where people are interacting non-violently and are managing their conflict positively – with respectful attention to the legitimate needs and interest of all concerned. Peace is considered as a well-managed social conflict.

Understanding Conflict Resolution

Since the end of cold war there have been more peace agreements than any other period after the Second World War most of these accords proved to be successful while others failed. The knowledge concerning conflict resolution in conditions for war in the 1990s was limited. There is need to view conflict resolution in a different way in that we need to understand and learn about conflict prevention, allowing for just aspirations to develop without systematic and deliberate violence. There was considerable insight on negotiations in domestic affairs, the art of deal making. Understanding was generated from conditions which involves little violence and war. It referred to situations of shared values and norms, where few cultural borders were transgressed. Negotiations and peacemaking in ending wars can learn from other experiences but still face unique problems. The ways used to end a conflict are also crucial as this has to be done in order to avoid the reoccurrence of another war.

Lewis Coser, a classical writer in social conflict theory writes on how conflict can contribute in a positive way to the functioning of a society. There are also dysfunctional, but by devoting his work entirely to the functions he stimulated research for his work. The functional approach by Coser indicates a dynamic perspective on conflict. He talks very little on how to end a conflict.

He defines conflict as “misunderstandings which arise from frustration of specific demands and are directed at the presumed frustrating object (Coser 1956). In a later work, Coser analyzed the 1956 Watts riot in Lon Angeles, California. He says that what happened in Watts was an effort of an active minority to announce their unwillingness to continue accepting indignity and frustration without fighting back. In particular they were communicating their desperation violent acts since no other channel of communication seemed open to them (Coser 1956). Thus, Coser argues that conflicts arise from one not being accepted in the society, a matter of dignity, political access and power. He writes that “only where there exists open channels of political communications through which all groups can articulate their demands, are the chances high that the political exercise of violence can be successfully minimized” (Coser 1956). This therefore means that the violent conflicts can be terminated by satisfying needs for access. This, furthermore, has to be maintained overtime. The solution in other words can be found in building new institutions.

Edward Azar in his work on “protracted social conflict” outlined the ideas for explaining the duration of conflicts and the repeated failures of conflict resolution. Azar was majorly concerned with the Lebanon war which had lasted for more than a decade. This conflict was majorly based on needs such as security, identity, recognition and participation. These factors were identified to those that Coser pointed out (Azar and Burton 1986). The contribution by Coser and Azar resulted to a different approach to conflict resolution. A conflict arises when particular needs are not fulfilled and in the case of resolving the conflict these needs must be identified and also includes ways in which psychological, economic and relational needs can be satisfied (Azar and Burton 1986).

On the contrary, the Marxists’ are based on the idea of continuous, ending only with the defeat of the oppressive system, at this time capitalism. Negotiations and compromise were not part of the political formulae or of the academic study. Ted Gurr found support for relative deprivation as a systemic way for conflicts to become violent. In his later work on ethnic groups, Gurr identifies factors that lead to a conflict to escalate; he focuses mostly on the removal from power of an autonomous group. It often becomes an important reason for the group to revolt (Gurr 1993). This observation is linked to Coser’s reflection of dignity and political access. The removal of

channels of influence may spark violence. Thus, creation of such channels can be important in terminating violence and making non-armed conflict a constructive part of the political process.

Understanding the Peace Process

The transition process from war to peace is a very complex large scale social change. This includes the process of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). In order for a DDR to occur we need to first begin by understanding the motivations of each of the parties involved. This is effective because it helps in meeting the challenges involved. Failure to understanding this may lead to the occurrence of another conflict even after a peace process has taken place. It is important to better understand the influential groups that can possibly destabilize the peace process.

Stedman defines the peace process “spoilers” as the leaders or parties who have a belief that peace which emerges from a negotiation process threatens their interests, world view and power and therefore they sort to use violence in order to achieve their personal interests (Stedman 1997). Stedman identified four problems which hinders an effective peace process. This includes: the position the actors hold in the peace process, the process both within and without the peace process, the number of “spoilers” involved, the type of conflict that is to be solved and finally the central power base. Stedman came up with a concept on how the above spoilers could be managed. First, the negotiators should always look for a way on whose interest could first be fulfilled in order for the peace process to take place. He also talks about finding the opportunists in the peace process and how they can be addressed and also whose interests can be addressed through coercion. Stedman drew his approach based from the works of William Zartman (Zartman 1989).

Harold defines the peace processes as a political arena whereby peacekeepers find a peaceful mean in order to resolve conflict (Harold 2001). This happens in either an official or unofficial arena which includes dimensions like diplomacy, negotiation, mediation and dialogue. The peace process operates in four different stages; this includes the official arena, the quasi-official arena, the public peace process and the civil society arena. The official arena undertakes the track I

diplomacy whereby a personal relationship with the counterparts is established, negotiations are done and they come up with a final agreement. After the agreements the diplomats work together with the two parties in improving their relationships.

In the quasi-official arena, it involves mediators who are not part of either the two conflicting parties but they share close ties and share important information back and forth. An example of a quasi-official arena is the Oslo agreement between the Palestine and the Israeli which was negotiated with a Norwegian mediator. The public peace process is a dialogue between non-officials whose main agenda is trying to address the human causes of conflict as opposed to the government which is the perception stereotypes, distrust and sense of hopelessness. An example of this process is during the cold war. The civil society involves the area in which the civilians live and work. It involves relationship networking normally between groups or individuals who are in conflict. In a situation whereby the conflict is not easily managed, there is a breakdown of relationships causing distress among the civil society. The relationship must therefore be rebuilt in a peace process.

In conclusion, as focus has been put on the implementation of a peace agreement, a focus should also be on the actors involved outside the peace process. You need to better understand the parties involved for the process to be successful. This also includes the social economic factors in which the militia groups arise and act upon. This helps in understanding the behavioral conducts.

1.8.2 The Nature of Peacekeeping

In order to understand the nature of peacekeeping, it is important to understand the four main categories it's divided into. This includes context, personnel, attitude and values. Personnel is the most important characteristic of peacekeeping. The people who carry out the peacekeeping process always have a military expertise. In some cases the civilians are involved on the ground duties to help assist in peacekeeping. However, military expertise is always necessary to help deal with militia groups and restoration of peace (Forsythe 1989).

The second characteristic of peacekeeping is its values. The values include the guidelines that represent the whole concept of peacekeeping. Its main value is that the peacekeeping bodies are

non-threatening even though they are comprised of the military personnel. Their main aim is to stabilize a country that is in conflict. The third characteristic is the context. This involves the context in which an operation takes place. It has to involve a very competent authority who may lead the operation successfully. For the mission to be successful it has also to receive funds that will assist in smooth running. This involves provision of military troops and also necessary funds (Forsythe 1989).

The last characteristic is the attitude of the host state to the presence of a peacekeeping operation. Peacekeeping missions operate under the mandate that it will get involved in a conflict situation only with the consent of the state leaders in the country at war. The host countries may at times even demand that the peacekeepers to leave their country when it hinders them from achieving their motives. For a peace process to be termed as successful, it requires cooperation from the political parties involved so that that their rivalries may not affect the mission.

Peacekeeping operation therefore involves the presence of both the military and civilian personnel who are in charge for various peacekeeping operations including humanitarian assistance, help in the coordination of elections, assist in promoting human rights and also assistance in the development process of a country (Annan 1997). There are two types of the peacekeeping operations, the traditional and multidimensional peacekeeping operations. The history and development of peacekeeping is closely related to the United Nations, although this is an activity undertaken by various actors (Bellamy 2004).

The traditional UN peacekeeping involved the deployment personnel from various countries who are unarmed or very slightly armed. This kind of peacekeeping evolved during the cold war era and it was used as a means of resolving conflict between states that were in conflict. The United Nations troop observers from the ground reported on issues which involved the peace agreements. This therefore enabled the diplomats involved to address on the issues that cause war in the region. An example of the UN traditional peacekeeping occurred in 1956, named the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) operation which responded to the invasion of Egypt by the Israeli, United Kingdom and France (Liu 1998).

When the cold war had ended, there was a drastic change in the UN and this led use of multidimensional peacekeeping. The multidimensional peacekeeping involves maintaining of peace in a conflicting area which eventually leads to security. It also involved in the promotion of a free and fair election and also the promotion of human rights. The department of peacekeeping in the UN was created in 1992 in order to help deal with the shifting nature of conflict (Liu 1998). Examples of the multidimensional peacekeeping was the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) and the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). These missions proved to be successful. Strong commitment in peace building and peacekeeping contributed to the success of ONUMOZ. This shows on what could be achieved when forces join together with the UN with the main goal of achieving peace.

The term peacekeeping was first formalized by the UN in 1965 after more than eight missions had already been deployed and it proved to be successful. Peacekeeping was born with the main aim of addressing conflict (Bellamy 2004). In appropriate circumstances peacekeeping can make a positive contribution to peace but this can only happen when the disputing parties take advantage of it. The complexity of conflict today has led to UN deploying peacekeepers in these conflicting areas. The reoccurrence of conflict is possible if the root causes that fueled it are not addressed, this shows on how the nature of conflict has evolved over the years. When the UN was formed, it aimed at solving inter-state conflicts but overtime this has shifted to solving intra-state and civil wars. The UN has been forced to undertake more complex tasks like help in building a sustainable environment for governance in areas that war exists, help in maintaining of peace and involvement in promotion of human.

Currently the number of civilian, police and military staffs serving in the peacekeeping missions has decreased due to the peaceful transition and rebuilding of the functioning states. This however indicates that the challenges faced by the UN are slowly decreasing. The emergence of new conflicts which tend to spread beyond boundaries shows that the demand for peacekeeping by the UN is expected to increase in years to come. Moreover this has been contributed with the political complexity in the conflicting areas. Peacekeeping has increased to be dynamic and it has also evolved in the face of the new challenges.

Liu in his study of the UN cooperation with regional organizations in peacekeeping lays emphasis on the practical issues of cooperation, that is, resource allocation and availability (Bellamy 2004). He makes the case for two variants of UN regional cooperation, partnering and subcontracting. Apparently, the model of cooperation the UN decides to pursue with its regional partners is largely dependent on the resource endowment and the independence of the regional organizations. He creates a picture whereby organizations find it necessary to enter into cooperative relationship with each other in order to maintain peace. Also he points out to the comparative importance in understanding historical affiliation and knowledge of African conflict situations as well as the political will in addressing these problems, thereby painting a picture of cooperation between the UN and AU.

1.8.7 Understanding the Prevalence of Conflict in the Society.

Johan Galtung proposed a model in order to better understand why conflict exists in a society. Galtung suggests that a conflict can be viewed as a triangle, where at its vertices we have contradiction (C), attitude (A) and behavior (B). Contradiction refers to the incompatibility of goals among the conflicting parties. Conflict arises when each party has their own goal and does not pay attention to the issues addressed by the other party. Contradiction therefore refers to clashes in the party's interests (Galtung 1969).

Attitude refers to the party's perception and misperception about each other. In a conflicting situation the parties tend to develop negative attitude towards each other. Attitude is directly linked to culture. Attitude can be either positive or negative and attitudes are often influenced by emotions. One's attitudinal perception is linked to their cultural differences too. In a situation where parties have conflicting differences they tend to have a diminishing picture of what their rivals are. This limits one to think outside the box as they cannot think of any opinion to solve their differences other than what they themselves have on the table (Galtung 1969).

Attitude is directly related to one's behavior. Behavior refers to how one carries out themselves and what they believe in. One's behavior is influenced by the environment they are in. The surrounding you are in defines who you are and what you can do. Also these groups of people

are very easy to lure into some dangerous activities eventually leading to conflict. The views enlightened by Galtung explain on the sources of conflict and violence.

A conflict can be categorized into two sides, the positive and negative side. The positive side to a conflict can be perceived in view of the third world countries whereby conflict was used to transit from colonial rule to independence. Even after being independent, most countries rather, are compounded by their problems. Thus, in most of the African states conflict can be compared to a double edged sword whereby it has been used as a mean to independence and there after the conflict then escalates into civil strife hence having an effect to the country. Garba observed that the cold war came to an end, post-cold war conflicts in Africa rose drastically. This has greatly had an impact on the economy and social tolls on the country, hence affecting the development progress in most of the affected regions (Garba 1998).

David Weeks explained on a conflict having both a negative and positive side. He explains that conflict which is an outcome of human diversity is inevitable in the society whereby a world that is not in conflict is not desirable because it lacks diversity (Osisioma 1997). Apart from having these two sides of conflict, there is need to promote the positive side to a conflict so as to prevent it from occurring in the first place. Furthermore, when the negative side to a conflict prolongs overtime, it is therefore capable of evolving the positive outcome of a conflict.

Lewis Coser suggests that in other occasions conflict occur or rivalry develop over the struggle for power, resources and also ethnical rivalries (Coser 1995). Ted Gurr further identifies other factors that cause a group to rebel which includes capacity for joint actions and collective incentives. Under these, there are also seven risk determinants which are positively connected with ethno-political rebellion. This includes history of lost political power, political and economic discrimination, history of being repressed, the extent of a militia group mobilization and an active involvement and support from the neighboring countries (Gurr 1998).

Oche assessed the causes of conflict and he argued that conflict arises from the political, economic, social and other numerous crises which are considered generic to the African setting (Oche 1998). This prevails in the struggle for natural resources, struggle for power among others.

The study by Oche is related to the causes of conflict in Sudan, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Liberia. In the case of Rwanda it's about ethnic rivalries whereas in Sudan, Liberia and Sierra Leone it's basically about the struggle of natural resources in particular, diamond and oil.

Conflict resolution talks about the reasons that may lead to a conflict, the changing behavior of a conflict and the structures that forms the conflict. This ensures that the behaviors are no longer violent and the structures are not exploitative. There is need to understand a conflict before thinking of the resolution mechanisms, diagnose the nature of the conflict and apply appropriate measure that will help reduce the conflict. Avruch and Black brought the issue of culture on the fore front in resolving a conflict. They both argued that the cultural concept can be a very powerful analytical tool. It is important to have a local understanding to a conflict and the actions used in the interpretation of a conflict behavior (Avruch 1991). Culture knowledge can be termed as having a local understanding about a conflict and this is determined by the language, religion, and the social and political structures.

1.8.8 Gaps in Literature.

Peacekeeping has normally been understood as form of managing a conflict and then resolution which is normally through the interventions by a third party in order to help the parties in conflict come to mutual understanding by resolving their differences. However, this has not clearly indicated that peacekeeping has been a success in resolving the regional and also international conflicts between countries/parties without them resorting to war. Peacekeeping is not only about resolving conflict which has already escalated into a war. Despite such successes Sudan has riddled in intrastate conflicts, especially civil war.

There is need to understand the shifting nature of conflict across time. In addressing conflict, it is less about the varied and complex forms of conflict which are observed across the globe. Galtung's research on the causes of conflict is often more nuanced and more complex in the way it has been typically portrayed, in that the non-state actors are becoming more involved in a conflict and there is need to understand the parties involved in a conflict and not just assume that it is mainly about two sides involved.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler CH Risk Model.

According to Collier and Hoeffler civil war is defined as an internal conflict whereby the government and rebel groups have both suffered at least 5 percent of the fatalities and also more than 1000 civilians have died in combat related deaths. They examined a total of 78 civil wars in a total of 161 countries. The period chosen was between 1960 to 1999.

The Collier-Hoeffler econometric model of civil war predicts that a country might be initiated into a civil war in a span of five years. The model tries to determine whether a rebel organization can be formed and factors that leads a group to rebel. The benefits achieved from rebellion can be gotten through various means which include criminal looting and also the benefits they get from the victorious control of state revenues. Rebellion is purely motivated by greed. Alternatively, rebellion might also be motivated by grievances. Grievances can be better understood as the opposition of actual or perceived injustice. In order for a rebellion to happen, there is need for labor forces and equipment necessary for survival against the threat from the rival side forces. The probability of having rebellion is high benefit rise relative to costs. In order to better understand the CH-econometric model it's important to consider the four risks determinants of rebellion which includes finance, military viability, history and grievances (Collier 2000).

Finance is the only binding constraints on rebellion. Civil wars erupt when the rebel groups have substantial financial resource capability to retaliate against the government, finance is normally available when needed, whereas the supply of groups who wish to satisfy their grievances through violent means is the binding constraint to rebellion. Therefore, the objective indicating grievances which include the economic inequality and ethnical divisions would lead to having grievances but if there isn't the presence of democracy then the grievances will escalate into a conflict. These indicators therefore predict the presence of rebellion (Collier 2000).

The second determinant is the military viability. In order to survive against the government forces, the rebel groups need to determine the size of the government forces and also the geographical factors like whether the population is dispersed. This might hinder a successful

accomplishment of their desires. This therefore indicates that rebellion is most likely going to take place where the government forces are weak and the geography makes it difficult for them to penetrate through in order to defend its national territory. The third risk factor is history. Once a conflict has taken place and some underlying issues have not been resolved, then this further fuels the conflict. For instance in the case of Sudan, the country has been in conflict for a long time. Even after signing of peace agreements, some matters still remain unresolved and this has continued to affect the security of that region. In this analysis, it indicates that some countries are doomed to a cycle of repeated conflicts.

The CH econometric theory was established in a process that included proxies for finance, grievances, military viability and history. Although grievance is normally considered to be of less importance in the model. The CH-model tests three objective measures for grievances which includes political repression, inequality and social division. Overly, this model a number of conclusions supporting the greed model. An economy that grows so fast reduces the chances of a rebellion because it raises the cost opportunity for having a rebellion. When a country is dependent highly on economic resources, then there is a great chance for a conflict to emerge because the economic resources are the main source of income for the government and the rebel groups. However, the model also observed that when there is dependency on a particular economic resource, then they resort in protecting their source of income rather than deter to looting.

The conflict in Sudan in characterized by struggle for natural resources i.e. oil, history of aggression and rebellion from the faction groups. This theory brings out aspects that cause a country to go into war. This way, for a peacekeeping operation to take place the peacekeepers involved need to first understand the proxies to a conflict and later come up with relevant measures to deal with the conflict. This improves the peacekeeping process hence having a successful outcome.

1.9.3 Criticism of the Theory

David Keen criticizes the CH econometric model whereby he indicates that a conflict cannot be just about greed. He comes up with other means that can lead to a conflict which includes famine and other scenarios that brings up information against the set-up of greed. Conflict can be a setup of either greed or grievances but the aims in a conflict can be rather complex. Keen believes that the study of greed and grievances cannot be done separately but rather they are interrelated in some ways. For when he examined the Sudan conflict, he believed that the grievances of the northern people were of importance to a government that was trying to get its hands on areas rich in oil and famine and the militia group had depopulated the area whereby the greed of the militia group was directly linked to their grievances. Keen insists that it is important to first have a clear understanding of the conflict at hand.

Keen further argues that a conflict cannot just be analyzed to simply one motive. Keen disagrees with the method of data collection used in the model. Conflicts are complex and therefore they should be analyzed using simple methods. Keen proves not to be satisfied with the quantitative method used and his belief is that much importance should be on personal data and the human perspective of the people affected in conflict. This critic does not mean that it is a dismissal of the theory but rather a critic on its polarity and the data collection methods.

1.10 Hypotheses

- 1) Collaborative peace initiatives have led to peace in Sudan.
- 2) UN peacekeeping has created stability in Sudan.

1.11 Research Methodology

This section constitutes of the research methodology which was used for the study. The study was conducted using the appropriate research design that ensured validity and reliability. The methodology therefore in this case encompasses the research design, study site and the sample of the population, the sample technique, the instruments used in the research and eventually the data analysis.

1.11.1 Research Design

A research design encompasses the guidelines on how a research is conducted and to also ensure that the data collected guides one in answering the study questions. This study therefore adopted the longitudinal research design. The reason for choosing this research design was because it provides an opportunity for a diverse perspective on the research topic and also it is an approach used to study a phenomenon that takes a longer period of time; more specifically the study used the case study method. A case study is a method allows an in-depth examination of events and phenomena. The case study provides a rich raw material for an advancement of a theoretical idea. The conflict in Sudan has taken more than twenty two years. There is need to study the peacekeeping interventions so as to have a clear knowledge and understanding of the peacekeeping process. This study design enabled the understanding as to why there is still reoccurrence of conflict in Sudan even after the intervention of UN and other peacekeeping bodies. The benefit of the longitudinal research design to the study is that one can establish sequence of events as it extends beyond a single moment over time. This design allows a better understanding of the direction and degree of change over a period of time.

1.11.2 Data Collection Methods

Data collection methods can be defined as a process whereby one collects information from various relevant sources so as to test the hypothesis, evaluate its outcome and to find answers to your research problems. The study used both the primary and secondary data. The data collection tool will be an interview guide. The interview guide is structured in such a way that it does not deviate from the main objective which is to highlight on the peacekeeping process and establish why there is reoccurrence of conflict even after the intervention of the peacekeepers. The secondary data used was from written materials and documents from archives and library. This helped to capture on what has already been done on intelligence from a global, regional and national level.

Primary data was collected from focus group discussions and interviews. This is because the study involved feelings, experiences, attitudes and behaviors of human beings and that's why the qualitative research method was used to collect the primary data.

1.11.3 Target Population/ Sampling Frame

The sample population in this study involved the list from which the sample group was selected from. The study considers the Sudanese civil society group (Emergency Road), UN Mission Officers, Sudanese Embassy and professionals. The target population involves a certain pool of individuals the researcher would want to study, thus it should fit certain specifications which the researcher is studying. Therefore, the study target population involved a total number of 40 individuals. The sample population was chosen following the knowledge they hold that is relevant to the study. It was then stratified through the various groups as a target.

1.11.4 Sampling Technique

The sampling technique of the study relied on purposive sampling. This method is under the category of non-probability sampling technique and it involves the selection of your target group based on their knowledge and expertise in your field of study. The purposive sampling was appropriate because it ensured that a reasonable representative sample is picked from the chosen groups. This study focused on members who had knowledge about the peace process in Sudan, their active involvement in the peace initiatives as well as understanding of the conflict situation in Sudan. The purposive sampling technique was appropriate to avail requisite information for an in depth analysis of the subject under study. An interview was conducted with various key stakeholders in the area under study. The interview reduced the errors associated with questionnaires because it allowed for clarification where a question or answer is not clear enough.

1.12 Data Analysis

The study generated its conclusions from both the quantitative and qualitative data which was used to draw conclusions and make recommendations. The qualitative data was categorized into various thematic concerns and analyzed to offer clarification, verification and explanation.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN SUDAN

2.1 Introduction

In order to have a clear understanding the peace process in Sudan there is need to have a clear understanding of the conflicts that affect the region. This way we will be able to know why there was need for peace in the region when the first intervention took place. In this chapter the study therefore focused on the causes of conflict in Sudan and its regions in Abyei and Darfur.

2.2 The Civil War in Sudan

The North-South conflict can be traced back to the exploitation and slave trade of Africans from the South by the Arabs located on the Northern side of Sudan. Some authors also trace this war from the imperialistic meddling. From 1930-1953, North and South Sudan were joined to become one as this was part of the British strategy for the Middle East during the colonization period. The two regions were however governed separately by the Anglo-Egyptian condominium. This act was taken without consulting the leaders from the South who had fears of being suppressed by the Northern power, who occupied the largest population in the merged Sudan. In 1956, Sudan gained its independence. After independence, Sudan was granted a temporary institution. However, there were two issues that were not met; whether Sudan should have an Islamic or Secular constitution and also if the country should be run as a federal or unitary state (Johnson 2011).

At this time the government was run by the Arab community and they reneged on the promises of the Southern region to create a federal system. The tension in Sudan started with the mutiny in Torit. This happened few months before they attained independence. The first civil war in Sudan took place between 1955 to 1972. This conflict was between the Anya Nya from the South and the Government of Sudan (GoS). The Anya Nya was fighting for autonomy in Sudan. By 1969, they had managed to control most of Southern Sudan; this eventually led to the formation of Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) by the rebel group in 1971. The group however changed its name to the current Sudan's People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). In 1972, the SPLM/A rebels and the government signed the Addis Ababa Agreement which ended the conflict between them. The agreement granted significance government to the South Sudan

people on internal issues and also the two regions would hold a referendum concerning the Abyei are in order to determine whether it would be part of a newly formed South Sudan or it will remain in the North. The contest for Abyei was due to its richness in oil reserves and this made it desirable for both countries. Another problem was that Abyei was located across the border of the North and South (Poggo 2016).

The second civil war happened in the period between 1983-2005. The war broke when the then President Jafaar Nimeiri introduced the Sharia law and ignored the earlier agreements from the Addis Ababa Agreement which included having a referendum concerning the Abyei region. In 1989, after much consultation between the SPLM/A and the Government of Sudan, a peace agreement was eventually met to suspend the Sharia law. This peace agreement was however in June 1989 when Omar Al-Bashir led a military coup and he overthrew the government. Various attempts were made to draft peace agreements in the 1990s but the nature of conflict and the large region hindered peace. An example was the 'Peace from Within' movement which was interrupted when the rebel groups clashed with the government.

The negotiations for peace eventually started in 2002. This was to help resolve the conflict and also end the second civil war. These negotiations eventually culminated to signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005.

2.3 Border conflicts in Abyei, Blue Nile and South Kordofan.

The referendum that occurred in 2011 granted South Sudan its independence, even though it did not address certain important issues concerning the territories. There were unclear and undemarcated tracts along the border; the unresolved matter on whether Abyei should remain in the Northern region or the South, the status of South Kordhofan and Blue Nile. The territorial problems brought issues of nationalisms in both states and immediately after Sudan split into two an outbreak of violence erupted. The SAF fought across the borders while the SPLM/A took to cross into the South and controlled of the Heglig town. After the split of Sudan attempts of mediations by the AU, UN, Ethiopia, China have been taking place and the status of Abyei have come to dominate the negotiations meeting. Despite these efforts the negotiations have not

proven to be successful. The recent conflict in Ayei, South Khordofan and Blue Nile indicates that the problem is not caused by poor demarcation but it comes from a much more fundamental difference.

2.3.1 Abyei

Abyei was to be determined whether it would remain on the North or South through a referendum that was scheduled in January 2011 which was to happen alongside the referendum that would determine the independence of Sudan the same year. The issue concerning the Abyei region was given an in-depth discussion in the CPA, and despite this, the referendum did not take place and this has created a situation of unrest in the region.

Abyei region is dominated by the Ngok Dinka from the South and also the Misseriya nomads who inhabit the region during some seasons in search for pasture and also following rain across the border. Historically the area consisted of nine Dinka chiefdoms. The land problem could have probably been solved if the two sides had agreed on soft border whereby the two communities moved across borders as they traditionally did. This became a national problem and not local when the Ngok Dinka which were identified more with the south were expected to vote in a referendum backed up with the SPLM/A , who were not ready to let go of the territory they have been controlling for long (Johnson 2003).

The region became more complicated during the negotiation of the CPA because it was realized that the region was rich in oil. In 2005 when the Abyei boundary commission was set to split the territories of the nine previous chiefdoms, Heglig region which was rich in oil got included within Abyei. This became a blow to the government of Sudan because at the end Abyei would retain a large percentage of the oil and at the end the South would keep all this if Abyei voted in the referendum to remain in the south. Khartoum further appealed on the decision of the Abyei commission and the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the Hague ruled that the Helgig was never part of the historical chiefdoms territory but was situated in Kordofan. When the oil region placed in the South Kordofan borders and taken away from Abyei, it was made a hotspot region whereby both the South and the North contested it to be theirs (Johnson 2003).

The status concerning Abyei first cancellation of the referendum occurred when there was dispute between the two regions on who was supposed to vote. The southern people insisted that only the people who permanently inhabited the region are the only ones allowed to vote while the north claimed that also the Misseriya nomad should also be allowed to vote because the decision would also impact to their livelihood. This was a reasonable idea but at the same time it raised the question that who among the Misseriya nomads would be allowed to vote or people would just be brought in to vote in order to sway the elections. Secondly, the actions by Khartoum made it clear that they wanted to retain the region. They ignored the provision of a referendum by the CPA for Abyei.

The Abyei administration which was in charge of governing the region throughout the CPA interim period was dismantled in 2011 and the Sudanese armed forces took over. The forces seized most of the major towns and most people were forced to flee and conflict between the northern and southern people. This led to signing of the Agreement on Border Security which provided for a joint mechanism politically and security wise by the two parties in conflict.

The “Agreement on Temporary Arrangements for the Administration Area” signed on 20th June 2011 provided for a cease and it also laid the foundation for the mandates of UNISFA. However, the agreement did not provide a solution for the main issue at stake, which was the status of Abyei but it did call for the demilitarization of Abyei, the creation for a joint administration and police service and the return of refugees. The parties also agreed for the establishment of an Interim Security Force for Abyei under the authorization and the mandate of the UNSC to observe and monitor the ceasefire agreement. Later on 27th June 2011, the mandate of the mission was adopted by the UNSC resolution 1990. UNISFA was meant to be an observer mission with protection elements and limited mediation and assistance tasks. Its primary task was to monitor the withdrawal of the Northern and Southern troops from Abyei, to create and guarantee a demilitarized zone and to provide a demining assistance. Its secondary tasks were to facilitate for humanitarian aid delivery, to build up the Abyei police service and protect civilians in the area. The mission officially started on 8th August 2011 while the patrols began at the end of the same month (Joachim 2015).

The SPLM/A and SAF were also given the mandate to help guard the borders and also to assist in offering humanitarian aids. However, UNISFA had some difficulties in performing its duties because troops from both the Northern and Southern region had failed to withdraw from Abyei. On finding that there were some loopholes in the mandate of the force, Sudan then decided that it would not remove its troops from the region unless there was a full deployment of the 4200 UNISFA personnel which had not yet taken place. Despite this extension of UNISFA mandate, and also a plea to bring the North and South together to help resolve the conflict it has proved to be futile (Joachim 2015).

On December 14th 2012, the UNSC passed resolution 2014, extending the presence of UN and expanding the mandate of UNISFA to include monitoring and evaluating on the North-South border in line with the initial withdrawal agreement. On 29th May 2013, by resolution 2014, the Security Council in request by the North and the South authorized an increase of up to 5,326 military strength in order to support the joint monitoring operational activities which would include support from the AD Hoc Committees.

2.3.2 South Kordhofan and Blue Nile State

South Kordhofan and Blue Nile state together with the Abyei region are being contested for along the borders in the North and South. A post secession conflict erupted in North Kordhofan and it spread across to the Blue Nile states. The situation worsened when the Southern raiders invaded and took control of the Heglig region and also with the continuous cross border raids. In 2012, war was eventually declared between the North and the South.

The conflict in the region can be traced back to when the rebellion in the South by the SPLM/A began in 1983. Most of the local people in South Kordhofan and Blue Nile decided to join the rebellion group due to the cultural and political marginalization by the government of Khartoum. The conflict still remained unresolved even after having a ceasefire agreement in 2012. The CPA had also failed to acknowledge the conflict in North Kordhofan and Blue Nile directly in the agreement but only came up with a protocol in resolving the conflict. The protocol was later on signed in 2004, assuming that these two regions would remain part of the North and also recognized that many of its inhabitants had heavily been affected by the conflict and many

fought along with the SPLM/A because of the sympathy they had for them. The CPA offered these two states a different governing structure from the other regions and it also came up with a commission to help address the territorial disputes (Joachim 2015).

The CPA also came up with a commission to monitor each of the two states. It was responsible for studying the impact of the implementation of the agreement. This proceeded smoothly in the Blue Nile while in the South Kordhofan there was minimum progress whereby the disagreement concerning census results which led to cancelling of the elections which was scheduled to have a selection of its governor and the legislators in 2010. The election eventually took place in May 2011. The fighting however resumed on June 2011 before the south could gain its independence because of the tension brought by the election that had taken place earlier in May that same year. The SAF invaded South Kordhofan to disarm the non-SAF actors and the SPLM resisted eventually many civilians suffered being displaced in the clashes. The government put their blame on the SPLM/A for starting the conflict. In 2011, the northern government and the SPLM /A decided to establish a joint political and security committee for South Kordhofan and Blue State. Despite the signing of this agreement conflict still continues in these regions. The SPLM/A rebel group wanted to topple the Northern government while the North wanted to establish a dominance in the two regions. With the continuous conflict in Abyei and Kordhofan, the conflict in the Blue Nile was inevitable.

2.4 Darfur Conflict

The people of Darfur have experienced horrific devastations of various kinds- being internally displaced, experiencing sexual violence and slaughter of the innocent people. The conflict in Darfur reached its peak in 2003-2004 when Arab militias called the Janjaweed joined forces with the state run militaries of Sudan in the struggle against the insurgent resistance movement. Although the violence has waned in different years and the conflict still continues till date.

The conflict in Sudan originated from disputes between the nomadic groups and the sedentary groups. The nomads would move to the southern region during the dry seasons in search for pasture. There was never a misunderstanding between the communities till there was an increase

in population and these groups started fighting over the natural resources. The clashes were regular but they used the traditional reconciliation mechanisms to resolve their disputes. The tension in the region rose and in 2001 the Sudan government decided to declare a state of emergency and arrested leaders from both sides and held them responsible (John 2004).

In February 2003, the SLA started attacking the government armies blaming them for the conflicts in the region. The SLA claimed that the government made no efforts to protect them from the nomads and instead they chose to revenge on them and not the nomads. The SLA accused the government of paying the nomads to attack the Darfur region. In April the same year the SLA and the Justice and Equality System (JEM) attacked government bases that were situated on the north of Darfur. The government retaliated by bombing of the rebel camps and this tarnished the reputation of Sudan as it happened in the period when the two regions were preparing to sign the CPA. A conflicting Darfur hindered a stable Sudan. In 2005, the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur which was set under resolution 1564 by the UNSC found out that there were war crimes which were being committed in Darfur. This led to the signing of the Abuja Peace Agreement in 2006, and the African Union (AU) deployed the peacekeepers.

After the Ndjamea ceasefire agreement was signed in 2004, the first peacekeeping mission in Darfur was deployed led by the African Union. The mandates of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) were to provide humanitarian assistance and also to monitor the compliance of the agreement. This was the largest ever mission deployed by the AU but later on it was replaced by a joint mission between the AU and UN (Quach 2004).

The United States decided to strengthen its economic sanction against Sudan and the International Criminal Court also issued an arrest warrant for Al Bashir for charges of war crimes against humanity. Despite all this there is a continuous conflict in the region as not any of the movements fighting are willing to sign an agreement at the same time. The Doha agreement was signed in 2011 to have a peaceful co-existence in Darfur. This was between Sudanese government and the SLM/A and JEM (which constituted of small rebel groups in Darfur). A new Darfur Region Authority was established to govern the region territories until the fate of the

region was established through a referendum. However it was only the SLM/A that signed the agreement and the JEM refused. The AU, UN and the Implementation Follow up Committee under the umbrella UNAMID are still looking for ways to bring all these rebel groups in one table to sign the agreement in order to bring a lasting peace (Quach 2004).

2.4.1 Impact of the Conflict in Darfur

The Darfur conflict has resulted into a long process of the environmental degradation leading to the increased scarcity of natural resources. Darfur region has had an increase in its population over the past recent years. In mid 1950s, the population was estimated to be over a million and in 2017 it rose up to 9.241 million people. Increase in population has put pressure to both the pastoralists and sedentary livelihood system. This has therefore led to the competence between the farmers and the herders over the access to natural resources, thus resulting into conflict. This long term process on environmental degradation has also led to the loss of forests over the last decades. The UN Environmental Programme (UNEP) Post conflict Environmental Assessment in Sudan estimated that deforestation in Darfur has exceeded to be 1% per annum. Forestry has been of economic importance not only because of timber but also the role it has played in land protection. In addition to the local demands, UNEP has estimated that in the next 5 to 10 years to come, the states located in the north will be highly dependent on Darfur for charcoal therefore leading to conflict over struggle for control of the natural resources.

Darfur has greatly been affected by chronic conflict and also experienced a change in its politics. The traditional government has become very weak. The traditional government has been there till in 1971 when the administration was abolished. This was later renewed in 1986 but its roles changed varying from political to regional dynamics. The abolished native administration in 1971 preceded the droughts that happened in 1972-73, this therefore indicates that the government had minimal capacities to address the issues of conflict and migration at that time. Having a weak administration in the region at that time, it increased the trafficking of arms and this increased tension.

Darfur region has also been impacted with under investment in infrastructure and services, which means that it has economically and politically marginalizes by the North. The diversification

of livelihood opportunities which is a mean of adapting to the problems caused by the conflict has been hindered with the lack of better education systems and health services in the region.

2.5 Consequences of the Conflict in Sudan

The impact on women and children.

The entire region of Sudan has greatly been affected by conflict and this has manifested itself through desertification, drought, environmental hazards and famine. The socio-economic and educational infrastructure has also been destroyed and taking the family support with it. The conflict in the region has also made it difficult in providing humanitarian assistance and other necessary help. The government of Sudan has greatly dismantled the Sudanese civil society. The civil service, the judiciary, trade unions and education institutions have all been purged. The country has not only claimed the lives of the lives of around 2.9 million people but it has also greatly affected the economy of that country. The government has used its resources to greatly invest in war and the cost in a day is estimated to be around 2 million US dollars. In between 1983-1984, a total of 500,000 Sudanese people were estimated to have died in the conflict between the government and the SPLM/A. in 1994 the war was mainly fought in the South and people in this region suffered more casualties than the people who were situated in the North. Millions were also displaced in the region. Due to the conflict in these regions the displaced are forced to walk for longer distance to look for food, security and education.

Rebellion

Rebellion causes the highest level of organized armed groups in Sudan hence causing civilian casualties and displacement. The driving force for rebellion is the personal ambition of the leaders of these armed groups. Rebellion is however a clear indication that the government has failed to accommodate desperate voices in the country. As long as certain groups and their leaders feel discriminated or less represented in the government especially in the security sector, there will be a tendency of resistance through violence.

Arms Trafficking

Due to the prevalence of conflict in Sudan, there has been a high demand for the supply of armory in the region. The state has unable to provide peace and security for its citizens so they seek arms in order to protect themselves. The armed groups get supply of arms from the SPLA and even from some of the neighboring countries. Reports indicate that the SPLA-North receive their arms from the SPLM/A for their insurgencies in South Kordofan (Annual Report, Sudan Human Rights Commission). In the local communities the arms are stored in unsafe conditions like in mud huts, abandoned facilities and corrugated steel huts. These places become a big target for attack by the armed groups. The cross border trade for cash, weapons and trade has also encouraged proliferation.

Pillage of Natural Resources

The conflict in Sudan has resulted into environmental degradation which is largely caused by deforestation. Forests are largely being cleared to acquire large lands for farming and charcoal farming and charcoal farming to provide fuel. The country is slowing losing its forest without any unified policy to deal with it. Due to poverty, the population has been exposed to poaching (UNESCO Report). The risk of civil war also poses danger to Sudan's neighbors.

The prolonged conflict in Sudan has greatly impacted in its economy making it as one of the poorest countries in the world. Being wracked by conflict, Sudan has not been able to improve on some basic needs such as education, healthcare and income opportunities. More than 6 million people in Sudan did not have much to sustain then in 2018. The vulnerable families still face a rise in food insecurity. The conflict has also millions of families' displaced and unsettled because of hunger, and having an average of 2.2 million people fleeing to the neighboring countries to seek refuge. By 2018, more than 400,000 people were estimated to have lost their lives in the conflict. In 2018, the World Vision accepted 250 of nearly 700 child soldiers who were rescued. As the tension of conflict continues to decrease, the people of Sudan have very little to be hopeful about.

Conclusion

The North and the South being unable to settle their grievances has attracted the International bodies to help resolve the conflict that is within them. This is a sad outcome of mediation that has happened for years to help sought Sudan find stability. Even with the help of the International bodies there is still unrest in Sudan. This has led to the rising number of refugees and thousands of people losing their lives. Both the warring sides are perhaps being overwhelmed greatly by the high magnitude of problems they are facing and have decided to seek refuge to what they are used to i.e. war. They seem to believe that only war can make them gain advantage over the other side.

Thousands of civilians have been killed and over 1 million displaced in the past decade due to armed conflict and the chances for the violence to escalate are very high in a situation where the peace process fails to yield a positive outcome. The reason why the oil prices in Sudan have surpassed \$99/barrel is partly attributed to conflict, underscoring the international ramifications of the conflict. A full scale civil war in Sudan will greatly impact negatively on the international oil markets given that given that Libya has low production in oil and violence has also increased in Iraq. Sudan has experienced numerous forms of conflicts since its birth. The historic conflict does not bode well for the future. There is no seen commitment by the conflicting groups in the negotiation settlements, which as a result minimizes the expectations of any resolutions in the near future. Ethnic violence and unstable political system is likely to become the status quo in Sudan with potential negative effects on the neighboring countries.

The war in Sudan triggers another exodus of refugees to its neighboring countries. The communities displaced seek refuge in areas where there is less conflict or none at all. The war is also likely to destabilize the neighboring countries due to increased insecurity courtesy of increased proliferation of small arms in the region.

CHAPTER THREE

UNDERSTANDING THE PEACE PROCESS IN SUDAN

3.1 Introduction

Understanding the peace process requires one to clearly understand the basic institutions and mechanisms which were developed to help resolve conflicts. The UN has been on the forefront to help reduce conflicts and seek global peace. The role played by the United Nations in resolving conflicts depends on the legal framework that is laid in the UN Charter and it also depends on which approach can be best in tackling the conflict. According to article 1 of the Charter, the UN engages in maintaining international peace and security in a peaceful manner and in respect of international law and the principle of justice (Charter of the United Nations Chapter 1 Article 1). Under the peace and security umbrella the UN provides different approaches to conflict resolution. For instance chapter VI of the charter relies on the peaceful methods of resolving conflicts. Article 33 of the charter, states that parties which are involved in a conflict will resolve their differences through conciliation, judicial settlement, mediation, arbitration, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or any other peaceful means that they prefer (Charter of the UN Chapter VI Article 33).

The UN is structured as follows: the Security Council deals with matters which involve conflict and peace; the General Assembly is in charge of making decisions and control of the budget; the Social and Economic Council; the International Court of Justice and finally the Secretariat. The main mandate of the UN is to provide a peaceful co-existence among nations in the world and it also works on bringing countries together in one platform in order to help deal with general problems like poverty, help the developing countries in achieving better education system, reduce hunger and eradication of diseases. The most known activity of the UN is peacekeeping activities. The main aim of a peacekeeping process is to help create an environment that is peaceful in areas torn by conflict. However, before the UN sends its troops to the war torn areas, they have to get consent from the conflicting parties. The peacekeepers are not supposed to use any force against the civilians unless in a situation where they retaliate to defend themselves from the rebel group, in this case the peace process is supposed to be neutral. The UN promotes gender equality, human rights, democracy and national problems of its member states and this

happens under the General Assembly. In other instances, the UN plays the role of problem solving whereby it's a third party in conflict resolution.

3.2 Conflict Mitigation in Sudan

The Addis Ababa Accord

The first civil war in Sudan ended with the signing of the Addis Ababa Accord. Signing of the Addis Ababa accord happened in February 1972 and it was between the SPLM/A and the government of Sudan. It was mediated by Haile Selassie. The accord granted autonomy for the southern region of Sudan under a regional president who would be elected through a recommendation to the national president by the elected Southern Region Assembly. The region composed of three provinces which were the Equatoria, Bahr al Ghazal and the Upper Nile. It was stipulated that the accord will not only bring peace and stability but also development in the war ridden region. The characteristic features of this accord were the creations of a regional autonomy for the South, a single entity, having a Regional Assembly for the people and finally a High Executive Council (HEC). It also included having the Anyanya combats integrated into the, security force, national army, police and civil service and repatriation of South Sudanese refugees (Johnson 2003).

According to this accord, the problem of the South was to be settled within a federal system. This accord also took into recognition that the official language to be used in administrations and also taught in schools would be English for the people in the Northern region and Arabic for the Southerners.

The Addis Ababa accord collapsed when president Nimeiri reneged on his commitments and began undermining the accord by violating its core tenents. Most of the provisions were either ignored or poorly implemented. To begin with, the Anyanya were not really happy with the accord; they believed that they had not fought for independence only to be joined with the enemies in the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF). In addition, the poor implementation of the provisions further angered them and they preferred hiding in the bushes to fight the SAF.

There were also differences among the leaders in the South, in particular between Alier and Lagu, which therefore opened an opportunity for Nimeiri to exploit. In 1983, in violation of the accord Nimeiri took into decision to divide the Southern region into three provinces. The

boundaries between the North and the South were shifted in such a way that areas that were in the south and rich in agriculture and oil were incorporated to the North. Yet in delivering another blow to the accord, Nimeiri introduced Sharia law throughout the country, which is commonly known as September laws (Johnson 2003).

Having introduced the Sharia laws, dividing the Southern region into three provinces and the dismantling of the Addis Ababa accord turned the clock back to 1955 as it sparked a mutiny of soldiers in the South. In the same way the Torit mutiny is believed to have spurred the first civil war, the Bor mutiny is believed to have spurred the second civil war. What sparked the Bor mutiny by the South Sudanese is the decision made by the Nimeiri regime, which was an effort to effort to move the ex-Anyanya soldiers who were incorporated in the SAF from their base in South to the North which was in violation to the accord. This was a mark point to the civil war which lasted for 22 years.

Signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the Formation of the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS)

The second civil war which culminated to the signing of the CPA lasted from 1983 to 2005. The negotiations for peace eventually led to signing of the CPA in 2005 between the Sudanese government and the SPLM/A. Initial hopes for the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was that it would be a foundation for a lasting peace in Sudan. Its key protocols were on wealth and power sharing; it addressed the roots to the tension in the South. These were economic marginalization of the South and a near exclusion of the people from the South from positions in government.

In 1986 the negotiations almost suffered a setback when a coup d'état became a blow to the near-agreement. Later on in the 1990s, the negotiations became intense and this was led by the Inter-governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) and later on the UN closely followed and supported the initiatives by IGAD.

The CPA (GOS/SPLM/A 2005) is compiled of agreements and protocols which were between the SPLM/A and the Sudanese government. Before the CPA was signed, the Machakos protocol was signed in 2002 and it encompassed the governance principles, freedom for religious practices for the people in the South and the rights to self-determination. This eventually paved

way for more talks on sharing of power and wealth, human rights, ceasefire agreements and conflict resolutions in Abyei, Blue Nile and South Kordofan regions. To intensify the peace efforts and also in order to build a momentum on the progress made, which included the signing of the other protocols, the UNSC under the recommendations of the Secretary General adopted resolution 1547 (2004) to create the United Nations Advanced Mission in Sudan (UNAMIS) and this was a special political mission. The mandate of UNAMIS was to facilitate contacts with the parties involved in the agreement and also it paved way for a UN peace support operation. UNAMIS was also formed in order to support peacemaking efforts by IGAD (Johnson 2003).

The CPA was eventually signed in Nairobi in 2005 and it included the other outstanding matters that were not discussed in the Machakos protocol which included the provision of a security arrangement, having an equal distribution of economic resources and also autonomy for the Southern region. The SPLM/A and the Sudanese government agreed on having a six-and-a-half years interim period for implementing the CPA. The Secretary General later on proposed for the formation of a United Nations Mission in Sudan. This mission would be in support of the peace process in Sudan. The Secretary General also suggested how important it was to integrate with the UN Agencies in order to have a successful implementation of the CPA. This was people the mission would be involved with a broader range of issues.

The UNSC under resolution 1590 established the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) on the 24th of March 2005. UNMIS was mandated with making sure that the CPA was implemented, to help the refugees and the displaced persons voluntarily returned to their homes, to help in promoting human rights, assist in settling the border conflicts and to provide humanitarian assistance. On 9th July 2011, UNMIS wound up its operations having completed the interim period agreed upon by the Sudanese government and the SPLM/A in the CPA. The six year interim period ended after South Sudan gained its independence in a referendum provided in the CPA. In order to support the newly independent country, the UNSC decided to establish the United Nations Mission in South Sudan which was a successor mission to UNMIS.

3.2.1 Challenges of the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Sudan

The UN has tried to reduce the violence and confrontation in Sudan. The peacekeeping operations that were established were to justify the mandates by the UN Charter. The mission has been faced by various challenges in the course of peacekeeping operation that has also prolonged its mission duration. The challenges exist in different forms. This section therefore sets to look at the various challenges UN mission in Sudan is facing.

First, there was slow rate of the deployment of troops by the UN. The conflict in Sudan gained the attention of the international community only after the Darfur conflict in 2003 when the humanitarian mission was sent by USAID. The delay of having a peacekeeping mission in Sudan was due to various factors. First, china and Russia were against the deployment of troops in Sudan and also they never wanted Sudan to be sanctioned. This was because of their economic interest in Sudan. Secondly, the government was also hesitant in accepting humanitarian assistant even though there was an increased number of a displaced person. Finally, the other reason that led to slow deployment of troops was the procedure and the bureaucratic undertaking by the UN whereby a conflict prolongs for a certain period of time and when the mission is finally approved the conflict has already become intense that it even became difficult to bring peace. This slow reaction by the UN has had consequences. The former French president Sarkozy had warned that silence was slowly killing Darfur. A conflict that might have been contained at an earlier stage if a peacekeeping mission was deployed on the early stages of conflict always escalates into something broader by the time the peacekeeping mission is deployed. The UN should work on the deployment of missions at an early stage whenever it is necessary.

Secondly, there is non- participation of troops from the developed countries. The developed countries have refused to send their troops for peacekeeping missions. The developed countries have well trained and equipped troops that would deal will the militia groups in a short period of time and yet they allow the developing countries with poor manpower to deal with the militia groups and as a result this becomes a challenge to the UN. In 2014, the Background notes on the UN peacekeeping showed that Rwanda, Nigeria, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Ethiopia had been the highest troop contributors in the past years. Among the list provided of the troop contributors, only China which is also a permanent member of the Security Council was listed in

the rank. This shows that the developed countries are more willing to contribute on the budget rather than the manpower. The best peacekeeping mission involves a well-equipped, trained and disciple soldier.

The United Nations has also experienced shortage of man power and other resources useful in the mission. The inability of UNAMIS to deploy adequate troops to combat the militia troops made the troops frustrate the mission in Sudan. Inadequate manpower in a peacekeeping operation gives room to failure hence chances for the mission to fail being higher.

The fourth challenge is the UN peacekeeping policy which gives room to the nation involved in conflict to dictate the mode of operation they want from the UN. The UN is granted permission and is allowed to act under certain rules set by the government. This makes the UN to be neutral and at times termed as spectators of terrorism. For example in the case of Sudan, the government gave certain conditions to the United Nations, the government of Omar Bashir also tried to frustrate the mission by delaying the whole peacekeeping process and also not allowing the UN workers access in Sudan.

Lastly, the non-cooperation from the conflicting parties also hinders the mission. Negotiations cover a wide range of issues and it requires cooperation from the parties involved. It is difficult to deal with a situation where the two disagreeing parties only want to have an agreement that only favors them. This prolongs the mission and not bringing a lasting peace in the regions involved in the conflict.

3.3 United Nations Interim Force in Abyei (UNISFA)

“Agreement on Temporary Arrangements for the Administration Area” signed on 20th June 2011 provided for a cease fire agreement and it also laid the foundation for the mandates of UNISFA. However, the agreement did not provide a solution for the main issue at stake, which was the status of Abyei but it did call for the demilitarization of Abyei, the creation for a joint administration and police service and the return of refugees. The parties also agreed for the establishment of an Interim Security Force which would be under the authorization and the mandate of the UNSC to observe and monitor the ceasefire agreement in Abyei. Later on 27th

June 2011, the mandate of the mission was adopted by the UNSC resolution 1990. UNISFA was meant to be an observer mission with protection elements and limited mediation and assistance tasks. Its primary task was to monitor the withdrawal of the Northern and Southern troops from Abyei, to create and guarantee a demilitarized zone and to provide a demining assistance. Its secondary tasks were to build up the Abyei police service and protect civilians in the area and to provide humanitarian assistance. The mission officially started on 8th August 2011 while the patrols began at the end of the same month (Joachim 2015).

The SPLM/A and SAF were also given the mandate to help guard the borders and also to assist in offering humanitarian aids. However, UNISFA had some difficulties in its operations because the North-South troops had failed to withdraw from the Abyei border. On finding that there were some loopholes in the mandate of the force, Sudan then decided that it would not remove its troops from the region unless there was a full deployment of the 4200 UNISFA personnel who were yet to be deployed. Despite this extension of UNISFA mandate, and also a plea to bring the North and South together to help resolve the conflict it has proved to be futile (Joachim 2015).

On December 14th 2012, the UNSC passed resolution 2014, extending the presence of UN and expanding the mandate of UNISFA to include monitoring along the North-South border which was in line with the initial withdrawal agreement. On 29th May 2013, by resolution 2014, the Security Council increased the authorized military strength up to 5,326 peacekeepers, as requested by the North and South Sudan and decided that the support for the operational activities of the joint border verification and monitoring mechanism would include support from the Ad Hoc Committees.

On 13th may 2019, the UNSC adopted Resolution 2469 and extended its mission in Abyei upto 15th November 2009 because it realized the situation in Abyei was not improving and it continued to cause a threat to the international peace and security. The mandate also stipulated to reduce the troops ceiling to 3,550 and to increase the authorized police ceiling established in resolution 1990 (2011) to 640 police personnel, including 148 individual police officers and three formed police units.

3.3.1 Main Challenges to the Mission's Mandate Implementation

UNISFA has not been able to create a functioning administration in Abyei. The Abyei Joint Oversight Committee, which is composed of representatives from both North and South Sudan, created a joint military observer to monitor the border area of Abyei and to investigate threats to civilians. The committee progressed on a number of issues but it failed to agree on how to implement some of its decisions in particular the administrative aspect of joint institution building for the Abyei area. The consequent lack of a functioning administration impeded the development of stability and peace in the region. While Khartoum rejected the nominee of the Dinka Ngok for the post of the head of the Abyei Administration, Juba rejected the Misseyira nominee for the post of speaker for Abyei Legislative Council. The lack of political progress with regard to these issues, as well as the failure to create police service hindered the emergence of a stable administration.

Although no major relapses into violent conflict occurred in Abyei while UNISFA was present, there were frequent violations to the agreement from June 2011, and of relevant UNSC resolutions, were committed by both sides especially through the opposed ethnic group. This shows that the absence of armed conflicts does not guarantee sustainable peace. Instability, underlying tensions and potential for future conflict continue to exist (Johnson 2008).

Also the increasing instability, as well as major armed conflicts in other areas in particular South Kordofan and Blue Nile testify to the importance of understanding the Abyei conflict in the broader context of the strained relations between the Northern and the Southern part of Sudan. The fragility of the situation is further compounded when the Addis Ababa Agreement failed leading to the second civil war erupting.

In conclusion, the conflict in Abyei cannot be decoupled from the broader North-South conflict. Ensuring peaceful resolution between Ngok Dinka and Misseyira remains a crucial priority for the mission as the conflict between these two groups could serve as a flashpoint to broader North-South tension. Unless a durable and acceptable solution on the final status of Abyei is agreed, UNISFA will not play the interim role it was designated for but will instead risk becoming an extended presence in Abyei overseeing protracted, frozen conflict.

3.4 United Nations-African Union hybrid operation in Darfur

The African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) was the first peacekeeping mission to be deployed in the region in 2004 after signing of the Ndjamena ceasefire agreement. The mandates of AMIS were to facilitate humanitarian and to monitor the compliance of the agreement. This was the largest mission which was deployed by AU in which by September it had already grown to 7,000 peacekeepers. An assessment by the AU in 2003 pointed out some successes by AMIS whereby the deployment of its troops in Muhajeriya led to the withdrawal of SAF troops in that town which could have resulted to having around 40,000 people being displaced. The mission was however criticized for being too limited and its focus was more on monitoring the ceasefire violations instead of finding a robust action to protect its citizens. The mission also faced financial constraints and logistical difficulties and in some cases it faced attacks from the rebel groups. In light of this, in 2006, AU supported the handover of the force to UN.

The UN however was hesitant in having a peacekeeping operation in Darfur without having the parties in conflict sign an agreement. The Darfur Peace Agreement was later on signed in 2006 but it was never considered an ideal peace agreement it was only between the government and the SLA and the two major rebel factions never took part (this were the JEM and the SLM).

Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA)

The Darfur Peace Agreement which was between the Sudan and the SLA was signed on May 2006. This agreement is also known as the Abuja Agreement. The aim of having the agreement was to discuss issues on power sharing on both the state and national level, demilitarization of all the militia groups especially the Janjaweed, to have an integration of the SLM/A and JEM troops into the Sudanese Armed Force and police, having a federal system for wealth sharing for the promotion the economic interests of the people of Darfur, to hold a referendum in order to determine the future status quo of Darfur and also to determine measures that would promote a peaceful flow of humanitarian assistance in Darfur (Ryle 2004).

The peace agreement however did not stop the conflict between the parties that signed the agreement and soon it was criticized for its lack of implementation. Nonetheless, this paved way for Resolution 1706 being adopted by the United Nations Security Council in August 2006. This

resolution mandated the UN to deploy peacekeepers in Darfur so as to have stability in the region and also to help in the implementation of the DPA (Ryle 2004). However, the resolution floundered on the issues of host government consent and the force was never deployed. Meanwhile the agreement was falling apart and this created a doubt on the credibility of the United Nations. Pressure became intense on the UN to take action and in July 2007, the UNSC under resolution 1769 decided to form the United Nations-African Union hybrid mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

UNAMID was tasked with providing humanitarian assistance, to monitor and verify the implementation of the agreements made, to assist in having an inclusive political system, to provide assistance in the promotion of human rights and the rule of law and finally to report on the border situation along the borders of Chad and Central African Republic (CAR). The conflict in Darfur continued to intensify and in 2009 talks began in Doha, Qatar. This eventually led to the Liberation and Justice Movement (LJM) which was an umbrella for a weak rebel group together with the government of Sudan signing the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD).

The DDPD mandated the Sudanese president to elect a vice president from Darfur, to establish a new Darfur Regional Authority to oversee the region till a referendum was held to determine the status of Darfur within Sudan and finally the agreement established a compensation fund for all the victims affected in the conflict. The agreement also provided for power sharing at the national level whereby the people involved in signing the agreement would have an opportunity to elect two ministers of state at the federal level and would also be entitled to nominate twenty members to the national legislature. However, this agreement came as a blow because the major rebel factions failed to sign the agreement and the parties that did failed to reach the target for implementation.

3.4.1 Challenges facing the Peace Operation in Darfur

Infrastructure and resource inadequacies. The geography of Sudan hinders the distribution of humanitarian support. The region has got minimal transportation route and inadequate water supply. During the rainy seasons, UNAMID is required to apply aerial transportation in order to bring aid.

Governance interference. The government of Sudan allowed the deployment of UNAMID into Sudan in 2008, but before then it had been restricted to access certain areas of the region. In 2013, the government failed to approve custom clearance for UNAMID equipment's hence leaving the mission without important infrastructures. This type of restrictions further complicates the tasks of UNAMID in delivering humanitarian aid. The UN peacekeeping by its principles can only operate in consent of the government.

Ongoing conflicts. The increased violence in Darfur which was highly contributed by the militia groups led to the displacement of more than 3.5 million civilians and in turn humanitarian assistance was necessary. The response of Khartoum to combating the militia group has resulted into the attack on civilians, terrorizing of villages and looting of their markets.

Unstable neighborhood. The conflict that affiliates the Central African Republic (CAR) and also Sudan threatens the stability in Darfur.

Safety of Humanitarian workers. The rebel groups have directly attacked the humanitarian workers and peacekeepers deployed in the region. More than 191 personnel had been killed in 2013. Humanitarian workers have also fallen victims of abduction and car-jacking. In 2013, a UN base in South Darfur was attacked leaving 7 peacekeepers dead and another 17 injured. In the same year another UN convoy was attacked leaving people dead.

Slow implementation of the Doha Document. A number of measures in the Doha document have not been implemented including the ceasefire agreement and the security arrangements. The disagreement that happened between the Sudanese government and the rebel groups obstructed the implementation of the Doha agreement. Constant war between the rebel factions and the government also hinders a peaceful implementation of the agreement.

3.5 UN Agencies in Sudan

The UN Secretary General, in his agenda when he proposed the formation of UNMIS, he suggested the need and importance of having a joint integration strategies among the UN agencies in order to have a successful implementation of the CPA. This was because UNMIS would be dealing with broader range of issues. The UN in Sudan is comprised of 21 specialized Agencies, Funds and Programmes (AFPS) in addition to the two peacekeeping missions; UNAMID and UNISFA.

The United Nations Department of Safety and Security is also represented in the country. United Nations has been a major part on the Sudan conflict for many years. The UN has focused on saving lives, providing essential social services, reducing human sufferings as well as to strengthen and provide support to peace building from a grassroots level. The United Nations makes use of an area based approach while operating in Sudan in order to identify and put focus on the areas that need much priority such humanitarian assistance, development and recovery intervention. Overly the UN is in charge of making sure that there is a peaceful environment that supports the people's right to survive and also to be able to exercise their informed choices, to enjoy equal dignity and be involved in development programs.

The United Nations agencies in Sudan are composed of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), UN-Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), UN Development Program (UNDP), UN High Commission for Human Rights (OHCHR), UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), UN Population Fund (UNPF), UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), UN Emergency Mine Action Program in Sudan (UNMAS), World Health Organization (WHO) and lastly the World Food Program (WFP).

3.6 Confronting Challenges to UN Peacekeeping

This section addresses the opportunities that might be useful in dealing with challenges the UN faces. First, the UN must take advantage on the use of modern technologies. The UN has at times been faced with the challenge of differentiating between the civilians and the combat groups. In this case, the UN troops end up being the targets and even some lose their lives in the

line of duty. The unarmed Unmanned Aerial Systems (UAS) have the potentials of improving surveillance and also enhance with the gathering of information. In 2013, aerial surveillance system was adopted and launched in the Democratic Republic of Congo to help in peacekeeping. Most conflict involves the struggle of natural resources which includes land, water and minerals. It is better to be well equipped, this might involve coming up with alternatives to deal with these problems. There is need for innovative technologies to deal with the environmental impacts the UN peacekeeping operations bring (Brian 1987). For example, currently 15% of energy used by the UN operations in Lebanon is from the solar power. There is also the waste water treatment and this has currently been done in nine missions by the UN. This has helped in improving the environmental health.

Planning of a peacekeeping mission must also involve the identification of troop providers and contributors. This is very vital to the mission. the missions mostly lack contributors to air transportations and necessary engineers. For example in South Sudan, its terrain has hindered in the provision of necessary resources and they have also encountered problems via air transportation where the planes are bombed by the militia groups. The UN peacekeeping needs to improve in the provision of air transportation as this would really be beneficial. This can be done through regional dialogue with member states and also have an option of the stand-by troops (Urquhart 1987).

The last opportunity is accountability. The UN forces should meet its standards of integrity and commitment to the provision of human rights. When this is undermined, it can be critical to UN's effectiveness. In 2012, the Secretary General endorsed the policy of human rights screening. This involves screening of the member states by sharing of known information on senior level candidate's human rights.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed presentation of data as collected from the field and a critical analysis of the findings in response to the study objectives. This assessed the impact of the United Nations peacekeeping operation in conflict mitigation in Sudan between 2005 and 2018. Specifically the study assessed how the peace process has evolved, the role of the UN in conflict mitigation and finally challenges the UN is facing in conflict mitigation.

4.2 Response Rate

The researcher managed to successfully administer 38 interviews out of the 40 targeted respondents. This gave a response rate of 95%.

Table 4.1 Response rate

Number of respondents scheduled for interview	Actual respondents	Response rate (%)
40	38	95%

Source: Field data (2019)

4.3 General Information

This section gives an overview of the respondent's gender, age and professional affiliation.

4.3.1 Gender

The study established the gender of the respondents and the findings are as shown in table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Gender distribution of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent %
Male	20	53%
Female	18	47%
Total	38	100%

Source: Field data 2019

The findings indicate that majority of the respondents were male. This however does not hinder the response rate. The information gathered was useful to the study.

4.3.2 Age bracket of the respondents

Table 4.3 Respondents age bracket

	Frequency	Percentage %
25-30 years	18	47%
31-35 years	4	11%
36-40 years	1	3%
41-45 years	5	14%
46-50 years	6	16%
51-60 years	4	11%
Total	38	100%

Source: Field data 2019

As per the findings illustrated in the table above, indicates that majority (47%) of the respondents were in the age bracket of between 25-30 years.

4.3.3 Professional Affiliation

The study sought to indicate the professional affiliation of the respondents. The findings are as shown in table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Respondents professional affiliation

	Total number intended to be interviewed	Number of respondents interviewed	Response rate %
Civil society	10	10	26%
UN Mission officers	10	9	24%
Sudan embassy	10	9	24%
Professionals	10	10	26%
Total	40	38	100%

Source: Field data 2019

From the study findings, a tie 26% of the response rate came from the civil society and the professionals while the same tie too with the response rate from the UN mission officers and the sedan embassy.

4.4 The Peace Process in Sudan

The study analyzed the peace process in Sudan. From the majority of the study findings it indicates that the peace process in Sudan has evolved over the years and the country is working towards achieving a sustainable peace. The country has had other peace initiatives in the

previous years and some have not been fruitful. The intervention of the United Nations has managed to at least mitigate and bring peace in some parts of the country.

One of the respondents indicated that “innocent people have lost their lives in the conflict, we have also had other peace initiatives in the past. One thing that still makes this conflict persistent is that these peace initiatives have failed to focus on the underpinning causes of conflict and also to lend a listening ear to the groups in conflict. Much focus has been put on the peace initiatives. If much focus can be put on the underlying problem which is land and oil, then we might have better solutions in ending the conflict or even sustaining it”.

4.4.1 Why is peace critical in Sudan?

The study sought to find out why peace is very critical in Sudan. From majority of the findings it indicated that the conflict is not just between the government of Sudan and the rebel groups but also there are other conflicts internally like in Darfur. The international community has given much of its support starting with IGAD and currently having the support of the UN. The international community will be of much help to protect the government-SPLM/A agreement of wealth sharing, referendum to determine the fate of Abyei and also on the elections.

One of the respondents indicated that, “having signed the CPA agreement, the government and the SPLM/A were closer to peace than any other period in the past twenty years. However, even before the peace agreement was signed the intensifying war in the west threatened to undermine the agreement. As the parties look forward to having a lasting peace, the international community should also intensify its support so that the implementation becomes successful and also peace be maintained internally.”

4.4.2 Factors sustaining the conflict in Sudan

The study sought to investigate some of the factors sustaining to investigate some of the factors that sustain the conflict in Sudan. The study found out that the major contributing factor to the conflict in Sudan was ethnic intolerance which was mainly driven by political incitement. Others included, lack of will by the conflicting parties to come into terms, power struggle, pressure to have control over areas rich in natural resources, historical injustices, social and cultural dynamics, colonialism and dependency syndrome.

One of the respondents indicated that “these communities used to live in peace in the past with a few cases of cattle rustling, but with the discovery of oil, it became the birth of all problems it is currently facing”.

Another respondent indicated, “While conflicts in the past have been resolved in customary systems, today this process has become less because of the different nature of the conflict and also proliferation of arms among the communities. Additionally, weak government, weak management of the natural resources and the top-down institutions have largely contributed to division and the polarization of ethnicity.

4.4.3 Impact of the conflict in Sudan on national security

The study sought to find out the impact of the conflict in Sudan on the national security of the country through the respondents. The findings indicated that there have been the proliferation of weapons across the country, people have been tortured and this has led to the violation of human rights, women and children have been raped, increased number of refugees, destruction of properties, having a distorted foreign relations with the donor states, food shortage and also the country has failed in protecting its civilians.

One of the respondents indicated, “Following the increased level of violence, it led to food shortage and an increased number of refugees. There has also been an increase in the population. The government has failed to protect its citizens”.

4.5 The role of the United Nations in conflict mitigation

4.5.1 Opinions on some of the possible solutions in managing the conflict in Sudan

In explaining some of the possible solutions that can be used in managing the conflict in Sudan the respondents were asked to indicate their opinions. Most of the respondents indicated that the country should engage in home based negotiations like the one which took place in Somalia in fighting against the warlords. This then follows by having an all-inclusive government, the security measures should be enhanced, to have an equal distribution of the natural resources, to bring people together by having ethnic intolerance, settling of the local disputes, economic

empowerment, sanctions to be carried out on the rebel groups, having reconciliation campaigns from the grassroots level and also to actively engage the UN in the peace process.

One of the respondents indicated that, “the leaders of the warring groups should have agreements on ceasefire and the implementation of peace initiatives and also other agreements thereafter.”

4.5.2 The respondent’s opinion on the strategies that are being employed by the UN in conflict mitigation in Sudan.

The study sought opinion from the respondents on the strategies employed by the UN in conflict mitigation in Sudan. The respondents indicated that the UN has engaged in diplomatic mediations, providing ultimatum for the warring leaders and also coming up with early warning systems for the conflict in Sudan.

One respondent added that, “The UN has linked together the parties to the conflict through mediations. However, the peace process in Sudan is not as a result of the failure of the earlier made agreements, but due to the narrowness in the approaches applied and the short-sighted visions. There is a huge gap just assuming a limited definition of peace and just focusing on the north-south dimension of the conflict and also the refusal to involve other parties and just living the fate of the whole process SPLM/A and the government is just a major crisis.”

Another respondent added that, “the mediation that took place in Sudan under the special envoy Sumbeiywo was greatly applauded for the measures taken especially during the early weaknesses of IGAD. This process is appreciated because it culminated into signing of the CPA. Other peace initiatives by the UN should at least try and learn from this mediation process”.

4.5.3 What role has other regional bodies played in intervening in the conflict in Sudan

The respondents were asked to indicate if there were other organizations that have played a part in conflict intervention in Sudan. Majority have indicated that there have been other peacekeeping operations in the region other than the UN but a few missions have proved to be successful.

One of the respondents indicated, “Sudan had initially refuted the pressure from the western diplomats to accept the UN take control in the peacekeeping operations. But with the intervention of the UN, we have somehow managed to see some changes.”

4.5.4 Measures employed by the government to help contain the conflict in Sudan

The researcher requested the respondents to indicate some of the possible measures the government has taken to contain the conflict in Sudan. Some of the measures were found to be providing negotiations with the rebel groups, engaging the other bodies like the UN and IGAD, having peace talks, having an equal distribution of resources, having an all-inclusive government, rebuilding the country and having self-defense in a case whereby there has been an attack from the rebel factions.

One of the respondents indicated that, “when the CPA was signed, it provided a framework for both the government of Sudan and the rebel group SPLM/A to pursue peace. It also ensured processes for compensation for all the victims in the conflict. This way the government would be able to protect the interests of its citizens and at the same time provide security for the country.”

4.6 Challenges of the UN peacekeeping operations in conflict mitigation.

The study sought to find out some of the challenges the UN has faced in implementing peace in Sudan. These includes the interference from the external interested parties, political interference, lack of resources, corruption and finally lack of commitment from the government and the rebel groups.

According to one of the respondents, “The war in Sudan has not ended because of blame games from the conflicting parties.” Another respondent added, “The peace building in the region cannot be honoring the agreements made like the ceasefire agreement. There is need for a conducive environment in doing this. It is not sure whether the government of Sudan is fighting back on the basis of self-defense or whether the political leaders have their own interests in the conflict.”

Any other additional information or recommendations?

The study sought to find out whether the respondents had any additional information or recommendations that could be useful to sustain peace in the region. From the information gained, the respondents recommended the importance of decentralizing the government and building a federal system of legislatures across the country, building an effective civil service that can deliver public service and also to increase the border controls so as to limit the flow of illicit firearms into Sudan from the neighboring countries.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

4.1 Introduction

A major challenge is making the peace process as inclusive as possible so that it can be wholly owned by the groups involved in signing the peace agreement and also the individuals who did not take part like the civilians and the civil societies. It is also important to put in mind the issues of democracy and decentralization in a new creative way. There is also need to put focus on the trend of local development whereby in some cases it has led to the outbreak of war. There may be a settlement in a scenario whereby both the internal and external factors do not converge to have a lasting peace; in this case the intervention of a third party is much more important especially in internal war which is resolved through negotiations rather than having one party on the winning end. Statistically, a conflict may reoccur if one party may feel that their needs have not been fully met. The third parties must try to address future problems that may interfere with a peace process.

The critical aspect of the conflict in Sudan still hinders the peacekeeping operations. The conflict is embedded in the post-war situation and also there are still unresolved political situations and if it is fully addressed it would create a condition for recovery. A long term sustained engagement by the international community will help secure a lasting peace in Sudan.

4.2 Summary

Causes of conflict in Sudan

The study found out that the major contributing factor to Sudan's conflict was ethnic intolerance which was mainly driven by political incitement. Others included, lack of will by the conflicting parties to come into terms, power struggle, pressure to have control over the areas rich in natural resources, historical injustices for example marginalization, social cultural dynamics, colonialism and dependency syndrome. From the historic perspective, the factors that contribute to the conflict in Sudan included; a skewed distribution of key natural resources especially land and oil, religious conflicts which was between the Muslims and the Christians, ethnic conflicts, having weak institutions, past injustices from the past civil wars have not been addressed, too much concentration has been put on state building instead of nation building and lack of accountability.

The study further revealed that natural resources have also been a major cause of conflict in Sudan. This is majorly through having the North and the South struggling to have control over the regions which are rich in oil. There has been contest over the Abyei region which is rich in oil and the referendum concerning it has not yet been held till date. The oil resources have majorly been used to spread incitement and also to procure weapons. The other ways in which oil has been found to spread conflict is competition for power, leaders want to have power to control oil resources hence leading to misunderstanding, there has been reported cases of rape and this leads to violation of human rights, poor education systems and high number of people being displaced.

The impact of the conflict on the national security of Sudan was found to be, violation of human rights by an increased number of rape cases, high death rate of civilians caused by torture, huge number of refugees in the refugee camps leading to poor sanitations, destruction of infrastructure in war prone areas, distorted foreign relations with the investors, having food shortage and also a destabilized Sudan since it has not been able to protect its people. Moreover the Security Council's resolution regarding conflicts does not provide much of muscular aspects whereby wrongdoer can be intimidated.

UN Role in Management of Conflict in Sudan

The most common possible solutions that the UN should use was found to be engaging in home based negotiations, this was followed by having an all-inclusive government, to enhance the security measures, having an equal distribution of the natural resources, bringing together the communities which were torn apart by ethnicity and political incitement, to have clan integration, economic empowerment, sanctions to be carried out on people or groups that may try to perpetuate conflict, carrying out grassroots campaigns and sensitize on reconciliation and finally having a stable government that speaks in one voice.

The study revealed that the strategies employed by the UN in conflict management in Sudan included; engaging in high diplomatic mediations, coming up with early warning systems for conflict eruption, building up capacities for national security, monitoring the situation in the

region and having troops that engage to prevent conflicts. The study further found that the measures taken by the UN to mitigate conflict are; the UN has sent its mission in order to help mitigate conflict, employment of early warning mechanisms to help prevent the conflict, special coordination with countries that provide troops for peacekeeping in areas having conflict and built capacities of national security.

Challenges of the UN Peacekeeping Operation

The study also found out that the biggest challenge that the UN is facing in its effort to contain the conflict was political interference as well as having interference from external parties. Others included; the UN members displayed lack of genuine grasp of the socio-cultural dynamics, lack of cooperation from the public, there was lack of key infrastructure in the country, lack of resources and funds and the key leaders involved not respecting the agreements made.

4.3 Conclusion

The conflict in Sudan can be traced back to the colonial period whereby division was created in terms of how the north and the south were being ruled. The conflict resulted into humanitarian crises as thousands were displaced and a significant large larger being killed. In addition, the conflict is also caused by unavoidable colonial transition period. This has eventually led to a creation of a structure leading to a problematic social integration. The dissatisfaction of some groups who felt that their grievances have not been addressed has led to the emergence of conflicts. The actions of the UN have also been put on hold because of the political will of the leaders in the country.

UN seems to have difficulties in ensuring security to the displaced persons and also regions affected by the conflict. The greater powers also seem to have second thoughts in their involvements in the conflict due to consequences that might be incurred. The AU being a regional organization has proven to be weak in resolving its region's conflicts but rather depends on the UN and other peacekeeping bodies for guidance and resolving conflicts.

Politically, the UN does not seem to be democratic because the Security Council which is the minority seems to impose its own views on the General Assembly. The operation performed by

the UN is sometimes paralyzed or put on hold by the misuse of the veto powers by rivalry states, this is because the veto rights gives sweeping powers to five of the permanent members of the Security Council. This has resulted to the Security Council being criticized of its operations by the other members of the Council.

The UN has also faced financial constraints, whereby conducting the peacekeeping operation has become very expensive and the contributing countries are not current with their dues. The USA being one of the largest contributors to the UN has interfered with the decision making whereby it imposes its decisions to the UN.

4.4 Recommendations

This study proposes several recommendations that policy makers may adopt and corresponds to the objectives that the study wants to achieve.

Recommendations to the Government of Sudan

The government of Sudan should ensure that reconciliation, accountability and healing process has taken root in Sudan. In order to prevent the reoccurrence of violence, the culture of impunities which fuels atrocities must be tackled. In a peace agreement there should be an exclusion of amnesty to those involved in serious crimes. The government in association with the UN should establish a hybrid mechanism which would help deal with people involved in war crimes. All parties involved in a peace process must ensure that the civilians are fully protected and humanitarian aids are accessible in all regions affected by conflict without facing any hindrance.

Once peace has been restored in Sudan, the region will need support in developing and implementing targeted recovery programs. This should be in relation to the needs of the people of Sudan. There should be an equal distribution of resources in order to reduce poverty and promote the emergence of more profitable sector and focus should be on investments which improves the livelihood of its people.

The government should introduce a power sharing government comprised of different ethnic groups including a potential “House of Nationalities” similar to Ethiopia’s house of federation.

The government should diversify the country's economy away from oil moving it towards building a renewable energy sector and revitalized agriculture.

The government should conduct a comprehensive, peaceful and orderly disarmament of the civilians throughout the country and have a proper control of illegal firearms.

The government should work together with the civil society groups in raising awareness and organizing campaigns on the dangers of possession of illegal firearms, this mainly targeting the community leaders and the youths.

It should also provide education to the communities on ways to resolve their grievances and settling their disputes and not just to resort into conflicts.

Recommendations to the United Nations

There are other recommendations that can be put in place in order to help resolve the conflict in Sudan and not only the country having to depend on the UN for help. First, there should be a collective action against any party that is responsible for violation. If the parties involved in conflict continue to violate human rights, there should be direct order for the UN to intervene in order to protect civilians and sustaining peace.

The UN should also get involved in an inclusive approach of resolving conflict. All of the Sudanese people should be involved in all measures that have a stake in their future. The Security Council should continue to support actively the participation of the civil society representatives and also various religious leaders' to be involved in peace building so as to make sure they all move in one direction in resolving conflict. They should also include the participation of rebel groups operating in the region so that they are fully integrated in maintaining security rather than becoming spoilers to a peace initiative.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE

University of Nairobi: Department of Political Science and Public Administration

The Role of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Conflict Mitigation: A Case Study of Sudan (2005-2018).

Interview guide

My name is Ogweno. F.Awuor, a Master of Arts student at the University of Nairobi in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration. As part of the requirements for the award of Master's degree in International Relations, I'm conducting a study on " The Role of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Conflict Mitigation: A Case Study of Sudan (2005-2018)." I kindly request you for a brief interview to better understand the role of the United Nations in conflict mitigation. The information you provide will be treated with utmost confidentiality and strictly used for the purpose for which it is intended; research.

1. How has the peace process in Sudan evolved

- In your view why is peace critical in Sudan?
- How has the peace process in Sudan evolved?
- What factors are still sustaining the conflict in Sudan?
- What is the impact of the conflict in Sudan on national security?

2. Role of the UN in conflict mitigation in Sudan

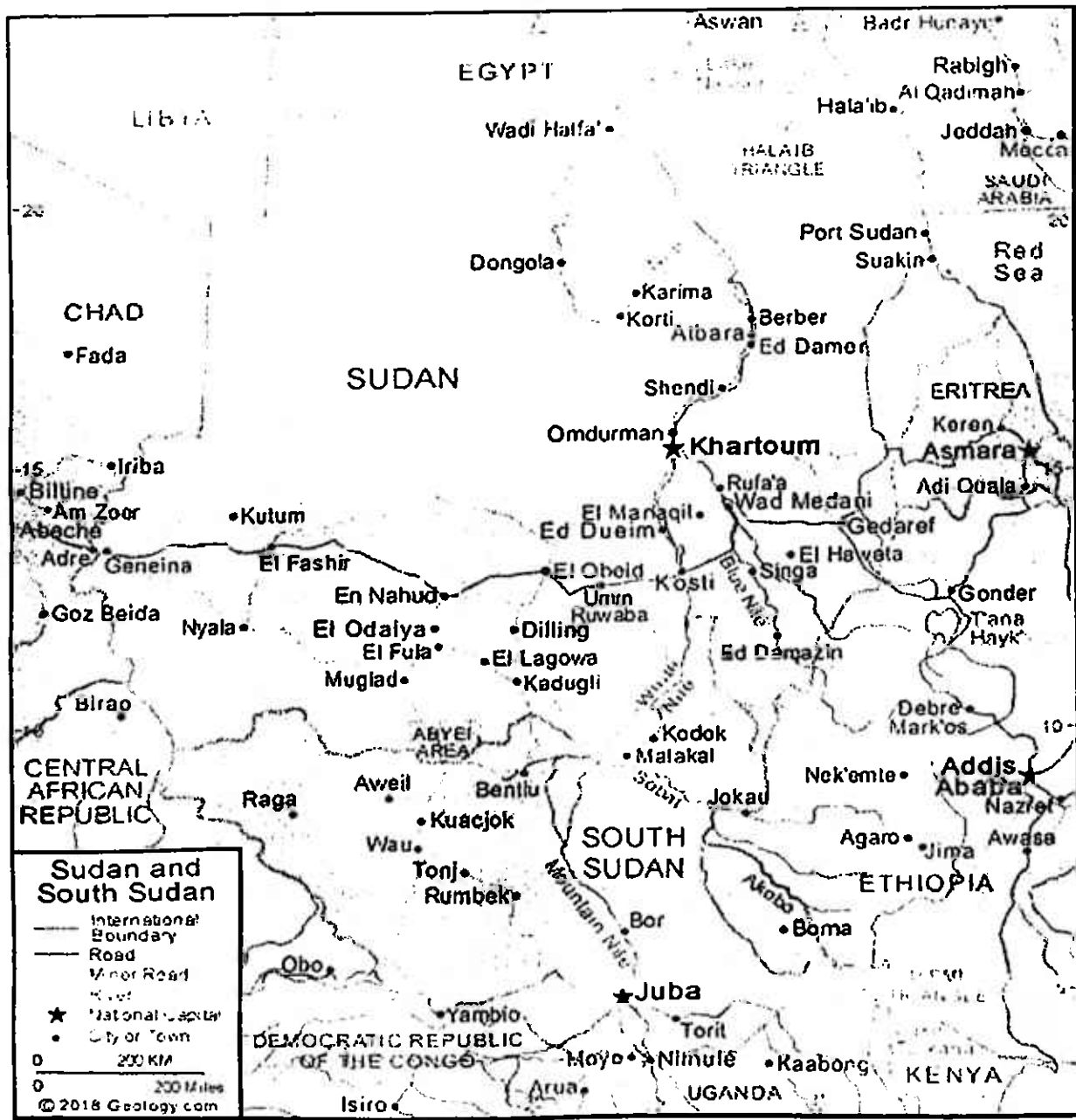
- What is your opinion on the strategies employed by the UN in conflict mitigation in Sudan?
- What are some of the possible solutions that can be employed in managing the conflict in Sudan?
- What role has other regional bodies played in intervening in the conflict?
- What measures has the government employed to help contain the conflict in Sudan?

3. Challenges of UN peacekeeping operations

- What challenges are the UN peacekeepers experiencing?

Any other additional information?

APPENDIX II: MAP OF SUDAN



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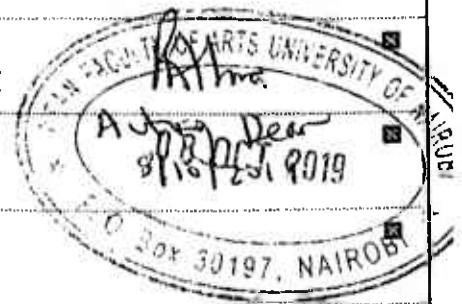
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