The Role Of External Forces In Sudan/Darfur Conflict (A Case Study Of United Nation (Un)

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ABSTRACT

The importance of International peace and security around the globe following World War II has led to the formation of the United Nations in 1945 following the collapse of the league of Nations established in 1919.However, since then the international community and the UN have both been facing challenges from the Cold War to today's intrastate conflicts, Arms of Mass Destructions, environmental problems, terrorism", just to name a few. One important concern of today is the difficulty dealing with intrastate conflicts that may affect international peace and order. In Darfur since 2003, conflict between the Darfur rebels on one side and the central government of Sudan resulted into one of most deadly conflict of the 21st century. The UN has been trying to end the conflict, however the organization is faced with many challenges, such as the inability of the Security Council to come up with a decision free from veto from the permanent members. This paper adopts archival method of data gathering, which enables it to explore related and relevant initiatives and studies carried out at national and international levels on the role of external Forces in the Sudanese /Darfur conflict with more focus on the United Nations (UN). The study makes use of the structural functionalist's theory and it is discovered that the conflict in Darfur is systemic and rooted in historical factors. I thus recommends that the external forces especially the United Nations (UN) must sanction any nation whose activities are found to promote the conflict in Darfur.

KEYWORDS: Conflict, violence, Ethnic violence, United Nations, External Forces, Sudan/Darfur.

INTRODUCTION

Conflict is expected incidence in the very existence of mankind starting from individual's interaction with their environment to their interaction at the international level. More often than not a good number conflict shares a similar feature and dynamics in a sense that that most conflicts are fought for the reason of fulfilling the unmet interest and values of two opposing sides over specific matter (Yagcioglu,1996). Africa is characteristically conflict ridden with decades of experiences in conflicts like Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sierra Leone, and Liberia etc. The spill-over effects of these conflicts into neighbouring states, necessitates the involvement of other countries and global institutions and regional governments like the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU) among others in what may be conventionally called domestic affairs of such conflict ridden countries. In most of the cases, their efforts have been futile. Sudan is the largest country in Africa with a total surface area of 2.5 million square kilometers. The country is endowed with a wealth of resources ranging from oil, which has become an important factor in the economic equation, to a vast agricultural, and livestock resource base. The country's GDP is estimated at $22.75 billion, annual per capita income of around $530 and annual rates of growth in the order of 5-8%. Despite this, widespread poverty and large but unmeasured proportion of the population lives on less than US$1 per day, and highly skewed income distribution, inadequate delivery of social services and run-down infrastructure services remain serious problems. Sudan is one of the most diverse countries of the African continent with an estimated population of around 31.7 million in 2001 with 40-50 percent claiming Arab descent and 60-50 percent is African; 60 percent are Muslims and the rest Christians and practitioners of traditional African religions. There are two distinct major cultures "Arab" and "black African", and the country has more than 300 tribes with more than 100 widely spoken local dialects. Successive Sudanese governments since independence of the country in 1956, however, have failed to recognize the importance of this diversity as an important factor in the process of nation building. Instead, they have abused and exploited this diversity, turning it from a wellspring of strength into a source of diversion and violence. The result was that the entire country has become at war with itself through protracted conflicts that retarded the country's economic and political development and jeopardized its unity. Part of the problem lies in the fact that some of the conflicts, at least as argued by some of the parties involved, is a reaction to the general peace agreement between the North and South of Sudan. Or rather, a reaction to the fact that the agreement was allowed to be concluded by the two major warring parties, GOS and SPLM/A themselves, excluding the other political forces. There are many reasons for why this had to be the case, but the short term result is a situation in which we clearly see that there is a difference between ending the civil war in itself, and the provision of an overall political solution to the country. But it could also be argued that whereas the north-south conflict had its roots in a political ideology, based on the late John Garang's "New Sudan" vision, the new conflicts, as exemplified by the Darfur situation, are characterised by the absence of a unified political demand. Rather, they are characterized by a complex situation in which national political claims of some go together with local, regional and ethnic claims of others, and they are all mixed with a variety of non-political dynamics such as tensions between tribes over land, a long history of criminal behaviour such as former highway robbers now being among the fighters, and protection and expansion of economic interests of new groups that have benefited from the emergence of the new and globalized economies. All this creates a situation in which violence becomes contagious, and spreads through many processes and channels. A top-down solution to this type of conflict, based on the logic of the

north-south agreement seems to be doomed to run into problems. Hence, it is no surprise that the on-going negotiations held sometimes ago in Abuja, and the calls from the international community for a political solution, seems to be in trouble.

It is how ever against this background that the paper seeks to identify the role of external forces in the Sudanese/Darfur war.

EXTERMINATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

M.Ajit notes there is no single universally accepted definition of conflict. He notes that one issue of contention is whether the conflict is a situation or a type of behavior. According to Kurt Lewin, conflict is defined as a ''situation of tension'' which was caused by a number of factors including the degree to which the needs of a person were in a state of hunger or satisfaction''. Michael Nicholson defines it as an activity which takes place when conscious beings (individuals or groups) wish to carry out mutually inconsistent acts concerning their wants, needs or obligations. Conflict is an escalation of a disagreement , which is its common prerequisite, and is characterized by the existence of conflict behavior, in which the beings are actively trying to damage one another. Rakhim lists some manifestations of conflict behavior, starting with disagreement, and followed by verbal abuse and interference.

Conflict is a serious disagreement and argument about something important. If two people or groups are in conflict, they have had a serious disagreement or argument and have not yet reached agreement. (www.collinsdictionary.com)

Conflict is defined as mental struggle resulting from incompatible or opposing needs, drives, wishes, or external or internal demands (https://www.merriam-webster.com /dictionary/conflict).

Citing a review of definitions of organizational conflicts in 1990 by Robert A. Baron, Rakhim notes the following common elements in the definitions of conflict:

➢ there are recognized opposing interests between parties in a zero-sum situation;
➢ there must be a belief by each side that the other one is acting or will act against them;
➢ this belief is likely to be justified by actions taken;
➢ conflict is a process, having developed from their past
  Interactions;

Building on that, the proposed definition of conflict by Rakhim is "an interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement or dissonance within or between social entities." Rakhim also notes that a conflict may be limited to one individual, who is conflicted within himself (the intrapersonal conflict).

Each of the above definitions of the concept conflict provide different understanding but all of them acquire same basic identification especially the presence of actors or parties, the existence of incompatibility and the presence of action. For Wallensteen, conflict is defined as "a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scare resources." Wallensteins definition of conflict here focuses on the availability of scare resources.

ROLE OF EMOTION IN INTER-GROUP RELATION

A key player in inter-group relations and conflict is the collective sentiment a person's own group (in-group) feels toward another group (out-group). These intergroup emotions are usually negative, and range in intensity from feelings of discomfort when interacting with a member of a certain other group to full on hatred for another group and its members. For example, in Fischer's organisational research at the University of Oxford, inter-group conflict was so 'heated' that it became mutually destructive and intractable, resulting in organizational collapse.

Out-group-directed emotions can be expressed both verbally and non-verbally, and according to the stereotype content model, are dictated by two dimensions: the perceived warmth (How friendly and sincere is the other group?) and competence of the other group (How skillful is the other group?). Depending on the perceived degree of warmth and competence, the stereotype content model predicts four basic emotions that could be directed toward the out-group (Forsyth, 2006).

1. Envy - Results when the out-group is perceived to have high competence, but low warmth (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2007). Envious groups are usually jealous of another group's symbolic and tangible achievements and view that group as competition (Forsyth, 2006).

2. Contempt- The out-group is taken to be low in both competence and warmth (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2007). According to Forsyth, contempt is one of the most frequent intergroup emotions. In this situation, the out-group is held responsible for its own failures. In-group members also believe that their conflict with the out-group can never be resolved (Forsyth, 2006).

3. Pity- Out-groups that are believed by the in-group to be high in warmth but low in competence are pitied (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2007). Usually pitied groups are lower in status than the in-group, and are not believed to be responsible for their failures (Forsyth, 2006).

4. Admiration - Admiration occurs when an out-group is taken to be high in both warmth and competence, however admiration is very rare because these two conditions are seldom met (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2007). An admired out-group is thought to be completely deserving of its accomplishments. Admiration is thought to be most likely to arise when a member of the in-group can take pride in the accomplishments of the out-group, and when the out-group achieving does not interfere with the in-group (Forsyth, 2006).

FACTORS THAT LEADS TO CONFLICT AMONGS GROUPS

Roy Eidelson and Judy Eidelson (2003) investigated some of the important roles that beliefs may play in triggering or constraining conflict between groups. On the basis of a review of relevant literature, five belief domains stand out as especially noteworthy are:

1. Superiority

Individual-level core belief: This core belief revolves around a person's enduring conviction that he or she is better than other people in important ways. The cluster of attitudes commonly associated with this belief includes a sense of specialness, deservingness, and entitlement.

Group-level worldview: Many of these elements are also present in the superiority worldview at the group level. This worldview encompasses shared convictions of moral superiority, chosenness, entitlement and special destiny. Several joint working committees of the American Psychological Association have identified "belief in the superiority of one group's cultural heritage (history, values, language, traditions, arts and crafts, etc.) over another's as a defining characteristic of the phenomenon they termed ethnocentric monoculturalism.

2. Injustice

Individual-level core belief: The perceived mistreatment by specific others or by the world at large. This mindset can lead the individual to identify something as unfair which is merely unfortunate, and thereby to inappropriately engage in retaliatory acts.

Group-level worldview: The injustice worldview reflects the in-groups conviction that it has significant and legitimate grievances against another group. This mindset can mobilize powerful and violent collective insurgencies, especially because shared perceptions of injustice typically

heighten the identification and allegiance that individuals feel towards their group. Further, these assessments of mistreatment are particularly common across cultural divides because different cultures tend to have different definitions for what constitutes justice, and different norms for how it should be achieved.

3. Vulnerability

Individual-level core belief: The vulnerability core belief revolves around a person's conviction that he or she perpetually living in harm's way. Vulnerability involves a person's perception of him or herself as subject to internal or external dangers over which control is lacking, or is insufficient to afford him or her sense of safety.

Group-level worldview: Important parallels to this individual-level core belief are present in a collective vulnerability worldview that again appears to be widespread among ethnic groups. Fears about the future are the most common cause of ethnic conflicts and often produce spiraling violence. The vulnerability worldview is catastrophic thinking in which a group's imagined worst case scenarios take on the inexorable logic of inevitability.

4. Distrust

Individual-level core belief: This core belief focuses on the presumed hostility and malign intent of others. The critical role played by issues of trust in individual psychological development has long been recognized. The expectation that others will hurt, abuse, humiliate, cheat, lie, or take advantage usually involves the perception that harm is intentional or the result of unjustified and extreme negligence. People who consistently assume the worst about the intentions of others prevent truly collaborative relationships from developing. Group-level worldview: As an extension of this individual-level core belief to larger groups. The distrust worldview focuses specifically on perceptions of out groups and revolves around beliefs that the other is untrustworthy and harbors malign intentions toward the in-group.

5. Helplessness

Individual-level core belief: The conviction that even carefully planned and executed actions will fail to produce desired outcomes. In some cases, the individual may perceive him or herself as lacking the ability necessary to attain a goal. Regardless of the extent to which helplessness is a matter of distorted perception or objective reality, this core belief tends to be self-perpetuating because it diminishes motivation. Group-level worldview: The helplessness worldview describes a collective mindset of powerlessness and dependency. The extent to which a group perceives itself as helpless reflects assessments not only of its capabilities, but also of whether the environment is rich or poor in opportunities for group advancement.

Clearly, there are a number of reasons why conflicts exist between two or more parties, and these can be classified into three main sociological categories: wealth, power, and prestige. Deutsch (1991) classified the factors that can generate conflict into five basic issues as; control over resources, preferences and nuisances, beliefs, values, or the nature of the relationship. In the same vain Signer (1996) identified territory, ideology, dynastic legitimacy, religion, language, ethnicity, self-determination, resources, markets, dominance, equality and, of course, revenge as the major factors that cause conflict. However, from the perspective of interstate conflicts, nine factors were identified as the most disputed conflict issue between states. These are: territory (border), secession, decolonization, autonomy, system (ideology), national power, regional predominance, international power, resources and other. This typology is important to this work as we seek to explore the role of external forces in the Sudanese/Darfur conflict. Nevertheless, of all these, Fearon (1994) argues that minority, ethnic and government-power conflicts are the dominant factors that necessitate intrastate conflicts. Such conflicts according to Fearon (1994)

mostly take the form of separatist warfare, as a consequence of the minority's fear that the state system governed by the majority will not respect minority rights. Thus, Lake and Rothchild (1996) noted that ethnic conflicts and wars are produced by the feeling of insecurity emerging when one ethnic group is unsure of the intentions of the other ethnic group and the two are already mutually hostile.

TYPES OF CONFLICT

➢ Interpersonal conflict refers to a conflict between two individuals. This occurs typically due to how people are different from one another. We have varied personalities which usually results to incompatible choices and opinions. Apparently, it is a natural occurrence which can eventually help in personal growth or developing your relationships with others. In addition, coming up with adjustments is necessary for managing this type of conflict. However, when interpersonal conflict gets too destructive, calling in a mediator would help so as to have it resolved.

✓ Intrapersonal conflict occurs within an individual. The experience takes place in the person's mind. Hence, it is a type of conflict that is psychological involving the individual's thoughts, values, principles and emotions. Interpersonal conflict may come in different scales, from the simpler mundane ones like deciding whether or not to go organic for lunch to ones that can affect major decisions such as choosing a career path. Furthermore, this type of conflict can be quite difficult to handle if you find it hard to decipher your inner struggles. It leads to restlessness and uneasiness, or can even cause depression. In such occasions, it would be best to seek a way to let go of the anxiety through communicating with other people. Eventually, when you find yourself out of the situation, you can become more empowered as a person. Thus, the experience evoked a positive change which will help you in your own personal growth.

➢ Intragroup conflict is a type of conflict that happens among individuals within a team. The incompatibilities and misunderstandings among these individuals lead to an intragroup conflict. It is arises from interpersonal disagreements (e.g. team members have different personalities which may lead to tension) or differences in views and ideas (e.g. in a presentation, members of the team might find the notions presented by the one presiding to be erroneous due to their differences in opinion). Within a team, conflict can be helpful in coming up with decisions which will eventually allow them to reach their objectives as a team. However, if the degree of conflict disrupts harmony among the members, then some serious guidance from a different party will be needed for it to be settled.

➢ Intergroup conflict takes place when a misunderstanding arises among different teams within an organization. For instance, the sales department of an organization can come in conflict with the customer support department. This is due to the varied sets of goals and interests of these different groups. In addition, competition also contributes for intergroup conflict to arise. There are other factors which fuel this type of conflict. Some of these factors may include a rivalry in resources or the boundaries set by a group to others which establishes their own identity as a team.(http://www.typesofconflict.org/types-of-conflict).

ETHNIC CONFLICT

An ethnic conflict is a conflict between two or more contending ethnic groups . While the source of the conflict may be political, social, economic or religious, the individuals in conflict must

expressly fight for their ethnic group's position within society. This final criterion differentiates ethnic conflict from other forms of struggle.
(https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_conflict)
Ethnic conflict does not necessarily have to be violent. In a multi-ethnic society where freedom of speech is protected, ethnic conflict can be an everyday feature of plural democracies. For example, ethnic conflict might be a non-violent struggle for resources divided among ethnic groups. However, the subject of the confrontation must be either directly or symbolically linked with an ethnic group. In healthy multi-ethnic democracies, these conflicts are usually institutionalized and "channeled through parliaments, assemblies and bureaucracies or through non-violent demonstrations and strikes." While democratic countries cannot always prevent ethnic conflict flaring up into violence, institutionalized ethnic conflict does ensure that ethnic groups can articulate their demands in a peaceful manner, which reduces the likelihood of violence. On the other hand, in authoritarian systems, ethnic minorities are often unable to express their grievances. Grievances are instead allowed to fester which might lead to long phases of ethnic silence followed by a violent outburst. Therefore, ethnic peace is an absence of violence, not an absence of conflict. Another consequence is that violent ethnic rebellions often result in political rights for previously marginalized groups.
(https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_conflict)
Academic explanations of ethnic conflict generally fall into one of three schools of thought: primordialist, instrumentalist or constructivist. Recently, several political scientists have argued for either top-down or bottom-up explanations for ethnic conflict. Intellectual debate has also focused on whether ethnic conflict has become more prevalent since the end of the Cold War, and on devising ways of managing conflicts, through instruments such as consociationalism and federalisation.

THEORIES OF THE CAUSES OF ETHNIC CONFLICT
The causes of ethnic conflict are debated by political scientists and sociologists. Explanations generally fall into one of three schools of thought: primordialist, instrumentalist, and constructivist. More recent scholarship draws on all three schools.

➢ **Primordialist accounts:** Proponents of primordialist accounts argue that "ethnic groups and nationalities exist because there are traditions of belief and action towards primordial objects such as biological features and especially territorial location". Primordialist accounts rely on strong ties of kinship among members of ethnic groups. Donald L. Horowitz argues that this kinship "makes it possible for ethnic groups to think in terms of family resemblances".(https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_conflict)

Clifford Geertz, a founding scholar of primordialism, asserts that each person has a natural connection to perceived kinsmen. In time and through repeated conflict, essential ties to one's ethnicity will coalesce and will interfere with ties to civil society. Ethnic groups will consequently always threaten the survival of civil governments but not the existence of nations formed by one ethnic group.

➢ Instrumentalist accounts: Anthony Smith notes that the instrumentalist account "came to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States, in the debate about (white) ethnic persistence in what was supposed to have been an effective melting pot". This new theory sought explained persistence as the result of the actions of community leaders, "who used their cultural groups as sites of mass mobilization and as constituencies in their competition for power and resources, because they found them more effective than social classes". In this account of ethnic identification, ethnicity and race are viewed as

instrumental means to achieve particular ends. Whether ethnicity is a fixed perception or not is not crucial in the instrumentalist accounts. Moreover, the scholars of this school generally do not oppose the view that ethnic difference plays a part in many conflicts. They simply claim that ethnic difference is not sufficient to explain conflicts. (https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_conflict)

➢ **Constructivist accounts**: A third, constructivist, set of accounts stress the importance of the socially constructed nature of ethnic groups, drawing on Benedict Anderson's concept of the imagined community. Proponents of this account point to Rwanda as an example because the Tutsi/Hutu distinction was codified by the Belgian colonial power in the 1930s on the basis of cattle ownership, physical measurements and church records. Identity cards were issued on this basis, and these documents played a key role in the genocide of 1994.

Scholars of ethnic conflict and civil wars have introduced theories that draw insights from all three traditional schools of thought. In The Geography of Ethnic Violence, for example, Monica Duffy Toft shows how ethnic group settlement patterns, socially constructed identities, charismatic leaders, issue indivisibility, and state concern with precedent setting can lead rational actors to escalate a dispute to violence, even when doing so is likely to leave contending groups much worse off.

VIOLENCE

Violence is defined as behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something (oxforddictionaries.com)

Violence is defined by the World Health Organization as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation," although the group acknowledges that the inclusion of "the use of power" in its definition expands on the conventional understanding of the word.

According to Johan Galtung, violence is defined as "the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is."

EXTERNAL FORCES

External forces are Parties, personalities, pressure groups that strongly influence the economic and political stability of a country through their actions and pronouncements. There is no such thing as completely internal affairs of a specific sovereign country in today's world. Every conflict involves interests of external actors or affects others and has often-regional implications. It serves as major magnet for external actors either those who get invited or force their way in. External actors in any given situation put their interests first, yet can be instrumental with the right focus to bring a settlement of the dispute between parties. Conflict situations are ideal environments where external actors secure, protect or even advance such constructive or de-constructive interests. Notwithstanding, the role of the conflicting parties pro or against one of those actors or collective endorsement to external actors' involvement, its interests may differ accordingly. The external intervention in internal conflict not only is an extra influence towards the right direction but also could be directed towards hardening position of one of the negotiating parties or spoiling the process. Intervention is often viewed in mediation as a mechanism to ripen the situation and

bringing about equality of parties in order to pursue negotiated settlement.(www.up.ac tza/media/shared/237/PDFs/)

THE UNITED NATIONS (UN)

The United Nations (UN) is an intergovernmental organization tasked to promote international co-operation and to create and maintain international order. A replacement for the ineffective League of Nations, the organization was established on 24 October 1945 after World War II with the aim of preventing another such conflict. At its founding, the UN had 51 member states; there are now 193. The Headquarters of the UN is in Manhattan, New York City, and is subject to extraterritoriality. Further main offices are situated in Geneva, Nairobi, and Vienna. The organization is financed by assessed and voluntary contributions from its member states. Its objectives include maintaining international peace and security, promoting human rights, fostering social and economic development, protecting the environment, and providing humanitarian aid in cases of famine, natural disaster, and armed conflict. The UN is the largest, most familiar, most internationally represented and most powerful intergovernmental organization in the world.(https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations)

PRINCIPAL ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS (UN)

- ➢ General Assembly— Deliberative assembly of all UN member states. The assembly meets in regular yearly sessions, but emergency sessions can also be called. The assembly is led by a president, elected from among the member states on a rotating regional basis, and 21 vice-presidents. The first session convened 10 January 1946 in the Methodist Central Hall in London and included representatives of 51 nations.
- ➢ United Nations Security Council: The Security Council is charged with maintaining peace and security among countries. While other organs of the UN can only make "recommendations" to member states, the Security Council has the power to make binding decisions that member states have agreed to carry out, under the terms of Charter Article 25. The decisions of the Council are known as United Nations Security Council resolutions .
- ➢ Secretariat: The UN Secretariat is headed by the Secretary-General , assisted by the Deputy Secretary-General and a staff of international civil servants worldwide. It provides studies, information, and facilities needed by UN bodies for their meetings. It also carries out tasks as directed by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and other UN bodies.
- ➢ International Court of Justice: The International Court of Justice (ICJ), located in The Hague, in the Netherlands, is the primary judicial organ of the UN. Established in 1945 by the UN Charter, the Court began work in 1946 as the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The ICJ is composed of 15 judges who serve 9-year terms and are appointed by the General Assembly; every sitting judge must be from a different nation. The ICJ's primary purpose is to adjudicate disputes among states. The court has heard cases related to war crimes, illegal state interference, ethnic cleansing, and other issues.
- ➢ Economic and Social Council: The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) assist the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social co-operation and development. ECOSOC has 54 members, which are elected by the General Assembly for a three-year term. The president is elected for a one-year term and chosen amongst the

small or middle powers represented on ECOSOC. The council has one annual meeting in July, held in either New York or Geneva. Viewed as separate from the specialized bodies it co-ordinates, ECOSOC's functions include information gathering, advising member nations, and making recommendations.

➢ Specialized agencies: The UN Charter stipulates that each primary organ of the United Nations can establish various specialized agencies to fulfill its duties. Some best-known agencies are the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), the World Bank, and the World Health Organization (WHO). The UN performs most of its humanitarian work through these agencies. Examples include mass vaccination programmes (through WHO), the avoidance of famine and malnutrition (through the work of the WFP), and the protection of vulnerable and displaced people (for example, by UNHCR).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study will however adopt the structural-functionalism theory which is a derivation of the General System theory of political analysis. 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.

The Structural Functionalism theory was propounded by Almond and Coleman (1960) and Almond and Powell, (1966). The structural functional analysis is another derivative of the systems approach. Coming in through sociology and originating mainly in the writings of anthropologists like Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, and adopted in political science, especially in comparative politics by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, structural functional analysis is basically concerned with the phenomenon of system maintenance and regulation. The basic theoretical proposition of this approach is that all systems exist to perform functions through their structures. The central question of this approach, as Young (1966) says, is: 'What structures fulfill what basic functions and under what conditions in any given society"? The basic assumptions of the structural-functional derivative of the systems approach are:

1) Society is a single inter-connected system in which each of its elements performs a specific function and whose basic goal is the maintenance of the systemic equilibrium;

(2) Society, being a system as a whole, consists of its numerous parts which are inter-related;

(3) The dominant tendency of the social system is towards stability which is maintained by its own in-built mechanism;

(4) System's ability to resolve internal conflicts is usually an admitted fact;

(5) Changes in the system are natural, but they are neither sudden nor revolutionary, but are always gradual and adaptive as well as adjustive.

(6) System has its own structure, with its own aims, principles and functions. The structural-functional derivative speaks of the political system as composed of several structures as patterns of action and resultant institutions with their assigned functions. A function, in this context, means, as Plato (Dictionary of Political Analysis) says, 'some purpose served with respect to the maintenance or perpetuation of the system', and a structure could be related to "any set of related roles, including such concrete organizational structures as political parties and legislatures." So the structural-functional analysis, Piano continues, "involves the identification of a set of requisite or at least recurring functions in the kind of system under investigation. This is coupled with an attempt to determine the kinds of structures and their interrelations

through which those functions are performed." Structural-Functionalism as a theoretical framework is intended to explain the basis for the maintenance of order and stability in society and the relevant arrangement within the society, which maintain the social order and stability. In our formation of a structural functional framework, social processes and social mechanisms are the intervening variables. A complete description of a social system would include therefore, a treatment of the social structures, and various functions of these structures; and of the social processes and mechanisms that must be in operation if the structures are to satisfy certain functions (Holt,1967). It is Holt's view that structural functional analysis is a distinguishable approach primarily because of the selective aspects of social reality that it seeks to describe largely in terms of structures, processes, mechanisms and functions. These four concepts are of particular importance in the laws and theories that are developed. One of the main reasons for the conflicts in Darfur being so protracted and complex is that instead of consisting of one conflict it is a blend of different conflict-types and which to a large extent are structural. These conflict-types can be structured in a framework of conflict complementarities. This perspective centers on the complementarities of four different conflict-types: (1) communal conflicts, (2) local-elite conflicts, (3) center-periphery conflicts, and (4) cross border conflicts1. (ISPI - Working Paper)

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF SUDAN

The history of Sudan includes that of both the territory that composes Republic of the Sudan as well as that of a larger region known by the term "Sudan". The term is derived from Arabic word "bilād" as-sūdān , or "land of the black people", and can be used more loosely of West and Central Africa in general, especially the Sahel.

The modern Republic of Sudan was formed in 1956 and inherited its boundaries from Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, established in 1899. For times predating 1899, usage of the term "Sudan" for the territory of the Republic of Sudan was somewhat anachronistic, and may have referred to the more diffuse concept of the Sudan. The early history of the Kingdom of Kush, located along the Nile region in what is now northern Sudan, is intertwined with the history of ancient Egypt, which it was politically allied with over several ruling periods. By virtue of its proximity to Egypt, the Sudan participated in the wider history of the Near East, with the most popular episodes being the 25th dynasty and the Christianization of the three Nubian kingdoms Nobatia, Makuria and Alodia in the sixth century. As a result of Christianization, the Old Nubian language stands as the oldest recorded Nilo-Saharan language (earliest records dating to the eighth century) in an adaptation of the Coptic alphabet). While Islam was already present in the Sudanese Red Sea coast and the adjacent territories since the 7th century, the Nile Valley did not undergo formal Islamization until the 14th-15th century, following the decline of the Christian kingdoms. The kingdoms were succeeded by the Sultanate of Sennar in the early 16th century, which controlled large parts of the Nile Valley and the Eastern Desert, while the kingdoms of Darfur controlled the western part of Sudan. Two small kingdoms arose in the southern regions, the Shilluk Kingdom of 1490, and Taqali of 1750, near modern-day South Sudan, but both northern and southern regions were soon seized by Muhammad Ali of Egypt during the 1820s. Resentment toward the oppressive rule of Muhammad Ali and his immediate successors is credited for stirring up resentment toward the Turco-Egyptian rulers that contributed to the Sudanese struggle for independence led by Muhammad Ahmad in 1881.
(https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Sudan)

Since its independence in 1956, the history of Sudan has been plagued by internal conflict, viz. the First Sudanese Civil War (1955–1972), the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983–2005), culminating in the secession of South Sudan on 9 July 2011, and the War in Darfur (2003–2010). (https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Sudan)

BACKGROUND TO SUDAN/DARFUR CONFLICT
Ethnic fighting in Sudan between black Africans and Arab militia has been going on since February 2003, when Arab nomads moved on to pastureland of African tribes in Darfur, a region in western Sudan about the size of France. In reponse, black Africans, angry at what they saw as decades of inequalities between Africans and the ruling Arab elite, rebelled against the government.
The rebels, who came largely from three ethnic groups - Zaghawa, Fur and Masaalit - formed the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA).
Some sources suggest that the fighting stems from the discovery of oil in the Darfur region and allege that the Sudanese government is determined to regain control of the area to build a pipeline.
In February 2003, the SLA, then calling themselves the Darfur Liberation Front, captured the town of Gulu. The SLA's demands included socio-economic development for the Darfur region, an end to tribal militias and a power-sharing government.
The SLA continued to mount attacks throughout Darfur, damaging military equipment and looting fuel and supplies. In July 2003, the Khartoum government responded with heavy bombing by the air force and a large ground offensive.
More than 65,000 refugees fled into neighbouring Chad. Arab militias from western Sudan, known as Janjaweed, which roughly translates as 'armed horsmen', began to raid villages in the Darfur region. Bands of nomads had travelled Sudan robbing and looting for years but the Janjaweed were far more organised than these common bandits
.(www.telegraph.co.uk/news)
The African rebels have accused Khartoum of financing the Janjaweed in a bid to regain control of the region, a charge the Sudanese government denies. However, witnesses report that government troops and Janjaweed militia often co-ordinate their attacks on villages. Janjaweed gunmen have also been seen travelling in army vehicles, using army-issue satellite phones and wearing army uniforms. In September 2003 the SLA and the government agreed a ceasefire and fighting stopped temporarily, although Janjaweed attacks continued.
One faction of the SLA, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), was not a part of the ceasefire agreement and had several skirmishes with the Janjaweed during the ceasefire period. Many SLA members, unhappy with the concessions made by their leaders, joined the JEM. By December 2003 the ceasefire had collapsed and militia attacks increased. The Janjaweed burned villages, killed and maimed men, ransacked food supplies and blocked international aid.
The Janjaweed began attacking refugee camps and launched what Amnesty International says was a systematic campaign of raping African women. Sudanese rights activists who had fled the country had long claimed that this was part of an organised ethnic cleansing programme ordered by the government.
In the first months of 2004 refugees continued to flee to Chad and the number of people made homeless in the fighting approached one million. In March Mukesh Kapila, the UN Humanitarian Coordinator for Sudan, compared the situation to the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. (www.telegraph.co.uk/news)

In April, the Government agreed a ceasefire with the SLA and the JEM but still carried out occasional bombing raids and did not call a halt to the activities of the Janjaweed, who continued to terrorise villages and attack refugee camps.(www.telegraph.co.uk/news)

The crisis was compounded once the rainy season began in June, hampering efforts to bring aid to the one million people made homeless in the fighting. Many human rights groups and aid agencies now fear that the Darfur region is on the brink of a humanitarian catastrophe:(www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1467967/Background-to-the-Sudan-conflict.html)

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN DARFUR

Since the beginning of the conflict, almost 2 million Darfurian's a third of the region's population have been internally displaced as a result of the systematic destruction of villages; some 200,000 refugees have fled to neighboring Chad. An estimated 350,000 people in the region have died as a result of violence, disease, and starvation, according to a report by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Sexual violence is rampant, and UN Undersecretary General Jan Egeland told the Security Council in 2005 that "rape is systematically used as a weapon of warfare." The UN World Food Program announced that, starting in May, it will be forced to make drastic cuts in food rations in Sudan because of a severe funding shortage. According to a February Human Rights Watch (HRW) report, the Janjaweed have also crossed over the border into Chad to attack civilians. (www.cfr.org/backgrounder/darfur-crisis-continues)

REMOTE AND IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT
➢ Power, Governance and Political Marginalization
➢ Economic Marginalization and Domination
➢ The discovery of oil
➢ Religious and Cultural Marginalization
➢ Collapsing Public Service
➢ Ethnic Politics.
➢ Militarization and arm poleraferation
➢ Weak institutional capacity
➢ Previous rift
➢ Corruption and Impunity Etc

EXTERNAL FORCES STRATEGIC INTEREST AND THEIR INERVENTION THE DARDUR CRISIS

EXTERNAL forces have fanned the protracted conflict in Sudan. For much of Sudan's civil war, American arms and money, propaganda and other direct support for Sudanese rebels by right-wing evangelical groups in the United States, have fueled the conflict that has raged for decades. The war o global terrorism is undoubtedly America's top priority in its foreign policy. The fact that Washington's role in pressurizing Khartoum to consent to a united nations peacekeeping force, the revelation In the media that CIA sent a plane to Khartoum to ferry the head of Sudanese intelligence, general Salah Abdullah gosh, to Washington for discussion with his American   peers   on   the   "war   against   terror". (http://www.counterpunc.org/estabrook09232006html)

SOME EXTERNAL FORCES IN THE SUDANESE /DARFUR CONFLICT
➢ The United States of America (USA)
➢ China

> ➢ European Union (EU)
> ➢ African Union (AU)
> ➢ Russia
> ➢ Nigeria etc

ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS (UN) IN THE SUDANESE DARFUR CONFLICT

As earlier stated there is no such thing as completely internal affairs of a specific sovereign country in today's world. Every conflict involves interests of external actors or affects others and has often-regional implications.

The UN Security Council has praised the AU's efforts in Darfur, but called for a transition by September 30 to UN-led, largely African peacekeeping troops. Part of the reason for the lengthy transition, says Brookings Institution Senior Fellow Roberta Cohen, is the difficulty of moving some 20,000 troops into the remote region. Although Bashir's government has voiced opposition to the presence of UN troops in Sudan, claiming that a UN presence would call into question the nation's sovereignty, Prendergast predicts, with strong diplomacy and pressure, "they will accept UN forces there."

The UN Security Council also declared on April 25 travel and financial sanctions against four Sudanese nationals accused of war crimes related to Darfur. Two of the individuals were from the rebel groups, one was a former Sudanese air force head, and the fourth was a pro-government militia leader. Initially, China and Russia opposed the Security Council resolution, but they eventually abstained.

(https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/darfur-crisis-continues)

With a reduction in the intensity of the armed conflict and improvements in humanitarian access over the past year, the situation in Darfur provides reasons for some cautious optimism, but it has not yet normalised. Security issues, unlawful killings, and human rights violations make the conditions volatile, along with continued reports of sexual violence. Improvements in the overall security situation have also not led to the voluntary and sustainable return of Darfur's 2.7 million internally displaced persons. While disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration is essential, there are concerns that the government's ongoing disarmament campaign is leading to increased tensions and armed confrontations that threaten to undermine recent improvements in the security situation.

In accordance with resolution 2363,phase one of UNAMIDs reconfiguration, to be completed before 1 January 2018, includes the closure of 11 team sites and reductions in military personnel from 15,845 to 11,395 and in police personnel from 3,403 to 2,888. While all 11 team sites were closed in October 2017, the allocation of land by the Sudanese government for a temporary operating base for the Jebel Marra Task Force in Golo, Central Darfur is still pending. The written assessment from the Secretary-General and the chairperson of the AU Commission, requested in resolution 2363, is expected to address progress in implementing phase one of UNAMID's reconfiguration; the impact of the phase one reductions on areas that UNAMID has withdrawn from; the government's cooperation with the mission; the removal of bureaucratic obstacles to the mission; and the question as to whether conditions on the ground are conducive for further reductions. With the findings of the assessment, the Council can then decide whether to adjust the scope and pace of UNAMIDs reduction ahead of phase two of the mission's reconfiguration, to begin on 31 January 2018.

On 12 December 2017, ICC Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda provided the semi-annual Council briefing on the ICC's work with regard to Darfur, saying the ICC's entire judicial machinery

could be frustrated unless the suspects it had indicted appeared before it. Bensouda noted Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir's most recent travels to South Africa, Jordan, Uganda, Chad and Russia and requested that the Council take action to respond to ongoing instances of non-compliance or non-cooperation relating to the situation in Darfur and outstanding arrest warrants. Al-Bashir has been indicted by the ICC on charges of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.(http://m.securitycouncilreport.org)

IMPORTANT ROLES PLAYED BY THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations and international relief organizations have been mobilizing to provide food, shelter, water and other life-saving assistance to one million displaced persons affected by the conflict in Darfur, as well as an estimated 150,000 refugees in Chad. The United Nations first launched a humanitarian appeal for Darfur in September 2003 and estimates that a total of 2.2 million people will require humanitarian assistance in 2004. Significant progress has been made in many areas in recent weeks but major challenges remain, including severe funding shortfalls, access and logistical constraints and a deteriorating security situation in Darfur.

➢ Food assistance: Close to 600,000 people were provided food during May by the World Food Programme (WFP) and its partners. Food distributions in early June were delayed by insecurity and logistical difficulties but are starting to pick up, with an additional 13,000 metric tonnes of food supplies due to arrive by the end of the month. Airlifts from Addis Ababa directly to South Darfur are scheduled to start by 26 June. WFP uses a fleet of about 400 trucks and will need an additional 200 long-haul trucks to move between 30,000 and 35,000 metric tonnes of food needed every month, as well as a fleet of about 100 special all terrain trucks to operate during the rainy season.

➢ Immunization: The UNICEF, the World Health Organization, the Sudanese Ministry of Health and a number of NGOs have organized a massive measles campaign targeting more than 2.2 million children in Darfur. The campaign has already covered all of South Darfur and campaigns are underway in North and West Darfur where access to the population has been most difficult.

➢ Water and Sanitation: About 350,000 needy people now have been provided access to clean water by UN agencies and NGOs and latrine construction is accelerating. Massive needs remain in this area. The UN has made an urgent appeal to donors for experts and equipment, including a fleet of 25 water tankers, six additional drilling rigs and 30-40 water engineers.

➢ Refugees: UNHCR has moved more than 106,000 refugees away from the border areas to eight camps further inside Chad where they are being provided with shelter, food, water and other essential assistance.
(http://www.un.org/News/dh/sudan/humanassist-jun.htm)

RECOMMENDATIONS/CONCLUSION

Based on the finding of this study concerning the roles of external forces in the Darfur crisis we make the following recommendations;

➢ The United Nations should impose sanctions on any state whose activities are found to be promoting the conflict.

➢ The united nations and other key players in the Sudanese and Darfur should as a matter of agency should place arms embargo on state found to be supplying arms to the Sudanese government all the rebel groups .

➢ The United Nations as a global body and the African union as a regional body should strive to economic integration and development of Africa. This would go a long way in reducing the vulnerability of individual Africa states to the economic interests of the industrialized states, which are inimical to the resolution of the Darfur crisis.

➢ The United Nations and the African union should partner to strengthen their military forces in Darfur and other crisis-ridden states with a view of not only maintaining peace and order but also to checkmate undue intervention by individual states.

Darfur had long experienced localized violence exacerbated by ethnic, economic and political tensions and competition over scarce resources. Beginning in February 2003, attacks on government targets by the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), and the Government's decision to respond by deploying its national armed forces and mobilizing local militia, took the violence to unprecedented levels. The cycle of terror inside Darfur also threatened regional peace and security. However If the above suggestions are implemented, the crisis in Darfur will be curtailed and the human right abuses here will be come to an end.

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