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The Darfur Crisis

(A Case Study of Sudan Genocide)

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ABSTRACT

The fact that attributing the Darfur conflict to environmental factors obscures human agency and, as a result, accountability for the violence is widely acknowledged. However, this point is frequently made in terms that reduce the Darfur conflict to one of political and economic marginalization alone, implying that the government is to blame for the violence. As a result, the academic discourse has created a false dichotomy between a local conflict that has been "depoliticized" and a national conflict that has been "polarized." This article attempts to reconcile that polarized debate by looking into the contested institutions in Darfur that are relevant to internal Darfur conflicts, the conflict with Khartoum, and regional conflicts, particularly those involving Libya and Chad. Three case studies of conflict in Darfur are examined, with a focus on the complex interplay between livelihood solidarity (which minimizes ethnic divisions) and ethnic solidarity (which emphasizes ethnic divisions) (which feature highly in conflict). Regional and national conflicts interact with conflict within Darfur through manipulation of contested institutions, among other means. The paper examines how divergent framings of natural resources and conflict have been instrumentalized within the global discourse on Darfur, to the detriment of both the search for peace in Darfur and a theoretical understanding of the links between natural resources and conflict.

Keywords: *Darfur conflict Institutions natural resources peace building narratives.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The "Darfur Genocide" refers to the current mass slaughter and rape of Darfuri men, women, and children in Western Sudan. Beginning in 2003, the killings became the first genocide of the twenty-first century³. Today, there is still unrest and violence. The genocide is carried out through an organisation known as the Janjaweed (which loosely translates into "horseback devils") or rapid support force with the armed government and government-funded Arab

¹ Author is a student, India.

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³ PBS NewsHour. 2021. *Origins of the Darfur Crisis*. [online] Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/africa-july-dec08-origins_07-03> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

militias (RSF)⁴. The Janjaweed systemically destroy Darfuris through villages, the pillage of economic resources, the pollution of sources of water and the assassination, rape, and torture of civilians. The main rebel groups – the Sudanese Liberation Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) – have historically rivaled them (JEM). Over 480,000 people have died and over 2.8 million people have been displaced as of spring 2020⁵.

Sudan is one of Africa's largest countries. It is located in northeastern Africa, bordering the Red Sea and sharing borders with Egypt, Chad, Uganda, and six other countries. Khartoum, the country's capital, is located in the country's northeast. Darfur is a region in western Sudan that is roughly the size of Spain. Darfur's population is estimated to be 7 million people.

The conflict in Darfur has heightened tensions in neighbouring Chad and the Central African Republic, where hundreds of thousands of refugees have fled to escape violence.

II. HISTORY OF ORIGIN OF DARFUR CRISIS

Sudan became embroiled in two lengthy civil wars after gaining independence from Britain in 1956, lasting for the majority of the rest of the twentieth century. The North's dominance of the economic, political, and social institutions of the predominantly non-Muslim, non-Arab southern Sudanese was at the root of these conflicts. Scarce resource competition played an important role. Disputes arose as nomads began to compete for grazing land, and the traditional peaceful reconciliation measures could not resolve these disputes and made the region increasingly militarized. Desertification, famines and a civil war between North and South Sudan have been all the more complicated and contributed to increased regional tension in the 1980s. Similarly, the government and international donors of Sudan were increasingly interested in Darfur, when oil was discovered in western Sudan.

In 1972, the first civil war ended but erupted in 1983 again. ⁶ The Second War and effects associated with starvation have led to more than 4 million displaced people, with over 2 million deaths estimated to occur over the course of two decades according to rebel estimates⁷. As the civil war between the North and South raged on in the 1990s, the government ignored reports of rising violence in Darfur.

⁴ Collinsdictionary.com. 2021. *Janjaweed definition and meaning* / *Collins English Dictionary*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/us/dictionary/english/janjaweed>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

⁵ Tolerance : Tavaana. 2021. *Darfur*. [online] Available at: <<https://tolerance.tavaana.org/en/content/darfur-genocide-0>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

⁶ Second Sudanese Civil War. 2021. *Facts*. [online] Available at: <<https://secondsudanese civil wars.weebly.com/facts.html>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

⁷ *ibid*

The Comprehensive Peace Treaty brought the North-South War to an end in 2005⁸ and gave South Sudan further political power. It did not, however, consider the effects of the war on Darfur. Darfur remained underdeveloped and marginalized at the federal level, lacking infrastructure and development assistance. This disregard, coupled with the claim that Arab tribesmen (Janjaweed) were armed with the government for the raids on non-Arab villages in 2003⁹, justified the rebellious attack against a Sudanese air force base in El Fasher, North Darfur. This attack sparked governmental reprisals against Darfur residents, contributing to Darfuri's widespread human rights atrocities.

The conflict has continued due to the failure of peace talks. In 2005-2006, the Darfur Peace Agreement led in Abuja to the most successful negotiations. The (DPA). The Sudanese government and three major rebel groups were present at these talks: the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), Abdel Wahid Mohamed al-faction Nur's of the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM), and Minni Minawi's faction of the SLM. Multiple negotiations, however, have so far been largely unsuccessful.

III. ETHNIC CONFLICT¹⁰

Darfur's conflict dates from early 2003 when Darfur black Africans rebelled against the country's Arab Muslim leadership, demanding better infrastructure in the region, oil wealth and power sharing. By sending government forces to quench the rebellion, the Sudanese government retaliated. The Government has also organized the Janjaweed Militia and supplied it to fight against the rebels.

Sudan Liberation army/Movement, or SLA/M, and the Justice and Equality Movement, or JEM, are the main rebel groups involved in this conflict. Both groups called for equal government representation and an end to the economic disparity among black Africans and Arabs in Sudan.

Millions of Darfur villagers have been driven away by violence in the mainly arid Desert Region. Most camps in Darfur are sickly riddled, while others have escaped to crowded camps around neighboring Chad.

⁸ Peacemaker.un.org. 2021. *Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the SPLM/SPLA (with Annexes) | UN Peacemaker*. [online] Available at: <<https://peacemaker.un.org/node/1369>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

⁹ ReliefWeb. 2021. *Sudan rebels retreat under government air attack - Sudan*. [online] Available at: <<https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/sudan-rebels-retreat-under-government-air-attack>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

¹⁰ PBS NewsHour. 2021. *Origins of the Darfur Crisis*. [online] Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/africa-july-dec08-origins_07-03> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

According to the United States Agency for International Development, the Darfur crisis is the “worst humanitarian crisis in the world today.”

Because of the violence, few aid organizations have been able to enter the region. Those who have gained access have reported horrifying scenes of starvation, disease, and mass killings.

IV. INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT ¹¹

The United Nations Security Council unanimously approved a resolution in July 2007 to send a joint UN/African Union peacekeeping force, known as UNAMID, to the troubled Darfur region. Although the force is authorized for 26,000 members, as of June 2008, less than 10,000 had been deployed.

The slowness of sending equipment and acceptance by the Sudanese Government for peacekeepers from certain countries, along with logistical problems such as a lack of roads, housing and water, has contributed to Jan Eliasson, the former UN special envoy to Darfur.

In a June 25, 2008 op-ed column, in the World Wall Street Journal the United Nations Special Representative for Darfur and Chief UNAMID Rodolphe Adada stated that in the light of divided rebel groups and stalled negotiations, the mission has a daunting task to maintain a peace that does not exist."

However, Adada has said that, although small, it is still possible for the peacekeeping force to conduct day-to-day patrouilles across Darfur, the size of Texas. "To alleviate tensions caused by livestock loss, the distribution of water and land ownership, our peacekeepers intervene every day throughout Darfur, he said," he said.

In the meantime, increasing numbers of world leaders are urging the Sudanese government to increase regional access, to permit peacekeepers and to disarm Janjaweed. President Bush has referred to the situation as "genocide" and stated that the "world has a responsibility to help put an end to it."

In accordance with the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide Crimes, which was signed by UN General Assembly members, Member States, including the United States, must act on genocide. Member States are also required to intervene.

V. CONFLICT IN DARFUR¹²

In this study, local land, natural resources and authority conflicts are classified as 1.A in the

¹¹ PBS NewsHour. 2021. *Origins of the Darfur Crisis*. [online] Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/africa-july-dec08-origins_07-03> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

¹² Taylor & Francis. 2021. *Power, contested institutions and land: repoliticising analysis of natural resources and*

general customary governance context. In Darfur, the wider land, identity and power conflict that challenges the general structure of customary and formal governance is classified as 1.B. Conflict 1.B concerns the overthrow of historical hegemony on the land and power of the main Sultanates for a long time. In the aftermath of the fall of these sultanates, the governance arrangements and political settlement among the various communities across Darfur remain highly contested. Power struggles are combined with violence and state and internal coercion.

VI. THE CRISIS BEGINS

The International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir for crimes against humanity on March 4, 2009, and a warrant for genocide in July 2010. Sudan's government had refused to hand him over for ten years. Sudan has seen widespread protests and increased violence since the warrants were issued. The government has also forcibly expelled aid organizations from the country, putting the lives of thousands of displaced and marginalized civilians in jeopardy.¹³

Al-Bashir was not expected to face trial at the International Criminal Court in The Hague until he was apprehended in a country that recognizes the ICC's jurisdiction. Sudan is not a signatory to the Rome Statute, the international treaty that established the International Criminal Court, which it signed but did not ratify. Al-Bashir should be imprisoned in his own country, according to all accounts. The Arab League, on the other hand, declared its support for al-Bashir in 2011. Al-Bashir had visited Qatar and Egypt since the warrant was issued. Both countries refused to arrest him, and the African Union also condemned the arrest warrant and requested that the United Nations Security Council postpone it.

In February 2010, the Sudanese government and JEM signed a cease-fire agreement with a tentative agreement to pursue further peace. However, the talks have been hampered by allegations that the Sudanese army is still conducting raids and air strikes against Darfur villages.¹⁴

In neighboring Chad, the Janjaweed have also been accused of incursions and attacks. Due to increased tensions between rebel groups and military forces in Chad, hundreds of aid workers were evacuated. Meanwhile, the Janjaweed have launched attacks deep into Chad, forcing

conflict in Darfur. [online] Available at: <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17531055.2017.1403782>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

¹³ The Defense Post. 2021. *UN extends Darfur peacekeeping mission UNAMID for one year*. [online] Available at: <<https://thedefensepost.com/2019/11/01/un-unamid-darfur-extended-march-2020/>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

¹⁴ Cnn.com. 2021. *Sudan peace accord signed, state media reports - CNN.com*. [online] Available at: <<http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/africa/02/23/sudan.peace.agreement/index.html>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

nearly 100,000 Chadians to flee.¹⁵

South Sudan gained independence from Sudan in July 2011¹⁶ and became its own country. During the same month, the Sudanese government and the Liberation and Justice Movement, an umbrella organization representing rebel groups, signed the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD)¹⁷. This document represents the peace process in Darfur; however, little progress has been made since it's signing due to a lack of implementation and enforcement.

In 2014 and 2015, government forces backed by the Janjaweed led counterinsurgency campaigns in Darfur, repeatedly attacking villages, burning and looting homes, and beating, raping, and killing villagers¹⁸. Sudanese forces organized and carried out a 36-hour mass rape of over 200 women and girls in a north Darfur town in October 2014. According to defected Janjaweed members, they were specifically instructed to "rape women."¹⁹

The violence continued into 2016. Amnesty International alleged the government was using chemical weapons against civilians and that, according to the UN, 190,000 people were displaced due to violence. In 2016, President Omar al-Bashir declared a unilateral ceasefire in conflict zones. This ceasefire has been extended through the end of 2018. However, government forces continued to attack villages across Darfur in 2017 and 2018, resulting in deaths and massive displacement of citizens. As of late 2018, over 2 million people were still displaced as a result of the conflict, and nearly 5 million people had been affected in total.²⁰

President Omar al-Bashir was finally deposed in April 2019. He had been in power for more than 30 years, and his removal was the result of months of unarmed protests, to which the government retaliated with armed retaliation. In Sudan, al-rule Bashir's was initially followed by a military council, which was replaced in August 2019 by a transitional government comprised of both military and civilian members.²¹ The Sudanese government officially agreed

¹⁵ Human Rights Watch. 2021. *Chad: Darfur Conflict Spills Across Border*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2006/02/21/chad-darfur-conflict-spills-across-border>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

¹⁶ BBC News. 2021. *South Sudan country profile*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14069082>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

¹⁷ UNAMID. 2021. *Doha Document for Peace in Darfur*. [online] Available at: <<https://unamid.unmissions.org/doha-document-peace-darfur>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

¹⁸ Vice.com. 2021. *Darfur's Tribes are Killing One Another over Gold and Water*. [online] Available at: <https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/mvpy8y/darfurs-tribes-are-killing-each-other-over-gold-and-water> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

¹⁹ Human Rights Watch. 2021. *Sudan: Mass Rape by Army in Darfur*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/02/11/sudan-mass-rape-army-darfur>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

²⁰ World Report 2019, op. cit.

²¹ Human Rights Watch. 2021. *World Report 2020: Rights Trends in Sudan*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/sudan>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

in February 2020 to hand over al-Bashir to the ICC to face war crimes and genocide charges.²²

Attacking villages in Darfur usually starts with attacks by the Sudanese Air Force by Russians flying Antonov. Janjaweed militia raids frequently follow air campaigns. All of the village's remaining men, women, and children are either murdered or forced to flee. Looting, food stockpiling, enslaving and raping women and children, and livestock theft are all common. Dead bodies are thrown into wells, contaminating water supplies, and entire villages are burned down.

VII. THE SUDAN GENOCIDE²³

US Secretary of State Colin Powell, in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, declared the ongoing conflict in Darfur, Sudan, as "genocide." President George W. Bush requested that the number of international troops in Darfur be doubled on February 18, 2006. Furthermore, the United States has imposed economic sanctions on Sudan since 1997. However, after years of working with and talking with the Sudanese government, the US formally lifted sanctions against Sudan in 2017. This was in large part due to the Sudanese government's "consistently positive actions in reducing hostilities in conflict areas, improving humanitarian access throughout Sudan, and addressing the terrorist threat in collaboration with the United States."

Darfur Genocide is the ongoing murder by the Sudanese government and its militia, known as the Janjaweed, of (to date) around 200,000 people from Zaghawa and Mashalit in Darfur, a region in northern Sudan. It all started in 2003.

Sudan was an ethnically diverse country controlled by an Arab dictatorship at the beginning of the genocide in Khartoum, the capital. The tension in the Darfur region has increased during the years following genocide, over disputes over land and unequal power, and the government, which has concentrated its efforts and resources on the capital and its surroundings, has marginalized people in Darfur.

In an attempt to gain more control over their lives, some local residents of the Fur, Zaghawa, and Masalit groups in Darfur joined forces to form the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA), which launched an attack on a military airbase in April 2003. The SLA was quickly joined by another organization known as the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM).

²² BBC News. 2021. *Omar al-Bashir: Sudan agrees ex-president must face ICC*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-51462613>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

²³ Theholocaustexplained.org. 2021. *The Darfur Genocide – The Holocaust Explained: Designed for schools*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.theholocaustexplained.org/what-was-the-holocaust/what-was-genocide/the-darfur-genocide/>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

The Government of Sudan armed and trained local residents of the area, which was then instructed to conduct a series of attacks on Fur, Zaghawa and the villages Masalit, to establish violent, semi-professional militias known as Janyaweed. The devastating attacks, which followed government bombing of the villages, were designed to weaken support for the SLA and JEM while securing lands and resources for the government in Fur, Zaghawa, and Masalit. Thousands of villages were destroyed between 2003 and 2005, and their inhabitants were raped, attacked, and murdered. Those who survived the initial attacks were displaced and either tried to survive in the desert (where the government obstructed aid, food, and water supplies) or fled to Chad. Over 200,000 people were killed in total, and approximately 2.5 million were displaced.

The Janjaweed, supported by the administration, have continued targeting Black Africans in the Darfur region since 2003, and this persecution is ongoing with some 2,7 million displaced people. The International Criminal Court charged Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir with three counts of genocide in 2010.

VIII. HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION IN DARFUR²⁴

1. Crackdown on Protesters: According to rights monitors, security forces violently broke up anti-austerity protests in Khartoum, Omdurman, and other towns in January and February, arresting hundreds, beating protesters with sticks and hoses, and using tear gas. Throughout the year, security officials dispersed several university student protests across the country, detaining and injuring many. Security forces opened fire on student protestors in EL Geneina, west Darfur, killing one, and on displaced people in Zalingei Central Darfur and killing five.

2. Torture and Arbitrary Detention: Hundreds of rights activists, protesters, and opposition party members were detained by security agents during the wave of protests in January and February, and dozens were held for weeks without charge. Rudwan Daoud, a Sudanese-American activist, was detained without charge for six weeks after being arrested during a protest against government land explorations. Security officials following his deportation from Saudi Arabia in May, where he had been detained since November 2017, have detained Husham Ali, an activist and vocal critic, without charge.

Ahmed al-Dai Bushara, a social media activist and sports commentator, was arrested in July at his home in Omdurman and held incommunicado for more than two months before

²⁴ World Report 2019, op. cit.

being released in mid-September. Torture and ill treatment were inflicted on detainees. A Darfuri student leader was repeatedly beaten, subjected to electric shocks, threatened with death and rape, and held in harsh conditions after being released in late January after five months of solitary confinement. In October, Asim Omer Hassan, a student activist accused of killing a police officer during protests in May 2016, was hospitalized after being beaten in Kober prison.

Sudan has yet to ratify the Convention Against Torture, which it signed in 1986, and has failed to investigate allegations of torture by national security officials. It retains the death penalty and corporal punishment for a variety of offences.

3. Malicious Prosecutions, Harassment: Nine police officers raided a flat in February, where militant Wini Omer, a public order critique, met three friends, arrested them for five days, and accused them of prostitution. A group of nine police forces were held on plain clothing. On July 24, a prosecutor filed eight new charges against Omer, including crimes against the state, which are punishable by death. Matar Younis, a religious teacher in Central Darfur, was arrested in April for criticizing government forces in Darfur for human rights violations. He was charged with crimes against the state and espionage. Authorities dropped the charges against him and released him in July.

After being forcibly disappeared and then extra judicially returned from Egypt to Sudan in October, security officials charged activist Mohamed with espionage and crimes against the state in November. Authorities also barred opposition politicians and activists from leaving Sudan and confiscated passports, including that of a Darfur Bar Association lawyer returning from an award ceremony in the US in August.

4. Media Restrictions: Security officials seized print runs of eight newspapers in the first week of January alone because they had covered anti-austerity protests. They suspended, delayed, or confiscated newspaper editions throughout the year for publishing articles critical of the president or ruling party, its economic policies, corruption, or other sensitive topics.

At least 18 journalists, including Reuters and AFP correspondents, were arrested during the January protests. Most were released the same day, but four were held without charge for several weeks; journalist Amal Habani was severely beaten during interrogation. Security officials arrested a group of Journalist for protesting a ban on coverage of Omdurman's parliament in October.

Security personnel summoned and interrogated editors and journalists, confiscated laptop computers, and warned them not to cross "red lines." At least one columnist has been barred

from writing for al-Saiha. Authorities charged an al-Jareeda editor and journalist with criminal defamation after they published an article about corruption in March. The former editor-in-chief of al-Mustagila newspaper was sentenced to prison for “false news” for articles published in 2015.

5. Sexual Violence and Discrimination: Government forces have impunity for using sexual violence against women or girls, especially in Darfur where they have been engaged in widespread sexual violence in the past. In February, following her visit to Sudan, the United Nations sexual violence expert noted that there is a deep culture of rape denial.

The morals of Sudan and public order laws, which impose a punishable degradation and flagging on women and girls, for violating dress code and other crimes of personal choice. Human Rights Watch documented in 2016 how these laws, combined with the abuses of security officials, can be used to silence those who challenge authority.

Sudanese laws allow girls as young as 10 to marry, and despite 2015 amendments to the criminal code clarifying the definition of rape; judicial authorities do not consider marital rape to be a crime. Noura Hussein, a 19-year-old woman forced into marriage at the age of 16, was sentenced to death in May for killing her husband when he attempted to rape her. A court commuted the sentence to five years in prison and a large fine in June.

6. Freedom of Religion: Sharia law was imposed on non-Muslims by authorities and apostasised those who converted to Christianity and to a minority or non-Sunni Muslims. In October, South Darfur security officials detained a group of Christians for several days and forced them to renounce their faith. They accused a priest of apostasy. Authorities demolished an evangelical church building in Khartoum without warning on February 11, after previously threatening to demolish 25 churches.

7. Refugees and Migrants: Sudan is the hospital of migrants and refugees from its region. In total, the population of Sudan received more than 200,000 refugees. Its response to migration is led by the notoriously abusive Rapid Support Forces. Authorities have deported Eritreans, frequently without giving them the opportunity to seek asylum. Sudanese refugees from Darfur, Southern Kordofan, and the Blue Nile are housed in camps in Chad, South Sudan, and Ethiopia. Sudanese residents in Cairo, including refugees, were harassed and threatened with deportation by Egyptian and Sudanese officials.

8. International Actors: Sudan has hosted peace discussions and continued participation in the fighting of Arab coalitions in Yemen in Central African Republic and South Sudan.

Confrontation with conflicts The United States, which lifted economic sanctions in 2017, has continued counter-terrorism cooperation and granted visas to current and former heads of Sudan's draconian national security agency, which is responsible for torture and other abuses. The EU has maintained its support for contentious migration programmes, which have been widely criticized for encouraging abuses by security forces.

The UN Security Council approved plans in July to drastically reduce the size of UNAMID and limit its operations to the Jebel Mara region. The mission's operational area has been reduced, but it is still responsible for human rights monitoring and civilian protection throughout Darfur. The mission is expected to reduce its presence and has yet to test the Sudanese government's willingness to allow it to return to former areas of operation to attempt to fulfill these duties. The UN Human Rights Council adopted a resolution in September to extend the work of the Independent Expert on Human Rights in Sudan for another year, or until a country office of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is operational.

Despite having referred the situation to the ICC in 2005, the UN Security Council failed to press Sudan to cooperate with the ICC in the surrender of the five fugitives wanted for alleged Darfur crimes. The International Criminal Court (ICC) first announced charges in 2007.

IX. DARFUR PEACE PROCESS²⁵

The Sudanese administration and Darfur rebel forces agreed to hold a series of peace talks in Nigenia after much pressure from the UN, the African Union, and the neighbour countries, which led in 2006 to the signature of the Darfur Peace Agreement. However, only one rebel group signed the agreement, and the rest argued that the DPA was a bad deal for Darfur.

The main impediments to reaching an agreement can be attributed to both the Sudanese government and the Darfur insurgents.

The Sudanese government is well known for using agreements as a ploy. It is willing to sign any agreement but is determined to obstruct or delay its implementation.

Darfur insurgents, on the other hand, are deeply divided and lack a clear vision. It is estimated that there are currently more than a dozen competing rebel groups in the region, which has resulted in chaotic violence. Efforts to unite the rebels have been hampered by the Sudanese government's divide-and-rule strategy, as well as the intervention of foreign governments such as Chad, Libya, and Eritrea.

²⁵ Origins.osu.edu. 2021. *'The World's Worst Humanitarian Crisis': Understanding the Darfur Conflict | Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective*. [online] Available at: <<https://origins.osu.edu/article/worlds-worst-humanitarian-crisis-understanding-darfur-conflict/page/0/1>> [Accessed 22 September 2021].

Above all, rebel forces in Darfur became part of the proxy war between the governments of the Sudan and Chad. For example, in February 2008, the Chadian opposition attempted to overthrow Idris Deby's government with the assistance of the Sudanese government. In exchange, Chad backed the Justice and Equality Movement's daring attack on Sudan's capital three months later.

There is very little optimism in the present situation in Darfur. The Sudanese government, the rebel fragmentation and the international community's lack of strong determination slow the peace process down. The outcome of the ICC decision on Bashir, the general elections scheduled for 2009, and the deteriorating situation in the border region between northern and southern Sudan may all determine the fate of the Darfur peace process. Meanwhile, the upheaval continues, with no end in sight.

X. RECOMMENDATION/ SUGGESTIONS

This document has pointed out that both Darfur as a political entity and the whole Sudanese nation are challenged. The debates on natural resources have tended to focus on national conflicts in the international discourse and therefore the political meaning of natural resources has been neglected in relation to the violence in Darfur. With the adoption of an institutional perspective, the importance of natural resources becomes clear, highlighting the way in which Darfuri society as a whole is contested – a perspective that simplified, rational actor assumptions about resources, resource scarcity, and conflict fail to identify.²⁶

The extent to which some Arab groups have challenged and overthrown ancient hegemonies over land and power from Darfur's historical sultanates is still relevant to Darfur violence²⁷. Unresolved conflict over land control afflicts large areas of Darfur, and is linked to a large extent to the ongoing displacement of more than 2.5 million people. 80 These conflicts are only likely to be resolved as part of a larger process that addresses contested institutions related to land and natural resources. While these issues must be addressed within Darfur, they are also inextricably linked to national and regional political dynamics.²⁸

Darfur's formal and informal environmental institutions must be reformed and rebuilt over the coming years, if not decades, as part of a larger peace building process. Cleaver refers to the morphing and recycling of social institutions as 'institutional bricolage,' which is a useful concept to consider when analyzing emerging peace paths in Darfur. Darfur's formal and

²⁶ Tubiana and Gramizzi, *Tubu Trouble*.

²⁷ Unruh and Abdul-Jalil, "Land Rights in Darfur"; Bromwich, "Nexus Meets Crisis."

²⁸ Cleaver, *Institutional Bricolage*.

informal environmental institutions must be reformed and rebuilt over the coming years, if not decades, as part of a larger peace building process. Cleaver refers to the morphing and recycling of social institutions as 'institutional bricolage,' which is a useful concept to consider when analyzing emerging peace paths in Darfur.²⁹

Naturally, the imperative of tackling the inner struggles of Darfur is entirely compatible with national and regional conflict resolution. Understanding the role of natural resources within Darfur's contested institutions allows for a more nuanced analysis of how Sudan's government has manipulated political strife within Darfur, as well as the role of natural resources in this complex, multi-layered conflict. International policy failures in Darfur have prevailed where this more detailed perspective has been obscured. During 2003–2004, the world turned a blind eye to Khartoum's violence in Darfur, but after the most intense violence, Khartoum's agency became the focus of global attention, to the exclusion of other conflict narratives. Failures to engage in Darfur based on informed, objective analysis exacerbated the suffering of Darfuris in both cases.

²⁹ Bromwich, "Nexus Meets Crisis."