DISASTERS, DROUGHT, POVERTY AND INJUSTICE AS ROOT OF CONFLICT CAUSES IN SUDAN

Elsiddiq Elsunna
University of Khartoum, Sudan
elsiddiq@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Conflict can be described as a struggle over values and claims to scare status, power and resources' (Boulding, 1962: 5). The East African region is indeed still a region that is accompanied by problems of poverty, hunger, a prolonged disaster that can lead to conflict. To overcome this, the IGADD (Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development) was formed as an organization for organizations established by 6 countries in East Africa, including Sudan, facilitated by the United Nations to deal with prolonged drought. However, the existence of organizational and structural problems makes various policies to achieve organizational goals ineffective. So that prolonged poverty and drought cannot be handled optimally and instead become a trigger for conflict because the population does not get water sources, including in Darfur which is located in the western part of Sudan, East Africa. Durfee and Rosenau (1996) define poverty as 'realities and fears of substandard living conditions that hold the possibility of social polarization along ethnic and cultural lines.' Water and land are very vital sources of life in Darfur because most areas are arid and infertile . Therefore, the population in Darfur, the native African tribe and the dominant Arab tribe, competed to get one another. Then, native African tribes who felt marginalized in rebellion joined the Sudan Liberation's Army (SLA) and Justice and Equality Movements (JEM). Janjaweed (Arabic nomads) as government representatives tried to crush SLA and JEM armed with the government.

KEYWORD : *DISASTERS, DROUGHT, POVERTY AND Injustice,Sudan*

INTRDUCTION

Geographically, Darfur is a part of Sudan which is located in the north which borders the Chadian state which consists of vast expanses of desert and dry grasslands. Darfur consists of two main groups namely Arab and African tribes. Arab tribes are characterized as likely to live by moving (Arabic nomads) and conversely African tribes tend to settle because the majority earn a living as farmers. In addition to the relatively unfertile condition of the region, the Darfur region can also be said to be not rich in natural resources. That is why Arabs and African tribes always compete primarily against water and land because the availability of natural resources is very limited, although there are also tribal councils that are traditionally able to resolve disputes between the two parties.

In the case of the Darfur conflict, the conflict is a negative connotation which is destructive (violence character of the conflict) relating specifically to tribal violence, namely between Arab tribes (Janjaweed) and native African tribes who are members of the Sudan Liberation's Army (SLA) rebellion) and Justice and Equality Movements (JEM). The Darfur conflict has a manifestation of manifest or open conflict which from polarized conflicts to violence and eventually to war, including killing and slaughtering citizens, raping women and burning villages. Historically, the conflict in Darfur arose because of the injustice of the government which was more pro-Arab tribes where more Arabs dominated the most dominant tribes. It was proven that in the 1980s the government replaced the tribal council with government programs. Therefore, it becomes clear how conflicts are handled when disputes arise between Arab and African tribes because Arab tribes dominate the government. Politically, the Darfur government also tends to use abused authority so that there are groups who feel their rights are marginalized namely African groups. In addition, Darfur is an area that tends to lack conditions because it does not have natural resources and also most of its territory is infertile and arid. Disputes over sources of life. especially for water and land continues to increase and there is no legitimacy system to deal with the problem again. At that time Darfur was hit by a long dry season and drought and this was the reason why the conflict quickly occurred. So these factors ultimately led to problems in prolonged poverty in Darfur. Disputes that occur between Arab tribes which have been armed by the government and African minority Muslim tribes who have been denied rights are increasingly polarized and turn violent. When SLA and JEM rebelled, the violence could not be prevented anymore, and it escalated further and finally there was a war between Janjaweed and SLA-JEM. In order to better understand the case of the Darfur conflict more comprehensively, it can be seen as shown below.

Figure 1. Conflict escalation and de-escalation
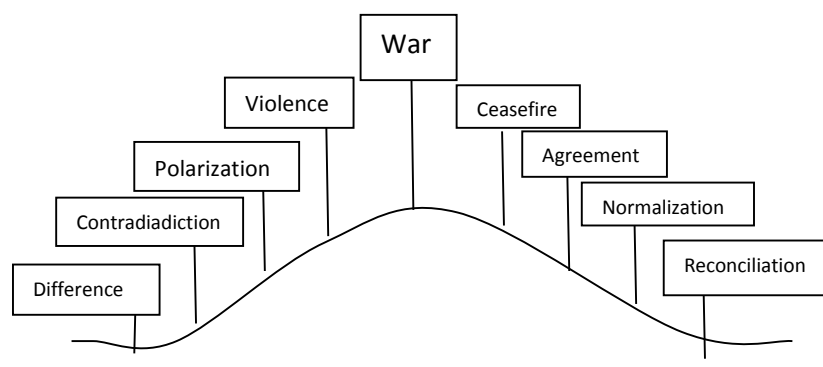
Sources: Glasl, 1982; Fisher and Keashly, 1991

ANALYSIS OF CONFLICT AND PEACE

To analyze the conflict case in Darfur, the author uses the **Paul Wehr** concept which is applied in explaining the conflict based on components such as context or descriptions that contain detailed information about the Darfur conflict, identifying who are the actors involved (parties), what is the position or attitude and its importance and also the dynamics of the conflict in Darfur which explain the shift from root causes to consequences.

In explaining the context of the Darfur conflict case, the author tries to describe in detail how the social, economic and political conditions in Darfur. In relation to conflict, there are several pre-conditions that lead to conflict. **First**, there is an unharmonious relationship between identity groups such as tribes which the government tends to try to eliminate in the interest of its existence. As a result, there is alienation of certain identity groups and also encourages to oppose or rebel against state power or the institutions that represent it. In the Darfur case, the government tended not to recognize the existence of marginalized African ethnic minority groups that eventually joined the rebellion called the Sudan Liberation's Army (SLA) with Justice and Equality Movements (JEM) and even the government tried to eliminate ethnic cleansing (ethnic cleansing) the. In addition, the government also armed Janjaweed which consisted of dominant Arab tribes to fight the SLA and JEM. **Second**, the conflict arises because of the failure of the government in fulfilling the rights of basic humanitarian needs so that the poverty process occurs in a sustainable manner. The basic needs here are not only in economic aspects but also the need for a sense of security and also recognition in the process of implementing government power. Government injustice and abuse of authority that prioritizes the interests of Janjaweed or more pro-Arab than the African tribes who often struggle for water and land because of its infertile territory. Therefore, the depriviation process has resulted in continued pockets of poverty in Darfur and triggered neglected African tribes to rebel against the government. In addition, the role of the military (police) is too small in controlling the country so that there is no sense of security for the people, including the 2003 conflict which escalated into an open conflict that occurred between Janjaweed against SLA and JEM namely the act of killing, slaughtering, damaging public facilities and also includes dehumanization such as burning small children and making women their sexual slaves. **Third,** conflict occurs because it is related to the characteristics of government (governance) that is authoritarian and ignores the aspirations of grassroots. There is a deep sense of dissatisfaction and frustration due to the rigid pressure of political and security stability that has ignored the civil and political rights of certain ethnic groups. In fact, the existing military force is used to suppress any form of protest and resistance to authoritarian and unjust governmental

88

power. Janjaweed is also called devil on horseback with an evil character who generally uses horses while suppressing any rebellion and even innocent local residents also become victims of their violence. Evidently, Janjawed who was armed by the government had acted arbitrarily to commit violence against other Arab and African tribes and also against the rebellion by the SLA and JEM. African tribes who joined the SLA and JEM rebellions because of their poor conditions who do not get economic and social access. Even though the Sudanese government is considered authoritarian, still the role of the police and military is considered to have failed to protect and control the stability of security and the state is also considered to ignore the basic rights and aspirations of the people.

Parties involved in the conflict are between Janjaweed consisting of dominant Arab tribes and rebel Sudan Liberation's Army (SLA) with Justice and Equality Movements (JEM) which consists of marginalized African tribes. Politically, the more pro-Arab Darfur government has armed Janjaweed (Arabic nomads) to crush the SLA and JEM rebels. Where SLA and JEM is a collection of native African tribes who generally earn their living as farmers. SLA and JEM are minority and powerless Muslim populations. The interests of SLA and JEM are to protest and rebel in order to get justice from the Government which has aggravated their economic conditions. The government is considered to have abused political power and authority and the role of military power is also very small which is unable to protect the security of the local population of Darfur. Janjaweed is not a representative of all Darfur regions, but this group also often attacks fellow Arab tribes in Darfur, often committing rape, murder, looting including burning villages. Indeed there is an interest in why Janjaweed perpetrated the violence, which was indeed a personal motive against Africans and wanted to rid Darfur of African tribes. Plus it has more power when the Government is committing the Janjaweed.

Root of the problem is poverty due to injustice and abuse of authoritarian government authority that discriminates against native African tribes and defends Janjaweed more. As a result, the people, especially the indigenous African tribes, have difficulties in fulfilling their basic rights including gaining economic and social access.

Non-fulfillment of basic rights creates jealousy for marginalized people who ultimately rebel because of ongoing poverty. Understanding of the threat of peace has also been shifted or modified to include genocide, mass violence against human rights, and including ethnic cleansing. The Darfur conflict occurred between marginalized indigenous African tribes and dominant Arab tribes as government representatives. So the government tried to eliminate ethnic African cleansing by arming Janjaweed. In 1983, there was also discrimination in which the Government wanted to apply

Shariah Law. What accelerates or triggers this conflict is escalation (proximate cause) is due to environmental challenges or environmental changes that cause drought which actually worsens poverty, the spread of disease and hunger in the Darfur region which led to SLA and JEM rebellions. Outside the case, in Sudan itself there is also a polarization between the north and south where the northern part is majority Muslim and the south is majority Christian and Animism both fight over oil reserves at the border. According to Jamera (2003) states that oil reserves in Sudan is not as large as in Saudi Arabia and Iraq, but if it is managed properly it will bring benefits to countries as poor as Sudan with a per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) estimated at 424 USD annually.

As a result of the Darfur conflict case, the first violence that has caused many victims of local communities and refugees (refugees) on a large scale to find a safe place and even to flee to neighboring Chad. Secondly, many victims mainly come from African tribes who suffer from hunger, lack of food, infectious diseases that are not accompanied by access to good health services. Third, the destruction of infrastructure (public services) such as damage to many villages, roads, schools and health clinics due to the war between the SLA-JEM and Janjaweed. . The consequences if this conflict continues without conflict resolution that is the greater the loss that can be due to exacerbate the social, economic and political conditions of the population in Darfur where the war can bring Darfur to the point of exhaustion. In addition, cases of conflict Darfur can impact negative both physically and non-physically (mentally), and also there is a deep psychological trauma, especially for most local indigenous tribes of Africa who are victims of conflict escalated into violence.

DEALING WITH CONFLICT

In this section it is assumed that every conflict can be resolved. In this case, including how the Darfur conflict case mechanism can be managed or resolved. The author tries to explain how the Darfur conflict is managed with conflict management that changes from something that is violent to something that is not destructive but indeed the conflict still exists by trying to limit and control it so it does not arise through regulation. In dealing with internal conflicts, the UN must intervene and try to offer solutions for humanity with the principles that include **Firs**t, UN intervention is carried out based on the request or approval from the government of a sovereign country. **Second**, the need for emphasis on the consent of the legitimate government. **Third**, placing the interests of the local population above the interests of the government where humanitarian solidarity is more important than the principle of state sovereignty. **Fourth**, the need to establish governance mechanisms that can function so that they can create order and carry out other basic functions. **Fifth**, interventions must prevent conflict situations from being controlled immediately to

90

avoid large numbers of victims. inability to overcome the slaughter of thousands of people in Darfur by Janjaweed armed by the Government shows that intervention by the United Nations is still very limited and still slow in anticipating open conflict and violence. Although there are still conflicts, especially Janjaweed's personal motives towards indigenous African tribes, open conflict has stopped even with a long process.

CONFLICT INTERVENTION

Agenda for peace is the main point on the agenda for the UN's involvement in peace and how the solutions offered by the UN can effectively play its role in building world peace which is also related to how the protection of local residents or victims in the case of conflict in Darfur, Sudan. The Darfur conflict is a complex problem. Provisions of the United Nations (UN) that prohibit threats, the use of force and the principles of annihilation of the nation are rules and many unwritten agreements that come from widespread belief that state that the use of force or destruction systematically on religious groups and ethnicity is inherently immoral and ethically reprehensible. Cases of massacres, killings, destruction of infrastructure, sexual harassment and ethnic cleansing of indigenous African tribes should indeed be stopped because in addition to being contrary to ethics it is also related to human rights violations.

Preventive Diplomacy are all actions to prevent open conflict from becoming a broader conflict that involves many parties carried out by the elite and can be done when the conflict occurs. The minimum target is to prevent open conflict and early warning is the ability to know the conflict will occur. Preventive diplomacy can be interpreted. conflicting party can work through protection from the UN by keeping the dispute from being related to a situation full of threats that can expand the conflict. In the Darfur case, the UN was not quick enough to carry out preventive diplomacy and was considered less successful because there were already many casualties due to the slaughter of thousands of local residents, the killing and rape of Darfur women. Although with a long process between Janjaweed and SLA-JEM finally the ceasefire could be done. At least the UN in the next early warning was still considered successful in preventing the recurrence of violence including the massacre of local residents in Darfur.

In the **Peacemaking** mission efforts are all actions used to stop violence and produce an agreement for a ceasefire. According to Jemadu (2008) peacemaking is a process whose purpose is to bring together or reconcile the political and strategic attitudes of warring parties through mediation, negotiation and arbitration, especially at the elite or leadership level. The resulting form is in the form of negative peace through military intervention in Darfur to make a ceasefire. In May 2005, the Sudanese government and two Darfur SLA rebels and JEM reached an agreement by signing a

Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) with the mediation of the African Union, accompanied by pressure from the US and British in Abuja, Nigeria. Darfur Peace Agreement which contains about a cease-fire or ceasefire and power-sharing agreement or division of power which only focuses on Darfur.

But the peace agreement could not also create peace in the land of Darfur. In June 2006, the UN Security Council Delegation arrived in Sudan for the first time. They are trying to persuade the Sudanese government, which has been resisting the presence of UN forces because of various concerns, to explain that a UN peacekeeping operation in Darfur is not the same as an invasion, and that the UN has no intention of taking over the country. Since the 2005 peace agreement, international efforts have intensified to persuade the Sudanese government to allow the United Nations to take over the task of peacekeeping in Darfur from an African Union force of 7,000. Although this is a step that is felt to be inadequate, without peacemaking, the peace process cannot be carried out any further. So, peace making is something that is very important to do.

The peace effort through **Peacekeeping** is a mission for the truce to remain and international aid activities to enter even though its mandate is still very limited. According to Jemadu (2008) peacekeeping is the process of stopping or reducing violence through military intervention that plays a role as a neutral peacekeeper. In the Darfur conflict, the UN must cooperate with the African Union in carrying out its peace mission through UNMIS and UNAMID which involved 13,021 personnel in The Economist (6 January 2007). The African Union mission is sending armed forces from Rwanda in the Darfur region to stabilize or attempt to normalize conditions in Darfur. This mission is almost always needed to stop every bloody event in war. IDPs from the United Nations are to protect refugees, help in providing food, easy access to health and stop security crises caused by violence and terror that occur every day in Darfur. International humanitarian assistance such as UNICEF has also helped victims and established a place for refugees. Military intervention came from the African Union which attempted to send 3000 troops to maintain the security of the

92

Darfur region. In this regard, there was a donation from the European Union amounting to 125 million USD and also the United States also contributed 2.5 million USD. The effort to normalize the African Union in Darfur is a good first step even though sending troops still needs to be armed and funded. In addition, the United Nations Security Council also imposes strict sanctions on restrictions on Sudan's oil sales.

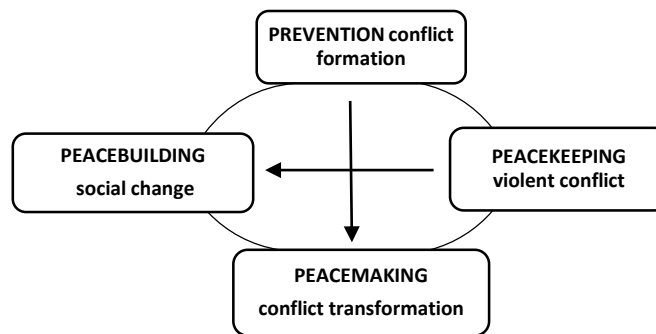In relation to the Darfur issue, the UN Security Council has issued a number of resolutions, including:

Resolution	Year	About
1547	2004	regarding the establishment of the UN Advance Mission in Sudan (UNAMIS).
1556	2004	who ordered the Sudanese government to say Sadan had to stop the atrocities of Arab militias in the Darfur region as well disarm Janjaweed militia within 30 days. This resolution also requires that the Sudanese government punish those responsible for crime. The UN Security Council approved a resolution to impose sanctions on Sudan, if it fails to stop violence in Darfur within a specified period of time (30 days). This resolution was not fulfilled by Sudan, and accepted sanctions to cease temporary diplomatic and economic activities.
1585	2005	extend UNAMIS mandate
1591	2005	regarding the sanctions of the UN Security Council in the form of a prohibition on the departure and freezing of assets of Government officials and rebels allegedly related to human rights violations in Darfur.
1593	2005	provide additional sanctions for Sudan, including an arms embargo for the Sudanese government and a ban on planes The Sudanese government conducts military operations and requires the Sudanese Government to report to the UNSC if it wants to send military equipment to the Darfur region. The resolution also concerns the submission of human rights violation suspects to the International Court of Justice.
	2006	The UN Security Council delegation arrived in Sudan for the first time. They are trying to persuade the Sudanese government, which has been resisting the presence of UN

		forces due to various concerns, to explain that a UN peacekeeping operation in Darfur is not the same as an invasion.
1769	2007	The UN Security Council will deploy 26 thousand troops and police to Darfur to strengthen the African Union forces. In accordance with the Resolution, the UN Security Council troops will join the African Union forces to become a new peacekeeping force called the UNAMID

Peacebuilding is a process of implementing social, political and economic change or reconstruction for the sake of creating lasting peace and expected negative peace (the absence of violence) to change into positive peace where people feel social justice, economic prosperity and effective political representation. In the case of the Darfur conflict, the peacebuilding process has not yet been fully carried out and does require a lengthy reconciliation process. However, at least there has been a potential effort by Janjaweed as a representative of the government and SLA group to agree to sign a peace agreement that could lead to a peacebuilding mission. At least the response from the African Union, the European Union, and developed countries like the US was enough to be able to stop the war any further. Proven peaceful operation measures by sending armed forces can maintain security and crisis in Darfur. Maybe, farmers and nomadic people in Darfur can live together even with a little water, that is by building canals or other systems to help their lives to be better. Darfur still needs help to carry out reconstruction, building public facilities such as schools, roads and health clinics so that they can carry out their daily activities. Nevertheless, through these actions and changes it can at least help the people of Darfur to start transforming their conflict to something more constructive than violence.

Figure 2. Conflict Dynamics and Conflict Resolution

```
        ┌──────────────────┐
        │ PREVENTION conflict │
        │    formation      │
        └──────────────────┘
┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
│  PEACEBUILDING   │ ◄──  │   PEACEKEEPING   │
│  social change   │      │  violent conflict │
└──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘
        ┌──────────────────┐
        │   PEACEMAKING    │
        │ conflict transformation │
        └──────────────────┘
```

CONCLUSION

The Darfur conflict is an internal conflict where the root of the problem is poverty and injustice. Polarization is increasingly apparent when indigenous African minority people make their living as farmers increasingly marginalized and unable to meet their basic needs. Problems that often trigger conflicts are land ownership and access to water sources. Governments that abuse authority and marginalize indigenous African tribes make them join in the rebellion of the Sudan Liberation's Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) which protest government injustice due to jealousy. Janjaweed (Arabic nomads) who are not representatives of all Darfur regions, but also attack fellow Arab tribes, crush SLA and JEM armed with the government (ethnic cleansing). Changes in the environment that caused drought became a conflict lighter in Darfur because of the large number of people who were starving, infectious diseases and prolonged poverty. Violence began in 2003, Janjaweed began to crush the SLA and JEM rebellions by killing, looting, slaughtering, raping and burning public facilities. Janjaweed's interest was to clean Darfur from African tribes because they had personal motives. Violence continued to escalate and finally there was a war between the two sides. The UN seeks to deal with the Darfur

95

conflict with various strategies including preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The United Nations together with the African Union, the European Union and the US are trying to offer a variety of solutions and assistance, although they are considered to be very slow in their handling, peacemaking efforts for a ceasefire and power-sharing are considered successful through the Darfur Peace Agreement. The dispatch of armed forces, UNMIS missions, UNAMID, IDPs, UNICEF and the United Nations Security Council are efforts to stabilize and normalize Darfur conditions. Although, peacebuilding efforts have not been successful, but at least the conflict can be managed and open conflict between ethnic groups does not happen again.

From what has been presented by the author, then to facilitate understanding of the conflict can be seen in the mapping of conflict as below which includes interventions, parties involved, strategies and principles applied, needs, values and interests, goals achieved and the dynamics of conflict that illustrate the shift from the root of the problem to the consequences as follows:

Figure 3. Conflict Mapping
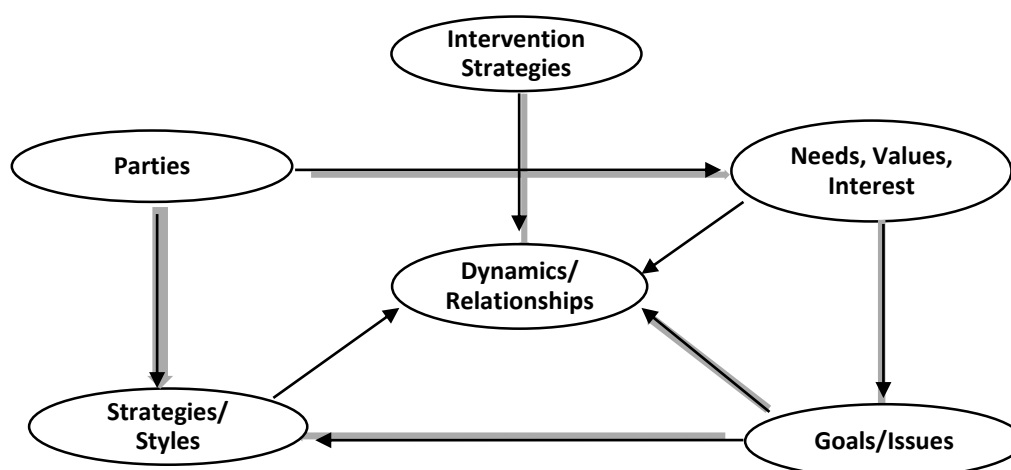
Sources: Jeong, Ho-Won. 2008. "Understanding Conflict and Conflict Analysis." London: Sage Publication Ltd

REFERENCES

1. Azar, Edward. 1990. "The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases." Aldershot: Dartmouth.
2. Durfee, Mary and James Rosenau. 1996. "Playing Catch up: International Relations Theory and Poverty in the Millennium. Vol 25, No.3
3. Galtung, Johan. 1975. "Three approaches to Peace: peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding." In Peace, War and Defense - Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers quoted in Hugh Miall
4. Holtsti, Kalevi. 1996. "The State, War and the State of War." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Thing. 20-21.
5. Holsti, K.J. 1983. "International Politics, a Framework for Analysis, Fourth Edition." Prentice-Hall, Inc.
6. Jemadu, Aleksius. 2008. "Global Politics in Theory and Practice First Edition." Yogyakarta: Graha Science.
7. Jeong, Ho-won. 2008. "Understanding Conflict and Conflict Analysis." london: Sage publication Ltd
8. Miall, Hugh, 2004, Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, http://www.berghof-handbook.net
9. Mittelman, James H and Tambe, A. 2000. "Reconceptualizing Global Poverty: Globalization, marginalization and Gender." In Wapner. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefie Publisher, Inc.
10. Morgenthou, Hans J and Thompson, K. 1985. Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power, Sixth Edition. New York: Alfred A Knopf, Inc
11. Nuraeni, S., Silvya, Deasy and Sudirman. 2010. "Regionalism in the Study of International Relations." Yogyakarta: Student Library
12. Roy, S.L. 1984. Diplomacy. India: Sterling Publisher Pvt. Ltd.,
13. Wallerstein, Peter. 1997. "New Actors, New Issues, New Actions." Department of Conflict and Peace Research: Uppsala University