23 JULY 2012 “IDENTITY”

Plenary

A New History for a New Nation:  
The Search for South Sudan’s Usable Past  
Douglas H. Johnson (SSUK)

The study of South Sudan’s past at independence resembles an earlier period of African history more generally nearly fifty years ago at the beginning of decolonization: it has been written either as the history of ethnic migration or of alien administration and administrators. Against this a new nationalist history is being fashioned out of a narrative of struggle and resistance. But the history of South Sudan and its people is more than the teleology of nationalism. It has long been a missing piece in the jigsaw puzzle of the North East African past, and a history that focuses primarily on the task of nation building is in danger of isolating itself from the advances made in the history of the surrounding region. This keynote address one year after South Sudanese independence is a reflection on more than forty years research using primary materials, both documentary and ethnographic, publishing both academic works and pieces for the popular press within South Sudan itself. It will ask what sort of history Sudan might have had if South Sudan had been incorporated more fully in the writing of academic historians, what sort of ‘usable past’ (to use John Lonsdale’s phrase) might South Sudanese seek now, and what the integration of South Sudan into regional history might hold for African history in general. It will advocate a history thoroughly grounded in ethnography and conscious of trends in the historiography of the wider region.

Panel I: Youth

Acts of Defiance as an Expression of Obedience:  
Relations of Power and Questions of Identity amongst University Students and Youth Associations in South Sudan  
Zoe Cormack (University of Durham) and Naomi Penndel (University of Bristol)

The re-opening of South Sudan’s Universities has been marred by violent protests against University administrations. At the University of Bahr el Ghazal thousands of dollars worth of university property was destroyed and several students seriously injured in protests over the language of instruction and provision of services. These apparent acts of defiance could appear to support the academic discourse that portrays a growing generational disobedience and political rebellion by educated youth and university students across Africa. However, an alternative view is possible. Analyses of recent acts of protest suggest they can better be understood as expressions of the desire for inclusion and place in the emerging state of South Sudan. It is significant that protests have been explicitly concerned with the symbolic elements of national identity, such as language and the implementation of the new constitutions. Student and youth leaders, usually educated abroad and often related to leading government officials, are driven to establish themselves upon their return and satisfy high expectations (and ambitions). Linked to the desire for inclusion, these protests also allow ‘elite’ youth in South Sudan to establish their personal space in the political market place.

This paper is based on research at the University of Bahr el-Ghazal (Wau, South Sudan) and amongst youth associations in the Greater Bahr el Ghazal region in 2011-2012.
‘And When I Become a Man’:
Trans-Local Search of Masculinity Among Young Returnee Men to South Sudan
Dr. Katarzyna Grabska, Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Swiss Tropical and Public Health Institute, Basel, Switzerland
Ms. Martha Fanjoy, PhD Candidate, University of Toronto, Canada

Based on two different ethnographic fieldwork contexts among South Sudanese refugees in Kenya and in Canada and returnees in South Sudan, this paper analyses the ‘return home’ strategies, motivations and experiences of these two diverse groups. The paper focuses on the transformations, negotiations and construction of national, ethnic and gender identities among young returnee men. We ask how ‘home’ and ‘return’ are shaped by and shape masculinities of returnee South Sudanese men. In both groups, there have been substantial changes in the type of masculinities that were produced in the context of exile. For many young men, displacement meant losing their privileged status in the household and in the community as they were challenged by gender equality discourses and increasing authority of women in places of displacement. Their ethnicity and race also played a role in undermining their male status within the country of residence. By deciding to return to South Sudan, they partly seek to re-establish their power position and (re)define their masculinities. The politics of place with the fixing of identities to a particular place and ‘home’ resulted in South Sudanese refugee men not feeling ‘at home’ in their place of displacement and prevented them from ‘making a home’ in those places. Yet, as this paper shows, neither identities, places nor ‘homes’ are fixed categories. This paper sheds light on the diverse processes of actively creating, negotiating and transforming hybrid identities across time and space. It emphasizes the transnational dynamics and gender and generational tensions, among others, in the identity constructions in the context of the emerging South Sudanese nation.

Education and its Role in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations:
Juba University as a Case Study
Mohamed Ahmed Mukhtar (College of Social & Economic Studies, Khartoum)

Education, and in particular higher education, is one of the important post-conflict policies that must be carefully addressed by policy makers in their efforts to achieve a sustainable peace. Education can trigger, solve or cause a conflict. Education is strongly connected with many roots of the conflicts.

The importance of education is felt when identity issues, distribution of resources and access to political power are considered. Despite the importance of education, it was almost neglected when the CPA was signed in 2005 between the Government of Sudan and the SPLM/A in 2005. Politicians who sign peace agreements always go for political and economic issues because their results can easily be felt. Issues like education are different and their importance only becomes visible in the long run, that is why politicians do not pay too much attention to them. Education, if neglected, or decisions about it are made on political grounds, this will not help in the long run.

The University of Juba was established in the early 1970’s as part of the Addis Ababa peace agreement signed between Sudan government and southern rebels in 1972. The university was meant to qualify southern Sudanese to work in the south in different spheres specially the civil service. The university started in 1977 in Juba. The civil war erupted again in 1983. As security in the south continued to deteriorate, the university decided to move to the north, hoping to go back when things are back to normal. It continued to work in the north until the signing of the CPA in 2005. The CPA itself did not say much about higher education. After the separation of the south in 2011 this affected the university, as all southern students and staff were asked to go to Juba, and the northern staff and students were asked to stay in north Sudan.
Up to 2011, the University of Juba was an example of how Sudanese from all parts of Sudan can live together in peace. The politicians by insisting that the southern students and staff go back to Juba are making a big mistake. Many problems are confronting relocating the university back to Juba, and the effects are going to be noticeable in the long run. It is also not a good decision for north Sudan, because it is going to create more problems between the peoples of the two states rather than creating harmony and maintaining peace. These are few of the issues that could be explored.

Panel II: Language

**A Pre-Arabic language of the Funj Sultanate of Sennar**
Robert Borges and Harald Hammarström (Radboud University Nijmegen)

The origins and identity of those who established the Funj Sultanate of Sennar have - not for lack of attention- yet to be satisfactorily resolved by scholars. One piece of evidence that may provide a clue to this problem is a poem and numeral set (1-10) recorded by Evliya Çelebi, a Turkish diplomat and literary figure, in 1672. Allegedly recited to him by the king at the time (Badi II), Çelebi’s material is presumably the language “of the court of Sinnar” (Spaulding 1973:30). To date, this language remains unidentified. In this paper, we will attempt an analysis of the morphosyntactic structures and lexicon of the data recorded by Çelebi in order to typologically profile and possibly identify the language he recorded in the 17th century. While identification of the language recorded by Çelebi will not inconclusively pinpoint those responsible for the foundation of the Sennar Sultanate, it is our hope that we can either provide a new piece of evidence supporting an existing theory or a new lead in this mystery.

**The Season of Tuubar in Dongolawi and Kenzi Proverbs**
Marcus Jaeger (Cologne University)

'Tuubar' is one of the months in the Coptic Calendar which was especially helpful in farming and besides the Copts came to be used among the Nubians. At the same time 'tuubar' was one of the most important seasons for the Nubians. The waters of the Nile descended and the river became shallow. Some of the Dongolawi Islands could be reached on foot. The newly deposited Nile mud could be used for agriculture. Therefore it may be no surprise that the season of 'tuubar' is the only season which is dealt with in Kenzi and Dongolawi proverbs. With the building of the High Dam the season of 'tuubar' ended for the Kenzi, with the building of the Merowe dam for the Dongolawi, too.

This paper will look into the wisdom surrounding the Dongolawi and Kenzi proverbs dealing with the 'tuubar' season which soon may be lost altogether. Interestingly the two languages show some differences in looking at the month of 'tuubar'. Was it because of environmental differences or are there other aspects which need to be taken into consideration?
**The Plural Formation in Nobiin**

Mohamed Khidir Khalil Hassan (Nubian Language Society, Sudan)

Nobiin is the language of the indigenous inhabitants of the Kingdom of Lower Nubia (Nobatia). It is the direct ancestor of Old Nubian the formal language of Christian Nubia. The Nubian Language Society (NLS) is a local NGO that publically engages in documenting and promoting the Nobiin language through several linguistic projects. NLS has a wide-ranging project to revitalize the Nobiin language through teaching it to the community using different curriculum levels for the education of both children and adult groups. NLS curricula are designed around the use of documented oral culture such as folk tales, folk songs, children’s and adults’ folk poems, folk proverbs, folk tongue twisters, and folk history.

Nobiin as a distinct language is peculiarly rich in variations among its native dialects in expressing the pluralization of nouns. The distinctive characteristic of Nobiin in retaining numerous ways of forming the noun plurals can be observed in its major dialects: the Fadichcha-Halfa, the Kidintuu, the Sokkot, and the Mahas dialects. The concept of the plural in Nobiin is uniquely unlike that of Latin languages. Forming the plural in Nobiin is not only restricted to nouns - its use extends to verbs and adjectives.

This paper considers the dialect of Sokkot Nubians as a central source of Nobiin for the local grammatical standardization; the paper deduces regular plural forms for words in Nobiin; and sets out the irregularities that occur. This entails a complete listing of most of the existing plurality markers for nouns, verbs, and adjectives in Nobiin with the description of their uses in order to draw up useful grammatical rules for analyzing plural formations. Additionally, this paper does not omit to provide examples of the dissimilarities in plural formations of words in Nobiin; it compares the pluralization of some words in other dialects such as Fadichcha with their corresponding plurals in the Sokkot dialect.

Lastly, the paper outlines the apparent similarities in the characteristics of pluralization between Nobiin and its ancestor Mediaeval O.N. Through comparing the general plural morphemes and the predicative plural formations in both Nobiin and O.N, this paper substantiates that the grammatical concepts of pluralization of the two languages are similar in nature. This evidently indicates that major grammatical characteristics of the Nile-Nubian language are still conserved.


---

**The So-Called Present Tense in Andaandi-Dongolawi**

Angelika Jakobi (Cologne University) and El-Shafie el-Guzuuli

Andaandi-Dongolawi – or briefly Andaandi – is a Nubian language spoken in the Nile Valley of northern Sudan. Genetically it is closely related to Kunuz (or Kunuzi) which is spoken in southern Egypt. The Nubian languages are a sub-group of the Eastern Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan.

A specific verb form is used both in Andaandi and Kunuz, which has been analysed as ‘present tense’ by various scholars, for example by Massenbach (1933) or Nasir Satti (2008). Armbruster (1960) also employs the term ‘present tense’ in his Andaandi grammar, although he points out that the verb form concerned “may be used with a past sense in the narrative” (Armbruster § 5375). The first scholar who provides a different analysis and terminology is Ahmed Sokamo Abdel-Hafiz. In his Kunuz grammar (1988: 130), he uses the term ‘Neutral Tense’ (rather than present tense) stating that it “may refer to present, past, and future time”.
The paper aims at showing that the so-called ‘present tense’ in Andaandi is, in fact, not confined to the present time, i.e. the time of speech. Therefore the term ‘present tense’ is considered to be a misnomer. The paper also questions whether this specific verb form is a tense, i.e. a time-related category. The various functions of the so-called present tense will be mainly illustrated with data from the legend The Miracle of Saint Mina, which has recently been translated from Old Nubian to Andaandi by El-Shafie El-Guzuuli (2012).

Panel III: South Sudan and the Neighbors

**Most Important Friend, Second Most Important Border**
Immo Eulenberger (PhD candidate, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology)

Presently, Kenya could be described as antipode of Sudan among the neighbors of the young republic. It provided crucial assistance that enabled the SPLA to successfully challenge Khartoum’s authority, refuge and education for hundred thousands, camps for fighters in border regions of partly ambiguous international status, and comfortable second homes for the new elite.

In contrast to North-South, issues of contested border areas, entailing claims to water and pasture, highly emotional for adjoining pastoralist communities and fertile for ambitious local politicians, stand in this case far back in importance for the most powerful players. Although oil has just been discovered on the Kenyan side, the present hard-line mode of GoS politics has made Kenya most important partner for RoSS, as it provides the only viable alternative route for its 95% source of revenue, outweighing all other factors that already tie their development prospects together.

My research concentrates on the region along the common border and explores the impact of the international context on regional and local conflicts, roles and interests of political elites and economic actors, resulting developments in power relations, patterns of integration, economic and cultural transformation.

**South Sudan’s Place in the Neighbourhood**
Nel Hodge (Journalist)

My perspective is that of a journalist monitoring media reports on South Sudan. I am interested in exploring how media coverage could affect the reception given to South Sudan by its neighbors. (Can this be compared to how the dominant media narrative on Somalia has influenced perceptions of Somalis by their neighbors, or are there parallels with post-apartheid South Africa and its relations with neighbors).

In March, a ceremony marking the start of the construction in Kenya of a major port facility with an oil refinery and pipeline through which South Sudan’s oil would be transported was widely covered in the regional media. They highlighted the economic and environmental impact on the region and how South Sudan’s issues had affected the dynamics of regional power jostling.

Giving examples of how regional media reported the story I ask three main questions: - Is regional media balanced in its coverage of tensions between the north and south? - Has the media found a place for South Sudan in the regional pecking order? - What sort of welcome has the new kid on the block received?
We Want to Do Business with Our East African ‘Brothers’:
Oil in South Sudan, Regional Transport Infrastructure, New Oil Actors,
and its Cross Country Impacts
George Katete (University of Bremen)

Although South Sudan attained its independence in July 2011 moving away from Sudan, the two states are still intertwined by their past differences over Oil gains in the Oil rich South Sudan. The armed conflicts that were caused by contestations over productions in Oil appear to take new causal twists. The disagreements over the transport levies to be charged on the new state for using the Sudan’s transport infrastructure continue to tear their incompatible relations even further apart. But now South Sudan seeks to cut links with the Sudan with regard to Oil business. By building on the past literature on the root causes of conflicts in Sudan and South Sudan, this paper seeks to contribute in analysing how the current proposals of cross border Oil transport infrastructure linking South Sudan-Kenya and South Sudan-Ethiopia causes newer conflicts across the region. How does the new cooperation agreement affect the political and economic relations, first between South Sudan and Sudan, second between Kenya-South Sudan and third between the South Sudan’s two allies and Sudan? What other possible impacts does this interaction have on big Oil players (China) and other newer Oil actors in the region? The concept of ‘resource curse’ will be used for critical analyses in this study.

Primary research which includes analyses of reliable newspaper articles, analyses of governments’ documents and internet research will be conducted to gather useful materials required in this research.

Panel IV: New Identities

The Challenges of Reconstitution of National Identity in the Sudans
Redie Bereketeab
The Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden

The independence of South Sudan has brought to the forth the need of reconfiguration and reconstitution of national identity in the Sudans. The lopsided identity claims and counter-claims led to the split of Sudan. Now the time has come for both Sudans to rethink their identity formations. The nation building project in Sudan requires an innovative and renewed social contract among the remaining component units of Sudan. A consensually reached social contract among the numerous ethno-linguistic groups could save the country from further disintegration. South Sudan also needs to reconsider its newfound identity. Now that there is no common enemy could the various ethno-linguistic groups be able, in peace time, to reconstitute a common national identity?

The paper aims to explore the inevitable reconfiguration and reconstitution of national identity in the two Sudans. It argues that both Sudans not only need to adopt a new constellation of identities that rest on consensual social contract but also need to redefine and bolster their duality of identities. The paper further aim to argue that duality of identity should reflect, acknowledge and celebrate the ethnic and civic basis of national identity in the Sudans.
Sudanese Voices on the Separation of South Sudan
Margret Otto (M.A. Peace Studies)

This paper focuses on the investigation of the construction of memories and identities by Sudanese citizens in the aftermath of the separation of South Sudan. It looks at how the perspectives of peace and unity, which seemed to dominate the discourse before the referendum, are transformed and changed by the separation of South Sudan. The presented interviews also highlight the impact of the country’s history on reflections and visions of the future. The research is mainly based on interviews and a variety of voices will be presented.

The findings show that the most important differences actually seem to exist between the different generations. Whereas the older generation often still argues in the tradition of the struggle for peace and unity after the civil war, younger people are looking forward into their future by constructing new visions of a Sudanese citizenship. Of course attitudes and ideas vary greatly in the current situation that is characterized by strong economic and political insecurities and fear of new armed conflicts.

The paper is part of an ongoing research in which I initially explored the perception of peace of Sudanese citizens in North- and South Sudan before the referendum. It will be complemented by an investigation of if and how this-now historical-struggle for a political and social unity of the South and North Sudanese is impacting the construction of a new identity for South Sudanese citizens.

We – the ‘Sudanese’ – Have Not Been Liberated Yet
Abdullahi Gallab (Arizona State University)

From the creation of the Sudan in 1821 the Sudanese saw their life-world colonized, civil experience constrained, and evolution of their society deferred. The declaration issued on July 9, 2011, splitting North and South Sudan, occurred as a result of the Islamist regime’s attempt to exercise a tighter grip over the Sudanese life-world. They have split Sudan into two states, and turned the rest of the country into hot or cold battle grounds between the regime and other Sudanese groups. Are we now ready to look back into this long and complex human experience and ask how the Sudanese civil society has been deferred and ask the most serious question are we—the Sudanese people—been liberated yet?

Liberation comes in many different ways, yet here it would be qualified not only from totalitarian rule itself, but also from two distinctive practices which must be well-defined if they are to become germane. This is the liberation from a myriad series of contrivances and mentalities of ‘totalist’ politics, ideologies and systems; and from the devices—the state-created to give effect to such rule.

In our search for an explanation, we have to consider the accumulative and singular role the central state has played in the Sudanese life since 1821. From the time of the Ottoman Wali [viceroy] – Mohammed Ali’s invasion of the Sudan and the creation of a centralized state in 1821, to the current totalitarian rule of the Islamists (1989–present). The state in its different formations has delineated, focusing on (a) the charters of the conventions of hidden and manifest structures of violence and (b) the all-embracing and monopolizing power over all means of a brand authority by which the conduct of the population is governed, disciplined and coerced. The state emerged and continued to act as a vessel for extraction, a major manufacturer of inequalities, racial engineering and social stratification on a grandiose scale. Its public and heavy hand has always been a silhouette in the shadows and a hound in the light of these developments.
Although the debate over the after effects of peril facing the Sudan as a country stretches and sidesteps forward by the minute, one might say that, although the Southern Sudanese have walked away from the regime and its state, they have not walked away from the Sudanese fields of action. One would agree with many that, when an understanding of the Sudanese consciousness is able to influence their walk out of the current regime and its oppressive state, a new and a trustworthy debate might become a starting point to initiate and evoke the virtue of a new Sudan, bigger than what the colonial borders mapped out in their day. Was there a missed opportunity? Yes; but nonetheless, the wind of change is blowing all over the Middle East and Africa. The street’s chant for freedom – al-sha’b yurid isqāt al-nizām (The people want to bring down the regime) – could materialize into al-sha’b yurid taqīr al-nizām (The people want to change the regime).

Panel V: New Historiographies

“Vivid Scenes of Melodrama”: The Historiographical Production of Sudan
Dahlia E.M. Gubara (Ph.D. student, Columbia University)

Of the over seven thousand years of recorded history of the Sudan, no other period has occupied minds in the historical discipline as much as what has come to be known, simply, as ‘the Mahdiyya’. Generally revered as a heroic icon of the nation, if not the eschatological savior he proclaimed himself to be, Mohammed Ahmed al-Mahdi’s legacy continues to occupy prime place in Sudanese historiography. This is true of both local and external authors of all political hues and ideological inclinations, both in and out of the academy. It is especially the case in the European colonial imaginary where tales of the Mahdiyya were so fantastical that the Mahdi’s name (like that of his formidable lieutenant, Osman Digna) was invoked as a threat to disobedient British children.

More than a century on, the story of the Sudanese Mahdiyya continues to represent itself in the array of concerns animating Sudanese studies. More pointedly, it continues to inform historical writing and policy approaches to the identity politics riveting the country today, which pivot on the categories ‘Arab,’ ‘African,’ ‘Islam’ and other related binaries (orthodox/heterodox, national/ethnic, secular/religious, freedom/slavery, tolerance/fanaticism) arising from disciplinary thinking and Enlightenment epistemologies.

Accordingly, this paper will provide a genealogical re-reading of the historiography of the Mahdiyya under the subheadings, “A Mongroid Race: Arabs and Africans in the Sudan,” “From a Legitimate Uprising to a Dervish Empire,” and “Tyranny and Lust in the False Prophet’s Camp,” all of which concern what have been termed “the pre-occupations of humanity,” namely, religion, power and sex (and their interconnections). Adapting Edward Said’s still germane notion of the “citationary nature of Orientalism,” the paper traces the production and reification of these themes and their underlying conceptual postulates in three broad categories of histories: the earlier accounts as articulated by high ranking colonial officials involved for extended periods of time in the Sudan, which provided the blueprint upon which two later clusters of histories were molded; those produced during, and in the aftermath of, Sudan’s independence in the 1950s and 1960s; as well as more recent interventions owing to the renewed interest in Sudanese studies.

In presenting an analytical synopsis of the modes of representation of the Mahdiyya, it is hoped that this paper will open up a space by which to re-imagine the Sudanese past and generate fruitful discussions for apprehending its present predicaments and future possibilities.
“We are the history”:
Biographic Narration and Historical Consciousness
Loes Lijnders (student in Cultural Anthropology (MA), Leiden University)

Central to this paper are issues of authority, authorship and consciousness in the (re)construction and (re)formulation of collective histories and personal memories in South Sudan in a period that, in reference to the referendum on self-determination and the independence of the Republic of South Sudan, has been designated by the political elite as “history-in-the-making”.

This paper focuses on the biographic narratives of two individuals who share experiences of exile and return. These experiences are distinct and diverse and “returnee” is a name that has multiple significations and ‘exists’ with/in different contexts and relations. Through the use of narrative analysis, I explore how the narrators negotiate a discursive and physical space as well as a specific voice to narrate their personal (hi)stories in relation to the emerging dominant and excluding discourse of struggle and liberation constructed by the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). The narratives are part of a diverse and ever-expanding body of interactions, dialogues and observations that these two individuals and I engaged in, and developed over a period of three years. The communicative exchanges illustrate the complexity and volatility of (biographic) narration and the contingency of personal positions and understandings in recursive oral performances.

A Cartographic History of Sudan
Richard Lobban (Rhode Island College)

This paper will illustrate the evolving consciousness and knowledge about southern Sudan over the last 500 years of maps of the region. It will start with reports in Greco-Roman times and maps from the 15th century and illustrate the 19th century age of exploration of the region as well as maps of regional ethnicity and conclude with 21st century maps of contentious borders, oil fields and pipelines and finally with the 2011 political separation of southern Sudan.

Panel VI: South Sudan, Sudan and International Actors

South Sudan, Sudan and the East African Community:
potential of enhanced relationships
Dirk Hansohm (Ministry of the East African Community, Nairobi, Kenya)

Since the independence of South Sudan both the South and the North face an even more urgent need to diversify their economies beyond oil. They also need to diversify their international partnerships. Despite the principle agreement of North and South to continue and intensify their interrelationship, in practice mutual distrust sets narrow limits, at least in the short term. In this context, both Sudans reach out to East Africa. While South Sudan has long sympathized with the region and is actively pursuing membership to the EAC, the Arab spring also puts pressure on the North that has in fact also applied for membership.

This paper discusses the economic and political implications for the two Sudans as well as for the EAC of their membership, in the short and longer term. For all sides, there would be potential economic and political benefits, but also challenges and risks.

During 2008-11 the author was technical advisor to Sudan’s Government of National Unity as well as the Government of South Sudan. He has published numerous contributions on Sudan since the 1980s.
International Aid to the Republic of South Sudan: Commitments, Rhetoric and Evidence
Michael Medley (Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand)

The formal independence of South Sudan has seen a surge in aid to the territory. Much of it is supported by ideas of establishing good governance, and doing so using the principles of the 2005 Paris Declaration of Aid Effectiveness. South Sudan has been chosen as a pioneer case for the 'New Deal' on assistance to fragile states. Wolfram Lacher, among others, objects that most of the aid will do harm by enabling the government to spend revenues on an unsavory patronage system. The proposed paper will critically assess the rhetoric and evidence on both sides of the argument, and ask what are the interests and techniques of power that are reflected.

US-Chinese Policies and the Break-up of the Sudan
Lako Tongun (Pitzer, Claremont Colleges)

The task of this paper is to explore the contributions of external factors to the break-up of the Sudan. It focuses on the critical time period at which the correlation of internal and external forces reached their zenith, rendering the split inexorable. Indeed, in No More States? Globalization, National Self-determination, and Terrorism (2006), Richard N. Rosecrance and Arthur Stein argued that the emergence of new states is now limited by the effects of globalization. They cited Kashmir and Chechnya as cases that are unlikely to achieve the right to self-determination. However, they predicted that South Sudan was an exception, and would stand a better chance to exercise the right to self-determination and independence. Their prediction has been vindicated by the following: the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005), the results of the referendum vote on January 9-15, 2011, and independence on July 9, 2011. What made Rosecrance and Stein to correctly predict the eventuality of the break-up of the Sudan is the complementarity of the critical roles of internal and external conditions.

Mao Zedong once observed that a beautiful egg is fully constituted internally, but it lacks a vital and correct external ingredient to hatch into a pretty chick. That is: a correct or optimum temperature. Joseph Stalin, on the other hand, said if one wants an omelet, one must crack that beautiful egg. The paper theorizes the critical roles of external factors: USA and China, keeping in mind the two socialist realisms from Mao and Stalin, and the global context in which permissive conditions obtained, in the post-cold war era.
Towards a Strategic Framework for Economic Cooperation between Sudan and South Sudan
Karl Wohlmuth (University of Bremen, Germany)

There are various reasons why a Strategic Framework for Economic Cooperation between Sudan and South Sudan is urgently needed.

First, the economic development model as it was followed in Sudan since Independence in 1956 has failed. Even in the two relatively short peace periods of 1972 - 1983 (Addis Ababa Agreement/AAA) and 2005 – 2011 (Comprehensive Peace Agreement/CPA) there was a continuity of failed and unbalanced development plans and policies. Lack of implementation and exclusion of the South were an inherent part of this process. The top down planning approach did not work, and bottom-up approaches to identify local growth opportunities and the prevailing binding constraints for development were neglected.

Second, the CPA agenda is now – nearly one year after the Independence of South Sudan - largely unfinished. There is no agreement yet on core economic issues (oil revenues; budget and external debt positions; political and economic rights of foreign citizens; repatriation, refugees and citizenship modalities; border demarcation, border regime and border areas development, etc.). The economic costs of non-cooperation are dramatically escalating - because of unrealistic and unfinanced projects (alternative harbor, railway and pipeline plans), losses of public revenues, foregone economic opportunities, and huge security and defense costs.

Third, the economic interdependencies between the two countries are still large and important, with regard of trade (trade flows, trading routes and infrastructure, and cross-border trade); irrigation and water management; oil production, oil transport and oil export; payment, banking and finance questions; foreign investment acquisition and control; labor supply and migration; and with regard of regional and global integration (COMESA and WTO). Most important are the linkages between the budget positions in the two countries.

Fourth, the ten states at the border between Sudan and South Sudan (plus the area of Abyei) are of great importance for the economy of both countries (because of the abundance of natural resources, the strategic importance of the area and of the borderline, the use of land and water sources by producers from both countries, and the large opportunities for doing business and trade in the area). Peace and economic growth in both countries will definitely depend on a reconstruction and development program for the whole area.

Fifth, Sudan and South Sudan have to develop a new economic development model on the basis of agriculture, agro-industries and agribusiness so as to diversify the economy as it is based on oil production and oil revenues. Both countries have the potential to exploit their “breadbasket” areas. Necessary is however a new policy approach, based on a coherent agro-industrial framework. In this regard, both countries can support each other.

Sixth, the situation of Sudan and South Sudan is complex as there are no external binding constraints on policy actions of public authorities. When Czech Republic and Slovak Republic separated after dissolving the state of Czechoslovakia, the European Union was a very important external agent to streamline policy action towards economic reform and transformation. In the cases of Sudan and South Sudan, a common Strategic Framework is needed because external agents have a rather weak influence. External actors, like African Union, COMESA, IGAD, EAC, IMF, WTO and World Bank, play a role but the incentives to focus policies and to implement them are too weak.

The major task is it to design such a Strategic Framework - by objectives, targets, opportunities and constraints, modalities, actors, instruments and time plans.
Sustained livelihood activities are the drive to sustaining peace. Livelihood essentially revolves around utilization of resources such as land, crops, labor, knowledge, cattle, money, social relations, etc. But these resources cannot be disconnected from the issues and problems of access and changing economic circumstances. Hence, the focus is to study the economic and social development in Blue Nile and Western Bahr El Ghazal States and the priority is to achieve community rehabilitation and economic sustainability and to ensure community peace and prosperity. Sources of growth approach to the analytical work are captured in several parts and in the key areas: macroeconomic review of the economic sourcing include fiscal management, revenue streams, and development and investment policies. Emphasis is put on the agricultural sector reviewing and analyzing policies regarding the development of the agricultural sector. Moreover, the study investigated the communities’ access to finance. The study adopted qualitative participatory social assessment (PSA). The main techniques used for the data acquisition are: Focus group discussion (Government and private institutions); Semi-structured interviews with key persons (both in public and private sectors); and Market analysis (Records and interviews). Key main issues for agriculture and forestry include: low productivity; inadequate capital and budget; inadequate trained staff; lack of policy and legal framework; pest outbreaks; conflict between pastoralists and farmers; environmental degradation; and reduction of productivity of labor in agriculture sector due to urbanization, migration and petty trade.

However, key main issues for animal resources and fisheries comprise: animal diseases; lack of policy, legal framework and law enforcement; lack of transport facilities; lack of operational budget; and inadequate training of staff. In a recent survey of private sector in Sudan, data perception reflected a dire need to reform key cross cutting investment areas namely: Power Generation/ electricity; Infrastructure/ roads and transport means; Access to Finance; Access to Land; and Institutional and administrative capacity to administering tax, customs and land allocation. The conflict and the lack of developmental policies denied the state the chance to reach its potential. Were poor services and poor infrastructure combined with the week human capital denied the communities of the state to achieve their leading roles. It was evident that after the signing of the CPA the state started to emerge and show its potentials and the policy of redistribution of the agricultural lands allowed for the participation of the communities in the agricultural development yet the poor infrastructure, basically roads and market access played as an additional factor that restricts the development of the state economy specially the part that engage the contribution of the community through the traditional livelihoods strategies. If that is to be improves the needs to be considered.

Investment in basic infrastructure would ensure equitable access for and integration of all communities and areas. Basic infrastructure is a determining factor for development and peace and one that needs to be address before any other development interventions takes place. Of particular importance is the construction of paved roads and feeder roads to link remote productive areas with state and national markets. This will require the improvement of the provision of basic services. Provide skills for employment and access to financial services to alleviate the high unemployment rate in the state, especially among youth. This is essential both to ameliorate livelihood opportunities and to promote stability and reintegration of war affected groups.
Shared Social Values for Economic Cooperation between the Bordering States of Sudan and South Sudan
Dr. Buthaina Ahmed Elnaiem (Juba/Bahri University, Khartoum North)

In the process of restructuring the former Sudan into two states, it is in the interest of all Sudanese that there be mutual trust and respect for each country's development, security and stability. Due to economic, historic, geographic and cultural ties, Sudan and South Sudan will be each other's most important neighbors and partners in the region. The livelihoods of approximately eight million people living in the border region (on both sides) and the pastoralists (herders) who traditionally traverse the north-south border zone must be protected and accommodated. The idea of ‘separation’ is unfamiliar within these populations, who have interacted for centuries in the absence of substantial local administration or border governance in both countries. Allowing trade, economic cooperation and easy movement of people would benefit all Sudanese in the border regions, as well as other regions of the two countries. However with the current tension between the governments of Sudan and South Sudan, the required collaboration, going through the unsolved issues and building the unavoidable good and special relationship will be a challenge for both sides.

This paper discusses the role of non-state systems, in particular the indigenous/traditional institutions in promoting the economic cooperation between Sudan and South Sudan, particularly in bordering states. The paper is based on the premise that adherence to shared values and social networking between the people living in border areas, in particular the pastoralists and farmers, could help in smoothing the political tension between the two Sudanese States and producing new and powerful forms of economic cooperation between them. The paper will examine the historical and current economic interaction, social relation and customary practices between the pastoralists from the Rizeigat tribe and the Denka tribe in Bahr al-Arab area in South Darfur state in Sudan and West Bahr al-Ghazal state in South Sudan, theoretically based on the concepts and techniques of shared social identity and social values. A combination of qualitative, quantitative and case study methods will be used for a systematic analysis of economic interaction, property rights and decision making upon using national resources across these two tribes.

Oil Politics in Sudan
Mom Kou Nhial Arou (Juba University)

Oil has always been a political commodity. The discovery of oil in a less developed country becomes a source of either development or destruction. Oil revenues can be exploited to maximize economic and social development. It is also source of great pride, power and influence in the international politics as well as being source of conflict and disunity for a nation. The complexity of oil politics at a national level was manifested in 1980 in the Sudan. The oil discovery and exploitation by Chevron, the American multinational corporation, raised the anticipation that the oil revenues would bring miraculous economic and social development which the country had dreamt since its independence in 1956. This unanimous desire had been shared by the whole country until President Nimeiri declared on the 10th November 1980, that the first major refinery for the Sudanese crude was to be sited in Kosti. That declaration provoked a great deal of antagonism and resentment in the South. The Peoples Regional Assembly passed a resolution calling for the installation of the refinery in Bentiu, but President Nimeiri stated that the decision was purely based on technical reasons, jointly presented by the Central Ministry of Energy and Mining, and the Chevron Corporation. The Southern Regional Government initially protested against this decision. The South Sudan people, with fresh memories of the 17 years of civil war with the North, were bound to resist this unprecedented conspiracy by the Central Ministry of Energy and Mining, and Chevron Corporation.
This paper is not to report what happened toward 1980 and 1981, but to examine the supposedly technical operational and financial which led to the selection of Kosti as the site for the refinery, instead of Bentiu where the oil fields are located. It is necessary to examine how relevant or irrelevant these technical reasons are?

Panel II: Land Issues

Land, Economy and Identity in Darfur:
A New Approach to Understanding the Dynamics of Conflict
Anne Bartlett (University of San Francisco, USA)

In Darfur, identity has become a zero-sum label to describe who has rights and who does not, which inevitably leads to conflict. In much the same way that the term hawakir has become the rallying cry for land rights in the region, thereby emptying out the original cultural meanings of land for the local population, identity has similarly become a catch-all concept to justify not only ethnic difference, but almost any situation where inequality exists between groups. Identity labels - which are more often than not political distinctions - tend to downplay cooperation between groups, while playing up levels of difference. This paper analyzes the models by which identity have been understood in Darfur. I show that categorical understandings of identity, fluid identity models or linear temporality models do not do justice to the complexity of identity formation processes on the ground. Instead, I argue that identity is a complex dialectic between understandings of the society held by the local population and representations of the society that have been imposed by external interests over time. Using examples, I show how this has resulted in different identities being privileged according to the prevailing political field and the nature of the interaction itself.

From Illegal Squatter Settlement Towards Legal Shantytowns:
Negotiations of Power and Responsibilities in Khartoum Shantytowns
Mohamed A.G.Bakhit
(PhD Candidate, Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BiGSAS) University of Bayreuth)

The paper is looking on the processes and mechanisms of change in the shantytowns, since established as squatter settlement, and its transformation to legal shantytowns. Explore the negotiation of power and administrative responsibilities between shantytowns settlers and the local government in Khartoum.

Based on fieldwork extended for six months (2010), I found that, the appearance of legal shantytowns in Khartoum was a result of what I conceptualize as a demolishing-planning/upgrading policy. Accordingly, many illegal squatter settlements were destroyed and replaced by new or expanded legal shantytowns in the peripheries of the city, heavily populated, but offer more access to public services and infrastructure. Although this policy is viewed as a landmark development by the local government officials and by the majority of the shantytowns settlers, at the same time, I argue, it is fixing and legalizing the status quo of social hierarchies in the city, and serve as mechanism for more depriving and disadvantageous policies towards shantytown settlers.
Transforming illegal squatter settlements to legal shantytowns opened the door for new social and political organizations to emerge. At the time of illegal settlement, the ethnic organizations and tribal leaders claimed the representations of the ethnic enclaves of segregated neighborhoods. But soon after the legalization took place, new local committee members took power, legitimized by their ability to deal with the challenge of improving social services in the shantytowns to be like the better off urban surroundings. The new responsibilities of the local committee leaders required different skills and knowledge to negotiate with the local urban government. They could manage that, as they were born, grown and educated in the shantytowns. Therefore, they express different attitudes towards their position in the city landscape, by viewing themselves as original and equal settlers, seeking more benefits and also representations within the government authorities.

Land Issues in an Urbanizing Environment: Torit in South Sudan.
Timm Sureau (PhD student, Martin Luther University, Halle Saale)

“All land [...] is owned by the people [...] and its usage shall be regulated by the Government.” (The Land Act of southern Sudan, 2009). Oil revenues are gone and the future of South Sudan could lie in agriculture. That is why the governor of Eastern Equatoria asked his civil servants to farm from Friday to Sunday. On the same time, people are losing their fields to the growing city and are not even warned. While the issues of land in Juba are obvious, they are small but growing in the urbanizing environment of Torit, Eastern Equatoria State. Who are the people? Currently, the government asks for land through the local communities. But many in Torit are not at all represented in the local communities and have few connections to the wider society. They mainly are involved in subsistence farming. Land tenure is a growing problem, especially in urban places. During my research in Torit I could see how people struggled under this and observe that the current legal structures fail to address this issue.

Panel III: New Citizenship

Stagecraft and Nation-Building: Creating a Heroic Narrative for an Independent South Sudan
Carol Berger (Bristol University)

How does a nation determine what its historical narrative will be? Is it through local symbols and storytelling, or is it through uniforms and marching songs? Will the narrative celebrate or mourn the dead, and will it seek to condemn or forgive? The Republic of South Sudan is the world’s youngest nation, but it has a long and contested history. In my paper I argue that South Sudan has not one but two emerging narratives: one is driven by the region’s dominant group, the Dinka people, the army serving as its voice; the second is influenced by the United States and other western nations and attempts to frame South Sudan’s independence within a narrative that conforms to Africa-American identification with “black Africa.” While the former narrative celebrates military prowess, the latter attempts to link South Sudan’s independence struggle to the 19th and 18th centuries, when the region was controlled by Arab slave traders.
Making and Marking Citizenship in South Sudan
Nicki Kindersley (Durham University)

The new Southern nationality has begun to create its own paper trail, from referendum documents and voting cards to new ‘GoSS’ permits, visas, passports and registration certificates. This paperwork gives documentary evidence, for the first time, of ‘Southern-ness’, and has given a practical and legal edge to long-standing debates about what constitutes being South Sudanese.

Being Southern, however, has for decades been primarily an expression of participation – mentally or preferably physically – in the ‘struggle’ for the South; true Southern-ness is, for many, proven socially by demonstrating your experience of and suffering in the wars and your vote for secession. This paper will explore the emerging tensions around documenting Southern nationality: what are the bureaucratic limitations placed on emotional citizenship? What currently makes a ‘good’ Southern citizen, and is citizenship proven through paperwork or blood?

Gendered Citizenship and the Concepts of the ‘Foreigner’ in Post-Colonial South Sudan
Lyn Ossome (Pretoria, South Africa)

This paper is concerned with the emerging meanings which the concept of citizenship is taking in the post-CPA period, and in the aftermath of South Sudan’s independence. Following South Sudan’s cessation, the almost immediate decision taken by Sudan to expel southerners living in the north precipitated discussions around the meanings of ‘home’, ‘belonging’, ‘resource citizenship’, and ‘gendered citizenship’. Curiously, however, substantive gender issues remain circumscribed from, or at best have retained only nominal presence within broader discussions about how to construct new institutions in the new nation. As a result the opportunity to explore the exclusionary nature of gendered citizenship in South Sudan remains problematically foreclosed. Specifically interested in the economic, social and cultural relationships between women market traders (both Sudanese and non-Sudanese) in semi/urban South Sudan, and using this discursive ‘market space’ as a narrative, the aim of the proposed paper is to examine the ways in which a form of retaliatory citizenship (between Sudan and South Sudan) is giving way to a form of xenophobic citizenship (between South Sudan and its East African neighbors). Through a feminist historical materialist lens the paper reconstructs the different ways in which concepts of the ‘foreigner’ have been deployed in the public discourse in the past, and to what effect. It also looks at the resurgence of these ideas in the present post-independence period, making the argument such exclusionary citizenships limit the ability of women activists to develop a collective definition of gender interests that could be built into the structure of democratic institutions in South Sudan.

Building the Nation:
Symbols of State and National Identity in South Sudan
Aleksi Ylönen (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt)

In July 2011, after more than two-decade-long devastating civil war, and more than six years after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), South Sudan converted into a sovereign and internationally recognized state. With arrival of the formal, de jure, independence, the most immediate threat of the other, commonly considered as the “Arab” from the north, subsided. However, while the preoccupation about the former enemy decreased, ethnic identity regained relative importance as generally the most prominent form of self-identification in South Sudan.
The South Sudanese governing elite has tended to consider the predominance of this identity, which locals call “tribal”, as detrimental and disintegrating force that undermines national unity and the current attempts of consolidation of the South Sudanese state.

This paper identifies and analyzes a selection of symbols used as tools to build “national” identity in South Sudan. It argues that symbols, such as the state flag, national anthem, money, and official language, among others, are not only used to provide meaning to nation-building but they represent the attempt to build a type of common identity the prominent actors in South Sudan seek to promote. The paper shows that despite encouraging progress in state- and nation-building since the CPA, some of these symbols continue to create a degree of controversy.

Panel IV: Fiscal and Investment Issues

**Fiscal Decentralization in South Sudan Federalism**
Asha Abdel Rahim (College of Social and Economic Studies, University of Juba)

The paper aims to analyze fiscal decentralization in a three-tier federal framework in South Sudan. It highlights the inconsistency in assignments between center and states in one hand and States and local bodies on the other hand. Furthermore it analyses causes behind fiscal mismanagement at both central and state levels in South Sudan. The other objective of the paper is to examine reasons behind the inefficiency and inequity with regard to the intergovernmental transfers. The paper will draw lessons and show a way forward towards improving the performance position of the local governments in terms of service delivery and raising resources at the county, Payam and Boma levels.

**Oil Investment in a Field of Overlapping Conflicts**
Elke Grawert (BICC)

Oil production creates more than 90 per cent of the budget of the Government of South Sudan and could be a source for equitable development of the new country. However, rural communities in South Sudan, even those next to oil fields, have remained excluded from the benefits of oil revenues. A study conducted in the county of Melut, the largest oil producing area of South Sudan, at the end of 2011 revealed a complicated structure of interaction between political and administrative leaders of the national, state and local levels with oil investors, oil field management and communities. The history of the civil war has left significant traces in the local society. Hostilities and distrust shape the relationship between communities and the staff of the oil consortium, between local sub-clans, between communities and the local government, the county commissioner, the state governor, Members of the National Assembly. The paper outlines the conflicts in the background of wealth creation, shows how they overlap, and assesses the evolving dynamics. Based on a model of 'competing orders' an attempt will be made to identify entry points to address these conflicts constructively.
Money for the Gatekeeper?
Gold Mining, International Investment and Resource Politics in Sudan
Sandra Calkins (University of Leipzig)
and Enrico Ille (University of Halle-Wittenberg)

Recently large gold mining concessions were allotted to foreign private enterprises. These contracts between the government of Sudan and foreign investors have alienated rural populations from what they view as their land and excluded them from the incomes generated by state-supported gold extraction. Yet, concomitantly artisanal gold mining has turned into a new source of income for local populations. Based on case studies from northeastern Sudan and South Kordofan, we argue that the government is not defusing tensions between artisanal and industrial gold mining, but is pursuing merely a politics of extracting ‘admission fees’ to natural resources: On the one hand, legislation clearly supports investors and the industrial mining sector, which also fills Khartoum’s coffers. But on the other hand the government of Sudan hardly intervenes to regulate and prohibit artisanal mining that is carried out within the concession areas in direct competition with the private enterprises. In conclusion, we suggest that sovereignty in Sudan does not mean primarily the effective control and administration of territory, but rather the ability to work as a passage point in extracting money for legal rights to natural resources and conferring legitimacy upon foreign contractors.

Panel V: Old Identities and Histories

Interpreters, Interlocutors and an Intermediary Language: Chiefs, the State and Colloquial Arabic in South Sudanese History
Cherry Leonardi (Durham University)

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, chiefs frequently gained their position at least partly through their ability to speak some colloquial Arabic with the traders, soldiers and government officers who came from or through northern regions of Sudan. Despite British efforts to deter the spread of what they called ‘pidgin’ Arabic, by the end of the colonial period it was being described as the language of local government as well as of commerce. But it was also the language of the army and town, and colloquial Arabic has retained a moral ambiguity even as postcolonial military recruitment and displacement have seen its further spread. In the twenty-first century, political and moral debates over language reveal the divisive legacies of war and migration, but they also point to the enduring and emerging associations of various languages with different sources of power and wealth.

This paper examines the historical and contemporary importance of linguistic knowledge and skills of translation to the role of chiefs, and argues that they have often occupied a strategic position in the complex linguistic politics of English, Sudanese Arabic, colloquial Arabic and the vernaculars in Southern Sudan. It argues that throughout the history of Southern Sudanese encounters with state power, colloquial Arabic has frequently functioned not only as a lingua franca for commercial and urban interaction, but also as an intermediary language, a tool for interpreting between the languages of the state (Turkish, ‘proper’ Sudanese Arabic and English) and the indigenous languages. It has therefore represented and mediated an expanding border zone between state and society within which particular kinds of communication can take place, rather than there being a binary interaction between government language and the vernacular, or indeed between state and society.
The Egyptian Army and the Imperfect Construction of a Racial State in Colonial Sudan, 1898-1924
Elena Vezzadini (post-doc University of Bergen/CEAf-EHESS Paris)

In this presentation, I explore the history of the Egyptian Army in Sudan before its disbandment and withdrawal in 1925, and its relation to the state, social hierarchies, and politics of representation. My aim is to shed light on an overlooked aspect of this phase of colonial history, that is, the centrality of the army within the colonial state, both symbolically and materially. Army officers accessed a very exclusive aspect of colonial education, held elite positions, were constantly seconded to civil administration, and had direct clientelistic relations with their British superiors. However, it may appear paradoxical that army officers, mostly originating from the marginalized peripheries of the state, held such central role in government. The first administrations such as the Governor General Wingate and the Inspector General Slatin Pasha held notoriously racist beliefs, beliefs that subsumed the way the army was imagined, put in place and organized, as well as how soldiers and officers were recruited. This paper hopes to shed light on this contradiction, underscoring the complexity of the connections and reciprocal influences between the army and the first colonial officers.

When South Sudan Hoped: Southern Political Parties in the Period October 1964-July 1965
Irene Panozzo (University of Trieste, Italy)

After years of unrest, violence and eventually civil war in the South, the end of Abboud’s military regime, on October 21st 1964, opened the way for direct contacts and negotiations between the Northern parties, the Southern Front, which represented the Southern leadership operating inside the country, and the Sudan African National Union (SANU), the party founded by exiled Southern politicians in 1962. The months of optimism were soon over, crushed by the decision of the government elected in 1965 to consider the Southern question first of all as a security and military problem, instead of a political one. As can be gathered from the secret correspondence between some of their members, the two Southern parties considered themselves as part of the same Southern “national movement” and coordinated their response to events in Khartoum and in the South. My paper aims at analyzing and understanding these reactions and whether and how the events of the years 1964-1965 influenced the developing of a Southern Sudanese “national movement”.

Panel VI: Grassroots Peacebuilding

The Changing Nature of Political Activism in Sudan: Women “Activists” as Catalysts in Civil Society
Sondra Hale (University of California, Los Angeles)
Gada Kadoda (Garden City College and University of Khartoum, Sudan)

In this paper we explore the changing contemporary political landscape of Sudan, in particular, as it relates to women. As background, we take into consideration a number of factors that have characterized contemporary (northern) Sudan: the colonial legacy, the continuous conflict between north and south, the rise of Islamism, the character of oppositional politics, the displacement of populations, the development and new directions of civil society, and the impending and then actuality of the secession. We will not discuss all of these, but only point to the complex set of sociopolitical forces that have changed the ways that political actors
self-identify. We will base our ideas on preliminary interviews conducted in Greater Khartoum and compare these with a sample of interviews conducted among political activists in the U.S., to see if some of the same phenomena have occurred during the same general time period. Our main research proposition is that many political actors (our most neutral term), especially women, have moved away from self-identifying as members of a particular political party and/or espousing an established political ideology (e.g., socialist) and have begun to refer to themselves as “activists,” a relatively new term both in Sudan and in the U.S. This tendency has coincided with the rise of various youth movements (internationally), a dismissal of organized politics (both in the U.S. with the anarchist movement and in Sudan with the Girifna [fed up] movement and its anarchist tendencies). We argue that political actors no longer confine themselves to self-identifying only as members of parties or sectarian groups for a range of reasons: exclusion of women in the leadership; domination of affiliated women’s wings by the main party; and the consequent migration of many women into non-governmental organizations (NGO’s), resulting in the growth of civil society and its heavy reliance on women activists. We have also seen activism emerge among rural women previously aligned with traditional political parties and new alliances formed among the internally displaced. These are roles now feared by the central authorities.

We analyze the terminology which has come about and what this reflects of the changing political landscape in Sudan. Most importantly, we are asking women to indicate what the term “activist” means to them and how it guides and/or reflects their politics in the changed milieu.

**Gender Based Violence in Darfur – Prevention and Response**  
Lucy Anna Mathieson (Human Rights and GBV Researcher)

The context of gender based violence in humanitarian settings is one which attracts international attention and the situation in Darfur is no different. However, GBV prevention and response activities quickly become jaded, funding starts to dry up due to donor fatigue and new conflicts develop elsewhere. Planning ongoing GBV interventions from the humanitarian phase to early recovery phase often plateaus off, with old practices from the humanitarian phase being continued, irrespective of its ongoing preventative impact.

This paper will examine the current prevention and response activities to the ongoing occurrence of GBV in Darfur. Given the focus upon developing early recovery programming and ongoing lack of reliable data on the occurrence of GBV in Darfur, this paper will challenge the UN response to GBV and criticize the disconnect in such programming across the humanitarian-early recovery divide and complacency around the incidence of GBV.

**Is Peace not for Everyone?**  
**Narratives on a Struggle for Peace, Equality and Development in Sudan**  
Margret Verwijk (Centre for Conflict Studies, Utrecht University)

Once again, the award of the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize focused our attention on the vital role women play in conflict resolution. However, what do we really know about their role in peace processes? Do women count, as declared by the United Nations Security Council in Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security? Moreover, does the small number of women participating in peace processes tell the whole story behind a peace process? This conference paper ‘Is peace not for everyone?’ seeks to provide some answers to these questions in the context of building and making peace in Sudan; and is based on my PhD research which I will defend on the 1st of May 2012.
I will also present my main conclusions regarding: 1) international support to efforts by Sudanese women to participate in peace processes; 2) social change and the empowerment of women in the midst and aftermath of war; 3) the role of policymakers and practitioners in turning declarations on women's participation in peace processes into action; and 4) the interaction between diplomats and women interested in building and making peace.

Panel VII: Potential Conflict in International Development Issues

Conflict over the Nile Waters
A chance for Sudan-South Sudan Cooperation
Sascha A. Kienzle

The Sudan-South Sudan conflict over the Nile waters can be seen as a microcosm of the conflict prone situation in the Nile Basin. Sudan's as well as Egypt's water security is dependent on the upper riparians. With regard to the flow of the Nile, due to geographical reasons both countries hold a weak position, Egypt within the Nile Basin region, Sudan within the Sudan-South Sudan sub-region. Sudan's position within this sub-region as the lower riparian reflects Egypt's position in the Nile region. However, taken capabilities into account, Sudan dominates South Sudan as Egypt dominates the basin. Even though Egypt has always used her hegemonic position in the region to push through her interests in water security without regard to the upper riparians, over the last two decades Cairo made concessions in terms of cooperation over the Nile waters. Meanwhile with establishing the NBI in 1999 multilateral cooperation was institutionalized. If Egypt - hegemony in the basin - was more or less forced to cooperate over the Nile waters against her interests, Sudan - despite her dominant position - will sooner or later also be forced into cooperation with her southern neighbor. So the Sudan-South Sudan conflict over the Nile waters is the key for institutionalized cooperation and peace between these two countries.

The Conflict-Security-Development Nexus along the Sudan-South Sudan Border
Skye Wheeler and Noah Gottschalk, Oxfam America

Still not delineated despite years of fraught negotiations, the world's newest international border between Sudan and South Sudan and associated potential economic and cultural dividends represent major opportunities for lasting peace. However, multiple years of fighting politicized interethnic relations across these resource rich borderlands, which remain embroiled in conflict and humanitarian disaster. They represent the greatest danger to lasting peace between the Sudans and potentially the entire region.

Beginning with a brief overview of the current border humanitarian crisis and how it emerged, this paper will also outline localized methods of peace building and how these have been undermined by long term national and now international political failures. The paper will argue that neither Juba nor Khartoum can tum its back on their shared border and must quickly agree how to resolve long-running conflicts including the status of Abyei, sharing Southern oil wealth and demarcation of the border. The paper will also examine localized visions of what role the border could play in building lasting peace. Contrary to rhetoric from both sides downplaying the significance of the border crisis, the paper will argue that a peaceful border is both possible and essential, concluding with recommendations to the international community.
Panel VIII: Development and Local Communities

The Merowe Dam and Forced Displacement in Northern Sudan
Valerie Hänsch (PhD-Candidate, Anthropology, Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS), University of Bayreuth)

Mega-Development Projects do not only modify the physical landscape but also change the social landscape through displacing local communities. Following a rational logic of operational methods resettlement is intended to be executed in a technical sense step by step from the pre-stage to the final stage. Given the fact that a variety of different parties - stakeholders, companies, lobbyists, state agents – are involved in the projects, a diversity of interpretations, different visions and opinions emerge in the process. Drawing on the case of the population displacement due to the Merowe Dam on the Fourth Cataract of the Nile, I argue that resettlement should more appropriately be perceived as a social political process than a matter of implementation of a preconceived project. It is open-ended, thus not controllable through social engineering. Based on ethnographic fieldwork between 2008, 2009 and 2011 the paper explores the process of forced displacement and the Manasir's vision to create a space for living which allows a self-determined future.

Negotiating Change:
Discourses, Politics and Practices of Local Community Development Institutions. Case of Serau Village Youth Center in Omdurman
Salma Mohamed Abdalla (PhD Candidate at the Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies)

In the context of the rapid urban expansion and population growth in greater Khartoum, the capital region of Sudan, rapidly transforming communities have emerged in the rural-urban interface. Often, these rising communities are comprised of communications and interactions between firstly, an indigenous/rural inhabitants with long history of ownership-belonging, in one hand. And in the other hand, newcomers/economic migrants with different identities and common goal of setting in the city to access jobs, social services and adopt urban life style. Many factors contributed to this social change ranging from rural - urban, urban - urban migration, economic and social factors as well as contemporary changes in the state-society relationships in Sudan. In this process, social groups with different capacities, diverse backgrounds, distinct priorities and agendas found themselves all together struggling for access to power and everyday life. In this context, there are observable phenomena that stand-out in Khartoum state that is the Youth Centers. These centers are certainly not a recent innovation in Sudan; however, there seems to be a revolutionization and politization in their function and influence. In my presentation, I will show an example of a Youth center in a village located in the periphery of greater Khartoum, namely Serau Village of Omduman Southern Rural Suburb. The history and emergence of this center will be revealed as well as its activities and transformational functions in the area. In this regard, it is very interesting to observe the transformation of the center's functions of capacity building and enlightenment of the village’s youth to more political, security and social mobilization roles. In my presentation, I will show how the Youth Center's leader's indoctrination targets all aspects of social life and the community identity, from fighting the “harmful” practices to security and political mobilization. The role of the Youth Center in the last elections and the Referendum of South Sudan as well as in the national political events will be revealed.
This presentation is indicating how local initiatives and community actors developed strategies to negotiate their needs and interests. The struggle to attain social change represents an entry point to reveal the community’s structures and social organization.

The Co-option of Humanitarian Assistance in Darfur
Elis Schmeer (M.A. Development Studies, LSE)

Humanitarian assistance has been vital for the two million plus internally displaced within Darfur and about 200,000 refugees that managed to flee to Chad (Flint and de Waal 2005: 112). However, relief aid has not been distributed according to one of the main principles of the Code of Conduct for international relief organizations: that allocations should be made ‘on the basis of need alone’ (Code of Conduct 1994).

The argument of this paper is that relief aid has been co-opted in different phases by different actors for different reasons all of which prevented relief from being delivered on the basis of need alone, thus endangering the core humanitarian principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality, and independence.

Due to the changing nature of warfare in today’s complex emergencies (Keen 2008a) and ‘new wars’ (Kaldor 1998), humanitarian assistance gets more and more politicized, compromised and manipulated by different actors such as governments, rebels or the international donor community (WFP Conference Report 2009: 3, 4). Quite a few studies exist on this question of instrumentalization of relief aid in conflict zones (de Waal 1997, 2005; Keen 1998-99; Macrae et al. 1994; WFP Conference Report 2009). This has been done for particular case studies as well, such as for the famine in South-western Sudan, 1983-1989 (Keen 1994, 2008), for the Ethiopian and Eritrean case (Jansson et al. 1987) or more recently for Sri-Lanka (Keen 2009) and Somalia (Menkhaus 2010; Bradbury 2010). No major attempts, however, have been made to map the situation in Darfur. This shall be the purpose of this dissertation. It is aimed that the reasons as to why aid was not delivered exclusively on the basis of need at different stages of the conflict and by whom it has been co-opted be investigated. Therefore a “mapping” of the situation, best understood as a systematic view on the co-option of aid should be given. This includes specifying the nature of the co-option and the interests of those seeking to instrumentalize aid and how relief organizations responded to such instrumentalization. All parties of the conflict - aiming to be as balanced and unbiased as possible - will be looked at, including rebels, the government of Sudan (GoS), GoS-related militias, as well as international donors and relief agencies.

Relief aid will be understood as synonymous with humanitarian assistance or emergency assistance and includes a wide range of services, as defined in the UN Darfur Humanitarian Profile documents, namely ‘food, shelter, clean water, sanitation, primary health care facilities, basic drug supplies, secondary health facilities, and [...] immunisation’ (UN DHP 04/2004). The co-option of relief aid shall be defined as attempts to influence humanitarian assistance for other interests than meeting the needs of those affected by the conflict. Direct attempts of manipulation shall be included in the “co-option” term, as well as more subtle actions and behaviors of actors that have negative repercussions on relief aid. The time period this research is focusing on is from beginning of 2003 until 2010.

Panel IX: Video

“The Iron Bride”: Roadside mechanics in the Sudan.
Kurt Beck (University if Bayreuth, Germany)
Factors for Peaceful Existence for Neighbouring Countries:  
A Paradigm of Republics of South Sudan and Sudan  
Valeriano Orasio Loyalala (Torit University for Science and Technology)

It should be acknowledged that the Republic of Sudan prior to the declaration of Independence of Republic of South Sudan on 9th July 2011 lived in a dichotomous community where we found Arabs and Africans living together with different religious beliefs. However, despite that dichotomy the Arab north and African South lived under sharp socio-economic and political differences since the Country attained its independence from the British Colonial Administration in 1956.

Since the declaration of Independence of Sudan in 1956, the British left the two parts of the country (South Sudan and North Sudan) under a fragile scenario in which the northerners monopolized politics and economics hence marginalizing the southern part of the country. The Juba Conference of 1947 discussed the most pertinent national issues with its resolutions endorsed by both north and south representatives. However, the northern politicians manipulated the southern politicians when the former travelled to Egypt in 1953 to work out the modalities for a self-determination of Sudanese without the inclusion of the latter in the deliberations. This episode marked the beginning of mistrust between the two parties which could be attributed to the Torit Mutiny in 1955 when southern soldiers refused to obey orders by Khartoum for their transfer to the northern garrisons. Yet, when the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement was signed in 1972, it was not fully honored which resulted in the outbreak of second civil war in 1983. The test of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in 2005 in Naivasha Kenya is a living testimony for mistrust although it greatly contributed to the declaration of independence of South Sudan.

Following the declaration of independence of South Sudan as a sovereign state and after its admission to UN membership, the Republic of Sudan should respect the UN charter and should forget the past. The two neighboring countries should formulate sound foreign policy and build strong diplomatic ties that should enhance socio-economic development in the two countries and enshrine the basic freedoms discussed in Addis Ababa. However, there are other factors such as establishment of good governance in Republic of Sudan based on secular system free from any parochial religious influence guiding national politics that could promote peaceful coexistence between the two countries which will be discussed in this paper.

Hence the key questions in the study are:
1. How far have the past foreign policies adopted by successive regimes in Khartoum contributed to the deepening of the conflict between the two parts of the country?
2. Will the Republic of Sudan really change its current philosophy of ruling by favoring the Riverain population to the neglect of other parts of the country such as Darfur, Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile which could be a source of insecurity for Republic of South Sudan in terms of spillover of the presence of insecurity i.e. influx of refugees)?
3. How can the two countries cooperate with countries in the Horn of Africa, East Africa and the Great Lakes Region in the context of promoting sound foreign policies to deal with trade links locally and globally?

Therefore the paper will be dedicated to the discussions of the above key questions with emphasis on review of foreign policies of the two countries in comparison with the Countries in the Horn of Africa, East Africa and the Great Lakes Region and how they could become peaceful nations in the long run.
Politics of Islamic Banking: A New approach Underlying the Crisis of Sudanese Identity?
Ahmed Elhassab Omer (PhD-Student, BIGSAS, University of Bayreuth)

The identity crisis of Sudan has always been tackled by Sudanese intellectuals as a legal bone of the conflict over political power. This might be correct; however, it should not be taken as the sole symptom of the crisis. Islamic banking in Sudan, which has overwhelmed the banking sector since 1990s, is another aspect of the crisis that could be considered along the same line, to the effect of gaining a special care when negotiating the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. This paper argues that the policy of Islamizing the economy has not been as unintended as perceived by the masses. It rather goes hand in hand with the development of the identity crisis which divides the country along the Arabism-Islamized and Africanism-Christianized dichotomy. The way by which politicians have been handling the issue of identity over the last 54 years left too many issues that still are swept under the rug of this dichotomy, notably the banking sector. The contribution of the politics of Islamic banking to the issue of identity crisis is the focal concern of this paper.

Two Sudans’ Road from Dispute to Cooperation
Mey Eltayeb Ahmed
(Peace, Gender, Development Planning and Environmentalist Researcher)

“We need a separation from Sudan”: a demand was raised during the negotiation of Sudanese women groups for peace to crystallize all women efforts in order to push the peace wheel further during 1999. A question was raised loudly “how we will formulize our relationship if Sudan is separated?” Unfortunately, my question has never found an answer and all 10 women groups’ members remained silent. However, after 13 years and during the separation of the South in 2011, the youngest generations from the South and North are questioning, “why did we need to be separated?” Perhaps the future generations can answer these questions. This paper aim is to understand the advantages and disadvantages of CPA agreements and the secession of South Sudan from historical, ecological and social and economic perspectives. A quick review examines a research’s recommendation on the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile cases in 2008; and discusses the Darfurian dilemma with various peace agreements.

Approaches of conflict transformation and co-benefits will be applied in order to minimize the disagreement and negative effects on both sides of the Sudans. The paper sheds light on ways of cooperating and win-win situations to add more benefits rather than focusing on the losses and damages between the two separated countries of Sudan.

The prolonged dispute between North and South Sudan has different cycles of disagreements that should be ended and new ways of collaborations need to be strengthened.

Panel II: Constitution and Nation-building

Conflict Resolution in the Constitution of South Sudan (2011)
Maik Boldau, Ingo Henneberg and Friedrich Plank (University of Augsburg)

The Republic of South Sudan - after the secession from the former Sudan 2011 the youngest state in the world - faces a multitude of conflicts threatening the peaceful future and stability of the new political system.
Even though conflicts include a dynamic function and set the stage for an efficient social and political system (Simmel 1908), this positive nature of conflict emerges first and foremost, if the conflicts are carried out regulated, legalized and vested in officially or state controlled institutions in order to prevent them from becoming violent.

Therefore our paper examines which institutions of conflict transformation and mechanisms of conflict management are implemented by the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan (2011) and how these are formed in comparison to other post-conflict states. The text-based qualitative research also includes an analysis of the constitutional setting and the political system of the Republic of South Sudan and allows to categorize the new state within debates of scholars of political science and jurisprudence. It develops additionally a first overview of the created power-sharing mechanisms. Relevance of this project arises also from the fact that an analysis of the Constitution as well as the political system and their scientific classification of Southern Sudan has not yet been done.

The Republic of Sudan after South Sudan Independence: Falling Apart or Holding Together
Dr. Yasir Awad A. Eltahir (University of Khartoum)

Given governance issues related to democracy, uneven development and the marginalization of many groups from the central wealth and power, this article argues that Sudan conflicts – in Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile – should be seen as one web of conflict underpinned in, and circled around, the cardinal factor of governance in the center: Khartoum rather than unrelated regional conflicts.

The continuation of this webbed cycle of conflict is due, according to this article, to the domination of what we can call “Falling Apart Strategy” (culminated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement CPA) and fading out of what we can call “Holding Together Strategy” (exemplified by The Egyptian-Libyan initiative for peace in Sudan). The first is a piece-meal, part by part, and elite-pact approaches of conflict resolution - with neither genuine representation nor inclusiveness - and the second is a broad-based, participatory, consultative approach of conflict transformation. If the “Holding Together Strategy” is not activated, the “Falling Apart Strategy” will continue, this article argues, and Sudan will fall part by part into pieces.

The article develops this argument firstly by presenting a conflict analysis that shows how Sudan conflicts are in fact a one complex web of conflict; secondly by showing how the Falling Apart Strategy FAS is dominating the conflict resolution process; thirdly by studying FAS in Sudan state formation and the socio-economic formation related to it, and fourthly by showing how FAS was used in mismanaging the socio-cultural diversity of the country. The article proposes, at the end “democratization of peace building” process as step forward to bring back the Holding Together Strategy HTS.

South Sudan in the Post Referendum Era: Democratic Requirement for Nation-Building Project
Christopher Zambakari
(Candidate for Law and Policy Doctorate (LP.D), Northeastern University)

Power-sharing negotiated settlements have emerged over the past few decades as the strategy of choice in dealing with intractable conflicts in Africa. The essay analyses the CPA and argues that the agreement created the political condition for the democratic transformation in Sudan.
Second, the paper will argue that the CPA was reflective of the Survivor’s Justice Model which sought to settle political violence through a reform of the state. It will contextualize and problematize the agreement by critically analyzing, evaluating, and discussing how it fared on the promise of bringing sustainable peace in North and South Sudan.

Third, the paper contributes to the debate on democratic nation-building projects in Africa by focusing on post-conflict nation building in South Sudan. Specifically it draws relevant lessons from Uganda, Mozambique and South Africa to show one possible path for a peaceful nation-building that is democratic and inclusive of the diversity within the country.

Fourth, the paper develops the legal premise of the New Sudan Framework as an alternative model for resolving the crisis of citizenship. The crisis of citizenship is analyzed as it relates to three issues: right to participate in the political community, freedom of movement and residence, and right to own property.

Panel III: Video

“Our Beloved Sudan” (newly released film) Taghreed Elsanhouri

Panel IV: Political Scenarios and German Politics towards Sudan and South Sudan

1. German representatives of government and civil society in charge of Sudan / South Sudan (Johannes Sperfechter, department for East Africa of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development BMZ, Johannes Lehne, Foreign Office, Marina Peter (in charge of church activities) and Wolf-Christian Paes (for BICC in charge of advisory projects for the governments of South Sudan and Sudan regarding disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs) will give short statements on their current programs or policies for Sudan and South Sudan.

2. Mey Eltayeb Ahmed and Mom Kou Nhial Arou, scholars from Sudan and South Sudan who have also papers in the conference, will present scenarios about the current situation in and prospects for Sudan, South Sudan and the relationship between the two countries.

A short panel discussion between the panelists will follow. Then the audience will be included in a discussion about the scenarios and the role of the activities of the German organizations in light of these scenarios.
Panel V: Peace and Peace Building

Fighting for Resources
What can Development Co-operation Contribute to Decentralisation as Means for Peaceful Conflict Resolution among Agro-Pastoralists in South Sudan?
Elisabeth Hartwig and Tinega Ong’ondi
(Vétérinaires sans Frontières, Hannover / Nairobi / Juba)

After signing of the peace agreement and after independence, South Sudan is still facing serious inter-ethnic conflicts leading to numerous deaths and internally displaced people. There are severe clashes even among clans of the same ethnic group. VSF Germany’s work suggests that one cause of these conflicts in remote rural areas is competition over natural resources. As people are mainly agro-pastoralists and depend on their livestock, this competition is usually over grazing land and water. Climate change and expanding use of land for crop production contribute to aggravating this competition. Amongst many groups, such as the Dinka, Nuer, Murle, cattle are still in high esteem. But traditional values are more and more intermingling with the personal interests of the newly emerging social and political elites. Small arms are easily available, and the experience gained during the long years of civil war has led to increased violence even in small clashes. How could peaceful conflict resolution be promoted? Which role could traditional leaders play? Which role the local government authorities? What is the role of the support offered through international development cooperation? To what extent are development initiatives contributing to dynamics that promote local conflicts? We invite scholars and development practitioners to present their research and experiences of project implementation.

Building Peace from the Ground Up in Sudan and South Sudan:
Challenges and Opportunities
Jacqueline Wilson (USIP)

Consultations with local representatives of ethnically diverse communities in Sudan have revealed 57 reasons why their efforts to build local peace were unsuccessful or unsustainable. Continued efforts to delve deeper into peace processes between Misseriya pastoralists of western South Kordofan and Dinka semi-pastoralists of Northern Bahr el Ghazal reveal further insights into the challenges of building local peace; a proliferation of peace actors with unclear missions and functions; evolving state institutions abutting traditional structures; logistical challenges limiting capacity for interaction; and a failure of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms to rise to contemporary challenges. My presentation and paper will draw upon research from the Sudan Archives at the University of Durham, the National Archives in Khartoum, and field research from 2009-2011 in Southern Kordofan and Northern Bahr el Ghazal. It will highlight the myriad challenges to empowering local actors to build sustainable peace, and the numerous opportunities that exist for improving the impact of their daily efforts to prevent, manage, and resolve local conflicts and sustain fragile relationships despite political polarization and efforts to undermine their local efforts.
Network Analysis of Sudan’s Islamist Politics
Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban (Sudan Studies Association, USA)

ORA (Organizational Risk Assessment) is a network analysis software package developed at Carnegie Mellon University. It employs “dynamic network analysis,” allowing it to code various nodes categorically (agents, organizations, events, etc.). Data sets can be combined and compared so that category networks can be generated over time. The data for this research was generated through the Multi-University Research Initiative (MURI) funded by the U.S. Office of Naval Research, 2009-2012, under the supervision of co-principal investigators Kathleen Carley and Richard Lobban.

Meta-data was extracted from The Sudan Tribune online news archives from the years 2003 through 2010. The input and output data is non-classified and open source; it has been coded and is publicly accessible. The MURI team is in the preliminary stages of analysis of this huge database. Preliminary networks connecting leading figures in Sudan’s Islamist politics to international figures, previously unknown, attracted our attention. These include individuals on the United Nations and United States’ lists associated with al-Qaeda after 2001 and with other international Islamist networks from Malaysia and the Philippines as well as North Africa.

The paper offers a preliminary analysis of Sudan’s Islamist networks, focused on leading Sudanese political figures and their international ties, during a critical period that included the Comprehensive Peace Agreement leading to the Referendum on Separation and the division in 2011 of the country into North and South Sudan.

Panel VI: Video

“Orphans of Passage” (Granada TV Disappearing World series) Wendy James

Panel VII: Identity – a lasting challenge

Sudan and Mauritania: The Experience of Conflicting Arab and African Identities in Two Modern Sahelian Nations
Pieter Tesch (SSUK)

The above paper for the 9th International Sudan Studies conference proposes to explore how two new Sahelian post colonial nations dealt with the challenges of accommodating their majority Arabic identity with their minority African identity.

From the onset of modern Sudan’s independence on 1 January 1956 it was faced with rebellions in its non Arabic and non Muslim south, while the French split its western part of French West Africa into Mauritania with its Arabo-Berber (Moors) majority north of the river Senegal and south of the river a new state taking the river’s name and modern Mali to the southeast with their African or ‘Sudanese’ identities.

The new African Sahelian nations that had been the historical homes of Africa’s oldest civilizations in the Sudanic belt choose to stress their Arabic identities over their African identities by joining the Arab League on becoming independent unlike their Sahelian Muslim majority neighbors of Mali, Niger and Chad, creating internal and external tensions.

Ultimately modern Sudan was partitioned as South Sudan seceded in 2011, while Mauritania has not only managed to accommodate its dual identities despite serious challenges since independence but also is transforming itself successfully from authoritarianism into democracy.
Religion after the State:  
The Creation of a Muslim Minority in South Sudan
Noah Salomon  
Assistant Professor of Religion  
Carleton College, USA

This paper explores how the nascent state of South Sudan is managing religious diversity as well as how Muslims living in that state constitute their identity under the new political arrangements they have entered. Based on preliminary field research in Juba and Malakal, the paper will ask: what will the relationship between religion and politics in the new state come to be? How will the state maintain its official commitment to secularism given vocal claims from others for a Christian identity for the new state? Further, in a nation where neither tribes, nor regions, nor often even individual families are traditionally divided on the basis of religion, how will the constituting of Muslims (by demographers and Muslim activists themselves) as a distinct, rights-bearing, minority affect the existing social fabric? Finally, how will South Sudanese Muslims position themselves within the new political context that they have entered? What resources will South Sudanese Muslims—who are, on the whole, eager to be part of the new nation—use to constitute a “South Sudanese Islam” independent of the cultural stamp of the north?

Post-Secession Sudan:  
The Illusion of Homogeneity
Ibrahim Elnur (The American University in Cairo)  
Amira Ahmed (Independent Scholar)

Shortly after the southerners voted for independence in January 2011 Sudan's President Omer al-Bashir declared that the secession of the South will create the opportunity for the country to further consolidate its Arab-Islamic identity under the governance of Sharia laws. While the statement of the president was not surprising the assumption of an emergence of a homogenous and undifferentiated Northern Sudan is far from true. Post independence Sudan witnessed diverse forms of integration and marginalization of non-Riverain and non-Muslim minorities. Socio-economic background and political processes were instrumental in shaping the directions and outcomes of both integration and marginalization. The post secession Sudan, despite the overwhelming Muslim majority is producing its own version of heterogeneity. The ruling Islamists Jihad war is over but new discourse triggering ethnic background is emerging threatening the still very much microcosm of Africa. Sudan's post-war era is emerging with unprecedented national, regional, and international geopolitical and economic challenges, which all need to be addressed if the country is keen to proceed in its peace building and reconstruction processes. Central to this is the reconstructing of national identities and reformulating the politics of belonging to integrate all citizens regardless of their cultural and/or religious affiliations.
This paper sets out to promote understanding on the increasing visibility of diverse ethnic composition that was hitherto submerged in cloak of undiversified Muslim North. As in the case of Muslim versus non-Muslim Sudan, the discourses of the ruling elites are triggering a new polarization based on ethnicity that ignores diversity. It highlights the historical and new challenges facing the socio-economic and political integration/disintegration of the post-session Sudan. The paper offers a historical overview on the position of non-Riverain Sudanese communities and groups including the relationship between these communities and the state including the way they are presented in public politics, the media, and in public discourses. The paper further aims to explain the shifting definitions and dominant meaning attached to be a non-Riverain in Sudan. Finally, the paper addresses the role of non-Riverain in fostering peace and in the rebuilding and development process in Sudan.

Panel VIII: Border Politics

The 'New South' and the Emerging (b)Orders and Disorders in Sudan(s)
Guma Kunda Komey (Bahri University, Khartoum)

Today, Sudan is a state in political disarray and uncertain political future. This is a manifestation of its post-colonial history of retarded statehood that remains highly 'contested' and dysfunctional with 'perpetual turbulence'. Essentially, this is due to its persistent, yet counterproductive, policy of forcing national unity through coerced uniformity which ossified nation-building and, therefore, impeded the realization of a viable political entity. The separation of its southern part is a full proof. Although the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) brought an end to the civil war, its outcome and implementation have been below the expectations of the bulk of Sudanese people, particularly, in the war torn regions of the Nuba Mountains; southern Blue Nile, Darfur and Abyei, referred to in recent political rhetoric as “the New South” in geographical and socio-political terms. Focusing on the Nuba Mountains/ South Kordofan, this paper intends to analytically examine some of the unfolding (b)orders and disorders in the New South. The focus is on how these evolving regional dynamics are shaping and being shaped by national political landscape, and therefore, their role on socio-political (in)stability of the Sudan.

Bordering on War:
Disentangling Local Impact of the Internationalization of the Sudan - South Sudan Border
Oystein H. Rolandsen (Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Oslo)

The consequences of South Sudan’s secession for people living in the vicinity of the new international border are currently overshadowed by the contest between the central governments of Sudan and South Sudan over oil and demarcation of their mutual border. The border areas have overlapping and contradicting uses and meanings where a multitude of local and national interests collide, and where the border itself - its management and anticipated demarcation- has been instrumentalized by both local and external actors. A closer investigation of South Sudan’s Unity State reveals that people in its border areas are enmeshed in an intricate pattern of interaction and violence with neighbors to the north and with various external actors. Their strategies and actions are however shaped by salient structural factors: historical legacies of war and weak government structures, the presence of oil producing facilities and the internationalization of the Sudan - South Sudan border. This paper disaggregates the multiple uses and meaning of this border and it contends that a long-term solution to the border conflict between Sudan and South Sudan must include viable solutions for cross-border interaction between people living in the borderlands.
The Darfur crisis has reached an international level from the year 2003 when the Janjaweed militias, sponsored by El Bashir's regime, fought against civilian populations in the region. The climate of violence, made chronic by the movement of arms, caused thousands of displaced people in Sudan and Chad, and encourages some people to flee towards the border with Chad. The movement of refugees was increasing when the Heads of State of both countries were on bad terms. They normalized their relations on the occasion of the visit of President of Chad to the Sudanese capital. Hence the need to dwell on the role of the border in peacetime and during times of conflict. The Darfur crisis also offers an opportunity to explore movement of the rebels involved in the operations of violence. The use of the border for strategic and geo-strategic operations helps to understanding the mobility of actors and their respective rear-bases in both countries which 19 ethnic groups share. The issue of displacement of identities, fluid delivered through the neighborhood and ethno-cultural similarities, is another important focal issue of this study. The significance of the border is highlighted: loophole to civilian casualties, a strategy for the rebels, arm control for States and their auxiliaries. The birth of the National Liberation Front (FROLINAT) in Nyala (Darfur), following the uprisings of 1965 in the Guera division (Chad), is illustrative of the ambivalence of the border. Identities shift invariably unfold in national and international spaces.