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Grievances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur

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Abstract

The importance of economic agendas for civil war formation has attracted attention in some academic circles and led to economic analysis of the causes of civil wars. As a result, the Collier-Hoeffler framework has emerged in the literature that considers rebel economic opportunity to be the main factor causing civil conflict. Although it has been applied to explain conflicts in Africa, the Collier-Hoeffler framework does not provide sufficient tools to analyse the underlying conditions that have led to the major insurgencies in Sudan. This paper argues that it is not principally rebel economic opportunity behind the two southern rebellions and the insurgency in Darfur, but rather socio-economic grievances derived from culturally and regionally imposed political marginalisation, which require broader analysis. This article conducts a historical analysis of the origins of conflict in Southern Sudan and Darfur, which permits a more comprehensive understanding of the emergence of conflict than an analysis based on rebel economic agendas alone.

1. Introduction

Conflict in Sudan is generally presented as war between the Arab Muslim North, and the African Animist and Christian South. However, although religious and ethnic differences provide leaders with rhetoric for mobilisation, they do not sufficiently explain the role of political and economic factors in civil conflict formation. In an attempt to discover the origins of Sudanese civil wars, it is therefore necessary to consider the roots of culturally and regionally imposed political marginalisation and its economic effects leading to grievances and instability in the periphery.

The Collier-Hoeffler framework, which explains the emergence of civil wars as due to rebel economic agendas, finds rebel opportunity to loot extractable natural resources and diaspora financing in particular geographical settings to be fundamental to civil war formation. It also claims that objective grievances, such as inequality, political rights, ethnic polarisation, and religious fractionalisation only weakly explain the origins of civil conflict.¹ However, as the evidence below indicates, the underlying factors in the most devastating conflicts in Sudan cannot be reduced merely to rebel economic opportunism.

This paper has two principal objectives. First, it reviews the main arguments in and criticism of the Collier-Hoeffler framework. Second, it investigates the evidence of underlying political, economic, and social causes leading to major conflicts in the Sudan.

¹ Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War", World Bank Policy Research Paper (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2001), p. 1.

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The following two sections briefly review the Collier-Hoeffler literature on economic causes of civil wars and the criticism it has received. Section four provides evidence on the culturally defined regional political marginalisation and its economic consequences in the Sudanese periphery. Sections five, six, and seven examine the underlying conditions that have led to the major insurgencies in Southern Sudan in 1955-1972, again in 1983-2002, and the build up of violence in Darfur since the 1980s. Section eight demonstrates the inapplicability of the Collier-Hoeffler framework in the context of Sudan and suggests that a politically and historically founded analysis provides adequate tools to explain its conflicts, while section nine provides closing observations.

2. The Collier-Hoeffler Framework: Economic Agendas and Civil Wars

The recent emphasis on economic agendas causing civil wars has resulted in a greed versus grievance dichotomy, which has since been debated. The economic approach surfaced due to the ancient hatreds and failed states arguments' inability to fully explain the prevalence of economic imperatives in contemporary civil wars.² Although the commonness of the economic agendas in today's civil wars may seem puzzling, the significance of the economic aspects to wars has been demonstrated and insurgencies have been described as rational behaviour that generates profits from looting.³

The greed versus grievance debate evolved around a number of articles by Collier and Hoeffler on the economic causes of civil conflict. In perhaps their most famous study, interpreting data from 99 countries by using utility theory and econometric regressions,

² Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 101-107.

³ See i.e. Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, A.D. 900-1992* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) and Herschel Grossman, "General Equilibrium Model of Insurrections", *American Economic Review*, 81 (1991), pp. 912-921.

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Collier and Hoeffler conclude that higher per capita income reduces the risk of civil war due to the high opportunity cost of rebellion, while the existence of natural resources in low-income states together with a large dually polarised population increase its probability.⁴ In a later study, Collier finds explanations based on grievances, which he lists as inequality, repression, and ethnic and religious fractionalisation, largely inadequate in explaining the emergence of civil wars.⁵ He further argues that inequality, measured through individual income, has no significant effect on civil war formation, while political repression gives only confusing results, and ethnic and religious differences lower the risk of conflict. In other words, the Collier-Hoeffler greed thesis proposes that financial prospects and viability of rebel organisations through lootable primary commodities and diaspora funding are the most significant factors leading to civil wars.

The controversial nature of the argument has generated criticism and convinced the authors to better incorporate the grievances. For instance, Collier recognises that

The political entrepreneurs who instigate rebellions may seek start-up finance from a constituency that is indeed willing to pay for vengeance. Hence, greed may need to incite grievance. Thus, grievance and greed may be necessary for sustained rebellion: grievance may enable rebel organization to grow to the point at which it is viable as a predator; greed may sustain the organization once it has reached this point.⁶

Finally in a later study, the authors change the term greed to rebel opportunity. They argue that economic opportunity is vital in explaining the emergence and sustenance of rebel organisations seeking or not seeking profit. Still, the authors also recognise that rebel grievances have a role to play even if they "...may be substantially disconnected

⁴ Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "On Economic Causes of Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers*, 50 (1998), pp. 563-573.

⁵ Paul Collier, "Doing Well Out of War: An Economic Perspective", in Mats Berdal and David M. Malone, eds., *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000), pp. 91-111.

⁶ Paul Collier, "Rebellion as a Quasi-Criminal Activity", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44 (2000), p. 852.

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from the large social concerns of inequality, political rights, and ethnic or religious identity".⁷

In sum, the Collier-Hoeffler framework presents civil war formation as an economic process in which grievances play only a minimal or insignificant role. It reduces the emergence of conflict primarily to the rebel economic agendas manifested in opportunity to rebel.

3. Criticism of the Collier-Hoeffler Framework

The Collier-Hoeffler thesis has made an unprecedented contribution to the economic literature that deals with causes of civil wars. However, it has faced considerable criticism that focuses on the proxies, the greed-grievance dichotomy, and the 'blame the rebel syndrome'. Shortcomings of the data and the reductionist nature of the model have also been pointed out.

Firstly, the data sets used have been selective and sometimes ignored the liberation wars of the 1960s, although many of them could be described as civil wars. In fact, similar econometric studies with different data have come up with somewhat contradictory results to those of Collier-Hoeffler.⁸ Secondly, the framework disregards the dynamics of resource distribution within states and therefore the formation of economic group inequalities has largely been overlooked.⁹ Thirdly, the legitimacy of a number of proxies used for 'greed' has also been challenged. For instance, diasporas may

⁷ Collier and Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War", p. 17.

⁸ See E. Wayne Nafziger and Juha Auvinen, "Economic Development, Inequality, War, and State Violence", *World Development*, 30 (2002), pp. 153-163, and Marta Reynal-Querol, "Ethnicity, Political Systems, and Civil Wars", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46 (2002), pp. 29-54.

⁹ João Gomes Porto, "Contemporary Conflict Analysis in Perspective", in Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman, eds., *Scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts* (Pretoria: African Centre for Technology Studies and Institute for Security Studies, 2002), p. 13.

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be consequences rather than causes of conflicts, making them more representative of grievances, while the primary commodity export dependency variable could be a grievance rather than greed measure.¹⁰

For the purposes of this study it is important to recognise the Collier-Hoeffler framework's focus on blaming the rebels for civil wars which has ignored government oppression and responsibility for provoking civil violence. This, in particular, is intimately linked with the formation of civil conflict in Sudan.

Finally, by reducing the economic motivations to rebel to merely the greed versus grievance dichotomy, the Collier-Hoeffler thesis challenges explanations that claim grievances cause civil war. Hence, attempts have been made lately to join greed and grievance. For instance, William Reno argues that "...greed and grievance can play variable roles..." and "Explaining these variations requires an analytical framework that has some contact with the world of politics and can deal with complexity".¹¹ An attempt in that direction is undertaken in the next section.

4. Political Marginalisation and its Economic Consequences in Sudan

Regional Dimensions of the Historical Centre-Periphery Relationship

In order to establish the argument of political marginalisation, it is important to introduce the historical relationship between the riverine Sudan and the peripheral regions to the analysis of the civil war formation. During the 19th century Turco-Egyptian

¹⁰ See Macartan Humphreys, "Economics and Violent Conflict", Harvard University (February, 2003), online at <http://www.preventconflict.org/portal/economics>, and David Keen, "A Response to Paul Collier's 'Doing Well Out of War' and Other Thoughts", presented at CODEP conference, June 18-20, 2001, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

¹¹ William Reno, "The Empirical Challenges to Economic Analyses of Conflicts", conference paper presented at the SSRC-sponsored conference, "The Economic Analysis of Conflict: Problems and Prospects", Washington DC, April 19-20, 2004, p. 22.

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rule, most of the the riverine North developed as the administrative and economic centre while Southern Sudan and Darfur were subjected for violent extraction of resources. In Darfur, violently imposed taxation was introduced.¹² Meanwhile the South was subjected to slave raiding and extraction of resources such as livestock and ivory.¹³

This history partly explains the emergence of Northern Arab-Muslim domination. It also helps to understand how the imposition of Arabism and Islam has become a means of nation building and how those who do not identify with these pillars of 'national' identity have been politically marginalised and economically excluded. For instance Deng argues that:

Northern prejudices against the South are pervasive and easily revealed in their collective identification of the Negro as an inferior race, the traditional source for the slave. While the Arabs have had the power to assert their political dominance and material superiority, southerners deeply despise them and look down on them. This mutual disdain, coupled with geographical and territorial separation, makes coexistence extremely difficult.¹⁴

It was this inter-group and inter-regional relationship that resulted in peripheral grievances during the preparation for independence, since the Northern elite exclusively inherited political control. In the case of Darfur, its poverty relative to the Northern riverine Sudan has also resulted in grievances, but the current rebellion has also an ethnic identity dimension.¹⁵

¹² Ahmed Ibrahim Hassan, "The Strategy, Responses and Legacy of the First Imperialist Era in the Sudan 1820-1885", presented at the Fifth International Conference of Sudan Studies, University of Durham, August 30- September 1, 2000, p. 5.

¹³ David Sconyers, "British Policy and Mission Education in the Southern Sudan, 1928-1946", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1978), pp. 10-17, Hassan, "The Strategy, Responses and Legacy", p. 5, and Shamil Jeppie, "The Work of Conquest", presented at the Fifth International Conference of Sudan Studies, University of Durham, August 30- September 1, 2000.

¹⁴ Francis Deng, *War of Visions: Conflict Identities in the Sudan* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995), p. 488.

¹⁵ See i.e. ICG, "Darfur Rising: Sudan's New Crisis", report No. 76 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, 24 March, 2004), pp. 4-13, online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=2550&l=1>.

Political Marginalisation in the Preparation for Independence

In order to examine the economic aspects of the first civil conflict formation in the South, it is essential to consider the course of national politics from the 1940s onwards and emphasise the Northern Sudanese Arab-Muslim elite's struggle to inherit political control from the British authorities. This is vital because in Sudan political control is strongly linked to the economic prosperity of groups that provide constituencies for those exercising political power.

However, it is as important to remember the historical inter-regional relationship, which was largely based on violent extraction of resources from Southern Sudan and Darfur to feed the Northern economy.¹⁶ This is related to the relative underdevelopment of both regions together with the British promotion of economic and educational development primarily in the North.

As the British colonial masters prepared Sudan for independence in the 1940s they were increasingly inclined to listen to the demands of the Khartoum Graduate College educated nationalists. This group of northerners advanced its Arab-Muslim character as the basis of national identity for the self-governed Sudan. Although some promoted union with Egypt and others independence, the Northern nationalists were uncompromising about the need of annexation of the separately administered South to the independent Sudan.¹⁷

¹⁶ See Hassan, "The Strategy, Responses and Legacy".

¹⁷ See i.e. John Markakis, *Resource Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (London: Sage Publications, 1998), p. 111, and Douglas Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 24-25.

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Principally under pressure to reduce the colonial administration during their departure from Sudan, the British began replacing their colonial officials with Sudanese personnel. This 'Sudanisation' process favoured Northerners over the peripheral populations due to their generally better educational level. It was accompanied by doubts about the economic and political viability of the South, and the Northern nationalists' criticism of the 'Closed Door' policy that had isolated the South from the rest of Sudan. Finally, in 1946 the Sudan Administrative Conference (SAC) led to formal annexation of the South to the North.¹⁸

The SAC decision to abandon the 'Closed Door' policy paved way for fears of renewed northern dominance, reminding southerners of the violent exploitation of the 19th century. This was because northerners acquired local administrative positions in the South through 'Sudanisation' and the Northern merchants were able to return due to the abolition of trade restrictions.

This occurred because the official administrative language of the South, which had been English during the Condominium period, was arbitrarily changed to Arabic. While the language policy favoured northerners in obtaining positions in the South it also prevented access of most southerners to local administration.¹⁹ Although by 1954 eight hundred administrative posts had been 'Sudanised', only six junior level positions were filled by southerners.²⁰

¹⁸ David de Chand, "The Sources of Conflict between the North and the South in Sudan", conference paper presented at the Fifth International Conference of Sudan Studies, University of Durham, August 30-September 1, 2000, p. 16.

¹⁹ On language policy in the South during the British period see i.e. de Chand, "The Sources of Conflict", p. 19, and David Sconyers, "British Policy and Mission Education", pp. 65-67.

²⁰ Mohamed Ali Taisier and Robert Matthews, *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Revolution* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), p. 203.

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Similarly, although Darfur had been the last province to become under British domination, it was also passed on to the riverine Sudanese through the 'Sudanisation' process. Soon similar sentiments to those in the South became prevalent in Darfur due to the wide exclusion of the Darfurians from administrative and military positions in the newly independent Sudan.²¹ In fact, the regional economic disparity between Darfur and the central Sudan, and the lack of economic opportunities in Darfur, led to labour migration to the Khartoum area.

The prominent southerners questioned the decision to administratively unify Sudan, while it was argued that resuming northern domination might result in a violent response as it had in the 19th century. This was partly because the southerners had not been heard in the SAC regarding their concerns on the unification issue.²² As a result, in 1947 the Juba Conference was organised to convince the southerners to accept the unification. However, the southern representatives in Juba were unsuccessfully assured that the historical northern domination would not resume within a unified Sudan. Although they accepted the unification already underway, the Southern leaders argued that the salary gap between the two regions was unjustifiable and divided the communities, that religious discrimination should be stopped, and southern rights safeguarded.²³

Consequently, in 1948 the National Legislative Assembly (NLA) was established in order to guide Sudan to self-rule by also 'Sudanising' national administration.²⁴ Thirteen southerners were picked to symbolically represent the region in the NLA, although

²¹ Sharif Harir, "'Arabic Belt' versus 'African Belt': Ethno-Political Conflict in Dar Fur and the Regional Cultural Factors" in Terje Tvedt and Sharif Harir eds., *Short Cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 1994), p. 155.

²² Markakis, *Resource Conflict*, pp. 111-112.

²³ B.W. Marwood, "Juba Conference 1947", Juba Conference Minutes by the Governor of Equatoria EP/SCR/1.A.5/1, 21 June 1947, online at http://www.sudansupport.no/english_pages/juba_conference_1947.pdf.

²⁴ Markakis, *Resource Conflict*, p. 111.

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control of the assembly was firmly placed in the hands of the northern elite. Finally, a timetable for independence was agreed upon at the 1953 Cairo Conference in which the representatives of the northern elite negotiated with the British and the Egyptians, concluding that Sudan was to achieve self-determination within a three-year transitional period during which the 'Sudanisation' of public administration was to be completed and colonial troops withdrawn.

Economic Implications of the Political Marginalisation

Overall, during the transition to independence the political marginalisation of the periphery populations at both national and local level led to the loss of hope for regional economic development and prosperity. In the South it also resulted in fear of renewed exploitation, economic exclusion, and dispossession. As the narrative above has indicated, the grievances were particularly deep in the South by the end of British colonialism and converted into escalating preconditions for further regional instability, enabling the emergence of violence.²⁵

5. Materialisation of the First Southern Rebellion

Southern Fears of Northern Domination

In the early 1950s the southerners were increasingly concerned about the transfer of power to the northern Arab-Muslim elite because they found the North no more familiar than the British, or earlier Egyptian masters. According to Deng:

²⁵ Some references on ethnic mobilization for violence include James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity", *International Organization*, 54 (2000), pp. 845-77, Frances Stewart, "Crisis Prevention: Tackling Horizontal Inequalities", *Oxford Development Studies*, 28 (2000), pp. 245-62, and Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honour: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998).

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"For the South . . . independence was to prove merely a change of outside masters, with the northerners taking over from the British and defining the nation in accordance with the symbols of their Arabic-Islamic identity".²⁶ In a similar tone, Lesch points out that "From the perspective of the south, the north means not merely difference but danger . . .".²⁷

As noted earlier, apart from the historically oppressive North-South relationship, one of the most controversial issues that angered the southerners in the 1950s was the imposition of Arabic as the official administrative language of the South. After all, it resulted in their exclusion from local administrative positions that were considered a path to political influence and higher economic status.

Outbreak of the Conflict

The short-term events that led to the emergence of hostilities in the South include the first parliamentary elections, which gave complete political control to the northern elite; the mutiny of the southern troops; and the violent government response to put down the revolt. These events resulted in a small-scale insurgency, which expanded in the late 1960s when the disunity of southern political and military factions was largely overcome.²⁸

By the end of 1954 almost all colonial administrators had been predominantly replaced by the northern Sudanese. In addition, after the parliamentary elections gave the northern elite control of the central government, the southerners perceived themselves politically excluded. According to Johnson,

There was thus widespread discontent in the South as a result of the outcome of the 1954 elections and the Sudanization process. The rapid increase of Northerners in the South as

²⁶ Deng, *War of Visions*, p. 484.

²⁷ Ann Lesch, *The Sudan: Contested National Identities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), p. 212.

²⁸ Edgar O'Ballance, *The Secret War in Sudan: 1955-1972* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), pp. 133-139.

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administrators, senior officers in the army and police, teachers in government schools and as merchants, increased Southern fears of Northern domination and colonization.²⁹

The conflict erupted in August 1955 in Torit when the army's southern Equatoria Corps (SEC) mutinied because of rumours about being disarmed and transferred to the North. Removal of the SEC was perceived as deliberate stripping of the South of its protection against northern aspirations. The mutiny was not instantly suppressed and in the confrontations between the army and the rebellious troops at least 300 people were killed of which 261 were northern army officers, government officials and merchants.³⁰ When assurances of adjudication of justice, safe conduct, and reconsideration of the order to be transferred to the North convinced some mutineers to lay down their arms, they were either executed for sedition or imprisoned for life.³¹ Finally, the government was able to temporarily suppress the revolt, although the remaining mutineers escaped to the bush and initiated armed opposition.

Politics and Economic Activities during the First Rebellion

Sudanese economy before the independence was propelled by the northern riverine region. During colonialism the northern elite families largely controlled the national economy, which by the end of the British domination made them best prepared to assume political control of the state.³² After the outbreak of conflict and due to its locally

²⁹ Johnson, *Root Causes*, p. 27.

³⁰ Markakis, *Resource Conflict*, p. 112, and ICG, "God, Oil and Country: Changing the Logic of War in Sudan", Report No. 39 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, January 2002), p. 9, online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1615&l=1>.

³¹ de Chand, "The Sources of Conflict", p. 25.

³² See more on this in Peter Woodward, "Peace and Elite Non-Economic Interests", conference paper presented at the "Money Makes the War Go Round: Transforming the Economy of War in Sudan" conference, Brussels, June 12-13, 2002, online at <http://www.bicc.de/events/sudanws/7woodward16june02.pdf>.

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scattered and factional nature, the northern economy remained largely unaffected by the fighting despite the problems it caused in the South. It was not until the 1960s, when Joseph Lagu was able to join the southern factions that the central government grew increasingly concerned. Still, it was the low cotton prices in the international market that principally contributed to the economic downturn and the famous 1964 'October Revolution' that forced the Abboud military regime to step down.³³ Finally, the Nimeiri regime's efforts to secure its position after the 1969 coup, rather than the economic pressure generated by war, contributed overtly to the end of the first North-South conflict.³⁴

The economic activities of the combatants in the first rebellion were largely confined to the survival attempts of the insurgents on the one hand, and to the government forces supplied through the national economy on the other. The economic activities of the insurgents were initially largely limited to banditry for food.³⁵ According to O'Ballance, their "...hatred of northerners manifested itself in the occasional ambush, shooting incident or minor attack".³⁶ By the early 1960s, the *Anyanya* rebel organisation was formed and its activities extended to recruitment, training, and raiding government police posts in the South in order to acquire arms. Finally, after Lagu united the southern opposition, it was sustained via supplies channelled through Uganda and Ethiopia, military material and goods captured from the government, and alleged Israeli training camps located in the South and the neighbouring countries.³⁷

³³ Peter K. Bechtold, "More Turbulence in Sudan: A New Politics This Time?" in John O. Voll. ed., *Sudan: State and Society in Crisis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 3, 10.

³⁴ Johnson, *Root Causes*, p. 36.

³⁵ Edgar O'Ballance, *The Secret War in Sudan*, p. 57.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 128, 139, 140.

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In contrast, government resources mainly derived from the struggling national economy and the 1968 Soviet arms deal that resulted in a gradual flow of heavy military equipment. By the mid 1960s it became its policy to cut *Anyanya* support by attacking civilians and destroying infrastructure in the South, which created further anti-North sentiments among the southerners.³⁸ After the Nimeiri regime took power in the 1969 coup, it launched a campaign with newly acquired military hardware that further escalated the destruction and population displacement in the South until the 1972 Addis Ababa peace settlement ended the major hostilities.

In sum, the economic causes of the first southern rebellion are intimately linked to the political marginalisation of the South since it brought economic deprivation and fears of renewed northern domination. In addition, the rebel attempts to sustain the insurgency once it had materialised surfaced out of necessity rather than economic opportunism. On the other hand, the violent government activities, such as targeting civilians in an attempt to deprive the rebels of support, surfaced largely out of frustration of not being able to end the insurgency. Hence, because the 'Sudanisation' process resulted in a political and subsequent economic exclusion of the South, southern grievances were elevated sufficiently to facilitate violent action. Therefore, it is political marginalisation rather than rebel economic opportunism that largely explains the economic causes related to the first rebellion.

6. Emergence of the Second Southern Conflict

³⁸ Ibid., 81-82.

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Economic Imperatives of Renewed Political Marginalisation

The Nimeiri regime's tampering with southern political rights in order to gain authority over natural resources located in the South played an important role in the emergence of the second rebellion. This was undertaken through renewed political marginalisation of the South and infringement of its regional autonomy through abolition of the right to tax the extraction of natural resources in its territory.³⁹

Due to poor management of the national economy the Nimeiri regime found itself in overwhelming debt by the late 1970s and in a situation where the economic crisis escalated.⁴⁰ However, discovery of oil in the South provided a possibility to escape the economic decline and the resulting popular discontent.⁴¹ This contributed to the incentive to violate the 1972 Addis Ababa peace provisions that had given the South restricted financial autonomy and the right to collect all central government taxes from industrial, commercial, and agricultural ventures on its territory.⁴²

After the oil discoveries were made, the Addis Ababa conditions were repeatedly violated as the government attempted to access the petroleum. Renewed political marginalisation of the South was undertaken in three ways. First, Nimeiri initiated the efforts to disrupt the southern political order through interventions, by suspending the regional assembly several times, while pushing southern representation out of the central government in the late 1970s in an effort to appease northern factions that opposed the

³⁹ This has been widely documented. See i.e. Abel Alier, *Southern Sudan: Too Many Agreements Dishonoured* (Exeter: Ithaca, 1990), pp. 219-224, and Johnson, *The Root Causes*, pp. 45-47.

⁴⁰ See evidence on this i.e. Bodour Abu Affan, "A Missed Opportunity? Sudan's Stabilization Program, 1979-1982" in John O. Voll. ed., *Sudan: State and Society in Crisis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 108-110, and Stephen Kontos, "Farmers and the Failure of Agribusiness in Sudan" in John O. Voll. ed., *Sudan: State and Society in Crisis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 137-157.

⁴¹ David Melvill, "Restoring Peace and Democracy in Sudan: Limited Choices for African Leadership", Occasional Paper No. 34 (Braamfontein: Institute for Global Dialogue, 2002), p. 6.

⁴² Abel Alier, *Southern Sudan* (Exeter: Ithaca, 1990), p. 175.

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Addis Ababa peace treaty.⁴³ Second, as a result of the regime's willingness to control the oil fields, it began replacing southern troops in their proximity, with northern army units. Third, the government redrew provincial boundaries, carving the oil region out of the southern territory by establishing Unity Province, thus removing the jurisdiction of the oil fields from the South.⁴⁴

Once the first oil licensing contracts were signed, the resulting revenues were not handed over to the southern regional government that was supposed to administer them according to the Addis Ababa treaty. At the same time, the regime initiated plans to build a pipeline from the Unity Province to Port Sudan to facilitate oil exportation. Furthermore, in order to secure oil extraction through more political reforms in June 1983, Nimeiri partitioned the South through ethnic lines to diminish its political power. Consequently, the South was divided into its three original provinces established during the colonial period, while Nimeiri attempted to obscure his intentions by claiming that the partition was to reduce the influence of the South's largest *Dinka* ethnic group.⁴⁵

Political Instability during Late Nimeiri Era

Nimeiri faced a growing threat to his political power in the late 1970s due to the declining economy and the discontent of the Islamist factions because the Addis Ababa peace agreement had been viewed negatively within the conservative circles in the North. Consequently, he attempted to appease the dissatisfied northern factions and reaffirmed Islam's position, which he had earlier challenged. Later, this culminated in the

⁴³ Markakis, *Resource Conflict*, p. 120.

⁴⁴ Melvill, "Restoring Peace and Democracy in Sudan", p. 6.

⁴⁵ See i.e. Lesch, *The Sudan*, p. 48, and Markakis, *Resource Conflict*, p. 120, and Francis Deng, "War of Visions for the Nation" in John O. Voll, ed., *Sudan: State and Society in Crisis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 25.

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.

appointment of Islamists to positions in the state apparatus and recognition of the Islamic law, *sharia*, as the source of all legislation.⁴⁶

From 1973 onwards, it was clear that Nimeiri was unable to appease the political factions and segments of the northern population that had grown restless. This resulted in strikes against the government by conservatives and students.⁴⁷ Consequently, in 1974 Nimeiri arrested prominent opposition individuals and militarised his cabinet by replacing some of its members with more loyal military personnel in order to ensure the immediate safety of the regime.

Meanwhile, the exiled northern political opposition had organised under the flag of the National Front (NF). The NF consisted of prominent northern parties including Umma, the National Unionist Party (NUP), and the Islamic Charter Front. The latter represented the political arm of the Islamic activist movement, the Muslim Brotherhood (behind the National Islamic Front, NIF).⁴⁸ In July 1976, backed by Libya, the NF attempted to overthrow the regime but failed, resulting in death of a number of dissidents and imprisonment of religious leaders.

After surviving the coup attempt, Nimeiri became convinced of the need to secure his political power by courting the northern factions. The regime entered into a period of 'National Reconciliation', which granted concessions to the opposition through the appointment of several of their leaders to high government positions.⁴⁹ As a result, the

⁴⁶ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, p. 56, and Melvill, "Restoring Peace and Democracy in Sudan", p. 6.

⁴⁷ The National Islamic Front (NIF) was particularly active in these rallies.

⁴⁸ ICG, "God, Oil and Country", p. 12, online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1615&l=1>.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.
exiled factions returned to Khartoum and the political scene moved increasingly towards Islamism.⁵⁰

Gradually, the growing power of the Islamists and the government's lack of popular support led to northern opposition parties' demands to review the security, border trade, language, culture, and religious provisions of the Addis Ababa agreement.⁵¹ In order to continue appeasing the opposition, Nimeiri allowed elections for the People's Assembly, partly as an attempt to demonstrate that the regime enjoyed some popular support. The Umma, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), and the Muslim Brotherhood were the only recognised non-government parties allowed to participate according to the 'National Reconciliation' agreement restricted exclusively to the Arab-Muslim elite and its constituents.

The 1978 elections gave the independents almost half of the parliamentary seats, illustrating the wide discontent faced by the government. The poor election results reflected the government's declining ability to finance its candidates, who had become increasingly dispassionate and corrupt in the search for personal enrichment and promotion of individual interests. While corruption was increasing and the regime's political power gradually weakening, Nimeiri adopted an increasingly Islamist position in an attempt to save the regime.⁵²

Finally, after initial concessions to the Islamic organisations, the leader of the Muslim Brothers and father of the NIF, Hassan Turabi, began recruiting from the civil service, universities, and the military, and extending the party's influence to the Islamic banking

⁵⁰ Gabriel R. Warburg, "The *Sharia* in Sudan: Implementation and Repercussions" in John O. Voll, ed., *Sudan: State and Society in Crisis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 92-105.

⁵¹ Alier, *Southern Sudan*, p. 175.

⁵² Johnson, *The Root Causes*, p. 56.

Ylonen, Aleks, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.⁵³ Under pressure, Nimeiri felt obliged to appoint Turabi as the Attorney General in 1983, demonstrating the peak of the secretly conducted infiltration of the Muslim Brothers into the state apparatus and the military. After assuming the position, Turabi ordered the *sharia* be used as the basis of state law, thereby marginalising the periphery that did not identify with Islam. This was particularly the case in the Animist and Christian South, where people found the extension of Islamic law particularly oppressive.⁵⁴

Outbreak of the Second Rebellion in the South

Although the Addis Ababa agreement had been effective since 1972, scattered guerrilla warfare had continued to take place due to some southern factions' refusal to accept the conditions of the treaty.⁵⁵ However, after the government manipulated the terms of the Addis Ababa agreement, a perception of renewed northern domination spread among the southerners. As a result, the guerrilla forces began to enjoy wider support, which added to growing southern military pressure. This pressure obstructed the regime's efforts to construct the pipeline from the *Bentiu* oil region to the Red Sea coast and later resulted in the United States-based oil company Chevron abandoning the country.⁵⁶

In January 1983, southern troops of the 105th army battalion in *Bor*, commanded by the former *Anyanya* rebel officers, refused orders to be transferred to the North, partly

⁵³ See i.e. Melvill, "Restoring Peace and Democracy in Sudan", p. 6.

⁵⁴ Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, "Islamization in Sudan: A Critical Assessment" in John O. Voll. ed., *Sudan: State and Society in Crisis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 81-83 and Warburg, "The *Sharia* in Sudan, pp. 99-101.

⁵⁵ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, pp. 59-61.

⁵⁶ Alier, *Southern Sudan*, p. 222.

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.

because the Addis Ababa conditions obliged them to serve only in the South.⁵⁷ Moreover, since Sudanese army units had been deployed in Iraq to fight Iran, a fear existed among the southern troops about a possible transfer to the Middle East, which would have resulted in the South's vulnerability to Northern military infiltration and control increasing.⁵⁸ When the mutiny eventually broke out, the initial government reaction was to attempt to end it through negotiation, but when they failed, it launched an attack.

The government ordered Colonel John Garang, a southerner, to put down the revolt. An army officer but also secretly a member of the southern elite, Garang was unhappy about the increasingly Islamic zeal of the government and the political and economic repression of the South. According to a plot by the southern elite to challenge the Khartoum regime, he took leadership of the rebellion and organised the insurgents in Ethiopia.⁵⁹ After a successful repulsion of the government forces in *Bor*, other army units in the South became inspired, leading to further revolts. The rebels found safety under the anti-Islamic Mengistu regime and Garang founded the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and its political wing the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).

Economy and War during the Second Southern Rebellion

After seizing power, Nimeiri's initial plans to change the course of the national economy were through increasing nationalisation, government control, and planning. Largely due to an attempt to turn Sudan into a regional 'Breadbasket', which attracted a large amount of foreign investment, the regime passed laws that undermined the

⁵⁷ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, p. 61.

⁵⁸ Douglas Johnson and Gerard Prunier, "The Foundation and Expansion of the Sudan People's Liberation Army" in Daly, M.W. & A. Alawad Sikainga eds., *Civil War in the Sudan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), p. 124.

⁵⁹ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, p. 62.

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Grievances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.
subsistence economy in the North-South 'Transition Zone', through dispossession of small farmers and the southward expansion of export oriented agricultural schemes.⁶⁰ In addition, related plans were made to construct the *Jonglei* canal to carry water resources to the expanding northern agricultural ventures.

The laws that rewarded large landowners in the early 1970s resulted in the conversion of small farmers into tenants within the northern elite managed large agricultural schemes.⁶¹ It also led to an emergence of unprecedented migration to the Khartoum area. However, after the initiation of hostilities in the 1980s, this flow was largely substituted by the war displaced who often became labourers in the North.

In the late 1970s Nimeiri realised that his attempts to change the course of the Sudanese economy had failed. It was then that the discovery of petroleum in the autonomous South led to an incentive to seize the potential oil revenue to guarantee the financial survival of the regime. As a result, a bill was passed to redraw the provincial boundaries in order to join the oil region together with other mineral rich areas in the 'Transition Zone' to the North.⁶² Finally, after successive tampering with other features of southern autonomy, in 1983 violence broke out.

As a result of the resumption of the civil war and the deteriorating national economy, Nimeiri was overthrown in April 1985. The new Sadiq Mahdi government initially offered to negotiate with the SPLA/M but due to its hardening stance on the *sharia* issue, and after the rebel leadership showed no interest and shot down a Sudanese civilian

⁶⁰ Douglas H. Johnson, "Food Aid, Land Tenure & The Survival of the Subsistence Economy", conference paper presented at "Money Makes the War Go Round: Transforming the Economy of War in Sudan", Brussels, June 12-13, p. 2, online at <http://www.bicc.de/events/sudanws/10johnson17june02.pdf>.

⁶¹ Kontos, "Farmers and the Failure of Agribusiness", pp. 139-142.

⁶² Raphael Badal, "Oil and Regional Sentiment in the South", in Muddathir Abd Al-Rahim eds., *Sudan Since Independence* (Aldershot: Gower, 1986), p. 144.

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.
airliner, its position toughened.⁶³ Soon afterwards, the government developed a counter insurgency strategy that incorporated Arab militias into its security forces. This resulted in an asset-stripping policy in the 'Transition Zone' targeting the civilian population.⁶⁴ It was undertaken by militias and regular troops by looting and destroying economic assets, such as livestock and farms.

As one of its principal features the policy included abductions the deliberate driving of people from their land in order to extract cheap labour for northern agriculture, making way for northern territorial interests to secure the oil region, and to acquire land for agriculture.⁶⁵ In addition, many of the displaced southerners were subjected to an asset transfer policy, which resulted in the confiscation of their productive assets, making them dependent day labourers.⁶⁶

In addition, manipulation of the international relief effort has been overtly linked to the immediate activities in the war economy.⁶⁷ Since the implementation of the Operation Lifeline Sudan in 1989, both parties have diverted aid and restricted relief access according to their political objectives. At times, the aid has been confiscated; aid goods have fuelled the local markets; they have been used to reward strategic action; or the relief goods have been sold to sustain the war effort.⁶⁸

⁶³ Bechtold, "More Turbulence in Sudan", pp. 14-15 and Francis Deng, "War of Visions for the Nation" in John O. Voll. ed., *Sudan: State and Society in Crisis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 32-33.

⁶⁴ See i.e. Mark Duffield, "Sudan at the Crossroads: From Emergency Preparedness to Social Security", IDS Discussion Paper 275 (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, May 1990).

⁶⁵ Woodward, "Peace and Elite Non-Economic Interests", pp. 9-10, online at <http://www.bicc.de/events/sudanws/7woodward16june02.pdf>.

⁶⁶ Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*, London: Zed Books, 2001. pp. 241-242.

⁶⁷ See i.e. Johnson, *Root Causes*, for an excellent account on this.

⁶⁸ For a brilliant review see Duffield, *Global Governance*. See also Scott Lewis, "Rejuvenating or Restraining Civil War: The Role of External Actors in the War Economies of Sudan", Bonn International Center for Conversion, Paper 37, online at <http://www.bicc.de/publications/papers/paper37/paper37.pdf>.

Ylonen, Aleks, "Grievances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.

Furthermore, although oil had been a factor in its absence in the 1980s, its importance grew because the prospects for it being exported increased by the end of the following decade. First, it attracted American (until 1984), Canadian, Chinese, Malaysian, and European companies to Sudan, which have consistently taken the government side and invested in oil related projects among other ventures. This has resulted in increased international attention particularly after the linkage between oil and war had been realised.⁶⁹

Second, oil has had a stimulating effect on the Sudanese economy despite the war and it has played an important role in financing the government war effort.⁷⁰ For instance, it is estimated that the government spent up to \$1 million per day for the war in 2001.⁷¹ Apart from making arms acquisitions possible, the oil revenue has given rise to an internal arms industry catering for the government war effort.

Overall, the economy of war has benefited parts of the northern elite and especially the government related groups. The revenue generated, particularly by petroleum and agriculture, has provided them with strong incentives not to give in to demands of the peripheral groups for sharing political power and the accompanying economic benefits.

On the other hand, in an attempt to undermine the regime's aspirations, the rebels hit the oil installations and the *Jonglei* project as their first targets. Since then they have enjoyed support from neighbouring countries, principally Ethiopia, immediately after the

⁶⁹ On oil and war see i.e. Lee Seymour, "The Oil-Conflict Nexus in Sudan: Governance, Development and Statebuilding", conference paper presented at "Money Makes the War Go Round: Transforming the Economy of War in Sudan", Brussels, June 12-13, online at <http://www.bicc.de/events/sudanws/9seymour20june02.pdf>, and HRW, "Sudan, Oil, and Human Rights", Report (New York: Human Rights Watch, November 2003) online at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/sudan1103/>.

⁷⁰ See i.e. Endre Stiansen, "GOS Revenue, Oil and the Cost of the Civil War", conference paper presented at "Money Makes the War Go Round: Transforming the Economy of War in Sudan", Brussels, June 12-13, online at <http://www.bicc.de/events/sudanws/6stiansen5June02.pdf>.

⁷¹ ICG, *God, Oil and Country*, p. 102, online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1615&l=1>.

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.⁷² The insurgents have also received military and financial aid from other countries such as Libya and indirectly from the U.S.⁷³ Their economic activities since the early 1980s have included: seizing, redistributing, and selling humanitarian aid supplies; destroying food stores and crops; and selling gold, livestock, coffee, and timber.⁷⁴ They have also played ethnic groups against each other in order to consolidate their authority over regions previously not in their control.⁷⁵

Although, since the late 1990s, the SPLA has assumed administration of most of the southern territory and attempted to establish systematic taxation in the region, its resources are not adequately distributed to provide protection and public goods for the bulk of the population.⁷⁶ In fact, the southern economy has largely evolved around the personal business ventures of the SPLA leaders.⁷⁷ This has raised suspicion about the profitability of war for the southern leadership.

In sum, the economic interests that lie behind the rebellion in the South since 1983, have developed into a complex web of economic activities taking place during the war. However, since most of the economic activities that occurred in the course of the conflict developed after it broke out, they are insufficient in explaining its origins. Instead, the government policy of opportunism to safeguard its position economically and politically

⁷² See i.e. John Young, "Sudan's Changing Relations with its Neighbours and the Implications for War and Peace", conference paper presented at "Money Makes the War Go Round: Transforming the Economy of War in Sudan", Brussels, June 12-13, online at <http://www.bicc.de/events/sudanws/2young19june02.pdf>.

⁷³ On Libyan aid see i.e. Ann Lesch, "Sudan's Foreign Policy: In Search of Arms, Aid, and Allies" in John O. Voll, ed., *Sudan: State and Society in Crisis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 50, and on the U.S. financial support see i.e. Dan Connell, "Sudan: Recasting U.S. Policy", *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 5 (2001), p. 2, and HRW, "Sudan, Oil, and Human Rights" Report (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2003), p. 478.

⁷⁴ Johnson, "Food Aid, Land Tenure & the Survival of the Subsistence Economy", p. 21, online at <http://www.bicc.de/events/sudanws/10johnson17june02.pdf>.

⁷⁵ Mark Duffield, "Famine, Conflict and the Internationalization of Public Welfare" in Martin Doornbos *et al.* ed., *Beyond Conflict in the Horn: Prospects for Peace, Recovery and Development in Ethiopia, Somalia and the Sudan* (The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 1992), pp. 54-55.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Johnson, "Food Aid, Land Tenure & the Survival of the Subsistence Economy", p. 21.

Ylonen, Aleks, "Grievances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.

in the face of a financial and political crisis is the principal element that contributed to the resumption of the civil war. Reno argues that:

...predation related to the exploitation of natural resources—in which category I include foreign aid along with oil—are in fact more a consequence of a particular organization of violence. Violent appropriation of resources can emerge as part of a larger set of political strategies that predate these rent-seeking opportunities, rather than a cause of conflict in the first instance.⁷⁸

Therefore, the mutiny in the oil region overtly relates to the government's policies to undermine southern autonomy, rather than to the economic opportunism of insurgents, while it was the extreme measures by Khartoum to end the revolt that contributed to its solidification into the rebellion.

7. Political Violence in Darfur

Polarization of Ethnicity and Escalation of Traditional Conflicts

Inter-ethnic violence is not new to Darfur. One of the poorest regions of Sudan, it is inhabited by between thirty-six and ninety ethnic groups that have been struggling for basic land and water resources for centuries.⁷⁹ The population consists mainly of Arab and non-Arab groups. On the one hand, the non-Arabs are predominantly *Zurga*, or black, with three dominant ethnic groups the *Fur*, the *Masaleit*, and the *Zaghawa* of which *Fur* and *Masaleit* are largely agriculturalist sedentary groups while the *Zaghawa* are cattle herding nomads. On the other hand, the Arabs in Darfur are predominantly *Baggara* who have largely preserved their nomadic life style and traditionally been in a

⁷⁸ William Reno, "Economies of War and their Transformation: Sudan and the Variable Impact of Natural Resources on Conflict", conference paper presented at "Money Makes the War Go Round: Transforming the Economy of War in Sudan", Brussels, June 12-13, online at <http://www.bicc.de/events/sudanws/5reno20august02.pdf>.

⁷⁹ Seif Al-Nasr Idriss, "The History of Darfur", in *Darfur: ethnic composition, armed conflicts and violations of human rights*, special issue of *Sudanese Human Rights Quarterly* (Cairo: Sudan Human Rights Organization, July 1999), pp. 10-11.

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.

fragile position, migrating during dry season to access pastureland for their cattle. This is why they have at times confronted the sedentary populations in disputes over territorial access to land and water resources.⁸⁰ Until the 1980s these small-scale clashes were contained through traditional reconciliation councils that offered a negotiated end to the hostilities.

The relative political stability was increasingly disrupted during the 1980s for two principal reasons. First, Darfur became a battleground for international interests. The outside actors inspired mobilisation of local groups and deliberately polarised ethnicities to gain ground in the region. Second, widespread drought and resulting famine caused more permanent visits of the nomadic groups to the agricultural lands.⁸¹

The international interest to use Darfur as a battleground in the 1980s was due to the Libyan confrontation with Chad and indirectly with the U.S.⁸². The Americans supported the Sudanese government in an attempt to restrain Libya's use of Darfur against Chad. Consequently, after the Libyan backed Sadiq Mahdi government assumed power, the Libyan troops united with the Darfurian Arab militias in an attempt to extend Arab influence. As a result, the local Arab tribes in Darfur were recruited to fight the *Fur*.⁸³

The ecological conditions in Darfur added to the pressure towards inter-ethnic violence. The prolonged period of drought in the early and mid 1980s destroyed the fragile pastureland of Northern Darfur and caused increasingly permanent visits of entire nomadic tribes to the agriculturalist territory. This resulted in precarious competition for resources, criminal activity, breakdown of the traditional reconciliation councils, and

⁸⁰ Harir, "'Arab Belt' versus 'African Belt'", p. 169.

⁸¹ For evidence on this see i.e. Harir, "'Arab Belt' versus 'African Belt'".

⁸² Lesch, "Sudan's Foreign Policy", p. 56, 57.

⁸³ See Harir, "'Arab Belt' versus 'African Belt'".

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Grievances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.
escalated into uncontained ethnic violence.⁸⁴ Pressure for violence was added to by the central government's denial of external aid to relieve the famine. Instead, the proliferation of light weapons due to the Chad-Libya conflict, high food prices, and lack of investment in development led to increasing lawlessness.⁸⁵

Throughout the 1980s the Arab militias were mobilised to fight the *Fur* and were increasingly perceived as sharing similar goals with the national government.⁸⁶ The Arab militiamen also became closely associated with atrocities that exceeded the traditional small-scale ethnic confrontations. In 1989, the Popular Defense Forces (PDF) were formalised under the Islamist NIF government as a paramilitary counter insurgency force widely used in the North-South 'Transition Zone'.⁸⁷ These *Murahaleen* and the *Janjaweed* militias continued to terrorise civilian populations, but after progress made in the peace negotiations with the SPLA/M and the increasing political instability in Darfur, the Arab militias shifted their activities predominantly to the latter region.

In 2000, an internal power struggle within the regime had a further destabilising impact on Darfur. In an attempt to challenge the Bashir presidential hegemony, after being sidelined by the current Islamic Brotherhood leadership, Hassan Turabi founded the Popular National Congress (PNC) party and reached out to Sudan's peripheral populations for support. He claimed that the Islamic Brotherhood behind the NCP deliberately obstructed access of representatives from the marginalised regions to high

⁸⁴ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, p. 139.

⁸⁵ Kamal Osman Salih, "The Sudan, 1985-9: The Fading Democracy", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 28 (1990), pp. 199-224.

⁸⁶ M. A. Mohamed Salih and Sharif Harir, "Tribal Militias: The Genesis of National Disintegration", in Sharif Harir and Terje Tvedt eds., *Short-Cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 1994), pp. 196-198.

⁸⁷ Salih and Harir, "Tribal Militias", p. 198.

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.
government positions, while favouring the Arab-Muslims.⁸⁸ The struggle within the ruling party has had its principal effect in Darfur where Turabi enjoys support.

The Origins of the Latest Violence

Since 2000, the Arab militia operations have intensified in Darfur partly due to the threats that Turabi and the Darfurian regional constituents pose to the central government and the national unity of the North. They have been targeting primarily sedentary populations but also harassed other *Zurga* groups. In response to the Arab militia violence, two rebel movements have emerged. In early 2003, the Darfur Liberation Front (DLF), which soon changed its name to the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA), took arms against the central government demanding an end to Arab militia violence and the continued political and economic marginalisation of the region. It was soon followed by the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), whose links to the Islamic movement have manifested in Turabi's repeated justification for the rebel cause, making the violence in Darfur not only a fight for political participation and equality, but also part of the power struggle among the Islamists.⁸⁹

The latest insurgency in Darfur has materialised largely due to the central government's inability to appease the region and the rebel response to the Arab militia violence. The SLA has demanded an end to political and economic marginalisation, the lack of development in Darfur, and the separation of church and state.⁹⁰ These demands are similar to those of the SPLA in the South, and have later been specified as calls for

⁸⁸ ICG, "Darfur Rising: Sudan's New Crisis", Report No. 76 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, March 2004), pp. 8-9, online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=2550&l=1>.

⁸⁹ ICG, "Darfur Rising", pp. 19-20.

⁹⁰ ICG, "Darfur Rising", p. 19.

Ylonen, Aleks, "Grievances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.
equitable development, land rights, schools, clinics, and local democracy.⁹¹ On the other hand, the JEM that followed the SLA with similar demands for political and economic justice remains associated with the Islamist elite through its leadership, which has obscured its stand particularly on religion and state.⁹²

Politics and Economic Activities in the Darfur Conflict

Since the escalation of hostilities, the Arab militia activities have consisted of deliberate targeting of civilians on a massive scale, involving asset transfer and asset stripping, displacing the non-Arab populations, and clearing the land for nomadic communities.⁹³ Motivations for this may partially lie in the attempt to secure oil deposits found in Darfur.⁹⁴ Some have described the militia violence as genocidal.⁹⁵ However, it has to be understood in the context of the asset transfer and asset stripping that was also prevalent in the southern conflict.⁹⁶

The rebel economic activities in Darfur consist predominantly of seizing the arms of militias and government garrisons, but scattered attacks on civilians have also been reported.⁹⁷ It must be noted though, that these attacks have been sporadic compared to the

⁹¹ Alex de Waal, "Darfur's Deep Grievances Defy All Hopes for an Easy Solution", *The Guardian Observer*, July 25, 2004, online at <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,6903,1268647,00.html>.

⁹² ICG, "Darfur Rising", pp. 19-20.

⁹³ HRW, "Darfur Documents Confirm Government Policy of Militia Support", Briefing Paper (New York: Human Rights Watch, July 2004), p. 8, online at <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2004/07/19/darfur9096.htm>.

⁹⁴ See "Oil Underlies Darfur Tragedy", *Zaman*, July 7, 2004, online at <http://www.sudan.net>, accessed in July 10, 2004.

⁹⁵ "US house calls Darfur 'genocide'", *BBC*, July 23, 2004, online at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3918765.stm>.

⁹⁶ See Duffield (2001) and Johnson (2002) for more on asset transfer and asset stripping activities.

⁹⁷ Amnesty International, "Sudan: International Community Must Act Now to Guarantee the Protection of Civilians", Press Release (New York: Amnesty International, February 17, 2004), online at <http://news.amnesty.org/index/ENGAFR540162004>.

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.
massive violence perpetrated by the *Janjaweed* militias.⁹⁸ Finally, the linkages between SLA and the SPLA have manifested in support through the provision of arms, training, and strategy.⁹⁹

In sum, in the case of Darfur in the 1980s and 1990s, political marginalisation is an essential factor in the escalation of conflict. Takana finds that the lack of development efforts, weak central government control and deliberate destabilisation of the traditional local administration in order to replace it with government-dominated institutions have contributed to the political distress.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, it seems that similar political grievances have motivated the locally induced violence both in the South and Darfur.

8. Collier-Hoeffler, Political Marginalisation, and Sudanese Insurgencies

Collier-Hoeffler in the Context of Sudan

The Collier-Hoeffler framework is often applied to Africa to explain insurgencies in states such as Angola, Liberia, and Sierra Leone due to the prevalence of economic imperatives in the civil conflict onsets.¹⁰¹ However, although the sustenance of rebellion through looting, diaspora financing and diversion of humanitarian aid have all played a part in financing the combatants in Sudan, these factors do not explain the origins of the major insurgencies. First, due to its emphasis on various forms of rebel financing such as lootable commodities, and its inability to assess political factors, such as the link between

⁹⁸ HRW, "Darfur Destroyed: Ethnic Cleansing by Government and Militia Forces in Western Darfur", Report Vol. 16, No. 6A (New York: Human Rights Watch, May 2004), online at <http://hrw.org/reports/2004/sudan0504/>.

⁹⁹ ICG, "Darfur Rising", p. 20.

¹⁰⁰ Yousef Takana, "Effects of Tribal Strife in Darfur", in Adam Al-Zein Mohamed and Al-Tayeb Ibrahim Weddai, eds., *Perspectives on Tribal Conflicts in Sudan* (University of Khartoum: Institute of Afro-Asian Studies, 1998), pp. 195-225.

¹⁰¹ Paul Collier, "Market for Civil War" *Foreign Policy*, May 136 (2003), pp. 38-45.

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concentration of political power and economic prosperity resulting in economic differences between government constituents and the peripheral groups, the Collier-Hoeffler framework does not adequately explain the formation of insurgencies in Southern Sudan and Darfur.¹⁰²

Second, by concentrating on opportunity for rebellion and therefore condemning the opposition groups for the insurgencies rather than perceiving their struggle emerging from repressive government policies, it obscures the regime's responsibility regarding civil violence. Since the government has played significant role in provoking conflict in Sudan, and rebel opportunity in the form of lootable natural resources, diaspora funding, and geographically inaccessible peripheral territories do not adequately explain the insurgencies formation, the Collier-Hoeffler framework is insufficient for interpreting the Sudanese conflicts.

Most importantly, the framework's inability to fully explain the emergence of civil war in Sudan can be attributed to its lack of measuring culturally and regionally defined political marginalisation and their socio-economic consequences. Its way of interpreting insurgencies through rebel economic opportunity disregards government efforts to politically marginalise the periphery and condemn it to economic stagnation and poverty. This has been the case both in Darfur and the South, where the local populations have been denied an access to effective political representation and administrative positions. It has also been the case at the level of national politics where the southerners and the Darfurians have only symbolically occupied positions without real power to divert

¹⁰² On group-based resource distribution, horizontal inequalities and political instability see i.e. Frances Stewart, "Crisis Prevention: Tackling Horizontal Inequalities", *Oxford Development Studies*, 28 (2000), pp. 245-262, Frances Stewart, "Horizontal Inequalities: A Neglected Dimension of Development", Working Paper No. 81 (QEH Oxford University, 2002), and Christopher Cramer, "Does Inequality Cause Conflict?", *Journal of International Development*, 15 (2003), pp. 397-412.

Ylonen, Aleks, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.
national resources for economic development in their home regions. Finally, the political marginalisation has had social consequences that include the lack of security and legal cover for southern and Darfurian refugees and day labourers working in the North since they are not allowed representation to safeguard their status.

This sort of deprivation is central to understanding the economic causes of insurgencies in Sudan. In the Sudanese case, the peripheral regions, where the government control has traditionally been the weakest, have suffered most from deliberate political marginalisation. Therefore they have also been largely deprived of economic development and been the source of extraction of resources. As a result, threats of intensification of domination have resulted in violent resistance. This was the case in the colonial Sudan, the South in the early 1950s and 1980, and Darfur since 2000.

Political Marginalisation in the Origin of Insurgencies

As the analysis above points out, there exists wide evidence of political marginalisation of the South within the unified Sudan, manifested in political exclusion. During transition to independence, this fed fears of renewed northern domination and condemnation of the South to poverty in the absence of prospects for economic development. Finally, the unification resulted in the resumption of an Arab-Muslim dominated social hierarchy within which southerners occupied the lowest societal position. In sum, these factors, which derive from regionally and culturally imposed political marginalisation, largely explain the preconditions for the first rebellion.

However, the second rebellion in the South emerged in somewhat different circumstances. The accounts reviewed above present overwhelming evidence of

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government economic and political opportunism, rather than the rebel economic opportunity, that led to the renewed political marginalisation of the South. Consequently, due to the regime's intentions to safeguard its economic and political survival, southern autonomy was tampered with resulting in its political exclusion at the national level and deprivation of petroleum propelled development. This, together with the construction of the *Jonglei* canal to extract southern water resources to feed the northern agricultural schemes reinvigorated the memory of the violent exploitation of the 19th century, while the imposition of *sharia* resulted in social subjugation. It seems then, that the government economic and political incentives to politically marginalise the South were principally at the heart of the formation of the second rebellion.

In the case of Darfur, political marginalisation has played an important role as well. Although part of the North, Darfur has been largely deprived of participation in national politics, while its political and economic interests have long been disregarded. The latest violence in the region has escalated largely due to violent oppression and social polarisation. As the traditional disputes spiralled into bloodier confrontations between groups that viewed themselves increasingly as Arab or African, the government began exploiting the ethnic cleavages to advance its interests in the region. This strategy has been undertaken not only due to an attempt to keep the conflict isolated from the South, but also because Darfur has a potentially destabilising effect on the regime. Finally, the reported oil findings may have also contributed to the government interest to enhance the control over the region.

9. Concluding Remarks

Ylonen, Aleksi, "Greivances and the Roots of Insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, July 2005, available from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk>.

This article has dealt with some of the shortcomings of the Collier-Hoeffler thesis in interpreting civil conflict formation in Sudan. It has argued that the framework does not provide tools to adequately deal with the origins of southern insurgencies and the rebellion in Darfur. It suggests instead that because the roots of insurgencies in Sudan are largely founded upon culturally and regionally imposed political marginalisation and its economic consequences, a historical analysis that links politics and economics is more adequate for such a task.

Finally, the article has also argued that the culturally and regionally derived political exclusion originates in the Arab-Muslim dominated hierarchy that exploits the peripheral populations and deprives them of prospects of regional development. In this context, the emergence of the armed response does not seem much different from the resistance to the violent extraction of the periphery resources in the 19th century Sudan.