

SUDANREPORT

Post-Conflict Peace-Building and Socio-Economic Integration Issues in Southwest Kordofan

Abdalbasit Saeed

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CAAFG	Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSAC	Community Security and Arms Control
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GAA	German Agro-Action
GNU	Government of National Unity
GOS	Government of Sudan
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NMCFA	Nuba Mountains Cease-Fire Agreement
NSDDRC	Northern Sudan DDR Commission
OAG	Other Armed Group
PDF	Popular Defence Force
PRAC	Protocol on the Resolution of the Abyei Conflict
PRCSK	Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in Southern Kordofan
SAF	Sudanese Armed Forces
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SPLM/A	Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Movement/Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army
SWC	State Water Corporation
WAAFG	Women Associated with Armed Forces and Groups

Executive Summary

This report is the product of desk-work which consists of 50 per cent of the workload, and a truncated field visit for only one week to Northern Lagawa Locality estimated at 25 per cent of the workload. Field activities during the field visit were obstructed by heavy rains, as mid-August coincided with the peak of the rainy season. The advantage, however, was the presence of pastoral nomads in the sandy goz and that the visit was the first one made by a researcher following the most serious contention between the Misiriya and the Nuba in May/June, just six weeks earlier. 25 per cent of the workload was spent conducting interviews and group discussions in Dellenge town and El-Obeid.

The report falls into five sections. The first covers conceptual issues and recovery planning perspectives. Situating the current status of social and political relations of animosity and/or collaborative co-existence among the Misiriya, Nuba and Daju of Lagawa Locality in the north-western fringe of the Nuba Mountains can only be properly comprehended within the overall determinations of socio-economic and political factors that led the Nuba people to indulge in prolonged war against the central government in 1985-2002. The post-conflict ramifications are reminiscent of that recent past. Therefore, a unifying conceptual framework for conflict analysis within a context of a state-in-crisis is attempted. The first aim is to lay out some key aspects of the relationship between recent institution-building developments envisioned in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the conventional regime for access to, and management of, surface natural resources. Secondly, the aim is to look at threats to community security in the micro-level environment of social articulation where state functions remain weak, and therefore allow for a large margin for rural elite-driven policies and practices of natural resource management, conflict resolution and/or micro-peace-building.

The Adverse Impact of the Upper Nile War

The first prominent result of the war, at both the national and sub-national level, is that the national economy experienced twenty years of mutual destruction levelled by the antagonists. The second most prominent result is that a sub-culture of violence, animosity, mistrust and intolerance has been precipitated. This has adverse impact on civil society inter-communal relations in different parts of the country. The terms 'northerner' in the south and 'southerner' in the north have become generic classifications. At times they define social spheres of exclusion of 'otherness' in marriages and socio-cultural functions. These geocentric terms, as the conflict deepened and widened, have become synonymous with binary classifications that define ethnic parameters such as 'African/Arab', religious affiliation such as 'Muslim/non-Muslim', and ethnic identifications such as 'Mandekuru', 'Jallaba', 'Nuba', and 'Gherraba' vis-à-vis 'Awlad al-Baher' (literally, riparians)¹.

A corollary to this discrimination on the basis of socio-cultural identification premised on ethnic, tribal, religious, geocentric and racial diversities and incompatibilities is that it fuels

¹ *Nuba*: This is generic label for an ethnic description of the Negroid tribal peoples living in the Nuba Mountains geographic area of Southern Kordofan State in West-central Sudan. The Nuba have some 52 tribal groups spanning an area estimated at 48,000 km² dotted with isolated plateaus, hill-ranges and outcrops. They have ten linguistic families. During the war (1985-2005) the majority of the Nuba, irrespective of religious association, identified with the Nuba-Chapter of the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA). *Mandekuru*: This is a derogatory term denoting relatively 'fair' complexion. It is used by people of Southern Sudan to refer to 'Arabs' from Northern Sudan. Other synonyms of the same connotation include *Jallaba* (lit. traders) and *Awlad-al-Baher* (lit. those from the Central Nile Valley) who emigrated from Northern Sudan to do retail trading in different parts of the country. It is more commonly used for socio-cultural identification in situations of 'we' against 'them'.

social inequality and ideologies of discrimination, and undermines the authority and legitimacy of the national state in its constitutional, rational-legal and political dimensions. The culture of violence is also manifest in the seamless dark plight of children and women who have been especially victimised by the ravages of war. Countless orphans and unaccompanied children have their self-esteem and self-confidence shattered and their social peace and affiliation marred with fear of want, fear of hunger and fear for their own personal security.

Main Research Propositions on the Root Causes of Conflict and the Future of Southern Kordofan:

The main research proposition on the root causes of the conflict and the future of Southern Kordofan are:

- That the conflict in the Nuba Mountains Region (NMR) has derived from primary contradictions and incompatibilities that are internal to NMR, and within the context of the territory of the Sudan, rather than being generated by external sources of influence.
- That external factors of conflict, from outside the NMR, became more instrumental as the Nuba-led insurgency forged a strategic alliance with SPLM/SPLA and formed the New-Kush Brigade² (later known as the SPLA-Nuba Chapter) that started combat activity in the NMR in 1987.
- That ‘collective Nuba identity’ is a creation of the Nuba political elite on account of perceived socio-economic inequities and injustice that have continued to grow in complexity for two decades before turning into a conflict that expanded, deepened and became perpetuated.
- That land degradation is not only a function of environmental and natural factors. It is also a process that has been exacerbated by inequitable state policies of intervention in agricultural land distribution in the local economy of Southern Kordofan, since the mid-1960s.
- That while there is no question of land scarcity as such in the NMR, where 1.5 million people live on 144000 km², ill-advised government policies on agricultural land distribution have been a major cause of conflict. It has, therefore, become increasingly imperative to advise decision-makers that such practices will not render land resources available for everybody.
- That the issue of state policies and intervention in agricultural land distribution has been much over-politicised and over-ideologized by the New Kush Brigade since the 1980s, as one major structural factor in perpetuating inter-ethnic conflict.
- That the support generated by the land-related ethnic ideology of ‘the Nuba-people’ has consolidated the process of creating Nuba social and political consciousness and the ideology/ identity of ‘Nubanness’ in the NMR.
- Hence, the nascent Nuba political consciousness (Nubanness) will grow into a ‘new and transformed’ pattern of conflict in the 21st century, if the threats and risks facing smooth implementation of the South Kordofan Protocol of the CPA are not overcome with the requisite wisdom and insight.

² *New Kush*: Kush is the name of an ancient kingdom in the Nubian civilization of Nubia. New-Kush is the name chosen to describe the ‘Nuba Social Revolution’ lead by Yousif Kua Mekki Jamei in the early 1980s when in 1984-85 he forged in a strategic military alliance of ‘the New-Kush Brigade (the military wing of New-Kush) with SPLM/SPLA in order to jointly fight the central Government of Sudan. The New-Kush Brigade later came to be known, in the text of the CPA, as SPLA-Nuba Chapter.

Introduction

The Southern Kordofan State (SKS), generically described as the Nuba Mountains, was founded on the basis of the Tenth Presidential Decree issued by the Head of State in February 1994. The SKS consists of an area of 144,000 km². It is located between latitudes 9:45 minutes and 12:45 north and longitudes 27:15 and 32:30 east. However, the label 'Kordofan' has an ancestry of administrative designations dating back to the Turko-Egyptian colonial rule of the 19th century (1821-1885). At the close of that century, the Condominium Powers of the Anglo-Egyptian colonisation (1898-1956) seized this area and created the Kordofan Province in 1898.

Under the mandates of the Closed Districts Policy Act of 1922, the Nuba Mountains Province (Arabic; Mudiriyat Jebal al-Nuba) was designated as a closed district. Subsequent changes in the laws and ordinances of the Local Government Act 1951, the Peoples' Local Government Act 1971, and the Regional Government Act 1981, continued to consider the northern and southern parts of Kordofan (region or province) as constituting one entity. In 1974, the Head of State Gen. Nimeiri issued a Presidential decree establishing Southern Kordofan Province (Arabic; Mudiriyat Janub Kordofan), comprising the present SKS. The Federalism Act 1991 initially continued the same practice. However, a sharp divergence was made in 1994. That is, the Tenth Presidential Decree stipulated the re-division of 'Great' Kordofan into three states (North, South and West). The Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005 dissolved West Kordofan State and recreated Southern Kordofan State along the 1974 boundaries, excepting the Abyei Area that came under the jurisdiction of the Presidency (with an estimated land area of 18,626 km²) pending the referendum in 2011.

The SKS is a land of basement complex rocks. There are four major hill ranges, namely the Rashad Plateau, the Niymang Plateau, the Heiban Plateau and the Kadugli Southern Jebels Hill range, where a two-decade war of mutual destruction was managed. The topography is a major factor explaining the fact of meagre underground water sources in most parts of the area. Dependence on surface water sources generated by rainfall is a natural expediency. Hence, rainfall and its interaction with other components of climate play a determinant role in almost all human activities in the SKS. Rain-fed agriculture and livestock raising are the mainstay of the livelihood systems. Food, shelter and off-farm employment during the dry season are directly affected by the amount of natural precipitation occurring in the previous rainy season.

Southern Kordofan can be seen as comprising four main sectors that are predetermined by topography, natural precipitation and drainage systems. These topographic realities lead to the formation of ten seasonal watercourses with rich alluvial deposits which make them the cradle of land resources that, unfortunately, define the nature of competition, dispute and conflict as well as the distinct customary norms governing their resolution. The direction of flow has created four sectors of resourceful alluvial plains that define agriculture and pasture, and determine agro-pastoral forms of livelihood. Using topography and drainage as natural-objective criteria will isolate and eliminate other man-made biases and socio-cultural predispositions in the tenuous situation in the SKS.

In terms of administrative organisation, the SKS has nine localities. Each locality has an area varying between 12,000-20,000 km². The population of the localities varies between 200,000–500,000 people. Each locality has between two to three administrative units (AUs), except Dellange Locality which has eight AUs. These are the smallest AUs in a locality. Village Cluster Committees are civic organisations at the level of a village cluster (composed of three

to seven neighbouring villages, usually with a parent village/magnate settlement and a few satellite villages).

Interpretation of the Terms of Reference: Persistent Questions and Lenient Answers

It is noticeable that, in the social and political dynamics for resolving the varied situations of conflict and war in Sudan, agreements signed for settlement of disputes are either short-lived or take a sluggish course of events which threaten the durability and sustainability of the agreement as such. The historic abrogation, in 1983, of the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 made the country degenerate in two decades of war. In the case of the Nuba Mountains of Southern Kordofan, agreements were signed in 1997, 2002 (the Nuba Mountains Cease Fire Agreement – NMCFA) and 2005 (The Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in Southern Kordofan – PRCSK). The significance of the latter two agreements (2002 and 2005) is that they were signed between the Government of Sudan and the SPLM/SPLA. The salient feature is that in both the cases the responses through statements, official and popular alike, were positive in support of the peace deals. However, the actions on the ground did not correspond, as localised micro-conflicts between tribal sections and ethnic groups are widespread, covering more than thirty locations in SKS. Only in the case of the NMCFA, where fifteen non-Sudanese officers under the famous Joint Military Commission (JMC) led the process for two years, were there no reported violations of the agreement.

The signing of NMCFA opened hope for residents of the area that they would be assisted toward a positive response to engage the new agricultural season (2002/2003) in order to secure household food requirements and cash needs for the following year. These hopes were dashed. Failure of agricultural recovery measures to commence during the dry season of 2002 meant that food insecurity, the threat of food shortfall, dependence on relief handouts, and loss of autonomy of the war-affected communities had been predestined to be perpetuated. Of course, the NMCFA meant much more than that for the people of Southern Kordofan who built high hopes for the then ‘future of Southern Kordofan’. One major lesson that was extracted from the relatively short cease-fire experience at the time was that *there had been no reported violation of the cease-fire on the part of civilians*, i.e. non-combatants of the GOS or the SPLM/A. Tribal groups of any ethnic identification were not reported to have committed any atrocity against each other. That is to say, there were no reports of a Nuba affiliate killing a person claiming Arab origin or vice-versa, particularly in remote areas of bush or fallow, such as Lagawa Locality, that had been the scene for combat activity between 1987 and 2002. On the contrary, reports showed that cross-line visits and travel were smooth between GOS-controlled and SPLA-controlled domains. That experience justified the proposition that the dichotomy of GOS-controlled versus SPLM/A-Nuba-controlled was false and that the time was ripe for that conception to be revisited.

Since 2005, social and political responses to the PRCSK have been at variance with those experienced immediately after the signing the NMCFA in January 2002. Scepticism has been and still is the catch and prevailing attitude of Nuba supporters of SPLM/A. It has been ‘mixed’ at times when ‘at the spur of the moment’ when they reflect the stances of SPLM/A-South Sudan. The repeated spouts of tribal contentions in different parts of Southern Kordofan, indicate that the Nuba and non-Nuba need much more time and effort to properly comprehend the complex dimensions of the CPA in order for them not only on appreciate the positive sides of the agreement, but also to generate support for the strategic aims, postulates and pragmatic and practicable solutions it has given rise to.

The conclusion is therefore that the root causes of the conflict have been essentially focused on economic inequity and injustice rather than on tribal or ethnic articulation of appearances. In tandem with this perspective, however, a few questions are still pertinent:

- Is tribalism or ethnicity really the essence of the conflict and its genesis, as commonly held and argued, particularly by the GOS at the beginning of hostilities? The answer is, presumably, in the negative. If it was essentially tribal or ethnic *per se*, an official cease-fire would not have immediately stopped the violent confrontations, just like closing a water tap. At least one tribal affiliate might have entered into a dispute or a killing episode towards at least one subject of the opposing side. Of course, it is well documented in the literature on ethnic conflict that strictly tribal conflicts are commonly perpetuated through the drive for revenge and vengeance. This has not happened since the NMCFA cease-fire went into effect. The fact is that all non-combatants on both sides were in favour of cessation of organised hostilities.
- Isn't it possible that both tribalism and ethnicity are only surface appearances of deeper causality that fuels disputes and transforms them into conflict, through the working of other sub-cultural ideologies of more complex magnitudes and implications?
- Isn't it a strong assumption that higher and/or lower levels, *other than tribes*, of the socioeconomic formation of Sudanese economy-and-society, have been the main instigator(s) and/or promoter(s) of both conflict and war since independence, as well as the main provider(s) of instruments of war and violence, both material and ideological?

Tasks, Issues and Research Focus

The specific geographic focus of this report is the northern part of the Lagawa Locality in South-western Kordofan which is the home of multi-ethnic tribal groups of mainly Misiriya, Nuba, Daju and other smaller groups such as Bargo, Borno and Fellata who live and share resources of the two major seasonal water courses of Wadi-Shallengo and Wadi-al-Ghalla that descend from the Western Nuba Mountains.

Political and constitutional arrangements emanating from the signing of the CPA in 2005 are cardinal landmarks on the basis of which subsequent developments in governance and socioeconomic interaction could be defined and interpreted. The CPA is an historic achievement in its own right. It ushered-in social and political dynamics of its own, not only for modern state building but it also sowed the seeds for nation building, if well adhered to and implemented with the requisite political will and determination. Otherwise, failure to abide by the letter and spirit of the CPA would define pathways to realise the 'failed state' in the Sudan.

This being said, though in an emotional tone, the overall aim of this 50-page exercise is to suggest entry points that help to understand why the signing of the CPA has not generated the anticipated levels of peace and tranquillity envisioned at the moment of signature. Why, rather to the contrary, has there been increasingly conflictual developments that has led to serious outbreaks of violence, particularly in Southern Kordofan, and even more so in the Lagawa Locality? Therefore, while seeking answers, the terms of reference have predetermined the policy-oriented focus of the report and the substantive focus covering identification of major risks, major stakeholders and possible scenarios towards the end of the interim period.

Three themes have been identified to be addressed, namely: the threats to and risk-management of human security in the Nuba Mountains under the CPA; issues of Baggara-Nuba relations; and the implications of the various possible ways of resolving Nuba/non-Nuba disputes. Seven issues embodied in the three main themes define the parameters of the study report in the following:

- The shifts in political power relations within the SKS and the extent to which the SPLM/A is perceived by the Nuba as continuing to, and/or refraining from, protecting

Nuba rights subsequent to the return of the old provincial boundaries, and the implications of such shifts for the demographic balance, particularly in areas such as Lagawa Locality;

- The land question in the western Nuba Mountains, the extent to which it persists as a major issue of contention and how it affects Baggara-Nuba relations;
- Issues related to micro-peace building, land resource-based conflict management;
- Assess and learn about the situation of rights of access to, and use of, land and natural resources, the manner in which rights of access are sustained, and how they are protected. Such natural resources include water-access points for humans and animals, ponds, rivers and dams for fishing, forests and game reserves, large and medium-scale mechanised farming lands (demarcated and undemarcated), as well as smallholder farms in village domains in the manner in which they relate to free-range grazing pastures and pastoral routes followed in the wet and dry seasons.

Methods, Techniques and Information Management to Assess Micro-Peace Building

14-21 August 2007, the consultant travelled 2500 km round trip by road (Khartoum - El-Obeid - Abu-Zabad, Dabker, and Sunoot). The general context in which the study is conducted is one where the existing state of the economy and society in the SKS is bedevilled by numerous crises at various levels. There is a crisis of insecurity generated by the war and a crisis of agro-pastoral production that is inextricably linked to a mounting fiscal crisis of the state. For the purposes of this study, the challenges are reflected in a crisis in the provision of all basic social services, hence a ripening of competition and conflict over resources and limited opportunities for access to services. The final report is intended to depict salient features and challenges facing sedentary and nomadic groups and displaced households, irrespective of ethnic affiliation, with respect to prevailing forms of socioeconomic existence and basic social services.

The primary task of the mission, as stipulated in the agreed Terms of Reference (TOR), is to conduct an objective study of the current relations in targeted locations, particularly among war-affected rural poor communities of Misiriya and Nuba. The target groups are households who suffer from shortage of safe water for domestic consumption, and households facing difficulties in view of adverse war-effects on livelihood systems, particularly female headed households and persons with war-related disabilities.

The assessment will be made in view of a global agenda, indicators and overall SKS government policy directions regarding the overall goal of working in a participatory manner with the rural poor. The descriptive review of factors emphasises on the current status of food insecurity and its relationship to the situation of stringent basic social services, namely, water, health and education services extended to target categories and the manner in which related disputes are perpetuated and transformed into conflicts.

The final document of this situation analysis will certainly provide qualitative as well as quantitative evidence, with statistical analyses supporting the emphasis on the position of rural poor households. The final document, therefore, addresses both the short-term and medium-term programmatic entry points for a concerted contribution to the preparation of interactive policy and programming interventions for improving demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and indicators, as well as for empowering women and improving the status of the girl-child and young boys. To this end, the final document is also expected to contribute to the subsequent development of a state-level programme within which instruments for implementation, monitoring, advocacy and programme review can be put in place.

Methods and Techniques

To cope with the set objectives the consultant, before departure to the study area, reviewed the available literature pertinent to the area. A general check list was prepared to help in data collection for each task, as per the TOR. Furthermore, Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA) involving semi-structured group meetings, focus group discussions, key informant interviews and field observations were conducted. Some selected sites in Sunoot administrative unit were impossible to visit due to heavy rains and running seasonal streams.

Interactions took place with traditional and tribal leaders as well as with local associations, of semi-nomads and farmers. Interaction through informal meetings took place with the local police, SAF, SPLA, PDF and National Security Agency, as well as with NGOs involved in conflict management such as GAA, Mubadron Organisation for prevention of Disaster and War impacts. Interaction also took place with the lead agencies on water and food projects – the State Water Corporation and WES. Interaction with FAO and IFAD project personnel was established to solicit information regarding issues related to transhumant movements and cattle routes.

Criteria for Site Selection of Villages Visited

The human settlements of Wadi-al-Ghalla valley, which extends for 100 kilometres covering mainly the Sunoot and Kaddam administrative units, have been categorised into groups according to the following criteria:

- Settled households are mainly sedentary peasant cultivators who, in many cases, keep some livestock.
- Displaced people are people who left their home villages because of security problems and settled in other villages as dislocated/guest-immigrants.
- Semi-nomadic pastoralists are mainly livestock herders who move seasonally in transhumant patterns. They migrate southwards in search of water and range during the dry season and northwards during the rainy season to avoid biting flies and sticky mud. Some of them also practice small-scale crop production for subsistence.

Four Village Clusters Visited in the Sunoot Administrative Unit

The Following Four Village Clusters were visited in the Sunoot Administrative Unit:

Sunoot village: This is a cluster of five villages, namely Sunoot Dabakaya, Sunoot-Hilat El Nazir, Sunoot-Mahmoud Hamdi and Sunoot-Kajaja. The ethnic groups are Misiriya, Nuba (Abu-Junuk) and semi-nomads camping around the Sunoot dam. The dam has a water storage capacity of about 12 million cubic meters. It has a big potential for fish farming and fruit and vegetable production development.

Hambool Farig for semi-nomads: This place is composed of 15 nomadic camps that have been dislocated from their original camping area in the Ras-el-Feel and Tullushi-hill areas. The majority of the inhabitants are Misiriya and Nuba of Abu Junuk. Livestock, especially cattle, are of low quality breed, poor productivity (in both milk and meat,) and subjected to many unchecked diseases and internal parasites. Efforts to improve breeds and provision of health care will greatly help in improving productivity and income generation.

Um Jamaina village cluster: This is a cluster of eight villages, namely Um-Jamaina, Toar Arkab, Kadhamat, Gefno, Hallab Bashir, Um-Kajama-east, Central-Um-Kajama and Um-Kajama-West. The cluster is surrounded by Kasha, Shifir Hill-Nuba, semi-nomadic Misiriya camps, Bargo and Fallata villages. It is occasionally visited by tribes from Ma'alya, Hamar and Kawahla between January and June. The resident population is about 5000 people.

Dabker: Three wadis run near Dabkar village (Wadi-Dabkar-Sharg, Wadi-el-Gharbiya and Wadi-Joke) forming fertile micro-deltas where extensive crop production of sorghum, beans, tomatoes and other leafy vegetables is practiced. The total population is about 8000 people, the majority of which are Misiriya, Nuba, Fallata and Bargo. Hamar and Nuba from Dellenge usually migrate to this area with their livestock during the rainy season. The main occupation is crop production.

Summary of the Main Sections of the Report

The report falls into five sections. The first covers conceptual issues and recovery planning perspectives. Situating the current status of social and political relations of animosity and/or collaborative co-existence among the Misiriya, Nuba and Daju of Lagawa Locality in the north-western fringe of the Nuba Mountains can only be properly comprehended within the overall determinations of socio-economic and political factors that led the Nuba people to indulge in prolonged war against the central government between 1985 and 2002. The post-conflict ramifications are reminiscent of that recent past. Therefore, a unifying conceptual framework for conflict analysis within the context of a state-in-crisis is attempted. The first aim is to lay out some key aspects of the relationship between recent institution-building developments envisioned in the CPA and the conventional regime for access to, and management of, surface natural resources. The second aim is to look at threats to community security in the micro-level environment of social articulation where state functions remain weak, and therefore allow for a large margin for rural elite-driven policies and practices on natural resource management, conflict resolution and/or micro peace-building.

1. Conceptual Issues: A Unifying Conceptual Framework for Conflict Analysis of 'a State in Crisis'

1.1 Introduction to the Political and Fiscal Crisis of the State in Sudan

The Sudan has been a country in perpetual crisis since attaining political independence in 1956. It witnessed one of the longest civil wars in Africa. It has never seen overall peace and tranquillity (1956-2005) except for the eleven years of the Addis Ababa Agreement (March 1972-1983). For that reason, the Sudan has been described as the 'sick-man of Africa', one prominent example of "the failed state"-thesis on the continent. Colonial underdevelopment left behind a mono-cultural economy based on cotton. The production base was not capable of autonomous self-generating development. The weak physical infrastructure could not promote positive inter-community interaction. The geographic isolation of remote village communities, particularly of Southern Kordofan and the Nuba Mountains Region (NMR) until the mid-1980s made the mountains and plateaux suitable hideouts for insurgent activity for nearly twenty years. Most importantly, the colonial experience left behind a volatile conflict situation that scared, and later progressively degraded, political and constitutional legitimacy of state organs in SKS.

The dispute that was kicked-off by a mutiny of a small army contingent in Torit town in August 1955 took prominence as the years passed. It was transformed into an open guerrilla 'hit-and-run' warfare conflict when the first bullets were fired in 1962 by Anya-Nya-I under the leadership of Joseph Lagu. The failure of the post-colonial national governing elite to realise the historical and economic genesis of the conflict as well as the failure to contain its socio-cultural, religious and ethnic ramifications resulted in renewed warfare. In fact, such failures have also been noticed in the manner in which the central state authority behaved towards latter conflicts in Eastern Sudan and in Darfur.

However, due to abrogation of the first peace settlement (Addis Ababa Agreement 1972) by the Head of State General Nimeiri, the conflict flared up again in 1983. It was spearheaded by SPLM/SPLA under the late Lt. Col. John Garang. In the 1990s, it engulfed all tributaries of the River Nile Basin. It transcended the simplistic description 'north-south'. It rightly deserved the label the 'Upper Nile War of the Twentieth Century'. All attempts to resolve it failed except the CPA, mediated by the IGAD in 2005. Its implementation is currently the main challenge facing the country. The signing of the CPA on 9 January 2005 was seen as win-win situation for both the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and the SPLA. These two forces correspond to the two primary antagonists, the GOS and the SPLM, respectively. The CPA created one country with two systems. For all intents and purposes, the Sudan War of the 20th century has become the *deus-ex-machina* in terms of which all the country's ills and challenges were explained.

The attempt, here, is to describe and analyse the situation in Southern Kordofan, and particularly the case of complex contradictory interests and social relations of conflict between the Misiriya-Zurg, Nuba and Daju in Lagawa Locality, premised on the overall vision on the crisis in Sudan, to be elaborated shortly.

In the light of the foregoing proposition, the agrarian crisis in the Sudan can be broken down into three main components; the external crisis, the urban supply crisis, and the crisis of agrarian production.

The urban supply crisis refers to the inability of rural areas to produce and provide food to urban centres. This is reflected in the manner in which violent change of political regimes took place through popular revolts in 1964 and 1985, which took place mainly in larger cities such as Khartoum, the capital city. Military taker-over of the echelons of power (1957, 1969 and 1989) also occurred in the capital city, spearheaded by the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF). They were commonly explained in terms of the political failures and the fiscal crisis of the state.

The crisis of agrarian production has been reflected in economic poverty and food shortfalls since 1980s, causing chronic deficiency in calorie intake and malnutrition most apparent among children, pregnant women, elderly persons, those with war-related disabilities and IDPs.

The external crisis has been caused, mainly, by unequal exchange, declining foreign official development assistance and rising public debt, as well as foreign trade embargoes leading to chronic trade deficits. The external crisis presents itself at the macro-economic level in external imbalances and the growing foreign debt burden. It has manifested itself internally in slow-growing and fluctuating exports for most of the post-colonial history of Sudan, but this was reversed since 1998 when the country became an oil exporter. In spite of oil exports, the population of the Sudan still suffers from low wages and poor quality of life in general, as well as high unemployment, low per capita income (although some improvement cannot be overlooked in the mainly urban ITC sub-sector), and high increment of imported food supply and merchandise. However, macro-economic symptoms of the crisis are inextricably linked to the agrarian crisis at the sub-national level through complex interrelationships that have serious direct implications reflected in the deterioration of quality of life. They assume complex forms of appearance at the local level of production, exchange and distribution processes.

1.2 A Unifying Conceptual Framework for Conflict Analysis

Conflict is usually one aspect of a crisis-related moment, one that leads to it, or can be analysed and understood in terms of it. Thus, understanding the crisis of agricultural and agro-pastoral production in Southern Kordofan requires a unifying framework in order to comprehend, understand, and provide a broad set of guidelines to address conflict-related problems that can be identified with particular social-historical-logical and geographic contexts for policy formulation and action.

In terms of development economics and planning practice, there are several levels of definition, classification, analysis and use of the term crisis. A crisis can be natural or man-made, simple or complex. A sudden crisis is a disaster or emergency. The factors determining a crisis can be internal, external or both. In general, however, crises are complex phenomena that have been conceptualised differently by classical political economists, historical materialists and neoclassical theorists.

In empirical real life situations a crisis is realised by its manifestations. A man-made or natural crisis situation is at hand when physical infrastructure is destroyed; a political crisis when social systems are ruptured; an economic crisis when economic activity is seriously disrupted, including for example in Southern Kordofan, where there has been widespread armed conflict and breakdown of law and order. Population displacement grows quickly and suffering increases, particularly among the aged, disabled, children and women. Such a crisis situation is often described as a 'complex emergency'. It may be considered to reflect a complex development situation.

A post-crisis environment usually begins with a resolution phase, that is, a growing atmosphere of possible rapprochement among antagonists, main actors or warring parties. For

example, in the case of a political crisis, there is usually an agreement on the temporary exercise of power by a transitional authority that provides for resumption of government functions, the holding of general elections, and the formulation of a representative government. Displaced populations return, as their confidence is renewed and stability grows.

Development economists classify crises into two broad categories. The first category encompasses crises of accumulation. These are objective crises that materialise in the form of inflation and/or recession cycles at the macro-economic level. In this instance, obstacles to accumulation have been associated with decreasing profitability of investment on the one hand, or with under-consumption on the other. In the first case, crises of disinvestment/negative accumulation result from declining returns for Ricardo, gloomy expectations for Keynes, and rising organic composition of capital for Marx. In the case of the under-consumptionist perspective, the root causes for a crisis is relegated to rising wages, the contradictory role of the state, and disproportional investment/unequal development between sectors or regions. It thus penetrates into the micro-economic level. Hence, this is a crisis of underdevelopment.

The second category of crisis has been defined as crises of legitimation. These are subjective crises that enhance social class conflict in its different formal manifestations. They eventually question the reproduction of the socio-cultural relations of production. Crises of legitimation have been associated with economic stagnation, on the one hand, and with accelerated development of the forces of production, on the other.

In essence, therefore, all crises of our time can be comprehended in relation to the prevailing and overarching world capitalist order in which a few powerful and rich industrial countries predominate. They subordinate other states in many ways, particularly those of the third world, to their hegemony. The central dynamic of this system rests in scientific innovation and control of scientific knowledge and information management. Most importantly, it focuses on the retention of exclusive capacity to create and fully control technology as a product of this scientific knowledge. Such control is directed to serve global interests of advanced powerful capitalist countries and their allies in promoting capital expansion and profit and power interests. Capital accumulation from profit has a built-in tendency for uneven development in different regions. Uneven development includes different regions and sub-national units within individual countries, depressed and marginalised areas, and the people who inhabit them.

In this perspective, attempts at resolving crises originate, presumably, at two levels; firstly, at the level of adjustments by individual capitalist enterprises against the unplanned (anarchic) nature of capitalist development, through the agency of market mechanisms of supply and demand; and secondly, at the level of the state through reformist policies.

In so far as this theoretical framework can be relevant to nation states or regions within them, the issue of the fiscal crisis of the state in third world countries takes prominence. It is most prominent in the agrarian sectors of the economy, particularly in the sharply uneven development of the constituent parts of state formation. That is, between farms and crops, and in terms of massive rural poverty, unemployment and rural–urban migration, as well as socio-economic and political contentions.

There developed at the national level in the 1990s an unrelenting, ante-Keynesian, tendency to disengage and exclude the state from intervening between economic sectors. The argument presented against state intervention in economic processes starts from a simple common wisdom that such interference creates factor-price distortions and disincentives for private enterprise. The state here is also accused of economic mismanagement. From this position follows a general prescription that emphasises total withdrawal of state controls so that free market forces may assume the role of adjustment mechanisms.

The basic underlying premise of structural adjustment programmes advocated by international finance institutions, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD or World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), is that apart from external shocks, inappropriate public policies and mismanagement are the root-causes of bad economic performance. Reforms, therefore, should generally aim at liberalizing the economy and creating the correct signals for economic agents. Practical measures entailed by this orthodoxy favour a policy package for market stabilisation, liberalisation and structural adjustment programmes. After ten years of unrelenting war and mutual destruction, the pursuit of liberalisation has not met with success.

1.3 Peace Building in a Rights-Based Perspective

In order to draw the perimeters for peace building, the question must arise: What are the principles and objectives of peace building? In 1999, the report of the UN Secretary General on 'Conflict in Africa' drew a picture for peace building as follows:

“Peace building may involve the creation or strengthening of national institutions, monitoring elections, promoting human rights, providing for reintegration and rehabilitation programmes, and creating conditions for resumed development. Peace building does not replace ongoing humanitarian and development activities in countries emerging from crisis. It aims rather to build on, add to, or reorient such activities in ways designed to reduce the risk of resumption of conflict and contribute to the conditions most conducive to reconciliation, reconstruction and recovery’.

Rights-based programming is advised by the recognition that the protection of human rights in post-conflict situations need not be isolated from the objective circumstances and conditions in which the conflict has been brought to an end. Hence, rights-based situation assessment and analysis must be conducted in order to identify the challenges, decide the manner by which to address them and then design an advocacy strategy and plan of action in the light of specific long-term objectives and medium term interventions.

For a rights-based programme to be launched, it must be realised that a culture of violence cannot be eradicated in a society that is indifferent to, or can tolerate, its presence. Thus it is necessary to discern, from the situation assessment, the long-term solutions to the root causes of the conflict and to develop non-conventional insights for transforming economic and social realities of the past that had generated it, in the first place. The frontal attack, by planners, must make the zero assumption that economic underdevelopment, deprivation of basic social services, particularly education as the tool for knowledge and the persistence of regressive ideology, could be the centre-piece for the genesis of intolerance and the drift to negate 'otherness'.

Of course, historical and socio-cultural specificities could make a difference in the conclusions of the situation assessment. The difference, however, could be one of form rather than of essence. That is to say, the encounter with real situations may entail the development of a two-track strategy whereby short-term/transition action plans would ultimately converge through the medium-term with long-term development assistance. In this perspective, protection of human rights that ensures peace building intervention as a binding thread in all project components would promote both strategic and intermediate objectives, particularly in safe water for peace, health for peace, education for peace, agriculture and food security for peace.

1.4 The Transition from War to Peace

Armed conflict in the Nuba Mountains Region (NMR) of the SKS began in 1985 and ended in a ceasefire agreement mediated, in 2002, by the United States and Switzerland. The social-historical dimensions of the issues that culminated in the Nuba resorting to arms are more than a century old. Indulging in the complexities of such social history is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the causes of the dispute that transformed into armed conflict were multi-dimensional and complex. Disputes often got transformed into conflicts of dichotomous appearance, articulated through tribal/ethnic, racial and/or religious ideologies and related dimensions.

However, the dynamics of surface appearance of the conflict in SKS reflect the following:

- The growing pressure for access to land use rights over agricultural land and grazing pasture throughout the area, triggered in the late 1960s due to the introduction of mechanised farming, is generally assumed as the principal underlying cause. This was exacerbated by an ongoing process of traditional ethnic rivalries and competition over land, which had both been effectively kept dormant throughout most of the post-colonial period. Rivalries continued to grow. They were critically re-ignited by opposing political forces in the early 1980s, thus leading to the direct involvement of the Nuba as a strategic ally of SPLA/M.
- Inherent to traditional conflicts between pastoral communities and cultivators were accusations by cultivators against nomads, articulated at the local level, of infringing upon farmlands of sedentary communities. Pastoral communities, on the other hand, lay the blame on sedentary peasants for expanding into the ancestral and/or communal pastureland of livestock raisers.
- A consequence of this is that various ethnic groups, particularly Nuba supporters of SPLA, opposed the non-Nuba, namely those claiming Arab decent/pedigree. Hence, groups who had been living in relative harmony and mutual interdependence prior to the 1980s entered into protracted, sometimes violent conflict against each other from 1987.
- This has resulted in the displacement, dislocation and involuntary resettlement of as much as twenty percent of the region's population, of various ethnic origins. In some cases, this displacement has only been temporary, but in other, it is still ongoing. In all cases, the victims have experienced serious disruptions to their social and economic wellbeing. They are in need of assistance to rehabilitate and/or resettle.

The War-to-Peace Transition (WPT) is a complex process that encompasses intricate political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions. There is the need to stabilise the economy and demilitarise the area, in which case demobilising and demining will be paramount. The WPT entails re-establishing good governance, reintegrating dislocated populations, and protecting the most vulnerable war victims, including assurance of the well-being of any person detained as a result of the conflict, those with war-related disabilities, children, widows and internally displaced persons (IDPs).

Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration and Reconciliation (DDRR) require:

- Socioeconomic profiling of soldiers and returnees to identify their persons and capabilities and classify them according to needs, skills and expectations
- Create a basic transitional social safety net package, and find out the simplest way to deliver assistance
- Building awareness and sensitise residents and ex-combatants for harmony, confidence building, mutual support and preventive peace building
- Articulating DDRR with ongoing development programmes by proper targeting, even if some of them are absorbed in the national army

- In addition, a war-to-peace transition requires several integrated components and action plans. The immediate objective is to assess funding needs, draw up resource mobilisation strategies, and to construct an implementation framework for a Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme (DRP) in order to put in place the restoration of overall security, stability and confidence building. The long-term goal is to reconstruct the economic base, re-settle ex-combatants and returnees as well as to facilitate their peaceful, productive, social and economic reintegration into society.

2. Strategies and Planning Perspectives for Recovery

2.1 The Land Issues and the People

Southern Kordofan State (SKS), created in 1974, sub-divided in 1994 and reunited in 2004, currently covers a total land area of 144.000 km². It extends approximately between longitudes 27 degrees to 32 degrees east; and between latitudes 9:20 degrees and 12:30 degrees north. Administratively, SKS is currently subdivided into nine localities with 35 administrative units. It has seven urban town councils. The total population was estimated at 1.1 million in 2002. The settlements are dispersed, thinly populated and the population is unevenly distributed. The total population that was 992.000 in the 1993 census, increased to 1.1 million in 1998, 1.25 million in 2002 and rose sharply to 1.8 million in 2005-2007 due to the inclusion of the West Kordofan District (some 500.000 people) into Southern Kordofan State as stipulated in the CPA. Population distribution can be seen in terms of three sectors; Eastern (400.000 persons), Central (900.000) and Western (500.000). Overall geographic population density is 12 persons per km². However, the central sector covering the Northern Jebeles (Dellenge) and Southern Jebeles (Kadugli) has half the population, with population density estimated at 30 persons per km². That is, five family households per km². The eastern and western sectors have an estimated population density of 8 persons per km²; i.e. only 1.3 family households per km².

The fact of low population density and uneven distribution of population coupled with the overall thinly distributed population and small human settlements (villages) sprinkled over a large expanse of land area constitute a constellation of factors inimical to effective outreach of government with basic services and government protection when need arises. It also substantially curtails smooth implementation of local development programmes, especially when one realises that the government of the Sudan does not have a clear cut human settlement development strategy. The population is very unevenly distributed not only due to the absence of a strategy for human settlement development, but also mainly because of prolonged and exceptional war-induced conditions of personal insecurity, massive displacement and dislocation of population groups from remote and isolated villages, as well as due to the fragile and degraded marginal dry-lands of the Sudano-Sahelian climatic conditions in the northern parts in Dellenge, Lagawa, Babanusa Localities. As a result, 35-40 percent of the population is concentrated in the main towns and large villages scattered along the 300 km major asphalt road connecting Debaibat through Dellenge to Kadugli as well as along the railway track that crosses the north-western parts of SKS, from Debaibat to Babanusa.

2.2 The Land Question and the Future of Southern Kordofan

Land had been a communal endowment in SKS until the mid-1960s when the central government introduced mechanised rain fed agriculture. Problems started as demand for land increased. Unjust land allocation policies by the government, rather than shortage of land, have been the driving force behind many disputes and conflict. Pastoral stock routes changed. Nuba villages were removed, including through flagrant use of force. Therefore, conflicts are perpetuated and sustained by intensified competition caused by a complex combination of repressive land tenure legislation and policies, land commoditisation, distorted local governance and weak institutional arrangements for conflict resolution, as well as unsustainable rural development planning under conditions of accelerated population growth, increased access to small arms, and increased tendency towards climatic aridity. From this perspective the land question is directly related to the growing concern with pressing issues of resource-access, environmental and natural resource management, conflict resolution, and

rights of socially, economically and politically marginalised groups of small-scale stakeholders and direct producers.

Therefore, in order to consolidate peace, SKS needs to take important steps, including through (a) rectifying the fragmented land laws; (b) recognising land-related norms and customary practices into legal statutes; (c) developing a sound, participatory (people-centered) and negotiated policy on rights of access to land and natural resources utilisation; and (d) responsive community-based arrangements must be put in place so as to ensure not only safe and informed optional return of IDPs but also make access to land, and the re-insertion and re-integration in host communities a smooth process.

2.3 Challenges and Risks

Southern Kordofan State suffers from the following major challenges and difficulties:

Climate change and land degradation, especially in northern parts contained in the Dellenge Locality, as well as prolonged war and massive displacement and personal insecurity precipitated by the cancerous expansion of the north-south conflict, particularly in eastern, southern and western adminun of Kadugli Locality. These interconnected factors, climate change and human insecurity, destroyed basic road and communication infrastructure, and the social infrastructure of basic social services facilities including school buildings, health facilities and water-access-points. The result has been reflected in massive displacement and internal population movement and change, and negatively affected population distribution and human settlement development. The two major challenges of war and land degradation coupled with displacement disrupted small-scale farming and resulted in low productivity and chronic shortfall in food as well as low food production capacity of peasant households, that in turn precipitated the critical situation of perpetual food insecurity.

Poor infrastructure presents insurmountable difficulties in the delivery of tradable goods as well as economic and basic social services. The only year-round transportation infrastructure is the 45-year-old, 285 km long asphalt road from Debaibat to Kadugli that effectively divides the state into two parts, eastern and western. It has withered away and has fallen into disuse due to lack of maintenance.

Lack of developed power, from any source of energy, makes the search for traditional fuels a daily grind. The majority of people in the SKS (98 per cent) have no electricity, oil or gas for cooking food. Women and children often spend many hours each day gathering firewood for cooking. They could have alternatively utilised such wasted time on education or other more productive agricultural work. It is essential to note that the dependence of the majority of the population on bio-fuels is a clear manifestation of poverty and underdevelopment. The way out of this daily toil for energy lies in implementing equitable and participatory energy-sector policies, and encouraging local community participation in the design and delivery of energy services.

2.4 Prolonged Conflict and War

Most importantly, the war created displacement and mistrust during two decades of war, and has left behind defining characteristics of the current situation, presumably in two key issues of relevance to micro-peace building.

Key Issue I:

- The presence of large numbers of ex-combatants, including Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups (CAAFG), Women Associated with Armed Forces and Groups (WAAFG) , disabled and elderly ex-combatants, together with the near

absence of a comprehensive reintegration programme since the end of organised hostilities in 2005.

- Proliferation of small arms and high density of civilians carrying and using small arms, together with the near absence of effective institutions for the control of small arms.

The outcome has been an observed continuation of second tier conflicts among civilians and communities. This is detrimental to peace, stability and poverty reduction, the absence of which had been structural cause of the war.

Major gaps include:

- Inadequate economic infrastructure and basic services in the places of origin of combatants discourages them from being demobilised.
- Final agreement between the national authorities and international partners on the number of combatants to process for the DDR programme is yet to be concluded.
- Ongoing second tier conflicts and proliferation of small arms in the communities on account of competition for the resources induces a sense of insecurity amongst the target groups.
- Limited institutional capacity at local level for provision of basic social and economic services such as water, health, education and shelter.
- Fragile community security which encompasses issues like inadequate law enforcement mechanism, inadequate reconciliation measures, erosion of traditional methods of conflict resolution, weak control over small arms, mistrust, hostility on account of competition for resources.

Key Issue II:

- Reintegration of ex-combatants and groups associated with armed forces to facilitate for sustainable livelihoods recovery and to achieve not only sustainable peace building, but also contribute to recovery and development.

Major Gaps include:

- Inadequate economic opportunities and insufficient institutional capacity, inadequate commitment of resources for reintegration from both the GNU and the international community.
- Inadequate capacity of local implementing partners and unavailability of vocational training centres would impede effective implementation of reintegration.
- Geographical spread of the country and dispersed settlements of ex-combatants will lead to logistical and operational problems for reintegration.
- Required financial resources for reintegration are not made available to DDR commissions.
- With regard to children, the issue of exact information on number of CAAFG is a challenge.
- Universal primary education, livelihood and vocational and skills-training will remain as important challenges because most CAAFG have crossed tier age and would require accelerated education programmes.

Underlying and root causes: Sudan's economy is predominantly agro-pastoral and as such there are limited options in the existing livelihood security framework. The public sector is already constrained to accommodate more people. The growing private sector nevertheless offers potential and hope. The social and economic infrastructure available at the community level is inadequate to offer opportunities for sustainable reintegration of ex-combatants. Second tier conflicts are a testimony to the pressure existing on the available resources at community level. Returning ex-combatants and IDPs will add to the burden of existing problems. This may lead to hostilities within the communities. Urbanisation has been a general trend in Sudan accompanied by increase in rural-urban migration. This pattern is an

indication of the limited employment opportunities in the rural areas. Ex-combatants may choose to follow this trend if the reintegration is not effective. In addition there is inadequate capacity of communities and caregivers to provide basic services to the children besides inadequate capacity to ensure the rights of the child.

2.5 Challenges & Opportunities in Addressing the Issues

Challenges:

- While adherence to the CPA provisions will remain a strong assumption, inadequate trust on account of uncertain outcomes may pose a challenge. The sensitivity of operations in the three transitional areas also adds to aggravating the risks.
- Coordination will not be easy to synchronise reintegration programmes for ex-combatants with other similar programmes dealing with other vulnerable groups such as return IDPs, return-refugees and land mine victims.
- Mutually agreed national programmes on reintegration need to be worked out, by the government and the international community, especially with regard to final figures on combatants and the criteria for eligibility for the reintegration programme.
- Resource commitments from the international community and the government, if not forthcoming, will hamper the reintegration plans.
- Given the geographic expanse of the country, the inadequate economic infrastructure and limited capacity of local NGOs/CBOs will be a constraint for reintegration programme implementation. Hence, constituting a national alliance to support the reintegration programme from all stakeholders will be a challenge.
- The success of the post-conflict re-integration phase depends upon the implementation of parallel programmes like community security, maintenance of law and order, civilian arms control, livelihoods and development, conflict management and sustainable peace building as well as the implementation of inclusive community-based family reunification programmes for child soldiers. This is largely because the heavy presence of small arms on the hands of civilians will have an impact on sustainable reintegration of the ex-combatants.
- Managing the expectations of the target groups is fraught with difficulties as it has political connotations too.

Opportunities:

- Renewed commitment of the GNU to effective reintegration programmes.
- Renewal of cooperation between the Northern and Southern DDR commissions.
- Commitment of donors at the Oslo summit on support to DDR in Sudan.
- Ongoing peace building and peace consolidation activities.
- Progress made towards building trust and workable government relations in the three areas, especially initiatives to reduce second tier conflicts at locality level.
- The settlement of the problem in the east.
- Capacity enhancement of local NGOs on account of ongoing activities.
- Improvement in overall growth rate of the economy over the past two years.

2.6 Strategies for Post-Conflict Recovery in the SKS

Rebuilding Institutions and Improving Governance: Poor governance is a major multi-dimensional factor in the development of man-made crises, particularly because crisis situations can bring a flood of emergency relief and new demands that simply overwhelm governments. If the capacity for governance is further weakened during crises, as has been the case in Southern Kordofan, it could become a major factor in slowing down post-conflict recovery. Unresponsive government and unyielding social and economic pressure can be a lethal combination. Even in the best of times, government administrations might have

difficulty providing the guiding hand that such complex operations demand. There arises the need for efficient and effective public sector management, including support for institutional structures of the judiciary system, and building of state-level and local capacity and community self-reliance, as is the case in Lagawa Locality. Longer-term strengthening of public sector management includes the planning of peace building processes, financial planning and budgeting, and aid management as well as the provision of basic services such as water supply, health care and education. However, in the rush to provide direct emergency and recovery assistance, opportunities to strengthen the capacity of local-level administrations are sometimes overlooked. No matter how serious a post-crisis situation may be, local communities have capacities that should be built on rather than by-passed. Local governments and communities are often unable to absorb a high frequency and large volumes of aid in a manner consistent with their own decision-making and administrative practices. Partner organisations often need to work with local-level administrations and local communities in order to strengthen leadership, management capacity and programme delivery.

Greater transparency in access to, and management of, natural resources:

As stakeholders and partners to the natural resource markets, transnational companies, particularly oil exploration companies and those involved in exporting minerals, should increase the transparency of their operations in poorer and more depressed areas where groups of tribesmen are showing resistance to such activities on the basis that they are not adequately compensated for the resources taken away by the said companies. The national legal framework proposed by the CPA-sponsored mechanisms must ensure that corrupt practices by transnational companies are prosecuted in areas where they operate, particularly in Southern Kordofan. Such legal provisions should be developed as a priority under the state-level Land Commissions.

Integrated approach to collective security: This starts with measures that cut the flow of small arms. The CPA commissions should provide an opportunity for comprehensive, mandatory and rights-based implementation process, including small arms collection, regulation and surveillance, as well as market-control and curtailment of supplies to areas that have experienced violent conflict. The proposition here is for the creation of a peace-building commission for the Southern Kordofan State to provide a strategic framework, plan and programme for an integrated approach to collective peace and human security all over the SKS, according to the SKS Protocol, rather than taking each district *as if* they were separated from other parts of the state. As part of that approach, a state-wide fund should be created to comprehensively finance predictable immediate post-conflict assistance as well as the medium- and longer-term transition requirements for recovery and reconstruction, bring together the scattered efforts on reintegration of ex-combatants and related categories, return IDPs, return refugees coming from other countries, mine action, MRE and support to mine victims.

Financing programmes for conflict-affected areas in the post-war phase: Areas depressed by conflict may not be expected to return to harmony in a quick-fix. There are multiple threats to local-level human security that could substantially impair national security, such as the situation in the Abyei Area. Since the coming into effect of the CPA, the Southern Kordofan State and the Abyei Area have received virtually no assistance towards rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction. Along with an overall increase in funding for such programmes the GNU, the donor community and humanitarian INGOs should be more responsive in allocating resources to them.

2.7 Private Sector Involvement for Sustainable Peace-Building and Reintegration

The private sector faces important constraints that the government is trying to overcome. These constraints include a small financial system, a weak environment for private investment in manufacturing and resultant low utilisation of capacity, and inadequate and unreliable services in water, electricity, communications and other key infrastructure services. Financial services are limited for local entrepreneurs, including small and medium enterprises. Businesses also note an inadequate supply of human capital—for example the lack of technical skills for the building and construction trades.

A series of labour intensive policies and interventions to more generally promote agricultural, pastoralist and rural development need to be pursued, with the objective of raising incomes, reducing resource-based conflict and enhancing food security. These include development and support to implementation of pastoral and rural development strategies, labour intensive and employment-centered approaches to reintegration, re-evaluation of the laws regulating land use and policy on MSEs for rural agro-industrialisation and primary market and human settlement development.

Specific actions that enable expansion of rural incomes include:

- Reducing marketing margins and hence increasing income from domestic sales of grain, oil seeds, forestry products and livestock;
- Improving policies to expand the productivity of small-scale farmers;
- Changes in land policies that improve incentives for farmers' investments in long term sustainable production;
- Developing mechanisms for increasing access to seasonal credit for small-scale farmers, and to micro-finance for rural residents;
- Conducting baseline surveys to increase the amount of available development data.
- Bringing the private sector on-board so that it supports existing native administration mechanisms for dialogue and reconciliation and become more involved at state and local civil community level;
- Fully involving civil society and the private sector in state and local level activities aimed at constituency-building for inclusive community-to-community reconciliation process as part of post-conflict peace-building processes;
- Contributing to the creation of civil society social awareness so that it generates opportunities for dialogue in order to identify common community-to-community objectives as well as draw community plans and exit strategies for strengthening civil community participation in the peace and reconciliation process

2.8 Streamlining Civil Society in Sustainable Peace Building and Reconciliation

- To develop a dynamic advocacy and communication strategy in order to encourage a good understanding of the CPA modalities of implementation, by all post-conflict peace-building and development actors, particularly by ensuring the regular consultation between the authorities and civil community leaders, and by disseminating information on the follow-up mechanisms;
- Promote ownership of the CPA by the civil community;
- Involve all state institutions, especially parliamentary and state-level commissions, in all the phases of CPA assessment and evaluation activities;
- Strengthen the cooperation of civil community with governments and the private sector in order to identify problems as well as solutions respecting national and state-level CPA principles;

- Strengthen community-level and institutional capacities through advocacy for civil-community-sensitive implementation of the CPA, particularly in the area of community reconciliation and peace-building for consolidating peace and good governance

3. Mapping the Dimensions of Contradictory Interests in SKS

3.1 Overall Context and Issues

The view presented here is that the national state form for the Sudan has become problematic, calling for exceptional solutions during and after the interim period. The prolonged dialogue leading to the CPA has given birth to temporary solutions that are bounded in time and space. The protocols lead not only to an acceptance of self-determination for the south and the creation of two banking systems, but also to the recognition of three armies in the same country during the interim period. Those are the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and the SPLA, with autonomous Chiefs of Staff, and the Joint Integrated Units (JIUs) with a Joint Defence Board (JDB). There are also 11,000 UN peace-keeping troops in areas covered by the CPA, and more than 7,000 African Union soldiers in Darfur. According to the UN Security Council Resolution 1706 and 1769 a hybrid UN peace-keeping force of 23.000 elements is expected to enter Darfur in 2008.

There are nonetheless three central political issues that could verify whether the Sudan would degenerate into a 'failed state' or hold together and keep wading towards 'unity' of some kind. These are the general elections (2009), the referendum on self-determination for Southern Sudan and the parallel referendum on 'the future of the Abyei Area', in 2011. If either of the first two enterprises is to fail, the prospect of major hostilities looms large, especially in Southern Kordofan. Hence, there are several possible flashpoints for resumed conflict-and-war. Should there be a return to hostilities for any reason, it is certain that it would engulf not only Southern Kordofan but also the whole of Northern Kordofan, causing immense human suffering and immeasurable damage.

These competing scenarios effectively invite new thinking about other exceptional ideas and political solutions. What makes a bad situation even critically worse is that the two parties (NCP and SPLM) are so suspicious of each other that any innovative 'idea' is assumed by one party to be an intrigue arising from the other one. They seem to be constantly in need of external/third-party 'advice'. Thus, mutual mistrust has frustrated their ability to generate agreeable/viable solutions and/or initiatives. Instead, they have been pushing their supporters in opposing directions, thus instigating turmoil and contention. This is made more apparent, according to an earlier reference, in episodes such as the withdrawal of SPLM minister from the cabinet of the GNU in Khartoum in 2007, and the violent showdown between SPLA and SAF in Abyei town in May 2008. The NCP and SPLM are therefore providing the evidence to international stakeholders that the burden of 'making national unity attractive' is increasingly becoming too heavy for them to carry by themselves, while excluding instrumental social and political forces in the country.

Most importantly, in the SKS, the NCP and SPLM-Nuba, as primary stakeholders in the CPA implementation and for observing the interim state constitution, are similarly behaving like odd bedfellows driven by contradictory interests in every aspect of political life, thus complicating political articulation and conflict resolution rather than serving to prepare communities for best-responses in post-conflict reconciliation, micro-peace building and harmony. It must be emphasised that implementing the Naivasha Protocols remains the number one challenge for SKS. If peoples' interests and aspirations are frustrated, they will revert to violence.

There are also challenges to good governance. Complex security dimensions define the uncertain future of Southern Kordofan, including the Abyei Area. The failure of NCP-SPLM

to implement the protocols thus far has put the two areas increasingly at the heart of the current contentions in Sudan. They have become the soft underbelly that threatens a return to hostilities. The major difficulties to security include *firstly*, the fact that the deployment of the JIUs and police has not been put in place; *secondly*, that international monitors are unable to move or deploy north or south of Abyei due to intermittent restrictions imposed by SAF and SPLA; *thirdly*, that both NCP and SPLM politicians are pushing their supporters in opposing directions; and *lastly*, that the so-called Other Armed Groups, not allied with either NCP or SPLM, are still on the loose and are causing direct threats to security.

The future prospects depend on the scenario one builds for the Sudan of tomorrow, whether optimistic or pessimistic, and the position one takes for or against the CPA. The challenge of conducting free, clean and competitive elections towards 2009 is already arising. The Political Parties Law governing registration of political parties has been signed by the president. The future electoral law is now an issue for debate. In order to avoid 'the politics of poverty' (and patronage), the GNU should seek the advice and contribution of the international community and the UN to finance the elections, including financial support to the infant parties that may contest the elections. Another issue for assistance is technical support for electoral infrastructure in terms of electoral commodities, including counting technologies and training for officials, ancillary electoral infrastructure such as support for effective civil society participation, voter education and information, support for international electoral monitors, and funding for workshops and information-sharing on electoral system for political parties, candidates and voters.

3.2 Geopolitical Conflict-related Issues, Concerns and Immediate Threats to Peace-building

The Kordofan Region is the geographic centre of Sudan, with a total land area of 383.000 km². It was divided during the 1990s into three states (North, South and West). Presently there are only two (North and South), as West Kordofan State was dissolved in 2005 in tandem with the provisions of the CPA. Thus, macro- and micro-conflicts, complicated and volatile as they could be, may not be objectively comprehended if any one political segment is sealed-off from the rest of the country context or, for that matter, insulated from situations neighbouring to it, such as the war in Darfur that has been waged since 2002. Thus, the conflict between Nuba and Misiriya in Lagawa Locality may not be put into context when read in isolation from the situation in Abyei, eastern Darfur or the of Northern Kordofan as the tribes that migrate from there (Shanabla, Kawahla, Ma'alya, ot Hamar) enter into conflicts almost every year with resident in SKS, Nuba or non-Nuba.

It has become commonplace to state that the people of Kordofan do have grievances shared with the people of Darfur. They too have been long neglected and marginalised. There are thousands of unemployed uneducated youth and college graduates, both in the rural village communities and in the main towns, with bitter and discontent and disillusionment with the CPA outcomes. The security services have been keeping a close and nervous eye on the activities of a number of civic and development groups. Issues such as the recent floods, and the failure of the government to provide assistance and rehabilitation, could easily become a rallying cry for protest.

The following statements present five causes for concern and justify a consideration of the geopolitical interconnection in the dynamics of conflict and socio-political relationships in the overall situation.

1. Southern Kordofan faces immense challenges to reintegration and harmony, first and foremost, the challenge of overcoming the backlog of the days of conflict and war, that is, the challenge of how to abolish the legacy of boundaries of separate development, created during the war, between 'SPLM-controlled areas' and

'government-controlled areas'. These boundaries are mental as well as administrative. They call for a concerted programme on administrative reintegration, premised primarily on micro peace building interventions and assistance. The history of the conflict in SKS tells that the Nuba fought as part of the SPLA. In 2005 the CPA awarded autonomous status to Southern Kordofan with power-sharing between the NCP and SPLM. However, contrary to the CPA, there has been no serious attempt to integrate the government-controlled and SPLA-controlled areas. The implication has been that separate cantonments continue to be the *modus operandum*, with armed checkpoints wherever a road passes from one territory into the other. The Nuba in the SPLA-held hills maintain their own civil administration, courts, taxes and levies, as well as security police that are not recognised in the text of the CPA. Only the SPLA-Nuba-chapter is explicitly recognised, yet without any share in the oil produced in SKS. On the government side there are the PDF paramilitary forces as well as the SAF. Towards the middle of the year 2008, as the heat of the general election campaign rises and the politicians become tempted to make more and more compromises in order to win, which coincides with the time when the Arab camel herders move southwards into the areas where the Nuba farm the hillsides and valleys, there is high potential for armed clashes that could readily escalate.

2. It has been stated earlier that the major partners not only instigate divisiveness but also have wasted much valued time in order to bring tangible results for the SKS through implementation of relevant protocols. To expand further on the unrelenting backlog of the days of conflict and war, the issue connected directly with differences over policies which not only have delayed the endorsement of the state interim constitution for more than a year from timelines stipulated in the CPA, but also indulged in differences over land policy and educational policy, to name only a few. The former SKS governor, Khamis Jallab (SPLM), has said that the Nuba continue searching for a common ground, 'a common identity to be proud of'; something that unites them in the struggle for their rights. The Nuba people had high expectations for development and change under the SPLM in the post-conflict phase. This is gradually being lost to disillusionment due to the inexperienced personnel of the SPLM. There is also overt and covert resistance to change from NCP supporters who are acting as spoilers. The NCP insist on sustaining its own principles. Such undercurrents generate two related challenges; the challenge of building mutual trust, not only between the two parties, but also among the multi-ethnic population of the SKS. In order to build policies and deliver programmes to overcome these difficulties, the most difficult challenge is the weak budget and shortage of qualified and well trained personnel to shoulder these tasks.
3. Incompatibilities regarding the education policy in the SKS government show that the SPLM remains suspicious that NCP is out to Islamise the Nuba, while the NCP is suspicious that SPLM is out to nurture a 'secularised' community of 'non-believers'. This example is a carry-over from the days of war. The contradiction is reflected in positions regarding the educational curriculum in SKS which inhibit reform and reintegration of the education process. There are two school curricula for public education. English is the medium of instruction for schools in SPLM-controlled areas. Arabic is the medium of instruction in GOS-controlled areas. The SPLM push for integrating the two systems. The NCP, for political reasons, has persistently blocked the required integration. Practical difficulties aggravate the situation, including the fact that textbooks are available only for 50 per cent of the pupils enrolled in the system, and the shortage of teachers is estimated at 30 per cent, mainly because the central government does not allow the appointment of basic school teachers from those who hold the Sudan Secondary School Certificate. There are not enough university degree holders who wish to take the job, as the profession is underpaid. Such incompatibilities percolate down to the community level and are filtered by spoilers. Thus, infestation of the social environment would be conducive for the germination of a culture of violence.

4. The SPLA is actively recruiting among the Baggara Arabs of Southern Kordofan, in fierce competition with the NCP. During the north-south war, the Baggara militia—known as *Maraheel* (lit. armed raiders of pastoral routes)—were active in raiding the South. But in the later stages of the war, many realised that they had more interests in common with their Dinka neighbours than with Khartoum. The SPLA has drawn several influential commanders from these groups and the SPLM has gained political support there too. In the last few weeks, the SPLA went a step further and began active recruitment in Southern Kordofan. Khartoum, arguing that this is a violation of the CPA, sent an army unit to confront the SPLA generals, and a tense standoff ensued near Muglad. This has been peacefully resolved but the underlying tension remains.
5. The Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLA-Unity Faction) launched joint raids into Kordofan, in 2007 and 2008, attacking the town of Wad Banda and killing more than 40 people, most of them policemen. JEM's leader Khalil Ibrahim has appointed a new deputy, a Misiriya Arab from the group Shamama (Shabab Mantigat Misiriya—youth of the Misiriya area). This is read by many as a declaration of intent to take the Darfur war to Kordofan. The Wad Banda attack was widely condemned, including by some SLA leaders who advised against expanding the war beyond Darfur. But one SLA-Unity commander, Abdallah Kadu, who is a former army officer originally from Southern Kordofan, is gaining prominence. The raid has already led to a government counterattack concentrated on Haskanita. There is a danger that the government may crack down on Zaghawa diaspora communities scattered across Kordofan, in the way that it did in South Darfur when JEM and SLA units took the war there in 2004-05.

3.3 Key Stakeholders: Local, National and International

Based on the role they play in the articulation of current issues of conflict resolution and the level of involvement in managing land and natural resources issues in SKS, stakeholders can be seen in two main categories: national and non-national. National stakeholders are classified into local, state and central government levels and the private sector, particularly in the case of investment in mechanised rain-fed agriculture. Non-national stakeholders include international NGOs, UN agencies, UN CPA implementation monitors, and international petroleum companies. A discussion of the degree to which each category of stakeholders can be usefully streamlined in the delivery of benefits to the people in SKS requires much more space than is allowed here. However, a few points may highlight the important role these stakeholders may play.

Local community leaders include tribal clan leaders (200) and village councils/committees (500). They work in concert with the local leaders of the political chapters of the two main political parties. The main opposition party is the Umma Party which is organised along sectarian and tribal lines. Local leaders are also instrumental in serving the interests of the parties to which they belong. Therefore, the actions and the positions they take with respect to any particular issue may not be neutral or innocent. However, it is important to note that working without them, development interventions at the community-level may not proceed in a smooth manner. The second category is the private sector. It includes sub-categories such as the state-level General Farmers Union with locality level chapters; the Rain-fed Mechanised Farmers Union; the Federation of Private Agricultural Companies; the Federation of Pastoralists; the 'landless' middle-range investors in agriculture; the league of Smallholder Farmers Associations in local village communities; and social leaders of national and state-level NGOs. The private sector stakeholders are in support not only of reducing the current size of a mechanised farm by sixty percent; i.e., from 1500-1000 feddans to 500 feddans³. They also support zonal land use planning, so that more people can have access to land, if

³ One feddan equals 4200 m²

that is the price for consolidating the peace. They support the redrawing and broadening the width of the livestock trekking routes from the current 200 meter width to the proposed 1 km width, and the extension of summer-time camping ground for pastoralists to 4 km from the current 3 km. The problem is that if large-scale investors and sedentary population continue to encroach on, and block, the routes for transhumant semi-nomadic livestock herders, the conflict will escalate. Therefore, increasing the number of water points and preserving free-range grazing must be top priorities. This is seen by stakeholders, including representatives of the Federation of Pastoralists, as an important measure that can keep transhumants away from farmlands during planting and harvesting, and thus help to avoid violent conflict.

3.4 Stakeholders, Fractured Landscape and the Future of Southern Kordofan

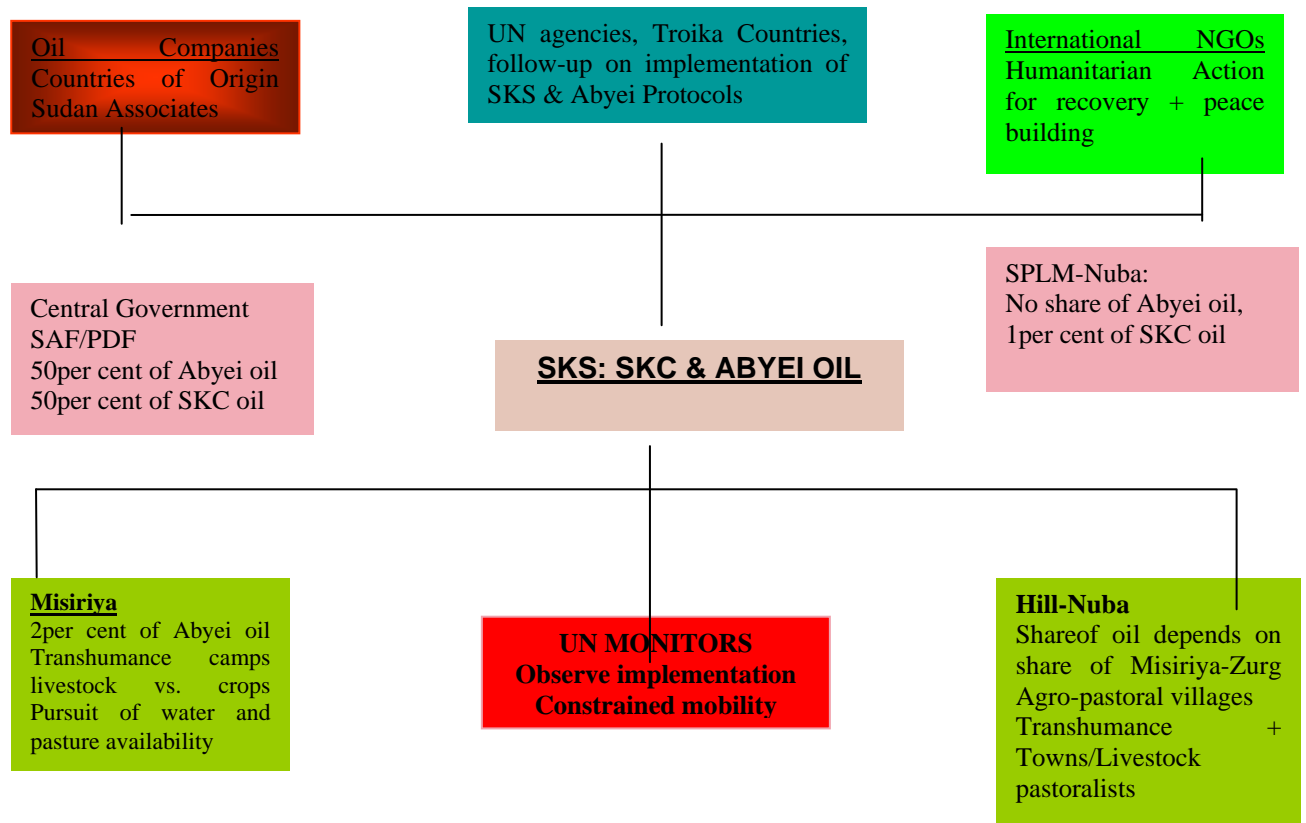
The future of SKS is uncertain because of several complex factors. *First*, the issues of contention, the root causes of the conflict in the Nuba Mountains over land issues and self-determination have not been resolved by the CPA to the satisfaction of the SPLM-Nuba Chapter. *Secondly*, Southern Kordofan is the only region in the Sudan that has gone through the signing, disposition and impact of three consecutive agreements concluded in only three years (2002-04). These agreements are the Nuba Mountains Cease Fire Agreement, signed on 19 January 2002; The Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in Southern Kordofan (PRCSK), and The Protocol on the Resolution of Abyei Conflict (PRAC). The SPLM-Nuba Chapter thinks that these agreements have become status-quo arrangements rather than instruments for revolutionary change, as they had wanted them to be. The agreements have multiple substantive implications for governance and human security in the region, involving complications on reintegration and peaceful coexistence. The fact that these agreements were signed in different places, negotiated under different tracks of the Sudan peace process, and under the auspices of different mediators (USA, Switzerland, and Kenya), have given rise to variations in the final outcomes. *Thirdly*, the leadership of SPLM-Nuba is dissatisfied with the PRCSK, mainly because they say that they have demanded referendum on self-determination, similar to the one granted to the south. Instead, they obtained a vague 'popular consultation.' They are unhappy with the idea of popular consultation as a substitute for the self-determination. They ask, what will happen to the SPLA in the area? They are not southerners and therefore can not redeploy south of the 1-1-1956 boundary line. On the other hand, the Nuba say that they never demanded that the Misiriya District (formerly in Western Kordofan State, currently described in the CPA document as 'the Western Kordofan Component' or WKC) be merged with the Nuba Mountains. They fear that adding 500,000 non-SPLM supporters to a Misiriya majority will tip the political/demographic balance rather permanently in favour of the northern 'Arab' constituency. When added to other 'Arab-Muslim' groups that already live there, the 'Nuba population' is relegated to a minority status; only 30 per cent of the total SKS population. Thus, the Nuba can not prevail in the state legislature, and therefore will never be the owners of their future destiny as regards the 'popular consultation' envisioned in the CPA.

Therefore, these agreements (PRCSK and PRAC), as a primary outcome of the war, seem to have broken the SKS into four distinct sectors with ten smaller, yet internally and separately coherent 'cantonments'. These are incoherent externally and in their relations with one another and the central authorities. They possess potentially contradictory interests. The result is a fractured landscape, which corresponds to diverse ethnic origins and/or political allegiance, mainly to SPLM, NCP and the Umma Party followers in the Western Kordofan Zone/District (WKZ) where the Misiriya constitute an overwhelming majority. These are the primary political stakeholders. A practical consequence of this geographic segregation is that it leads to a separate development of both the land and the people in these cantonments. When the six-year interim period is over, this separate development will have been in full force for 26 years (1985-2011). It will consolidate the separation by sealing out the Nuba from GOS or

SPLM areas, thus aggravating challenges to reintegration. The SKS will be broken into a cantonment with four domains under SPLM-Nuba control (in the Nuba Mountains); one under SPLM-South Sudan (the GOS/SPLM contested cantonment of the Abyei Area); and five GOS 'kordofstans' in WKZ and in and around the Nuba Mountains. Therefore, when the dust settles down, the SPLM-Nuba and the SPLM South Sudan will take control of 46 per cent and GOS would take control of 54 per cent of the area of the SKS.

3.5 Can the Southern Kordofan Problem Tree define Contradictory Stakeholder Interests?

SKS PROBLEM TREE



Southern Kordofan: (1) Area 144.000 km². (2) East sector, 82.000 km².
(3) West Kordofan Zone; 62000 km², including Abyei, 18600 km², as per ABC report)

West Kordofan Component (WKC, 62000 km²)
Government of Sudan (GOS) cantonments
1-Misiriya district 62000 km², 500.000 persons (oil, minerals & fertile plains) including the Abyei Area, 18626 km² per ABC report. Will be reduced to 43374 km², if the Abyei chooses to join Southern Sudan at the referendum in 2011

SKS East sector (82.000 km²)
SPLM-Nuba cantonments, 48000 km² on less fertile hill ranges
1-Heyban Plateau canton
2- Miri Hill-range (neutral zone)
3- Niymang Plateau (Julud) canton
4- Central highlands (Koalib)
GOS Kordofstans (cantonments):
1- Rashad Plateau & fertile plains
2- Talodi fertile plains
3- Dellenge/Abu-Habel fertile plains
4- Lagawa/Shallengo fertile plains

SPLM-South Sudan cantonment/enclave inside Kordofan:
The **Abyei Area** cantonment, (contested 18626 km² identified by ABC report):
(SPLM county followers/GOS admin. control)

The fractured landscape consists of the following: *First*, the cantonments of formerly SPLM-Nuba-controlled areas located, mainly, in less fertile plateaux and hill-ranges of the Nuba Mountains where the war has been fought. They are interspaced by fertile plains and valleys controlled by the GOS. The total area of the Nuba Mountains is estimated at 48000 km²; inhabited by an estimated 370,000 Nuba. A separate administration, run by SPLM-Nuba developed during 20 years of war. The four SPLM-controlled ‘cantonments’, as opposed to the five GOS-controlled areas, have developed separate identities due to the separate development throughout the two decades of conflict. While acknowledged in the CPA as former components of Southern Kordofan, the governing structures that used to control them were not so recognised: namely, the SPLM county (equivalent to locality in the GOS local government classification), the boma (administrative unit) and the payam (village cluster council). This situation presents formidable challenges to administrative reinsertion of Nuba inhabitants under SPLM control into former Nuba communities that remained under government control. Let us note that the majority of the 370,000 people claimed to be under SPLM-controlled domains live in less fertile hill-ranges and plateaux considered suitable hide-outs for the insurgents, but can no longer be suitable locations for producing enough food in peacetime. This is one area where access to land for livelihood purposes becomes an issue of paramount importance for SPLM, during the interim period and beyond. This is an instance where governance issues merge with issues of rehabilitation and reconstruction. It requires a realistic strategy. The main policy challenges for the authorities, presented by the SPLM cantonments, include questions such as, what should the authorities do in order to make inhabitants of SPLM-controlled areas accept, and be accepted by, those living in GOS controlled areas? This is one way of posing issues of reintegration and reconciliation for peaceful co-existence. It is not only an issue for community-to-community reconciliation, or ‘community conversations’ posed in the literature. It is, rather, an issue of political and economic development dimensions of the first order.

Secondly, the ‘Kordofstan’ cantonments of the formerly GOS-controlled areas in the SKS are recognised in the CPA as ‘the former Southern Kordofan component’, inhabited by 700,000 people of mixed tribal and religious affiliations. These are the areas administered under SKS prior to the signing of the CPA. They can be seen as falling in two sub-categories; those

within the Nuba Mountains are the east-sector Kordofstans; the western-sector Kordofstans fall into the WKC. Lagawa Locality is a special case, as it exists under the dual control of both of the primary antagonists. Some parts of it existed under Lagawa County (SPLM-controlled), and other parts under Lagawa Locality (GOS-controlled). For the political anomalies it carries, the territory of Lagawa was annexed to the Nuba Mountains Component (NMC) in the 2002 Nuba Mountains Cease-Fire Agreement. Generally, the highlands inhabited by the Nuba and Daju are SPLM domains. Alternatively, the fertile plains of the Shallengo Valley are inhabited by the Misiriya-Zurg. It is important to mention that while all people living under SPLM control are SPLM supporters, the same is not true of those living in GOS-controlled areas.

Thirdly; the Western Kordofan Component (WKC/ WKZ), recognised in the CPA as ‘the former Western Kordofan component’, is administratively known as the Western District. The Misiriya constitute the majority of the population. It has an area of 62.000 km² including the Abyei Area. The South Kordofan Protocol of the CPA stipulates that the former West Kordofan State be dissolved and that the Western District be merged with the Nuba Mountains, ‘the former Southern Kordofan component’ in order to form the ‘new’ Southern Kordofan according to the boundaries that were in place in 1974. It is to be noted that the Western District had developed autonomously for eleven years (1994-2005) as the capital district of the defunct Western Kordofan State. It is therefore an object for administrative reintegration into the SKS during the interim period. The WKC, as one more Kordofstan/cantonment, is being pulled in different directions; the SPLM-Nuba is pulling eastwards in order to grab the lucrative oil revenues; the SPLM-South Sudan is pulling WKC to the south and holding it captive to the PRAC in order to win the contested oil-rich Abyei area; while the NCP/Northern Sudan governing elite not only define WKC as a strategic district in view of the rich oil and mineral resource base, but also in order to maintain it as a buffer zone in case hostilities return. The WKC population is divided, in terms of political allegiance, among the sectarian Umma Party, the NCP and SPLM-Nuba Chapter, such as in Lagawa County. All in all, the Misiriya are a long-time ally of the central government authority, irrespective of the form of the governing regime in Khartoum. Therefore, arrangements for internal autonomy within the SKS have to be harnessed, including through equitable sharing of oil revenues, so that the overall regional autonomy of the SKS may not be put in jeopardy. The majority of the Misiriya are satisfied with merging into the SKS. They, however, insist on equitable treatment regarding their shares from the oil revenue as per the CPA. If this is not fulfilled, it could lead to complications. The chances for the Misiriya to make alliances with neighbours (the Nuba and Daju to the east, or the Ngok-Dinka to the south) towards any armed resistance are weak, because of mistrust on account of Misiriya alliances with the central government in the past.

The *fourth*, issue is the cantonment of the Abyei Area that had been under the jurisdiction of the defunct Western Kordofan State before the signing of the CPA. The majority of the Abyei residents are SPLM followers. Abyei is rich in oil resources, another important factor of the CPA implementation. The Abyei Area has been assigned a special administrative status under the PRAC. One important contribution of the Abyei Boundary Commission (ABC) Report is that it delineated, for the first time, the total land area of the contested territory of the Abyei (18,626 km²). Non-implementation of this protocol, by the Presidency, is currently the number one, and most immediate threat, to the CPA. The fact that the PRAC has yet to be implemented by the Presidency after the lapse of more than two years not only implicates the Presidency in blocking the implementation of the CPA but also spells a major hurdle to peace in the Sudan. It could lead to resumption of hostilities. Once the PRAC is implemented, Abyei will no longer be part of the SKS. It will have an autonomous legal administrative status, enshrined in the CPA, even if it chooses to stay in the north at the point of the referendum. The total area of the SKS will, therefore, change to 125.400 km². However, the estimated 50,000 people and a population density of 3-5 persons per km² presents a challenge for outreach by the future Abyei Area government in respect of coverage of basic social services.

An imminent scenario is that the virgin and resourceful SKS region, with high development potential, with oil and minerals, vast land and forests, will attract massive population movements of investors and speculators in up-coming years. The current population density of 5-14 persons/km² can soon be overwhelmed by immigrants and labour migrants. Hence, large urban settlements will rise in advantageous areas. New forms of land tenure, in place of the fluid usufructuary practices of today, will be established in hot pursuit of capital gains through land rent and mercantilist appropriation of surplus product. 'Get rich soon' would be the slogan. It will be the central dynamic for incoming speculators and investors, including the capitalist form of the state.

The expected trend for the future would, of course, find justification in the national free market policy of liberalisation and, particularly, privatisation of land and property rights. As of 2005 when the CPA was signed, 12 per cent of arable land in SKS had been given out by the government as leasehold property to large-scale mechanised farming 'land-miners'. Abyei might follow soon. This trend is not expected to be halted unless the SPLM stands firm on its reversal. This time, however, with Darfur as a latecomer-in-arms against the central authority, the GNU cannot afford to ignore the rights of the people of the marginalised areas with respect to land ownership. The SPLM, on the other hand, could not allow the NCP to do business-as-usual in any attempt to demarcate the rain-fed mechanised farms. The experience of the 1960s can not be allowed to resurface. Of course, in the post-conflict peace building and consolidation process, agricultural land must be surveyed and mapped with a view to equitable allocation and equitable land use opportunities. However, a medium term and long term state-wide vision must be adopted by both the community stakeholders and the authorities of the SKS to harness the people's capacity and capability to withstand foreseen shocks that might be precipitated by underdeveloped urbanisation and rural agro-industrialisation in the medium and longer term.

4. Articulating Conflict and Peace Building to Real Situations

4.1 Community Insecurity Claims and Counter-claims: Old Wisdom in New Bottles

The migration patterns of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes have always been an arena for contention and friction between Arab semi-nomad tribes and the sedentary Nuba. Besides, rivalry also existed on the basis of ethnic differences. Disputes between sedentary tribes are largely due to land ownership, which is reflected in inter-ethnic conflicts. Continuation of conflicts and the frequent abrogation of dispute settlements weakened the confidence in the judicial system. Civil administration is also weak and highly politicised. Competition for resources led to conflict within nomadic tribes, especially in the areas bordering Northern Kordofan. But these conflicts are of limited scale, with no arms involved. Many efforts were carried out previously to resolve these conflicts, based on the lessons learnt and based on opinions expressed by various interlocutors. Furthermore, non-maintenance of ranges, corridors, poor regulatory use of water and land resources contributed to the conflicts. There is a slim divide/distinction between the police and army, especially in SPLM controlled areas. The police force in these areas are derived from the personnel who were fighting for the SPLA, and do not differentiate between intrinsically policing work and military duties. Introduction of mechanised agriculture in the 1960s, by the government, forced some of the Nuba villagers to move towards the mountains. The Nuba feel that the government in Khartoum favoured the Arab merchants in land allocation and, as a result, they became supporters of the SPLM/SPLA. Thus, any approach directed to sustain community security should properly target the elimination of the under-mentioned reasons of insecurity. Finally, Nuba identity and the movement to unite Nuba tribes itself are reinforcing the concept of native and alien and are fraught with concerns, especially for Arab tribes.

The Nuba consider themselves the natives of the land. They view nomads as intruders. Nomadic (Shanabla and Ma'alya) and semi-nomadic (Hawazma and Misiriya) Arab tribes believe that they have been living in the area for more than three centuries and have therefore earned the inalienable rights as indigenous peoples of the Sudan. They claim, rightly though, that their forefathers who used to live in the plains of Southern Kordofan were the pioneers who identified watering access points, particularly locations where open hand-dug well exist. At that time the Nuba lived on hill-tops. There were no reservoirs (*hafeers*) which later became a government prerogative for the modern technology used to excavate them.

The Nuba argue that their agricultural lands and crops are destroyed by livestock. Pastoralists claim that the Nuba intentionally expand their farms into traditional migration routes historically well known and agreed-to by former generations of Nuba tribal leaders. The pastoralists add that they only follow the same routes they used to trek as has been the traditional pattern and practice for hundreds of years, and feel that the Nuba are encroaching on the land reserved for cattle corridors.

Water resources have been one of the main sources of friction, since nomads move with large numbers of cattle. Pastoralists attribute the breakage of bore pumps, silting of hails and depletion of water in the area to the nomad activities. Further, attempts to settle down by some of the nomadic tribes have been consistently resisted by the local Nuba tribes.

All these factors have generated perennial friction between the two groups. These differences are subtly exploited by the contending actors (NCP/SPLA) and other local actors.

Historically, SPLM claim that the GOS/SAF began arming Arab tribes in the 1980s in order to stop the SPLA. The Arab tribesmen, on the other hand, felt safer while carrying weapons as they were exposed to attacks by the SPLA. In a tit-for-tat the SPLA saw in the Nubian tribes an honest ally to resist the SAF. They continued to arm the Nuba during the war.

In the process, many of the Misiriya and Hawazma tribes forged a union to form the Popular Defence Forces, which was propped-up by the GOS with weapons and organisational capacity. Personnel from the SAF were transferred as trainers to help organizing and capacity training the PDF. Nomads mention that they did not have an alternative but to join the PDF, since their cattle was 'stolen' or looted by the SPLA, their women abducted and raped, youth abducted and property looted, and hence had to defend themselves. In addition, Hakamat (women singers) were mobilised by the PDF/SAF to mobilise all the community members belonging to Arab and Nuba tribes. They use to ridicule all the men who did not take up the weapons and fight. The Hakamat assisted in building up a situation, whereby a stigma was attached to a man without a weapon.

Hence, given the peculiar status of the Southern Kordofan State, both the parties to the CPA got involved into politics and instigated one tribe against the other. As a consequence, the SKS is polarised on ethnic lines, having different economic activities and interests and at the same time, pockets of domination by SPLA or SAF are prevalent on the ground.

Furthermore, law-enforcing mechanisms are getting weaker and weaker, especially since some areas are controlled by GOS police and other areas by SPLM police. This has led to a situation where a person committing a crime in a GOS-controlled area can easily move to SPLA-controlled area and vice versa, to avoid any action. The GOS police does not venture into SPLM police controlled areas. Nomads complain the matters to the GOS and the sedentary to the SPLM police and hence, no case is solved and as a result, people have lost trust in the law-enforcement mechanisms. This has led to a situation where traditional conflict resolution mechanisms have been completely eroded and weapons have come into existence in the communities, where relationships were already strained. The process reinforced so much that possession of weapon by people became a tradition, so much so that some of the rituals are attached to weapon cleaning and handling.

This kind of situation has also led to ineffective and ambiguous tax collection structures, which often create friction and act as a flash point. The administrative structures have not stabilised on account of disagreements between the SPLM and the NCP. Many other issues like land ownership and related rights have not been addressed.

Further reasons for community insecurity:

Previously agreed principles in various agreements between the tribes are no longer honoured. For instance, the schedules of migration have been altered and sometimes pastoralists graze livestock on the farms of settled cultivators, irrespective of the farmer's ethnic affiliation, Nuba or non-Nuba. On the other hand, the Nuba violate agreed-upon principles of cattle corridors. They encroach on corridors by resorting to agriculture in the range domains, claiming that the land belongs to the Nuba, a claim that is always challenged by the non-Nuba.

Due to changes in the metrological cycles of 3-4 weeks, the harvest season has changed accordingly. The pastoralists have also altered seasonal movement patterns. Farm yield occurs at a time when the seasonal movement starts or retreats and this result in further friction with the farmers.

In addition, there is no control over arms. It has been noticed in many instances that the local police are not updated on the current Arms Regulation Act. When asked, they can not to produce a copy locally; it has to be ordered from Khartoum.

Another alarming factor is the constant supply of ammunition in the area. Garrisons of both armies are said to be major sources of ammunition supply to the tribes. It is also said that soldiers from both sides sell ammunition. In addition, tribal leaders have mentioned that there are numerous points in various markets where they can buy ammunition. Brand new weapons are also found in the hands of tribesmen in certain areas, indicating that the source of supply of weapons is not cut off.

The Nuba point out that the new G3 weapons in the hands of nomads is an indication that government affiliated groups are supplying weapons, since G3 weapons are only available with the government forces. On the other hand, the Nuba are afraid to shed the weapons and/or even reluctant to the idea of collecting the weapons and keeping them in their custody, since they feel that the same will not apply to nomads who keep moving with their weapons, and hence they are not sure about the status of weapons within the nomadic communities. Nomads also say that they find that many communities in the corridors have been armed during the last three years and they can feel the increase in the presence of arms, which they attribute to the SPLA.

When pastoralists are asked to shun weapons, they say that during their normal seasonal migration they have to cross an 800 km round trip with more than 20 ethnic communities, some of whom can be enemies. So the threat is there; even if only one community member holds weapons, it still is a threat for the cattle and camels.

The traditional leadership authority in certain areas is challenged by the youth. NCP supporters (Nuba and/or non-Nuba) attribute this behaviour to the influence of the SPLA. In areas controlled by the SPLM/A, holders of traditional offices are dismissed and replaced with those who pay allegiance to the SPLM. The reverse is also true in NCP majority areas where SPLM supporters are removed from office in favour of NCP supporters.

4.2 Dynamics of Conflict between Ma'Aliya Camelmen and Sebai-Nuba

Tribes involved	Ma'Aliya (Arab camel herders) and Sebai & Mandal (Hill-Nuba tribes)
Area of clashes	Mandal, al-Sebai, at Farshaya about 20 km northwest of Dellage town
Time frame	The conflict has been a recurring phenomenon in this area. The latest conflict occurred between March and August 2006. Two people were killed in May 2006. The conflict has been related to an attack on the Sebai Hill-Nuba on the part of a group of Ma'Aliya tribesmen in June 2006. The complication arising from that unsettled conflict, including attempts by the Sebai-Hill-Nuba to retaliate are still potent. It is a potential threat to community security.

Antagonistic Groups:

The Ma'Aliya, an Arab tribe, are camel herders who migrate from the Northern Kordofan State to the Southern Kordofan State during the rainy season, in a north-to-south return seasonal migration through Dellange Locality. Every year clashes occur between the Ma'Aliya and the local sedentary agro-pastoral Nuba tribes, including the Sebai, the Mandal and the Karko Hill groups. Local peace and reconciliation committees have tried to mediate between these tribes in 2005 and 2006, but to no avail. Disputes and violent episodes keep recurring, peaking especially during May to July, which is the start of the entry-period for the Ma'Aliya nomads into Southern Kordofan.

The Ma'Aliya pastoralists, in turn, say that members of the Sebai tribe often steal Ma'Aliya camels, as well as attack and abduct youth during the seasonal migration. During May and June 2006 many incidents were reported from both the tribes. Mediation, as a means for settlement of the dispute, was initiated by the state government.

The Ma'Aliya claim that the SPLA is actively involved in instigating the youth of the area and the youth are not respecting the traditional conflict-resolution mechanisms. The JIU component of the SPLA is said to have supported the Mandal and Sebai tribes.

The Sebai and Mandal Hill-Nuba tribes believe that the Ma'Aliya are a hostile Arab tribe, very much unlike other Arab pastoralists in the area. The Sebai and Mandal further think that the Ma'Aliya are more aggressive and that they committed atrocities during the war. The people of the Sebai and Mandal tribes feel that the Ma'Aliya are intruders into their own ancestral territory. They claim that the Ma'Aliya, historically, belong the tribes of Darfur. They further claim that the Ma'Aliya are PDF supporters who have propped up animosity towards the Nuba.

The Sebai and Mandal people claim that the Ma'Aliya often attack villages. Informants reported that two people were killed in May 2006 and many were attacked in June the same year. Besides, incidents recurred in the area at the end of July 2006 when four people of the Sebai tribe were killed. When a joint force of JIU and SPLA went to the area to maintain law and order, one SPLA soldier was killed in an ambush. It has not been possible to access police records at Dellange town to verify the informants' accounts.

In retaliation, the Sebai Hill-Nuba abducted six people from the Ma'Aliya tribe and took them to an unknown destination. The six were subsequently killed and their bodies were found near a Mandal village on August 2 2006. In anticipation of retaliation from the Ma'Aliya, the state government deployed a sizable police force in the area. Reconciliation efforts are still going on. However, it needs to be highlighted that the traditional tribal leadership of the Ma'Aliya and Shanabla tribes is based in Northern Kordofan. They normally move to Southern Kordofan by compensating a little for the use of water points.

Possible reasons for conflict:

The intensity of the mistrust between these tribal groups has been alarmingly widespread. The two groups, and particularly the Sebai, have not been willing to accept the fact that environmental factors contribute to driving the Ma'alya into Sebai territory. In addition, incidents of stealing and looting of Ma'alya camels when they enter this part of Southern Kordofan, give the Ma'alya sufficient reason to hold the Sebai Hill-Nuba responsible for the friction.

Destruction of crops by Ma'Aliya camels is one of the main reasons cited by the Nuba for the friction. Furthermore, the Sebai believe that Ma'alya camels consume so much water during the camping days that the Nuba feel that water sources are being depleted by the camel herders. This resource-based contradiction of interests among the two groups provides the objective basis for an explanation of the persistent contentions, friction and conflict.

Lack of economic activity and unemployment tempts the youth to get involved not only in the fighting between the two groups, but also to indulge in anti-social activities like theft and looting. Thus, traditional rivalry which has existed for many years has in most of the cases been exacerbated by the polarisation fuelled by the war and the massive presence of small arms in the hands of civilians which constitutes the material basis of the violence. Thus, traditional rivalry has been intensified and consolidated during the two decades of war, particularly between the Ma'alya on the one hand and the Sebai and Mandal on the other, and has made them take sides in favour of one or the other of the primary antagonists (the SPLA or the SAF/PDF).

Existing conflict resolution mechanisms:

Tribal conferences are often convened in the area, but any agreement reached is frequently violated. Neutral tribes usually mediate. The commissioner and state government also initiate mediation processes, especially when tribal mediators fail or when a recently concluded settlement is broken by one of the parties.

Existing law enforcement mechanisms:

Any party, Nuba or non-Nuba, who is likely to lose in a prospective mediation process, or thinks that they are going to be the potentially losing party, usually start blaming the local police for 'having taken sides'. However, policemen mention that they are doing their best to assist both tribes in order to resolve their differences and overcome conflict. The Sebai people think that the Ma'Aliya run away to Northern Kordofan State after committing atrocities and, hence, that they are beyond reach of the local police. Thus, they leave the Sebai as the 'perpetual losers' every season, as the police will not catch them due to weak government outreach. So the Sebai wait for retaliation the following season for their grievances to be redressed, if ever they are.

Existing situation of armed forces:

In the areas situated west of Dellange has JIU presence. People believe that the components of the units act almost individually since only the SPLA constitutes JIU as of today. It has been reported that Ma'Aliya tribesmen are in possession of G3 weapons. The Sebai tribesmen claim that every year they see an increased presence of weapons carried by Ma'Aliya tribesmen. Ma'Aliya tribesmen accuse the SPLA of continuing to supply arms and ammunition to the Sebai and other Nuba tribes.

Possible solutions suggested by informants and tribal leaders:

Law enforcement mechanisms in this area need to be strengthened. Police stations need to be established and/or strengthened at Dabker, Farshaya, Um-Jamaina and Mandal. Re-training is required in order to prepare them for possible future collection of weapons from civilian communities. Preferably the police station should be jointly manned by elements from both the SPLA police and GOS police. Capacity enhancement is necessary for the local police, if better community security is to be in place. The responsiveness of the local police needs to be strengthened through elevated logistical mobility and modern instruments for communication.

Awareness on the Small Arms Act and registration of weapons, as well as regulations on possession of arms, should also be undertaken together with dissemination of information through the community leaders and radio. The Hakamat can also be used to this end.

It is important to include the highest traditional community leaders of the Ma'Aliya tribe in Northern Kordofan in conflict resolution processes so as to ensure that Ma'Aliya tribesmen comply with local agreements.

Standardisation of reconciliation and peace meetings need to be undertaken. A standing committee on reconciliation in each locality, representing traditional community leaders, local government, SAF, PDF and SPLA should be established and sufficiently empowered and supported with efficient logistical back-up. This committee should be knowledgeable of the corridors and movements of pastoral tribesmen, and should share information with local authorities.

The PDF, through the SAF, should be encouraged to control the weapons in the hands of civilians and if possible advocate shunning of arms. Similarly the SPLA should encourage the local communities in their areas to surrender the arms. Accountability for weapons carried by local residents could be more effective, if entrusted to the communities.

4.3 Dynamics of Conflict between Misiriya and Nuba of Lagawa Locality

Tribes involved (1) Derri' (Misiriya) and Kamada & Tullushi Hill-Nuba)
Area of clashes Mostly in Tullushi area, Abunkowichae, Ras-al-Feel villages
Time Frame (Last occurred) February- June 2006

Synoptic Narrative

The village of Abunkowichae is located seven kilometres from Lagawa town in an easterly direction. It caught the attention of the authorities in Southern Kordofan for four months in the beginning of 2006, though differences have existed between the local tribes, Kamdang (a Nuba tribe) and Derri' (an Arab semi-nomad tribe that also has settled members of the tribe in nearby villages) for an extended period of time. The immediate flash point seems to be the instigation and consequent attacks and retaliation by the tribes. The water point (I'dd) near Abunkowichae has been, for a long time, guarded by policemen. This is a clear indication not only of water scarcity/insecurity but also that water-points are a potential source of friction and conflict.

A series of incidents took place at I'dd-Abunkowichae. The latest occurred between February and June 2006, when a person from Derri' (a Misiriya sub-tribe) was shot dead by unknown snipers. In May 2006 a young male student and a girl from the Tullushi Hill-Nuba were killed. Although a dormant dispute for several years, the ignition point/triggering factor for the conflict in 2006 seemed to stem from the scarcity of water whereby the ethnic dimension (Nuba-Arab) has been subtly exploited by the antagonists for advancement of their own political interests (SPLM vis-à-vis non-SPLM).

The commissioner of Lagawa (a Kamdang-Nuba from SPLM) explained that reconciliation efforts had not been successful. The Aimeers of the Arab tribes indicated that SPLA dominated the area of Tullushi. They create problems in order to obstruct seasonal livestock movements. They feel that Kamdang and Tullushi villagers are encouraged by the SPLA to become hostile to Arab residents. Kamdang and Tullushi feel that Arab nomads have come to their land and are trying to displace the Nuba and encroach upon their limited land and water resources. Many Kamdang and Tullushi believe that nomad tribes should keep out of the area. They further believe that members of the PDF tacitly support such initiatives.

Possible reasons for conflict:

Immediate reason seems to stem from water deficiency and competition over accessing water points. Grazing on agricultural lands, previously agreed harvesting times and nomad migration has altered. Previously agreed principles are being consistently violated by both sides. Hence, the tussles intensified. Fragile and eroded traditional and customary social control institutions and weak law enforcement mechanisms, especially of the two police outfits working in the area, have complicated the issue. The law enforcement machinery is very ambiguous and government outreach is weak in the locality, with SPLA controlling the Tullushi area. The commissioner of Lagawa is from SPLM and an SAF battalion is placed in Lagawa. Communication channels between the tribal groups are not effective on account of influence from both SPLM and NCP/SAF. It is said that the SPLA in Tullushi area have instigated the Nuba tribes on the fact that the land belongs to Nubian tribes and hence Arab nomads have no rights to land or water in the area. The PDF is also said to have taken the side of the Arab nomads to counter SPLA involvement.

Existing conflict resolution mechanisms:

Tribal conferences often meet in the area; the commissioner also takes initiative and has an advantage of bringing the SPLA to the table. PDF political representation can not be excluded in the area since the area is dominated by Misiriya tribes.

Of existing law enforcement mechanisms, there are both GOS and SPLM police personnel present in their respective areas, which has led to the people in the conflict pointing to a state of confusion. Since the culprits sometimes run away into Tullushi area after committing a crime, and GOS police does not venture into these areas, culprits escape the law. Nomads do not report to SPLM police, and the Nubians prefer to report to SPLM police rather than GOS police, and hence the issues are not solved.

Existing situation of armed forces:

During the days of war, the Lagawa area was contested. It still maintains the dual administrative identity, both as Lagawa County under SPLM control from Julud SPLA HQ, and Lagawa Locality under SAF/ PDF/GOS control. Hence, the Tullushi area is dominated by the SPLA, while the southern and western parts of Lagawa Locality are dominated SAF/ PDF who have deployed one SAF battalion and an undetermined number of PDF associates.

Therefore, reasons for the possession of weapons by the communities are obvious. They form the material basis for violent conflict, loss of lives and perpetual community insecurity. Since the area has a large presence of PDF and SPLA, weapons are also present in large numbers. The PDF political leadership says that weapons present with PDF cadres are accounted for and are said to be around 3000. But the communities supported by the SPLA allege that there are no records for the exact numbers of weapons. Ammunition from the armed forces of both the SPLM and the SAF/PDF sides are said to be smuggled out from their respective stores to feed the weapons held by the civilians.

Nuba residents say that, as a matter of principle, they are ready to surrender their weapons but they are not sure of the fate of weapons held by the Arab tribes, especially the nomads, who do not stay in one place. Therefore, until general community security and personal human security is guaranteed and weapons are collected from the Arabs, the Nuba will not surrender their weapons. The Arab tribesmen also give the same reasoning.

Possible solutions suggested by informants and tribal leaders:

Cattle corridors need assessment with regard to range management since it is reported that some of the corridors have been degraded beyond usage by livestock. This situation has imposed innovative adjustment strategies on the nomads, including the need to deviate from the regular routes. The implication is that 'new' water access-points for pastoralist have to be constructed.

The only police station in Tullushi must be enhanced with a strong-room for future collection of weapons. Preferably the police station should be jointly manned by a mixture of SPLA and GOS police. There is need for capacity building of local police to enhance community security, through workshops, and delivery of logistical support for better mobility and communication.

Awareness raising on the Arms Act and registration of weapons, and regulations on possession of arms should also be undertaken as well as dissemination of information through the community leaders and Kadugli radio, which are effective sources of communication.

The SAF/PDF should control the weapons in the area under their control, and advocate the shunning of arms by civilians. Similarly, the SPLA should encourage the local communities in their areas to surrender the arms.

A joint SPLA-SAF/PDF discussion is needed in order to evolve acceptable mechanisms and systems for collecting arms and ammunition as well as for secure storage and/or destruction by the authorities.

Disarmament and demobilisation of the PDF in the long run should be a solution, followed by a practical discussion with the community leaders on community arms collection. Accountability of weapons should be entrusted to the communities.

5. Factor-Based Description on Root Causes of Conflict

5.1 The Shortage of Potable Water and Shrinking Natural Grazing Pasture

Twin Perennial Factors for Resource-based Competition, Dispute and Conflict:

The most recent dependable field assessment, used in this report, of the water and food situation covering the whole of Northern Kordofan State (NKS), with particular emphasis on drought-affected areas, was a multi-agency activity conducted by CARE in collaboration with missions from FAO, WFP, ECHO and the State Ministry of Agriculture (MOA) in both NKS and WKS during the 2001/02 season. Both primary and secondary data were examined using group discussions and field observation techniques. The results of the surveys confirmed an acute shortage of drinking water and food for both humans and livestock. The assessment concluded that close to 62 per cent of the people are highly and/or moderately vulnerable in the NKS. Chronic instability due to the devastating and enduring civil war (1987-2005) in Southern Kordofan precipitated displacement and dislocation of populations towards Northern Kordofan, and obstructed normal agricultural investment in semi-mechanised and traditional rain-fed agriculture, while generating labour migration and population movements into different directions in the country. For these reasons the number of vulnerable groups in Kordofan has increased and emergency relief became a prominent feature in the mid-1980s and 1990s.

The Central Kordofan Basin, along Wadi Abu-Habel and Wadi-al-Ghalla natural depressions, has suffered from cycles of drought, persistently erratic rainfall patterns and high pest and disease crop susceptibility. This has, coupled with inherently and increasingly infertile sandy soils, exacerbated by environmentally damaging survival strategies, led to a cycle of degradation that perpetually undermines the soil absorption capacity which contributes to the decline of soil fertility and crop yields. It is estimated that only 20 per cent of the rainfall is fully absorbed into the soil, while the remaining 80 per cent is lost through evaporation, evapo-transpiration and surface-runoff. The poor water retention of the soil has affected the upper horizon/shallow aquifers that feed/recharge hand-pump boreholes and open hand-dug wells.

The landscape in the Central Kordofan Basin is dominated by undulating sand dunes and sandy plains. The area has an average annual rainfall of 300 to 400 mm occurring between June and September (increasing in amount and duration from north to south). Traditional sedentary smallholder agriculture is the mainstay of economic activity for 85 per cent of the rural population. The farming system is characterised by small household farms, subsistence level, primitive and labour intensive production, and a lack or minimum use of modern inputs. Livestock is raised by both sedentary farmers, semi-nomadic and nomadic pastoralists.

The drought cycles of the 1980s and 1990s reduced the range of resources available to settled peasant village communities and pastoralists inhabiting the Central Kordofan Basin. An arid zone with no natural surface water resources, Kordofan State has had to depend on water for human and animal use from three principle sources:

1. Hafeers; man-made ponds dug by villagers to retain rainwater for use in dry season;
2. Hand-dug open wells; shallow wells periodically recharged by surface runoff and rainwater using bucket and rope or hand pumps to extract water to the surface;
3. Water-yards; deep boreholes using diesel-driven piston pumps to pump water to surface troughs.

Modes of access to these water sources have been reduced through drought, poor water point maintenance, and ineffective government water-source policy. Successive years of low rainfall have led to failure of hafeer rainwater-harvesting mechanisms. They fail to be sustainable throughout the long dry season that extends up to seven months. Low rainfall has also failed to fully recharge the Nubian sandstone, contained aquifers of the Nawa and Um-Ruwaba Basement complex, on top of which a substantial part of the Kordofan State region sits, driving water below the maximum depth for open wells. The implication is that, eventually, most open wells will cease to be viable alternatives for sustainable extraction of potable water.

Descriptive Indicators of Potable Water Shortfall Problem as Basis for Conflict

This year, the quantity and distribution of rainfall has been above normal precipitation. July and August rains started early and were of torrential standards, causing high damage through flooding in the northern parts of Kordofan. In September and October there were prolonged periods without rain. Nonetheless, the author's assessment of accounts made by officials in El-Obeid is that about 15 to 25 per cent are expected to face serious water shortage problems late in the summer. Local authorities at the administrative unit level indicate that an estimated 70 hand pumps and four deep boreholes are completely broken down. The implication is that these negative effects could manifest on both human and livestock persistence and will inevitably result in migration and/or conflict. Also, the rangeland will become dearer, and diminish, leading to deterioration of animal conditions that may result in friction and conflict.

However, in previous years, the scarcity of the rains resulted in a deficiency in the surface runoff caught by surface dams and hafeers, which usually represent 80 per cent of the water available for consumption in rural areas. The main natural depressions of Wadi-al-Ghalla and man-made hafeers were empty or contained little water, especially in the localities that entirely depend on hafeers as the main source of drinking water. Water prices are high compared to the low income regime prevailing in the area. The groundwater of the deep and shallow wells makes up the other 20 per cent. In spite of ongoing efforts to improve rural water supply systems in Kordofan, an estimated 75 per cent of the population still have little or no access to clean, affordable potable water. Water-access-points in the Central Kordofan Basin, on average, are more than 10 km away for more than 50 per cent of the population. That is ten times the distance recommended by the WHO. Consequently, the average per capita consumption rates is four to seven litres per day. This constitutes between only 20 to 40 per cent of the 15 Litres per Day (LPD) per person recommended by the WHO as minimum human requirement.

Situation of Water Yards Supply Systems as Means to Overcome Water Problems

As a means for overcoming rural water supply problems, the GOS launched a national anti-thirst campaign in early 1970's. The outcome was the establishment of 4,200 water yards in the thirst stricken states of Kordofan and Darfur. However, water yards are complex rural water supply systems that require periodical maintenance and capital inputs for spare parts to remain operational. The limited resources available to the local Rural Water Corporation (RWC) have made it difficult to replace water yards that have exceeded their useful lifetime, improve operational efficiency of existing water yards or carry out routine and preventive maintenance to sustain water supply delivery. As a result, many areas that previously relied on water yard supplies seek more time-consuming and costly alternatives. Even in areas where water yards are still operational consumers find themselves paying more for less as design capacity efficiency continues to decline.

The underlying causes of the failure of the water yard system are the lack of community management and the ownership approach. The community involvement in the water yard management has not been properly structured by the local authority. Due to wrong utilisation and the discrepancy in allocation of the water fees and management of the water yards as was

the prerogative of the RWC, the maintenance of the physical plant of the water yard has correspondingly dropped off. Consequently, the fencing around the pump-house and troughs that separates humans from animal users has been destroyed, and villagers literally fight with each other and animals over access to the spigot pouring into the trough. As a result of this disorganisation, coupled with the low yield of the pump, the average villager receives an estimated seven litres of water per person per day, only equal to 40 per cent of the minimum daily eater requirement, according to the WHO.

The increased cost and time (related to distance travelled and water point yield) required to meet a family's water needs seriously affects household food and livelihood security. Time devoted to gathering water is at the expense of other productive activities. This is particularly the case for women who usually bear the greatest burden for water collection for family household use. Any income spent on buying water is at the expense of purchasing vital food and household items at times of food shortage, and/or at the expense of acquiring agricultural inputs (seeds) when these are most needed to secure next year's food supply.

5.2 Conflict-related Farming and Crop Production Problems and Constraints

Lagawa Locality has no baseline data for crop production, mainly due to absence of research, proper crop census and paucity of the relevant agricultural services (such as extension, protection, propagation, and information). Data on crop production practices, areas and yields were mainly collected from farmers and community leaders. Hence figures reported here for crop yield and farm sizes are only estimates. They must be read with caution.

As for sedentary production systems, there are generally three categories of farming: traditional small-holding farms including the homestead 'Jubraka' production pattern, and progressive farming system. The third category is the transhumant livestock production system. The three systems differ according to soil types, crops grown, farm size, grazing pasture availability and family needs. The traditional farming systems deal with family requirements for staple food production plus some cash crops. The transhumant production system involves those who are mainly semi-nomad transhumants who move seasonally in search for water and pasture. However, the two systems merge to form a continuum of settlers keeping livestock and semi-nomads engaging in crop production (mainly below subsistence level).

Land Cultivation:

Usually, June-July (for weeding and planting) and October-December (for harvesting) are the peak seasons in terms of labour requirement. The calendar of farmers' activities during the year, as reported by farmers in the Sunoot area (the Um-Jamaina village cluster), is such that February is devoted to land clearance; April-May is the time for maintenance and/or renewal of houses (because of termites); June-August is for planting as well as the first and second weeding and replanting; and October-December is for harvesting. January to March is for off-farm activities.

Problems of the Growing Season in WKS, by sub-zone		
	Central sub-zone	South sub-zone
False start of growing season	May II	April II
Normal start of growing season	May III	May I
Frequency of Occurrence	60per cent	30per cent
Severity/damage of false start	High	Low
Dry spell starts	July I	July
Dry spell ends	September II	September
Frequency of occurrence	60per cent	30per cent

Severity/damage of dry spells	High	Medium
Wet spell starts		August I
Wet spell ends		September I
Frequency of occurrence		60per cent
Severity/damage of wet spell		High

Main crops include pearl millet (*Pennisetum typhoides*), sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*), groundnuts (*Arachis hypogaea*), and sesame (*Sesamum orientale*). Minor crops include karkadeh (Rosale), bamia (okra), lubia (cowpea), melons, tibish (cucumber) and maize. They are mainly grown in Jabareek partly for family consumption and partly as cash earning crops.

The cropped areas in Lagawa Locality reflect the relative importance of the main food and cash crops. Crop yields are shown for the main crops grown in the area, as reported by different sources in the villages visited by the mission. Yield was in most cases given in sacks per Mokhamas (approximately 1.75 feddan) and being transformed into kilograms per feddan. Although yields of crops throughout Lagawa Locality are low, it is evident from table no. 13 that concerning productivity in clay soils, as depicted, average yields are higher than for the goz sandy soils of Sunoot area.

Table no. 13: Crop yields in kg/feddan

Crop/Village	Millet	Sorghum	Groundnuts	Sesame
Ladi	-	171.4	-	-
Sodoor	-	342.9	180.0	-
Tabaldiko	-	457.0	642.9	200.0
Gungaro El Gisar:				
a. Traditional	-	457.1	-	-
b. Progressive	-	(685.7)*	(694.3)*	-
I'tiefih	-	571.4	-	171.4
Arak	-	685.7	591.4	200.0
Average of Southern Lagawa	-	447.6	471.4	190.5
Mahfora	229		283	-
Um-Jamaina	257.1		385.7	-
Dabkar	285.7	400.0	514.3	-
Average of Sunoot admin unit	257.1	400.0	394.3	

N.B: One sack of each of sorghum, millet and sesame = 100kg; one sack of groundnuts = 45kg, unshelled.

Conflict-related Crop Production Problems and Constraints:

Lagawa Locality has been neglected for a long time, being remote without all-weather roads during the rainy season and only dirt roads during the dry season. The situation has become more aggravated by the civil war since 1985/87. Several constraints to crop production development prevail in the area and substantially contribute to the dynamic situation of contention and conflict. The main constraints, as voiced out by the interviewed communities, fall into the following categories:

1. Use of simple hand tools in land cultivation limit farm size to subsistence levels, and require intensive hand labour during peak farm activities (weeding, planting and harvesting).
2. Inadequate or lack of credit, improper marketing system and poor storage facilities which combined together have left the farmers at the mercy of middlemen.
3. Use of traditional varieties of crops which are, in most cases, very late in maturity, susceptible to pest and diseases and low in yield potentials.
4. Continuous cropping of poor strains of cereals on the same land for several years without use of legumes, proper crop rotation or cropping sequence has induced heavy witch-weed infestation and reduced soil fertility, hence posing a threat to household

- food security. This was specially pronounced on sandy (qoz) soils in the northern areas where recurrent conflict had occurred during the last two years.
5. Heavy attacks by pests and diseases coupled with the absence of protection measures have resulted in heavy crop losses. The most common diseases reported by farmers are smuts in grain crops and downy mildew in millet. The most prevalent insect pests are termites on groundnuts, bugs on cucurbits, fruit flies on orchards and the national pests (locusts and birds) especially on grain cereals.
 6. Absence of research, extension and protection services has aggravated the crop production problems.

Livestock Production

Livestock production constitutes a major livelihood pattern in the Lagawa Locality. About 70 – 80 per cent of the animals are migratory. Most families own livestock and some own large numbers. Accurate livestock figures for Lagawa Locality are not available. However, an estimate of two million heads of animals for the whole of Lagawa Locality was quoted. Cattle accounts for most of the domestic livestock. Sheep rank second and goats third. Livestock production depends almost entirely on natural rangelands. Water for these animals comes from wells, dams, lakes, ponds, hafeers and a limited number of water yards. Due to the archaic methods used, water supply is not only insufficient for livestock, but is also not safe for human consumption.

Three herd management systems are identified in Lagawa Locality; the sedentary system, the short distance migratory (or transhumant) system, and the long distance migratory nomadic system. The sedentary system is essentially crop-dominated with livestock ranking second in importance. Sorghum is the main staple food grown on cracking clay soils with sesame and cotton as cash crops. On sandy soils, the main staple food crop is millet with groundnut as the main cash crop. Goats are the main animal species kept by farmers under this system in the southern parts while sheep are more important in the northern sandy soils. Cattle rank second in both cases. The animals spend all the year in the same area though cattle are moved by some Nuba tribes from the plains and jebel foot slopes to the mountain tops during the rainy season. They are taken down again at the onset of the dry season.

The short distance migratory system (transhumant) is common among the Misiriya Zurug clans. The system is dominated by cattle followed by sheep and then goats. These tribes spend the dry season in their 'Dars' in the southern parts of Lagawa Locality. They depend on shallow wells for watering livestock. Some also depend on hafeers and other sources such as Lake Keilek. Cultivation is practiced in this system as an activity second to livestock raising. The main crop is sorghum. Sesame and groundnuts are grown as cash crops. The nature of the cropping is opportunistic. They usually sow crops with the onset of the rains and then move to the northern parts of Lagawa Locality, around Abu Zabad, and even further closer to El-Obeid. These sandy areas are claimed to have better range quality. They are also considered as a refuge from the mud and flies prevailing in the southern parts during the rainy season. The issue of mud and flies was, however, contested at the Kadugli Research Station where cattle from the Lagawa area were kept in a ranch on clay soils year round (Fadlalla, 1995). The mean calving percentage from two years old data was higher for the sedentary herd (74 per cent) compared with the migratory herd (66 per cent). The two herds belong to the research station but managed in such a manner to simulate the two systems. The calving percentage in the sedentary herds in the nearby villages was in the range of 49 per cent (Bunderson *et al.* 1984). It appears that the availability of adequate grazing is the determining factor in the calving performance.

The nomadic system found in Lagawa Locality is practiced by producers owning large numbers of cattle who move far beyond the administrative boundaries of the locality both in the dry season (to Bahr-al-Arab and Lake Abyad) and into Northern Kordofan during the rainy season. This seasonal movement presents the main challenge regarding Nuba-pastoralist

relations. This movement is also inimical to the socio-economic development. In recent years, this movement was restrained due to the prevalent insecure situation, particularly in the southern parts. These groups move north during the rainy season. Their involvement in crop farming is negligible. Other nomadic groups include the camel and sheep raisers who come from Northern Kordofan during the dry season and return before the onset of the rains. The mixed forms of livelihoods, while caused by adaptive strategies, are also causes for friction, contention and conflict over resources.

Conflict-related Constraints on Free-Range Grazing of Livestock:

Livestock production in the Lagawa Province is constrained by a host of factors the most important of which are disease, nutrition, breeds, husbandry practices and infrastructure. The productivity of the free-range grazing pastures in Lagawa Locality is quite variable. It is influenced by factors such as location, season, soil type, topography and farming intensity as well as proximity to human settlements, water access points, and fires as well as other factors.

Quite a number of range-related constraints are impacting negatively on community security as they form central concerns for both cultivators and semi-nomadic groups. The unplanned expansion of agriculture is a major constraint to efficient range use in Lagawa Locality. Large mechanised schemes blocked traditional grazing areas and cattle routes. Also, orchards established at well fields block livestock access routes to water. This is a common cause of conflict between farmers and livestock producers.

The common/communal use of the range is a classic example leading to the 'tragedy of the commons', frequently cited by sociologists. The attitudes of the range users are only utilitarian and exploitative. None of the users cares for the protection of the range. Every user wants 'someone else' to undertake the range protection. The result has always been disastrous, to both the range and to the communities depending on it. Hence, there is risk of contention and conflict.

Burning and wildfire, also resulting from lack of protection of the range, are other important problems affecting both the quantity and the quality of the range. Large areas of the range are burned annually (> 50 per cent) in some places. In addition to losses in dry matter potentially grazable, burning leads to undesirable changes in plant species composition by favouring the dominance of annual species instead of perennials. Burning has also adverse effects on soil conservation and wildlife. Many reasons are cited as causes for fire outbreaks. Conflict of interests between farmers and livestock owners is a major reason. Negligence, especially on the part of honey gatherers, is another. In addition, livestock producers sometimes set fire to allow for new green growth.

Overgrazing is also one of the factors leading to poor range condition. It results from crowdedness near watering points and in recent years from the inaccessibility of traditional grazing land and closure of some traditional cattle routes (Murhals) for security reasons. Overgrazing and the resulting effects on range quantity and quality lead to the adoption, by livestock producers, of certain adjustment and coping strategies, including grazing far away and watering their animals every other day. The long distances walked severely affect animal performance as it was found that lactating sheep in the dry season spend 29 per cent of their daily energy intake on walking. In fact, the animals which were lactating were able to meet only 45 per cent of their energy requirements during the dry season (Fadlalla, 1985). Overgrazing also leads to changes in plant composition as the more palatable species are removed from the range. This is especially true in the rainy season ranges in the Sunoot area where the current conflicts are being waged. Palatable plants are grazed prematurely (before the seeds set). The result is an alarming decrease in palatable species, and an increase in contentions and conflict. Overgrazing also leads to an increase in unpalatable species.

Conflict-related Constraints on Forests Resources:

Natural forests form part of the range and contribute substantially to browse for camels, goats, sheep, wildlife and even cattle. Many trees and shrubs are known for their high quality browse. Leaves, flowers and fruits enrich the diets of ruminants especially during the early dry season and at the onset of the rains when the leaves and twigs of trees are the only green material available.

Constraints facing gum production are lack of technologies for propagation, tapping, processing and marketing. Research has begun to provide solutions in the case of gum Arabic, but a lot remains to be done to make real benefits for other types of gum. However, gum gardens have turned into a domain for dispute, contention and conflict when, particularly, goats and/or camels trespass on property and inflict damage on the Hashab-tree that produces the gum. If violators trespass to collect gum from the trees, this is considered an act of theft. The owner responds rather vigorously, in a bid to protect his 'property'. Fighting can ensue, and the ground is prepared for conflict.

The role of forests in providing firewood, charcoal, building material and furniture is well known. Hence, a household's need for these goods has led to the deforestation observed near village settlements and urban centres. Production of food from trees is constrained by lack of technologies for propagation, harvesting, pre-market preparation, processing and markets. Many fruit gatherers adopt harmful methods including felling of trees.

Lack or absence of fire lanes has resulted in the destruction of many valuable trees. Moreover the unplanned expansion of agricultural schemes has removed enormous masses of trees, leaving bare land subject to erosion and harmful effects on the environment.

Concluding Remarks

The aim of this exercise has been to suggest entry points to address issues and problems related to micro-peace building and land resource-based conflict management, as well as to assess and learn about the situation of rights of access to and use of land and natural resources, the manner in which rights of access are sustained, and how they are protected, particularly in the case of mass displacement during the war and during the expected return of large numbers of IDP. Such natural resources include water-access points for humans and animals, ponds, rivers and dams for fishing, free-range grazing pastures and pastoral routes followed in the wet and dry seasons, forests and game reserves, large and medium-scale mechanised farming lands (demarcated and undemarcated), as well as smallholder farms in village domains.

Principles:

In order to consolidate peace, it is necessary to bring land and natural resource issues to centre-stage through acknowledging that

- There is a need for peace building through prioritizing land and natural resource management as an entry point;
- One should aim to build a consensual approach, as a requirement for consolidating peace, that articulates state-level and community-level efforts through community consultation and participatory negotiation of land rights;
- Land and natural resource employment-focused approaches should be a central focus, in agriculture and rural agro-industries, for poverty reduction and capacity-building for smallholder farming communities;
- Awareness raising about resource conservation is a central issue in a context of shrinking land and natural resources as a result of a desertification that has taken one third of Sudan's land-mass in the north, and the war that resulted in mine infestation of one third of the country in the south;
- It is imperative to acknowledge that there is not enough land for everybody. Therefore, there is an immediate need for efforts to raise the awareness of people that there is no room for misuse of land and natural resources, if the rights of future generations are to be preserved;
- There is a need for implementing dispute resolution and community-to-community reconciliation through revitalisation of local institutions (e.g., training of native administration and local community leaders);
- In addition, one should aim to broaden prospects of, and options for, community-to-community reconciliation, including through associating and training of NGOs, CBOs and CSOs that are based in the SKS and strengthening their bottom-up drive for determining community-level priorities, as well as through consultation and joint action and partnership with locality-level authorities and the private sector at the local community level;
- Finally, the land-use related basic needs for which interventions are needed in order to mitigate disputes over land and natural resources and prevent them from escalating into conflict must be addressed.

How to Address the Issues?

- Promote sustainable participatory, community-driven, land-use development through constituency-building for bottom-up approaches to land and natural resources issues

- Community asset-mapping, surveying and land classification so that available community resources, skills, norms and traditions are made in order to pave the road for drawing up a road-map for sustainable livelihoods. One important result here is the building of a consensually negotiated plan on rights of access to land. Secondly, this process raises community awareness of the finite nature of available land and natural resources. This awareness building becomes one pillar of consolidating peace. The unity of aspirations built on this vision needs to be translated into a community work plan. This is the germ of common community interest, and presumably, for consolidating peace.

Stakeholder Interests and Policy Redirection

In order to make unity attractive for southerners and the Ngok-Dinka of the Abyei Area at the end of the interim period, the Sudan needs to take important steps for consolidating peace through (a) rectifying the fragmented land laws; (b) recognizing land-related norms and customary practices into legal statutes; (c) developing a sound, participatory (people-centered) and negotiated policy on rights of access to land and natural resource utilisation; and (d) responsive community-based arrangements must be put in place so as to ensure not only safe and smooth optional return of IDPs but also make their access to land, and re-insertion and re-integration in the host community a smooth process.

Key Recommendations for the SKS Authorities and Development Partners on Land and Resource Management in South-western Kordofan

1. Management of Resource-based Conflicts:

Conflicts over land and natural resources between and within communities, and between agriculturists and pastoralists, some of them going back to the middle of the 20th century, are likely to escalate now that formal hostilities have ended, and given the ready availability of small arms. It is therefore imperative that these simmering conflicts are identified and closely monitored.

The SKS, in collaboration with partners and stakeholders, must cultivate and ensure the political will to contribute to the management and resolution of resource-based conflicts through mapping of conflict areas and conflicting parties, mapping of competing forms of land use, and identifying and analyzing the root causes of conflict, as well as initiating dialogue to mediate and resolve such conflicts.

2. Land and Resource Ownership

Community ownership of land, which has been the object for contention, is very difficult to manage once active hostilities decline and the government has to address competing needs for land and natural resources. Therefore:

1. The SPLM concept/tenet that ‘the land belongs to the people’ must be re-examined/revisited, clearly defined, disseminated and well articulated, so that the respective needs of the government, local authorities, communities, investors and private individuals are carried on board and met/satisfied.
2. In addition, the land in the SKS is very attractive for investment, and the government has indicated its desire to spur private investment in land as the basis of reconstruction and rehabilitation of the economy. In this connection, it is important that urgent measures are taken to develop a clear perspective and clarify the respective roles, responsibilities and entitlements of the state government, local government authorities, and communities in the allocation of land to private investors, the sharing of benefits and the minimisation of risk.
3. *These propositions call for:*
 - a. *establishing land and resource use maps,*

- b. *demarcating community area boundaries, on the basis of 'the popular consultation principle' and community participation*
- c. *land surveying, mapping and land capability classification,*
- d. *formulating the three basic land and resource management regimes: private land, communal land and state/public land.*
- e. *involving donors, INGOs and other stakeholders in funding support to accomplish the above activities through a joint people-centered 'community-based resource management pilot project', in order to offer solutions on the basis of practical lessons learned for establishing land and resource management regimes.*

3. Land Policy Development and Sustainable Protection of Land Rights

Given the diversity of communities and their land possession/ownership and tenure systems, and the absence of a formal policy, legal and institutional framework for people-centred management of land and natural resources in SKS, urgent steps should be taken to establish a state-level technical authority to support the State Land Commission and serve as a clearing-house for land allocations, especially in the interim period. Based on lessons learned at the National Land Commission and through expert advice from universities on land issues, technical support mechanisms could contribute to the process of land policy development.

This can be addressed through the establishment of a state-level inter-ministerial steering committee, and land boards at local Administrative Unit as well as at the lowest village assembly structures. The information from these boards shall feed into the State Land Commission.

A land policy with corresponding legal and institutional framework is imperative for SKS. To this end, a participatory process needs to be put in place to ensure that the policy is designed with the full, informed and effective participation of all key stakeholders, particularly the communities and their traditional institutions.

4. Addressing Returnee-IDPs and Ex-combatants' Land Demands

A critical and immediate challenge has to do with return, re-settlement, reinsertion and reintegration of returnees (ex-combatants, return-IDPs and return-refugees). While this is likely to be managed fairly well by traditional institutions in the rural areas, where individuals and families are returning to their ancestral land and only need to be 'reinserted' into the social system, it will be more problematic in urban and peri-urban areas, where authorities and competencies between traditional institutions, local authorities and the SKS may conflict.

The situation is likely to be exacerbated by the involvement of international agencies such as the ICRC. The fact that many returnees may not want to go back to their ancestral lands may add to the complexity of the return process. In this case, the management of resettlement of returnees and IDPs is likely to be the first major litmus test for the readiness of the SKS to consult with and include traditional institutions in management and decision-making over land. Properly managed, it will create enduring goodwill for collaboration between government and community. On the other hand, if not properly managed, it could set the stage for enduring conflict.

The SKS should aim at supporting and enabling state, locality/county, village/Payam officials and city councils to come up with a clear understanding and procedure on how to handle the demands and rights of returnees in their respective areas of optional return in order to address the rights and claims of returnees.

5. Capacity Building

A key issue for sustainable land management and administration is capacity. The SKS will for a long time need serious capacity building with respect to land management and

administration both for the government and for civil society. The NPA, together with other development partners, is willing to support institutional capacity building both through training and monitoring. Networking and collaboration with donors, INGOs and local NGOs will be one useful way to meet this challenge.

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