THE PROBLEM OF ETHNICITY AND THE BOUNDARY DISPUTES:

A CASE STUDY OF SUDAN

Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation, entitled **"The Problem of Ethnicity and the boundary disputes : A case Study of Sudan"**, Submitted by **me,** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **Master of Philosophy,** has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University. This is his own work.

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PREFACE

As ethnicity became much relevant in the African context after the mid 20th century. The Sudan also faced the colonialism caused the large-scale transfer of populations, which has now resulted entangle inter-ethnic relations. As it is clear that 'ethnicity' is not an entirely new phenomenon and it is burning problem all around the world today. In such circumstances when the world humane being are facing such ugly faces of ethnic identity and it's assertion and abrasion, it becomes necessary to look into the diverse manifestations of ethnicity and associated phenomena as a case in point. The tribalism and ethnicities in the Africa have proved so strong that it can not be contained despite substantial organizational efforts to bring about continent unity.

The present study tend to explore the different dimensions of the ethnicity and it's relation with the socio-geographical boundaries of the Sudan. The Sudan which is often described as 'microcosm' of the African continent has faced perpetual problem of 'ethnic crisis' since its independence in 1956. The rich ethnic diversity was exploited by the colonial regime and schism between the Arabs and Negro Africans was created to serve their motives. The activities inciting hatred between north and South were encouraged. The educational institution, pattern of

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development and promotion of ideas were discriminated between north and south.

Apart from colonial policies in the Sudan, after the post-independent era, the Sudanese central leadership also failed to respect the sentiments of the Christian dominated South. As the north and central Sudan predominated by Muslim Arab found themselves different socially culturally and religiously from south. Thus, the lack of modern advanced outlook of 'democratic' and 'nationalist' ideas could not integrate north and south socially though politically united. The nascent independent state could not handle the sophisticatedly deep-rooted problems created by the colonial regime. The 'ethnic' out-brust was only a matter of time point. As the paramountancy of the British rule lapsed in 1956, the ethnic conflict began to raise her head, and still to be contained fully though the efforts are hectically being made and the nature of problem well understood.

In such circumstances the aspirations of the peoples of the Sudan are not met out the amicable, peaceful and progressive social life due to ethnic and regionalistic approaches. Now the central political leadership seems to be determined than ever before to resolve the ethnic crisis. The reason being the increasing realization that 'peace' and 'security' are the pre-requisite for the any sort of development. Hence to sort out the

problem, the demands, and the rights, of the minorities must be taken into account by the central leadership and their sentiments (i.e. social, cultural or religions) must be fully respected.

Keeping in mind above-mentioned facts, the efforts have been made to diagnose the 'ethnic problem' and it is 'border' implication in case of the Sudan as follows.

The chapter one the title "Ethnicity and it is importance in National unity and Integrity" which deals with the conceptual background of 'ethnicity' and its importance and role in the Africa in general and the Sudan in particular. The efforts in this chapter have been made to diagnose the different dimensions of the 'ethnic factors' which effects the national unity and integrity. It also introduce the 'ethnic' setting and patter of the Sudanese society and emergence of ethnic conflict.
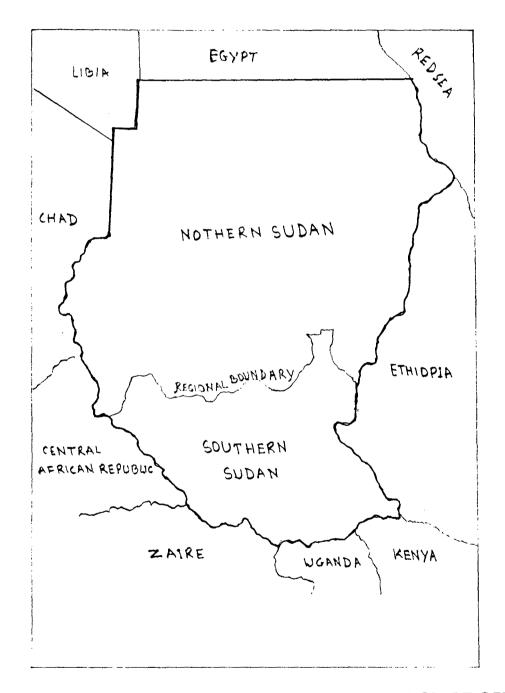
While as subsequent chapter (chapter – 2) with the title "Ethnicity development and economic crisis" explores the economic causes of ethnic crisis. The issues like regional development, land tenancy system, industrial development, food crisis and fiscal and financial management are tried in regional 'approach' of different 'ethnic groups' as which ones are privileged and deprived. Apart from the economic issues the political issues are also of great importance.

The third chapter with the title 'Ethnic Identity and political problems' looks into causes of the emergence of 'ethnic identity' and political leaderships. The courses of ethnic conflicts in Sudan and the role of different political out-fits have also been cited in this chapter.

And the fourth chapter with the title "Ethnicity and Boundary relations" explores the various aspects of socio-geographical boundaries and their relevance. How the boundaries effect the ethnic setting of a particular group? And·what are the implications of the Sudan's internal boundaries in it's civil war? Are some question tried to be answered. Thus the dissertation, titled **"ethnicity and the boundary disputes"** in case of the Sudan in which it has been tried to explore the different dimensions of social, economic, political and regional problems rooted in it is history and politics.

And finally the study had been concluded in finding the solutions of on going social conflict, which will assure the peace and stability of the Sudan.

THE SUDAN

EGYPT

LIBIA

RED SEA

CHAD

NOTHERN SUDAN

REGIONAL BOUNDARY

ETHIOPIA

CENTRAL
AFRICAN REPUBLIC

SOUTHERN
SUDAN

ZAIRE

UGANDA

KENYA

SOURCE : U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATES, BACKGROUND NOTE, 1982

CHAPTER-I

ETHNICITY AND IT'S IMPORTANCE IN NATIONAL UNITY AND INTIGRITY ETHNICITY:

A CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND:

Ethnicity has become one of the important aspect of discourse in today's Third world society. It has become an urgent task to understand the role and the importance of ethnicity in a transforming pluralistic society before going into detail of given case study this Chapter focuses the meaning and concepts of the ethnicity as such. The Word 'Ethnicity' is derived from the Greek root term 'Ethnos' which meant 'nation', but the original meaning of the term 'Ethnic' was "pertaining to race"[1] Which is now applied in modern context by Sociologists and political scientists to a wider phenomenon. Though there is not complete agreement on the matter of subject that it should be defined in a particular way, but there must be a broader consensus over the issue.

In the past, it was common to highlight cultural differences as an essential feature of distinctiveness. But recently by this has been de-emphasized on the ground that cultural differences may vary from one setting to another and from one historical period to another. Presently the definitions have therefore focused on the existence of a recognized

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[1] Edgar F. Borgatta and Marie L. Borgatta (ed.), *"Encyclopedia of Sociology"* Vol. 2, New York, pp. 575.

social boundaries. In words of Max Weber, "An Ethnic group is one whose members entertain subjective belief in their common decent because of similarities of physical type or of custom or both, or because of memories of Colonization and migration."[2] Further the idea of Max Waber regarding the Ethnicy' is that "it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists among ethnic groups". While the idea of Van Den Beghe to define 'Ethncity' is that "the Ethnicity is a form of genetic nepotism, a generation of presumably universal tendency among animals to favour kin."

In this respect, another expert 'Issac' defined ethnicity' in his terms as, Ethnicity is a primordial deriving from deeply seated human impulses and needs that are not eradicated by modernization."[3]

Thus, there is no universally accepted definition, which could set in all the circumstances. But despite definitional disagreements, a number of Characteristics are generally recognized are hallmarks of ethnicity; not all of them will be present in every case, but many will be. They include features shared by group members, such as the same or similar geographic origin, language, religion, culture, traditions, psychology , food, music, folkbore, residential patterns and even national diversity

[2] ibid. p. 575
[3] Ibid – 576.

shaped by geographical environment and way of life etc. can be incorporated in broader context as the components ethnic factors or traits.

Coming to the issue of `race' and it is being identical to Ethnicity has created some confusions among the mind of scholars whether it should be judged a form of ethnicity. In this context a `race' should not be understood as a bundle of genetically determined traits that generate of themselves social differences. A view that has been repudiated by a vast majority of social scientists but as a kind of social classification used by members of a society. Some scholars distinguish between "Ethnicity" and `race'. For instance, Van der Berghe defines race as. A social classification based on putative physical traits, and ethnicity as a classification based on cultural ones."[4] But more commonly, race is seen as a variant of ethnicity. A racial group is then, an ethnic group whose members are believed by others if not also by themselves, to be physchologically distinctive.

But on conceptual ground there are some confusions about the criteria of defining the particular `Ethnic group' specially where groups interacted for long time. But there are situations where peoples might have overlaps in one of the ethnic criteria i.e. religion, language, culture

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[4] ibid. p. 57

or ancestry but lack commonalties in the rest. Further there are agreements that 'Ethnic group' is not determined by objective factors such as sharing common primordial characteristics. They point out subjective factors such as perception, belonging, self-identification and alike.[5]

In short, be definition of 'Ethnic group' and distinction between people based on the ethnic criteria is difficult, inconsistent and confusing. One could come up with different results depending on whether one uses 'subjective' or 'objective' criteria[6]. Hence emphasis should ought to be on the practical implication of the problem and it is identification.

Now, coming to the role of 'ethnicity' in pluralistic societies we shall see how it has revitalised the political breath of the African nation states in general and the Sudan in particular. As be look back into be history of Africa's colourilization, the entry of foreign powers was confirmed in the 19th century. While in be mid of 20th century, the situation was brewing for be out break of a new identity. The most of the African nations got independence during the 50s and 60s. This was the phase when 'ethnic identity' and emergence of 'ethnonationalism' in African countries played

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[5] Kuman Rup Singh and Valery A. Th. Shkov. (ed.); "Ethnicity and the power in the contemporary world," Tokyo United Nations University Press, 1996, p. 13.
Hon of Africa : My be and renlity by thizkias Assefa, p. 33.
[6] Ibid. 27.

an important role in awakening of the political conciousness among the parochial Organizations. But prior to the colonization to the African countries, the different "ethnic groups" derived their inspiration from primordial values i.e. clan, lineage and ancestry etc.

But after the establishment of colonial regimes in the African countries "the traditional set up of 'tribal commune' was distorted through the introduction of external conflicts over differential access to the resource of modernity and economic accumulation and political tribalism."[7] This led to the African countries to evolve the charter of personalistic, materialistic and opportunistic character of the African elites and politics. In this respect Sudan was no exception. The British colonialism defined and consolidated the state in the Sudan. Among its legacies are the consolidation of an Arab – Islamic hegemonic block in Northern – Sudan, and conservation of under – development and tribal peculiarities in the south.

Now, coming out of the conceptual frame-work of 'ethnicity' let us see about the 'boundary implications' in case of the Sudan. In what context and how its importance lies in the study of ethnicity? What are the

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[7] Bruce J. Berman; "Ethnicity, Patronage and the Africa State: The politics of Uncivil Nationalism", *Afrcan Affairs*, # 33, June 1998, P. 305.

natures of the boundaries i.e. social, political or geographical which will be dealt in the detail in chapter assigned for it; but before any other issue, the role of ethnic factors, their effects and importance in making of a nation play very vital role. To discuss these issues, it becomes necessary to know the socio-eco-political and cultural dimension of the Sudanese society. To scrutinise these factors, let us see the Sudanese society.

ETHNIC FACTORS IN NATIONAL UNITY AND INTIGRITY

While as coming to the role of 'ethnic' factors in nation building process, the 'ethnic' problems have always played an important role in it's un-making. The role of culture, language, ideology, education system and values etc. including the whole complex of problems associated with both the inter-relationships of peoples of different ethnic origins and relation within any one ethnic group: may pose the serious problems for social consolidation and national unity and integrity. To examine these factors in case of the Sudan, how it fits in general (in comparison to other African countries) and differs in particular should follows as:

Democratic Republic of the Sudan, in the variety of its peoples languages and religion is virtually a 'microcosm' of the whole of the African continent. "It is ethnically complex, comprising more than 100 languages

spoken in Sudan by at least 50 major ethnic tribal groups with almost some 600 significant sub-groups."[8] The situation is further complicated by religious differences-persuade by the peoples of different faiths i.e. Muslims in north rendering their faith in Islam; Christians in south and pagans in sporadic forms share the religious diversity. This staggering diversity is very important factor in Sudanese life. It underlines in many ways, the characteristics of the Sudanese moods of compromise and 'conflict' of balance and tension. So, Let's see the major ethnic components one by one.

ETHNIC CONFUGRATION OF THE SUDAN.

The identities of people living in the Sudan are complex and often overlaps in confusing ways. The Sudan inherited acute antagonisms between different 'ethnic groups' from the past. The antagonism that took shape long ago at the time when Arab – traders from the northern provinces sold African living along the upper Nile into slavery."[9] During the colonial period the gulf between the north and south became even wider (primarily due to superimposed boundaries) and the colonialists used tribalism to consolidate their hegemony in the country.

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[8] John obert voll and Sarah Potts voll, *"The Sudan : Unity and diversity in a multicultural state"* (West view Press, USA, 1985) pp. 6-8.

9   R. N. Ismagilova, *"Ethnic Problems of the tropical Africa-can they be solved"?* (Progress publication Moscow-1977) p. 85

In the Southern Sudan, the deplorable events associated with the slave trade were deliberately revived in the memories of Nelotic peoples. In churches, schools and government institutions, everywhere colonial administration reminded the southerners that they differed from the Arabic speaking north and that the northerns were the son of slaves. Thus the problem of north versus south lies in colonial legacy of the British regime in the Sudan during the last two centuries of the 2nd millennium AD. The Arabs who are around 45 percent of the Sudanese population are the product of at least a millennium and half of a tribal migration and interaction with surrounding areas. By the end of 18th century, the Arab peopling of Sudan was well formed. The main `ethnic groups' in Northern Sudan are as follows:

1. The Gaalien and Danagla group – the Bedariya, shuarryhat,?? Terafiya, Ghodiat, Awadia, Hakimab etc.)

2. Guhayana Group - Bashir, Salamat, Mahariya, Abdullah, Orusam, Khawalda, Dubamia etc

3. Fezara group – Dar, Hamid, Zayadia, Baza etc.

4. The Kuwahla group – Kwahla, Ahamda, Hussaimiya are some major groups with their subgroups."[10]

Fodl Hassan, *"The Arabs in The Sudan"* (1967) p. 90.

Thus in northern Sudan, there are the communities of the people whose ancestors were in varying degrees, a mixture of Negoid, Arab and Nubian. The admixing of the different races in due course of time have made rich diaspora in the Sudan as a whole. Whole in the contrast of north, the southern Sudanese differ in racio-cultural identification. The southermers are considered the `Negroid' and `Pagan' with a cristinised leadership. The southern Sudanese may be divided into three main groups and in turn subgroups are follows:

1st.   The Nilotes – "The Nilotes comprise the Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Anuk, Bureau, Bor, Balanda, Jur, Shihluk, Lio and Acholi etc." The Dinka formus the largest single tribe, member over a million and occupy a large area than any other tribe in south Sudan. They are divided into a number of sub-tribes i.e. – cia, Bor, Ahab, Agur and Atot. etc.[11] while as the second group,

2nd.   The Nilo Hamites – This group is further sub-divided into three main groups, based allegedly on cultural

affinites and apparent relationships. The southern Sudanese Nilo Hamites fall into the northern group. "These are the Bari, Mudari, Nyagwara, Pojulu, Kakwa, Lulumba, Lutopo Lopit and Ligo etc.

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11. DUSTAN. M. WAI; *"The Southern Sudan `Thje problem of integratoion"* (Bank cars : London 1973), p.p. 9-10.

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group may be further sub devided into two groups consisting the Basi, Mumdari, Nyagwara, Pojula, Kakwa and Lokoya, Lumba respectively and finally the

3rd.   Group conprises the Letuko and the lango."[12] The central Nilo Hamites are represented by the Topasa, Dhowyiro,Jiye, and Turkama. These are the tribes which spill over the border. In the extreme south-west of the country are the Sudanic tribes who are composed of the Azande, the Ndogosere group, the Morundi and Bogo – Baka groups. The Ndogosere group live near wan while the Molo – Modi group is devided linguistically into three sub-groups; the Mosu, who occupy the Meridi and Amadi districts; the Anakaya and Kaliko are concentrated in Yei district, extending into congo and blgandi, and the Madi, who inhabit the opari and Nimule areas spilling over into Uganda.

Thus the 'ethnic' and tribal diversity in Sudan varier radically from North to South and cenre to perphery. 'These ethnic' tribal complexities show how flexible yet conservative identification process has been in the Sudan. Sudan have been modeled to identify themselves into accordance with symbols which varied from place to place."[13]   Actually these

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Deng francis Mading; *"Tradition and Modernization, A challenge forlaw among the Dinka of the Sudan,"* (Groom heln publication, 1972), p. 153.

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identifications are only based on already existing `familial, tribal, ethnic and ultimate racial values which have hindered the process of national integration and social consolidation. Further the fundamental issues like language, religion and cultural factors have also influenced the social harmony and peaceful co-existence. Coming to these issues, the role of language is of immense importance assisted by the religion and culture.

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE:

The role of language in unifying the nation works as a cohesion among it's peoples. From the point of linguistic diversity the Sudan is very rich from north to South. It is estimated that more than one hundred different languages are spoken in the Sudan. In many cases a special language is part of the tribal and ethnic identity and helps to make that identify more distinctive. This is true primarily among the smaller tribal groups. The major languages, however, have broader influence of a regional and in case of Arabic, a national character. Almost 45 per cent people speak Arabic, which has been constitutionally declared as the national language. Historically, Arabic has been the language of major political units in northern two-third of the country as well as the language of the most interregional commercial activity. Arabic war also the basic language of literacy for the most Sudanese.

Apart from Arabic, other major languages in north are "northern cushitic" spoken by Beja tribes and `Chadic' language in western party of the Sudan and 'Hausa' a less significant in the Sudan in present context.

In southern Sudan the most of the tribal grops speak the languages of Nilo-Saharan group in contrast to the `Afro-Asiatic group' of north. "The `chari-Nile' category within `Nilo-Suharan group' language family includes the language spoken by the major Nilotre groups, such as Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk. The other language family significant in the south is the Adamawa – Eastern category within the Niger – congo family."[14] The southern Sudan is more complex on linguistic division of the tribal groups. No single local language has served to overcome tribal boundaries, and any language used throughout the region has come from outside.

Thus the linguistic diversity from north to south Sudan and intra-linguial complexities in south have marred the prospect of rise of cohesiveness on linguistic line. However the government sponsered efforts from Khartoum to increase the pace of 'Arabization' in southern

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[14] Peter woodward, *"Sudan, 1898-1989; The unstable staes"* (Boulder & London, 1990), p. 5

Sudan have aroused fear and opposition."[15] In north analyzation appeared to be able to take place without the destruction of local cultural autonomy, but southern feared that 'arabization' in their region was a threat to their own special traditions and identities. As a result in contrast to Arabic in North, the more widely used language for urban culture and region wise activities in south is English. Thus the issue of language choice has been a basis for conflict as well as cohesion.

RELIGION AND CULTURE

The Religion in an important and sentimental issue for the identity of the Sudanese peoples. The religion and cultural distinctiveness have time and again played crucial role in political life of the nation making. Many time religious issues have been tossed and exploited by the seasoned politicians. The importance of religious aspects of the Sudanese life lies in its multifaceted social out- look and its constitutional position. "The Sudanese construction by an act declared Sudan as a Islamic state." Where as the religious composition of Sudan comprises the Mislims – 45 Pc., Cristians – 8 Pc.\ dominant in the south), and pagan as peoples practicing tribal faiths. 30 P.c.[16] Thus the religious domination and it is constitutional recognition to Islam, impinged the minosties faith, though

[15] Ibid. p-10.
[16] John obert voll and Sarah Potts Voll, "The Sudan : Unity and diversity in a multicultural state" (west view press. USA. 1985) pp. 16

there has been promise made that the credential of the other religion should be recognised respectfully. The concentration of the follower of the different religious groups corresponding to territorial set up follows as the Muslim in the northern regions of the country, where they make up in some areas, virtually all the population. The southern provices of Sudan i.e. Bahr-el-Gazal , Eastern Equatorial State, western Equatarial state, Elbohara, western Bahr Elgazl state in the south are Christian inhabited. However the third major religious grouping is based on adherence to tribal customs and patterns of belief. Such world views are identified with particular tribal and ethnic groups. About 29 percent of the population, primarily in south region, follow this type of practice and faith. The evolution of socio-cultural set-up of the Sudanese society lies in it's historical retrospect. This has created diversity within religious traditions and results in some distinctively Sudanese expressions of particular beliefs and practices. And the roots of the problem in traditional culture is obiquitiousm the Sudan. "Both the pre-Islamic northern culture and the present northern culture have in common with the southern cultures as deep disposition towards the lineage system which may take various forms of devotion to ancestars and the culture of the forefathers.[17] This is traditionally a system of value which tend to perpetuate itself and is usually resistance to change and overt

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[17] ibid. p – 17.

assimilation.. Arabization and Islamization however superceded this traditional out-look in north and disposed northerner to assimilation.

The traditional southerners, on the other hand had and still have an inward looking culture, opposed to assimilation except brought selective adoption and integration of elements of foreign cultures. The essential feature of this attitude has been absorbed by anthropologists and are remarkably demonstrated in folklore's.

The attitude against foreign culture are more conspicuous in the traditional southern modern resistance against domination and assimilation is led by the educated southerners. The process of the Phenomenon is complicated, it has elements of alienation from the traditional culture, reaction to the dominance of its representative leaders on the tribal level and confrontation with another traditional culture dominated by the leaders on the national level. While as the role of Christian Missionaries and Christian religion and culture in south Sudan led a secular in national sentiment and modern in out-look. In comparison, the educated north was the product of a system of development, which continuously respected. Arab Culture and Muslim Identity and tried to build on its basic tenets. Consequently the north was a more conformist to his traditional than the educated southerner.

The basic problem here with southern war that they found themselves in a tribal situation dominated by tradition. While conflicts between them and their traditional elders occurred, a measure of femalial piety and respect for elders implied avoiding completion for power on the tribal level. This together alienation from the tribal culture, led to educate southerner's'migration to participation on the national level. There he found that, beyond his identification with fellow southerner, wider identification and participation were based on traditional principles, which satisfy people on the basis of descent, age, and ultimately, culture and race. The emphasis on Islam and Arasic as qualifications for recognition and participation subordinated the southerner.

Thus religion-cultural differences from north to south, which created a Schism between Arabs and Christians, could not come together due to differences in their outlook, multiplied with the politico-economic interests in the long run. The governments pro-majoritarian policies further iisked the ethnic minorities to their due consideration of politico-economic insecurity. In such circumstances the ethnic conflicts become inevitable which Sudan is facing since her Independence.

EMERGENCE OF ETHNIC CONFLICT: A SHORT GLIMPSE

The Sudan as a political state war consolidated by the British Colonialism, to serve it's interest. But when the Britishers left Sudan in 1956 the Jellaba (a group of Arab Sudanese) inherited State power from the British. As the Jellaba group was mainly concentrated in north-central Sudan the consolidation of an Arab-Islamic hegemonic block in North-Central Sudan, and the conservation of Underdevelopment and tribal poeculiarities in the South.[18] This evolved into the structural disequilibrium which manifests itself in the conflictual core-periphery dichotomy" to the most southern Sudanese. The most untenable part of the British legacy was the handing over of the state to the northern Sudanese nationalists, without any safeguady for the south and other marginalized regions in the African belt. The era of Jellab rule commenced with the granting of self-government in 1954. The era of conflict and Crisis also began at this juncture.

The basic cause in its initial stage was that the Jellaba vision of state and nation was self – centred self-serving, therefore it did not enjoy national concensus. They sought to built a state run from Khartoum and ruled largely by them, and a nation united through Islam and the Arab language. The government development projects and investments were

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[18] Peter, Kok, "Sudan : Between Radical Restructuring and Decons. Strumction of State Systems" : *Review of Arican Political-economy*, #70, p. 557

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great importance for the central Sudan, while the other regions were relatively ignored. The lack of a national consensus on the model of nation-state building persued by the Jellaba created a stumbling block for the constitutional impartiality. "The Jallaba blocked all genuine efforts to reach such a consensus because it would have required the dismantlment of their hegemomy over the Sudandene State. The Jallaba government sought to impose their own model designed to reinforce the structural injustices on which that hegemony rests."[19]

The first ethnic conflict in the post-independent era of the Sudan took place in 1956 itself but the problem of southern, Sudan, inherited from British Colonial rule, continued to bother all the regimes in Khartoum, as it has taken the shape of a bloody ethnic war to secession between the Muslim north and cristian south. The conflict with the south not only added to instability but had disasterous effects on the socio-economic structure of the country in due course of time.

Amidst the cristis at first stage, the constitution adopted in 1968 proclaimed the Republic of the Sudan a unitary state, Arabic the official language and the Islam the official religion.[20] It is understandable that

[19] ibid. p. 558

[20] Abdel Wahaf el – Effiedi "Sudanese Dilemmar for Blam in Africa," *African Affair* (oxpord), Vol. 89, No. 356, July – Sept. – 1990 , p. 374

this complicated relations between north and south even more, and more retarded the socio-economic development of the Sudan as a whole. The problem of southern Sudan called for urgent solution. The new government that come to power in May 1969 began to pay serious attention to it: In June 1969 the granting of local autonomy was announced , and plan for socio-economic development and democratization of more backward areas of the country were worked out.[21] But the internal political crisis in 1971 again caused tension in the south and prompted the government to take more resolute measures for a political settlement of the situation. In March 1972, an agreement On regional autonomy for the southern provinces of the Sudan was signed in Addis – Ababa ending the 17 year old civil war.

Meanwhile after signing the Addis-Ababa treaty everything was going well, but in 1983 further on the religious ground a bomb-shell war thrown by Nimeirey, the president of the Sudan that 'Sharia' was to be the new law of the land. But this declaration was not for all Sudanese.[22] The save were non-muslims. The basic objective behind this declaration was that 'Sharia' was brought as a tactics to outmaniou the muslim brothers, a sect that was propogating Islamic laws and secondly his idea was to garner the economic help from the muslim brethern of gulf region.

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[21] Ibid. 376

[22] The International Herald Tribune, dated 10 June 1984

But this more by Nimeiry was a failure in which neither he could maneour the political affair nor financial. The civil war restarted in 1983, as a hostile reaction from the south Sudan against the Kartoum policies on religious ground. Further the problem was escalated by SPLA by an attack the `Nuba' mountains', the zone of transition between the Arabs north and African south. This region falls in south kordofan and central Sudan[23]. Ethnic connotation of `Nuba' is a collective name given to more than fifty tribal groups. The Nuba tribe is considered amongst the oldest indegenous peoples of Sudan.

The `Nuba' tribe in historical retrospect have suffered in hands of Arabs and Egyptians subject to slaving. The World `Nuba' denoting `black People' have long suffered discrimination in economic, political and civil rights. As Nuba being non-Arab and also differing religiously and culturally from the-south. Thus their position lying in between North and south.

In July 1985 the `Nuba mountain' came to war raids by SPLA into south Kordofan, Consequentally there were hearey civilian casualities. The situation turned into worse in 1989, when the new government took over

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[23] The `Nuba' tribe in historical retrospect have suffered in hands of Arabs and Egyptians subject to slaving. The World `Nuba' denoting `black People' have long suffered discrimination in economic, political and civil rights. As Nuba being non-Arab and also differing religiously and culturally from the south. Thus their position lying in between North and south

the power, the government has been waging a compaign of terror and persecution on the `Nuba' mountains. By 1991 the destruction of villages, trade and commerce and displacement led to the on set of femine. The governments military compaign reached at peak with the disclaration of Jihad in the Nuba mountains in January 1992. In the Name of holy was a major military compaign war launched against SPLA's position in the mountains, but real motive of attack were

not to expell the intruders of South from the region but to make a hold over economic resources of these region as well as to propogate the Islam.

During the war the mass displacement of the population was directed by the government, but failing to defeat the SPLA militarily, the government redirected its policy towards the transfer of population of `peace villages'. "By Sept. 1992, the government of south kovdofan announced that it had formed 91 `peace villages' with over 160,000 peoples with a plan to further resettle 500,000.[24] In 1993 further government launched an offensive attack over SPLA, but could not get any substantial success through military raidy have an upperhand in the region the war perpetuated till 1996.

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[24] Mark, Bradbury, "Sadan : International Response to war in the Nuba \Mountains *Review of African political economy* #7), 199, p. 465.

During this phase, the see saw game between the military authority and civil regime to grab the power played tactical games. In 1985 the government in Sudan was over throwned coup In a corp. In 1986, the general election were held and United Party formed the government under the leadership of Dr. Sadik-el-Mahdi but south remained hot. The activities of SPLA with the help of Ethiopia intensified in the upper Nile, Blue Nile, and South Kordofan provinces. In June 1989 there took place another coup which brought general omar-el-Bashir to power, flaming the civil war. In 1991, the new military ruler imposed Sharia in a very strict form in shade of Iranian influence and thus Sudan became the first fundamentalist state of Africa.

The situation further worsened In 1991 when the split took in SPLA and intra-ethnic clashes erupted in south Sudan over the issue of supporting the United Sudan by Garang. The split away faction from SPLA named as southern Sudan Independence Movement under the leadership of Dr. Riav Machar fighting on. The war situation in soth became more precarious. Seeing the deteriorating Situation, the efforts were intensified to reconcile the southern problem but failed. In 1992 an attempt was made at Abuja but talks finished in conclusive. Further fighting was intensified. Again the renewed efforts made in 1993 in Kenya between

government and fighting factions. This effort was further extended in successive stages.

Finally these efforts turned into the dissolution of the al-bashir led Revolutionary congress command for national salvation and a new civilian government was elected in March 1996. Thereafter the several rounds of talks were held with the rebels and ultimately the government signed a 14 point peace agreement, which is still on hold.

Thus if reflects from Sudanese history that post-independence history is a saga of warfare between the ethnic groups in North and south; they have fought some 30 years with so much of animocity and bad blood, can the North and South be expected even to live together in peace? To explore the possibility of problem and prospect, in subsequent chapters may reply this question.

As it has been seen in the current chapter that the multicultural multy-religious and multi-linguistic and multi-racial state of Sudan is still facing some weaker bonds to keep flock together. To trace the root of problems in such circumstances becomes inevitable. Ethic problems are closely related with the economic and developmental issues. The next

chapter will focus the changing role of ethnic groups due to the material

or economic and developmental dynamics of Sudanese society.

CHAPTER-II

ETHNICITY, DEVELOPMENT AND

ECONOMIC CRISIS

The relationship between Ethnicity, development and economic resources are inter-linked. Ethnicity plays an important role in development and bringing the socio-economic changes. The political decisions, ethnic bargaining, economic scarcity, lopsided distribution patterns and poverty often lead to economic crisis. But before going in detailed about these issues, better to understand the concept of development in relation to ethnicity.

Though there is difficulty in studying the issues of ethnicity and of the development, because both the concepts are implicit with subjectivity. The definition and boundaries of ethnicity are fluid and development is not a process that is easily given to objective study. As in the words of sumuel Huntington who remarked some time ago. "The principle function that political development has infact performed for political scientists is neither to aggregate nor to distinguish, but rather to legitimate. It bas served as away for political scientists to say, in effect;

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they, here are some things I consider valuable and desirable goals and important subjects of study."[1]

Thus development is a process of change. Though the change is not always positive on unilinear.. `The development is multidimensional concept. The development as Enloe remarked, "refers to change that takes place in stages[2] In effect development is a change towards goals at which government, leaders, or the state aims. In the context of ethnicity and development, the development may not necessarily be for assimilation or for integration, but nevertheless represents a direction of change posed by the State.

Apart from the development, comes the question of economic crisis: The economic crisis arised out when there is no alternative to the required economic resources. "The different kind of economic crisis often observed in the African countries in recent years are of dwindling resources, of maldistribution, food scarcity, famine and poverty verging on economic collapse."[3] Each of these forms of economic deterioration derived from different sources affects specific groups in a variety of Ways, evokes its

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[1] Thomson and Ronen (ed.), *"Ethnicity, Politics and Development"* Lynne Rienna Publication, Coloralo – P.8
[2] Ibid. p-8.
[3] Ibid. p. 39

own set of coping mechanism and precipitates certain unique pattern of ethnicity.

Different economic challenges in the Africa have yielded distinct social consequences. The problems of dwindling resources have highlighted class and situational concerns at the expense of inherited affiliations. Maldistribution has accentuated differential ethnicity as a tool for contending with structural and class inequalities. The crisis of poverty, in turn, has transformed ethnicity from an instrument into a framework for human survival. As economic difficulties have become more severe, ethnic perpetuations have multiplied and the distances between groups have increased. In this process the boundaries of the state capability, State solidarity and state relevance has shifted. The position of states in the Africa has fluctuated in accordance with the economic problems, especially those seriously effected by economic regression. The economic depression has exhibited differing combinations of social manifestations in response to its present situation. The problems of economic crisis in Ghana do not coincide with those of Zaire which in turn diverse from Sudan, Uganda, Tangania and Nigeria etc. Each of these countries has different nature of economic difficulties.

In case of the Sudan, which is torn by ethnic conflict is also prey of famine and food scarcity. Still the economci crisis is Vogue in terms of

food production, dis-entitlement and maldistribution. Further the crisis has become more complicated due to the external dependencies. To further scrutinise the relationship between ethnicity, development and economic crisis in detailed in context of the Sudan, it need to look its basic economic infrastructural facilities; as follows.

INFRASTRUCTURAL FACILITIES AND DEVELOPMENT

Sudan is chiefly an agrarian country like India, some 70 percent of its population is engaged in primary activities. Industrial linkages are also mostly backed by agriculture. Agriculture has remained the largest. Single component of Gross somestic product (GSP), accounting for one-third in comparison to Industries share of one-sixth.[4] "The total land suitable for agriculture is about 84 million hectare which is approximately one-third of the total area of the Sudan. Only about 15, ha of arable land is cropped due to critical role of water availability"[5]. The vast majority of the cultivation has until recently been limited to the permanent water course of the Blue and White Nile and their tributaries in North-Central Sudan. It is these areas which within the framework of Sudans 2 mill hactare of irrigation schemes le-the `Gezira Scheme', and `Kassala Scheme', has been the focus of modern commercial agriculture.

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[4] Thomas of Cansky; The Sudan Economy: *"Africa South of the Sahara"*, Europa publication Ltd. 1990
[5] Ibid. p-998.
* Gezira' and `Kassala' Schemer are big irrigation projects.

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Thus most of the development under the condominium focused on the northern provinces and leaving southern provinces neglected. Thus led the feeling of relative deprivation among the southerner along the line of Arab - Cristianity ethnic devide.

And secondly the 'tenancy' system is very uneven. Some 60 per cent of Sudans land is occupied by the 11 percent of the population. Thus question of 'have' and 'have nots' further creats schism among the different social segments. Particularly in case of southern Sudan till 1940, the region was neglected in development projects. In 1943, Dr. J.D. Tothill as director of agriculture embodied in his memorandum. "An experiment in the social emergence of indegenous races in remote regions",[6] payed attention toward the development of southern Sudan. But during the 60's and 70's when there was a perpetuate civil was situation, there took hardly any significant developmental task in the southern Sudan. The business in war between north and south; south was left at bay in comparison to North.

Thirdly, most of the natural resources in the Sudan are located in areas covering southern Darfur, Southern Kordofan, Southern Blue Nile and the whole of the southern Sudan. These areas are predominantly

[6] John abert voll and Sarah Potts Vol. "*The Sudan : Unity and diversity in a multicultural State*" (Boulder, Co. 1985), p. 106

inhabited by African Sudanese. In contras to south, the north Sudan, outside of the riverine areas are desert and semi-desert land which can'nt sustain ideal presence of human lives and animals. As a result a Conflict generating southward expansion by northern nomads, farmers, investors, slave vaiders, and traders etc. into the African belt has been under way for some time. Further situation become more complicated due to discovery of oil in the mid 70's in western and northern upper Nile region. The biased approach of the government in this zone to acquire agricultural and grazing land from the autochthonous population, using all means including violence.

THE SCENARIO OF THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PHASE

Since realising the goal of development in 1959-60, the government recognised that the private sector was unable to develop a significant industrial sector on its own and began to invest public money in industrial enterprises generally important to the national economy. The ten year plan of economic and social development (1961-71) allocated 76.3 million to manufacturing plus fund for infrastructural development.[7] The government still emphasised, the role of the private sector and in 1962, constructed the industrial bank of the Sudan to provide loans and technical advises to new and existing firms. In 1965,

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[7] Ibid. p. 109

the Industrial development corporation was established to manage the governments own nine factories and $22 million investment. In 1966 the ministry of Industry and Mining was established to oversee general industrial policy and encourage industrial development.

The major achievement during the 60's was the construction of Aswan High dam and carried out the Khashm - el. Girba scheme, a settlement project for the fifty, thousand people of the Wadi Half a district. However the position of the rest of the economy was in difficult situation. Deficit appeared in the central and local government accounts, project budgets, and in foreign exchange balance. In many ways the economic problems were the symptoms and results of unsolved political dissatisfaction.

During the 70's and 80's, though some large-scale agricultural projects were carried out but over all situation of economy was gloomy. The major projects during this phase were the Rahad project between the Blue Nile and the Rahad River, the Kenana Sugar Scheme in Kosti on the white Nile and the Jonglei canal project on the White Nile in the South.

While as during the 80's the Khanana Scheme was promoted, as the word is largest. Sugar growing and refining project. The Sugar growing and refining project. Though these major projects were launched but the Sudan government was not economically independent to carry out these

projects. It heavily dependent on the international loan. "In 1978 Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain Converted their outstanding government loans to out right grants. Western banks rescheduled the government to government debt twice, One in 1979 and again in 1987." In this respect the ratio of debt service to export proceeds jumped from 14.3 pc. in 1978 to 27 p.c. m. 1982.[8]

Following the disappointment case of the development programmes in the 1970's, there were no further attempts to implant a co-ordinated planning policy until the introduction in 1987 of an economic recovery programme. The Sudan being an agrarian country, the avenues for the diversification of economy are limited. The most of industrial products are based on agricultural products.

The different regions have different problems and their remedy lies in economic salvation. The north which enjoys the major share in government appropriation, centre relatively deprived and, south which has perpetual problem and alleged of being undermined in all respect by the Khartoum. In such situation the problems have become more complicated due to muddling of social issues with economic development. The allegations by local and minorities tribal gorups, that

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[8] Ibid.. p. 119

of their Negligence have fuelled the problem of the `Nuba' region and south Sudan.

NUBA MOUNTAINS CRISIS

There is often seen a tendency among dominant groups to encroach over the weaker one, in lure of grabing economic resources as well as to expand that area of influence. Such is an example of southern Sudan's infiltration into `Nuba Montains' in 1985 and `arbitration' by the North Arabs.

The situation emerged like this. The local African tribes rallied behind the Sudan peoples Liberation Army when it first entered in this area in 1985 and the government responded by arriving the Baggara Arabs and set them loose against the SPLA and the African peoples in this Area. The massacre of more than 1500 Dinka by the Rezyakat Arabs in April 1987 at Dain, the massacre of more than 1000 shilluk by Sabha Arbas in December 1989 at Jebilan and, the enslavement of Nuba and Dinka tribesmen by various Arabs tribal militia armed by the government.[9]

Since 1985, the ethnic cleansing carried out in the `Nub mountairs' by National Islamic front regime, are instances of the conflict in this zone

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[9] Mark Brand Bury, "SUDAN: International Response to war in the Nuba mountains", *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 77.

over the last ten years. These are the some examples of ethnic conflicts due to claimours over natural resources.

To scrutinise in detail the economy of Nuba mountain war, the fcts are as follows;

The government policy in Nuba and `south' Kardofan is based on exploitative development process. The Nuba regions fertile lands have long been a focus of tension.Besides the Nuba, South Kardofan is the home for Sudanese Arab Cattle herding tribes (Baggara), Arab traders (Jellaba) and farming communities (fellata). In the past three decades local resource disputer have been exacerbated by drought, the communication of Sudanis agrarian economy and expansion of Mechanised farming and the discovery of Commercial oil deposits in Southern reaches of South Kerdofan. Inter-tribal tensions have been manipulated by successive civilian and military governments in a struggle to control and exploit south Kordfan's agrarian and mineral assets.

The South Kordfan being one of the most fertile rain area in North Sudan have been added with mechanised farming. The variety of grains introduced replacing indegeneous substantial farming practices. The introduction of technology and capital have also replaced the communal

labour by wage labour. In 1990 the land tenure amendments have removed all Customary title to land, thus enabling the mass expropriation of land from Nuba farmers and peasanty elsewhere in the Sudan. While justifying the basis of suporting progress to national `self-reliance' the expropriation of Nuba land for Mechanised farming is intricately tied to the commercial interests of Sudan's military and political elite. As once a Sudanese worker commented." The situation in the Nuba Mountain is worse than in the south because of the land issue. The north wants the Nuba land."[10]

Thus, it seems to be clear from the above facts that the issue of land grading and sharp claims over natural resources are the key issue to the conflict in this region further ethnic differences have multiplied the conflict and pseudo- concerns of the government in Nuba region are no way disinterested in to resolve the Nuba mountain crisis.

FEMINE AND FOOD CRISIS

Further the development process in Sudan has been the prey of natural disaster and perpetual civil was since independence. The problem of civil was had led to break down of the administrative Machinery and famine

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[10] Ibid.... p. 467..

situation was made worse during the times of ethnic conflicts. The problems of refugees and `ethnic cleansing' have become common owes.

In March 1990, a report by the U.S. based organization, Human Right Watch (Africa) claimed that as many as 500,000 Sudanese livilians had been killed by war and `Man - made' famine since 1986. By December 1990, Sudan faced a shortage of 1 million tons of Cereals, while as U.N. estimate was around 1.8 million tons.[11] The government was also frustrated in war with the rebel groups and hamperng the international relief agencies. The governments relationship with aid agencies. The governmet relationship with aid agencies remained troubled one. At the end of August 1991, the government briefly responded permission for United Nations agencier to operate relief flights into rebel held areas. In Nov '91 the government officials announced that Sudan was self sufficient in food as a result of policies to switch planting on the most productive land from export crops.

Inspite of being severaly was afflicted south was marred by the government suspision to bar the international agencies in 1991-2. International relief efforts in southen Sudan in 1993 continued to be hampered by insecurity and by lack of funds. "In Apri 1994, the SPLA-United provided for the safe shipment of the food to southern Sudanese

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[11] Thomas of cansky (ed.) in "*Africa; south of the Sahara;* " The Sudan; "Economy" p. 998

War Zone's, but Sudanese Government did not recognise the agrement as colonel Garang has refused to sign it, This led to a half of relief activities in Southern Sudan. Further to Shortout the problem in 1995-6, the Sudan Relief and Rehabitation Association and humnitarian wing of SPLA charted out the plan: known as operation lifeline Sudan (OLS). "It was estimated that some of 3.6 million peoples were in need of aid in South alone out of 4.25 million total.[12] Thus the above mentioned facts and figures show that the southern Sudan has suffered much during the course of civil was than the Arab-north.

FISCAL AND FINANCIAL CRISIS

Amidst these confusing and chaotic situations, in 1987 an economic recovery programme was launched. This was succeeded in 1988 by three year medium term recovery programme, the priorities of which were the reform of the exchange rate and trade policy, the reduction of the budget deficit and subsidies and promotion of exports and privatization programme. The military government formed in July 1989 by Lt-General-Bashir presented three year national economic salvation programme (NESP) to coincide with the 1990/91 budget. Efforts to reform the economy were to include a reallocation of resource towards agriculture

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[12] Ibid. p. 999

and other productive sectors and a refinement of the Mesurements encouragement set to to crente a more conducive investment climate for the local and foreign private sector. Measures to attract investment included the removal of the government monopoly in all areas except oil exploration other meaures announced included a review of banking system, export liberalization and price decontrol, and introduction of a 'social solidarity' system to caushion the effect of economic restructuring for low income groups. In August 1990, the government announced that it was implementing four measures under the NESP; cut in government expenditure; increase in tax revenue; a reduction in import; and a wage freezes and wide spread job cuts. Thus the effort war made to revive the moribund economic position.

By the time the economic reforms were initiated the per capita income has gone down to 200 a high rate of inflation substantially eroded the purchasing power of the people. Due to lack of purchasing power parity markets failed to supply essential commodities such as bread and sugar. The foreign exchange reserves also gone to critical conditions and foreign debt amount to $16 billion (1990).[13]

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[13] International Herald Tribune, 15 Feb 1996.

In addition, foreign aid that counted for a third of GDP before 1989 was drastically cut down. Many Arab neighbourers snapped economic ties after the Sudan's support to Iraq against them in the 1991 gulf war. The USA had led a compaign of economic pressure against the Sudan accusing of it of blatant human rights violations and sponsorship of terrorism. Ultimately American economic aid was blocked in 1993, when the foreign state department added Sudan to its list of states that sponsored terrorism. Recently Sudan was attacked by the USS cruise-missibles in 1999 in accusation of harbousing the terrorists.

No doubt the major cause of the collapse of the economy is costly war with the south. According to finance Minister Hassan A, Ahmed "War was costing at least $1 million a day. Infact war was drain of our economy, our political structure in Africa.... on every thing."[14] This statement signifies the wastage of economic resources which could have been turned for economic development was used for fighting. The North, South conflict has sucked the economic resources as well as it has led in debt to the Sudanese economy. The only development in selected centres concentrated around Khartonm complex has further the peoples in paraphernalia. The most of the important government institutions like finance and government service are concentrated around the Khartoum

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[14] The Pioneer (New Delhi), 28 March, 1995.

complex. The power and water supplies and communication networks are more available to these centres than any other region of the Sudan. Thus the programme of decentralization of development is direly needed for local development.

CHAPTER 3

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

In political theory, "Ethnicity" is described a group possessing some degree of coherence and solidarity, composed of people, who are aware, perhaps only lately, of having common goals. Thus the ethnic group is not a merge aggregate of people but a self-concious collection of people united by shared experiences and a common history. It is difficult to find satisfactory definition of `ethnic identity' as a whole across the different ethnic groups.[1] But the implication is that there is more than one group possessing some degree of Coherence and solidarity, whose members have common origins and interests which they do share with other groups." In this sense many few states are ethnically homogenous and many are multi-ethnic in composition.

The `Ethnic Identity' in terms of common interest is a modern phenomenon. The conditions of modernity give rise to ethnicity and make identity a powerful symbol of meaning and worth. Present day ethnic conflicts have a scope and `Identity' that did not exist earlier. Anthony D. Smith put it forth as; "We are fully justified in isolating a broad historical trend in the modern era, and designating it as an" ethnic rival'. [But]

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[1] Kumar Rupe Singh and Valery A. Tishkore (ed.) : "Ethnicity and the power in the contemporary world", Tohyo United Nations University Press, 1996, p. 13.

such a revival of ethnicity is also a transformation, shared bu no previous ethnic revival."[2]

Thus on the basis of ethnic identity, the emergence of the question of the political participation and social security to a particular ethnic group is exploited by the minorities leaders. Some strategies adopted in this regard are as follows:

* Strategy of parliamentary road to ethnic assertion. Ethnic leaders form "caucusing groups" at local and national levels for participation in electoral politics by forging strategic linkages with political parties. Though there are limits to the realization of ethnic objectives within a framework of parliamentary and electoral politics. The way ethnic leadership's relates itself to these limits is crucial. It is quite likely that both resort to action and tactics which tend to undermine the democratic norms of political participation.

* Strategies of forging transnational ethnic solidarities aimed at pulling down the 'improving' walls of the state.

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[2] Thomson L. Dennis and Ronen Dov. (ed.); "Ethnicity Politics and Development"; Lyne Pienner. Publisher, London, 1986; p. 3

* Strategies of giving an ethnic identity, a political construction, with a view to moblizing the support of similarly placed groups against a common "other".[3] For example, the notion of minority in political sense, is an inclusive term and includes people who feel themselves to be actual or potential targets of majoritarianism (racial, religion on otherwise) and are, for that reason, a minority in a political rather than a social sense. Once the boundaries of an ethnic identity are so problematised, the ethnic group cases to be a statistically reality and emerges as an "unbounded political category - a self seeking special interest.

* Strategies of building a "radical democratic movement" within civil society, aimed at transforming the nature of the state, if necessary by undermining it.[4]

* The fear psychosis in mind of minority's against majoritarianism.

Keeping above views in mind, the differentiating ethnic groups in terms of the challenge their politics poses a challenge to the institutional set-up of liberal democracy. The nature of the challenges also varies. Sometime their are roles of external forces in internal matters of a

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[3] Ibid. p. 370
[4] Sushil, Kumar, "Identity, Ethnicity, and Political Development : Some Reflections;" *International Studies;* #35, 3 (1998), p. 369.

country to destablise the state, while as the intrastate problems are also not unknown. The domestic problems created by the local leaders becomes popular prejudices and superstitions are used as carriers of the ethnic message, promoting hostility and intolerance among social groups.

These variations classify ethnic groups and categories, in more or less terms, the challenges they pose. The Sudan is a classical example of such circumstances which has been perpetually victimised by its majoritarian leadership. The act of spreading dissension in society on ethnic line in its historical retrospect had been a fashion after independence. The elitist leadership and exploitation of majoritarian groups sentiments on the line of race, religion, language and identity was vogue in political play.

THE CAUSES OF RISE OF ETHNIC CONFLICT IN THE SUDAN AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY.

The ethnic pluralism and hetrogeneity in itself are not problems for any society, unless and untill it'is ethical, cultural, political and social values are tempered with inclination to malign it. Certainly each ethnic group, smaller or larger has it is own socio- cultural identity which rests on the

basis of its origin, occupation and its position in society in relation to other communities. As Joseph Rothschild suggests:

"Societies may stratify their ethnic groups according to models of verticle hierarchy of parallel segmentation or of cross-patterned reculation, only in the first of these, the verticle, hierarchical model, is there a categorical correspondence among all dimensions - political, social, economic and cultural - of ethnic super-ordination and subordination."[5]

Thus, the problem of ethnic conflict in Sudan in post independence era is partly inherited from the faulty colonial policies and misguided leaderships. The peopling of Sudan, cultural evolution and historical events should perhaps start with the Nile River,. And then there is Egypt, with which most of the Sudanese history is linked.

SOUTHERN SCHISM

It was during the recent Egyptian British rule that the isolated and economically primitive south was opened up. Sudanese Arabs pillaged the south and sold southern slaves to western traders. The population of South was substantially reduced through plague, slave trade and

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[5] Thomson and Ronen (ed.) : *"Ethnicity, Politics and Development"*, Lynne Publishers, Loraedo – 1986. p. 2

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diseases. The British and Egypt financed many expeditions to the South, in the 19th century as a part of British Colonial Strategy. An economic foothold was sought in southern Sudan and central Africa. Christian missionaries followed by British mercenaries and traders, resulting in the pagan population of the south taking to Christianity, which was not to the liking of the Muslim Arabs in the North.

It was during the Ango-Egyptian Condominium that a "Southern policy" was launched in 1924 to protect the southern pagan tribes along with their traditions and customs against northern influence. The British through that the groups and tribes that sought a separate status from Egypt should be encouraged. And under no circumstances should the future of south be linked to the north. Naturally therefore the south must be ruled differently from the North.[6] This lead to the emergence of southern policy which aimed at separating the south from the North and eventually serving southern Sudan to incorporate it in some central African system.

Thus, the major objectives of the `Southern policy' was "the prevention of the spread of the spirit of nationalism in the south and the superstition of the three southern provinces at that time (Equatoria, Upper Nile and

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[6] Robert O. Collins. *"Shadow in the Grass : Britain in southern Sudan; 1918-1956*; (New Haveen, 1983, P . 52.

Bahr el Ghazal from the rest of the country, with a view to their eventual assimilation by the government of neighbouring. British territories which it was hoped would emerge as a great East African federation under British colonical control"[7] But this did not come about and south Sudan remained under the `Colonial' control of the Northerns. Thus the southern policy did not want any link between the people of the north and the south. All Muslim of the north, whether they were Egyptian or North Sudanese, were asked to quit the south. At the same time, the southerns were discouraged from visiting the North on of seeking the employment in the North. A `Closed district' system war adopted to severe relations generally between the northern and southern provinces. It was thus the colonialist regimes nefarious design to divide the Sudan in North and South.

The `Southern Policy' was unpopular in the south especially when Sudan was close to Independence in 1956. The nationalist elements in the south did not like to be ruled by the Muslims from the Khartoum. The disappointed by the new government's rejection of its demand for cessation or federal association, the south exploded in 1955. The response was severe, and Britains departure left Sudan a midst chaotic situation. Thus the beginning of civil war in the Sudanese history on the

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[7] Republic of the Sudan, Southern Sudan Disturbances, August 1955; *Report of the commission of inquiry*, Oct. 1956, p. 16.

eve of Independence was a portent omen for the incipient nation, yet making to be started.

On the eve of Sudan's Independence in 1956, a majority of the all Southern Equatoria Coup led by the anti-Muslim and missionary educated officers. These troops later emerged as the back-bone of Anyanya (Snake-Poison) secessionist. The prolonging civil war, in Khartoum, Sudan had the misfortune of many violent changes in quick succession, leading to political instability.

The first civilian government, which took over after Independence in 1956, lasted until Nov 1958. A military regime under General Ibrahim Abboud Continued in office intill it was over thrown by a civilian coup in Oct-1964. Amidst this period the Anyanya movement war on its climax. Right from here begins the guirilla war inspite of SANU's Condemnation of the violence and methods of the Anyanya in Jan 1964. The Anyanya took it's most daring action in attempt to capture the city of war in Bahr - el - Ghazal province.[8] Though the move was failed yet the rebels were successful in gaining sympathy for the further course of action. The responsive measures of the government was heavy. The thousands of the southerns were burnt, fled from the fear of violence unleased by the

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[8] Abdel Wahaf el-Effiendi, "Sudanese Dilemmas for Islam in Affrica", *African Affairs* (oxford), Vol. 89, No. 356, July Sept. p. 374.

Anyanya and the army.[9] During this period a large number of southern living in the country side were unable to grow enough feed to food themselves. Moreover because of the fighting; they had to move their homes deeper and deeper into the forest.

The most supervising was that the most of northern parties, with the exception of some members of Umma party and the then illegal Sudan communist party remained unconcerned about the ongoing unrest. The military regime under Ibrahim Abbound continued in office until it was overthrown by a `Civilian Coup' in Oct-1964 and once again a Civilian government was installed which lasted till 1969.

Soon ofter coming a civilian regime, the hope for the solving the southern problem was raised high - In keeping with the demand, a round table confrence war fixed for Feb 1965 at Juba the then SANU had split into two groups i.e. - One wing of moderates and other of extremists. Although the northern parties and moderates made positive efforts at negotiating for a solution, but the confrence could not agree on solution, mainly due to the recalcitrant and confused attitude of the southerns. By then the issue of Islamization came to fore under the head of the Islamic charter front (ICF).

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[9] Ibid. p. 376

The Islamic leaders attitude toward the southern problem was aggressive. They claimed that the problem of south was nothing more than a constitutional question, brought about buy the loss of the freedom by the people in the south. The ICF supported the new premier. Sadiq-al-Mahadi, who took over in 1966 and manage to get several islamization measures adopted through the National Committee for the constitution that war formed in 1966, when inter and intra-party squabbles toppled Sadiq-al-Mahadi's Cabinet in 1969. Al-Mahadi's forces formed a new parliamentary block in conjunction with SANU and the ICF. This grouping allowed southerners and the ICF to work together for the first time in a limited way.

The co-operation continued for a limited span. The SANU was against the Islamic provisions, the ICF supported the regional autonomy and hoped to convince southern to accept an Islamic State in return. After a long deliberation the constitutional modalities were chalked out. The state was to respect Christianity, not to object the use of English in the South, and keep off especially from promoting the Muslim brotherhood. However, southern demand to remove references to the 'Sharia law' war not accepted by southerners. This led to southerners boycotting the parliament.[10]

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[10] The International Herald Tribune. Dated 10 June, 1984.

Thus, the new conditions put forth by the cristian southerners, which objected to clashes, banning communalism and promoting ties with muslims, marked a new phase which was a secular condition of southern and left-wing groups. But the dissolution of parliament in Feb 1968 and killing of the William Dag in May 1968 marred the prospect of solution of the problems. The new regime under General Jaafar Nimeiry in 1969 took the problems his way. He declared his government policy of solving the problems by granting regional autonomy to the southern provinces. He created a ministry for southern Africans to spell out details of the policy. Mr. Joseph Garang, who was a catholic, southern Sudanese and a member of Communist parties had been appointed the minister in charge of southern African until 1971. Nimeiry, concluded an agreement in Addis Ababa in March 1972, which among other measures, provided for the return and rehabilitation of southern refugees abroad. The integration of Anyanya rebels into the Sudanese armed forces and the establishment of administratively autonomous institutions for the southern provinces within the boundaries of the Sudan. President Nimeiry's lasting achievement was to have won the confidence of the southerners and removed their fear of Muslim-Arab, domination. The Addis Ababa agreement ended a 11 years civil war in March 1972.

The dispute settled at Addis Ababa on the condition that regional autonomy would be granted to the south with Juba as the headquarter of

regional government. The agreement also provided for the return and rehablitation of southern refugees and for the integration of the former rebels into the Sudanese armed forces. Thus the Nimeiry regime succeded at large in bringing peace to the war torn-south as well as integrating the long alienated southerners into the main stream of the nation. But this move did not lost longer. As in his regime, the removal of Islamic provisions in the 1973 Constitution in keeping with the demands of Southerners saw the Islamists themselves arranged against it. This move led wide-spread resentment among Islamic followers, and Nimeiry had to ultimately back to square one in 1983, when Nimeiry threw a bomb shell by suddenly announcing in September that the `Sharia' was to be the new law of the land. Although Nimeriry Vaguely announced that Islamic low would apply nationally, his actual intension was to consolidate Islamic brethren. He however promised that "Islamic law would put an end to all Crimes."[11] He launched an operation to confiscate all liquor in the country and freed all prisoners opening anew page of Islamic Justice. However amidst these high drama, in Oct. 1983, he Issued an explanatory note, saying that non-Muslims would not be subjected to punishment outlined in the new penal code for offences such as drinking alchohal and adultery.

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[11] Hari Sharan. Chhabra; "Sudan – a Classical Ethnic Conflict" (ed.); in Ethnicity and Ethnic conflict; *World focus;* 172-173- April-May- 1994, P. 43.

Regarding the policies of Nimeiry or Islamic fundamentalism, the anarchial view put forth by academics are, first, he brought about `Sharia' as a state to out manoeure the Muslim brothers. And secondly, he took such a step, because he hoped to establish his muslim credential with such countries, as Saudi Arabia, Iran and Algeria etc., for much needed financial help. But in my opinion the first more does not seem to be very substantive, because, Sudan itself had already all Islamic law reservations for Arabs in North. Mere imposing `Sharia law' in south against cristianity and pagan would have not win the heart of any fraternity having a least faith in rationality. However and whatever, things would have been in the mind of Nimeiry at that time, undoubtedly; "It was an unwise move on his behalf, because it led to the renewal of civil war in the south, driving Sudan closer to partion than ever before."[12] The Sudan peoples liberation Army (SPLA) was born at this Juncture.

Subsequently, the civil war restarted in 1983 after the interlude of 11 years. Some southerners strengthened the Anyanya Movement, while the majority joined the SPLA led by John Garang.[13] Amidst high political crisis, president was overthrown in April 1985, in a coup. A general election war held in April 1986, at the end of agreed one-year trasitional

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[12] .... Ibid. p. 43.
[13] The Times (London), 31 July, 1986

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period of military regime. Following the Nimeiry's fall this was the first multi-party election to be held, since the one of 1968. The main part in which took partion the election were the Umma party, the Democratic Unionist party and the fundamental National Islamic Front (NIF) etc.

The post - poll scenario inclined much toward Sadiq-al-Mohadi of Umma Party Who became prime minister in May 1986, The prospect of peace seemed to be improved in his regime. In an attempt to end the conflict in the south, he urged the Southern groups to negotiate a peaceful settlement and undertook to repeal Nimeiry's Sharia law a gesture which appeared. to meet the SPLA's is main pre-conditions for a settlement.[14] Sadiq-al-Mahdi even took the oppertunity to meet the SPLA leader when he went to Addis Ababa in order to attend the organization of African countres (OAU) summit in July 1986. There was held the negotiation with MPLK, but final out come was inconclusive. The fuelling by Ethiopian government to SPLA, more intensified its compaign in the Upper Nile, Blue Nile and south kordofan provinces, carrying out extensive shelling of the towns of bor and Nasir. There was yet another coup in Khartoum is June 1989, which brought general omar-el-Bashir to power as Chairman of revolutionary command council.

[14] Kamal Osaman. Sahib; The Sudan, 1985-89; The fading democracy", *The Jounral of Modern African Studies* (cambridge). Vol. 28, No. 2, p. 215.

Following this the civil war spread once again. The revolt has since become the part of a much wider clandestine, opposition, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). The SPLA and NDA, as political allies had agreed on establishing a secular multi-party system in the Sudan. Strongly enough the new military ruler in the country were staunchest Islamic Zealot. With the imposition of Sharia in a very strict form, at the beginning of 1991, Sudan with the blessing of Iran, became Africa's first fundamentalist state.

In 1991, a split took place in the SPLA. The break away function demanded the complete independence of the south as oppose to an united Sudan which Garang was supporting. The break away faction under Dr. Riak Machar renamed its out fit as southern Sudan Independence Movement (SSIM). Thus the problem of south became more complex as fighting between the two rebel functions not only worsen the southern problem, but also added to suffering of the people in the south. Amidst fighting, the further negotiations took place in `Abuja' among rival groups. In 1992, however the Abuja talks remained inconclusive, fighting was renewed the contact between government and rebel factions again took place in Feb 1993 in Kenya. And subsequently attempts were made to reconciliate the differences among different functions. After receiving pledges of loyalty from the representatives of tribes from various southern provinces, al-Bashir said on 5 December

1993 that "the so called problem of south is evaporating."[15] But it seems that it was an exaggerated idea of al-Bashir to show his confidence among masses and factions leaders more political than substansive statement as usually delivered by the politicians. The tall claims of al-Bashir for peace could not lost long. In 1994 the breach of peace on the issue of self-determination and `secularization' tormented the situation once again. Amidst this high drama, the al-Bashir led Revolutionary council command government came into power in March 1996.

After the post-poll scenario in 1996, a hectic effort was made by the government to stop the worsening situation in south. Consequently the government invited different warring factions on a single platform to discuss the course of action. Ultimately the government signed a 14-point peace agreement with the both the parties south Sudan Independence Movement and Sudan Peoples liberation Movement and others in April 1996. The Salient feature of this agreement are as follows.[16]

* The parties pledged to put an end to the on going civil war in Sudan and decided to resolve the conflict through peaceful and political means

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[15] New State Time (Kuala Lumpur), 13 Dec. 1993

[16] Ankush B. Sawant, "Ethnic Conflict in Sudan in Historical Perspective" Inter National Studies, vol. 35, 3 (1998), p. 360-61.

* The agreement recognizes the `cultural diversity' in Sudan

* It also recognized the importance of `Sharia' and traditional African Custom in beginning the some of legislation.

* The states were given the freedom to enact the law on peculiar problem and in conformity with federal law.

* The Unity of the country within it's known boundaries would be preserved and power and natural wealth shall be shared equitably for the benefit of the citizen of the country.

* The agreement guaranteed freedom of religion and belief. No citizen shall be coerced to embrace any faiths or religion.

* The provision for holding referendum for the people of the south to determine their political aspiration - unity or cessation - after full establishment of the peace in south.

* Except the Garang faction the other four warring groups in south have accepted this agreement.

the peace agreement signed in 1997 as seems to be Crystalizing as by the May 1999, the agreement is one the hold. Further there is plan to referendum over south issue by 2001. Till the situation is to be maintained peacefully and restrained from any untoward incidence among different political out-fit's active in south.

CHAPTER 4

ETHNICITY AND THE BOUNDRY RELATIONS

The relationship between 'Ethnicity' and 'boundary' in case of the Sudan is not merely physical or geographical one, but it encompasses many non-physical or non-geographical boundary processes[1] i.e.- concentration of particular ethnic groups, Macro-State structures, socia organizations, language, symbolic identifications of one kind or another etc. Moreover the emphasis is on the social boundaries which create bar on the line of ethnic identity. Though the physical boundaries are also in the context, but not much relevant in the case of the Sudan as social ones. Thus the various kinds of context relevant to ethnic boundary process are important for the understanding the multi dimensional problems of the ethnic-boundary disputes.

From the anthropological point of view, the practical context of the popular and official discourse on population differences and the social context in which ethnicity is expressed. The relative to other social scientists, authropologists are seldom professionally concerned with verticle relations betwen ethnic group and macro-state structures, and they rarely undertake studies of social stratification and minority status

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[1] AGG Gingyera-Pinycwa, "The bordern implication of the Sudan civil war : possibilities for intervention in `The Southern Sudan; The problem of national Integration (ed.), Dustan M. War – 1993, p. 123.

as such. Further the anthropological studies can be distinguish according to whether they concentrate on relations within ethnic community or relation between one ethnic group and another, or on the possibility of some kind of dynamic relation inside and outside in a particular circumstance. Though the differences of this sort do not indicate that the various studies are built on different theoretical premises.

As in case of the Sudan the implication of the boundary can be equally multiple of the many possible implications. The first of this is the likelihood of across the border on out side intervention in the dispute. The second likely consequence in also across the border, but flow in the opposite direction, taking the form of refuges fleeing into the neighboring countries. The fact of migration and faults of racial typology combined to sharpen the general interest in ethnic boundaries, but each discipline responded to the challenge in some characteristic way. Authropologists studying ethnic relations take account of the effect of context on the marking and meaning of ethnic difference. All the issues can be summarised under three headings; first the nature of the boundary; second, the dynamics of relations between its two sides and third, the context or structural ecology of the boundary process as put forth by Barth in 1969,

"Ethnic categories are organizational vessels that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different socio-cultural systems. They may be of great relevance to behaviour but they need not be, they may provide all social life, or they may be relevant only in limited sector of activity."[2]

Thus all kinds of traits are sometime used to mark ethnic differences but they are not used consistently. The bases of boundedness can be visible or invisible, symbolic or real. Those most often converted into ethnicity are territoriality, history, language, economic considerations and symbolic identifications of one kind or another but there is no logical limit to their number. Boundary variation given to the ethnic category as a boundary `Vessel', reflects the firmness of the boundary and the significance of any of the diacritica which differentiate `us' from `them'.[3] The more sign of difference available, the greater the boundary potential. The more ethnic group has to manipulate others' perception of it or to stay invisible when it chooses.

RELEVANCE OF THE BOUNDARY IN THE CASE OF SUDAN

[2] Sandra Wallmax, "*Ethnicity and the boundary process in Context*" Bristal University Publication 1987, p. 226.
[3] . Ibid, p. 239.

Apart from the theoretical principles, the practical aspects of the 'ethnicity; and 'boundary disputes' in Sudan Civil war discussed in preceding chapters in detailed reflects a long history of intra ethnic crisis along southern regional border. Viewed in the above theoretical perspectives, the Sudan civil war could have a complex system of border implications all arising the, 'multiple marginality' of the Sudan. In several respect that could be pertinent to the conduct of civil war, the Sudan is either a crucial borderland or has inside it borders that are crucial. The designation of the borderland character of the Sudan or the border inside it as crucial because they are such that it is possible for the principle antagonists, namely the North and South and their syumpathisers, to range themselves on opposite sides of these divides. The Sudan has the misfortune of having so many of these that much of what it shall be attempted to say about the border implications of its civil war is not common but unique to it. To further investigate the multi-dimensions of the intervention possibilities in Sudan Civil war as follows:

The Sudan like other north African countries those call themselves Arabic, Sudan is called the 'microcosm' of Africa, as it producers all its physical, social and cultural diversities. The Sudan is bordered by Egypt, Libya in North, Chad, central African Republic in west; Zaire, Uganda, Kenya in South and Ethiopia and Eritria in South East. Thus the international neighbouring diversity around the Sudan from north to

South and from east to west has provided a rich diaspora to its peopling. The Sudan is a country where black African meets brown or white Arabs, which no Arab contries seems to be subjected to be. Right through the Sudan runs a border that separately the south from the North more decisively than geography alone could have done.

Emergence of the boundary disputes:

The problem of boundary dispute really emerged after the independence of the African countries due to un-natural demarcation by alien powers. The majority of the African States owe their existence to the haphazard boundary demarcation made by the European imperial powers in the process of which ethnic homogeneity was never taken into account. Single ethnic entities that had either to lived independently were brought together within the folds of the newly carved-our countries. While as in other cases, single ethnic entities were split up between two or more countries.[4] As long as the European imperial powers remained in control of the situation they had thus created. When the creation of such boundaries took place, African could not realise the potential problems inherent in such boundaries.

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[4] A. G. C. Gingyera – Pinycwa, The border implication of the Sudan Civil war : Possibilities for the intervention in *"The southern Sudani the problem of National integration"*, (ed.), Dastan M-Wai 1993 p. 133.

Thus to resolve the boundary disputes was a herculean task for the newly independent countries, though Sudan which Share Commonalities with his neighbouring countries has not yet felt impringe on her territorial integrity. Accordingly, the African States chose to disregard the problem and to keep intact the colonially demarcated boundaries and the territories they enclosed.

After realizing the gravity of the problem, the African countries called a confrence in Liberia in July 1959 to discuss the issue of boundary drawn by the colonial regime. The Liberia discussion war further re-affirmed two years later in 1961 in Mosovia in which 20 African States adopted a resolution on the following principles, which were to govern the relationship between the African States. Some important points of the resolution are as follows.

* Absolute equnlity of African States* whatever may be the size of there's territories, the density of their populations on the value of their possessions.

* Non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

• Respect for the sovereignity of each state and its inalienable right to existence and development of its responsibility.

- Unqualified Condemnation of outside subversive action by neighbouring States.

- Promotion of Co-operation throughout the Africa.[5]

These principles were regarded sacrosant and recognised by OAU to preserve the existing boundaries inspired by the articles III and VIIth of OAU Charter. But as for as concerned the issue of Sudan in relation to international boundary disputes, it is lucky to have co-ordinal relations with its neighbours. The only problem lies with Southern demand to secede from Khartoum. The cease of Sudan differs from the other African conflicting countries like- Ethiopia, Congo Somalia and Uganda etc. The boundary disputes of the Sudan is Central authority can be demarcated with southern states of Bahau-el-Ghazal, equatoria province and upper Nile Collectively known as Southern Sudan. Thus the demarcation of a boundary line in Sudan may be viewed from the Socio-cultural point of view but as for as concerned the modern values of nation-state and nationalism' and 'federalism' it's not viable to do so. Any nation can be binded on these principles of the democratic values prevailed over it. The largest nations of the world today i.e. India, China and USA have certainly rich in intra ethnic identity but these nations are one and strong enough to put down any such mis-adventures as it is happening

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[5] Richard S. Musika, *"Toward a peaceful Resolution of Africans Colonial boundaries"* Africa Today #37 April – 1997, p. 17-18.

in the Sudan. To look into the prolonging problem in the Sudan, it becomes necessary to take into account the various socio-political and historical evolution of the State.

As ethnically and culturally, southern Sudan is Negro Africans. South feels easy affiliating to Uganda, Congo and Kenya rather than northward. This is the position inhabited by the Nilotic Peoples such as; the Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Annak, and Jo-luo; the Nilo Hamite peoples i.e. – the Bari, Latuko, Toposa, and Musle; and Sudanic peoples i.e. – Modi, Mero, Belanda and Azande. Thus the northern are ethnically and culturally distinct from the Southers. The feeling of the bordering tribes in South to their close associates liquidates them from their strong conviction of the Sudan as a single territorial unit. The border which significantly coincides with the front – line of the present civil war in the line which devides the northerners looked to the north and revelled in the glories of Islam and Arabism of which they deemed themselves a part. The southerns wondered about, indifferent to the frontier, in search of livelihood. It was not untill the emergence of nationalism in the year after the world war – I, that the Sudanese nationalists awoke to the realization of the implications of this border.

For years, since the establishment of condominium rule in 1899, the British had been following a "Southern Policy" which has been discussed

in detailed in the preceding chapter which promoted the question of identity for southerners. The south came to see itself as a distinct being from the Arabs, from whom she came to expect very little considerations. This led the strife between north and south. To scrutnise The Genuiness of the southern contention, there can be no honest doubt that when they say, that they are not Arabs, either ethnically a culturally, the southern Sudanese are correct. A line of division certainly does exist. Further if south Sudanese are non-Arabs in ethnicity and culture, they share close affinity in these two respects with a large position of the Negro-African world. There; the Sudanese are both in the Sudan on the one hand, and in Uganda, Ethiopia and central republic of Africa on other sides, while the Nilo-Hamites are on one hand in the Sudan and on the other in Uganda and Kenya.[6]

Thus, with so many differences between southern Sudanese and northerners to whome they are opposed, and so many similarities between them and the peoples of neighbouring countries, the southerners have a good chance of drawing in their favour against the northerners, from whom they are both ethnically and culturally cut off.

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[6] John obert voll and Sarah potts Voll; *"The Sudan : Unity and diversity in a multicultural state."* West view press, 1985; p. 122.

On the other hand the pattern of religious affiliation in south represents that country with a second crucial internal boundary. This is the boundary between Islam on the one hand and Christianity and paganism on the other. "The regimentation of Muslims versus non-Muslims that the Sudan escapes on its international borders, is tragically and too obviously present within the country itself." While there are sprinkling of Muslims in the southern Sudan, the basic picture with regard to denominational ecology within the country is clearly that of a Muslim north confronting a Christian-cum-animist south. Thus here too the Sudan has sensitive internal border which Unfortunately coindies with the lone dividing the combatants in the civil war."

Thus, there are many possible borders or frontiers that are pertinent in any full discussion of intervention in the Sudan Civil war. As in case of the Sudanese of the North and those of the south, the combatants in the civil war belong to different groups, whose emotions or sympathies, if incited could lead to their seeking intervention, despite the multiplicity of borders dividing the northern and southern Sudanese.

INTERNATIONAL-INTERVENTION

Looking toward an international intervention in the Sudan's internal affair. The America took interest during the initial stages of 1950's and early 60's. The American foreign policy for about two decades after the

war, has since been replaced by a more sophisticated conception of how conflicts arise and of the circumstances under which the USA might intervene. The new revival conception was closely tied to the American national interest, which according to Brookfield was seen in respect to local conflicts as a function of considerations. There was no treaty obligation between USA and the Sudan. Whereas the earlier Soviet Union alignment with Arabs and USA's support to Israel was open to the region. But the Soviet Union could not come to the scene otherwise it would have been made more widespread considerations.

As the internal fabrics of the Sudanese demographic structure is vividly represented by different ethnic groups, there are many possible borders or frontiers that are pertinent in any full discussion of intervention in the Sudan civil war. The external involvement on the line of different considerations in the Sudan is in vogue. The Egypt, Libiya and Algeria have all at one time or another been accused of intervention on the side of Arab Northerners. On the other hand the Israel, West Germany and USA accused of training the southerners and of supplying them with equipment. European missionaries have also been accused of meddling in the affairs of the Sudan. The reason being the south practicing the Christianity and the Europeans also the followers of the same religion. While as the support of Egypt Libiya and Algeria for the north goes on the line of Islam as north being the Arabs Muslim.

Apart from the allegations and counter-allegations, the influence of superpowers, whose presence in global affairs is near obiquitous, have not found a sufficient urge to intervene seriously. The reason being the absence of serious clash of the interests in the Sudan among the foreign powers.

EFFORTS OF THE RESOLUTIONS:

And finally to resolve the intra-boundary disputers with south secessionist states. There is detailed provisions for the future course of action in Khartoum peace agreement, signed by all fighting political outfits, on 21 April 1997. The Khartoum Agreement lays down principles governing constitutional and legal matters, powers to be exercised by the federal institution and states institutions, and norms of wealth sharing. Though, there has been clearly mentioned that the unity of the Sudan can not be based on force or coercion, but on the free will of the people.' Freedom of religion, belief and worship, the right to freedom of thought and conscience, the independence of judiciary along with the decent realization have been guaranteed. Further there has been laid stress on the participatory democracy and to avoid and sort of interference and totalitarianism. The agreement signed on April 21, 1997 has been

stipulated for a 4 year interim period.[7] The agreement is on hold till July 1999. The special features of the agreement for southern Sudan are mentioned a follows.

The agreement provides for the establishment of the coordinating council of southern states "for co-ordination, supervision, socio-economic planning, confidence building, peace nurturing, Policy making as well as political moblization in the Southern Sudan." The provisions regarding the composition, powers and functions of the coordinating council are clearly mentioned. The people of southern Sudan have been given an option to determine their political aspirations – unity with Sudan or "secession" through the referendum in 2001 AD and which will commence for the date of the formation of coordinating council.[8] The agreement is quite comprehensive and it meets almost all demands of the south as a region.

Though there is some speculation regarding the Garang faction in south who was persuing for a secular and democratic Sudan free of discrimination on account of race, religion, culture. However this faction

[7] Aukush B. Sawant, "Ethnic Conflict in Sudan in Sudan inhistorical perspective' *International Studies* # 35, 3, p. 362

[8] Embassy of the Republic of the Sudan, Khastoum peace agreement, 21 April 1999 (New Delhi).

didn't have in their agenda for secession, or separation or autonomy for south.

Though the problem of south is deep-rooted and since Independence the secession and war have become a phenomenon in the history of the Sudan. Except Addis Abada agreement which provided a short span relief; all the other agreements, signed prior to Khartoum peace agreement proved failure. We explore relationships between the North and the South in the spirit of the recent agreement in Addis Ababa. As president Nimeiry had said in announcing the Addis settlement. But this agreement could not evaporate the problem of North and South. In any case, now it is the high time to restore the confidence that has long been lost between North and South; to correct the mistakes of past and secure a meaningful unity a peaceful commitment to "Khartourm resolution". The Khartoum agreement offers yet another chance to achieve unity in diversity in the Sudan. It is hoped, that this shall not be another lost opportunity to be added to the long list of missed opportunities during the fourty three years of Sudan's Independence.

However the present government has pro-peace agenda that believes in developing the areas of relationship between the north and the south. The Khartoum resolution hopefully will prove that the hope of peace and peaceful social change in the Sudan depend more upon the institutional

ways of resolving differences of interest than upon common believes. It is of the utmost importance now for every Sudanese to devoid any syndrome which can mar the prospect of peaceful resolution of the Khartoum proposal. As once commenting over the Sudanese problem, John F. Kennedy said" Sudanese problems are man made, therefore they can be solved by man. Man can eb as big as he wants. No problem of human destiny is beyond human beings. Man's reason and spirit have often solved the seemingly insolvable – and we believe they can do it again .... one's aim should not just be the most comfortable life possible – but that we should all do something to right the wrongs we see and not just complain about them. One man can make a difference and every man should try."[9] Thus hoping positively, looking for a peaceful resolution by the end of 2001/AD, as stipulated in Khartoum agreement can relieve the peoples of the Sudan from the long drown an-ending saga of the civil-war.

[9] Robert F. Kennedy. *"The Persuit of Justice"*; Hamish Hamilton, London, 1964. P. 11.

CONCLUSION

The democratic republic of the Sudan is often described as the 'Microcosm' of the Africa in its ethnic literature. The rich 'diaspora' of racial presence makes Sudan colourful. The Sudan a state of multi-culturalism, multi-linguism, multi-religionism and multi-racialism unfortunately lacks in representing the unity amidst diversity. The cronic problem of the civil war has marred the prospect of North and South Sudan integration in practicalities though constitutionally a united state. The socially and culturally South Sudan radically differs from the North, is genuine but politically the blame of the 'South problem' had often been imposed over the Colonial regime, but it can not be sustained much longer. As it is clear that the intention of colonial regime was to keep separate south from the North to create a bigger federation in the Central African Republic. Now after passing the four decades of the Sudan's independence, when the problems are well exposed and grasped, the regimes in centre at Khartoum have been failed to resolve the ethnic problem. Even after so long time, it would not be tenable to blaim fully the Colonial regime for the problems in the Sudan today. The long persisting problem also exposes the weaknesses of the civilian and junta regimes in the Sudan during their respective tenures in the office.

The Cheap populist measures had often been exploited by the Sundanese Central leadership for the individual concerns which have been proved dangerous in the long run for the Nations Unity and integrity. This has become possible easily because of the rich diversity of the social confugration of the Sudan. The exploitation of the Muslims sentiment in north at the name of 'Sharia law' against the Christianity in South (during the Nimeirey regime) and propaganda by south leaders against the Islamic hegemony to save the Christianity in South had set one against another. Other such populist measures have also fuelled the problem of the ethnic crisis inspite of containing it.

As it is evident from the post-independence history of the Sudan, that the nation was caught in 'ethnic fire' in it's nascent stage. The process of development and nation building was still to be started independently, which could not thrive later on due to the Cronic disturbance. The economic dependency on the mother countries still forced to the ruiling 'elites to carry the legacy of the Colonial regime. The most of the developmental projects which were started by the Colonial regimes at some certain nodal points for their specific purposes became the Chief Centre of the development. Therefore a fresh look was needed to review the development policies. It was direly needed to look the deprived, backward, and remote peripheral regions to take in to the main stream of nation building and development process but unfortunately it could not

happened. The remote and peripheral regions were discriminated in the developmental task and most of the infrastructure was developed around the Khartoum complex. Again the social cleavage emerged out of the disproportionate land distribution system but this problem is equally common in north and south. The real problem lies in the fertile regions of the Nile tracts and Nuba region where the encroachment by the pro-government activists have often occurred. Keeping in mind the view of the anti-government stand of south Sudanese, the fringe areas came under threat from north. The scramble for the resource region is common. The ethnic minorities in marginal areas often faces sophisticated maneouring of the land alienation problems.

Further the major part of the budgetary allocation have been drained for the defence and military purposes. The perpetual civil war in South have disturbed the agricultural practices. The Sudan once being described the 'bread basket of the world' have seen the one of severe drought and femine crisis during the last decade. Though the western countries had claimed some exaggerated needs but at a larger extent, the crisis was true. The western countries claim for the drought torn Sudan as a whole was a misconception. Only a marginal narrow belt in North Western part comes under the drought zone. The rest part of the Sudan receives adequate rain to grow the crops. But agricultural practices in the central South region were largely disturbed due to military actions and civil war.

Amidst the chaotic situation, the international agencies also faced the hurdles in relief actions. The question of dis-entitlement was also raised, but overall situation was bound by the resource scarcity rather than manipulation. Some drought hit areas were infact the major sufferer of such circumstances not the Sudan as a whole.

Now coming to the development question, South has always alleged the Khartoum regime of being partisan. South has been discriminated in development against North. There is some truth in this charge against the government, but it can't be plainly accepted. There must have been some compulsions of the government and limitations of the resources which can be facilitated to the larger population concentrated areas. As in the case of the Khartoum complex, where the major population concentration, industrial centre and government institutions are located. Certainly the government inability to meet out demand of Southerner had irked their sentiments, especially when it is seen from the view point of different ethnic identity. But in reality there are many Arab regions also in paraphernalia at the same level of the development as of the South Sudan. Considering these points it seems more the government inability to keep balanced development due to scare resources than desired discrimination. But petty politicians have not spared the chance of the mesmerizing the government inability.

Thus it seems that the economic crisis is due to more under-developed economy and scarce resources than ethnic crisis alone. At a certain extent the 'ethnic' crisis has affected the economic progress but not the sole cause. The political instability, neo-colonialism and economic underdevelopment of the Sudan have been mixed up with the ethnic crisis to de-stabilized it's economy.

As a result of severe economic crisis, the political problems and the ethnic identity have emerged as major issues. On the ethnic line, the assertion of the different ethnic groups for their separate identity is implicit with the social, cultural and political rights security. Thus the identification of the different ethnic entities had led to the mushrooming ethnic groups which in turn had reduced the size of the different ethnic groups. In this chain the identification of an individual group emerges as minority one. In case of the Sudan the larger identification of the ethnic identity is between Arab and non-Arab. The non-Arabs basically includes African negroes and pagans. The non-Arabs being in minority have faced the problem of political maneouring. Their importance in political participation is often ignored by the majoritarian group of politicians, the because they are often in position to sub-ordination with any party or even if they have their own political parties i.e. SPLA, SANU, SSIM, are effective at only local level. Their voices at the central level are weaker. Their aspirations are not meted out. In such circumstances these

political out-fits in the Sudan have waged the war against the central leadership. Though the intention of these political out-fits are yet to ensure the socio-eco-political security of the peoples of the Southern Sudan but how they will meet the desired goal is not yet cleared. The leaders of these sub-altern organization have always blamed the political marginalization of the minority groups on the ethnic line. This may be partly true, because the political decisions have been effected in the Sudan keeping in the mind, the interests of the Arabs. Thus there has been a tilt toward the majoritarian groups.

Due to the emerging social conflict the Sudan had been perpetually faced the political instability. The conflict between the junta and civilian government had often emerged to dislodge the regime of one another. Basically the problem here lies in the unpopularity and reactionary measures taken by the any regime either civilian or junta to garner the support of a section of the society either on religion, ethnic or regional line. In 1989, the ouster of Sadiq-al-Mahdi and rise of General Omar-el-Bashir is such an example. Further the problem of instability had been caused by the connivance of the third party. The tribal affinities and primordial considerations across the country's border are common phenomenon in the African continent. The role of Ethiopia, Uganda and Algeria had been active so for in the Sudanese internal politics. Further this problem had been caught in the net of the formerly colonial power

indulgence, to promote their economic interest to install a favourable regime especially the Junta government. Apart from the instability, the southern problem has compounded further due to emergence of many political out-fits which have their own way of demands and functioning style. Initially the demand from the southern political out-fits was for the federal state which had not been met out, then the question was raised for the regional autonomy. But nothing substantial have been achieved so for except promises and lies. The various effort to resolve the south problem right from the Addis accord in 1973, Abuja talk in 1993 and such other efforts failed to bring the peace. It is now the Khartoum agreement signed in April 1997 between the North and South which is on the hold, hopefully may give a solution to the problem. This agreement meets all the demands and aspirations of South and provisions well laid down for the modalities to sort out be problem by 2001. Hopefully the Khartoum agreement will being the peace in the Sudan as it differs many ways from the earlier agreements. It gives the due weightage to the southern demand.

Apart from the political problems, the issue of the boundary dispute in reference to ethnic identity in the Sudan has some radical differences between north and south. Ethnically North being the Arabs and South Negro African, the peoples of the North follow the Islamic religion while as the southern are cristian and tribal faiths believer. Linguistically

north is Arabic and South is English and tribal dialects. Thus on the line of these social variables, there can be demarcated a social and geographical boundary which parts the southern states Bahar – el Gazl, Equatoria and upper Nile provinces from the North. The case of the Sudan problem is the failed democratic participation, relative deprivation, negligence of aspirations and arousing nationalism. The regimes in Khartoum could not integrate the southern ideas and demands with themselves. The reason being the realization of strong ethnic and tribal affinities which always left a schism in the mind of the ruling forces. This left the southerners to realise more closer to the peoples across the border in their cultural affinity and ethnic identity rather than nationalist and patriotic allegiance to the khartoum. The feeling of alienation among the southerners raised the voice of the demands for their concerns i.e. regional autonomy or federal set-up or cessation or socio-cultural integration with the passage of time. The demands also varied on the political line. The Garang faction on in South had always stressed for the socio-cultural integration of south with north rather than the rest alternatives. Thus the nature of south problem had been erratic one. The various efforts to resolve the problem could not succeed do to the lapses in the government policies to face boldly the demands raised by the southerners. But lastly not leastly, the Khartoum agreement signed in April 1997 hopefully will be able to resolve the long drawn crisis as it differs from the earlier efforts in it's broader spectrum

to adjust with the Southern demands. The Khartoum regime had also been agreed to fulfill the aspiration of the Southern demands. The agreement is still on the hold and hopefully it will go inaccordance with the provisions and modalities laid out for the final resolution of the problem in 2001 as stipulated in the Khartoum agreement.

Thus finally, It can be said only from the past experiences that much of the resolution of the southern problem depends upon the different combination and permutation of the circumstances in which the fate of the peace in the Sudan will be decided.

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