

Cooperative research project: **Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Peace Agreement of January 9, 2005: local, national and regional dimensions**

**Workshop**

**“After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement/CPA: Signs of Change?”**

November 13-14, 2006, Conference Room in the Overseas Museum, Bahnhofplatz 13,  
29195 Bremen

sponsored by Volkswagen Foundation, Germany

**Agenda**

**Monday, November 13**

- 9.00 – 10.30      **Opening the workshop:**  
Karl Wohlmuth, University of Bremen, IWIM/Economist  
Mary Omosa, University of Nairobi, Sociologist  
Samson Wassara, University of Juba, Political Scientist  
Kassahun Berhanu, University of Addis Ababa, Political Scientist  
Abdel Ghaffar M Ahmed, Ahfad University for Women, Anthropologist  
Mustafa Babiker, University of Khartoum, Development Studies  
Joshua Otor Akol, University of Juba, Geographer  
Paul Wani Gore, University of Khartoum, Social Anthropologist  
**Overview of the programme**  
Elke Grawert, University of Bremen, IWIM/Political Science
- 10.30 – 11.00      **Coffee / tea break**
- 11.00 – 12.30      **The comprehensive peace agreement and the prospects for a lasting peace in the Sudan**  
Joshua Otor Akol, University of Juba  
**From CPA to DPA (Darfur peace agreement): ripe for resolution, or ripe for dissolution?**  
Peter Woodward, University of Reading, UK
- 12.30 – 14.00      **Lunch break**
- 14.00 – 15.30      **Abyei: a litmus test for implementing the CPA**  
Kassahun Berhanu, University of Addis Ababa  
**The CPA and beyond: problems and prospects for peaceful coexistence in the Nuba Mountains**  
Samson Samuel Wassara, University of Juba
- 15.30 – 16.00      **Coffee / tea break**
- 16.00 - 17.30      **Return migration to South Kordofan and Unity State after CPA**  
Samira Musa, PhD researcher from the University of Juba  
**Articulating autochthonous identities in claiming traditional land rights in the Sudan: an ethnographic case study from the Nuba Mountains after the CPA**  
Guma Konda Komey, Universities of Juba / Halle-Wittenberg, Leipzig  
**A comment on Return Migration**  
Ulrike Schultz, Universities of Berlin and Ahfad, Omdurman
- 17.30 – 18.00      **Micro-macro issues in peace-building. A cooperative research project**  
Gunnar Sörbö, Michelsen Institute, Bergen

## Tuesday, November 14

- 9.00 – 10.30      **Implementation of CPA in Blue Nile: could local institutions build a bridge?**  
Buthaina Elnaiem, University of Juba  
**Repercussions of the CPA in Gambella**  
Regassa Sima, PhD researcher from the University of Addis Ababa  
**Ethiopian federalism: cause of conflict and competition or access to resources and democratic participation? A view from the regional state of Gambella**  
Monika Sommer, University of Addis Ababa / Hamburg
- 10.30 – 11.00      **Coffee / tea break**
- 11.00 – 12.00      **Cross-border trade and influence of conflicts in Southern Sudan**  
Paul Wani Gore, University of Khartoum  
**Statement on regional aspects of war and peace in Sudan**  
Elke Grawert, University of Bremen
- 12.00 – 13.00      **Patterns of decision-making in institutions in South Kordofan and Upper Nile State**  
Tayseer El-Fatih, PhD researcher from the Ahfad University for Women, Omdurman  
**Role of internal and external lobby/advocacy for sustainable peace building in Sudan**  
Marina Peter, Sudan Forum
- 13.00 – 14.00      **Lunch Break**
- 14.00 – 15.30      **The role of African and Arab elites in building a New Sudan**  
Melha Rout Biel, University of Jena  
**Popular political participation after CPA**  
Yasir Awad, PhD researcher from the University of Khartoum  
**The CPA and Democratisation in Sudan: Opportunities and Challenges for Political Parties**  
Mustafa Babiker, University of Khartoum
- 15.30 – 16.00      **Coffee / tea break**
- 16.00 – 17.00      **Research perspectives:**  
**Inter-communal Conflicts in Sudan. Causes, Resolution Mechanisms and Transformation. Presentation of a book series**  
Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed, Ahfad University for Women, Omdurman  
**Conclusion of the Workshop and Outlook**  
Elke Grawert
- 17.00 – 18.00      **Guided walk through the Bremen Overseas Museum**  
Silke Seybold, Director of the Museum
- 18.30                **IWIM dinner reception**

## **Abstracts**

### **The comprehensive peace agreement and the prospects for a lasting peace in the Sudan**

**Joshua Otor Akol**  
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The CPA, signed on the 9 January 2005, brought an end to the tragic and longest war in Africa between North and South Sudan. This war cost the country an estimate of 2 million deaths and 4 million displaced persons. The CPA dealt with many crucial issues, the most important of which are the self-determination, Sharia Islamic laws, power sharing, wealth sharing and security arrangements. The CPA has also established a "One-Country-Two Systems" model, with a secular system in the South and a theocratic system in North Sudan during the six-year interim period ending in 2011. To date, the implementation of the peace agreement is moving at a slow pace, a process which has raised questions from various quarters.

This paper shall briefly discuss the gains of the CPA and examine the issues that stand in the way of the peace process. The paper shall also examine what other factors tend to impede the implementation of the peace process both at the national and regional levels.

### **From CPA to DPA: ripe for resolution, or ripe for dissolution?**

**Peter Woodward**  
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The paper will first consider why the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was achieved and will present it as the outcome of a situation that was 'ripe for resolution' in terms of domestic, regional and international politics. However there were also aspects of the CPA that contributed to the Darfur crisis, and these will form the second part of the paper. The third part will discuss the reasons why the Darfur crisis was much less 'ripe for resolution' at the same three levels, domestic, regional and international, and the consequent failure thus far of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA). The paper will conclude by considering whether Darfur can be accommodated within the CPA, or threatens to make Sudan 'ripe for dissolution'?

### **Abyei: a litmus test for implementing the CPA**

**Kassahun Berhanu**  
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## **The CPA and beyond: problems and prospects for peaceful coexistence in the Nuba Mountains**

**Samson Samuel Wassara**  
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The Comprehensive Peace Agreement symbolizes hope after decades of protracted conflict and violence in Sudan. It is a unique agreement in that it links the divide between the North and the South of the country. The Nuba Mountains is one of the regions in the North that makes an integral part of the CPA. The agreement stipulates change in the social and material relationships. The most notable change is the relative peace that has enabled many IDPs to return to their areas of origin. The return process has stimulated demands for basic services. However, the implementation of the CPA in the area is becoming an obstacle to services for the ordinary people. The partners are not demonstrating mutual confidence in the establishment of institutions and the rules of governance. This paper examines the problems impeding processes of governance, which result in restiveness in communities of the Nuba Mountains.

### **Return migration to South Kordofan and Unity State after CPA**

**Samira Musa**  
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### **Articulating autochthonous identities in claiming traditional land rights in the Sudan: an ethnographic case study from the Nuba Mountains after the CPA<sup>1</sup>**

Dr. Guma Kunda Komey  
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This paper postulates that the question of customary land rights is one of the root causes of the successive civil wars in Sudan in general and in the Nuba Mountains in particular. Therefore, after the formal end of the war, the question arises how, on the one hand, the land-based conflicts between the co-existing but competing ethnic groups and, on the other hand, the contradictions between traditional land rights and modern state policy on land rights will be resolved? The issue involves aspects of territoriality, land rights and ethnicity in the struggle of the traditional societies in claiming their customary lands. In the light of this, the paper attempts to trace some emerging processes and dynamics of articulating autochthonous identity politics in the struggle for claiming ethnic territorial land by two selected ethnic groups in the region. Towards its end, the paper questions the effectiveness of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and its formed institutions including the current Government of National Unity in addressing land question despite its centrality in the Sudan's recurrent civil wars in the South, the Nuba Mountains, Darfur and elsewhere.

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<sup>1</sup>This paper is part of an on-going larger research project titled 'Contested autochthony; land and water rights, and the relation of nomadic and sedentary people of South Kordofan / Nuba Mountains, Sudan'. The project is headed by Professor Richard Rottenburg of Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Halle, and is part of the Research Centre 'Difference and Integration' of the Universities of Halle and Leipzig (<http://www.nomadsed.de>). The project is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) for the period 2004-2008. Views expressed in this paper, however, are not necessarily representing these institutions.

## **Implementation of CPA in Blue Nile: could local institutions build a bridge?**

**Buthaina Elnaiem**

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Three Areas (Abyei, Blue Nile, and Southern Kordofan) are addressed by two separate protocols in the CPA - "The Resolution of Conflict in Southern Kordofan (Nuba Mountains) and Blue Nile States" and "The Resolution of Abyei Conflict" -, that seek solutions to the political, administrative, economic and social conflicts in these areas. The three state governments are struggling with rebuilding and developing their regions, reintegrating returnees back home and building institutional capacity. The CPA brings high expectations from citizens for tangible peace dividends, honest power and wealth sharing, and an end to the insecurity. To ensure stability, communities where they reintegrate will need sustainable development by developing water systems, health systems, schools, transportation routes, vocational training, and business and agricultural inputs. However, the implementation of the CPA is slow, particularly in the contested Three Areas. Institutions and capacities are nascent and the political and administrative infrastructure of the new governments remains weak.

This paper explores the recent developments in Blue Nile (as one of the Three Areas) after the CPA with regard to development and livelihood conditions. It investigates factors that may cause the slow process of implementing the CPA. The paper tries to answer the following main questions:

- ⇒ What is the current development situation in Blue Nile?
- ⇒ What could be the reasons and constraints behind the slow process of implementing the CPA in blue Nile?
- ⇒ Could the local institutions and civil society organizations build a bridge and play a role in reshaping perceptions and forming a common understanding of roles and responsibilities?

## **Repercussions of the CPA in Gambella**

**Regassa Sima**

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## **Ethiopian federalism: cause of conflict and competition or access to resources and democratic participation? A view from the regional state of Gambella**

**Monika Sommer**

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The provisional legislation of 1992 Ethiopia established the administrative framework for a unique brand of "ethnic federalism". This concept was taken up by the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (Proclamation No. 1/1995). The new regional authorities have, in theory at least, wide-ranging economic powers, and moreover, the right for secession of individual regions or linguistic groups, termed nationalities. The Regional State of Gambella was among the latest to decide about an own Regional Constitution, which passed the legislative procedure in 2003. In crass contradiction to this situation is the degree of centralisation created by the system of EPRDF-affiliated parties. All regions, including Gambella and the different ethnically defined parties of Gambella,

were first affiliated with, and now belong to the umbrella-organisation, EPRDF. The paper tries to analyse the role that the new political set-up had on the development of the newly designed multiethnic Regional State of Gambella, in political terms as much as in terms of competition for different – material and immaterial - resources.

### **Cross-border trade and influence of conflicts in Southern Sudan**

**Paul Wani Gore**

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In recent months, there has been a lot of attention on the increased insecurity on the Eastern Areas of Ekuatoria where there has been hope of increased trade between Southern Sudan and Kenya and between Sudan and Uganda. Increased attacks on the roads from Kenya through Kapoeta-Torit-Juba and Kampala-Gulu-Nimule-Juba appear to be affecting the trade through this routes.

This paper will try to provide some insight on this fragile border trade.

### **Statement on regional aspects of war and peace in Sudan**

**Elke Grawert**

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Regional dynamics of violent conflict receive too little attention in research and peace policies. The region around Sudan is a case in point where conflicts have always been interlinked with aims and interests of governments and armed groups in neighbouring countries. The paper highlights some of these interconnections and proposes a regional approach based on analysis of regional arenas of action for sustainable peace building.

### **Patterns of decision-making in institutions in South Kordofan and Upper Nile State**

**Tayseer El-Fatih**

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### **Role of internal and external lobby/advocacy for sustainable peace building in Sudan**

**Marina Peter**

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This paper highlights the lobbying and advocacy activities of various stakeholders and actors from non-governmental organisations and the international community. It also tries to assess the successes of these activities regarding the CPA negotiations and the failures in the case of the DPA/ UN troop debates. A critical outlook on current problems and difficulties follows, among other things, about the need for more internal advocacy work and obstacles for that, about differences between information of and communication with the government, and about the difficulties of some actors in clarifying their role.

## **The role of African and Arab elites in building a New Sudan**

**Melha Rout Biel**

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This paper deals with the role of the Sudanese elite in transforming the country from a half-century-old conflict zone to a stable democratic nation.

The CPA, signed by elites in the traditional North and traditional South of Sudan is considered a significant accomplishment both within and outside the Sudan, because it achieved a consensus on the need to share power and resources and solve some of the Sudan's problems through mass participation, e.g. the 2011 referendum. This paper will discuss the following important issues which were not thoroughly examined or studied in the past:

- (1) What has been the role of the elite in the Sudan conflict and what are its consequences for nation-building in particular?
- (2) Can one talk of a single Sudanese elite both in North and South of the Sudan?
- (3) What do we mean when we talk about the Northern and Southern elite?
- (4) How do we interpret politically the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of January 2005 and the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) of May 2006 in terms of the role of the elite?
- (5) What can be the groundwork for democracy and nation-building in Sudan?

This paper has been written to discuss the role of the Sudanese elite in the nation-building process and will attempt to provide suggestions and answers to the above-mentioned questions.

## **Popular political participation after CPA**

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## Contributors

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Prof. **Joshua Otor Akol** is Professor of Geography in the College of Education at the University of Juba, Campus of Khartoum. He has also lectured at the University of Juba in Juba during the 1980s and in the Upper Nile University in Malakal, of which he was the Vice Chancellor from 2001 to 2005. He did his MA and PhD degrees at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg in Canada. Prof. Akol is a cooperation partner in the “Governance and Social Action in Sudan” project.

**Yasir Awad** is a lecturer in Political Sciences at the University of Khartoum. From 2005 to 2008 he has been awarded a PhD scholarship in the cooperative research project on “Governance and Social Action in Sudan”. His topic of research is “Political participation in Sudan after CPA” and he has done field research in South Kordofan, Upper Nile and Khartoum states.

Dr **Mustafa Babiker** is Associate Professor of Social Anthropology at the Development Studies and Research Institute of the University of Khartoum and a cooperation partner in the “Governance and Social Action in Sudan” project.

Dr **Kassahun Berhanu** chairs the Department of Political Science and International Relations of the University of Addis Ababa and is a leading member of OSSREA (Organisation of Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa). He has a strong academic profile in decentralisation processes and governance as well as in peace and conflict research in Ethiopia. Dr Berhanu is a cooperation partner in the “Governance and Social Action in Sudan” project.

**Melha Rout Biel** is a lecturer at the Department of Social Sciences, University of Applied Sciences in Erfurt, Germany. Currently he also works as a researcher at the Institute for Political Sciences of the Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena. Biel holds a B.A. in Social Sciences from the University of Applied Sciences in Jena and M.A. in Political Sciences from Friedrich-Schiller-University in Jena.

**Tayseer El-Fathi** is a scholar and lecturer in Gender and Development Studies at the Ahfad University of Women, Omdurman. From 2005 to 2008 she has been awarded a PhD scholarship in the cooperative research project on “Governance and Social Action in Sudan”. Her topic of research is “Participation and decision-making: local governance in Upper Nile and South Kordofan States after the CPA”. She has done field research in Dilling locality and Malakal county.

Dr **Buthaina Ahmed Elnaiem**, economist, is Assistant Professor at the Juba University. She obtained her Master and Ph.D. degrees in Development Economics at Philipps University, Marburg, Germany. She worked as researcher and consultant for international development organisations and as Inspector at the Planning Division of the National Energy Administration of Sudan. Currently she is doing research on livelihood stress, agricultural development and civil conflict in rural Sudan, and on the role of local institutions in development of rural Sudan.

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**Regassa Sima** is a historian and lecturer at the University of Addis Ababa. From 2005 to 2008 he has been awarded a PhD scholarship in the cooperative research project on “Governance and Social Action in Sudan”. His topic of research is “War and peace in Sudan and its impact on Ethiopia: the case of Gambella”. He has done field research in villages and refugee camps as well as in the regional capital of Gambella at the border to South Sudan.

**Monika M. Sommer**, Assessor (jur) and Mediator (MA), is currently an associated researcher at the Institute of Political Science, Addis Ababa University. Her research for PhD is on peace, conflict and justice in Gambella region where she also works as advisor to a local inter-denominational and inter-ethnic NGO, the Gambella Peace and Development Council.

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