

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE CHALLENGES OF AFRICAN UNION (AU)
IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF
THE DARFUR CRISIS.**

BY

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

This project work is dedicated to my Helper, the Almighty God for His goodness and mercy, and also to my parents Mr and Mrs Lawrence Arihi.

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Abstract

The research was a study of the challenges faced by Africa's regional body, the African Union (AU), in conflict management situations on the continent. It specifically used the Darfur crisis as a Case Study in this investigation. While the research explained that conflict is natural to man, it however postulated that the conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan had multiple dimensions that amounted to causal factors. Some of these include land ownership and grazing rights, socio-economic marginalization, quest for political recognition and external interference. These causal factors have had adverse effects which include economic decline in the region, heightened insecurity, and humanitarian disaster. The research unveiled that although the African Union has ever been willing to bring to an end conflicts in Africa include the Darfur crisis, its efforts have however, not been without some challenges. These challenges include the problem of funding and staffing, logistics, lack of international agreement, issues on state sovereignty, command and control etc. The research recommended that a permanent Standby Force for the AU was necessary, as well as good governance, for peace and development to thrive in the Darfur region. The research used the qualitative method to investigate various works on the subject matter while it also used the theory of Structural Functionalism as the theoretical framework for the study which explains that units or institutions in society abound that contributes to the stability and harmony of society. In this case the international system is the society, hence, the AU represents such major institution that plays a third party in conflict contributing to peace amongst the warring first two parties, and thus, peace as a whole for the whole region of Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Conflict is an inevitable phenomenon because the history of humanity is a story of power struggles, violence, confrontations and armed hostilities between individuals, groups and nations. As individuals, group of people and nation states are involved in interactions, there are disagreements that arise due to differences in opinions, views, perceptions and interests being pursued in the course of such interactions. This also extends to young children who in the course of developing their own sense of personality come into conflict with their parents. The manner in which parents handle these conflicts influences the quality of their relationship with their children and vice versa (Mijah 2004).

Conflict is experienced at all levels of human interaction; at individual, family, community, State and continental levels. Conflict is defined as a human struggle manifested as a clash of will between two or more opposing leadership groups. British Defense, undated conflict also arise from problems basic to all populations, the tugs and pulls of different identities, the differential distribution of resources, access to power and conflicting definitions of what is right, fair and just (Stredman,1991:18). Conflict could be violent, non-violent, inter or intra-state in nature.

Since the end of the cold war, intra-state wars and conflicts in Africa have created unprecedented humanitarian crises within the continent. This has largely been attributed to the withdrawal of East-West influence and support. The conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Angola, Rwanda and Sudan were caused by political, ethnic and socio-economic problems, amongst others. In Liberia for instance, the root cause of the conflict was authoritarian rule of late President Samuel Doe, but the fight was triggered by an acute shortage of food, especially rice and beans (Nzomo, 2002). Conflict is therefore, an integral aspect of social existence and indeed human history is a succession of conflict and conflict resolution.

Conflict resolution is defined as all actions taken to sustain the resultant peace from the management of the conflict and the prevention or a reoccurrence of the conflict (Umaru, 2005). The prevalence of conflicts in contemporary world has made the question of conflict resolution a topical issue in public governance. With reference to Africa, high incidence of armed conflict in places like Sudan, Congo and the like has made it imperative for a renewed discourse on conflict resolution in the continent. It is against this background that this study examines the place of African Union in conflict resolution and the restoration of political order in Africa with particular reference to the Darfur.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The African Union has been the organ responsible for the management and resolution of conflicts in Africa. This responsibility has always been performed through the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration and later through the Mechanism for Conflict Management, Prevention and Resolution. Despite these organs, the defunct Organization African Unity (OAU) was unable to resolve and manage conflicts in Africa due mainly to shortcomings in the legal instruments and the immature political environment among others. The determination of the African leadership to find solutions to conflicts, promote peace, security and stability in African led to the formation of the African Union (AU) on 9 July 2002.

The AU was structured to amongst others cope with the critical challenges facing Africa in the twenty first century and achieve better results in resolving conflicts. To this end, the constitutive Act of the AU was fine tuned to address the realities of today. For instance, the Act refined the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of states to ensure that unconstitutional changes of governments are not tolerated. The act was also amended in 2003 to institute the Peace and Security Council (PSC) as a standing decision-making organ for the prevention and resolution of conflicts. With these changes, the AU is expected to respond decisively and efficiently to curtail and prevent conflicts in Africa.

The armed conflict in Darfur, Sudan has been on fore barely one decade. Over the years, the conflict has assumed different dimensions, claiming a lot of lives and property. At the present, the conflict appears to have further degenerated, apparently defying all remedies.

RESEARCH QUESTION

1. What is the origin, and nature of this conflict?
2. What are its causes and impacts?
3. What have been the attempts at resolving this conflict?
4. What is the place of political will in resolving the conflict?

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- i. To examine the origin, nature and impacts of the Darfur conflict
- ii. To highlight the place of the political will in resolving the conflict
- iii. To examine why there is persistent reoccurrence of conflict in Darfur despite the intervention of the African Union.
- iv. To examine the possible solution to this conflict

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will be significant on a number of grounds. In the first place, it will add to the existing literature on the subject matter, thereby contributing to the extent body of knowledge in the area of study.

Secondly, recommendations proffered at the end of the study will serve as veritable policy guides to stakeholders involved in finding solution to the crisis under review.

Lastly, it is expected that issues raised and addressed in the course of the study will go a long way in helping to engender further studies and scholarly discourses on the field of study towards the goal of cumulative advancement of knowledge.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The study is a qualitative research that is exploratory and analytical in approach. It made use of library research for the purpose of its data collection. Secondary sources consulted in this regard included text books, journals, unpublished works, dailies and periodicals, the internet as well as relevant official documents/records. The method of data analysis is based on the principle of logical deductions, predicated on the afore-mentioned sources. Analysis was organized thematically under the number of sub-titles.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study addresses its subject matter within the context of the current AU's endeavourer geared towards resolving the Darfur crisis. It focuses on the efforts of African leaders within the AU and without, towards resolving the Darfur conflict as well as the problems and prospects of resolving the conflict by these leaders. It also evaluates the strategies currently being employed by the African Union in trying to find a lasting solution to Darfur crisis. The major constraint of the study is paucity of time, arising from the tight official schedule and engagements of the researcher as a career public servant. This is compounded by the short timeframe under which this research is expected to be accomplished and submitted.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

For a valid understanding of the subject matter, it is worthwhile to look at a few relevant and related literatures which this study can give a critique in order to agree or have a contrary opinion on the subject matter. This is done in this chapter through a systematic and thematic discussion of relevant concepts that brings out the nature and causes of conflict in Africa and Darfur in particular. The central focus of this chapter is to throw some search light into the existing scholarly works of authors in the area of conflict within Africa and beyond.

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Alexander (1977) argues that conflict management is a post Second World War development. Before then, it used to be called the pacific settlement of international disputes. It lays emphasis on the attempts to settle incompatible objectives or interest of actors through peaceful procedures. Conflict management has come to be defined as the “search for an outcome which represents for some participants and improvement from, and for non participants a worsening of their present situation” (Alexander, 1977:65). Northedge, (1976), observed that, conflict resolution includes the

collection of proposed techniques ranging from the reduction of psychological abnormalities among the leaders of states, to playing out international conflicts in the form of games so as to release and eliminate tensions inherent in them.

Mitchell (1981), on the other hand, describes conflict resolution as the possibility of a solution that genuinely removes the source of conflict without leaving a residual set of unfulfilled goal be subsequently pursued. The aspects of conflict resolution are further highlighted as below.

According to Umbriehr (1989), negotiation is "a model of settlement adopted as a rule in disputes in which the parties involved (2 or more) endeavor to find a solution directly between themselves in bilateral or multilateral form.

Oppenheim (1989) argues that mediation consists of direct conduct of negotiations between parties to an issue on the basis of proposal made by the mediator.

Boutrous Ghali (1992) defines peace-making as "the action taken to bring hostile parties to agreement essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter IV, Article 33 of the charter of the United Nations which are as follows: "The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of International peace and security, shall first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration,

judicial settlement resort to regional agencies or governments or other means of their choice.

Victor H. Umbriehr, (1989) define Conciliation as to do with the mandate usually entrusted to a Commission of several members who act as an independent body. He further asserted that conciliation could be described as “a middle road between a commission of enquiry and mediation.”

The international Peace Academic (IPA) in New York defined peace keeping as “the prevention, containment, moderation and termination of hostilities between or within states through the medium of third party intervention, organized and directed internationally, using multi-national military, police and civilian personnel to restore and maintain peace.”

Maiyaki Abdullahi (1996) described peace enforcement as "primarily prescribed to punish" a state that has been pronounced guilty of an act of aggression, which explains why it is only the UN Security Council that can carry out enforcement action, while regional organizations are forbidden to undertake such an action without the prior authorization of the Security Council.”

The occurrence of social conflict in the society has stirred a lot of scholarly interest and concern. It has also generated a lot of debate and controversies among scholars. For the purpose of the present study, the varying views and positions of scholars on social conflicts will be considered under the following school of thought:

The classical Marxist perspective

The Neo-Marxist perspective

The pluralist perspective,(Aguisigbe, 1991).

Besides, all the scholars of sociology agree to the act that social conflict is part and parcel of social existence. Radcliffe Brown, in one of his works titled “On the concept of function in social science” (Criton, 1996). Rightly observes that the possible attainment of “functional unity” does not deny some measure of conflicts and antagonism in the society. Stressing therefore, the inevitability of conflict in the social setting, he opines thus:

Opposition, i.e. organized and regulated antagonism is of course an essential feature of every social system (Radcliffe Brown, 1935)

In his book, *Doing Sociology*, Augustine Onyeneke underscores the dynamics of social conflicts in the modern society.

As he puts it:

General experience is of heterogeneity, of wide variation of groups which often complete with conflict. With and another (Radcliffe Brown, 1935)

Extending the idea, Onyeneke continued with the following observations:

Groups complete and oppose one another on religious ideologies; groups conflict in the work place and strikes occur; they struggle for political camps etc... (Onyeneke, 1996).

Leonard Ezeh in his work “social conflict and conflict resolution” has proffered a sound definition of social conflict. In these words:

Social conflict can be defined as attempt between two or more parties in a perceptual clash to resolve their differences where at least one of the parties refuses to concede its major causes for involvement... (Onyeneke, 1996).

Ezeh further asserts that social conflicts can occur “between individuals, between groups and within groups (Ezeh, 2001). Ezeh’s observations cited above is significant because they emphasize both inter-and-intra group conflicts. The problem with the observation, however, is that it associates the occurrence of social conflicts with “differences among parties” without pinpointing the real sources of the said differences.

How then do we objectively account for the phenomenon of social conflicts? What actually constitutes the root cause of sundry conflicts and or opposition inevitably obtainable in the context of social living? These questions have been

competently addressed by the postulation of social conflict theorists some of whose school of thought we have noted above.

The Classical Marxists, for instance, are traced the origin of social conflicts to the struggle among social classes” for access to property, the means of material production. “This position is derived from the inductor assertion of the Communist Manifesto which states inter alia:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in word. The opposed and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another (Onyeneke, 1996).

One supposition which is always implicit in the Marxist conception of social conflict is that such conflicts are class-based, and involve the oppressed and the oppressor. This position in spite of its merit is flawed on grounds that not every conflict is class-based. Again, conflict situations do not always involve oppressor and oppressed. However, the position of the classical Marxist to the effect those social conflicts have material (economic) origin cannot be flawed. This agrees with the stance of the present study which holds that the problem of intra-party conflict in Anambra state is fundamentally traceable to clash of socio-economic interests between the contending parties.

Another school of social conflict, the Neo-Marxist school, views the occurrence of social conflict from the angle of power and authority. But a liberal scholar, Ralf Dahrendorf, in his work *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* maintains that:

In every formal organization, there is division of people into two opposing sectors, those who have authority and those who do not have it. The two groups are opposed in so far as those who have power strive to enlarge on their power while those who do not have it struggle for access to it. (Dahrendorf 1952).

The above assertion by Dahrendorf presupposes, in a sense, that social conflicts are related to the struggle for power, whereby, those who wield power oppose one another. While we acknowledge this stand point, it should be noted that power or authority is not struggled just for its own sake. In fact, what motivates such struggle is an economic interest.

The views of the pluralist theorist are equally relevant in our understanding of social conflicts. The pluralist theorist seeks to conjecture the occurrence of social conflicts on the premise of incompatibility of interests and values among social groupings. A scholar who belongs to this persuasion, L. A. Coser is one of his works titled *Continuities in Social Conflicts* succinctly opines that the occurrence of social conflicts could be accounted for on the following factors;

The clash of values and interests, the tension between what is and what some groups feel ought to be, the groups demanding their share of power, wealth and status (Coser, 1959).

Needless to say or argue that clash of interest and preferences often engendered serious conflicts, opposition or antagonism in social relations. Nonetheless, it is pertinent to note that these differences are not only associated with 'group' relations as Coser's observation cited above tends to suggest. Experience of major socio-political conflicts in Nigeria, for instance, shows that sometimes personal or exclusive interests and/or value of powerful individuals (elites) are subtly associated with the aspirations of a wider/larger social grouping. A case in point is the on-going ethno-ecological conflict in Darfur whereby the parties involved have consistently identified their selfish interests with the peoples' interest with the intent of whipping up vantage sentiments.

From the fore-going, it is to be observed that occurrence of social conflicts is a fact inevitable of in social living. As we have seen before now, social conflicts occurs as result of many factors prominent among which is class of interest among individuals or social groupings. Generally, the impact of these conflicts is tension and instability. In the words of the celebrated sociologists, Onigu Otite, when social conflicts thrive in the society:

Divisions, opposition and hostility... which manifest themselves in structured conflicts based on sectional interest are generated (Otite 1999)

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Conflict resolution as described by Miller (2003) is a variety of approaches aimed at terminating conflicts through the constructive solving of; from management or transformation of conflict. For Miall et al (2001), by conflict resolution, it is expected that the deep rooted sources of conflicts are addressed and resolved and behavior is no longer violent, nor are attitudes hostile any longer, while the structure of the conflicts has been changed. Mitchel and Banks (1996) see conflicts resolution as: 'An outcome in which the issues in an existing conflicts are satisfactorily dealt with through a solution that is mutually acceptable to the panics, self sustaining in the long run and productive of a new, positive relationship between parties that were previously hostile adversaries and any process or procedure by which such an outcome is achieved'- Mitchel and Banks' opinion can best be described as idealistic because such a condition has never been realized in the Darfur conflict for decades. In fact, the problem of finding solution has not always been acceptable to the disputing parties in this conflict.

Millers conception of conflicts resolution is short of looking into the causes of conflicts. For a conflict to be resolved amicably, its causes have to be identified and addressed. Addressing a conflict without examining its causes is like treating

symptoms rather than the ailment. This argument was however, captured by Miall et al and Mitchel and Banks whose idea of conflict resolution is hinged on addressing the sources of conflict. It can be argued by the author that most Darfur conflict recur largely because their root causes are not adequately identify and addressed.

Best (2005) maintained that conflict resolution connotes a sense of finality. The parties to a conflict are mutually satisfied with the outcome of a settlement and the conflict is resolved in a true sense. Some conflicts, especially those over resources are permanently resolvable. A conflict is resolved when the basic needs of parties have been met with necessary satisfiers, and their fears have been allayed. A conflict over values may be non-solvable and can at best be transformed, regulated or managed.

Lederach (1997) assumed that conflict resolution goes further to mean building longer standing relationships through a process of change in perceptions and attitudes of parties. For him, the aim of conflict resolution is to change the parties, their relationships and the conditions that created the conflicts. Conflict resolution in his view, entails the coming into being of new situations involving conflict issues, perceptions, relationships and communication patterns.

Lederach also sees conflict resolution as change. It can be seen in the changes created by social conflict and in the deliberate intervention by third parties to create change. Conflict resolution is said to take place at different levels and has a number of dimensions. At the personal level, it involves emotional, perceptual and spiritual aspects of change desired for the individual. It also affects relationship 'touching on communication between parties that need to change to positively affect poorly functioning communication. Change also needs to affect structures that generate conflict through deprivation, exclusion and other forms of injustice.

Lederach summarized the idea of conflict resolution as stemming from the recognition of the dialectical element of conflicts about the inevitability of change. Furthermore, he recognized the neutrality of conflict as such that conflict can be either positive or negative. To him conflicting parties can transform it into positive to maximize opportunities.

Best assumes that it is only when parties to a conflict are satisfied with the outcome of a settlement that conflict are resolved. His opinion implies that when this is done, then conflict is over. However, Lederach's argument complements Best's as he posited that conflict resolution is more implies that when this is done, then of a long process taking place after settlements is reached. Conflict resolution

efforts should continue in the building of closely knit relationships long after settlements have been achieved.

The general purpose of conflict resolution efforts is to prepare the ground for more lasting solutions to crisis, through negotiations among parties in conflict. This is usually done with representatives from all interested parties, including the intervening forces or groups. Now with widening interest bases and growing awareness of hitherto suppressed groups have led to frequent conflicts in many parts of the world.

Bowett (1990) views conflict resolution as actions of military or non military nature embarked upon by the UN. It is designed to ensure the maintenance of peace and security in a conflict zone. This is usually or with the consent of a host country and other parties to the conflict. The strategy often adopted is to create 'buffer zones' between the factions, outside which further negotiations can be conducted for the settlement of disputes- Such is the importance of this type of intervention today that there are many of such bodies worldwide. These may be governmental and non-governmental organizations, which take up the responsibility for such interventions, based on the magnitude, complexity and cost implication of the conflict. Bowett's idea of conflict resolution is rather restricted to efforts by the United Nations on the invitation to conflict zone. However, there are other bodies which participate in conflict resolution efforts like the African Union,

and ECOWAS and usually with commendable results. These bodies do not necessarily have to be invited by the affected country's government or parties to the conflict. These organizations are to ensure the peaceful coexistence among Africans and required no invitation to intervene in a conflict situation.

Overview of Nature and Causes of conflicts in Africa

In his analysis of the nature and dynamics of African conflicts, Martins (1998) postulates that African conflicts should be viewed and studied from different perspective as their process of nation and statehood has different historical context. Accordingly, the changes in nature and intensity of conflict are the function of internal societal factors, such as ethnicity, class, and religion. He further asserts that these conflicts are also a function of changes in the sub-regional and international environment with various degree and levels of influence on the internal situation. Adducing from this perspective, the nature and intensity of African conflicts is as a result of a complex, dialectical relationship between internal societal factors and the structure of the external environment.

Over the past three or four decades, more than 30 conflicts in form of full blown wars have been fought in Africa with a vast majority of these wars intra-state in origin. In 1996 alone, 14 of the 53 countries of Africa were afflicted by armed conflicts, accounting for more than half of war-related deaths worldwide

and resulting in more than 8 million refugees, returnees and displaced persons Mijah (2004). Similarly, Annan (1999:19) captured this picture aptly when he observed, “Africa’s refugees are estimated at about 5.2 million while internally displaced persons are over 10 million”. It is clear from these observations that the cost of these conflicts seriously undermined Africa’s stability, prosperity, economic development and foreign policy.

Also, the above views when considered against the social consequences are indeed a disturbing development. The situation calls for a critical analysis and hence a pragmatic solution. It is against this backdrop that this study sets out to examine why there is still persistent conflict in Darfur despite the efforts of the African Union.

To further this literature review, it is pertinent to inquire into the sources of conflict in Africa. This is because knowing the root of a problem through knowledge of the past events influences the present in preferring solution to contemporary issues.

Huge Mall (1992) observed that conflict in Africa could emanate from ethnicity, ideological differences, struggle for the control of government and independence. Others sources include minority agitation, secession and territorial claims. He further asserts, “Conflict involving a struggle for control of government and ideological issues are likely to be violent. Similar instances which

have similar tendency to be violent are attempted secessions and ethnic hostilities (Mail, 1992:66).

Some other scholars have conceded that the sources of conflict in Africa have to do with the sweeping tempo of democratization in Africa. Most African leaders find it difficult relinquishing power. In the view of Ocaya-Lakidi (1992:17), 'in the event where the incumbent rejects the popular demand of the citizenry for a change, the opposition might resort to violence'. Thus confirming Mao Tse-tung declaration that 'those who make peaceful changes impossible make violent changes inevitable'

Expatriating on the above line of thought, Capson (1994:74) opined that 'some of the sources of African conflict relates to social resistance against government policies, errors and unacceptable conduct of African leaders in office'. Such resistance is reinforced by abject poverty and low standard of living of the citizenry. In spite of the insatiable urge to stay in power, African leaders pay little attention to the economic well being of their citizens. As Oliver Furley (in Capson, 1994:74) noted, "Basic and long term source of conflict is the poor economic performance of most Africa states." Predicating his conclusion on statistics from World Bank, he explained "output per person grew slowly in Africa than any other region with negative growth in Gross National Product (GNP). While the population rose by 2.7 percent per annum in sub-Sahara Africa, the per

capita growth in food production dropped by 1 percent in the 1990s (Capson, 1994)

The socio-economic disparity between the elites or ruling class and the ordinary citizen has also been identified as root of most conflicts in Africa. Hence, in the midst of poverty, Africa leaders and elites often enrich themselves to the envy of others who have no access to machineries of governance. Ted Gurr put this more succinctly that conflict in Africa is often for shares of a shrinking pie of economics resources, protecting pattern of distribution and control. He further contends that the extra ordinary privileges of most African leaders and bureaucrats and their use of power for private gains could be regarded as a prima facie of illegitimacy and a potent incentive for political change (Africa Recovery Magazine, 19998:21).

Some conflicts on the African Continent can be identified as ethnically motivated. Africa has over 500 ethnic groups spread across 54 countries. Until the advent of colonialism, most of these ethnic nationalities were independent of each other. However during the partitioning of Africa, the colonial masters created state demarcations with little consideration to ethnic distribution. Thus tribes, families and factions were separated, which today contribute in fueling conflicts in Africa. Richard (1999:13) explains this further that “the arbitrary boundaries inherited

from the colonial masters contributed to endless wars, ethnic violence and Africa reputation as a site for refugees and genocide”.

Examining sources of conflicts in Africa, Mazrui (1993:26) identified religion as a factor. He stated that while a common religion tends to bind people together, multiplicity of religion might tear them apart. He asserts that ‘religion is an important social factor, which makes for cohesion a division’. He blamed the elites of most Africa states who manipulate religion identities to influence their interest thereby creating a good ground for conflict (Mazrui, 1999). The Sudan crisis has partly been fuelled by difference in religion between the Muslim North and the minority Christian South.

From the foregoing, it could be deduced that the unending problems of conflicts in Africa could be traceable to a number of sources, notable among which are boundary disputes, leadership problems, poverty, ethnicity and religion. Thus, any conflict management endeavour must address these factors to guarantee sustainable peace, stability and development of the Continent. After discussing the situation of conflicts in Africa generally, the study will now focus on the Darfur conflict as the main issue in the research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study predicates its analysis on the Functionalist Theory and the group perspective of the social conflict theory. The functionalist theory in this perspective holds that the international system is composed of functional units or institutions that play their part for the harmonious of the system as a whole. Whereas the Social Conflict theory holds that conflict is inevitable in human social interactions as a result of incompatibilities and divergences in social values and interests. It re-emphasized the position that human wants are numerous and the resources available for to sustain them are scare.

FUNCTIONALIST THEORY

The Functionalist theory according to Rapoport (1968) is based on the concept of a “whole”, which functions as a whole by virtue of interdependence of its parts. Steman (1996) explains functional theory as a relationship between the units that make up a whole.

According to Anderson (2009), the functionalist theory or Structural functionalism, or simply functionalism, is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. Two theorists, Herbert Spencer and Robert Merton, were major contributors to this perspective. It asserts that our lives are guided by social structures, which are

relatively stable patterns of social behavior. Social structures give shape to our lives - for example, in families, the community, and through religious organizations. Functionalism interprets each part of society in terms of how it contributes to the stability of the whole society. Society is more than the sum of its parts; rather, each part of society is functional for the stability of the whole society.

The international system in this context is the society- the international society. It is made up of different units which are state actors (both governmental and inter-governmental organizations), and non state actors. And each unit plays a special role for the stability and harmony of the larger society. Hence, inter-governmental organizations like the African Union (AU) plays a special role for regional stability in Africa. the role is that of an interventionist policy or mediating role as a third party in a conflict crisis situation, the aim of which is to bring harmony between the first two conflicting parties.

SOCIAL CONFLICT THEORY

Social conflict theory is a Marxist-based social theory which argues that individuals and groups (social classes) within society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources (such as the wealthy vs. the poor) and that the more powerful groups use their power in order to exploit groups with less power.

"Consider paying rent towards housing. The conflict theorist argues that this relationship is unequal and favors the owners. Renters may pay rent for 50 years and still gain absolutely no right or economic interest with the property. It is this type of relationship which the conflict theorist will use to show that social relationships are about power and exploitation." Padgitt continues, "Marx argued that through a dialectic process, social evolution was directed by the result of class conflict. Marxism argues that human history is all about this conflict, a result of the strong-rich exploiting the poor-weak. From such a perspective, money is made through the exploitation of the worker. It is argued thus, that in order for a factory owner to make money, he must pay his workers less than they deserve." Thus, the social conflict theory states that groups within a capitalist society tend to interact in a destructive way, that allows no mutual benefit and little cooperation. The solution Marxism proposes to this problem is that of a workers' revolution to break the political and economic domination of the capitalist class with the aim of reorganising society along the lines of collective ownership and mass democratic control.

As a result of this scarcity, there is always competition among and between different opinions on how these resources are distributed equitably which often leads to conflict. This theory is principally developed by sociological analysis such as Coser (1956), the group perspective explains the occurrence of social conflict

from the stand-point of “clash of interest” arising from incompatible and divergent positions of social groupings on societal issues. In effect, conflict may arise as a result of disagreements over political, ideological, cultural, territorial or material matter.

Applied to the context of the on-going study, it is to be noted that the prevailing conflict in Darfur, Sudan has its origin and essence in disagreements over ecological space and resources among the conflicting groups. The adoption of the group perspective in this study has been informed by its aptness in proffering an objective explication of the subject matter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN DARFUR.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the underlying nature and causes of conflict in the Darfur region. It is important to reflect on the Darfur conflict specifically because it is the major concern of the study and therefore requires a critical discussion in order to give other readers with limited knowledge an understanding of the dynamics of the situation in the region. Also, reflecting on Darfur conflict is essential because different conflicts that have occurred within the continent have similar and sometimes need almost the methodology to resolve them. Equally, a critical examination of the Darfur conflict is to give insights into the origin, causes, effects and implications of the conflict the extent to which this conflict has affected the people of the country and the political and economic effects in other countries within the continent.

3.2 CAUSES OF THE DARFUR CONFLICT

The present conflict in Darfur is part of a wider and complex conflict in Sudan that has dragged on for many decades. The causes of conflict in Darfur requires a critical examination so as to appreciate the efforts made by African

leaders through the African Union and the international community to restore peace and stability in the country. Some of these causes are land ownership and grazing rights, socio-economic marginalization, political recognition and external interference (SMC, 2005). A discussion on each of these issues raised will give a better understanding of the Darfur conflict.

3.2.1 Land Ownership and Grazing Rights

Darfur has faced many years of tension over land and grazing rights between the mostly nomadic Arabs and farmers from the Fur, Massleet and Zagawa communities. Land ownership has always been traditionally communal patterned along the “Dar” demarcation for each major group. However, ecological and demographic transformation had a negative impact on inter-tribal relations where drought and desertification led to conflicts and often violence over scarce resources. During the 1970’s and 1980s these tribal conflicts became more intense and bloody, especially between the farmers and cattle herders who in search of water and pastures invaded agricultural land, Okeke (2009)

Furthermore, the situation worsened with the increased migration of nomadic groups from Chad, Libya and other states. Tougher living conditions coupled with diminishing tolerance resulted in more tensions between the locals and the newcomers, which led to violence with cross-border implications. Also,

increased access to weapons from Southern Sudan, Chad, Libya, and Eritrea aggravated the inter-tribal conflict with a focus of the GOS and the international community of the crises in Southern Sudan, the situation in Darfur was allowed to deteriorate without been noticed. This degenerated into humanitarian crises of global magnitude. The issue of arable and grazing land needs to be resolved by the GOS so that peace would return to the region (SMC, 2005).

3.2.2 Socio-Economic Marginalization

Historically, Darfur has been one of the Africa's richest melting pots. It is astride one of the continent's great migratory and caravan route due to its more than 1000km western Sudan borderline (Umaru, 2005). This strategic position made Darfur an important route for the country. The region's agricultural product and mineral oil revenue contribute to Sudan national income. Darfur is also an important reservoir for the economy and military establishment of Sudan.

Despite the region's endowment of human and natural resources, it has suffered from uneven regional development and distribution of national wealth by the GOS. This is evident as expressed by Annex A, where the development expenditure per capita for the region averages only 17.2% when compared to other regions. Also, 56% of all investment occurred in Khartoum, Kassala, and Northern

Province against 17% for both Kurdufan and Darfur, resulting in about 5.6% in Darfur received the bulk of funds in the West, (Mijah 2007).

Over the years, successive governments in Sudan have demonstrated their capacity and willingness to destroy the lives and livelihood of millions of its citizens. This is normally perpetrated in the interest of security, access to resources, ideology, race and religion and sometimes all of the above (Otite 2009). It is these issues that made the GOS to enact unpopular policies, which gingered ethno-racial insurgency in Darfur. Therefore, there is need for the GOS to ensure even distribution of resources and development so that the people of Darfur would feel a sense of belonging.

3.5 Political Recognition

The rebel insurgency in Darfur has its roots in the history of Sudan conflict, which has continued for generations. It is therefore, important to reflect on the history of the Sudanese conflict so as to understand the persistent conflict in Darfur. At the end of World War II, north and central southern part remained politically dislocated from south Sudan. The policy of dislocation formed part of the British colonial strategy to prepare southern Sudan for eventual integration with British East Africa. This ambition was challenged by Sudanese nationalist

movements that fought for and demanded self-determination and reunification with the south.

After independence, the south felt marginalized because the north dominated the government and other national institutions. The north benefited more than the south in terms of economic, political, social and cultural development. This led to an armed struggle, by the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) to demand autonomy from the north. Subsequently, the SPLM engaged the Khartoum administration in negotiations that resulted in the creation of the government of national unity (GNU) in July, 2005. The establishment of the GNU was a major step towards the actualizing the establishment of wealth sharing, southern regional autonomy and power sharing. These terms were agreed during the compressive peace agreement (CPA) sign on 9 January 2005 (Yaradua, 2007).

The CPA identified and recognized the north and south as major regions in Sudan, and the national political agenda became crafted in that context. The process marginalized the Darfur region despite its long and rich history of being an autonomous political entity, which motivated the rise of militant nationalist sentiment in Darfur. The conflict was exacerbated by GOS's skewed provision of services that favoured the minority Arab ethnic groups. They led to dissatisfaction among the non-Arab ethnic groups, who then rallied around the SLA and JEM and

from February 2003, took up arms against the GOS. The offensive resulted in the loss lives and the destruction of property (SMC, 2005).

In response, the GOS mounted a campaign of aerial bombardment supporting ground attacks by an Arab militia; the janjaweed which means a “jinn” or devil on horseback. They were accused of committing major human rights violations, including mass killing, looting and systematic rape of the non-Arab population of Darfur. They have frequently burned down villages chasing the surviving inhabitants to flee to refugee camps, mainly in Darfur and Chad.

While progress was made towards national reconciliation between the north and south, conflict continued to ravage the Darfur region. The SLA and JEM wanted political recognition that could lead to regional autonomy for Darfur and a role in the GNU. The Sudanese peace process led to the signing of the CPA in 2005, could have taken into consideration the possibility of granting regional autonomy and a vice presidency to the Darfur region.

3.6 External Interference

The conflict in Darfur has some element of external interference. The domestic political tension was exacerbated by cross-border instability with Chad. Okoli (2009) maintained that, herdsman from Chad cross over in search for greener pastures, which put them in conflict and the vision of President Ghaddafi, to create

a band of Sahelian nations that were both Muslims and culturally Arab added to the instability in Darfur. Libya also provided key logistical and air support to Sudanese offensive against the Sudan people's liberation Army in the rebel south. Darfur also served as sanctuary for several rebel groups who were used to launch attack on Chad. For instance, Premiere al-Mahdi allowed FROLINAT, the guerilla Movement trying to overthrow Chadian President Francois Tombalbaye, to establish rear bases in Darfur in 1969 (Okoli, 2009).

The United States supported the government of President Nimerity and his overthrow by a military junta ended the pro- American policies in Darfur. Tribes that had seen themselves in local terms were asked to declare if they were revolutionary Arabs or anti-Arab Africans. The GOS, rather than calm these new ethnic tensions, instead exacerbated them when it seemed useful in the Sudan-Libya-Chad struggle. Presently, the GOS is enjoying diplomatic and financial support from china due to her interest in the country's oil. These external interferences have helped to fuel the conflict in Darfur. The AU needs to consider this factor in the on-going peace process by ensuring that these countries do not continue to aggravate the crisis. This would help in ensuring a lasting peace in Sudan.

3.3 EFFECTS OF THE DARFUR CONFLICT

The Darfur region became the scene of a rebellion in 2003 against the Arab dominated Sudanese government. The SLA and the JEM launched attacks accusing the GOS of oppressing non-Arabs in favour of Arabs. The government was also accused of neglecting the Darfur region of Sudan. In response, the government mounted a campaign of aerial bombardment, supporting ground attacks by the Janjweed. This conflict has been severe and bloody with devastating effects. Some of the effects of the on-going conflict are economic decline, insecurity and bilateral relations and humanitarian disaster (Okeke, 2006).

3.8 Economic Decline

The economy of Sudan is primarily agricultural-driven, but since 1999 it has also exported oil. Agriculture remains responsible for more than a third of output, even in the face of this new strength in the economy. Crops alone account for 20% of output with commerce and hospitality contributing towards 20% amongst others. Farming is the main economic activity for more than 80% of Darfur's population. However, deterioration in both rainfall and land fertility has led to a sharp decline in the production of rain-fed crop.

The conflict has further worsened the situation with millions of people deprived from their homes thereby rendering their farmland unproductive. At the

moment, Sudan which is potentially a very rich country is on the UN list of the least developed countries in the world. It ranks 139 out of 175 countries in the UN development programmes Human Development Index. Most of the regions including Darfur are underdeveloped, which also accounted for the agitation. The country now relies on international aid to be able to provide for those internally resolve the conflict to prevent further economic decline. This would revive economic activities in the country (Okeke, 2006).

3.10 Insecurity and Bilateral Relations

One of the objectives of any government is to provide security of lives and property and ensure good bilateral relations with others. This objective could be achieved in a peaceful and stable environment where the government is seen to be in control of affairs. The Darfur conflict has degenerated to the content that the GOS lost total control of the region, which resulted in serious insecurity. The people no longer have confidence in the GOS to protect them from attacks. Additionally, the influx of weapons from neighbouring countries like Chad and Libya aggravated the situation, which has sometimes affected bilateral relations with Sudan (Okoli, 2009:3).

The bilateral relationship between Sudan and Ethiopia and Eritrea remained constrained due to their environment with the Sudanese rebel movement, until late

2005 when the GNU was established. Similarly, the Sudanese president, Omar Hassan Al-Bashir and Chad president Idriss Deby signed a peace agreement on May 3, 2007 aimed at reducing tension between their countries. The accord sought to guarantee that each country would not be used to harbor, train or fund armed movements opposed to the government of the other. Therefore, there is need for the AU to prevent further insecurity in Darfur and ensure that bilateral relations between African nations are strengthened. This would enhance peace and ensure that intra conflicts do not generate to regional conflict as was the case with the Mano River Union and the Great Lake Region.

3.11 Humanitarian Disaster

International attention to the Darfur conflict began with reports by the advocacy organizations; Amnesty International in July 2003 and the International Crisis Group in December 2003. However, widespread media coverage did not start until the outgoing UN president and Humanitarian Coordinator for Sudan, Mukesh Kapila, called Darfur the “world’s greatest humanitarian crisis” in March 2004. The socio-economic fabric of the society was seriously affected during the destruction of villages and the looting of property and livestock by the warring factions (SMC, 2005).

The present attacks on villages have left over 400,000 people dead, about 2 million internally displaced persons (IDP) and another 200,000 refugees, mostly into Chad. At the Internally Displaced Persons and refugee camps, women and young girls continue to be exposed to human insecurity due to sexual abuse and exploitation, abduction and family violence by a few of their male counterparts. Additionally, the lack of food and medicine has exposed the IDPs to starvation and disease like cholera and HIV/AIDS among others. There is need for the AU and UN to ensure the safety and survival of those displaced in Darfur and speed up the peace process. This could be achieved through the current efforts made by the AU to resolve the Darfur conflict, Atelhe (2012)

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES OF AFRICAN UNION IN RESOLVING THE DARFUR CONFLICT

4.1 Introduction

The African Union's efforts towards the resolution of the conflicts particularly in Darfur were undertaken pursuant to its security commitments and obligation. The security commitments are within the framework of the Constitutive Act, the Protocol establishing the Peace and Security Council and the Common African Defense and Security Policy. These policy instruments emphasized human security above state security as the end result for peace and socio-economic development. Consequently, the AU established African Mission In Sudan (AMIS) under its auspices to monitor and observe compliance with the HCFA. However, the AU was faced with several problems, which made its handling the mission in Darfur to the UN inevitable. Some of these problems that could be examined are funding and staffing, mandate, command and control and logistics (Atelhe 2012)

4.2 The Challenge arising from State Sovereignty

The twin factor of state sovereignty and territoriality also helps in explaining the challenging nature of the African Union operations in Darfur. The universally acclaimed inviolability and sanctity of state's sovereignty and territorial integrity

has been a major set-back in an attempt by nations through the African Union to resolve the Darfur conflict through third party military intervention. Atelhe (2012) argued that the African Union did not adequately present ample legitimate framework for direct military intervention in the Darfur Crisis. It therefore became difficult to acknowledge acceptance of its mandate by the embattled regime in Darfur. In fact, this has certainly posed a cog in the wheel of the successes of the African Union operations in the Darfur.

4.3 Political and Diplomatic Challenges

The African Union's political and diplomatic mandate and operations in Darfur has always been confronted with political and diplomatic problems, arising from the differences in the colonial history of African States. There has been lack of sub-regional and regional consensus issues in view of the dichotomy between the Anglo-phone and Francophone on the one hand and the politics of the middle -east and Arab world on the other hand. For instance, Mijah (2009) posit that some African states especially those in North Africa, example, Egypt, Tunisia, Mali etc have consistently argued against external interference either through diplomatic or military intervention in Darfur by the African Union. This lack of consensus and unity of purpose by the political leadership in Africa was a veritable plaque to the African Union's operations in Darfur. It is in the light of these that Atelhe (2012) observed that prolong political debate and interest of African leaders has direct

consequences in the diplomatic and military operations in Darfur, making them, in some instances, more bloody than anticipated.

4.4 Funding and Staffing

Funding is an essential element for achieving success in any organization. The African Union is a new and growing regional body that is still facing the challenges to establish itself so that it could function efficiently. Overcoming these challenges is not easy as it took many years for similar regional institutions in Europe, Asia, and Latin America to be established and function. The African Union faces tremendous organizational and financial barriers and faces additional challenges of endemic poverty and civil conflict among many of its member states. It also relies on regional economic communities, which are not fully organized and are less likely to contribute financially. It is clear that the financial difficulties faced by many of African states affect the effective mobilization of human resources to resolve the Darfur conflict. In fact, Okeke (2011:12) maintained that as of the 2006 Banjul Summit, only 12 countries out of 54 were able to pay their regular annual contributions to sustain the mandate of the union. Furthermore, from 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2006, the African Mission in Sudan budget was US\$466 million. Most of these funds are contributions from the United Nations, European Union, and the United States of America. This is so because the economy of most African countries is weak and in some cases, depends on grants

and loans from international financial institutions. More pathetic is the issue of debt forgiveness for Africa, which shows the inability of most African countries to stand on their feet. The African Union needs to evolve a mechanism to ensure that member nations pay their dues to the union promptly. The AU needs to also continue to seek for alternative means of funding the union from their foreign partners, Okeke 2012:14)

Another problem confronting the AU in Darfur was that of staffing. The presence of the 7,000 AU troops in Darfur has not stopped the violence and genocide due mainly to the size of the area. Presently, there is security only where the AU forces are located while other areas are insecure. This among other factors, led to the handing over of the mission to UN so that enough personnel could cover the crises points to guarantee peace, security, and stability. The idea of having a stability force in Africa needs to be actualized by the AU. This would bolster the strength of the AU force (Okeke, 2012:16)

4.5 Mandate

Mandate according to Otite (2009) is defined as an official command or instruction from an authority. The AU deployed AMIS with a mandate to monitor and observe compliance with the HCFA, assist in the process of confidence building and contribute to a secure environment for the delivery of relief materials.

In technical terms, the mandate demanded less robust action by the peacekeeping mission. The nature of the mandate often left members of AMIS vulnerable to attacks by armed militia groups as was the case in central Darfur where militant took advantage of the terrain and attacked humanitarian organizations and military troops. The mandate did not allow the use of coercive measures to deal with atrocities against the vulnerable population, thus encouraging the warring parties to violate the HCFA (Otite, 2009:23)

Initially, the mission scenario in Darfur involved the dynamics of a complex emergency short of genocide but involving serious crimes against humanity and a considerable amount of war crimes. Such a scenario required the equivalent of a UN Chapter VII mandate. Instead, AMIS was mandated to protect civilians under imminent threat in the immediate vicinity and within the capabilities of the mission. The assignment of such a mandate has serious implications for the speed and effectiveness with which security can be restored and maintained in Darfur. In future, the AU needs to ensure that mandates assigned to peace missions correspond to the realities of conflicts. This would ensure speedy resolution of conflicts in Darfur and elsewhere in Africa.

4.6 Command and Control

A Nigerian Army colonel, Umar (2005) observed that the command and control arrangement is based on sector commanders and group site commanders who hold status of MILOBs. They are exercising tactical control over the protection force in their respective areas of responsibility. The current posture is that of an enhanced observer mission in which the MILOBs exercise command authority. This means that troop commanders have no operational command over the troops he brought to the mission (AMIS, 2006).

The AMIS command and control arrangement has often caused friction between the MILOBs and the sector commanders. There was a lot of interference from the sectors, which did not allow for effective command and control. According to the Commanding Officer (CO) of Nigerian Battalion 6, tasks for companies were sent directly from the MILOB group site without the Commanding Officer's approval or knowledge. This leaves the protection force at the mercy of the MILOBs who misuse the troops without consideration for their safety. The AU needs to ensure that command and control arrangements are properly spelt out in the mandate. This would help to reduce friction and ensure smooth conduct of future missions.

4.7 Logistics

Logistics is defined as the planning and organization of the movement of troops, their equipment and supplies. Logistics is essential in the execution of tasks both military and civilian organizations. The success of AMIS operation depended largely on huge logistics support. For instance, helicopters were required in order to effectively carry out patrol of the Darfur region and ensure compliance of the HCFA by warring parties. However, the AU lacked virtually most of the equipment needed to carry out its mission in Sudan (Rankhemise, 2006).

The enhancement of AMIS was only made possible through huge financial and logistical support from the AU's external partners and from the international community. Countries like the US, Canada, the European Union, and Netherlands contributed immensely to the success of AMIS. For example, Canada and Netherlands provided AMIS with hamlets, fragmentation jackets, 150 armored personnel carriers and 20 helicopters. Without these logistic supports, it would have been difficult for AMIS to conduct operations in Sudan. Therefore, the AU needs to ensure that future AU missions are provided with adequate logistics support. That requires deliberate planning and huge financial resources.

4.8 Enhancing the African Union in Conflict Resolution in Africa

In its little history, the African Union is involved in conflict resolution in many African countries. Presently, the most violent of them is the Darfur conflict. The Darfur conflict serves to highlight African Union's political will to solve African problems and underscores its lack of human, financial and material resources and institutional expertise. Overcoming these shortcomings would enhance the AU's ability to resolve current and future conflict in Africa. Some of the ways of enhancing the AU to resolve conflict in Africa are establishment of an African Standby Force (ASF), involvement of the civil society and good governance and healthy economy (Yar'adua, 2007).

4.2.1 Establishment of an African Standby Force

The idea of establishing an African Standby Force was based on past experience of having to resort to United Nations for provision of peace keepers to resolve African conflicts. According to Okeke (2009) in July 2002, the protocol relating to the establishment of the PSC was adopted in Durban, South Africa. The protocol provides among others, the provision of an ASF as part of AU's effort to promote peace, security and stability in Africa. The ASF as proposed by the AU would operate under the AU PSC and comprise troops from Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, and Egypt. The AU PSC plans to have 5 or 6 brigades of 3,000 to 5,000

troops stationed around Africa by 2010 but its dreams have not been fulfilled in 2013, (www.cfr.org/publication/11616).

The AU's intervention in Burundi and Sudan in which AU peacekeeping forces were deployed is widely acknowledged as a success. These experiences could assist the AU in fine-tuning plans to establish ASF. However, the AU would have to tackle the issue of joint training, language and doctrine among participating troops. Additionally, logistic supports would be required to enable the ASF to respond rapidly to crisis before it escalates. Also, the ASF could be enlarged to accommodate some of the Francophone countries so as to increase their level of commitment to the union. Therefore, there is a need for the AU to make an effort in establishing the ASF. This would further strengthen the AU conflict resolution mechanism.

4.9 Involvement of the Civil Society

Civil society groups like Labour Unions, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and professional bodies are important groups whose opinion on sensitive national issues could assist to shape government policies. Their closeness to the grass roots makes it imperative to involve them in conflict resolution. The continued deterioration of human security in Darfur was blamed on the lack of involvement of civil society groups in the talks. Non-participation by the vulnerable local

communities means their inputs were absent from the final agreement. A possible reason for this is that some of the leadership of the negotiating parties might not adequately represent the affected communities (Yar'adua, 2007).

The involvement of civil society groups could help to address pertinent issues on the ground and thereby gain grass roots acceptability. For instance, South African NGOs and religious bodies were active in resolving conflict during the country's turbulent transition. Besides, the participation of civil society groups in conflict resolution could enhance their capacity to contribute to nation building. As part of coordinated strategy for long term peace building, the AU needs to include civil society groups in conflict resolution in Africa. This would yield a broad based permanent solution to conflicts in Africa.

4.2.3 Good Governance and Healthy Economy

The AU was modeled after the European Union to among others provide peace, security and stability in Africa. Some of the requirements for it to function as a strong regional body are good governance and strong economy of member nations. Presently, few African countries practice real democracy while the economies of most member nations are weak due mainly to mismanagement, inter and intra state conflicts and corruption among others.

African leaders have now realized that there is a symbiotic relationship between peace and sustainable development. They have also realized that there could not be lasting peace and security in the absence of good governance, rule of law and sustainable socio-economic development. Consequently, they have instituted the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) with the founding philosophy of economic development, cooperation and good governance. Since the establishment of NEPAD, Africa has made significant progress in some socio-economic development, notwithstanding the problems in Sudan, Chad, Cote D'Ivoire and Niger among others (Terve, 2008).

The AU plans to achieve economic unity through the establishment of the Economic Affairs Commission (EAC). The EAC is to ensure the creation of a common currency, a unified central bank and ingenious industrialization. However, the current regional economic blocks like Economic Community of West African States would need to be rationalized and turn into instruments of inclusion rather than of exclusion (Atelhe, 2012:18)

The research observed that the efforts of African leaders to ensure good governance and socio-economic development that would guarantee poverty eradication is a step in the right direction. This would assist member nations to achieve economic independence that would improve the living standards of Africans. Furthermore, it would strengthen the AU as a regional body so that it

could function effectively. Therefore, there is need for the AU to ensure that member nations provide good governance and socio-economic development in their respective countries. This would help to reduce conflict in Africa. The present conflict in Darfur is part of a wider and complex conflict in Sudan that has dragged on for generations. The causes of conflict in Darfur require examination so as to appreciate the efforts made by AU and the international community to restore peace and stability in the country. Some of these causes are land ownership and grazing rights, socio-economic marginalization, political recognition and external interference. The issue of arable and grazing land needs to be resolved by the GOS so that peace would return to the region. There is need for the GOS to ensure even distribution of resources and development so that the people of Darfur would feel a sense of belonging. The AU needs to ensure that Darfur is granted regional autonomy by revisiting and amending the CPA.

The Darfur region became the scene of a rebellion in 2003 against the Arab-dominated Sudanese government. The SLA and the JEM launched attacks accusing the GOS of oppressing non-Arabs in favor of Arabs (Otite, 2009). The government was also accused of neglecting the Darfur region of Sudan. In response, the government mounted a campaign of aerial bombardment, supporting ground attacks by the Janjaweed. This conflict has obligations. However, the AU was faced with several problems, which made its handing the mission to the UN

inevitable. Some of these problems that could be examined are funding and staffing, mandate, command and control and logistics. The AU needs to evolve a mechanism to ensure that member nations pay their dues to the union promptly. The AU needs to also continue to seek for alternative means of funding the union from their foreign partners. In future, the AU needs to ensure that mandates assigned to peace missions correspond to the realities of conflicts. This would ensure speedy resolution of conflicts in Africa. Also, the AU needs to ensure that future AU mission is provided with adequate logistics support.

The case study of the Darfur conflict is a highlight point of AU's political will to solve African problems and material under sources its lack of human, financial and material resources and institutional expertise. Overcoming these shortcomings would enhance the AU's ability to resolve current and future conflicts in Africa. The establishment of an African standby force (ASF), involvement of the civil society and good government and healthy economy are all needed to avert further severe and bloody with devastating effects in the ongoing conflict, some of which have been economic decline, insecurity and bilateral relations and humanitarian disaster. There is also need for the African Union as well as the UN to ensure the safety and survival of those displaced in Darfur and speed up the peace process. This could be achieved through the current efforts made by the African Union to resolve the Darfur conflict.

The commitment of the African Union towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Darfur is commendable. It has broken a cease-fire between the government of Sudan and rebel groups and deployed a 7,000 strong force to monitor the HCFA. This considerable success was achieved in spite of effect and abduction on AMIS personnel by rebel groups. Despite its efforts and achievements, the AU could not continue with the mission due to some perceived weaknesses. Nevertheless, the African Union needs to sustain improvement on the efforts made in resolving the conflict in Darfur. This would help to effectively address future conflicts in Africa.

The African Union efforts toward the resolution of Darfur conflict were undertaken pursuant to its security commitments and therefore, the African Union needs to make effort to establish the ASF. The African Union needs to include civil-society groups in conflict resolution in Africa. There is also the need for the African Union to ensure that member nations provide good governance and socio-economic development in their respective countries. This would help to reduce conflict in Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 SUMMARY

This study principally set out to examine the place and utility of political will by the African Union in resolving the Darfur conflict in Sudan. It makes its analysis within the context of the current African Union's endeavours at finding a lasting solution to the Darfur conflict which has had grave implication for the country, Africa and the international community. By way of exploratory and analytical method of inquiry, predicated on the existing literature and documents, the study observed that the Darfur conflict has reached a level where its resolution is a tasking endeavour. The study critically evaluated the efforts of the African leaders as well as the global community at resolving the conflict, and submitted that these efforts have been constrained by lack of adequate political will as discovered in the debate of colonial history. The study, however, highlighted a litany of other factors which conspire with the question of inadequacy of political will to make the resolution of the Darfur conflict problematic. The research discussed the issues relating to funding and staffing, mandate, logistic, political and diplomatic question, good governance and healthy economy, involvement of civil society, state sovereignty which has to do with non-interference of other states, establishment of African Standby Force to counter conflict zones within the

continent. From the literature review and documentary evidence on the conflict in Darfur, this research strongly observed that the Darfur conflict has not been properly handled. Therefore, the African Union must see the Darfur conflict as a continental conflict which has negative implication for the people of Africa.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The present conflict in Darfur is part of a wider and complex conflict in Sudan that has dragged on for many decades. The causes of the conflict in Darfur require examination so as to appreciate the efforts made by African Union and the international community to restore peace and stability in the country. Some of these causes are land ownership and grazing rights, socio-economic marginalization, political recognition and external interference. The issue of arable and grazing land needs to be resolved by the Government Of Sudan (GOS) so that peace would return to the region. There is need for the GOS to ensure even distribution of resources and development so that the people of Darfur would feel a sense of belonging. The African Union needs to ensure that Darfur is granted regional autonomy by revisiting and amending the CPA.

The Darfur region became the scene of a rebellion in 2003 against the Arab-dominated Sudanese government. The SLA and the JEM launched attacks accusing

the GOS of oppressing non-Arabs in favour of Arabs. The government was also accused of neglecting the Darfur region of Sudan. In response, the government mounted a campaign of aerial bombardment, supporting ground attacks by the Janjaweds. This conflict has obligations. However, the African Union was faced with several problems, which made its handing the mission to the United Nation inevitable. Some of these problems that could be examined are funding and staffing, mandate, command and control and logistics. The African Union needs to evolve a mechanism to ensure that member nations pay their dues to the union promptly. The African Union needs to also continue to seek for alternative means of funding the union from their foreign partners. In future, the African Union needs to ensure that mandates assigned to peace missions correspond to the realities of conflicts. This would ensure speedy resolution of conflicts in Africa. Also, the African Union needs to ensure that future African Union mission is provided with adequate logistics support.

The Darfur conflict serves to highlight African Union's political will to solve African problems and material under sources its lack of human, financial and material resources and institutional expertise. Overcoming these shortcomings would enhance the African Union's ability to resolve current and future conflicts in Africa. The establishment of an African standby force (ASF), involvement of the civil society and good government and healthy economy, been severe and bloody

with devastating effects, some of the ongoing conflict leads to economic decline, insecurity and bilateral relations and humanitarian disaster. There is need for the African Union and United Nation to ensure the safety and survival of those displaced in Darfur and speed up the peace process. This could be achieved through the current efforts made by the African Union to resolve the Darfur conflict.

The commitment of the African Union towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Darfur is commendable. It has broken a cease-fire between the government of Sudan and rebel groups and deployed a 7,000 strong force to monitor the HCFA. This considerable success was achieved in spite of effect and abduction on AMIS personnel by rebel groups. Despite its efforts and achievements, the African Union could not continue with the mission due to some perceived weaknesses. Nevertheless, the African Union needs to sustain improvement on the efforts made in resolving the conflict in Darfur. This would help to effectively address future conflicts in Africa.

The African Union efforts toward the resolution of Darfur conflict were undertaken pursuant to its security commitments and therefore, the African Union needs to make effort to establish the African Stand Force. The African Union needs to include civil; society groups in conflict resolution in Africa. There is also the need for the African Union to ensure that member nations provide good

governance and socio-economic development in their respective countries. This would help to reduce conflict in Africa.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

To ensure a lasting resolution of the Darfur conflict under the AU's dispensation, the following recommendations are instructive:

- i. The AU should sustain and strengthen its conflict resolution mechanism by ensuring that appropriate instruments are put in place to bring about people.
- ii. The AU should ensure that Darfur is granted regional autonomy.
- iii. The AU should ensure that mandates assigned to peace missions correspond to the realities of conflicts.
- iv. AU should provide adequate logistics support to future AU missions.
- v. The AU should establish the African Standby Force which can counter militia and rebel groups that threatened peace and security. This is because at the moment, African Union rely heavily on individuals to contribute troops to resolve conflict.
- vi. The AU should include civil society groups in conflict resolution in Africa so that these groups bring out their wealth of experiences to

strategized and ensure peace in the continent. As is well known worldwide, civil societies always engage in the process of democratization, political and economic development and conflict resolution

- vii. The AU should ensure that member nations provide good governance and socio-economic development in their respective countries. From the finding of this research, the quality of leadership in most African States is poor. The level of economic development and social upliftment lacks basic infrastructure that guarantee access to education, employment, reduction in crime, social justice, reduction in corrupt practices etc

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