

SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

29th Annual Conference

Sudan's Elections and the Referendum: Choices, Last Chances, A Time For Change?

May 28 – 30, 2010

hosted by

Purdue University
West Lafayette, Indiana, USA

PROGRAM

Room Assignments at a Glance

Registration:

Thursday 12:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., Lobby, Union Club Hotel
Friday and Saturday 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. Outside of Stewart Center 322.
Sunday 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. Outside of Stewart Center 322.

Sessions: Stewart Center 322 (and 310 on Sunday)

Reception: PMU Anniversary Drawing Room, located on the 2nd floor, east

Saturday Dinner and Sunday Luncheon: PMU Anniversary Drawing Room

Break Room: Stewart Center 314

The Sudan Studies Association gratefully acknowledges the College of Liberal Arts (Irwin Weiser, Interim Dean), the Diversity Resource Office (Carolyn Johnson, Director), and the Department of Anthropology at Purdue University for their support of the conference.

We are especially grateful to Pamela Leap of the Department of Anthropology, Purdue University, for her diligence in managing the many tasks involved in the local arrangements and conference coordination.

Thanks to graduate students Blair Daverman and Sarah Schrader for their assistance during the conference.

Special thanks to Ryan Spencer Reed for providing his provocative exhibit of photographs, "The Cost of Silence." [For more information, see the exhibit home page:

<http://sudanproject.ryanspencerreed.com/>]

THURSDAY, MAY 27th, 2010

Registration: Purdue Memorial Union Club Hotel Lobby -12.00 Noon to 6:00 p.m.

FRIDAY, MAY 28th, 2010

Conference Opening: 9:00 a.m. to 9:30 a.m., Stewart Center 322

PANEL #1 Data Analyses of Sudan's Reality

9:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m., Stewart Center 322

CHAIR: Richard Lobban

- "Mapping Socio-Cultural Networks of Sudan from Open-Source, Large-Scale Text Data"

Jana Diesner and Kathleen M. Carley, Carnegie Mellon University

- "When Ideologies Meet Reality: Understanding the Nature of Major Political Landscape Changes Using Computer Based Science Techniques"

Adam Gerard, Rhode Island College

- "Network Analysis of Natural Resource Conflict in Sudan"

Jeffrey C. Johnson and Tracy Van Holt, East Carolina University

Lunch (on your own) 11:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.

PANEL #2 Ancient Sudan

1:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., Stewart Center 322

CHAIR: Jay O'Brien

- "Investigating Napatan Identity and State Development at the Third Cataract"

Michele R. Buzon, Purdue University

- "Abu Erteila Excavation Report: A Meroitic temple site."

Richard Lobban, Rhode Island College

- "Colonial Entanglements: 'Egyptianization' in Egypt's Nubian Empire and the Nubian Dynasty"

Stuart Tyson Smith, University of California, Santa Barbara

- "Radius of Action in Neolithic and A-Group Nubia"

Bruce Williams

Coffee Break 3:00:-3:30 p.m., Stewart Center 314

PANEL #3 Conflict, Justice and Reconciliation

3:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322

CHAIR: Randall Fegley

- "'A Tree Under Whom I Seek Shelter': Royal Justice, Slavery and the Right of Sanctuary in Sinnar"

Jay Spaulding, Kean University

- "Transitional Justice and State-Sponsored Violence in Sudan"

Mohamed I. Elgadi, Group Against Torture in Sudan

- "Politics, Power and Knowledge in Sudan's Media and Educational Institutions: Implications for Peace and Unity Pursuit"

Guta Hala-Asmina, Ohio University and Loisa Kitakaya, MDF- South & East Africa

PANEL #4 Roundtable Discussion on Numayri's Administration

5:30 to 6:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322

Scopus Poggo, Richard Lobban, Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Randall Fegley

Reception 6:30 to 8:30 p.m., PMU Anniversary Drawing Room

7:30 (during the Reception) - **Memorials to the Late Dr. Lazarus Leek Mawut and Father Giovanni Vantini** – Scopus Poggo and Jay Spaulding

Board Meeting 8:00-9:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322

SATURDAY, MAY 29th, 2010

PANEL #5 The Sudanese Electoral System

9:30 to 11:30 a.m., Stewart Center 322

CHAIR: Stephanie Beswick

- “Electoral Systems and Political Behaviour: Challenges Facing Democratization in the Sudan”
Abdu Mukhtar Musa, Omdurman University
- “Alternative Voting: The Mechanics of Elections in Systems Characterized by Low Literacy”
Randall Fegley, Pennsylvania State University
- “The Referendum Game, Where Are the Women?”
Suzan Christopher Lasu
- “Elections and Popular Consultation in Blue Nile State”
Hajmusa Attaeheed

Coffee Break 11:30 a.m. -1:00 p.m., Stewart Center 314

Lunch (on your own)

PANEL #6 Sudan’s Election Season (2010-11)

1:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322

CHAIR: Ali Ali-Dinar

- “Institutionalized Technologies of Domination: The 2010 Election in the Sudan and Prospects of Change”
Enrico Ille, Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg
- “The ‘SPLM/SPLA’ and the CPA-prescribed ‘Mid Term’ General Elections: An Insider’s Perspectives and Analysis”
Elias Nyamllell Wakoson, State Minister of International Cooperation, GONU, Khartoum
- “The 2010 Democratic Elections and the 2011 Referendum: What Next for Sudan?”
David de Chand, Senior National Expert, The Presidency, Khartoum

Business Meeting 3:30-4:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322

Banquet/Dinner: 5:00 p.m., PMU Anniversary Drawing Room

Keynote Speaker: Peter Bechtold

SUNDAY, MAY 30th, 2010

PANEL #7 Post-Election Possibilities

9:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m., Stewart Center 322

CHAIR: Ali Ali-Dinar

- “The Post Referendum Scenarios”

Ayok Chol Ahow, Barrister and Solicitor, Juba, Southern Sudan

- “Immediate Post-Referendum Programs for Southern Sudan”

B. Yongo-Bure, Kettering University

- “Language as an Element of Unity in Multi-Cultural & Multi-Lingual Post-War Sudan”

Ahmed Gumaa Siddiek, King Saud University

Coffee Break: 11:30 a.m. - 12:00 Noon, Stewart Center 314

PANEL #8a Colonialism and Independence

12:00 Noon to 2:00 p.m., Stewart Center 322

CHAIR: Sam Laki

- “Elite Domination, Fragmentation at the Center, and the Politics of Crisis in Post-Independence Sudan”

Miklos Gosztonyi, Northwestern University

- “The Impact of British Racism on the Sudan”

Kim Searcy, Loyola University

- “Between National Unification and Cultural Imperialism: History Teaching and Language Policy in Late Colonial Sudan, 1946-1956”

Iris Seri-Hersch, IREMAM-Université de Provence

- “The Mysterious Kadi of Khartoum”

Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Rhode Island College

PANEL #8b Darfur

12:00 p.m. to 2:00 p.m., Stewart Center 310

CHAIR: Lako Tongun

- “AMIS and the Darfur Conflict: Sudanese Responses to the African Union Intervention”

Irit Back, Tel Aviv University

- ‘Aid in Darfur? The Political Over-determination of the Aid Architecture?’

Jide Martyns Okeke, University of Leeds

Luncheon: 2:00 p.m., PMU Anniversary Drawing Room

Closing Comments by SSA Officers

Abstracts

Data Analyses of Sudan's Reality

“Mapping Socio-Cultural Networks of Sudan from Open-Source, Large-Scale Text Data”

Jana Diesner and Kathleen M. Carley, Carnegie Mellon University

Data on socio-cultural networks enable the analysis of the properties and dynamics of complex, real-world systems. The collection of network data through surveys is prohibitively expensive when a large number of individuals needs to be considered, and is impossible when the system's entities are inaccessible to researchers. In such cases, extracting network data from text corpora can provide an alternative data collection method. We have collected a corpus of about 45,000 publically available text documents about Sudan from a variety of sources, such as news agencies and reports written by subject-matter experts. We demonstrate a computer-supported methodology for distilling socio-cultural networks from these data and present our results from performing network analysis on the resulting data. For example, we show and analyze the network of tribal connections in various regions of Sudan. The validation of data and results on inaccessible large-scale networks is difficult to impossible. We report on our approach for getting the data validated by a renowned subject-matter expert on Sudan and making respective changes to the network data and extraction method. We also compare the extracted data to data provided by the subject-matter expert and highlight the main commonalities and differences. The extraction, management and analysis of the network data were performed by using freely available software products from the CASOS center at Carnegie Mellon.

“When Ideologies Meet Reality: Understanding the Nature of Major Political Landscape Changes Using Computer Based Science Techniques”

Adam Gerard, Rhode Island College

The purpose of this research is to predict the outcomes and effects of the elections in Sudan. To make this prediction we performed multivariate analysis of the political campaigns and how they relate to a post election Sudan. The investigative technique measured popular campaign based on their socio-political affiliations, media exposure, and access to arms combined with the stated and inferred beliefs of relevant groups. The results were analyzed and interpreted using computer based dynamic network analysis and the empirical study of complex socio-technical systems developed by Dr. Kathleen Carley at Carnegie Mellon for the use of research through the Multi-University Research Initiative (MURI) Grant funded through the Office of Naval Research for the United States Department of Defense.

“Network Analysis of Natural Resource Conflict in Sudan”

Jeffrey C. Johnson and Tracy Van Holt, East Carolina University

Many theories of the causes of societal conflicts concern competition over scarce resources. Natural resources-oil, water, timber, and rain-fed land appear to be among the sources of conflict in Sudan (UN Report). We use automated text and social network analysis of Sudan Tribune data to test this proposition by examining the extent to which 1-oil, water, timber, and rain-fed land environmental concepts are reported in the Sudan Tribune, 2) the concepts are linked to conflict as opposed to other possible non-environmental causes, and 3) are there other environmental factors (e.g., desertification), outside of the resources above, that account for conflicts as reported in Sudan. Further, we examine a number of factors that may explain the variation of environmental conflicts (location, time, events, tribal involvement) over the course of the reported period. Finally, we discuss the utility of this approach for building associational models of this kind from newspaper and other textual sources.

Ancient Sudan

“Investigating Napatan Identity and State Development at the Third Cataract”

Michele R. Buzon, Purdue University

This project examines the identities of those involved during the critical origin period of the Napatan state during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period in Nubia after the fall of the New Kingdom Egyptian colonial empire. The study of state formation processes in the Nile Valley has generally centered on the impact that Egypt had on the developments of indigenous cultures. However, recent studies suggest that, in fact, the reverse may have taken place

– Egypt lost power as a result of the influential indigenous states in Nubia. Recent excavations at the key site of Tombos, one of the few sites that spans this transitional period, shed light on this ‘dark age’ of Nubian history and provide crucial information necessary to clarify the nature of the social processes. Using a bioarchaeological approach, this project explores the identities of the people buried at Tombos in order to determine if there is evidence for indigenous activities and local social forces leading up to the formation of the Napatan state or if outside migration played a significant role.

"Abu Erteila Excavation Report: A Meroitic temple site."

Richard Lobban, Rhode Island College

This *Power Point* presentation will summarize the first season of 2009 excavation in a joint NCAM, Russian, Italian and American project. The historical context, surface finds, and site plan will be defined along with local ethnography, ecology and landscape. As this is a non-threatened teaching site some of this role will be discussed along with a preliminary chronology based on ceramics, and documentary evidence. The presentation will include a comparative examination of the solar orientation of “typical” and regional Meroitic “sun temples”. A large part of the first season was spent in an extensive survey by Ground Penetrating Radar that has given us more ideas about the methodology and approach for the second season in 2010. Hopefully a C-14 date will help to address the issue of the Axumite invasion as this site of *Abu Erteila* was heavily ruined as judged by our initial excavation squares and brick debris.

“Colonial Entanglements: ‘Egyptianization’ in Egypt’s Nubian Empire and the Nubian Dynasty”

Stuart Tyson Smith, University of California, Santa Barbara

The “Egyptianization” of Egypt’s Nubian colony in the New Kingdom (c. 1500-1070 BC) and of the succeeding Nubian kingdom whose rulers became Egyptian Pharaohs (c. 750-650 BC) is typically viewed as a transfer of culture from a dominant core to a passively receptive periphery. I argue here that evidence of mixed material culture and practices represents instead the creation of a cultural hybrid that reflects the complex legacy of Nubia’s colonial encounter with Egypt. Entanglement provides a better model of cultural interaction that accounts for the agency of both indigenous and intrusive groups in the context of conquest and colonial occupation and its aftermath.

“Radius of Action in Neolithic and A-Group Nubia”

Bruce Williams

Important techniques and elements of culture have long been traced across wide expanses of the Sahara, including Sudan. The detailed relations between cultures of the Middle Nile, the adjacent deserts, and Egypt have been unclear and often considered doubtful. Extensive research in all these regions has revealed several sequences of Holocene cultures without detailed correlations or comparisons with each other. In the last decade or so, new discoveries in all these regions have produced evidence that certain cultures had a wider range of influence, or radius of action than assumed before. Saharan rock art appears close to the Egyptian Nile. Sudanese Neolithic sites have been found in the deserts east and west of Egypt. A-Group influence is now traced not only deep into the Western Desert, but into central Sudan as well. A-Group sites also have been found in Upper Egypt, indicating that the culture was more expansive than ever thought before. These discoveries can be connected to evidence of intensive settlement in Sudanese Neolithic and high organization in A-Group and Pre-Kerma Nubia to reconstruct a cultural environment with broad horizons of activity.

Conflict, Justice and Reconciliation

“‘A Tree Under Whom I Seek Shelter’: Royal Justice, Slavery and the Right of Sanctuary in Sinner”

Jay Spaulding, Kean University

Several of the more elaborate Arabic charters from Sinner contain unusual sets of phrases. At the beginning of an adjudication each disputing party chooses a spokesperson to “bear the burden” of their cause. At the end, the leader of the defeated party “seeks shelter” from a named individual, normally a person otherwise known to have been a locally prominent holy man.

This study suggests that the rhetoric should be understood in terms of the traditional system of royal justice in Sinner, and specifically in the light of the king’s claim that all subjects were his slaves. From a broad historical

perspective, the practice offered the king a technique by which locally prominent troublesome individuals could be forced to subordinate themselves to equally prominent but less troublesome ones in order to avoid more severe penalties such as enslavement.

“Transitional Justice and State-Sponsored Violence in Sudan”

Mohamed I. Elgadi, Group Against Torture in Sudan

Is SSA ready to play a role in the implementation of the Transitional Justice (TJ) approach among Sudanese in Diaspora? TJ is seen by many human rights advocates as the only road to move forward in Sudan beyond the current authoritative political regime of Inqaz and toward real democracy. This presentation will highlight the history of systematic state-organized violence in Sudan over the past 200 years. This is to include samples from the following five distinct historical periods:

- a. The Turkiya era (1821-1885)
- b. The Mahdiya era (1885-1898)
- c. The Colonial era (1898-1956)
- d. The Post-Independence era (1956-1989)
- e. The Islamist era (1989-present)

Why some of the major attempts of TJ failed (1965, 1977, 1985, 2006) and the 2005 is going the same road? The presentation will discuss the history of Transitional Justice especially in the recent history of Sudan. How we implement TJ? This is another area to be covered by reviewing the tried methods, especially in Africa, such as Court Trials; Truth Committees; and Redress (material and moral). This presentation will also discuss how SSA can be part of the unique experimental Truth Committees that was recently proposed by torture survivors in Diaspora and welcomed by many communities in the North America.

“Politics, Power and Knowledge in Sudan’s Media and Educational Institutions: Implications for Peace and Unity Pursuit”

Hala-Asmina Guta, Ohio University

and

Kitakaya Loisa, MDF- South & East Africa

Sudan stands out as a country that had been embroiled in one of the longest civil wars in 20th century. With elections taking place in 2010 and a referendum that will decide on the fate of the country approaching, Sudan now is at a crossroads. At this defining moment in the country’s history and in view of the country’s unyielding pursuit for peace, Sudan’s social institution can play a considerable role in either fostering social cohesion or division thereby influencing in a big way the result of the referendum. Drawing on what is UNESCO’s assertion that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed," this paper aims to investigate the discourse and politics of knowledge disseminated through two important social institutions in Sudan: the Sudanese education system and Sudanese media (especially radio). The study aims to gain better understanding of the relationships between education, media, and social and political conflict; and better insights for developing a balanced message, which is fundamental in healing and reconciling a country highly polarized by war.

The Sudanese Electoral System

“Electoral Systems and Political Behaviour: Challenges Facing Democratization in the Sudan”

Abdu Mukhtar Musa, Omdurman University

This paper examines electoral systems and political behaviour in the Sudan and notes that the democratic process in the Sudan has been undermined by military rule which has governed the country more than democratically elected governments. A whole generation of the electorate has been cut off from the democratic experience and, hence, from the electoral process because the present government terminated democracy and banned the political parties since 1989. The suspension of democracy for 20 years poses such challenges as: (a) the discontinuity of democratic practice entails greater efforts to build up political culture which constitutes a major pre-requisite for sound democratic practice; (b) the absence of democracy weakened the (banned) political parties which further suffered from intra-party schisms. This might produce a weak opposition. The dominance of ethnicity over the political behaviour in the country resulted in a politicized tribe in the rural areas and a tribalized politics in the urban centres – the outcome is irrational political behaviour. This applies both to the level of elites as well as the masses. This may

affect proper functioning of democracy. The paper proposes some suggestions that might help bring about a favourable climate for a sound democracy to function and pave the way for real change in the Sudan.

“Alternative Voting: The Mechanics of Elections in Systems Characterized by Low Literacy” Randall Fegley, Pennsylvania State University

An analysis of voting methods employed in societies with high levels of illiteracy with special reference to Sudan’s elections. The advantages and disadvantages of the use of symbols, photos, colors, readers, town meetings and other techniques and technologies, past and present.

“The Referendum Game, Where Are the Women?” Suzan Christopher Lasu

The referendum game started long back in 1955 with the Anyanya 1, who addressed the issue of Independent South Sudan, and they lay foundation for struggle for freedom to continue. This research is done among the ordinary women of South Sudan. The women are grouped as follows:

- Working women .i.e. educated women at university level.
- Micro-Business women.
- Housewives.
- Widows.
- Aged women – ages 60 and above.

This paper attempt to address the challenges and concerns, and viewpoints of women regarding the referendum in South Sudan being the only hope for justice to the people of South Sudan because of the following reasons: Women have been hostages of war since 1955, and their children never have an opportunity to serve humanity or themselves with dignity, and freedom to exercise their own way of thinking, living, and identification as not only people but as part of humanity. Women don’t want to continue being hostages of hatred. For instances any women who lost a son or a daughter during the war, is not interested in any person who thinks war is a solution to solving problems or who directly or indirectly is advocating for continues suppression of the people of South Sudan. Sudan had been one country for many decades but South Sudan has never rested since independency of Sudan from the British. Illiteracy has continued, people are being enslaved, development had been a dream etc. Sudan had been led by ideology where the people of South Sudan are made to be followers but not thinkers, and those who want to think for themselves are being punish since 1955 till to date therefore let’s give South Sudan independence an opportunity because it is the right formula, and the only hope for justice to prevail not only for the Sudanese society but for the entire world.

“Elections and Popular Consultation in Blue Nile State” Hajmusa Attaegeed

Sudan held its first election in 20 year of military rule. The election were held because they were one of the milestones of the CPA which ended the war with the South and brought the SPLM to power creating for now a two state system. Although most traditional political parties boycotted the election and the NCP received an overwhelming mass support for their symbol – the tree – , the elections were most heavily contested in Blue Nile state where the NCP Candidate who was declared as having won with a substantial margin when on a recount held at the Labor Union Hall turned out to be a loser and the incumbent SPLM government Geneal Malik Aggar was declared the win of the BNS elections for governor. The Blue Nile State raised a lot of questions throughout Sudan. This was because he victory of Malik Aggar came after a week characterized by a heavy build up of troops. The SPLM claims that the government rushed in approximately 17000 soldiers. These were mostly police trained along the former Soviet line of the ministry of interior troops and hardened by war in Darfur. SPLM which maintains a large force in BNS could replenish its ranks by funneling in more soldiers from Divisions in Upper Nile state. The elections created a state government in which an elected governor confronts a hostile legislative assembly dominated by the ruling Popular Congress Party. The CPA had stipulated that the South Kordofan and Blue Nile should conduct a process of popular consultation after the election. Popular consultation will decide for the two states whether the CPA satisfied their needs or if its need reform in which way and form. The popular consultation is a process controlled by the legislative council of the state. However the Governor will negotiate on their behalf. The new post election power structure will doom the popular

consultation , probably paralyze the government and prepare the ground for further conflicts that could erupt after the cession of the south in January 2011.

Sudan's Election Season

“Institutionalized Technologies of Domination: The 2010 Election in the Sudan and Prospects of Change”

Enrico Ille, Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg

The following paper looks at the election in the Sudan in 2010 from the perspective of organizational studies, based on direct observations, interviews, official, and newspaper reports. From this perspective, the election and developments surrounding it move both in accordance with and against institutionalized technologies of legitimization and governance. The concept ‘technology’ is understood here as organized set of practices, and concentrates the analysis so not around political figures or figures of speech, but defines tools and observes agencies using or not using these tools. This angle allows also thinking about politics, law enforcement, and administration as established mechanisms of domination in the hegemonic system, which the election is embedded in. The paper finally leads to the question, if the election rather strengthens or changes these technologies of domination.

“The ‘SPLM/SPLA’ and the CPA-prescribed “Mid Term” General Elections: An Insider’s Perspectives and Analysis”

Elias Nyamlell Wakoson, State Minister of International Cooperation, GONU, Khartoum

The inclusion of the “mid-term” general elections in the six-year interim period, by the CPA, was an admission and commitment by the SPLM/SPLA and the National Congress Party (NCP) to the concept of democratic transformation of the Sudan in time of peace. The general elections are only one of the complex facets of democratic transformation, yet a critical political exercise for sustainable peace in the Sudan. The unavoidable question is, have the two partners lived up to their commitment to democracy and the professed democratic transformation at all levels of government?

In this presentation, I will focus on the SPLM/SPLA; asking the question whether the SPLM/SPLA has democratically transformed, itself, “enough” to be able to champion the democratic transformation of the Sudan? The focus on the SPLM/SPLA is because it waged an armed struggle against Khartoum for twenty-two years to redress the vices of marginalization and dictatorial oppression of the marginalized Sudanese, hence its being the best candidate-party to effect democratic transformation. In just over five years since the signing of the peace agreement, has the SPLM/SPLA democratized, itself, enough to become the architect of democratic transformation? This questions leads to my argument here that a purely military movement, operating in a non-democratic political environment (even though it has all the powers—control of GOSS and effective partner with the NCP in the GONU), is incapable of internal democratic transformation and establishing a democratic system in the country as a whole because of the absence of the culture of democracy, power corrupts, and the overwhelming complexity of the democratic process itself.

Post-Election Possibilities

“The Post Referendum Scenarios”

Ayok Chol Ahow, Barrister and Solicitor, Juba, Southern Sudan

Following the world’s longest, vicious, costly, and destructive civil war in the Sudan; a variety of factors forced the government to a negotiating table. The peace talks were concluded with an agreement which inter alia gave the people of Southern Sudan the right to decide via a referendum whether they want to succeed from the Sudan. Relying on the Sudanese historical, socio-economic evidence as well as appreciating external factors the paper will seek to explore inter alia the following scenarios.

A return to the situation ante by the ruling elites rescinding the peace deal and declaring a military takeover.

A declaration of independence by the South prior or during the referendum. This can result to North accepting the de facto situation or a return to war.

Rigging the referendum results in favor of “unity.”

Causing disunity and violence among southerners to point where the oppressive and the genocidal ruling clique appears a better “ruler” of the South.

The successful vote for separation triggering the emergence of two hostile states with serious or low level political, diplomatic and or military confrontation.

A successful and peaceful vote for separation which results in disagreement over the sharing of assets and liabilities.

A successful vote for succession in which all parties accept the outcome and soberly address their new de facto situations.

A successful referendum where the South remains peaceful but the “north” remains one state or is fractured.

The paper will discuss the implications of each of every scenario outlined supra and will then make recommendation for each situation.

“Immediate Post-Referendum Programs for Southern Sudan”

B. Yongo-Bure, Kettering University

Short of a miracle, most Southern Sudanese are going to vote for a separate country from Northern Sudan. The widespread hope for separate nationhood is what holds most Southern Sudanese together and minimizes opposition to the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS). Most Southern Sudanese strongly believe that President Salva Kiir will lead them to the “Promised Land”. However, after the “Promised Land” is reached, what will sustain the solidarity of the new country?

This paper suggests programs that GOSS should embark on soon after the 2010 elections. Most of the population should be engaged in various productive activities that brightens their future. Among the quick-impact public sector activities are: timely payment of salaries, rural public works, crop marketing, water supply, construction of education and health facilities.

Simultaneously, with the quick-impact projects should be the initiation of long-term projects with wider impacts on the future development of the new country. Such projects include the building of oil refineries and the oil-pipeline to the Kenyan port of Lamu on the Indian Ocean, speeding up of large scale gold exploitation, the construction of major hydro-electric projects, etc. The establishment of the three major Southern universities and the construction of modern secondary schools, teachers training colleges, and modern research hospitals will give the citizens an optimistic view of the future. These activities need to be planned and started right now. Of course, Khartoum could unify Southerners through resisting the results of the referendum vote or by choosing to go to war with the new country. But even this will not be a durable unifying factor. Concrete socio-economic development, thus creating optimism about the future, will have the most enduring impact on the stability and viability of the to-be-new country.

“Language as an Element of Unity in Multi-Cultural & Multi-Lingual Post-War Sudan”

Ahmed Gumaa Siddiek, King Saud University

The Sudan witnessed the longest warfare in Africa since its eruption in Aug.17th 1955. The toll was totaling 2 million dead, along with uncountable number of injured and disabled. Many lives were lost because of war and war related famine. The number of lost people was bigger than the total number of the lost souls in the Bosnian, Rwandan and Somalia wars combined.

Religion and language differences were some causes behind that war. But it is high time to come over this situation by exploring the recent language policy and planning in post-war Sudan, after the institutionalization of peace. We aim at encouraging non-Arabic speaking-ethnic-groups to allow Arabic an official status in government and education; as well as encouraging the Arabic speaking majority in the North to learn the local Sudanese languages by being familiar with their wisdom in their oral and written literature and realizing the role of these languages in enriching the cultural heritage in our country. Therefore Arabic is to be reintroduced to learners without any religious or genealogical prejudices or claims; but as a foreign language or second language to bridge the wide gap between the Sudanese peoples in one future united country.

Colonialism and Independence

“Elite Domination, Fragmentation at the Center, and the Politics of Crisis in Post-Independence Sudan”

Miklos Gosztonyi, Northwestern University

A persistent characteristic of post-independence Sudanese politics has been a sense of pervasive instability and crisis, ostensibly putting the continuity of the nation at stake. Concurrently, another dominant feature of the post-colonial Sudanese state has been the political, economic and cultural appropriation of the state by a small Northern

riverine elite. This paper will address the seeming contradiction between these two features. How could a minority elite, so fragmented that it has steadily led to chronic political instability, manage nevertheless to maintain its dominance over the Sudanese state since independence? In order to address this apparent puzzle, I will focus on the weakness of the center itself as a primary explanatory variable. It will be argued that the fragmented character of the ruling elite in Khartoum makes it difficult for potential challengers to emerge and pose a substantial threat in a system with multiple power centers and shifting relationships of patronage.

“The Impact of British Racism on the Sudan”

Kim Searcy, Loyola University

The issue of ethnicity is at the crux of many of the problems that have plagued the Sudan in the post-independence period. Ethnicity is a very fluid and slippery concept. Rex S. O’Fahey notes that the most complex kind of slipperiness emerges with the question concerning the African/Arab divide. According to Jay Spaulding, the process of Arabisation/ Arabicisation/Islamization is the product of the 17th and 18th centuries urban centers where itinerant traders (jallaba) and holymen (fuqara) laid the foundations of a very specific Sudanese Arab identity. Under the British, the process of Arabisation and Arabicisation increased in the Sudan. The British assumed that Arabs were culturally superior to other non-Arab Sudanese groups. The purpose of this paper is to examine the writings of the first generation of British administrators in the Sudan and analyze the assumption of racial hierarchies in these writings and how these assumptions affected the Sudanese ethnic identity.

“Between National Unification and Cultural Imperialism: History Teaching and Language Policy in Late Colonial Sudan, 1946-1956”

Iris Seri-Hersch, IREMAM-Université de Provence

The aim of this paper is to investigate the short-term background to the fifty-year long conflict between Northern and Southern Sudan. It scrutinizes specific political, educational and ideological processes unfolding in the last decade of Condominium rule (1946-1956), highlighting the interconnectedness of British colonial disengagement, Sudanization trends, and politics of linguistic homogenization. On the one hand, I shall analyze representations of Southern Sudan in several history textbooks produced in Khartoum and used in governmental schools in the critical years just before and after independence. On the other hand, I shall examine the concomitant evolution of administrative and educational policy in the South. My hypothesis is that the outbreak of the first Sudanese civil war (1955-1972) is closely related to Northern ambivalent policies towards the South in the educational sphere. Sharply criticizing the “Southern Policy” of their British predecessors, Northern Sudanese officials of the late colonial era advocated national unity through educational standardization and Arabization efforts. How did they confront the cognitive and practical discrepancy between their ideal of a culturally homogenous nation-state and the actual diversity of Sudanese historical experience and social dynamics? How did Southerners react to politics of cultural homogenization?

Darfur

“AMIS and the Darfur Conflict: Sudanese Responses to the African Union Intervention”

Irit Back, Tel Aviv University

In May 2004, with the African Union resolution to send a military force to Darfur, the AMIS (African Mission in Sudan) force was established, and in June of that year its first contingents arrived in Darfur. As the first African Union's resolution about direct intervention in a conflict that involved massive abuse of human rights, Darfur becomes a test case for organization peacekeeping abilities. Moreover, as principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the sovereign states tended to be one of the focal points of the discourse of Africa unity since independence, it seemed that the establishment of AMIS reflected changing attitudes toward the commitment to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

This paper aims to analyze the Sudanese responses to the African Union intervention in what was perceived as the internal affair of a sovereign state. Through surveying Sudanese newspapers during 2004-2008, the paper will attempt to examine changing patterns of Sudanese reactions to AMIS presence in particular, and to the Sudanese discourse regarding intervention in the internal affairs of their state in general.

'Aid in Darfur? The Political Over-determination of the Aid Architecture?'

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The humanitarian surge in Darfur is often described as one of the largest operations in the world. This paper argues that the prevailing pattern of aid in Darfur seems to have engendered a political over-determination of aid in Sudan. This is because of parallels can be drawn between the prevailing humanitarian operation in Darfur and the political character of operation lifeline Sudan (OLS), a humanitarian operation in Southern Sudan that was thought to be a 'the basis for one of the decade's biggest relief operations and perhaps one of history's largest interventions in an active civil war'. However, critics of the OLS raised the political nature of that humanitarian operation especially in relation to 'suspended' or 'negotiated' sovereignty of the Sudanese state. Besides, in practice the operational effectiveness of OLS was criticised because of the economic function of aid in sustaining and/or empowering belligerent parties to the conflict notably the government of Sudan and powerful rebel groups. In recent times, the humanitarian aid to Darfur has been described as part of the fulfilment of the international responsibility to protect in that region. Such assertion has increased the tension and debates on the inherent political nature of aid. More importantly, the prevailing pattern of aid in Darfur seems to highlight important continuity in the pattern of the OLS. This paper therefore provides a critical appraisal of humanitarian aid in Darfur.