

South Sudan From Unity with the north to Independence

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Abstract:

South Sudan became an independent state on July 9, 2011, after a long struggle between the Arabized north and southern Sudan. The division or conflict between northern and southern Sudan was a colonial making. The intention of colonial policy was to annex Southern Sudan to East Africa in order to establish a federal state of East African territories of Kenya, Uganda and Southern Sudan. That policy was opposed by northern Sudan politicians, and at the end resulted into union between the two regions. Bad policies of post-independence government led by northern politicians caused the split of Sudan into north and south Sudan, and it culminated to the separation of southern Sudan from Sudan to form its own entity, the Republic of South Sudan in 2011. The objectives of the paper are: To examine the history of South Sudan; Causes of political conflict between northern and southern Sudan before and after independence of Sudan; The road towards South Sudan independence. Importance of the article:

The article – paper will address and resolve many problems which based Sudan politically, economically, socially and culturally in Sudan before and after independence 1956. Methodology of the article: The methodology of the article is based on historical .

المستخلص:

أصبح جنوب السودان دولة منفصلة قائمة بذاتها في 9 يوليو 2011، بعد حروب طويلة بين الشمال العربي وجنوب السودان. النزاع بين جنوب وشمال السودان سببه السياسة الاستعمارية، وكان هدفها ضم جنوب السودان إلى شرق إفريقيا لتكوين دولة فدرالية بين مناطق كينيا، أوغندا وجنوب السودان. تلك السياسة وجدت معارضة من قبل ساسة شمال السودان وفي النهاية تم الاتحاد بين المنطقتين (شمال وجنوب السودان). السياسة الخاطئة التي مارسها الساسة في شمال السودان سببت تقسيم السودان إلى دولتين، دولة السودان ودولة جمهورية جنوب السودان. أهداف الورقة العلمية، فحص تاريخ السودان؛ الأسباب السياسية للنزاع بين جنوب وشمال السودان قبل وبعد الاستقلال؛ الطريق إلى استقلال جنوب السودان، أهمية الورقة العلمية، تناولت الورقة العلمية حلول المشاكل السياسية، الاقتصادية، الاجتماعية والثقافية التي واجهت السودان قبل وبعد الاستقلال عام 1956م. منهجية الورقة العلمية اعتمدت الورقة على المنهج التاريخي .

Introduction:

South Sudan became an independent state on July 9, 2011, and join UN on July 14, 2011. South Sudan is officially known as the Republic of South Sudan . South Sudan is bordered by Sudan to the north , Ethiopia to the East , Kenya to the Southeast , Uganda to the South , The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to the Southwest and the central African Republic (CAR) to the West. It became independent state from the Sudan in 2011.

Turko –Egyptian Conquest :-

Before 2011, South Sudan was one of Sudan's regions. The unified modern Sudan was created by Turko-Egyptian colonial authority. In 1820 . Muhammed Ali Pasha dispatched a military expedition led by his son Ismaeil Pasha to Sudan in order to conquer it. It overran Northern Sudan and Marched towards Sennar, the capital city of Sennar Sultanate. The invading force entered Sennar city 13 June 1821, ending the rule of the last Funj Sultan Badi VI. After collapse of the Sultanate of Sennar, the viceroy of Egypt, Muhammed Ali Pasha established political authority in Sudan under his dynasty⁽¹⁾

After consolidating its power over northern Sudan , the Turko –Egyptian Forces started expanding their control to include southern Sudan. In 1827, Ali Khurshid Pasha led a force through the Dinka lands and in 1830, he reached to Juba area. The Turko-Egyptian armies tried to establish Military Garrisons in the region, but disease, bad environment and defection forced them to abandon their advance beyond Juba. Under the pressure from European powers, Egypt allowed European traders and missionaries in 1851 to operate in the region⁽²⁾

The first invasion was by Turko –Egyptian colonial master under the leadership of Muhammd Ali Passha's dynasty.

The Turkish rule continued in Sudan until it was expelled by the Mahdiya revolution in 1885.

The second invasion was carried by Anglo-Egyptian alliance, in which the two countries set up a system called Anglo-Egyptian Condominium until Sudan got its independence in 1956⁽³⁾.

The Policy of Anglo-Egyptian Government towards Southern Sudan:-

To achieve its objective of containment of Islam in the Southern Sudan, the British government sought to limit the spread of Islam in the South. In 1918 the government changed the day of rest to be Sunday instead of Friday in the South¹. Slave trade was suppressed vigorously and northern traders were transferred from Southern Sudan to Northern Sudan and Southerners were prevented to travel to the north. Under the provisions of the passports and permits ordinance of 1922, the South was classified as “closed districts”, effecting the banning of northern traders and restriction of southerners travelling to the north to get job⁽⁴⁾ Tribal consciousness was encouraged, and by 1922, chiefs’ courts were set up under the supervision of British officials .The banning of northerners to reside in the south and the preconditions of indirect Rule constituted the administrative view of what to be called “Southern Policy”⁽⁵⁾. This policy which was initiated officially in 1930, required grouping of self-contained tribal entities based on their indigenous customs and beliefs . As Collins comments:

“ In order to encourage indigenous, African customs in the South, all Northern Sudanese , Arab influences were to be eradicated , for African traditions , already weakened by a century of chaos, could hardly hope to flourish in the face of the dynamic and expansive culture of the Northern Sudan”⁽⁶⁾.

To implement such policy, some procedures were taken as following:-

1. All Northern administrators were transferred from

2. Southern Sudan to Northern Sudan .
3. Trading permits of Northerners were cancelled .
4. Every administrator was instructed to speak the language of the people of his district or English, but not Arabic , and was to associate himself with local customs and beliefs .
5. The wearing of Arabic dress and the use of Arabic names by Southerners were discouraged ⁽⁷⁾.

After the end of second world war in 1945, the British government began to prepare southern Sudan for eventual separation from the north and Annex it to east Africa. This policy of separating the south from the north faced opposition from northern politicians. By 1946, the government felt the pressure of northern politicians who were against the separation of Southern Sudan from Northern Sudan. In order to find view points of northerners, the governor-general formed a special committee and called for a conference in April 1946. The conference came out with resolution to send subcommittee came back with the suggestion that South Sudan be merged with Northern Sudan. The British government accepted the proposal of union between south and north Sudan , based on the recommendation of the civil secretary, J. W. Robertson⁽⁸⁾.

After the conclusion of the issue of the union between South and North Sudan, the National legislative assembly of the whole Sudan declared on December 19, 1955 that Sudan would attain its independence on January 1, 1956. On January 1, 1956, Sudan became an independent state, and immediately the problem of national unity became a challenge to the new government.

The Independent Sudan and the issue of southern Sudan :

The post - independence politics in Sudan witnessed disagreement about the political system to be adopted or how to reach a consensus regarding national unity . The northern politicians wanted a centralized system of government, whereas

the southern politicians opted for local autonomy or special status for southern Sudan. The two parties reached a stalemate during the first years of parliamentary regime. The policy of post-independence government was to maintain unity of the country by all means. To achieve that objective , the government embarked on implementing policy of Arabization and Islamization in Southern Sudan. On the other hand, southerners wanted to reserve their local cultures and therefore, refused to accept centralized system . Such disagreement paralyzed functioning of the state and invited the military to takeover power from the politicians. On November 17, 1958, the military under the leadership of Major General Ibrahim Abboud, toppled the first democratically elected government. Before independence, southerners were convinced that northern politicians would not resolved problem of Southern Sudan , and therefore, a mutiny took place in Torit town on 18 August 1955. That mutiny was suppressed and life came into normalcy.

The policies of the military government escalated tension between southern and northern Sudan. The Abboud regime applied radical solutions to the problem of southern Sudan. Administratively, the government appointed northerners as provincial governors in three southern provinces and transferred southerners to the north. The policy of Abboud regarding education and religion was vigorous. To execute policy of Arabization and Islamization , the Abboud regime opened “six intermediate Islamic institutes” in Southern Sudan, Mosques were built , missions were not allowed to open new schools and the day of rest was changed from Sunday to Friday. Missionaries going on leave were not given re-entry visa to the Sudan. Religious activities were confined in the Church premises. In 1962, the government issued the Missionary Society Act to regulate missionaries’ Activities in Sudan, and on February 22, 1964 the government expelled foreign missionaries working in the south. These policies of subduing southerners had repercussions and many southerners fled to neighbouring countries and established resistance movement. In February 1962, Father Saturnino Lahure, Joseph Oduho and William Deng Nhial formed

the Sudan African Closed Districts National Union (SACDNU) in Leopoldville (Kinshasa), Congo and became the following year (1963) as Sudan African National Union (SANU) with headquarters in Kampala, Uganda⁽⁹⁾. By August 1963, the military wing called Anya-Nya was established in order to launch a military operation. The name Anya-Nya in Madi Language means “Snake venom⁽¹⁰⁾”.

The objective of the first civil war led by Sanu was to achieve total independence of Southern Sudan. The first Civil War lasted seventeen years and peace agreement was signed in March 1972 ,in Addis Ababa between the government of Sudan and South Sudan Liberation Movement led by Gen . Joseph Lagu . The terms of that agreement established the local autonomy in Southern Sudan region.

The Addis Ababa peace agreement did not last longer, in 1983 the second civil war erupted and the Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement / Army(SPLM/A) came into being. It was established by Dr. John Garang de Mabior , and the aim of the SPLM/SPLA was to transform the old Sudan to new Sudan on a new basis. The policies of president Nimeiry Ignited tensions and problems in Southern Sudan. On 5th June 1983, Nimeiry abrogated Addis Ababa peace accord and divided Southern Suan to three regions- Upper Nile, Equatoria and Bahr el - Ghazal. In September 1983, he declared Islamic Sharia Law to be imposed in the Whole of Sudan ⁽¹¹⁾. Such policies Pushed Southern Sudan Population to go back to war in order to materialize just and equitable Sudan⁽¹²⁾.

The Second Civil War in Sudan between the northern and southern Sudan was a result of aggressive and bad policies applied by Nimeiry’s regime towards Southern Sudan. The rebellion which erupted on May 16, 1983, in Bor town, Jonglei province, led to total civil war in the South. The Mutiny which occurred on 16th May, 1983, was done by 105 Battalion of the Sudan’s army and that Battalion was commanded by Major Kerubino Kuanyin

Bol. The incident of 105 Battalion influenced many other military units across Southern Sudan and later on Battalion 104 joined the rebellion and many people fled to neighbouring countries, particularly Ethiopia. At the time of the battle in Bor, Col. Dr. John Garang de mabior was in Bor town spending his annual leave.

On 16th June, 1983, Major William Nyuon Bany, the commander of 104 Ayod garrison launched an offensive against the government's forces which were sent from Malakal to reinforce the Ayod garrison. The reinforcement was destroyed and Major William Nyuon joined the rebellion and went to Ethiopia with all the organized forces, which included police, Army personnel, wildlife, prison wardens and all the district council officials and employees.

While in Bor, Dr. John Garang was preparing to follow the mutineers who headed to Ethiopian border. He left Bor accompanied by his wife, Nyandeng Chol Atem, his sons Mabior and Chol, Cagai Atem Biar, Maker Deng Malou, Mabior Kuir Maketh, Thon Akec Akur and two others ⁽¹³⁾.

The formation of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA):

After his arrival in Ethiopia, Dr. John Garang de Mabior started organizing the mutineers in order to form an effective movement. On 14th June, 1983, the general meeting was convened which was attended by Col. Dr. John Garang, captain Salva Kiir Mayardit, Cagai Atem Biar and 55 non-commission officers (NCOs) of the former 105 Battalion of Bor garrison for the formation of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA). The meeting ended without compromise agreement and it was postponed to be re-convened in near future.

On 6th July 1983, the four groups or factions of the revolution, reconvened a meeting in Itang and signed a unity agreement which

led to the establishment of a unified movement. Those who signed the Unity agreement were:

1. Col. Dr. John Garang de Mabior representing SPLM/SPLA.
2. Commander Gordon Kong Chuol representing Bilpam Anya-Nya II.
3. Garjek Wai representing Itang Anya-Nya II.
4. Popopiou representing paketa Anya-Nya II.

After the signing of unity agreement, the leaders of four factions groups could not agree on a leader to head the re-organized movement. After breaking away with his group, Akuot Atem de Mayen formed his own movement called united Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (USSLM).

The breaking away of Akuot Atem, paved the way for John Garang's faction to establish its own movement which became the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA) under the leadership of Col. Dr. John Garang de Mabior. The founding members of the SPLM/SPLA, leadership was comprised of five military men and two civilians as follows:

1. Col. Dr. John Garang de Mabior as chairman and commander in-chief of SPLM/SPLA;
2. Lt. Colonel Kerubino Kuanyin Bol as deputy chairman;
3. Lt. Colonel William Myuon Bany member;
4. Major Salva Kiir Mayardit member;
5. Major Arok Thon Arok member;
6. Mr. Joseph Oduho secretary for foreign affairs;
7. Mr. Martin Majier Gai secretary for legal affairs.

The manifesto of the Movement – SPLM:

The Sudan People's Liberation Movement was intending to transform Sudan into a new Sudan with new bases, it wanted to fight for the interest of all Sudanese irrespective of religion, race, creed and geographical diversities. The objective of the SPLM was to convert the Sudan into a new socialist United Sudan and democratic political system, in which every citizen can participate at his/her will without coercion⁽¹⁴⁾.

The second civil war between the northern and southern Sudan continued from 1983 to 2004, and this war lasted for twenty one years. It came to an end by a peace deal called comprehensive Peace Agreement, which was mediated by Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in 2005. So, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed on January 9, 2005, in Nairobi, Kenya, by the government of Sudan and Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA). The comprehensive peace agreement's terms established the Government of South Sudan (GOSS) in Juba with local self-rule authority for six years, after that Southern Sudan would decide its political fate through referendum. Under the CPA, the government of national unity was formed in the centre, in which all political forces and parties were represented including the major signatories of the CPA the government of Sudan, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, and other political parties which were not signatories of the comprehensive peace agreement. The terms of peace deal were to establish and develop good governance, sharing of oil revenues between the central government and government of Southern Sudan and producing areas of oil fields. The timetable for the referendum was set. The implementation of the peace agreement did not go as stipulated in the agreement, but before the end of interim period, the referendum was conducted, and the people of Southern Sudan voted for independence of their region⁽¹⁵⁾.

On July 9, 2011, Southern Sudan became an independent

State under the name Republic of South Sudan . On July 14, 2011 , South Sudan admitted into sovereign nations and became 193rd member of the United Nations . On July 28, 2011, South Sudan joined the African Union as its 54th member state ⁽¹⁶⁾.

Conclusion (Results):

South Sudan is facing a lot of issues, which include the management of Ethnic diversity, political stability, delivery of services to civil population, management of natural resources and particularly the oil revenues and equitable distribution of oil revenues between the central government and state producing areas.

If the politicians in South Sudan want political stability, they must implement the following policies:

1. Delivery of services to the people of South Sudan;
2. Development of human resources;
3. Proper management of oil resources;
4. Proper management of ethnic and cultural diversity;
5. Construction of roads and bridges;
6. Adoption of proper economic programme;
7. Accept transfer of political power through peaceful means.

الخاتمة والنتائج:

واجهت دولة جنوب السودان العديد من المواضيع، التي تشمل إدارة التنوع الإثني، الاستقرار السياسي وتوفير الخدمات للمواطنين، وإدارة الموارد الطبيعية خصوصاً النفط والتوزيع العادل بين الحكومة المركزية ومناطق الإنتاج.

إذا أراد السياسيون في جنوب السودان الاستقرار السياسي يجب تطبيق السياسات التالية:

1. توفير الخدمات لشعب دولة جنوب السودان؛
2. تنمية الموارد البشرية؛
3. الإدارة السليمة للنفط؛
4. الإدارة السليمة للتنوع الإثني والثقافي؛
5. الاهتمام بالبنية التحتية (الطرق والجسور)؛
6. اتباع نظام اقتصادي مناسب؛
7. ممارسة نقل السلطة بطرق سلمية.

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