

# Introduction

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The fate of Sudan, by then the largest country in Africa, was clearly decided when results of the referendum vote were announced in February 2011. Policy makers, scholars and the international community began to grapple with critical issues that might arise after the independence of Southern Sudan and how different stakeholders would handle such issues during the period of uncertainty. So many national, regional and international workshops and conferences on post-referendum Sudan or South Sudan were organised by governments, regional organisations, research organisations and civil society organisations (CSOs) to treat diverse issues. Scholars and observers were influenced in such events by the uneasy partnership between the National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) during the interim period stipulated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Scholars assembled in Nairobi at the invitation of CODESRIA, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the African Research and Resource Forum (ARRF) to reflect on the post-referendum Sudan. This book comprises most of the papers presented during the "International Workshop" on the post-referendum Sudan.

Studies undertaken by authors of chapters treat four sub-themes of post-referendum Sudan dealing with internal dynamics of the Sudan after secession and how these dynamics might affect neighbouring countries in the geopolitical regions of the Horn of Africa, East Africa, and Central Africa. Hence, this book is organised into four parts. Part I is composed of one chapter, which covers opinions of an eminent scholar on unity, self-

determination, independence of South Sudan and peace. Part II contains four chapters. This part deals with the consequences of secession on relations between the Sudan and South Sudan and the impact on the Horn of Africa, the Great Lakes Region and Central Africa. Contributions in Part III examine problems of nation-building in Sudan and South Sudan. This part is composed of two chapters. Finally, the three contributions in Part IV attempt to explain the economy and monetary arrangements of South Sudan before and after secession. While Chapter 8 discusses priority in development, chapters 9 and 10 treat monetary dimensions in the post-referendum period in Southern Sudan. Having outlined the key components of each part of the book, it is necessary to highlight some of the arguments coming out from some contributors.

One component of the book consists of policy issues of nation building. The second component of the book consists of chapters that treat consequences of post-referendum Sudan in different perspectives. It examines national, regional and continental dimensions of the unresolved issues that might result in the escalation of conflict in the Sudan. The third sub-theme of the book consists of economic discourses regarding the emergence of a new state in Southern Sudan. Economic policy priorities and monetary policies are treated under this sub-theme. Finally, readers of the book should note differences in the use of the expression 'Southern Sudan' and 'South Sudan'. The former is used to refer to Southern Sudan when it was still *de jure* part of the Sudan in the context of the CPA. The use of South Sudan refers to the period following the declaration of independence in July 2011. The country 'Sudan' refers to the old Sudan at the time South Sudan declared independence.

Political developments in Sudan were long-term outcomes of post-cold war revolutions in the world system after socialism collapsed in the Soviet Union. A domino effect of such events swept across in Eastern Europe and also manifested itself in the Horn of Africa. The revolution in Ethiopia which led to the flight of Mengistu Haile Mariam, marked the beginning of redrawing the map of Africa and posed a challenge to the principle of maintaining colonial borders according to the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The revolutionary precedence set by the independence of Eritrea in early 1990s encouraged Southern Sudan to press forward in the direction of independence through armed struggle and diplomacy led by the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M). The long civil war between the government of Sudan and the SPLA came to a stalemate. It favoured a negotiated settlement that culminated in the CPA in January 2005. The key benchmarks of the

agreement were the 2008 census, the April 2010 elections and the January 2011 Referendum. The latter resulted in the overwhelming vote for secession. It is the result of Sudan's referendum that is the main focus of this book.

Particularly, this book sought to examine and analyse future relations between the two countries that emerged as consequence of the referendum result in 2011 and how their neighbours would be affected by complex relationships once Southern Sudan declared independence. Frameworks for analysis are drawn mostly from economic, political, social and peace analysis. Studies draw on historical, cultural, economic and geopolitical contexts. The book sheds light on potential explosive issues that, if badly managed, would escalate into violence and would destabilise the countries having common borders with Sudan. As part of regional conflict, the Sudanese conflict came to an end only when member states of the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD), and international actors combined efforts and resources to wage peace in Sudan. The studies that scholars have contributed to this book are the way forward for helping the two Sudans to cope with the results of the 2011 referendum vote. So, contributors drew attention to critical issues in the socio-economic landscape, the growing use of small arms and other negative attitudes that could spoil peaceful coexistence between Sudan and Southern Sudan.

Southern Sudan voted for secession in the January 2011 referendum on self-determination. This decision had enormous consequences not only for Sudan, but also for the political and socio-economic relationships among countries of the Horn of Africa and of the central African regions. The contributions in this book examine problems that could complicate the already delicate political relations in the countries which have common borders with Sudan. This book reveals that outstanding issues such as borders, currency, citizenship that were not resolved by the CPA partners before the declaration of independence of Southern Sudan will explode to a great proportion. The studies and observations in this book on post-referendum Sudan indicate that the dearth of interdependences is a threat to future cooperation and regional integration. All observations point to the fact that conflict escalation in Sudan's geopolitical regions will adversely affect neighbouring countries in many respects. Political stability in Sudan will depend on collective actions of stakeholders to ensure that peace prevails in the north and the south to guarantee human security in the region.

It is worthwhile to mention that the manner in which the CPA was implemented and the nature of relationships between the partners of the Agreement played a major role in reshaping political attitudes in Southern

Sudan. The failure of the Government of National Unity (GoNU) to deliver development and services in Southern Sudan led people to believe more in secession than in unity. So many projects of the CPA trailed behind schedule while others remained blue prints. Professor Kassahun Berhanu refers to this as implementation deficits. Insecurity was rampant especially in Abyei and Upper Nile State. The increased incidence of violence in oil producing states and the lack of transparency in sharing oil revenues played an important role in the drive towards separation in Southern Sudan. People began to believe that they would be better-off in a separate independent state than in a united Sudan.

Reactions to these political developments in Sudan left scholars and researchers to advance interpretations of historical events in varying degrees as they unfolded. Most southern scholars believe the resounding vote for secession was justifiable and blamed economic and political elites in the North for what happened in January 2011; but others contested the thesis of secession. They argued that unity of South Sudan was not guaranteed by the choice of secession as a way forward for Africa. Issues of Arab-African cleavages in Sudan were blamed for the disintegration of the country. These polemics came out clearly in the forward of Dr Peter Adwok Nyaba, the then Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research of the GoNU and Chapter One by Professor Mahmood Mamdani, the Director of Makerere's Institute of Social Research. B.F. Bankie, in examining foundational factors of post-referendum South Sudan, raised similar polemical issues. Readers will make their judgements on the rationality underpinning positions of Sudanese scholars in the discourse; and those of Pan-Africanists and Pan-Arabists.

Was the choice of secession of Southern Sudan a rational development for state building in the Horn of Africa and Africa in general? This question was addressed by different authors of the book. Indeed, the separation of South Sudan sent a wave of fear among African states and especially in countries that neighbour Sudan. Countries in a situation similar to that of Sudan were Côte d'Ivoire, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Angola and Chad among others. Christopher Zambakari attempted to answer the question using historiography as a method of analysis. Further, contributions of Professor A-Tayeb Zain Al-Abdin explained causes of fear, taking into consideration political developments in a number of African countries. The future of these countries depends, nevertheless, on the way political leaders and the people approach their national questions. These fears were, however, dispelled by the manner in which political leaders of Sudan and South Sudan

conducted themselves before, during and after the official declaration of Sudan's referendum results in February 2011, which they all endorsed. The declaration of independence suggested the requirement of political stability in corresponding geopolitical regions related to Sudan. This was shown by the participation of Sudanese political forces, African leaders, world leaders and the international community and the speeches they delivered during the independence ceremony in Juba calling for peaceful coexistence of Sudan and South Sudan.

Many unprecedented issues surfaced when results of referendum vote indicated that people of Southern Sudan rejected unity irrespective of consequences. Issues such as oil, citizenship, trespassing common borders, water resources, water points, grazing land, proliferation of small-arms and light weapons, inter-communal violence and many others emerged as thorny problems in relations between Sudan and South Sudan. These issues crosscut analyses of Sudanese researchers as most chapters of the book show. Their importance to the stability of the two states, Sudan and South Sudan, cannot be overemphasised. Violent conflicts associated with unsettled disputes could destabilise not only the two countries, but all the regions that have common borders with Sudan and South Sudan. Due importance was given to these issues in most of the contributions contained in this book. The contributing scholars in this book have critically addressed the issues and their consequences for Sudan, South Sudan and for the neighbouring regions.

Conflicts in Sudan spilled over to countries in the Horn of Africa, East Africa and Central Africa. Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda were more or less embroiled in the conflict generated by the war of liberation of South Sudan. Countries in the Horn of Africa and East Africa witnessed political conflicts and social impacts that were not necessarily domestic in nature. They bore brunt of each other's internal conflicts just because of proximity to the countries in domestic turbulence. Professor Al-Tayeb Zain Al-Abdin raised issues of this nature regarding the Horn of Africa and beyond. Dr Hamed Omer Hawi went further to examine the role of specific neighbouring countries in the Sudanese conflict. Responses to these conflicts led to the regionalisation of internal conflicts. A clear example is the case of the Lord's Resistance Movement (LRA), which was no longer a Ugandan problem; but a problem of Sudan before South Sudan declared independence. The chapter provides a space in the book to explain how LRA-related conflict dynamics affected countries beyond their borders. Readers and researchers will find this book interesting to understand why stability in Sudan and South

Sudan could contribute to stability of neighbouring countries. The violent conflict in Sudan over the political status of Blue Nile and South Kordofan after the independence of South Sudan and the impact on Ethiopia justifies worries of researchers and scholars about stability internally and across the common borders. Reports indicate that about 29,000 Sudanese of Blue Nile origin crossed into Ethiopia as refugees after the Governor of Blue Nile was forcefully driven out of power. The situation could escalate further to affect the economies of the Sudan, South Sudan and Ethiopia.

Citizenship is always a problem after secession, especially in the successor state. This was an important post-referendum issue in discussions that ensued before and after January 2011 referendum results. Most of the chapters on consequences of post-referendum Sudan treated the subject at different angles. Authors of this book argued for and against the possibility of dual nationality. It came to be known that both the NCP and the SPLM had contradictory conceptions of citizenship. The NCP ruled out the idea of dual nationality and insisted that Southern Sudanese living in the North will lose their Sudanese nationality. This book is coming out after South Sudan declared independence on 9 July 2011. Sudan maintained its position on the issue of citizenship after the declaration of independence of South Sudan. So, Sudanese of southern origin were dismissed from national public services in government institutions of Sudan as well as those who were working in private sector institutions. They are being repatriated to South Sudan with the assistance of International Labour Migration (IOM) and the government in Juba. On the contrary, there are no reports on returns of Sudanese of northern origin to Sudan from South Sudan.

The issue of borders and patterns of movement of people remained unresolved. This applies mainly to nomadic communities in the north who depend on water points and natural pastures in South Sudan. Disagreements over borders between Sudan and South Sudan remained one of the stumbling blocks in the demarcation of the boundary as stipulated in the CPA. It complicated the implementation of the Agreement in Abyei and in the transitional areas between the North and the South. The border between Sudan and South Sudan is over 2,000 kilometres, making it the longest border in Africa. Many contributors agreed that border disputes will remain a problem in relations between the two countries at the political level as well as at the grassroots level. Abyei is just a small piece of the problem that is expected to persist for years to come. The impact of environmental degradation on pastoralists in the North will continue to generate movements of animals and

people into South Sudan. The question which remains difficult to answer in the book is whether or not it will be the governments or the people who will find solutions to the low-intensity conflict. This book provides an opportunity for readers to understand the gist of the problem from perspectives of both northern and southern Sudanese scholars and the possible solutions they recommended.

The post-referendum situation of Sudan entailed discussions and analysis at different levels of economic cooperation between the expected states that were to emerge after the declaration of independence of South Sudan from Sudan. This book provides a critical examination of the economy after Southern Sudan declares independence. Scholars, in their studies, raised pertinent issues of concern such as oil, the Nile water, development policies and currency. These elements constitute the core of future interactions that could lead to peace or war between Sudan and South Sudan.

This book provides a situation analysis of an oil-based economy that entails cooperation or rivalry between Sudan and South Sudan. Professor Isaac Cuir made an elaborate analysis, which suggested that oil is a double-edged sword in relations in the post-referendum Sudan. Oil was a new discovery in 1978 after the civil wars were waged over a period exceeding half a century. It can be, nevertheless, considered to be the accelerator of an ongoing conflict. The exploitation of oil was also considered to be a trigger for the signature of the CPA. Parties to this Agreement wanted to benefit from the oil wealth during the interim period. But the implementation of the wealth sharing provisions tended to generate suspicion and uneasy relations between partners of the CPA. Linkages of oil wealth to persistent disputes between the NCP and the SPLM and by extension between the North and the South cannot be underrated in the difficult process of implementation of the peace agreement. Disagreements over demarcation of boundaries between the North and the South were mostly attributed to competition for ownership of oil fields in the transitional areas. The discovery of oil in Abyei added to the rival positions held by Khartoum and Juba despite the report of the Abyei Boundary Commission (ABC) and the verdict of the International Court of Arbitration in The Hague.

Nile water is an important economic resource for the survival of communities depending on water resources. It was identified as one of the contentious issues to be tackled in the post-referendum period. The treatment of the Nile water, especially in South Sudan, is referred to in many sections of the book. The Nile is strategic for agricultural, domestic, industrial and tourist

development in Sudan, South Sudan, the Horn of Africa, East and Central Africa. The utilisation of Nile water resources is regulated by the 1959 Nile Water Agreement between Egypt and Sudan, among the other nine riparian states. The narrowness of the agreement left the Nile basin a space of perennial tension despite the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI). South Sudan is becoming a new riparian state amid tension with its neighbour, Sudan and the latter with other upper riparian states. South Sudanese political leaders have not hidden their intentions to exploit the White Nile for hydropower. This book treats potential water disputes, which remained unresolved during the post-referendum period. The Nile remains one of the outstanding issues requiring Sudan and South Sudan to come to mutual understanding that would facilitate the process of establishment of an institutional water management within the legal framework of the NBI.

Another post-referendum economic issue was the currency. The question that arose during the post-referendum period was whether or not Sudan and the new state in Southern Sudan would maintain the Sudanese pound so as to enhance businesses. Experience of Ethiopian-Eritrean post-secession dispute scared South Sudanese from currency union as an option for cooperation with Sudan. The withdrawal of Eritrea from the Ethiopian Birr economy and launching the Nakfa is considered by many scholars as one of the causes of tension that ensued between the two neighbours. This experience pushed South Sudanese scholars and policy makers to recommend a separate currency for the new country. Benaiah Yongo-Bure, in his contribution, examines monetary and financial policies of Southern Sudan before independence. He argued for the case of separate currency in South Sudan, *inter alia*: 'Therefore, Southern Sudan should have a separate currency and monetary policy from Northern Sudan, given the different levels of development and degree of mistrust' (Yongo-Bure 2011). The issue of mistrust between Northern and Southern Sudan came out repeatedly in discourses concerning themes of post-referendum Sudan.

Post-referendum South Sudan was set to prepare programmes of social and economic development. Scholars engaged in discourses warned against South Sudan being classified as failed state after declaration of independence. Post-conflict South Sudan was marked by extreme poverty, lack of infrastructure and prevalence of inter-communal armed violence. This book comes out with remedial policies to prevent South Sudan from descending into a state economic and social chaos. The book provides the argument that equitable and rational transformative socio-economic programmes and policies will

greatly reduce potentials for conflict. This implies policy makers should pursue policies that raise the morale of the population. People expect to see concrete projects planned to alleviate their poverty. Yongo-Bure's contribution entitled 'South Sudan Priority Development Programmes, Projects, and Policies' addressed concerns about economic viability of post-referendum Southern Sudan. South Sudanese were craving for the provision of basic services such as basic education; health, and safe water supply in the shortest period of time possible. The section of the book on the economy and economic development provides a way forward on food production such as incentives to peasants establishing marketing, transportation and storage facilities. The author advises the government of post-referendum South Sudan to consider past reports of consultant firms on South Sudan as baseline information in order to conceive economic plans for the future.

In Chapter 10 of the book, Ssemwanga postulates that a managed float exchange rate regime to ensure macroeconomic stability has been adopted and a new currency called the South Sudanese Pound (SSP) is already in circulation. South Sudan is faced with social and economic problems that include limited access to basic education, healthcare, food, water, high inflation, sovereign debt, low level of national revenue and others. Most of the problems have been exacerbated by suspending oil production during January 2012. The Government of South Sudan has come up with a number of measures to address the shortfall in oil revenue and also the over-dependence on oil revenue by establishing a Non-Oil Revenue Action Plan, as well as instituting austerity measures that relate to Government expenditure. The author bases his work on studies carried out by the IMF and the World Bank. According to his contribution, a number of studies carried out to show the effectiveness of monetary policy and fiscal policy on economic activity show mixed results. Some results indicate that monetary policy is more effective than fiscal policy, while others indicate the opposite.

