International Capacity in Building Post-Conflict Peace in Sudan: Applying Peacebuilding Triangle

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ABSTRACT

The thesis assesses the relationship between three variables; International Capacity, Local Capacity and Hostility and how it contributes to peacebuilding in Post-Conflict situation. This research has pointed out the U.N.'s failure to achieve its objectives in Sudan. It employs institutionalism as the theoretical framework to analyze the operations of institutions and particularly the U.N. in peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts in the world.

Thus, it takes note of peacekeeping interventions of the United Nations in Sudan by evaluating it, observing the challenges or difficulties being encountered and how this can be worked on through various means from the lessons learned. This is important because it will assist the United Nations in solving the Sudan crisis as well as other future reoccurrence in other parts of the world.

To complete this study, the research has applied the Peacebuilding Triangle of Doyle and Sambinas to the case of Sudan. With this, the research will assess the three variables of the triangle relating them to Sudan and enable a critical examination to the reason for the continued crisis in Sudan and the inability of the UN to maintain a ceasefire till date.

This study will explore the use of historical analysis for its findings as well as solutions based on other findings, affirmations and evidences on related U.N peacekeeping interventions with the use of primary sources such as official reports, agreements, protocols and secondary sources such as books and journal articles will be consulted.

ÖZ

Tez üç değişken arasındaki ilişkiyi değerlendirir; Uluslararası Kapasitesi, Yerel Kapasite ve Düşmanlık ve nasıl Çatışma Sonrası durumda barışın tesisi için katkıda bulunur. Bu araştırma Sudan hedeflerine ulaşmak için BM'nin başarısızlığını işaret etti. Dünyada barış ve barışın inşası çabalarında kurum ve özellikle BM operasyonları analiz etmek teorik çerçeve olarak kurumsallık kullanır.

Böylece, onu değerlendirmek zorlukları gözlemleyerek veya zorluklar karşılaşılan ve nasıl dersler bu çeşitli yollarla üzerinde çalışmış olabilir tarafından Sudan'da Birleşmiş Milletler'in barışı koruma müdahaleleri dikkate alır. Dünyanın diğer bölgelerinde Sudan krizi yanı sıra diğer gelecek reoccurrence çözümünde Birleşmiş Milletler yardımcı olacak, çünkü bu önemlidir.

Bu çalışmayı tamamlamak için araştırma Sudan'ın davaya Doyle ve Sambinas ve Barışı Tesis Üçgen başvurdu. Bu grubu, araştırma Sudan onları ilgili üçgenin üç değişkeni değerlendirmek ve Sudan'da devam eden kriz ve tarihe kadar ateşkes sağlamak için BM'nin yetersizlik nedeni ile kritik bir sınava sağlayacaktır.

Bu çalışma böyle resmi raporlar, anlaşmalar, protokoller ve kitap gibi ikincil kaynaklar olarak birincil kaynakların kullanımı ile ilgili BM barış müdahaleleri diğer bulgular, affirmations ve kanıtlara dayalı tarihsel bulguları analiz yanı sıra çözümlerin kullanımını inceleyeceğiz dergi makaleleri istişare edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası Örgütler, Kurumlar, Barış, Barışı Tesis, BM Müdahaleler, Enerji, Anlaşmaları.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my family for their belief in me and support both physically and financially and particularly spiritually in my academic pursuit without which I would not have come this far.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
EU	European Union
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
SPLMA/A	Sudanese People Liberation Movements/Army
UNAUMID	United Nations and African Union Mission in Darfur
UNMIS	United Nations and African Union Mission in Darfur
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UN	United Nation

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The post-cold war era has been affected with conflicts which have increased the rate of insecurity in various parts of the world causing a setback on the journey of peaceful co-existence, or hope of any form of peace dividends in the world. This has had costly implications such as failed democracies, famine, displacement of people etc. and in most cases the United Nations has been relied upon to take necessary steps and actions.[1]

The continent of Africa has experienced more conflicts within states which led to mass killings, genocides, authoritarian regimes, humanitarian disaster etc. Sudan has experienced what has been termed as the longest civil war in Africa (22years). The results of this conflict are obviously visible as is seen in the present situation of the country, The inability of regional and sub-regional institutions such as the African Union, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, just to mention a few, to curb these menaces and restore serenity is the justification of the United Nations in its involvement in the situation in Sudan. However, despite a range of interventions by the U.N, the situation in Sudan remains unresolved. Assistant Secretary-General for UN Peacekeeping Operations Edmond Mulet maintained that there had been "no pause in international communal conflicts which remains a major source of

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[1] Fetherston A.B 1994. Towards a Theory of United Nations Peacekeeping. Macmillan Press Ltd. Pg. 1

instability".[2] This research analyzes the interventions of the United Nations in Sudan, elaborating on the obstacles that have hindered the peacekeeping intervention and seeking to find out the loop holes in this peacekeeping process, which failed to provide a feasible solution.

The boundaries between conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and peace enforcement have become increasingly blurred."[3] U.N. peace operations are hardly limited to peacekeeping. It involved not only one type of activity but also other endeavors. Peacekeeping operations are pursued to support the implementation of a ceasefire or peace agreement. In other words, they are entail to play an active role in peacemaking attempts, hence may also be involved in early U.N. peacebuilding activities. Peacebuilding's objective is "to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development.[4]

1.1 Literature Review

There is limited literature that examines the failure of U.N. peace operations. Nevertheless, there are some prominent scholars who have addressed the issues. For instance, Michael Lipson from Concordia University in Canada, in an article entitled "Peacekeeping: Organized Hypocrisy?" He claimed that although the U.N. had achieved success during its first 50 years of existence especially during the Suez crisis, it had failed to exert the same success in the Post-Cold War era. He listed the

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[2] *UN News Centre,* "Amid 'unpredictable' situation in Darfur, senior UN peacekeeping official urges political settlement," 28 October, 2015.
http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=52398#.VmgCvvl97IU

[3] *United Nations Peacekeeping*, Peace and Security,
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peace.shtml
[4]*United Nations Peacekeeping,* Ibid.

failures of the U.N. peacekeeping in conflict that took place in Bosnia and Rwanda where they failed to prevent or even react or respond swiftly to the genocide and mass murder. Despite the passing of resolutions by the Security Council authorized Peacekeepers to protect civilians that were endangered, this resolution was not matched by actions as the necessary forces was not deployed with timely intervention which consequently led to the failure of the U.N. intervention in Rwanda and Bosnia. Hence the accusation of hypocrisy since the U.N. failed to act in accordance with the ideals it preached. In his words, "organized hypocrisy is a response to conflicting material and ideational pressures".[5] Lipson feels that there are two sides to organized hypocrisy which could either be positive or negative on peacekeeping. That is hypocrisy can cause failures for international organizations and also make organizations destroy "the very moral principle it hopes to achieve"[6]. While on the other hand, it can help the UN and regional organizations to overcome situations which can otherwise render them incapable or ineffective and threaten their survival. He concluded that organized hypocrisy holds both theoretical and policy implications for peace operations and global governance in general which warrants further research.

Another literature reviewed was the work of Alex De Waal titled *Darfur and the failure of responsibility to protect*. He argued that with the kind of Conflict in Sudan, so complex involving different groups, types, levels and layers of conflict coupled with threat since the outset of the civil war, the UN peacekeeping operation was not sufficient enough as numerous groups existed with arms whom had no commander such as the Sudan Armed forces nor rebel commanders. The main argument of his

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[5] Ibid, Michael Lipson. "Peacekeeping: Organized Hypocrisy?", p.7.
[6] Ibid. p23

work is about the responsibility to protect civilians in conflict areas using Sudan as a case study and cited examples such as the U.S intervention as well as the UN and AU hybrid formation following the inability of the AU to curb the conflict in Sudan which warranted the need for the UN to step in. Just as the previous literature by Michael Lipson, Alex De Waal pointed out the inability of the international organizations to intervene timely. "Had the AU and UN and Sudan government agreed quickly enough, it could have been prompt and efficient".[7]

He argued that the main goal of the responsibility to protect which includes ceasefire, disarmament, civilian protection etc. in Darfur crisis has not achieved its goal. This article argues that these failures are as a result of the inadequate understanding of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). Expectation of being saved by the "blue helmets" sky rocket this he called "inflated expectations" instead if there was timely interventions with better-equipped force would have been a positive and welcome move but to think that Darfur could be save was erroneous. He summed his work up by saying that the international community failed to achieve practical solutions within its reach.

Virginia Page in her article examines the international interventions in the aftermath of a civil war to know whether the presence of peacekeepers makes peace unlike when there are no peacekeepers. Although there have been different forms of development in peacekeeping after the Cold War, Virginia however argued that these has not been properly tested to know the extent of the effectiveness of these interventions by international community. Hence the test by Virginia in her article where she concluded that just by mere looking or observation, the peacekeeping

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[7] Alex De Waal p1039-1054

records speak for itself and the efforts of these international institutions will be better spent on other things. Noting that these peacekeepers are hardly found in areas where conflicts have come to an end in a decisive manner but instead they try to maintain peace where there is a possibility and capacity to disrupt such.

In sum, she agrees that the intervention of international community helps to maintain peace but also noted that the presence of the "blue helmets" was not a silver bullet and of course it does not guaranty lasting peace in all cases but it tends to make peace last more or longer.[8]

1.2 Theoretical Framework

1.2.1 Liberal Theory

The Liberal theory will help to critically access the extent to which Liberal institutions and organizations have either succeeded or failed in their quest in Sudan and having analyzed various literatures on peacebuilding and peacekeeping with a major tool of implementing these processes being institutions. Liberalism is an international relations theory that is opposed to the realism view point of international relations. Liberalism came into existence after the breakdown of feudalism and the emergence of a capitalist society. Attempts to define liberalism are usually ineffective as some are usually from catalogues of existing definitions. The term Liberalism lacks a specific definition since its usage includes a number of meanings in a number of different contexts.[9] The study of liberalism can both be simple and complex.[10] There have been many comparable social inventions many of

[8] Virginia Page Fortna. 2004, Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War. International Studies Quarterly Volume 48, Issue 2, pages 269-292.
[9] Jerzy S, 1995, *Liberalism after Communism*. Central European University Press. P17
[10] Michael F. 1996 *Ideologies and Political Theory*, a Conceptual Approach. Clarendon Press Oxford, p141

which have not lasted or do not still exist such as communism, egalitarianism, and socialism. However, Liberalism has succeeded its author's initial hope for it.[11]

Historically, the central idea associated with liberalism is that individuals should be allowed to make their own choices. A liberal government allows individuals to make their own choices as regards religion, economic commitment, etc. Conceptually, liberals concentrate on limiting the power of the state (the extents are usually contained in a constitution) and with creating strategies to prevent the state from influencing in the citizen's private sphere.[12] However the exact meaning of liberalism has evolved over the years.[13] Liberalism has advocated guaranteed rights, political freedom, liberty of individuals and equality before the laws etc. Liberalism to a large extent through its ideas in recent times have manifested transiting economies to democracy, globalization etc. making it to remain a powerful and influential doctrine.

Martins Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan see liberalism as a unanimous decision amongst advanced states about the need to maintain open trade and likewise reduce protectionism policy.[14] However, despite the fact that international institutions were created by states, this does not provide any assurances that their goals and objectives can be achieved (Arthur 2008, p211). What this implies therefore is that states come together to form international institutions as a vehicle to achieving goals of same interest, this does not imply or translate to mean that the goals will be achieved

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[11] Russell H, 1999. *Liberalism, Constitutionalism and Democracy*. Oxford university press, p.44.
[12] Sylvia C, 2002. *Liberalism, Democracy and Development*; Cambridge University Press, p.39
[13] Leon B 1991. *Political Ideologies their origins and impact*. Fourth edition, p.30
[14] Griffiths M. and O' Callaghan T, 2002 *International Relations*: The Key Concept, Routledge New York. P88

automatically due to the fact that state interests changes as well as their relations with one another.

Liberalism seeks to restrain factors or elements that are fundamental causes of war. In making this a possibility, areas such as globalization, capitalism and democracy have been emphasized (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002, pp181-182).[15] Liberals argue that there is an increase in wealth, cooperation, as well as global well-being as a result of trade amongst states. This they believe reduces the chances of conflict as governments will not be interested in destroying that which increases her wealth.[16] This however has not been fully achieved as there has not been good governance in the case of Sudan and this has made the war to linger on as rivalry get more tensed. Omar al Bashir despite all atrocities remains the President of the Republic of Sudan since 1993 and has since been declared wanted by the international criminal court on cases of crime against humanity, war crimes, and genocide. Meanwhile, South Sudan is also facing crisis as the incumbent government battles with rebels who have stood up against the government as they believe that democracy is not what is being practiced with the leader being Riek Machar the ousted Vice President of South Sudan. It seems obvious therefore that despite the fact that governments will not be interested in destroying that which increases her wealth, when an alternative is found, then they care less. Meanwhile Macridis and Hulliung see liberalism as a theory anchored on simple proposition whereby men and women make efforts to

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[15] Ibid, pp. 181-182

[16] Goldstein .S. and Pevehouse .J. 2007. *International Relations*. Pearson International Edition, p. 101

increase economic gains and reduce pains whereby it is the duty of individuals to pursue these economic gains themselves and in so doing they attain fulfilment.[17]

Doyle defined liberalism by his own standards as what has had an effect in world politics because it is concise and precise. Adding that more reasons why the impact of liberalism was felt was as a result of the fact that liberal democrats respect one another's sovereignty and security. He sees views liberalism as the combination of war and peace of international relations with political and social philosophy which bridges methodological divides and provides a framework for political discourse and in addition attracted a large legion of many of the most talented scholars in international relations.[18]

The development of liberal institutionalism as an alternative theory in International Relations opposed to the Realism view point has sprung up heated civil arguments since the 1970's as a genuine distinct option to realism. Liberal institutionalism contends that focus ought to be placed on worldwide administration and universal association as a process of explaining international relations. Institutionalism lays emphasis on the fact that common objectives in the international system gets states to cooperate through international organizations.[19]

As a main opposition to realism in international relations theory, Institutionalism has met stiff opposition and criticism for example Hoffman Stanley expressing that

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[17] Macridis R. and Hulliung M. (1996) Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movement and Regimes. Sixth Edition Harper Collins College publishers. p25

[18] Doyle, M,. (1986). *Liberalism and World Politics* p683-684

[19] Keohane, R and Nye, J, *Power and Interdependence: world politics in Transition*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1977, p.24

'international affairs have been the nemesis of liberalism'.[20] Besides the inability of various organizations such as the United Nations, African Union, World Bank etc. to address pressing issues such as the crisis in Sudan, poverty reduction and so on viably recommends that institutionalism is failing. In a bid to properly understand the effect of internationalism first we have to take a look at the definitions.

1.2.2 Liberal Institutionalism

Liberal institutionalism gained more prominence and attention during the second half of the twentieth century.[21] Institutionalism places importance on the need to change the international relations of states to associate with patterns such as of harmony, self-determination, opulence etc. Hedley Bull believes that when group of states that are aware of certain common interests, gains and values come together to be bound by agreements in their relations with one another and partake in the working of such institutions then there is an international society.[22] By the end of the Second World War, the significance of international institution took a major transformation by maintaining stethoscope on how to foster peace by making institutions the agents of these missions.[23] Institutions have been seen to have a soothing vigor that leads to stability in a peaceful relation and co-existence of states.

Liberal institutionalism is a theory mostly concerned about the engagement and use of institutions to ensure peace and security in the globe. The theory emancipated as a result of the claims by the realist that there is little or no role being played by institutions in ensuring peace and security in the world. Hence, liberal

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[20] Hoffman, S, 'The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism', *Foreign Policy*, No, 98,Spring 1999, p. 162

[21] Dunne, T, 'Liberalism' in Baylis, J and Smith, S ed., *The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to International Relations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005 p. 185

[22] Bull, H, *The Anarchical Society: a Study of order in world politics*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1977, p. 13

[23] John. J. Mearsheimer. 1994. The False Promise of International Institution. P 5

institutionalism defends the importance of institutions in ensuring peace in the world.[24]

Joshua and Pevehouse believe that the importance of international institutions increased in the 1980 as new liberal critique of realism known as neoliberalism emerged. This reasoning is based on an understanding that it is more reasonable to pursue and maximize a long term gain as to a short-term.[25] The definition of a long term gain to a short term gain varies and is therefore viewed differently. This one can say has been the reason for a continuing conflict in Sudan as a continued conflict can be seen as long term gain for one party and vice-versa. As it is obvious therefore that some states are only concerned about their own gain that is, maximizing absolute gains through cooperation. Another notable argument is the fact that liberalism argues that democracies do not fight war against each other. (Russet, 1993) this has however not stopped the present conflict and crisis going on between Republic of Sudan and South Sudan. It might not have escalated into a full-fledged war between both countries, but has led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people and the death of several thousands.

Liberal institutionalism is based on the idea of cooperation between states to achieve common objectives as well as interest. It argues that for peace to reign states need to cooperate together as well as yield some sovereignty so as to create economic growth and take actions to issues regionally and internationally.[26]

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[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Lamt, S, 'Contemporary Mainstream Approaches: Neo-Realism and Neo-Liberalism in Baylis, J and Smith, S ed., *The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to International Relation*s, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, pg 213

Institutions vary both in size and membership, just as some are universal; others are regional encompassing a few numbers of states. As some focus on economic issues, others focus on military. However, the formulation of international organizations is to solve a certain problem through collective effort. What this implies is that the design of international institutions is in some way related to the nature of the problem which it is intended to solve. Take for example Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) this institution was created in order to broker peace in Sudan and was also responsible for the secession of the South from Sudan and till date is the major mediator between the conflicting parties in South Sudan.

Graham Allison believes that the ascent in globalization coupled with the worries over terrorism, trafficking of both humans and drugs, pandemics and so on is enough evidence that states can no longer handle certain issues alone which calls for cooperation and proves the importance of institutions[27]. Some of these institutions are The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) only comprises of states within the West African Region so it is a regional international institution concerned with the socio-economic and political situation of West Africa. The United Nations (UN) happens to be the only international institution that encompasses all countries as long as they attain the prerequisite for membership. While the African Union (AU) comprises only of African Countries and the European Union (EU) includes countries in Europe who must have fulfilled certain conditions of the organization before gaining admission into the organization.

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[27] Allison, G, 'The Impact of Globalization on National and International Security', in Donahue, J and Nye, J, ed., G*overnance in a Globalizing World*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C, 2000, pg 84

International institutions are created by states as a result of their national interest and foreign policies. States have been found to comply with international institutions by and large in respect to agreements and treaties which they are party to. States are party to different institutions and agreements in a bid to achieve their national interest that is their goals and ambitions as a state which can be either economic or military reason. Despite the fact that states tend to comply with the rules and regulations of bodies and organizations they are party to, this has not been able to stop the present conflict going on in Sudan. One contributing factor to this is the fact that the present leaders are power hungry hence they frustrate the efforts of the international organization. Apart from this, one major problem limiting the maximum efforts of international institutions remains the absence of a private army. Most or all international organizations saddled with the responsibility of maintaining peace and security rely on a collective donation or volunteer soldiers by its members when the need arises and this has slowed the pace and effectiveness of these institutions such as the United Nations, African Union, etc. the challenge with this is that despite the fact that countries or her leaders might have faulted the rules or treaty they are party to, or have gone against the international law as regards certain issues they remain friends and allies of other members still as a result of certain agreements and interactions hence the unwillingness of a country to assist or release her army for peace keeping or to fight against a country. For example, despite the fact that the International Criminal Court has issued an arrest warrant for Omar Al Bashir since 2004,[28] with eleven (11) years gone, he remains a freeman and still the president of Republic of Sudan visiting countries around the world and even been invited to international gatherings and meetings yet nothing has been done, no arrest has been

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[28] The International Criminal Court http://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/PIDS/publications/AlBashirEng.pdf (Accessed 27/04/2015)

made and nothing has been done even by the African Union. More so, there are slight practices regarding disciplinary actions on members who go contrary to what is expected of them making members to intentionally ignore their duties except the case of a non-payment of monetary contributions.[29]

In this present time, just as there are a lot of international politics, so are there much international institutions in various regions of the world. There exist quite a number of international institutions such as the European Union (EU), United Nations (UN), World Trade Organization (WTO), Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), just to mention a few. Some institutions arise and collapse, some appear and disappear, some spring and shrink, some take on new members while some become more complex etc. according to the American Society of International law the failure of institutions and organizations are as a result of the failure of states that are members to the organization.[30] However, United Nations seem to be waxing stronger by the year creating more areas to tackle new issues as well as absorbing new members.

International organizations is comprised of a minimum of three states as members in a bid to still remain in existence should a member decide to withdraw, there will still be two states to carry on. Originally, states that have gained independence are members of international organizations and the method of acquiring the membership of these organizations vary as well as methods of sanctions or possibility of a withdrawal. Like in the case of the European Union which does not give room for

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[29] Research Handbook on the Law of International Organizations Edited by Jan Klabbers and Asa Wallendahl. Centre of Excellence in Global Governance Research, University of Helsinki, Finland. Published by Edward Elgar Cheltenham, UK. .P84

[30] American Society of International law Vol. 90, MARCH 27-30, 1996. ARE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS DOING THEIR JOB? Published by: American Society of International Law URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/i25658987 (accessed 25/04/2015).

withdrawal.[31] Criticisms such as those listed above are not without some credibility hence it is against this background that focus will be shifted to the next.

Innis Claude noted that past efforts by international institutions and governance had fizzled starting with the League of Nations which crumbled shamefully and the United Nations has without doubts not been able to have a vote of confidence that it can actually save the world.[32] While it can be contended that the United Nations has tried in its own little way to save the world and not just a tool being used by member states to extend or expand control over other countries the truth remains that the United Nations is contradictory as it is contained in the charter that states must respect the sovereignty of one another but on the contrary, peacekeeping missions disregard such agreement. This is a contradiction in the charter which contains both a non-intervention policy of a state policy as well as the principle of human rights that can require intervention.[33]

1.3 Methodology

By making use of Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis's work entitled *Making War and Peacebuilding*[34] methodology, this thesis will seek to find out how and why U.N. peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations in Sudan failed. These two authors have tested peacebuilding strategies by formulating a triangulating peace model: international assistance; hostility; and local capabilities. The authors apprehend these as the three dimensions of a triangle. They test propositions with an extensive data

[31] Research Handbook on the Law of International Organizations Edited by Jan Klabbers and Asa Wallendahl. Centre of Excellence in Global Governance Research, University of Helsinki, Finland. Published by Edward Elgar Cheltenham, UK. .P84

[32] Claude, Inis, *Swords Into Plowshares: the problems and progress of international organization*, Random House, New York, 1971, pg 419

[33] Thakur, R and Weiss, T, 'R2P: From Idea to Norm-and Action?', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, Vol.1, 2009, p.30

[34] Ibid, Michael W. Doyle, Nicholas Sambanis. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations,* p.69-138.

set of 124 post- World War II civil wars and seek to find out if U.N. peace operations make a positive difference. Their study provides guidelines for designing a successful peacebuilding strategy. The authors have employed the peacebuilding dataset for U.N. peace operations, which this research will make use of the probability that peacebuilding, will succeed. The decision to upkeep peacebuilding depends on not only the international but also the local capabilities for peace. Doyle believed that the possibility of a successful peacebuilding process is dependent on a country's capability for peace, assistance internationally and extent of conflict related hostility. What this means is that the international assistance can serve as incentives for peace on the contrary, a deeply rooted conflict ridden country could experience a dual effect. Hence the hypothesis that if these three variables interact competitively and cooperatively, a chance for peace can be created and the possible outcomes are

(a) The larger the international capacities IC, the higher the possibility of a peacebuilding process

(b) In reverse, the higher the hostility, the lower the possibility of a peacebuilding process.

(c) The higher the local capacity the higher the possibility of peacebuilding.

In this research, the UN peacekeeping represents the International Capacity I.C while the crisis in Sudan is the Hostility and the present condition is Sudan can be represented as the local capability.

In the course of the work, a broader view evaluation was carried out in order to assess if truly these dimensions have an effect on the peacebuilding successes. The quantitative analysis of materials was used to explain this variable L.C, I.C and H is responsible for the outcome of the U.N. peacekeeping operations in Sudan explaining

and analyzing in a broader sense the international capacity of the U.N. in Sudan with the U.N. operations in Sudan being the major measure of international capacity/liberal institutions or organizations.

The subsequent chapters gives more insights to the reader about the different types of peacekeeping, other UN interventions in other countries and the problem faced by the UN in Sudan. etc giving the reader a better idea of the peace process through which peacebuilding takes place.

In this research, historical datasets were consulted with the different chapters maintaining the main point of the research which is to explain how and why the UN failed in Sudan and its relation to the Hostility Capabilities, a low response from the International Capacity coupled with the Local Capacity. The UN failed in Sudan due to a low international capacity intervention which also needed timely but also robust interventions with the hostility capabilities and local capabilities being a contributing factor. Examples of the I.C include the U.N mandate which in the case of Sudan has been changed couple of times without still achieving its aim.

Indicators of hostilities in this research include factions and international actors directly involved in the fighting. The application of this theory in the work suggest this as one of the problem/challenges affecting the peacebuilding process and is further explained in the chapter 3 where other indicators of hostility was mentioned such as ethnicity and settlements or agreements. In the case of Sudan ethnicity and religion have served as process for the difficulty of achieving reconciliation after war.

In addition, Doyle coded outcomes of the war such as signing of agreements or some kind of peace settlement and in the Sudan case several agreements exist between the government and rebel forces. One major one is the Comprehensive Peace Agreement CPA. This indicates some degree of reconciliation but by researching into this, conclusion was easily drawn that the signing of peace treaties in as much as it gives signs of conflicting parties reconciling, it is not a guarantee that the crisis will end and in fact in most cases it continues.

Still making reference to Doyle's example, the local capacities has to do with the country's dependency on natural resources. This particular indicator has been explored in many literatures stating that high levels of resource dependence increase the level of civil war. Meanwhile in Sudan the whole country as a whole before the secession of the South depended on crude oil and even after the secession. These resources are indicators of local capacities which project the country's ability to rebuild itself after a civil war.

In sum, in subsequent chapters the indicators in Doyle's triangle of Local Capabilities, Hostility and International Capabilities will be elaborated although they will not be represented in the work as L.C, H.C and I.C but will be used to explaining that the complex nature and inter-relatedness of these indicators are major determinants of the peacebuilding process of UN in Sudan and responsible for the outcomes.[35]

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[35] Michael W. Doyle, Nicholas Sambanis 1948, Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations. Princeton University Press. pp 6-92.

This research will make use of other primary and secondary sources as well such as the documents and resolutions of U.N., International Court of Justice, journal articles, and books. Reviews from relevant and credible sources shall also be employed to account for the outcomes, challenges and pathway for the intervention of the U.N. in Sudan's crisis.

This research makes use of studies conducted by prominent scholars. First and foremost, Johannes Karreth and Jaroslav Tir examine the potential of highly structured intergovernmental organizations to prevent the escalation of domestic armed conflicts to civil wars. This research seek to find out the correlation employing empirical analyses and follow-up tests of all domestic armed conflicts from 1945 to 2000 offer robust support for the hypothesized conflict-management function of intergovernmental organization memberships.

Second, Michael Lipson, elaborates on the concept of so-called 'organized hypocrisy', and applies it to post-cold war U.N. peace operations. Some scholars maintain that inconsistency in U.N. peace operations can arise from 'organized hypocrisy'. This is a "phenomenon identified by organization theorists in which organizations respond to conflicting pressures in external environments through contradictory actions and statements." According to Lipson 'organized hypocrisy' may have not only negative but also positive consequences on peacekeeping as well as peacebuilding. It may, on the other hand, exacerbate and generate gaps between resources and commitments.

1.4 Hypothesis

By the application of the Peacebuilding Triangle;

The hypothesis of this research is that the United Nations has failed in Sudan in Peacebuilding.

1.5 Purpose of Study

U.N. peacekeeping and peacebuilding can recuperate the projections that a civil war will be resolved. Broad parameters which fit most conflicts may be identified, even though peacekeeping and peacebuilding strategies should address particular regions and conflicts. U.N. has assumed an effective role in justifying enforcement of coalition forces for armed collective security in the sphere of interstate conflicts countries as Korea but the U.N. has been an ineffective peace enforcer in conflicts in the several civil conflicts that developed in the post-cold war era.[36] U.N. peacekeeping is founded on three basic principles: consent of the parties; impartiality; non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate.[37] Despite previous successes achieved by the U.N. in interventions and peacekeeping, the case of Sudan has become a lingering disaster and insurmountable hurdle for the UN. The conflict in Sudan is as a result of different factors such as the dispute between the North and South governments, different rebel faction clashes, and struggle over power within the government of the South, religion and ethnicity etc. The first set of interventions was carried out by the African Mission in Sudan (AMIS) but no success was achieved giving way to a joint mission between the A.U. and the U.N. Notwithstanding the peace talks between the conflicting parties through various steps initiated by the U.N., the country went on to split into two, and just when the South had thought they will enjoy the dividends of democracy as a result of the split, the country slipped again into another crisis which has still not

[36] Michael W. Doyle, Nicholas Sambanis. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations,* Princeton University Press, 22 April, 2011.
[37] *United Nations Peacekeeping,* What is U.N. Peacekeeping?
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml

been solved. This gives credence to why it should be studied. How and why have the U.N. failed in providing a road map to peaceful co-existence in Sudan?

1.6 Research Question

The U.N. peace operations should have a substantial and positive effect of probability of peacebuilding, and how and why it failed in Sudan. . The following questions are points of discussion in this study: (1) what are the weaknesses and strengths of the U.N.? (2) How they have fared in Sudan, and why have they failed? (3) What were the achievements? (4) In any case of future reoccurrence, can U.N. intervention be successful? (5). what are the outcomes of the inability of the U.N. to maintain a ceasefire at an earlier stage in Sudan?

1.7 Objective of the Study

The objective of the research is to identify the major factors limiting and hindering the effectiveness of the United Nations intervention in Sudan and to contribute possible solutions by identifying the how and whys. However, there is no guarantee of these options as they can either be accepted or discarded by the relevant authorities. But if taken into consideration by the appropriate bodies, it could add to the success of the peace process in Sudan and other countries who are beneficiaries of the United Nations Peacekeeping interventions.

1.8 Thesis Outline

Chapter one is an introduction of a detailed summary of the thesis with a background to the crisis giving details of the events that led to the present situation cutting across the various factors responsible for the dispute and reasons for the conflict. It also has in it the purpose of the study, the research question, and objectives of the research work, theoretical framework and hypothesis.

Chapter two is the application of Doyle and Sambinas's Peacebuilding Triangle to Sudan's case. This chapter provides more literature on peacekeeping and peacebuilding and also examines the functions of the UN peacekeeping and the guiding principle of the UN peacekeeping interventions. This chapter explains the different variables of the Peacebuilding Triangle with the level of International Capacities, Local Capacities, and Hostility in Sudan being examined. This provides a better picture of understanding the relationship between the international capacity, local capacity, hostility and the probability of peace in Sudan.

Chapter three examines the U.N., a historical background of her peacekeeping processes and various forms of intervention in the Sudan crisis. These interventions however have met brick walls and this chapter also identifies the obstacles that have clogged the wheel of progress of the UN in Sudan. Note would also be taken of the fact that the U.N. has not been the only organization involved in the Sudan crisis, therefore, this chapter also identifies the roles of other institutions such as the African Union and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development.

Chapter four focuses on what is needed to equip the peace keeping interventions of the United Nations in Sudan which will not just be useful for now but also in the future. If they have fared poorly, lessons are to be learnt. This is important as other countries in the region are prone to similar occurrences as Sudan and the earlier a permanent ceasefire is achieved and weaknesses worked upon the better it is for the UN and the world in general.

Chapter five is the last chapter that summarizes the findings and the conclusion.

Chapter 2

APPLYING THE PEACEBUILDING TRIANGLE TO SUDAN

2.1 An Overview of Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding

It is however very important too that the literature on peace building and peacekeeping is analyzed in order to understand the efforts of the International Community or institutions in maintaining peace and stability as well as reconciling conflicting parties towards a peaceful co-existence. Some of the difficult challenges which war-torn, ravaged and traumatized communities and the International Community are faced with include: how peace and reconciliation can be built at the end of the war between the communities?[38]Peacemaking and Peacekeeping are essential tools needed to fortify opportunities for post-conflict peacebuilding which can prevent the relapse of additional communal ferocity and conflict.[39] With an emerging common understanding and reasoning that the track to viable harmony comes through conflict transformation and communal change.[40]

Those who have been victims of wars have not been able to get over the trauma and the terrible memories of the devastating events of the war. Civilians and soldiers who have managed to survive these wars such as the World Wars and various Civil Wars

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[38] Francis D.J., ed.(2012*). When War Ends: Building Peace in Divided Communities*. Farnham, Surrey, GBR: Ashgate Publishing Group. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 17 June, 2015.

[39] Sylvester B. Maphosa and Alphonse Keasley. 2014. Building Peace from Within. Published by Africa Institute of South Africa. Online copy available for further reading available at http://site.ebrary.com/lib/doguakdeniz/detail.action?docID=10839019 p1 Accessed on 17 June, 2015.

[40] Ibid. p.6.

in places like Sudan, Cyprus, Rwanda, Sierra-Leone and so on have had to live with traumatizing scars as well as the memories and experiences of tragic events which saw them lose loved ones and all they had as well as being left with almost nothing or nothing at all to live for in some cases. It is therefore evident that the passage of time is not actually an assurance that people will forget the various tragedies they have been through.[41]

The era of Post-Cold war has been seen as the period with the most violent conflicts in the world since the Second World War. It has been filled with a lot of conflicts within states, and thus posing threats to international peace and security. There have been about 93 armed conflicts worldwide, and the majority of the victims 75% have been civilians resulting into an increased effort by the United Nations to increase her peacekeeping missions. Thereby showing the importance attached to human rights and justice.[42]

It is against this background that the UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali launched the idea of peacebuilding in post conflict societies, describing it as "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict"[43] Since this period however, various institutions and organizations have made efforts to identify and put into use strategies that can bring about peace after war. However, this has not been much of a success as most countries after war gradually fall back into conflict and South Sudan is a good example of such. Less than five years after independence the country has been

[41] Francis, D.J., ed.(2012). *When War Ends : Building Peace in Divided Communities*. Farnham, Surrey, GBR: Ashgate Publishing Group. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 17 June 2015.
[42] Keating, Thomas F., and Knight, W. Andy. Building Sustainable Peace. Tokyo, JPN: United Nations University Press, 2005. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 18 June 2015. P119
[43] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *'An Agenda for Peace'*, UN document A/47/277-S/24111(17 June 1992), para. 21).

involved in war again thereby reopening wounds that are yet to heal and causing more misery, as well as destroying the peace building and peacekeeping processes of various actors and institutions. Which is why I believe that Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping are not just necessary in the military areas after the silence of gun battles, but it is also important that Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping are also put into practice in the socio-economic as well as humanitarian and developmental aspects as they are equally important. This is important because after a war ends, old and new social conflicts sometimes persist making it easy for a slip back into war.[44] In other words, it is necessary that not just the physical conditions be rebuilt during the Peacebuilding process, but also the need to repair the psychological aspects of the individuals, society and the nation as a whole in building peace. This is because several individuals still hold bitter rivalry against each other and therefore are always looking for an opportunity to pay back in the same coin.

Michael Barnett, et al in an article '*Peacebuilding: What's In a Name?*' provided various definitions on the concept of Peacebuilding, Peacekeeping, and Peacemaking from different point view of both actors and international organizations giving a wide range of the view of the world on the various concepts and some of which will be used in this work also.

The UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA) sees the concept of "post conflict and peace building as all exterior struggles to assist countries and states in their evolution

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[44] Francis, D.J., ed.(2012). *When War Ends: Building Peace in Divided Communities*. Farnham, Surrey, GBR: Ashgate Publishing Group. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 18 June 2015.

from war to peace, including all activities and programs designed to assist and strengthen these transitions".[45]

The UN Department of Peace Keeping Operations defines peacekeeping as the different actions to help countries torn by discord create enabling environment for sustainable peace, including activities to monitor and observe peace processes that emerge in post conflict situations and assists ex-combatants to implement the peace agreements.[46]

Department of National Defense and Canadian Forces (DND/CF) sees peacebuilding as actions to provide political, economic, social, and military measures meant at solidifying political stability, which include methods to identify and assist organizations that promote peaceful conditions, reconciliation, a sense of confidence and well-being, and support economic growth." While the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) states that a major concept about peace building is that it is an effort to strengthen the prospects for internal peace and decrease the likelihood of violent conflict in order to enhance the indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence.[47]

The popularity of the term Peace building came into play following the willingness of both domestic and international actors to help war torn societies and domestic

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[45] Michael Barnet et al, in an article '*Peacebuilding: What's In a Name?'*, Global Governance, 13: 1 (January-March 2007), 35-58.
[46] Ibid. p 38 online version can be found at
http://home.gwu.edu/~barnett/articles/2007_peacebuilding_gg.pdf
[47] Michael Barnett et al. in an article '*Peacebuilding: What's In a Name?'*, Global Governance, 13: 1 (January-March 2007), 35-58. See this article online for further readings and definition by various organizations and international actors. online version can be found at
http://home.gwu.edu/~barnett/articles/2007_peacebuilding_gg.pdf

actors also seek for international assistance which gives the International community a continued relevance.

South Sudan is now in the scene of the worst humanitarian crisis in the world, in what has been described as the world's deadliest conflict as millions of people have been killed, massacred, raped, and this have forced hundreds of thousands of people to flee their homes. For years, the United Nations and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) have been providing humanitarian relief in an increasingly unstable situation. The conflict is driven by the country's immense mineral wealth with all parties in the conflict suspected of deliberately prolonging the violence so as to plunder natural resources such as crude oil and other high value mineral resources to meet the growing demand of the Western world. Despite calls for a ceasefire and the presence of UN peacekeepers, a deteriorating humanitarian situation of poverty and corruption, jeopardize hopes of a lasting peace and reconstruction of the shattered nation. Across the country, clashes between government forces and rebels along with indiscriminate raids on civilian population have started again. This rising intensity and corruption have crippled the country and further descended it into chaos even as the civil war still ensues. Peace building involves a lengthy process of transformation of society, culture, politics and economics. With such complexity, Peacebuilding requires partnership with recipient states in order to address the multitude of tasks of rebuilding and sustaining development in conflict torn states.[48]

However, Peace building like any other concept has not been without criticism as "Herbst and Weinstein quizzed the present methods to peacebuilding on the bases

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[48] Keating T.F.& Knight W.A.(2005). *Building Sustainable Peace*. Tokyo, JPN: United Nations University Press, 2005. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 18 June 2015. P120

that such missions were not likely to succeed, but that instead letting conflicts to die out might, in some circumstances proof a better approach for achieving permanent results".[49] Others have opined differently, that in contrast peacebuilding is another form of "Western or Liberal imperialism". Michael Pugh in his criticism beliefs that liberal peacebuilding is a part of a larger hegemonic plan of the dominant powers to spread their values and norms.[50] William Bain, defines it as an international administration which is like an 'alien rule' that denies the 'human dignity' of the people who live in these countries.[51] William Robinson is of the view that peacebuilding activities signifies the struggle by the key actors or principal regions or countries of the capitalist world system to maintain the babies in democracy which are the essentially undemocratic societies especially in the third world countries, and in this way it facilitates a continued exploitation of these countries by the global rich ones.[52] As though these critics were right, the US reaction following the 9/11 situation whereby she declared war against terrorism and by so doing invaded the likes of Iraq and Afghanistan gave more backings to the critics that saw peace building as imperialism due to the fact that the United States justified her actions on

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[49] Francis D J. ed.(2012). *When War Ends*: Building Peace in Divided Communities. Farnham, Surrey, GBR: Ashgate Publishing Group. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 20 June 2015. P35

[50] Michael P: 'Corruption and the Political Economy of Liberal Peace', paper prepared for the International Studies Association annual convention (San Francisco, 26-28 March 2008); other papers for further readings include, 'Peace-keeping as a Constant Gardening by Other Means', paper prepared for the British International Studies Association conference (Cork, Ireland, 18-21 December 2006); 'Towards a New Agenda for Transforming War Economies' (co-authored with Mandy Turner), Conflict Security and Development 6:3 (October 2006), 471-9; and 'The Political Economy of Peacebuilding: A Critical Theory Perspective', *International Journal of Peace Studies,* 10:2 (Autumn/Winter 2005), 23-42.

[51] William B. (2006) 'In Praise of Folly: International Administration and the Corruption of Humanity, *International Affairs*, 82:3 (2006), 525-38.

[52] William I.R,(2006) *Promoting Poyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 6-7

liberal grounds: as a means of providing the benefits of democracy and freedom to oppressed societies.[53]

The concept of peacebuilding might have faced different setbacks due to the fact that various international institutions and actors define it and see it differently based on their views and interests. Hence, in as much as majority of people will support the notion and idea for peace building, the implementation of this is not uniform because it depends on the visions and interests of the powers that be. With this in mind, it is therefore necessary that scholars and decision makers should carefully observe and take note of what kind of peacebuilding process is institutionalized and also make efforts to see to it that different perspectives are kept so as to provide alternative hypotheses at critical junctures.[54]   As peace building seems to be a continuous evolvement as a response to prevention of conflict, it is salient that a better understanding of collective efforts will increase knowledge of different strategies leading to success in peace building operations.[55]More so, most states that slide back into conflict are as a result of failed peace agreements.[56]

2.2 Functions of Peace Keeping Operations

The peacekeeping forces of the United Nations are tasked with a number of duties which ranges from initiation of a ceasefire agreement to ensuring that these agreements are adhered to. Another function of the force is to maintain a neutral

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[53] Francis, David J., ed. When War Ends : Building Peace in Divided Communities. Farnham, Surrey, GBR: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2012. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 20 June 2015. P36

[54] Michael Barnett et al. in an article '*Peacebuilding: What's In a Name?'*, Global Governance, 13: 1 (January-March 2007), 35-58. See this article online for further readings and definition by various organizations and international actors. online version can be found at http://home.gwu.edu/~barnett/articles/2007_peacebuilding_gg.pdf

[55] Keating T.F.& Knight W.A.(2005). *Building Sustainable Peace*. Tokyo, JPN: United Nations University Press, 2005. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 18 June 2015. P120

[56] Doyle M.W. & Sambanis N.(2010*). Making War and Building Peace* : United Nations Peace Operations. Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press, 2010. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 19 June 2015. P3

position which means not taking any side in the conflict and ensuring that no party violates established agreements.[57] Due to the breakdown of law and order in most conflict areas, it is also the function of the peacekeeping forces deployed into such states or areas to patrol the streets in order to scare off any form of hostility or criminal behavior.[58]Most importantly, peacekeeping forces protect lives and properties of civilians and create an enabling environment for a negotiated settlement.

2.3 Governing Rules/Principle of the U.N Peacekeeping

In order to check and balance the activities of these peace keeping forces, certain rules or guidelines have been put in place to guide them such as; the practice of neutrality and the restriction from the use of force, the need to have the consent and permission of the host country and a concise mandate. The essence of these principles is as a result of the fact that they are standing U.N practice.

2.3.1 Peacekeeping Operations: United Nations Operations

The foremost principle of peacekeeping illustrates that most of the peacekeeping operations are U.N. operation. This principle must be sanctioned by a legislative arm of the UN. This is because a full backing of the U.N Security Council gives the desired momentum needed for the operation.

2.3.2 Neutrality

It is important that peacekeeping forces maintain a neutral position in conflicts. This implies that they are not supposed to take sides or tag sides as being the one/party responsible for the conflict. Neither are they to make decisions in order to favor a party. Neutrality in a simply term is that the actions of the peacekeeping troops

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[57] Paul Diehl., 1994. *International Peacekeeping*., Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994. P4
[58] Ibid.

should not be intended to take sides over another in a dispute. Due to the short-term nature of these missions, there is the need to maintain a neutral stance. The United Nations Charter Article 40, contains a non-prejudice nature from which neutrality emerged. This maintenance of a neutral position however does not mean that the peacekeeping forces or organizations will not condemn a side or another.[59]

2.3.3 Restricted use of force

The use of military force or capabilities is restricted which means that the weapons used by these forces are small arms, for example, a rifle. However, these peacekeepers have the right to protect them and can use these weapons during self-defense. This right is also one of the rights in international law and an embedded principle in the UN charter.[60]

2.3.4 Consent of the host country

Before peacekeeping forces can be deployed in a country, they must have sought the consent of the host countries where the troops will be deployed. This is to respect the sovereignty of a state. A good example is the case of Sudan when the crisis initially started and the UN was to intervene but met a strong opposition from President Omar al-Bashir and as a result did not intervene. If they had intervened without Sudan's consent, it would have been a violation.[61] Although this did not deter the United Nations instead a hybrid of the UN and AU peacekeeping force was formed which was known as the United Nations and African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAUMID) in a bid to further strengthen the African Union who could do only little then in the Sudan crisis.[62] This principle has its advantages and disadvantages

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[59] Paul Deihl 1994.
[60] Nathan Pelcovits, 1975"*UN Peacekeeping and the 1973 Arab-Israeli Conflict*" Orbis. P147
[61][61] Jack Garvey, 1970 "United Nations Peacekeeping and Host State Consent". American Journal of International Law. P.242
[62] Waal, Alex De. Darfur and the Failure of Responsibility to Protect. International Affairs Vol. 83, No 6, 2007. P.1041, 1045

seeking the consent of the host country even though in a way, seeking the consent of the host country has reduced the threat such peacekeeping could pose and instead increased the acceptability. This has also in some ways has ensured the safety of peacekeepers to easily go around doing their job without meeting with resistance. While the flaw of needing to have consent of the host country remains that the host has the ability to withdraw her approval of the peacekeeping force presence in her country which she had initially invited. A good example is Egypt during the reign of President Nasser in 1967 after giving approval to allow the United Nations Emergency Force entry into Egypt withdrew later on and the UNEF had to leave the Egyptian territory.

2.4 The Peacebuilding Triangle

International Capacity

Hostiliy   LocalCapacity

Figure 1: Doyle and Sambanis Peacebuilding Triangle

Michael Doyle and Sambanis Peacebuilding Triangle provides three distinct point of focus that will be applied to the case of Sudan which includes; the larger the

international capacity the higher the possibility of a peacebuilding process, the higher the hostility, the lower the possibility of a peacebuilding process and the higher the local capacity the higher the possibility of a peacebuilding. He identifies the triangle as a metaphor for peacebuilding after civil war and the space within the triangle represents peace which is dependent on the interaction of the variables on the three sides of the triangle.

Why has the UN succeeded in some cases but so far failed in Sudan? This answer will be found in applying this theory and also in this chapter. In as much as this chapter is the application of Doyle and Sambanis peacebuilding triangle, it is also helps to validate the hypothesis that the low level capacity of the UN resulted in the failure in Sudan.

In trying to understand the reason for the failure of the UN to achieve a ceasefire till date in Sudan, I examined the three variables as provided by Doyle that the interactions or combinations of the international, local capacity and hostility are responsible for the outcome of peacekeeping and peacebuilding process within which the various actors involved choose whether or not to support peace or continue war.

2.4.1 International Capacity

North and South of Sudan have not been in good terms or had cordial relationships as there has been bitterness and rivalry between the two sides, especially during the slave trade as people were carted away from the south by the northerners into slavery. This situation further aggravated and worsened during the joint administration of the country by Egypt and Britain. With colonialism being the fuel for slavery, there was the continuous invasion of the south by the north and capture of its people into slavery. Further, adding to the grievance was the isolation of the

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South by Britain through the use of the popular British colonial system of "divide and rule".[63] For a long period of time the South was given not recognized, therefore experienced very little development. Nevertheless, when the country finally gained its independence, the South was joined to the North. The aftermath of this policy by the colonial masters still manifested itself today as civil war broke out, and is still on going in Sudan.

Sudan still continues to agonize over the inheritance of colonial legacies and ideologies. The selfish intent of making use of the "divide and rule" system was for the purpose of taking advantage of the huge human and natural resources which were present with the intention of ruling and administering the land indefinitely . The North enjoyed preferential treatment and was the center for colonial administration in Sudan where all forms of development was concentrated, and thereafter left in the control of the elite from the North after independence.[64]

Applying Doyle's model to the case, the situation in Sudan has been shaped by the performance of the UN peacekeepers through various means of peacemaking and peacebuilding such as the UN mandate in Sudan, the humanitarian intervention, equipping of regional institutions, etc. and the reaction of the actors such as the Sudanese government and rebel groups. However, in this case I argue that cue should be taken from the challenges faced by the UN in Sudan and from this proposed pathways to a successful peacekeeping intervention of the UN in Sudan and also

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[63] Withtaker R, Birt, *British Imperialism and Crisis in Sudan*, Stanford University, web.stanford.edu/.../British%20Imperialism%20and%20the%20Crisis%2

[64] Sarwar, N. (2011). Breakup of Sudan: Challenges for north and south. *Strategic Studies, XXXI*(1-2) Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1231706949?accountid=15792

taking into consideration the lessons learned to arrive at my conclusion that the low level of international capacity in Sudan has continued the allow the crisis linger.[65]

Civil war has been rampant in African countries since after the post-cold war era with the horn of Africa experiencing more of these conflicts that arise due to several reasons ranging from ethnicity to religion and to resources or land dispute. Despite being the poorest region in the world, several countries in this region have had active civil wars.[66] Hauss (2001), noted that these conflicts have majorly been witnessed in the under-developed countries (mostly African countries) leaving the countries in a state of disharmony and loss of the ability to maintain order, let alone formulate policies that could develop their economies. Africa has witnessed several conflicts that have marred the progress and development of various countries within the continent. These conflicts are not of great concern to the people of Africa alone but also to the world in general as conflicts have made it possible for terrorist groups and organizations to expand their activities in safe heavens. It has given those grounds to breed more corruption especially in countries that are rich in natural resources such as Sudan (crude oil). J.P Lederach (2003) believes that conflict is a normal phenomenon in the relationship of humans and it is also a vehicle of change as well as being a normal and continuous way of life amongst humans.[67] Change comes along with conflict since the human race is never static but always dynamic therefore

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[65] Doyle, M. W. & Sambinas, N. (2010) Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations. Princeton: Princeton University Press. P271
[66] Christopher Blattman and Edward Miguel. (2010) p4.
[67] Lederach J.P (2003). The little book of conflict transformation, Good Book Intercourse p.5

the tendency for conflict always emerging is ever present.[68] These civil wars or conflicts have affected a third of all nations.[69]

Doyle defined civil war as an armed conflict between the governments of sovereign states against one or more armed groups that are able to mount resistance against the state.[70] Wallenstein (2007), on the other hand, argues that conflict is inevitable. .[71]Before the cold war era, conflict in the world was mostly between states. However, the Post-Cold War period has experienced more wars within states, where different factions veer for power. Since the Post-Cold War era, only the Gulf War has been an international conflict.[72] There have been 151 civil wars since the Post-World War II era.[73]

Arguments on the causes of civil wars have been rapid economic changes that have resulted into scarcity of resources thereby causing rebellion.[74] Meanwhile, the case of the civil war in Sudan has more to it such as religion, ethnicity, land dispute, dependency on oil and so on. Hence, several motive for civil war in Sudan. Sudan has also witnessed a death toll of millions of people since the conflict began with a large percentage of the casualties being civilians. Throughout its independent history,

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid. p3

[70] Doyle, M. W. & Sambinas, N. (2010) Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations. Princeton: Princeton University Press. P31

[71] Wallenstein Peter (2007). Understanding conflict resolution, War, Peace, and the Global System. Sage Publications. P12

[72] Charles Hauss (2001). *International Conflict Resolution* Continuum London and New York P22

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid. p32

multiple conflicts have been the order of the day in Sudan with rising tensions between the Arab Muslims in the North and Non-Muslims in the South.[75]

It takes more than just treaties, truce, or agreements to make peace.[76] The UN has intervened in several conflicts and civil wars and some of them did benefit from just mere agreements e.g Bosnia, Somalia, Congo.[77] Similar operations in these countries were also carried out in Sudan such as deployment of military troops. The difference however was the level of international capabilities such as the UN mandate, how it was managed, coupled with the local capacities and hostility.

Although the hostility in Sudan was high but there was an inadequate mandate by the UN which did not focus on the challenges hence, this weak mandate resulted in weak implementation.[78] Another contributing factor was the ethnic war which was first between the Christian of the South and Arab Muslim of the North and within the Nuer and Dinka ethnic groups of the South.

In this case, with the model applied the local capacities include the dependency on natural resources (crude oil). Before the separation between the North and the South of Sudan, Sudan greatly depended on crude oil and still does after the secession and coupled with the low level of economic development and growth in the south, the possibility of war remains high.

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[75] Chandra Lekha & Zoe Nielsen (2004). Exploring sub-regional conflict: Opportunity for conflict prevention. Lynne Riener Publishers, Inc
[76] Ibid p257
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.p281

Additionally, a high number of different faction groups and rebels increased following the twist in the conflict to an ethnic conflict. The level of hostility has been high and increasing with a higher level of hostility such as failed agreements, displacement of people internally, etc. it was against this background that the mandate was given to the United Nations and African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) initially to protect the lives of civilians and non-combatants. The international capacity in Sudan was relatively low following a mandate to have 12,000 troops but till date since outset the mission has less than the required number. The intensity of the actor's preferences for continued conflict should have served as a "red light" to the UN to provide a stronger intervention but this was not the case.

Despite several resolutions of the mandate of the UN over the years, the newly adopted resolution: Resolution 2223 (2015) adopted by the Security Council at its 7451st meeting on 28th May, 2015. The UN only reaffirmed her commitment, underscored the situation in South Sudan, condemned the reports of ongoing human rights violations etc. the new resolution laid emphasis on human rights violation of the people of South Sudan and Peacekeepers of the UN and IGAD with little or nothing as regards funding, military support, etc Meant to bring the conflict to a halt.[79]

2.4.2 Local Capacities

This according to Doyle is the ability of a country to build back after war and natural resources has been pointed out by him as a local capacity needed for such rebuilding. However, it is a two sided coin which as much as it can help a country build back after war, the over dependency on one commodity or the inability of a country to

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[79] UN Resolution Mandate S/RES/2223 (2015) www.un.org/docs/journal/asp/ws.asp/ws.asp?m=Sl

diversify her economy can make the dependency on this natural resource also serve as not just a pool of wealth but also of crisis.

Sudan is highly blessed with crude oil and this brings us to the second concept here which is energy. The importance of energy cannot be over emphasized as the pressure of an expanding world population and exhaustion of other natural assets or over dependency of a country on another will increase the rate at which a new found land filled with large quantities of raw materials as in the case of Sudan where crude oil exists can serve as a means or tool in nation building or instead as a source of conflict. Hence, if not properly managed it can further be a threat to national and international peace.

Maurice F. Strong in his key note address at the United Nations International Energy Development Corporation, Geneva, recognized that truly there exists a relationship between energy and development but noted that the most significant factor in the relationship is 'timing'.[80]Despite positive impacts that could have been experienced in Sudan, the opposite has been the case. Maurice F. Strong identified the positive side as a significant potential for development of new energy supplies. He noted that Oil and Gas alone are sources of potential new reserves and production which translates into a steady rate of economic growth should there be investment in the oil and gas. This was during his keynote address at the United Nations International Energy Development Corporation, Geneva.[81] Based on his words, it is evident that the timing of the discovery of oil in Sudan was at a wrong time and place as it has even fueled the conflict more rather than help the growth of the economy.

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[80] United Nations, 1984. *Energy Planning in Developing Countries.* Oxford University Press.
[81] Ibid, p.6

Ownership of land and natural resources are very important in world politics and international peace and stability depends largely on a general acceptance and careful observance of the boundaries that describe the territories of the world's nations. No wonder people fight to the death in a bid to protect their homeland or regain that which they have lost before.[82] It is therefore gainsaying to note that energy in the case of Sudan plays a salient role in either the promotion of economic growth or source of conflict which is the situation in Sudan at the moment. Given the significance of energy, it is important that peace is maintained in Sudan in order to properly harness these resources and put them into proper use. As a result of this, international institutions such as the United Nations, African Union and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development have stepped into the situation of Sudan but with little achievements to show forth.

2.4.3 Hostilities

The war in Sudan was initially politically motivated but later on became an ethnic conflict between the two major groups namely the Dinka's and the Nuer's with multiple factions and rebel groups springing up. The crisis resulted into the displacement of people. The United Nations Refugee Agency reports that more than 730,000 people due to the conflict fled to neighboring countries with some 1.5million people displaced internally.[83] Moreover, when combining both Sudan in the border areas of Blue Nile and Abyei region with South Sudan internally displaced persons, the Internal-Displacement Monitoring estimates that there are no fewer than 3,100,000 internally displaced persons in Sudan.[84]

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[82] Ibid, p.4
[83] www.UNHCR.org Accessed on 22/12/2015
[84] www.internal-displacement.org/sub-saharan-africa/sudan/figures-analysis Accessed 22/12/2012

According to the report of the UNHCR the refugee programme has lacked necessary funding. The UNHCR with its partners need funds totaling US$810million in order to protect and assist South-Sudanese refugees who are scattered across Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda totaling about 821,000 South Sudanese. However till date only 13% funding in the tune of US$102million has been made available yet refugee are on the increase arriving en masse. The result of this has made it difficult to provide adequate food rations and health services to prevent and treat acute malnutrition.[85]

The conflict in Sudan was initially between the Sudanese government and the Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). However, the present situation is a battle of many fighters as there are different rebel groups fighting against the government. The long conflict in Sudan of 22years is tagged the longest civil war in African and also classified as the bloodiest and most damaging civil war that ever occurred in Africa.

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was seen as a landmark achievement and the right way to go in achieving peace in Sudan. However, the inability to adhere to the second part of the agreement which included the referendum of the Abyei community to choose where they belonged to couple with the discovery of crude oil in this region and border cities was instrumental in the conflict that again erupted within South Sudan.

UN peace operations will succeed when there are international mandates that are robust enough. That has sufficient transitional authority and also sufficient military

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[85] UNHCR (2001-2015). www.unhcr.org/559bdb0e6.html Accessed 22/12/2015.

and civilian capacities (such as peacekeepers and civilian volunteers and local police for assistance).[86] This is very necessary if the factional hostility, poverty, lack of institutional capacity and other factors that characterize Sudan in her transition from war to peace is to be overcome.[87]

The present mission of the UN in Sudan are lightly staffed and armed and such staff strength can only succeed in a country that is ready and willing to reconcile but this is not the case in Sudan therefore much more is expected and needed to deal with a case as that of Sudan characterized with various hostilities of failed agreements, different faction of rebel groups, and local capacity failure such as lack of substantial institution and dependency on a single resource.[88]

In comparison with other semi-successful UN mission that will be discussed in the next chapter, the Mission in Sudan failed. This failure is as a result of low international capacity of the UN in resources, commitment, funds, military troops etc. Although I have identified the low level of International Capacity as a major reason for the failure of the UN, other contributing factors from the hostility and local capacity in Sudan will also be discussed in subsequent chapters.

The devastating state of South Sudan is a tragedy of many factors and actors who can be held distinctively, directly or indirectly for the war in Sudan. The UN, IGAD, AU and other various state actors such as the rebel groups, the Sudanese government, just to mention a few. No one is responsible for the act of the war in full but this does not

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[86] Doyle, M. W. & Sambinas, N. (2010) Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations. Princeton: Princeton University Press. P301
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid

erase the specific acts and failures of the UN being an Institution created for the purpose of maintaining world peace and security.

It is against this background that the analysis of my research in subsequent chapters will identify the challenges of the UN in Sudan, the pathways to a successful peacekeeping and lessons learned taking note that either as a challenge or pathway, the variables. International Capacities, Local Capacities and Hostilities are interwoven and are responsible directly or indirectly for the situation in Sudan but if the International Capacity was higher, peace could have since been restored in Sudan.

Chapter 3

THE UNITED NATIONS, SUDAN CRISIS AND NOTABLE ACTORS

3.1 Historical Background of the Crisis

Sudan is a country in the continent of Africa. Officially The Republic of Sudan is an Arab republic in the Nile Valley of North Africa bordered by Egypt, the Red Sea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, South Sudan, The Central African Republic, Chad and Libya. The Nile River divides the country into eastern and western halves.[89] Sudan was the largest country in Africa and Arab world until 2011 when South Sudan separated following a referendum now making Sudan the third largest country in Africa (after Algeria and Democratic Republic of Congo) and also the third largest country in the Arab world (after Algeria and Saudi Arabia)[90].

There has been continuous conflict in Sudan after her independence from Britain on the 1st January 1956. For several years there existed conflicts between the Arabs of the North who are mostly Muslims and Christians from the South and this has been so ever since the periods of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium. The North was what was perceived as the valuable part of the country which was then referred to as the "useful country" by French expatriate authorities and this was as a result of the fact that all resources that were obtainable and accessible in the country, or whatsoever development was to take place were all focused on the North while the Southern part

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[89] Collins, Robert O. (2008). *A History of Modern Sudan*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-0-521-85820-5.

[90] Ibid.

gave the impression of a remote area with no possessions and instead relied on the missionaries. This set an internal demarcation and boundary within the country making those of the South second class citizens. For this reason, after her independence from Britain in 1956 these boundaries were raised but then the South was extremely at a deprived position thus the activism and campaigning for a firsthand status thereby requesting for secession.[91]

According to reports, the war in Sudan has caused a death toll of about two million people and several millions of people displaced while hundreds of thousands fled to other neighboring countries and thousands of children and mothers have been subjected to slavery as a result of abduction. This situation has been described as the "worst humanitarian disaster in the world today".[92] It was therefore a thing of joy when the South finally seceded from the North as the Christians were free from their northern neighbor's.[93] South Sudan therefore became the newest under-developed oil producer and the newest country after a referendum which saw them secede and gained independence in 2011.[94] This referendum was part of the 'Comprehensive Peace Agreement' signed in 2005.[95]

Different kinds of conflicts have blighted the two Sudans till date. First, the conflict between the two sides North-South dispute over energy (crude oil) This is as a result of the fact that before the separation of the South from the North, most of the revenue in the North was gotten from Oil and as a result of the secession, the oil areas belonged to the South making the North experience a relegation in her position and

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[91] Marina Ottaway and Mai El-Sadany, (May 2012), "SUDAN: from conflict to conflict". Publications department. Pp 4-5
[92] SUDAN: Civil War and Genocide by Francis M. 2001.
[93] South Sudan Independence editorial July 24, 2011.
[94] South Sudan Independence The Middle East July 9, 2014
[95] South Sudan: A slow liberation by Eddie Thomas, 2014

wealth. As a result of this, it leaves bitterness in the heart of the Northerners despite officially accepting the results of the referendum carried out in 2011. However, the South also has bitterness against the North for halting the referendum of the border region of Abyei which would have clear-cut determined where the region belonged.[96] While the second type of conflict is the struggle and agitation to control border territories along the North and the South and the third violent conflict is within South Sudan where there is a challenge and contest for the control of government but this time around rather than an opposition by political parties, it is an opposition with the use of armed local militias and this has led to the recent fighting which broke out in South Sudan on December 15, 2013 in Juba the country's capital.[97] This was also as a result of the inconsistencies of the 'Comprehensive Peace Agreement'.[98] What initially seemed like a mere political dispute has become a conflict between top political leaders the President Salva Kiir and the ousted Vice President Riek Machar now termed 'A Rebel' fight each other through their various forces; forces loyal to the President and forces loyal to the former Vice-President thereby resulting into an ethnic conflict as both are from the two major ethnic groups in the South namely; Dinka and Nuer. This conflict leaves in its wake displaced people of about a million of which one quarter of this population fled to neighboring countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya and a death toll of tens of thousands[99] 1.3million people have been displaced and 4.9million people are in need of humanitarian assistance.[100]

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[96] Marina Ottaway and Mai El-Sadany, (May 2012), "SUDAN: from conflict to conflict". Publications department. P 6

[97] Ibid. pp6-7

[98] Comprehensive Peace Agreement: This is the agreement between the Sudanese Government and Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army. The CPA comprises of power sharing formula, Wealth sharing and resolution of Abyei conflict, Security arrangements and much more between 2002-2004 before being completely signed in 2005.

[99] Lucy Hovil 2010, Hoping for peace, afraid of war: the dilemmas of repatriation and belonging on the borders of Uganda and South Sudan.

[100] United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), Crisis Situation Report, 9 May 2014,

3.2 The U.N. Intervention in Sudan Crisis

The United Nations owe the obligation to be actively involved in the Sudanese case following her admission into the United Nations after her independence from Britain on the 1st of January 1956. Few months afterwards, Sudan was admitted into the United Nations on the 12th of November same year she gained her independence.[101]While South Sudan became the 193rd member of the United Nations after her successful secession from Sudan following the referendum held in 2011 which saw majority of the southerners opt for secession and thereby became the youngest country admitted into the United Nations on the 14th of July 2011.[102]

The crisis that rocked Sudan and is still presently on going in the South has called for international intervention as it also affects international peace and security and the United Nations has been actively involved through her various arms, from militarily to economically as well as humanitarian support. With the crisis that rocked Sudan, there was a need for a peace keeping mission which led to the formation of the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) with the main goal not just being peacekeeping, but also to help support the implementation process of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which was signed between the Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) as well as carrying out other important functions such as ensuring that the rights of humans are promoted and protected. These they made possible through the provision of good offices and political support to the parties involved as well as providing assistance in

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reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/South_Sudan_Crisis_Situation_Report_35_as_of_9_May.pdf
[101] www.worldometers.info/united-nations/ (Accessed on 23/07/2015).
[102] The UN News Centre. http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39034#.VbC3MCuUd3Q (Accessed23/07/2015). The secession came as a result of the agreements contained in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that was signed in 2005.

places deemed fit such as in governance and development.[103] However, following the new twist to the crisis in Sudan which started in South Sudan in December 2013, the United Nations saw the need to remobilize her mission in the region against the background of her May 27, 2014 resolution on the issue in South Sudan.[104] But this time around, it was charged with the protection of civilians as the crisis changed from just being political in nature to an ethnic rivalry. Hence, it was the duty of UNMISS to ensure that humanitarian assistance to the civilians were uninterrupted and monitoring the ceasefire agreements in place.[105]

According to the UN facts and figures, the mission kicked off initially with a total of 7,000 military personnel and up to 900 civilian police personnel.[106] Presently, there has been an increased need to improve on the numbers which was in accordance with the S/RES/2155 (2014).[107]And as of the 31st of March, 2015 there is a total number of 11,734 uniformed personnel with the troops comprising a total of 10,539, 187 military liaison officers and 1,008 police with different countries such as Australia,

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[103] United Nations Mission in Sudan. http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unmis/ (Accessed 23/07/2012).
[104] Resolution 2155(2014) was adopted by the Security Council at its 7182nd meeting on 27 May 2014 with a mandate of protection of civilians, monitoring and investigating human rights, creating conditions for the delivery of humanitarian assistance, and supporting the implementation of the cessation of hostilities agreement. A copy and further reading of this resolution can be downloaded via   http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmiss/
[105] United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan.
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmiss/
[106] United Nations Mission in The Republic of South Sudan
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmiss/facts.shtml (Accessed on 24/07/2015)
[107] S/RES/2155 (2014) PARAGRAPH 4(d) Supporting the Implementation of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement:
7. Endorses the recommendation made by the Secretary-General in his 6 March 2014 reports to increase the overall force levels of UNMISS to support its restructured mandate as defined in paragraph 4 of this resolution.
8. Decides that UNMISS will consist of a military component of up to 12,500 troops of all ranks and of police component, including appropriate Formed Police Units, of up to 1,323 personnel; and that the civilian component will be reduced accordingly to tasks outlined in paragraph 4: requests that the Secretary General provide detailed information on force generation, restructuring of the UNMISS force, logistical support and enablers, including as part of his regular reports: and request the Secretary-General to reviews needs on ground, and provide an updated assessment of the force's operations, deployment and future requirements 120 days after this resolution.

Benin, Cambodia, China, Germany, Nigeria, Togo, United Kingdom, Zimbabwe, etc. making contributions as they can.[108]

The need for a United Nations assistance and presence continues to rise as the crisis has continued to cause more alarming humanitarian disasters thereby leading to the displacement of people. The crisis in Sudan and the continued crisis in the South have raised concerns about the humanitarian conditions in the country. Fighting and increased insecurity in the country contributes to the deteriorating conditions, with more than 60,000 people already seeking refuge at the U.N peacekeeping bases during the first weeks of fighting. But with the long period of continuous fighting regardless of several cease fire agreements, the number has greatly increased with reports from the United Nations Refugee Agency putting the number of internally displaced people (IDPs) at 400,000 in the year 2014 alone with a high number of 6.9million people being in need of humanitarian assistance in Sudan with estimation showing that at the end of the year 2015, this number would have risen to about a total of 460,000 refugees and asylum seekers in the country.[109]

The latest report however shows that there are an increased number of refugees pouring into neighboring countries. According to the spokesperson, Adrian Edwards of the United Nations High Commission for Refugee, in Geneva on the 2nd of June 2015, heavy fighting that has erupted in the regions of Unity and Upper Niles states in South Sudan has led to the displacement of more than 100,000 people and has hindered the humanitarian aids delivery that would have been meant for about

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[108] United Mission in The Republic of South Sudan
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmiss/facts.shtml Accessed on 23rd/07/2015.
[109] Sudan 2015 UNHCR country operations profilehttp://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e483b76.html
(Accessed on 23/07/2015).

650,000 persons. [110] The increase of refugee come as a need not just to escape the fighting, but also the presence of food shortage has made many flee their home coupled with the insecurity.[111]

Following the issuance of an arrest warrant on the president of Sudan Omar al-Bashir, not less than 10 international humanitarian aid organizations were sent out of Sudan and their operations shut down by the U.S Government and the United Nations implementing partners who ensured services such as health care, sanitation, water etc. Given their absence, Sudan was bound to face a much worse crisis as this also affected 50% of aid delivery services.[112]

The U.S Government has been the leading international donor to Sudan whose contribution has amounted to a total of $8billion covering a cost of expenditure which cuts across humanitarian, peacekeeping, and development areas. The United States through her presidential envoy to Sudan, explored several options which can be applied to increase her role in putting an end to the crisis. (This is backed by three principles which include; achieving a definitive end to conflict, gross human rights abuses, and genocide in Darfur; the implementation of North-South Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA); and also ensuring that Sudan does not provide a safe haven for international terrorists).[113]

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[110] United Nations High commission for Refugee http://www.unhcr.org/556db2606.html (Accessed on 24/07/2015)
[111] United Nations High commission for Refugee http://www.unhcr.org/556db2606.html (Accessed on 24/07/2015)
[112] Sudan. 2012. Washington: Superintendent of Documents (http://search.proquest.com/docview/1545523582?accountid=15792).
[113] Ibid.

The crisis in Sudan has led to great loss of lives and properties with the cost of the war alone hitting billions of dollars eventually costing more to build the nation once again.

3.3 The United Nations

The main purpose behind the creation of the United Nations after the end of the Second World War in 1945 was to maintain international peace and security and this is implemented in two traditional methods which can either be through settling of disputes or taking measures against states that are threatening the world peace. This is also contained in the chapter VI and VII of the U.N charter.[114] Other notable roles of the U.N include building an enabling and friendly environment for states as well as assist the third world countries in reducing starvation, poverty, and eradication of diseases and most importantly, protection of the fundamental human rights of all.

At present, the United Nations has a total of 193 members and South Sudan is the youngest country in the world and the newest member state of the U.N.[115] The UN is known for its peacekeeping operations round the world with a total of 15 peacekeeping missions around the world with Sudan and South Sudan being a beneficiary with the aim of this peacekeeping forces to restore peace back to the countries that have been torn by war.[116] In other to fulfil the intents behind the creation of the United Nations, different organs were created as well and assigned different duties and this will be discussed subsequently.

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[114] Baehr and Leon Gordenker 1998. "The United Nations at the end of the 1990's". London. Macmillan Press Ltd p.67
[115]UN website www.un.org/en/members (Accessed 11/17/2015).
[116] http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/current.shtml (Accessed on 11/17/2015)

3.4 The Organization of the United Nations

3.4.1 The General Assembly

This is one of the principal organs as established by the U.N charter and also the only organ of the U.N that accommodates every member states. In other words, it provides administrative oversight of the U.N activities.[117] The General Assembly submits recommendations to the United Nations which are binding following the approval of the majority. They can also make recommendations regarding the maintenance of peace, cooperation and security to the Security Council.[118] It provides each member state the opportunity of sending a total of 5representatives to the general assembly but in any case, this does not change the fact that each state only has one vote each. The various UN agencies also report directly or indirectly to the General Assembly and they are also in charge of accessing the general budget of the U.N[119]

3.4.2 The Security Council

This is the principal organ of the United Nations which comprises five permanent namely China, France, United Kingdom, United States and Russia.[120] Meanwhile the non-permanent members that are rotated over a period of two years charged with a primary duty of maintaining international peace and security as provided by Article 24 of the U.N Charter.[121] When conflicts arise that needs the attention of the United Nations, they are brought forward by the Secretary General, the General Assembly or either by a member state. The initial plan was for the Security Council to have a

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[117] Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws. 2007. The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations. Oxford University Press
[118] Thomas M. Frank, 1995. "The Secretary-General's role in Conflict Resolution: past, present and pure conjucture?" International Studies, New York School of Law, EJIL pp 360-387
[119] Clark M. Eichelberger. 1965 "The first 20years of the United Nations." Harper & Row Publishers. P182
[120] Ibid. p183
[121] Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws. 2007

permanent military force which serves as a U.N police but till date, this has not been achieved. The Security Council can also exert the use of their veto power especially when denying the admission of new member states into the U.N.[122]

3.4.3 The Secretary General

This is the third tier of the U.N machinery for the settlement of disputes. The Secretary General fills any vacuum between the Security Council and the General Assembly. The U.N charter chapter XV contains the authority of the office of the Secretary General. Even as he acts in his capacity in the meetings of General Assembly, Security Council or other council. He also can bring to the notice of the Security Council issues that he feels can pose a threat to world peace.[123] It was always intended that much authority be vested on the office of the Secretary General in order to enable the office play a prominent role in the UN than during the period of the League of Nations. Hence he was provided with a new authority of been able to raise issues which he felt needed attention.[124]

The appointment of the Secretary General is upon the recommendation of the Security Council. However, before a name can emerge it would have passed through a challenging phase of being vetoed by one of the great powers. Hence, the presentation of a name by the Security Council explains the importance of this position because if not vetoed, then it has been accepted by all the major powers.[125]

3.4.4 The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

The Economic and Social Council was established by the U.N Charter to coordinate Economic and Social work of the United Nations and specialized institutions and

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[122] U.N first 20yrs. P183
[123] U.N first 20yrs. P50
[124] Derek Heater. 1994, "The United Nations and How it Works and What it Does" Macmillan Press Ltd. London p106.
[125] David Cushman Coyle. 1965, "The United Nations and How it Works". New American Library Inc. New York p186.

agencies.[126]This council is made up of just 18 member states elected by the General Assembly for a term of 3years. This council is tasked with the duty of promoting a higher standard of living, international cooperation and respect for fundamental human rights. They make agreements with the U.N specialized bodies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (F.A.O) but these agreements are subject to the approval of the General Assembly.[127]

3.4.5 The International Court of Justice (ICJ)

The I.C.J is also a main organ of the United Nations composed of 15 independent justices that serve a nine year term and elected by an absolute majority of both the Security Council and the General Assembly. They function also in an advisory role by giving opinions especially as regards legal matters. Although number states are supposed to compulsorily uphold the Jurisdiction of the ICJ, but governments in recent independent states perceive this domination by the legal thinking of the West and over concern on the interest of the great powers. Hence there is a doubt on the impartiality of such international organ.[128]

3.5 Types of Peacekeeping Operations

Originally, peacekeeping interventions and operations have mostly been done militarily. What was of utmost priority then was to assist the conflicting parties to resolve their dispute as well as avoid any reoccurrence. Before 1988, it was the sole duty of one actor however, as time evolved, the practice has since changed and become more dynamic involving a number of actors in the process.

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[126] Basic facts about the United Nations. 1998 Department of public information, United Nations New York.
[127] David Cushman Coyle. 1965, "The United Nations and How it Works". New American Library Inc. New York p184
[128] Peter and Leon Gordenker. 1990.

3.5.1 Traditional Peacekeeping

Traditional peacekeeping was mainly a responsibility to support peacemaking efforts. This is possible through the creation of enabling environment that can enable peaceful conditions for negotiations. These peacekeepers also have a duty to monitor ceasefire agreements as well as control activities around the buffer zone. The time frame for traditional peacekeeping process could be a long term a good example being the Cyprus problem.

3.5.2 Modern Peacekeeping

The modern day peacekeeping has to do with providing the needed support for comprehensive peaceful agreements that has been achieved through mutual consent to see the light of day.[129] Modern peacekeeping became dynamic following the end of the cold war. It began to involve the respect for fundamental human rights, the destruction of weapons etc. a difficult aspect of the modern day peacekeeping has been the issue of impartiality. The ability to settle the modern day dispute based on the claims and position of conflicting parties.[130]

3.5.3 Preventive Deployment

Just as the name indicates, this involves deploying peacekeeping forces even before a conflict becomes full-fledged. This is initiated following the request of one of the parties involved in the conflict. The essence of an early deployment will therefore be for the peacekeeping forces to give early warnings as well make known the costly price that will be bore by violators.[131] The pioneer preventive peacekeeping deployment by the United Nations was in Macedonia under the rule of Butros Butos-Ghali the then Secretary General of the United Nations.

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[129] Saw Daws and Paul Taylor. (2000). P124
[130] Saw Daws and Paul Taylor.
[131] Ibid. p. 128

3.5.4 Delivery of Humanitarian Supplies

This form of peacekeeping has gained prominence and has become one of the most important types of peacekeeping which has been applied in Somalia, Sudan, Bosnia etc. however, the unwillingness of militias to cooperate can affect the transportation of humanitarian relief materials to the victims of war. For example the case of Somalia where rebels refused to allow free flow of these materials but instead hijacking and stealing them for sales in the black market but with a use of force from the peacekeepers, this can be stopped.

3.5.5 Ceasefire Enforcement

This involves the use of force and it is alternate to the traditional method of peacekeeping. The U.N can decide to use force against a party which has breached agreements of ceasefire.

3.6 U.N Peacekeeping Intervention in other Countries

.Since its creation, the United Nations has been involved is procuring lasting solutions to conflicts. Before the Cold War era, there were a few numbers of conflicts unlike after the Cold War era, where the horn of Africa has witnessed conflicts many times.

3.6.1 UN Peacekeeping in Congo

The peacekeeping operations of the U.N in Congo were carried out by the United Nation Emergency Force (UNEF). The outcomes of the conflict led to the enforcement actions. The then U.N Secretary General, Hammarskjold, personally took the bull by the horn to negotiate between the central government of Congo and the rebel groups. Unfortunately, on his way he lost his life in an aircraft accident. This led to the takeover by Uthant whom through the use of 20,000 formidable men was able to finally end a secession of Katanga in 1964. This however changed the

perspective of most third world countries towards the United Nations changing their notion of peacemaking as a derogation of state's authority.[132]

3.6.2 UN Peacekeeping in Somalia

The collapse of the government in Somalia coupled with clashes between local war-lords in 1991 led to very pitiable conditions of the people of Somalia due to famine. Efforts by NGO's and UN agencies to help with relief materials were brought to naught. This led to the creation of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) comprising of 500 Pakistan soldiers. The continuous sufferings of people led to a new development that saw the United States send down 28,000 troops to Somalia with the Security Council endorsing the action as an initiative to render help. This led to the creation of UNOSOM II which incorporated U.S soldiers with the Pakistan soldiers. An end came to the intervention of the U.S following the loss of 18 of her soldiers in 1994 in Somalia when they were ambushed by rebels. A withdrawal of the U.S peacekeeping troops led to the collapse of the UN mission in Somalia.

3.6.3 UN Peacekeeping Kuwait

The swift response of the U.N in the case of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1995 raised concerns about the effectiveness and efficiency of the UN security system. This action of the UN then was the most forceful and far reaching enforcement actions in the history of the UN.[133] These actions included various forms of sanctions from diplomatic to economic sanctions in a bid to damage Iraq's effort or relationship with other allies. In addition, the Security Council approved the use of "all means

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[132] Baehr and Leon Gordenker 1998. "The United Nations at the end of the 1990's". London. Macmillan Press Ltd p74
[133] Baehr and Leon Gordenker 1998. "The United Nations at the end of the 1990's". London. Macmillan Press Ltd p78

possible" to end the invasion. . This led to Iraq accepting a ceasefire in 1991 after her forces had been paralyzed on air, sea and land.

3.6.4 United Nations in Cyprus

The need for a peace keeping force was necessary and on the 15th of February 1964, the United Kingdom made a proposal to the United Nations for the establishment of a United Nation's Peace Keeping Force on the island and on March 4, 1964, the Security Council adopted a resolution.[134] With the resolution reminding all "members of the United Nations of refraining in their relations to the use of threat or force on the territorial integrity or the political independence of any state"[135] this resolution led to the creation of the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) which has been on the island ever since then (1974) costing not less than $3bn and the efforts of the good offices of the UN to proffer solutions have been futile.

The initial intention was to send some troops to prevent a recurring fight between both parties and to return the situation on the island to status quo with a second proposition being that the United Nations Secretary-General assigns a mediator to mediate over the crisis and find solutions against the background of what is contained in the U.N charter which is the mandate to ensure international peace and security.[136]Despite several sponsored communal talks by the UN and the efforts of the Secretary-General to end the rife on the island, the margin has become wider and the credibility of the United Nations has been under criticism. The United Nations has been caught up in the middle of a crisis between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish

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[134] S/5575 Resolution 186 (1964).
[135] Resolution 186 The Cyprus Question http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/186
[136] Pericleous, C. (2009). International Library of Twentieth Century History: Cyprus Referendum : A Divided Island and the Challenge of the Annan Plan. London, GBR: I.B. Tauris. Retrieved from http://www.ebrary.com

Cypriots. But instead of being the road map solution to the crisis they have appeared to be observers as part of the bottle neck of the crisis.[137]

Apart from peacekeeping on the island, the United Nations has been involved in other ways trying to bring a lasting solution to the crisis starting from intercommunal talk's between1968-1974 between the two communities involved but with no headway and finally coming to a halt in 1974.[138]

The Annan Plan was put on a referendum in both the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots community on 24 April 2004. The aim was to unite the island under the name of United Cyprus Republic in a bi-zonal federal structure which will comprise of two constituent states which is the Greek Cypriot State and the Turkish Cypriot State.[139] However, the results of the referendum cut short the hopes and dreams of the Annan Plan, What seems to have been the final bus stop to the solution of the Cyprus problem by the international community was hit with a humiliating and devastating blow as 65 per cent of the Turkish Cypriots voted in support but met a brick wall with 76 per cent of the Greek Cypriots voting against it.[140]

3.7 Other International Organizations and Notable Actors

3.7.1 African Union

(Initially known as the Organization of African Union (OAU), it was later renamed the African Union (AU) in Durban, South Africa 2002, thus, shifting from its

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[137] Robert McDonald and Samuel M. Makinda *The World Today* Vol. 49, No. 10 (Oct., 1993), pp. 182-186 http://www.jstor.org/stable/40396443
[138] Faustmann, H., & Varnava, A. (Eds.). (2009). Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond. London, GBR: I.B. Tauris. Retrieved from http://www.ebrary.com
[139] Ahmet Sozen and Kudret Ozersay (2007) The Annan Plan: State Succession or Continuity. Middle Eastern Studies Vol. 43, No 1, pp. 125-141 published by Taylor & Francis. Ltd.
[140] Pericleous, Chrysostomos. International Library of Twentieth Century History: Cyprus Referendum: A Divided Island and the Challenge of the Annan Plan. London, GBR: I.B. Tauris, 2009. ProQuest ebrary Web. 26 July 2015.

previous focus to building a stronger and united Africa, African people, economy, society etc. adopting the use of 'Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance' as its centerpiece which it intends to use to apply 'African solutions to African problems')[141].

African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) was set up initially with a 120person Ceasefire Monitoring Commission and more than 5,000 AU peacekeeping forces with the number increasing to 7,000 by September of 2005. It was expected to reach 12,500 before the end of 2006.[142] The African Union Mission experienced a worldwide acceptance with major stake holders showing their support towards the mission and amidst reports that the African Union was not strong enough to combat insurgents; they were able to provide security in certain areas of troubled countries, even though they could not assure a complete environment devoid of insecurity. Commendations such as from Jan Pronk, a special representative to the UN Secretary-General for Sudan during his visit in 2004 to Darfur where he noted that the AU had showed a lot of dedication and the manner in which they handled the situation was highly professional and admirable.[143] Apart from the fact that the African Union acted solely in trying to find a solution to the conflict in Sudan, she also collaborated with international organizations in forming hybrid operations one of which is the African Union/United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur

[141] Muchie, Mammo, and Lukhele-Olorunju, Phindil, eds. African Union Ten Years After. Pretoria, ZAF: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2013. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 27 July 2015.
[142]THE AFRICAN UNIONS PEACEKEEPING EXPERIENCE IN DARFUR, SUDAN written by Roba Sharamo published by African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) , Umhlanga Rocks, South Africa http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lang=en&id=104124
[143] THE AFRICAN UNIONS PEACEKEEPING EXPERIENCE IN DARFUR, SUDAN written by Roba Sharamo published by African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) , Umhlanga Rocks, South Africa http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lang=en&id=104124

(UNAMID).[144] It was established on 31 July 2007, given the mandate and task of not just contributing to the humanitarian assistance in the region, but also other responsibilities such as monitoring and verifying that agreements adhered to was bent on her shoulders. But most importantly was to monitor and report the situation of things along border lines especially the borders with Chad and the Central African Republic.[145]

With the deteriorating situation in Sudan, there was a need to ratify UNAMID and early in the year 2014, the priorities of UNAMID was revised and in August 27 2014, there was an extension of the mandate of the African Union-UN Hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID) which was to last until June 2015 with a more focus of the peacekeeping mission to be on improved protection of civilians and human workers coupled with the facilitation of assistance and mediation activities.[146] Another important organization which the African Union collaborated with was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O). The need for this nexus was to provide the mission with the required logistics needed to combat the situation in Sudan.[147]

In conclusion, the prospect of the African Union to maintain peace and order is visible but notwithstanding the progress so far, the Darfur mission as well as other

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[144] Security Council Resolution 1769, 31 July 2007.
[145] African Union/United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID) http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unamid/ Accessed 27 July 2015
[146] (2014), SUDAN: UNAMID Mandate Extended. Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series, 51: 20258A–20259C. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-825X.2014.05866.x http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-825X.2014.05866.x/full
[147] THE AFRICAN UNIONS PEACEKEEPING EXPERIENCE IN DARFUR, SUDAN written by Roba Sharamo published by African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) , Umhlanga Rocks, South Africa http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lang=en&id=104124

peacekeeping missions in Africa is yet to attain its full potential. Hence, the AU needs more support both from its members and the international community.[148]

3.7.2 Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (I.G.A.D)

Since the introduction of a mediation committee in 1990 by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), other organizations have since then seen the need to adopt a similar style. Some of these regional organizations are Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Just to mention, a few have incorporated such security techniques into their mandate.[149]

Most institutions in the African context were not created to handle security issues; most were created to tackle the economic situation in Africa. However, it became quite glaring that the possibility of this was far from near given the fact that insecurity, conflict and instability was present in most African states, hence, the need for Africans to create a different institution created solely for peacekeeping, mediation, conflict resolution, etc. The huge landscape as well as great population in African and her heterogeneous society saw regional organizations as the best possible option of handling crisis of course regionally with ECOWAS in the West of Africa, SADC in the South and IGAD in the East.[150]

The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is one of Africa's youngest sub-regional organizations which was founded in 1996 intended to replace

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[148] Ibid p 55

[149] Mwagiru, M. (2010). Conflict early-warning and response mechanisms: A review of sub-regional organizations in africa. *Africa Review, 2*(2), 163-174. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/869444522?accountid=15792

[150] Mwagiru, M. (2010). Conflict early-warning and response mechanisms: A review of sub-regional organisations in africa. *Africa Review, 2*(2), 163-174. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/869444522?accountid=15792

the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) that was initially founded 10years earlier in 1986. With the countries that formed it comprising of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda and the admission of Eritrea as the seventh member as a result of her independence.[151] Initially, IGADD was set up to find a solution to the drought that plagued the Eastern African Countries in a bid to bring about development as well as battle against food security. But a decade afterwards, the mandate of IGADD as well as the objectives were revisited and changed to cover a broader objective covering major areas of concern such as socio-economic and political areas under the umbrella of the new body IGAD.[152]

IGAD has been very active in the Sudan crisis and was instrumental to the Comprehensive Peace Agreements between the conflicting parties in Sudan.[153] The breakdown of peace processes of reconciliation in Sudan and the failure of other international organizations in the Sudan case and the withdrawal of Nigeria from the peace process saw IGAD step up to fill in the gap and provide the platform where the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army could iron out issues regarding self-determination amongst others with the process gaining international legitimacy making it easier to achieve.[154]

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[151] Weldesellassie, K. I. (2011). IGAD as an international organization, its institutional development and shortcomings. *Journal of African Law, 55*(1), 1-29. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0021855311000015

[152] Ibid.

[153] George Onyango Katete (2010). The regional outcome of the comprehensive peace agreement five years down the road: Are external forces playing a progressive role? International Journal of African Renaissance Studies Vol.5 pp-161-170.

[154] John Young (2005) Sudan: A flawed peace process leading to a flawed peace. Review of African Political Economy vol. 32, Issue 103, 2005 pp 99-113.

However, there has been failure of agreements to end the conflict as agreements provided between conflicting parties by IGAD have not been adhered to with parties refusing to implement their commitments. Despite threats such as sanctions and military intervention by IGAD, deaf ears have been turned towards IGAD threats and likewise IGAD not taking any action either. With a major challenge faced by IGAD being the fact that major leaders are on opposing sides as a result of her interests with Uganda and Sudan having opposing sides to the conflict.[155]

The progress in achieving peace in Sudan by IGAD has become questionable notwithstanding the breakthrough of the Comprehensive Peace Agreements of 2005 and it appears as if IGAD has failed in the Sudan case but there is no basis to completely lose faith in IGAD as without it, the Eastern Region would probably have been in a worse situation presently. Instead IGAD has added more value to other organizations such as the UN and the AU missions even as she puts in effort to finding lasting peace in Sudan.[156]

3.7.3 Omar al-Bashir (President Republic of Sudan)

Born in the year 1944 to a family in the then Kingdom of Egypt and Sudan, he had his education at the national military academics in Cairo. With his brilliance he rose through the ranks becoming a paratrooper and also fought in the Egyptian Army during the Arab-Israeli war in October 1973.[157]Then a colonel in the Sudanese army, he led a group of Sudanese officers to a successful bloodless military coup which overthrew the democratically elected government of prime-minister, Sadiq al-

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[155] The Hill: One year later- Revitalizing US efforts in South Sudan. (2014, December) Contributed view by David Abramowitz. http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/international/226745-one-year-later-revitalizing-us-efforts-in-south-sudan accessed 29/07/2015.

[156] Weldesellassie, K. I. (2011). IGAD as an international organization, its institutional development and shortcomings. *Journal of African Law, 55*(1), 1-29. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0021855311000015

[157] (2010), Sudan: Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir. Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series, 47: 18352A–18352B. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-825X.2010.03198.x

Mahdi.[158] With al-Bashir coming into power and maintaining the position until now, he has to a large extent been responsible for a lot of happenings in the country and as a result he is a major individual actor in the Sudan crisis which cannot be overlooked.

Things such as the suspension of political parties, trade unions and government bodies followed after his acquisition of power and proclamation of himself as chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation[159]. He introduced the Islamic code on a national scale with the introduction of sharia law and Arabic as the official language. With the introduction of Sharia Law came the introduction of public punishments and severe punishments such as public flogging, stoning to death, cutting off a culprit's hand, and so on. With each offence came a measure of punishment meted to the offender. This was one major factor that increased the unrest and agitation by the south for secession from the north and in a bid to ensure her liberation, a second civil war was the result as the south feared the grave consequences should they remain united with the north and allowed the introduction of the Sharia Law on them even when they were predominantly Christians. They did not trust that the government will protect them from the imposition of the Sharia Law which they had a strong objection to.

On the 14th of July, 2008, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, the Prosecutor for the International Criminal Court (ICC), ignited a firestorm in international law and politics when he applied to the Court's Pre-Trial Chamber III for the Issuance of an arrest warrant against the President of Sudan Omar Al-Bashir based on ten counts of international

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[158] Ibid vol. 26 p. 9326
[159] (2010), Sudan: Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir. Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series, 47: 18352A–18352B. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-825X.2010.03198.x

crimes ranging from genocide to crime against humanity, to war crimes.[160] Omar al-Bashir despite his dented image and atrocities he had been accused of, was instrumental to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. In 2005, the government of Omar al-Bashir and the Southern People Liberation Army (SPLA) led by the rebel leader, John Garang, installed a government of national unity with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement containing agreements which saw to it that the south had a co Vice-President in addition to the already existing vice president of the north. The signing of the agreement was in Nairobi Kenya in January 2005 granting autonomy to South Sudan for a period of six years after which there will be a referendum to determine if the south will secede or not in 2011.[161] The aftermath of this referendum was the independence of South Sudan.

Till this present time, Omar al-Bashir remains the president of Sudan and despite the international arrest warrant for him, he was again re-elected in the presidential elections in 2010 which happened to be the first democratic election that gave way to a multi-party participation.[162]

3.7.5 Salva Kiir Mayardit (President South Sudan)

Salva Kiir Mayardit is the present President of South Sudan who assumed the top position of the SPLM/A following the death of the former leader John Garang. The

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[160] Available at http://www.chgs.nl/OIupdate_pages/documents/ICC-OTP-Statement-140708.pdf further readings can be found at http://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/64FA6B33-05C3- and http://www.eyesondarfur.org/conflict.html

[161] (2010), Sudan: Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir. Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series, 47: 18352A–18352B. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-825X.2010.03198.x

[162] Johan D. van der Vyver 2010. Prosecutor v. Omar Hassan Ahmed Al Bashir The American Journal of International Law Vol. 104, No. 3 (July 2010) (pp. 461-467). In March 2009, a pretrial chamber of the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued a warrant for the arrest of Sudanese President Omar Hassan Ahmed Al Bashir to stand in trial in the ICC for crimes against humanity (murder, extermination, rape, torture, and forcible transfer) and war crimes (intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population or individual civilians, and pilage) more about the arrest warrant and materials on the ICC situations including that in Darfur, Sudan can be found at http://www.icc-cpi.int/Menus/ICC/Situations+and+Cases/Situations/ .

death was a blow to the SPLM.[163] In the early stage of his life in 1960, he joined in the struggle for liberation and since then he rose to a fairly senior position and after a wide range of experiences with national Sudan army, he joined the SPLM/A in 1983 which was led by John Garang. He was however chosen to succeed to the post of First Vice President of Sudan and President of Southern Sudan.[164] He quickly gained prominence as he stood firm and loyal to the mission and vision of the SPLA/M all through their struggle for liberation. His remarkable speech was pivotal in helping him win the hearts of several millions in which he made the statement in 2009 "*The forthcoming independence referendum was a choice between being a second class in your own country or a free person in your independent state*"[165] was a major boost to his re-election as Sudan's president in 2010.[166] Political analyst have described him as the "Biblical Joshua who took the mantle of leadership from Moses just as the Israelites were on the verge of entering Canaan and established them in the Promise Land".[167] Since the independence of South Sudan following the referendum in 2011 Salva Kiir has remained the President of South Sudan.

As president of a new country, Kiir has been faced with many challenges such as food insecurity, infrastructure, handling the influx of refugee, etc.[168] The major challenge which has been mounted before his administration began with the internal crisis within the political echelons. In 2013 President Kiir appeared in military attire on public broadcast to announce the ousting of the Vice President whom he accused

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[163] South Sudan President Salva Kiir in profile http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12107760 Accessed 7/17/2015.

[164] Salva Kiir Mayardit President of South Sudan http://www.presidentkiir.com/ (Accessed on 7/17/2015)

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.

[167] The official website of the Government of the Republic of South Sudan http://www.goss-online.org/ (Accessed on 7/17/2015).

[168] Salva Kiir Mayardit; President of South Sudan. http://global.britannica.com/biography/Salva-Kiir-Mayardit (Accessed 7/17/2015).

of trying to overthrow him through a military coup that was unsuccessful. The arrest of several ministers followed but the ousted Vice President has since denied the accusation but beliefs that the President is only but looking for ways to cover his failing government. However, whichever way this is viewed, this has been the biggest challenge of President Kiir since attaining the post of President as this dispute has become catastrophic going beyond just mere dispute to ethnic rivalry and clashes.[169]

3.7.6 Riek Machar (Ousted Vice President and Rebel Leader)

It is important to take note of Riek Machar who was the former Vice-President of Sudan until 2013 when he was ousted following a failed military coup as he was accused by the President Salva Kiir. This however triggered the violence that is still ongoing in some parts of South Sudan.[170]Just as Salva Kiir became the first President of South Sudan so also did Riek Machar become the first Vice-President after her Independence and presently he is the leader of the rebel group which has since his ousting been waging war against the present government of Sudan. With most of his rebel members been from his ethnic group, Nuer, just as those who support the President are from his own ethnic group, Dinka. This present conflict between Riek Machar and Salva Kiir has lasted for over 15months with the International Crisis Group estimating the death toll to be at about 50,000 with almost two million people being displaced internally. The fighting has since twisted from political disagreement to an ethnic rivalry which has included the two major ethnic groups in South Sudan involving President Kiir's Dinka tribe and ousted Vice-President Nuer's tribe.[171]

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[169] South Sudan President Salva Kiir in profile http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12107760 Accessed 7/17/2015.
[170] Voice of America. Riek Machar's South Sudan Rebel Group http://www.voanews.com/content/south-sudan-riek-machar-rebel-group-split/2649045.html (Accessed on 18/07/2015).
[171] Ibid.

3.8 Problems/Obstacles Facing Peacekeeping Process in Sudan

3.8.1 Trends in Modern World Politics

There are a number of underlying factors that have reduced or belittled the actions and successes of the U.N. The huge numbers of conflicts these days are a contributing factor, especially with most of these wars been internal (civil war). However, t Article 2 (7) of the U.N charter acknowledges the sovereignty of states. This prevents the U.N from intervening in domestic matters unless if called upon by the host. But when not called upon, the U.N will stay out unless if the crisis is a threat to world peace. Take for example the cases of Biafra, Bangladesh etc.

The increasing formation of regional organizations to solve regional or local crisis have further contributed to the challenges of the United Nations. Institutions such as the African Union, Economic Community of West African States, and Inter-Governmental Authority on Development etc. have always wanted to handle disputes their own way by solving the African problem the African way.

Another major modern day politics affecting the United Nations is the huge disparity economically between rich and poor states. This is a major issue because the UN has to depend on the rich states for financial support. By this, these rich states are able to put more pressure on the UN, while the poorer ones do not have the same leverage.[172]

3.8.2 Religion and Ethnicity

With the present crisis changing hands from political to ethnic conflict, it is important to recognize and investigate into the issue of religion and ethnicity as a major actor or player in the Sudan crisis. Sudan has predominantly been divided into

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[172] Baehr and Leon Gordenker.

two distinct religions and ethnicities especially in the south. The north is mainly comprised of Arabs and black Africans who are Muslims, while the South has a majority of Christians, but with a very high number of diverse ethnic groups (66 groups).. It is no doubt therefore that the issue of ethnicity and religion has contributed to the crisis as well as separation in the country.[173]

This became pronounced with the introduction of Sharia law in the country by the President Omar al-Bashir. The introduction of the law did not go down well with the southerners as they are comprised of Christians. The fear that the law will be used on them despite not sharing the same faith, belief and religion as the north created agitation and separatist feelings.

Despite the unity in the south to fight for secession, there was disunity amongst them and this quickly became obvious after her independence from the north. Hence, it was not surprising that the heterogeneity of the South's society eventually led to another crisis.[174] This factor has contributed immensely to being part of the challenge for the United Nations. The fact that this conflict has religious as well as ethnic roots and implications has made the conflict very difficult to settle for the United Nations.

3.8.3 Failed Agreements

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Government of The Republic of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army was a mile stone achievement for both parties to the agreement. Despite the fact that this agreement made it possible for the South to secede from the North, the failure to adhere to the second part which included a

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[173] Ibid

[174] Bakare O.E (2014). Crisis in Sudan: The Birth of a New Crisis. Paper submitted to The Department of International Relations. Eastern Mediterranean University North Cyprus.

referendum for the people of the Abyei community is one major flaw of this agreement that has limited the success story of the U.N peacekeeping interventions in Sudan. The agreement contained a power sharing agreement, wealth sharing, the resolution of Abyei conflict, and security arrangements etc. [175] The peace agreement based the secession of the South from Sudan on a referendum after a six year interim period. The result of this referendum was a landslide 98.83% of voters opting for independence. South Sudan thus became the 193rd member of the United Nations.[176] Despite achieving this feat, conflict still prevails as many post-referendum issues are yet to be ironed out. And this has ultimately become a major challenge for the United Nations. Without a new possible and acceptable agreement, the end of the crisis in Sudan is far from near. The first stage of the CPA saw to the separation of the country which in a way helped calm down the conflict but the failure of the second for self-determination of the people in Abyei coupled with the discovery of great oil deposits in the land has again revived the conflicts between the two Sudans and within South Sudan as well.Other agreements which have also failed and have still not been resolved include the agreement on oil sharing. Agreements over oil sharing have not been fulfilled and disputes continue to surface between Sudan and South Sudan. For a while now South Sudan has not exported oil as the pipe-lines pass through the North. Meanwhile the North seem to be asking for more than the initial plan for the transportation of oil and are also requesting that the South be responsible for the payment of some of her debts from their crude oil revenue. South Sudan

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[175] Comprehensive Peace Agreement chapter 2: POWER SHARING, part B; the transition process. - at the end of six(6) year interim period there shall be an internationally monitored referendum, organized jointly by the GOS and the SPLM/A, for the people of South Sudan to confirm the unity of the Sudan by voting to adopt the system of government established under the Peace Agreement; or to vote for secession.
[176] Comprehensive Peace Agreement: CHAPTER 1, THE MACHAKOS PROTOCOL: signed at Machakos, KENYA ON 20TH JULY, 2002. 1.3; that the people of South Sudan have the right to self-determination, *inter alia,* through a referendum to determine their future status.

however is not buoyant enough to consider building new pipe-lines and do not have that time as they are still rocked with conflicts. This situation has caused fuel shortage that has affected all parts of the economy of South Sudan.

The rate of transit fees have become a bone of contention between both countries. On the 20th of January 2012, the South Sudanese government shut down all of the country's oil production after Sudan hijacked over 3million barrels of South Sudan oil that passed through Sudan claiming it was money meant for "unpaid fees" and this has affected the economies of both the North and South.[177]

3.8.4 No Standby Force

The absence of a standby military force as well as other peacekeeping forces and other personnel in the United Nations has been a major factor responsible for the short-comings of the United Nations, which consequently has resulted in the continuous deteriorating conditions. This problem has been on since the creation of the United Nations and being that the institution relies completely on the donation of troops by member states for peacekeeping, sometimes they are handicapped until member states do what is expected of them.

The consequences of war expenses, and losses and so on has been a principal factor behind the hesitation of member states to contribute towards peacekeeping either militarily or economically. The term **burden sharing** is used in apportioning troops

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[177] Oil agreement between South Sudan and Republic of Sudan:
4 FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.
4.1 PROCESSING FEES.
4.1.1 The GoRSS shall pay to the GoS a processing fee of one United States Dollar and Sixty Cents per barrel (USD 1.60/bbl.) for the GoRSS Oil Entitlement Volumes for processing Services in the GNPOC processing facilities.
See also:
4.2 TRANSPORTATION FEES
4.2.1 The GoRSS shall pay to the GoS a transportation tariff of eight United States Dollars and forty cents per barrel (USD 8.40/bbl.) for the GoRSS Oil Entitlement Volumes for transportation services in the GNPOC transportation facilities.

when the need arises. However, the willingness of states to contribute is also limited, and is based on their financial and material capabilities. These reasons might be responsible for the inadequate presence of troops in South Sudan.[178]

Based on U.N facts and figures, the peacekeeping force in Sudan kicked off with 7,000 military personnel. With a force of less than 10,000 in Sudan, it is difficult to address the issues on ground.[179]

3.8.5 Inadequate Funding

Funds in the United Nations are a collective responsibility of member states. The issue of funding in the Sudan crisis has not been a smooth run. One major challenge of funding has also been the fact that other permanent members of the Security Council have contributed little or nothing at all, except for the United States that has been the front runner in carrying the expenses of the U.N budget especially as regards peacekeeping, though its reasons are self-motivated. This has contributed to the problems of the peacekeeping in Sudan.[180] Even though it is mandatory that member states are to contribute towards the progress and success of the organization, they have faulted.[181]

This inadequate funding is a problem not just experienced by the United Nations, but also by other institutions such as the African Union. There are little or no contributions by the member states, which do not help the operation in Sudan. Also,

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[178] The Economist: Peacekeeping : call the Blue Helmets, {January 6, 2007} p.21
[179] United Nations Missions in The Republic of South Sudan.
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmiss/facts.shtml Accessed on 11/11/15.
[180] Goldstein Joshua S. 2005 International Relations New York: Pearson Longman, 6th ed. P267.
[181] Conforti, Benedetti, The Law and Practice of the United Nations {The Hague, London and Boston: Kluwer Law International, Vol. 36, Revised 2nd ed., 2000} p271-277.

the funds from the U.S and the E.U have not been enough to meet the expenses of peacekeeping.[182]

3.8.6 Multiple Factions of Rebel Groups

Most crisis in Africa have not been resolved because of a multiplicity of rebel groups. In some cases, internal divisions within a rebel group, will lead to a further split, and this causes the reaching of peace agreements tedious and time consuming. In the Sudanese case for example, there is a major rebel group which is the Sudanese Liberation Movement Army, but it has also split into several factions due to different ideologies of its members. This is compounded by the fact that some of these rebel factions have refused any form of agreement but instead vowed to fight the governments in power, hence, no permanent peaceful solution has been achieved.[183] Moreover, the commander of the UNAMID force Martin Luther Agwai states that the total numbers of rebels are about 30

3.8.7 Precise Mandate

Over time in the peacekeeping activities in Sudan, mandates have been mapped out to guide the peacekeeping missions but these mandates have subsequently been changed, or ratified. This has not just been the case in the U.N alone, but also with other international institutions involved in the crisis such as the AU which initially kicked off the peacekeeping processes in Sudan along with AMIS. But later on changed when they had to incorporate the United Nations and in a Hybrid Peacekeeping force known as the United Nations and African Mission in Darfur (UNAMIS).

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[182] Waal Alex, 2007. Darfur and Failure to Protect. International Affairs Vol. 83, NO. 6, Oxford University Press, 2007} P.1044-1046.

[183] The Economist: Darfur bleeds as talks fails, 3rd November 2007 p.48.

The mandate of the hybrid formation was revised and extended by August 27 2014 to last until the year 2015. However, the present mandate of the U.N peacekeeping force is to protect lives and human workers and keep them from harm's way and this has been a difficult mandate to properly implement and achieve.[184] The war in Sudan has involved all genders and races that even children soldiers exist with non-combatants possibly being in possession of a weapon. This is another important challenge which has been affecting the peacekeeping processes in Sudan and therefore calls for a precise mandate to be created or revised backed by effective and efficient backing and support of all and sundry physically, materially, militarily, etc. responsible for finding a lasting peace in Sudan.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter sheds more insight into peacekeeping with the previous chapter giving detailed explanation on peacekeeping and peacebuilding through the various literatures consulted, it was necessary to take note of the kind of method that was adopted by the United Nations. Evident enough from this chapter is the fact that with the evaluation of the United Nations by scrutinizing its organs and their responsibilities one could easily understand that peacekeeping is a United Nations thing.

This chapter enables the reader to have a proper understanding of the role of the United Nation not just in Sudan but also the world in general. Providing the reader with details on the different types of peacekeeping, and since peacekeeping is a United Nations thing, it was important to know the types of peacekeeping methods that existed and this will help to understand the method or type of peacekeeping that

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[184] 2014), SUDAN: UNAMID Mandate Extended. Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series, 51: 20258A–20259C. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-825X.2014.05866.x
http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-825X.2014.05866.x/full

has been adopted by the United Nations in Sudan crisis and also help us identify if this has been effective.

From all indications, the Sudan crisis does not seem to be anywhere close to being resolved and with the interventions of the U.N all this while one begins to wonder how and why? This has continued despite the various institutions that have taken one step or the other either through mediation, negotiation, dialogue or any form to find a solution to the crises yet it still prevails. There is of course no smoke without fire. Therefore there must be a reason why this conflict has continued. The concluding part of this work explains the challenges and/or obstacles that are militating against the progress of U.N peacekeeping in Sudan. Thereafter, a road map as well as pathways to a successful peacekeeping mission in the shortest time possible would be enunciated.

Chapter 4

EQUIPPING PEACEKEEPING INTERVENTIONS OF THE UN IN SUDAN

4.1 Introduction

Based on the evaluation of the United Nations Mission in Sudan in the previous chapter it is clear that the mission has been plagued with challenges which need urgent solutions to be worked on for improvements. In order to meet up with the task, they must be better equipped. Hence, this chapter will examine the possible options available for the UNMISS and lessons learned as a result of the failures to ensure a ceasefire.

4.2 Roadmap to Equip the U.N forces in Sudan

4.2.1 Workable Mandate

It is not enough to accept the inclusion of more forces from member states to think this will alleviate the problem without a clearly redefined mandate which is credible and achievable at the same time. The previous chapter noted the irregularities with the mandate as one of the limiting factors and leaving this out would only create more problems when mapped out plans encounter even greater difficulties or situations beyond its expectations.

Although existing mandates have been able to assess the depth of the problems, institutions such as the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) still encountered problems as they had limited resources both in man power, logistics, funds etc.

Therefore, they lacked the ability to secure the lives of non-combatants as required of them by their mandate. UNMISS has also been unable to secure the lives of civilians as well as negotiate for a successful ceasefire agreement.[185] Its mandate was expected to run a year and achieve its aim and resolution but this has not been possible. The failures of the African Union mission should have been the lessons of the U.N mission.

Brahimi's report stresses the fact that peacekeeping mandates if aimed at fulfilling its essence, should be within a reasonable period with clearly defined goals as well as taking into consideration contradictory and conflicting factors.[186] To achieve this feat there is need for proper planning and communication between the Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly. With the case of Sudan, UNMISS' mandate has been evolving and changing since 2007 and recently on August 27, 2014, it was further ratified until 2015.[187]

4.2.2 Consistent Financial Support

Funds generated through donations of member states are very important for the United Nations as these funds are used to finance not just the Secretariat but more importantly peacekeeping missions, and especially for the procurement of necessary logistics, equipment and weapons needed to strengthen peacekeeping operations. In order to achieve this, member states have to remain faithful in their donations because without these donor supports, peacekeeping operations would almost always fail. These donations are also used for the payment of troops. With the absence of a self-funding means, it is important that member states and donors of the U.N and its

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[185] Malam, Mark. Refugees International Bulletin {2nd August. 2007} P. 1-2.
[186] Brahimi, Lakhtar, Peacekeeping Reform, A guide for delegates: Cambridge International Model United Nations {United Nations: 21st Aug. 2007}. P. 6-7
[187] Bernard Banzie, {2008}. "An Analysis of the Joint Hybrid UN-AU Peacekeeping in Darfur, Sudan: Challenges and Pathways" {Unpublished} Eastern Mediterranean University. North Cyprus.

peacekeeping missions redeem their quota, debt or promises early enough not just for the present situation in Sudan, but also other scenarios and for future occurrences. Funds such as the African Peace Facility Fund which is funded by the European Union should be made available in time for use should the need arise and a reduced protocol and bureaucracy when it comes to releasing these funds might also serve as a solution.[188]

4.2.3 Standby Force

The challenge of not having a standby security force is not only because of the situation in Sudan, but it is as a result of conflicts springing up in different parts of the world that are unforeseen. If a standby force existed, then the contributions of military troops by member states would come as an added advantage to support the peacekeeping force.

The lukewarm nature of mobilizing troops from different member states is one factor that has contributed to the human disaster in the world. Take for example the genocide in Rwanda which led to the death of mass population totaling about 800,000 people.[189] If there had been a standby force deployed for timely intervention, this would have deterred the conflict from such escalation and outcomes.

On another note, the African Union can also be better trained to get acquainted with modern styles of peacekeeping through various forms which could comprise of workshops and seminars which would discuss on issues such as the failures of peace keeping missions and mandates? The idea is to figure out the difficulties, challenges,

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[188] Bernard Banzie, {2008}. "An Analysis of the Joint Hybrid UN-AU Peacekeeping in Darfur, Sudan: Challenges and Pathways" {Unpublished} Eastern Mediterranean University. North Cyprus.
[189] Blum, Rony, Stanton, Gregory et al Miscellaneous: "Ethnic Cleansing" bleaches the atrocities of genocide. European Journal for Public Health {Vol. 18, No. 21, Oxford University Press, 18th May 2007}. P 204-209.

obstacles. etc and with the lessons learnt from this, similar future situations could be avoided.[190]

4.2.4 Volunteering Groups and Community Police for Assistance

It is evident that all tasks and responsibilities have been seen as the job and duty of the peacekeeping forces whereas they are not capable of having their eyes and ears everywhere all at once especially when putting into consideration their earlier mentioned challenges. In order to delegate some of these duties it is important to have volunteers. In as much as people would look up to the peacekeepers for help, in the same way, the peacekeepers need help from locals and indigenes. In this light, it is reasonable to create a community police and volunteer assistance that are familiar with the terrane and country and delegate responsibilities one of which can be the distribution of humanitarian relief materials guided by the cooperation and tutelage of the peacekeepers. The volunteers can successfully carry this out while the peacekeepers concentrate on maintaining a ceasefire or other more pressing needs. This will further increase the work force of the UNMIS and will help in the continuity of peace by the community police when a peaceful agreement has been achieved.[191]

4.2.5 Political Willingness of States

The willingness of host states to allow for intervention as well as providing the necessary assistance and conditions needed by the troops is a very important factor if any peacekeeping operation is to fulfil its mandate. Sovereignty gives states the right to stop any form of intervention as well as even reverse decisions, and this has been the case in Sudan and Egypt. The U.N faced hostility and was not allowed into Sudan

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[190] Agboaye, Festus, 2007, The AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur: Challenges, lessons and implications for Regional Peacekeeping Training, Paper Presented Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies. P2-14.
[191] Bernard Banzie, {2008}.

until pressure was mounted on Omar al-Bashir. In Egypt, despite giving the go ahead for the United Nations Emergency Forces to intervene, it later reversed her decision and UNEF was sent out of Egypt.

The success of the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations in Sudan highly depends on the readiness to fulfil their obligation by providing the necessary support needed by the peacekeepers.

4.2.6 Exerting Diplomatic Pressure

The crisis in Sudan has also been aided by the fact that Sudan is located at "the horn of Africa" which is the hub of conflicts in Africa coupled with the fact that it is bordered by countries such as Chad, Kenya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Somalia etc. These countries have also had their own share of conflicts and till date some are still experiencing conflicts. Hence, the environment gives room for the conflict in Sudan to be hijacked. This situation calls for a need to exert diplomatic pressure on the rebel leaders as well as the government of Sudan and other neighboring states.

Diplomatic negotiations such as that of the U.N and A.U with group leaders like Riek Machar of the Sudanese People Liberation Army/Movement and the government of Sudan is a good start that needs more support, continuous diplomatic pressure and negotiations which could lead to a peaceful political settlement.[192] Just putting pressure on Sudan and neighboring countries will not be enough but also putting pressure on key actors both international and national.

The government of South Sudan also needs to be cajoled back to the round table for negotiations. This will show first the commitment of the government in wanting to

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[192] U.N News Centre. Darfur: UN African Union envoys hold fresh talks with leaders of rebel groups {19th April 2008} p1. http://www.un.org/apn/news/story.asp?NewsID=26394&Cr=Darfur&Cr1.

find solutions. Sudan is also a signatory to a number of conventions and agreements such as the Convention for the Elimination of Mercenaries in Africa, 1926 Slavery convention, 1989 International Convention against the Recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. Etc.[193] Thus, it should be pressurized into respecting these treaties and conventions. The United Nations can as well exert pressure on Sudan and influence other states to support the move towards peace and thus demand compliance with international law.[194]

4.3 Lesson Learned

4.3.1 Introduction

There is a lot to learn from the failure of the United Nations inability to maintain a ceasefire situation and put an end to the crisis in Sudan. These lessons will however help the international community to take another look at their methods and approaches to peacekeeping operations.

4.3.2 African Problem is World Problem

The presence of several regional organizations and the popular cliché such as African problems are better solved by Africans might have hindered the swift response or assistance of the United Nations and other major powers to step into the conflicts in Africa. Especially when the likes of the African Union, Economic Community of West African State, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, just to name a few have always taken the first steps of intervention in most conflicts. Coupled with the fact that this major powers, donors, or foreign assistance take into consideration their personal interests in the region which determines their level of involvement.

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[193] Jane Boulden ed, 2003. Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations. United States. Macmillan. P202-206.
[194] Ibid

One clear lesson learnt from the Sudan conflict is that African problems are not African problems alone, but in fact, the world's problem which requires swift interventions which if not taken can have a global effect. For instance, the crisis in Sudan led to rebel groups, extremist and terrorist groups, rebels from neighboring countries to hijack the situation in Sudan making it a vulnerable channel through which illegal activities have been carried out.

4.3.3 Equipping of Regional Institutions

It is no longer news that the regional organizations in Africa have not been able to handle the various conflicts that have erupted in Africa. Although these institutions have been quick to intervene in the various conflicts and despite their short comings, their contributions were easily noticeable.

Although regional institutions such as IGAD and ECOWAS have made remarkable contributions, they have not been able to handle these situations, giving way more or less for the United Nations to step in. Hence, these institutions need a lot of help from the U.N Peacekeeping has not been a familiar activity with the regional organizations as it has been with the United Nations which was created for the purpose of maintaining world peace and security.

Most institutions in Africa were created with concerns of finding solutions to economic situations in Africa but as time passed by, with the number of conflicts rising, organs which were created became effective or were newly drafted as a result of the conflicts. Hence, it is obvious that there is a wide gap between the U.N and regional institutions in Africa but for future situations, the United Nations should assist these regional institutions through trainings, finance, logistics, equipment, weapons etc.

Most importantly is that regardless of how prepared the United Nations appears to be and equipped to tackle conflicts in the world especially in Africa, the regional organizations are too important to be overlooked and if not assisted before time, then the foundation of the U.N peacekeeping in Africa remains shaky.

4.3.4 Reformation of U.N Peacekeeping Force

Having assessed the peacekeepers and their roles in Sudan; without doubt it is clear that there is need for a reformation and restructuring of the peacekeeping sector which is the Peacekeeping Department of the United Nations. A restructuring will help rectify major issues that have been the clog in the wheel of progress of its operations.

It is important to look into the reasons behind the slow response of member states to offer assistance where and when necessary. For example, military support, financial, and logistics, etc. Sudan's case presents a crystal clear picture of this with little or no assistance with logistics, aircrafts, etc. to assist the situation. With permanent members of the United Nations being culprits in this with just the United States, France and the United Kingdom rendering support while the likes of Russia and China staying out, and laying claims on the excuse of sovereignty hence the need for reform until the member states are proactive.[195]

Thus, the issue of national interest seems to play a major role in interventions. This was demonstrated through the United States fully fledged diplomatic and military interventions in Kosovo and Serbia, and its non-intervention in Rwanda. This substantiates claims that states choose what conflict they wish to be involved in based on their national interest.

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[195] Bernard Banzie, .p.70

There is a need to carry everyone along when it comes to the issue of peacekeeping or even its reform as sidelining either the permanent members or non-permanent members might affect any form of restructuring. A good example of this kind of situation was in 2007 when the Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon took the initiative to restructure the Department of Peacekeeping Operations which comprised of about 100,000 troops from different U.N missions but this move was dealt with a great blow when the developing countries rejected on the grounds that they were not informed and it was likely to have an adverse effect on her troops.[196] Additionally, it is important that the United Nations must have a permanent general staff e.g. commanders who are ever present and ready to lead the peacekeeping troops when there is a need. The U.N might not be so lucky in picking a capable hand especially when just searching for one when conflict arises or escalates. The peacekeeping mission of the UN in places such as Cyprus, Sudan and Congo is a pointer to the importance of having a permanent general staff or commander to lead the forces even though finance might be a challenge which leads us to the next topic to be discussed.[197]

4.3.5 Availability of Funds

One very important lesson that has obviously being learnt from the Sudan case on the United Nations peacekeeping interventions is the scarcity of funds. Lack of available funds enough to finance such missions which would ensure a smooth run of things during this period has been a challenge which the United Nations has not been able to overcome. Instead of having a surplus budget for peacekeeping operations, a deficit is what the peacekeeping operations run on. Meanwhile, this needed amount

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[196] United Nations: 2007 Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon's Reform Agenda Los Angeles Times. P. 23
[197] Clark. M. Eichelberger. 1965. The United Nations; the first 20yrs. Harper and Row Publishers. Pp45-48

to run a smooth operation amounts to mothing for most member state but a lot for the UN which has no direct power to tax rather depends on donations of member states. And this is as a result of the unwillingness of states to pay their dues.[198]

4.3.6 Over dependency on the UN

Another lesson learnt from this crisis and the outcome so far is the fact that there has been an over dependency on the United Nations which seem to be affecting her peacekeeping operations. Even past Secretary General Hammarskjold claimed that the task bore by the UN was overwhelming and there are situations where there is little to what nations should expect from the UN especially the office of the Secretary General. He claimed that sometimes the institution and even his office are faced with challenges beyond his power which were unavoidable especially when confronted by problems in the Security Council or General Assembly. This can be one major factor affecting the performance of the UN in peacekeeping worldwide as it needs the unanimous agreement of all organs to achieve success and the fact that UN carries almost all the cross of the conflict in the world despite the presence of regional institutions. It is therefore important that this dependency is reduced by equipping the regional organizations as earlier discussed. [199]

4.4 Political, Economic and Humanitarian Consequences

4.4.1 Political Consequences

There has been a lot of instability in the political situation of Sudan since her Independence from Britain in 1956. This was coupled with the fact that Sudan experienced several coup d'états and conflicts and a contributing factor to this is the distinct difference between the predominant Muslims in the North and the Christians

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[198] Ibid. p45-48
[199] Clark. M. Eichelberger. 1965. The United Nations; the first 20yrs. Harper and Row Publishers, pp45-48

in the South and these major differences amongst the people of Sudan has continued to fuel the ongoing crisis which the country is plagued with.[200]

The political structure of Sudan is a presidential representative democratic republic whereby the President of Sudan doubles as the Head of Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Sudanese Armed Forces in a multi-party system. The legislation of the country is bicameral comprising of two chambers, the National Assembly and the Council of States while the judiciary remains an independent body. The status of Sudan however changed over time following the civil war and genocide in the country and has since been perceived as a dictatorship where the president owns all political power. The crisis in Sudan has led to political instability marred by several military coups with a very notable one on the 30th of June 1989 led by Omar al-Bashir which saw to the political formation of Sudan being restructured as his government, which saw to the suspension and banning of political parties and gatherings and introduction of Sharia law. This introduction of Sharia law with punishments such as execution, public beating, stoning to death etc. was the last straw that broke the Carmel's back and eventually escalated the crisis between the North and the South.[201]

However, the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Sudanese People Liberation Army of the South and the government of Omar al Bashir was a

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[200] Encyclopedia of the Nations. Sudan-Politics, Government and Taxation. http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Sudan-POLITICS-GOVERNMENT-AND-TAXATION.html Accessed (3rd July, 2015).

[201] Encyclopedia of the Nations. Sudan-Politics, Government and Taxation. http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Sudan-POLITICS-GOVERNMENT-AND-TAXATION.html Accessed (3rd July, 2015).

major step towards a peaceful coexistence.[202] The ban on political associations was also lifted in 2000, but some parties by themselves imposed exile. The principal national parties remained the National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan's People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N), which is an offshoot of the South Sudan based party. It was later banned by the Sudanese Government.[203]

. What merely seemed like a power tussle and struggle within the ruling party which is the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), in December 2013 grew into what has left the country in its failed state leading to the displacement of several thousands and many deaths as well.[204] The political situation in the South has been criticized by many as a result of the fact that many other minority groups have been sidelined by the two major ethnic groups (Dinka and Nuer) leading to political disputes that have since transformed into physical conflict not just within the political echelons of South Sudan but have also become full fledge conflicts within the ethnic group breeding more rivalry.[205]

4.4.2 Economic and Humanitarian Consequences

Sudan before the break up was the largest country in Africa and the secession of South Sudan has seen the South cut off from the North with the majority of its Oil

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[202] The CPA brought about a government of national unity in Sudan in accordance with the Interim Constitution whereby a co-Vice President position representing the South was created despite having a Vice-President of the North making it possible for both sides to share oil deposits equally and granted autonomy to the South for six years followed by a referendum which determined their independence in 2011.

[203] http://search.proquest.com/docview/1545523582/abstract/F706222BABB149D1PQ/1?accountid=15792 Accessed on 15/06/15.

[204] http://search.proquest.com/docview/1545523582/abstract/F706222BABB149D1PQ/1?accountid=15792 Accessed 15/06/15. A more detailed reporting of various aspects of the crisis can be found in the update reports of the Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) for Sudan and South Sudan and human rights report by Amnesty International, the United Nations Mission in South Sudan, and the South Sudan Human Rights Commission.

[205] Dinka's and Nuer's are the major ethnic groups in South Sudan with the President Salva Kiir from the Dinka ethnic group and the ousted vice president Riek Machar from the Nuer ethnic group. Hence when the conflict began in 2013, it was easy to escalate into an ethnic conflict between the major ethnic groups in the country.

fields which is the main source of revenue for Sudan automatically translating into a loss of 75 per cent of its oil reserves to the South denying the North billions of dollars in revenues and as contained in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.[206]

Sudan like many other African countries is blessed with natural resources such as crude oil has largely relied on Crude oil exportation which has served as a major source of the country's revenue over several decades thereby neglecting other sources of revenue or giving little attention to other areas. However, following the divorce within the country between the North and South, Sudan has endured a great loss in her oil revenue. This has been visible with the significant split in her budget since the referendum. Also, families were divided as some Southerners were cut off in the North and likewise some Northerners were cut off in the South, with about 1.5 million southerners and their families residing in the North, and not less than 6million nomads spend a major part of the year (about two-third of a year) in the South in search of greener pastures and water for their livestock.[207] According to reports made available to the National Assembly by the Central Bank of Sudan, there was a loss of not less than $300million on a monthly basis following the separation of South Sudan.[208]

Before the separation and discovery of oil, Northern Sudan was the only part that experienced a lot of development in all aspects as it was seen as the main hub for activities and investors leaving the South with little or nothing at all during the British rule up until after independence which saw both sides who were never

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[206] Comprehensive Peace Agreement Chapter 3, WEALTH SHARING: signed at NAIVASHA, KENYA on 7TH JANUARY, 2004. See section 5, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3

[207] Emmanuel Kisiangani, 2011. North and South Sudan: a divorcing couple who need each other. African Security Review 20.1, March 2011, 42-47.

[208] Central Bank of Sudan, 2012b. *Report to the National Assembly. June.*

friendly neighbors joined together by their colonial masters as one country. Hence, despite the divorce, it seemed as if they still needed each other. For example, the construction sector and production industries, the north employed the services of the southerners and in the same light the south has at least half of her academic staffs in the higher institutions from the north.[209]

Agreements over oil sharing have not been fulfilled and disputes continue to surface between Sudan and South Sudan. For a while now South Sudan has not exported oil as the pipe-lines pass through the North. Meanwhile the North seems to be asking for more than the initial plan for the transportation of oil and is also requesting that the South be responsible for the payment of some of her debts from their crude oil revenue. The rate of transit fees have become a bone of contention between both countries. On the 20th of January 2012, the South Sudanese government shut down all of the country's oil production after Sudan hijacked over 3million barrels of South Sudan oil that passed through Sudan claiming it was money meant for "unpaid fees" and this has affected the economy of both the North and South.[210] This has led to an obstruction of the flow of oil exports for a long time.[211] As a result, a substantial amount of revenue from the oil exploration has been lost by Sudan with the loss

[209] Emmanuel Kisiangani, 2011. North and South Sudan: a divorcing couple who need each other. African Security Review 20.1, March 2011, 42-47.
[210] Oil agreement between South Sudan and Republic of Sudan:
4 FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.
4.1 PROCESSING FEES.
4.1.1 The GoRSS shall pay to the GoS a processing fee of one United States Dollar and Sixty Cents per barrel (USD 1.60/bbl.) for the GoRSS Oil Entitlement Volumes for processing Services in the GNPOC processing facilities.
See also:
4.2 TRANSPORTATION FEES
4.2.1 The GoRSS shall pay to the GoS a transportation tariff of eight United States Dollars and forty cents per barrel (USD 8.40/bbl.) for the GoRSS Oil Entitlement Volumes for transportation services in the GNPOC transportation facilities.
[211] Mohammed Hussein Sharfi (2014) The dynamics of the loss of oil revenues in the economy of North Sudan, Review of African Political Economy, 41: 140, 316-322, DOI : 10.1080/03056244.2013.876982 link to this article
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2013.876982

having a direct impact on her economy's budget and balance of payments thereby resulting to an increase in debt growing on a daily basis.[212]

These various economic crises have been a product of one major issue which is oil. The contention has also exacerbated and has continued to make the economy of both sides of the Sudan dwindle into further chaos. Their economy is stricken with inflation and a decline in the real value of money with academics estimating the decline to be about 60% since the South secession.[213] With several indications pointing out that the Sudanese economy is in a state of crisis experiencing financial imbalances, fluctuations in exchange rates, and a continual increase in local and international debts with little or no options at all on how to pay these debts thereby resulting to banks experiencing defaults and inability to stabilize the economy.[214]

Also, in 1997, there was a large and comprehensive sanction on Sudan's economy by the United States on the trade, finance as well as economy of Sudan over claims that the country supported terrorism internationally.[215]However, this did not deter the Sudanese government from her continued support for violence and the consequences for this was the imposition of new sanctions by the United States again in 2007 this time around blocking the assets of Sudanese citizens as well as companies owned or controlled by the Government of Sudan whom were implicated in the crisis and violence that erupted in the Darfur region of Sudan. This was part of the efforts by

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[212] Ibid.

[213] Mohammed Hussein Sharfi (2014) The dynamics of the loss of oil revenues in the economy of North Sudan, Review of African Political Economy, 41: 140, 316-322, DOI : 10.1080/03056244.2013.876982 link to this article http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2013.876982

[214] ibid

[215] *Sudan.* (2014). Washington: Superintendent of Documents. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1614878045?accountid=15792

the United States to put an end to the plight of the millions of Sudanese people affected by the crisis.[216]

The ongoing war in the South is at an alarming rate and is causing more humanitarian disaster. This has been pegged to cost the country up to $28bn if it continues for five more years with regional countries also at the risk of being affected. However, should the war come to an end, it will save the international community as much as $30bn in terms of funds for peacekeeping and aid.[217]. The economy has since been in a freefall with a complete collapse of the oil sector which is the major source of revenue and also trade with other countries have been halted as chaos continues to be the order of the day.[218] This threatens the existence of the people of South Sudan as a result of the drastic decline in the country's food security.

With the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) warning that South Sudan is on a verge on a major food insecurity crisis with millions of people still trapped as a result of the fighting and with warning signs that household food stuffs might run out by March 2015 according to the United Nations representative for Food and Agriculture Organization Sue Lautze.[219] Bearing this in mind, like a disaster calling, the FAO has appealed to donors to make available an additional

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[216] Ibid. more information about Sudan is available from the Department of State and other sources, some of which are listed here: Department of State Sudan Country Page, Department of State Key Officers List, CIA World Factbook Sudan Page, USAID Sudan Page, Human Rights Report. Etc.

[217] "If the conflict continues for another four to five years, it will cost South Sudan between $22.3bn and $28bn depending on the severity," This was according to a joint report that was produced by Europe-based Frontier Economics, Uganda's Centre for Conflict Resolution, and South Sudan's Centre for Peace and Development Studies at Juba University.

[218] (2015), SOUTH SUDAN: Economy in Freefall. Africa Research Bulletin: Economic, Financial and Technical Series, 52: 20704B−20704C. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6346.2015.06233.x

[219] (2015), SOUTH SUDAN: Economy in Freefall. Africa Research Bulletin: Economic, Financial and Technical Series, 52: 20704B−20704C. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6346.2015.06233.x

According to Sue Lautze in a statement, "Missed crop cycles in conflict-ravaged parts of the country mean we are now expecting household food stocks in the worst-affected counties to run out by March 2015- much earlier than in a normal year. With the risk of a dramatic deterioration been the greatest between April and July during the country's lean season.

$32m in funds in a bid to sustain and enlarge its current operations while also equipping the FAO with enough wherewithal to secure supplies for the coming year as this is necessary due to the alarming rate at which children are suffering from malnutrition as the counties bearing the brunt of the fighting are hit with the worst disasters.[220]

The events outpouring as a result of crude oil has not just been a bitter story but has been a sweet and sour experience with both side of Sudan having a fair share of either good or bad consequences of the conflict and uprising as a result of the discontent over the oil fields, land sharing dispute, etc.

When looking at the Sudanese economy, especially in comparison with that of the south, one will say that in sharp contrast to the above about the great negative economic consequences that has erupted in Sudan as a result of the conflict which has been mostly fueled not just by rivalry, but natural resources mostly been oil, the discovery and the exploration of oil also saw a lot of activities springing up in the north unlike the opposite in the south. The northern economy has witnessed a continuous boom and are also enjoying the dividends of peace as evidences provided by the central bank made it evident that the foreign direct investment (FDI) rose to US$1.1bn over the first six month in the year 2005 which meant an increase of about 50% from the first half of 2005 which meant an inflow of increase of about 8.5% of GDP which is on the high side considering the fact that Sudan is relatively an underdeveloped economy.[221] The oil sector of Sudan caused an inflow into Sudan but majorly the oil sector has also been the major benefactor experiencing more of the

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[220] Ibid.

[221] *Sudan economy: FDI rolls in.* (2006). (). New York: The Economist Intelligence Unit N.A., Incorporated. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/366475418?accountid=15792

foreign direct investments with firms from China, Malaysia, India, Canada etc. investing heavily to develop and enlarge Sudan's upstream oil sector.[222] Similar occurrence could have been the case in the south or even better inflow of FDI but with the civil war even within the country, the hopes of such development and investments have been short lived and the conditions of the people in the south further worsens. However, it is not enough to say that with this the north is not bothered or worried, but most probably they have the capacity and ability to weather the storm of the economy crisis better than South Sudan that is a new country with little experience in so many instances. Still yet, a cordial relationship between both parts which is the north and south, will however fast track positive development and help the economies of both countries bounce back since oil and land dispute stand as the main bone of contention, both sides of the Sudan cannot avoid to continue to be at logger heads. Sudan would have been less concerned and continued to experience a rapid growth in her economy especially by taking advantage of the high earnings from oil and investments but with the south shutting down all oil facilities they have also been hit with a major setback hence a need for a quick and lasting solution from both sides will be necessary in changing the continued deteriorating condition of their economies.[223]

Both side of the Sudan will continue to face difficulties and conflict as a result of both countries depending on the same source of revenue which is the oil and as a result have turned blind eyes to find other ways, means or sources of revenue with neither of them diversifying her economy with the border dispute between the North and South adding more oil to the unsettled troubled waters in Sudan with

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[222] Ibid.

[223] *Sudan economy: Southern awakening.* (2008). New York: The Economist Intelligence Unit N.A., Incorporated. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/328828141?accountid=15792

communities on this border refusing to accept they belong to the sides which they have been drafted to belong to. In other words, the identity of the people is also a contributing factor that needs to be addressed with utmost alacrity.[224]

4.5 Achievements of the United Nations in Sudan

Despite the failures of the U.N in Sudan, there have been a number of achievements which cannot be overlooked as these has benefited the host communities and rekindled the belief in the unchanging commitment of the UN to peace, security, and humanitarian assistance. The first landmark achievement of the UN in Sudan was the successful implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that gave birth to South Sudan. This agreement ended the long conflict that existed between the Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).[225]

Just recently the UN marked her 70years anniversary in October 2015. In Juba the capital of South Sudan the UN listed a total of seventy achievements it had attained in the country. Some of which are stated below:

In the year 2015 the UN did not just make landmark achievements in Sudan but also in neighboring countries like Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, and Central African Republic etc. with water, shelter, basic education and food to more than 265, 000 refugees from Sudan. In addition to this, a number of other things were achieved such as delivering of survival kits to areas that are known as the hard-to-reach areas across the country with a total of 19,000 kits.
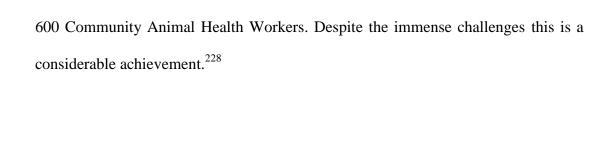
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[224] Begley, A. (2012). Sudan in conflict. *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, 31*(5), 51-52. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1038358431?accountid=15792

[225] *UN NEWS CENTRE* http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=28583#.VmfaqX4rLIU

The Police Service Officers of South Sudan also received trainings in regards to emergencies and conflict reporting. The UN also cleared mine fields removing a total of 1600 mines and 20,000 unexploded ordinances alone in this year 2015.[226]

Some other achievements of the UN include the ability to house currently about 140,000 people living on the UNMISS bases across the country and many of them have been there since the beginning of the civil war in 2013. Without the presence of the UN missions and her bases which opened its gates to the civilians in the face of the crisis, many of them would have been killed during the fighting. In addition, despite the challenges in South Sudan, the UN has encouraged children to attend schools by providing meals for them in schools and this has had a positive impact as student's enrolments have increased from 40 to 93 percent for boys and from 30 to 86percent for girls.[227]

Through the various arms and bodies of the UN such as UNICEF, UNESCO and UNHCR etc. the UN has also been able to make some achievements by partnering with other bodies to help in vaccinating over 973,000 children under 15 years with polio vaccines and some 261,000 were vaccinated against measles. Via UNESCO, students from university of Juba have gained skills on mobile application development with 45 students of South Sudanese Youths being the beneficiaries. Via the FAO, the UN vaccinated and treated over 4million animals and has trained over

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[226]For more information on "the 70th anniversary with 70 achievements," visit http://unmiss.unmissions.org/Portals/unmiss/%20Press%20Releases/2015/October%202015/leaflet_rev2_pages_WEB.pdf Accessed 12/09/2015
[227] Ibid.

600 Community Animal Health Workers. Despite the immense challenges this is a considerable achievement.[228]

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[228] The National Interest: http://nationalinterest.org/feature/against-all-odds-the-un-mission-protect-south-sudan-13294 Accessed 12/09/2015

Chapter 5

SUMMANRY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

Conflict is an unavoidable phenomenon due to different ideologies, perspectives, issues or situations by individuals, groups, governments, organizations, etc. There cannot be a complete end to conflict in the world because what is perceived as peace to one person will be perceived as war to another. Hence, different views contribute to continuous crisis in the world today. In other words, people agree to disagree or disagree to agree as what is perceived as justice to one is injustice to another. Notwithstanding, armed conflict can be avoided and in fact needs to be avoided as it leaves in its wake devastating effects on war victims who are left with lifelong scars, embittered hearts, great loss of lives and properties, continuous rivalry and intents for vengeance, displacement of people, famine, food insecurity, partition, economic degradation, just to name a few.

The conflict in Sudan initially kicked off due to the colonial legacy and style left behind by the British Conflict erupted first between the North and South which later led to the South seceding from the North. But this did not stop the conflict as it also erupted in the South amongst the political echelons which has since taken another twist and has become a religious and ethnic conflict leading to the deaths of hundreds of thousands and displacements of millions of people.

Despite the efforts by international organizations, a lasting solution is yet to be proffered in Sudan. This is not to say that efforts have not been put in place to avoid armed conflict or reduce the effects of these armed conflicts. There have been a number of factors that have inhibited the successful operations of the UN peacekeeping forces which have been identified in this work. It appears as though these institutions take one step forward but in the real sense move ten steps backwards. It is evident that even though states are committed to contributing their quota to the success of institutions which they are members to such as the United Nations, African Union, European Union, etc. they have their own personal motives and interests and priorities. Hence, as much as they seem to be the front runners of peace through these institutions, behind their veils, they are indeed the forces behind the whole situation.

The UN in order to carry out its different functions has various organs to oversee certain duties such as the General Secretary, Security Council, General Assembly etc. and through different kinds of peacekeeping it tries to maintain peace in conflict areas applying peacekeeping operations such as Traditional, Modern, Ceasefire enforcement, etc. Despite the application of these methods to Sudan's conflict, factors such as finance, the absence of an effective military force, etc. have posed as challenges in the achievement of a credible ceasefire in Sudan. Additionally, not only did the UN fail but other institutions such as the African Union and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development have also failed.

The need for a lasting solution to the conflict in Sudan cannot be overemphasized and the intervention of the UN has not resulted into a ceasefire agreement or peaceful coexistence and this has proved that the UN has failed in Sudan. This calls for

increased support of the UN peacekeeping mission in Sudan as well as for future challenges in the region. In this regard, a chapter of this work has been dedicated to providing solutions after identifying the problems and difficulties of the UN in Sudan.

In other words, rather than just criticizing the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the UN peacekeeping interventions in South Sudan, the UN should be strengthened and the challenges be tackled through solutions already provided which will help to maximize the potential of the UN as the lives of civilians and non-combatants are dependent on it.

5.2 Conclusion

This research evaluates the peacekeeping operations of the UN in the Sudan and South Sudan crisis in a bid to understand "how and why?" the UN have fared and failed in reaching a credible ceasefire agreement. The intention of this work was to answer the research questions and to validate the hypotheses that the UN has failed in South Sudan due to a low level of international capacity.

Several actors played major roles in determining what we can call today the destiny that has befallen the citizens in South Sudan either through international capacity, local capacity or the hostility. Their ideas, motives, beliefs etc was a major determinant of the outcome leading to civil wars and continued conflict. International Organizations have been making frantic efforts in order to ensure global peace and security and these kinds of conflicts have caused major setbacks in these efforts.

It is popularly said that there is no peace without war, but why has it being difficult to have peace after war? From my observations, peacebuilding and peacekeeping

processes have majorly being concerned about silencing the guns and the battle ships but little has been done in terms of revitalizing and repairing the broken hearts and emotions of the people. There is therefore a need to make this peacebuilding cover every aspect of a nation in helping to build a nation during and after war.

One interesting reason for the choice of the subject being Sudan is the fact that it existed as a single entity before being separated due to differences in ethnicity, religion and the struggle for control over territory which has eventually led to separate entities, with movements of people from south to north and vice-versa. Sudan as a single country initially was the Republic of Sudan which South Sudan seceded from.

One cannot say that the peacekeeping mission of the United Nations in Sudan has been a success especially when taking into consideration the problems and challenges it faced coupled with the deteriorating conditions of the political, economic and humanitarian aspects of Sudan. Despite several efforts, diplomatic talks and negotiations, it is difficult to assure the world that the lives of civilians in Sudan are saved.

With the inability of the mission to achieve the mandate, despite continuous efforts, there is still nothing close to a ceasefire. This crisis has been plagued by inadequate resources, manpower and continuous violence coupled with a lukewarm attitude of states compounded by a slow bureaucratic process of disbursing funds. Without arguments, the United Nations peacekeepers have served more as observers and supervisors and have therefore failed to a larger extent in Sudan so far.

The inability to bring the conflicting parties to accept a universal agreement has stalled the ceasefire process in Sudan. And not one of the parties involved so far has accepted completely any proposal brought forward by the various institutions trying to resolve the conflict.

This is not to say that some achievements have not made. Nevertheless, this has not been enough to stop the conflict so far. As I have constantly stated in the course of this work, the United Nations mission has embarked on a mission without proper preparation. Hence, they crawl instead of walking over the Sudan crisis. The fact that this mission has been a failed quest for peace especially in its inability to achieve its mandate within the stipulated time frame does not mean it cannot still achieve peace if the right methods are used.

A successful maintenance of peace, security and order will be a good reference point and lesson which will serve as a guide should future conflicts arise in areas within this same region "the horn of Africa". Conclusively, leaving crisis situations completely in the hands of regional organizations that have limited resources will not better the peacekeeping interventions of the UN. Likewise, peacekeeping intervention will only achieve its goals and mandate if only supported by all actors and institutions, national, regional and international.[229]

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[229] Bernard Banzie, {2008}. P.77

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