

# **CHALLENGES FACING SUDAN AFTER SEPARATION-DAY 2011:**

The case of North Sudan borderline states with the State of South Sudan  
*(Interdependency and emerging challenges in the north-south borderline states)*



# **LESSON FROM 'HISTORY'**

**The 'History' of indigenous peoples of the third world confirms, time-and-again, that every people given the option 'to be set-free' from the yolk of other peoples whom they used to perceive as oppressors, have been – always and consistently - skewed towards secession/independence.**

**The case of the referendum (Jan 2011) showed no exception for South Sudan.**

**Now that South Sudan has chosen to form an independent country on 9 July 2011, the CPA will be remembered for generating a unique model for the creation of new sovereign states that Africa has never seen before.**

- **THE PROBLEM, to be discussed with emphasis on the BLB, emanates from this uncommon ‘fact’, in the African region: the fact of generating sovereign status by act of dismembering a national state.**

## **PRECONDITION**

### **PRIMARY ASSUMPTION**

**• That assessing internal North-South transboundary dynamics is critical for stabilizing relations immediately before and after Separation-day-2011, including the weight of external influence by neighboring African and Mid-Eastern countries on the two ‘new’ states in 2011, and after.**

**•The task entails, here, particular emphasis in identifying the challenges the BLS will lay on the two countries; including, pressing priority issues on human rights, peacebuilding++, security reform, public sector reform border trade and fiscal accountability.**

## **ADVICE TO THE PARTIES**

**The parties to CPA must be urged, by the Int. Community (guarantors of CPA), to make needed concessions and political decisions to advance demarcation and harness local voices in demarcating a border that benefits and secures communities on both sides.**

**Most importantly, doing so would help to prevent relapsing into violent conflict.**

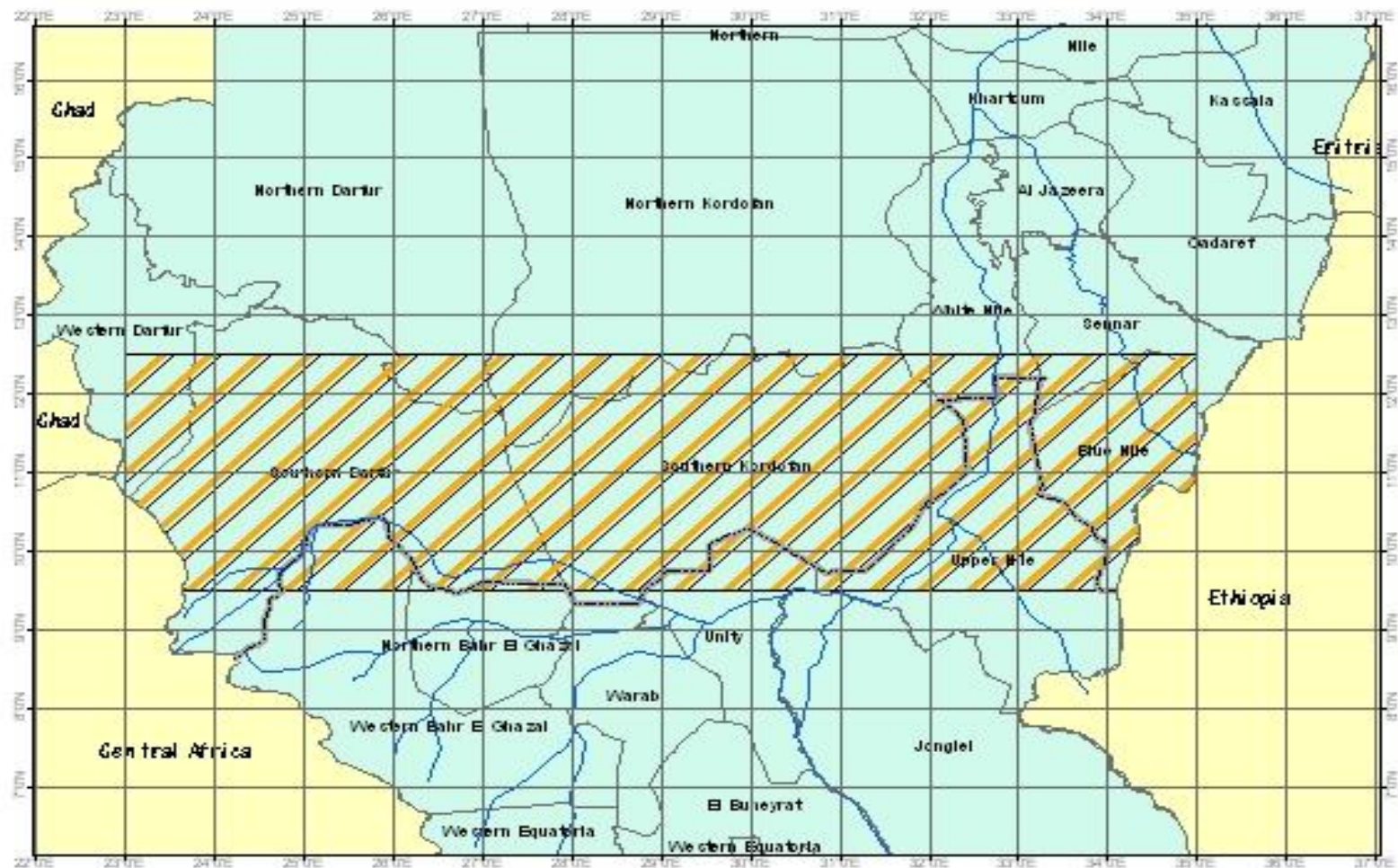


# **ON SEPARATION-DAY:**

- **There shall not be CPA.**
- **There is need, however, to carry-on with VALUES it generated.**
- **Two ‘new’ states will wrap-up 200 years of unpopular association in one country: “The Republic of the Sudan”.**
- **The Sudan will forfeit one third of total land area.**
- **It will cease to be the largest country in Africa, area wise.**



- **Next-door neighbours will be reduced from nine to six.**
- **N-Sudan will nonetheless maintain a border of 2000 km with S-Sudan, difficult to secure.**
- **The border will pose security challenges, for both countries: it cannot be a ‘stiff’ border; it must be ‘a soft border’ in order to avoid “a porous border”.**



## Border-Line State: definition

- **A Border Line State refers to any one of ten states that *physically touch* on the *assumed borderline* between North Sudan and South Sudan, until it is finally delineated on map and demarcated on the ground by the TBC.**
- **However, for political reasons NCP and SPLM have agreed to include Warrab State as borderline state and have invited Abyei Area to participate in BLS meetings.**
- **The SPLM is expected to establish Abyei as a State, if it joins South Sudan.**

- **Most importantly, inter-state future collaboration in BLB must acknowledge that CPA provisions regulate national institutional and political processes;**
- **In this regard, the BLB includes not only Blue Nile State (BNS) and Southern Kordofan State (SKS) in North Sudan that are governed by a separate CPA Protocol, as well as the disputed Abyei Area, but also five states in South Sudan that are subject to the other major CPA Protocols governing power-sharing, resource-sharing and security arrangements.**

## *Description of BLB, Problematic Geographic Space*

- **The BLB takes rectangular shape, covering (3) latitude circles (9:30–2:30N).**
- **It encompasses five states on each side of border separating North from South Sudan.**
- **It extends for 2000 km from the western profile of the Ethiopian Plateau, across Sudan, to the Zairian mountain range, bordering on Central African Republic (CAR).**

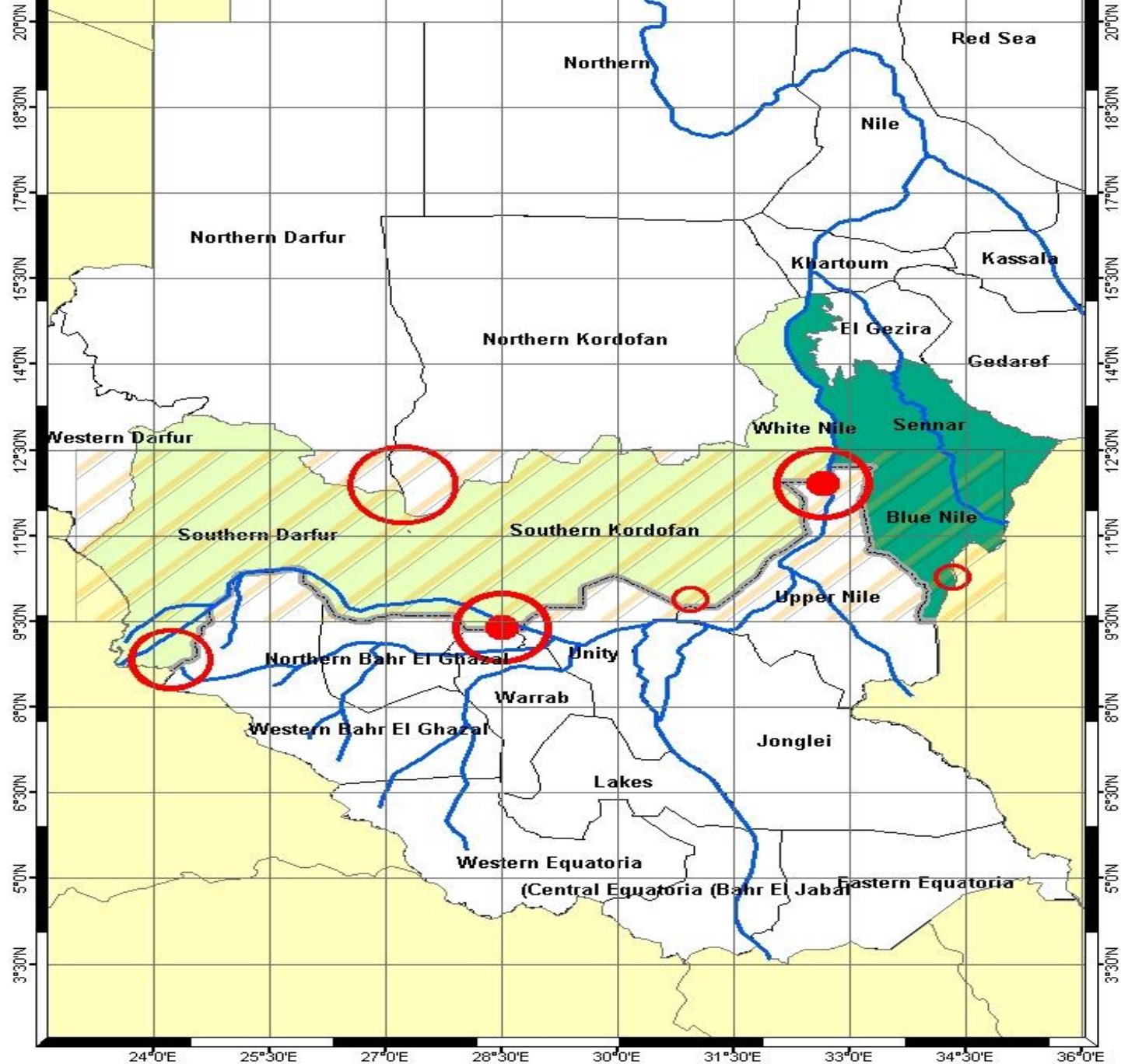
## *Description of BLB (continued)*

### **The North-South borderline has:**

- 1. East sector comprises the eastern hinterland of the White Nile River, dividing BLB (east-west): Blue Nile State, Sinnar State and White Nile State, with Upper Nile State (in South);**
- 2. West sector of BLB comprises western hinterland of the White Nile River.**
- 3. The BLB encompasses ten borderline states, facing each other along 2000 km with 14 million people, 35% of total population of 'old' Sudan.**
- 4. an estimated land area of 436,000 km squared, 20% of total area of 'old' Sudan.**
- 5. An estimated 1355 km (68%) of border lies in South Darfur (28%), SKS (40%).**
- 6. Average geographic population density is 28 persons per km<sup>2</sup>, almost double national average of 15 persons per km<sup>2</sup> .**

## *Description of BLB (continued)*

- **100% of active oil production in Sudan (N & S);**
- **100% oil to be produced in N-Sudan after separation**
- **100% of hydro-electric power for North Sudan;**
- **80% of mechanized farming,**
- **70% employment opportunities in agriculture**
- **60% of the national livestock herd, dry season;**
- **50% of annual discharge of the River Nile River is contributed by White Nile Basin;**
- **majority of all wildlife and game reserves,**
- **extensive mineral resources such as gold in Kurmuk, iron-ore and bauxite (added to oil) in SKS, and Uranium, gold and copper in Huftrat-en-Nahas (SDS).**
- **Thus, after separation, resource-division would replace ‘resource-sharing’, foreseen in CPA.**



**:MAP No.6: Green Sudan Drought Belt**  
**West zone of BLB as centerpiece of hotspots; Lat. 9:30-12:30 North**



# Greatest Emerging Challenges

- Hence, separation of South Sudan , in itself, poses the greatest emerging challenge for the two countries, as they grapple with issues of the ‘post-mortem’ type.
- The major issue, in the immediate aftermath of separation-day is to answer the question:  
“How could the two states avoid relapse into violence and build collaboration and cooperation, not only as an alternative *modus-operandi* for good neighborliness, but also to replace long standing confrontation?”

## **Second challenge**

- After separation, North Sudan has to restart with some primary tasks of state-building:**
- The building of a constitution entails generating and developing a national consensual process for constitution-building.**
- Included here are governance issues: democratic governance, human rights and security, as well as decentralization (administrative, fiscal and financial)**
- The major issue is to build a constitution for a state, ruled by an the National Interim Constitution since 2005: A country infested with internal conflict, particularly, Darfur where ‘high-level’ political leaders are under heavy charge by the ICCt for crimes allegedly happened in Darfur.**

## **AT NATIONAL LEVEL**

- **State-building ‘all-over again’ after separation**
- **Generating and developing a national consensual process for Constitution-building;**

**The supreme need to address issues of governance: democratic governance, human rights and security, decentralization (administrative, fiscal and financial) in the five borderline states in North Sudan.**

- **The borderline debate: a future arena for reconstruction and development or dragon space for resource-based competition and conflict;**

- **Interdependency and cooperation in North-South BLS.**

# The need to STRATEGIZE

- **A post-CPA++ strategy is needed for building sustainable peace, security, stability and development of Border Line States (BLS) endowed with huge resources.**
- **In order to build post-CPA++ “strategy for cooperation and collaboration” the task for researchers is to develop an analytical framework whereby internal economic dimensions and socio-cultural parameters might be weighted through the use of goals, targets and indicators drawn from the MDGs, not only for making sense of ‘history’ but also of current internal dynamics of identified or potential resources.**

## **Two Central Questions**

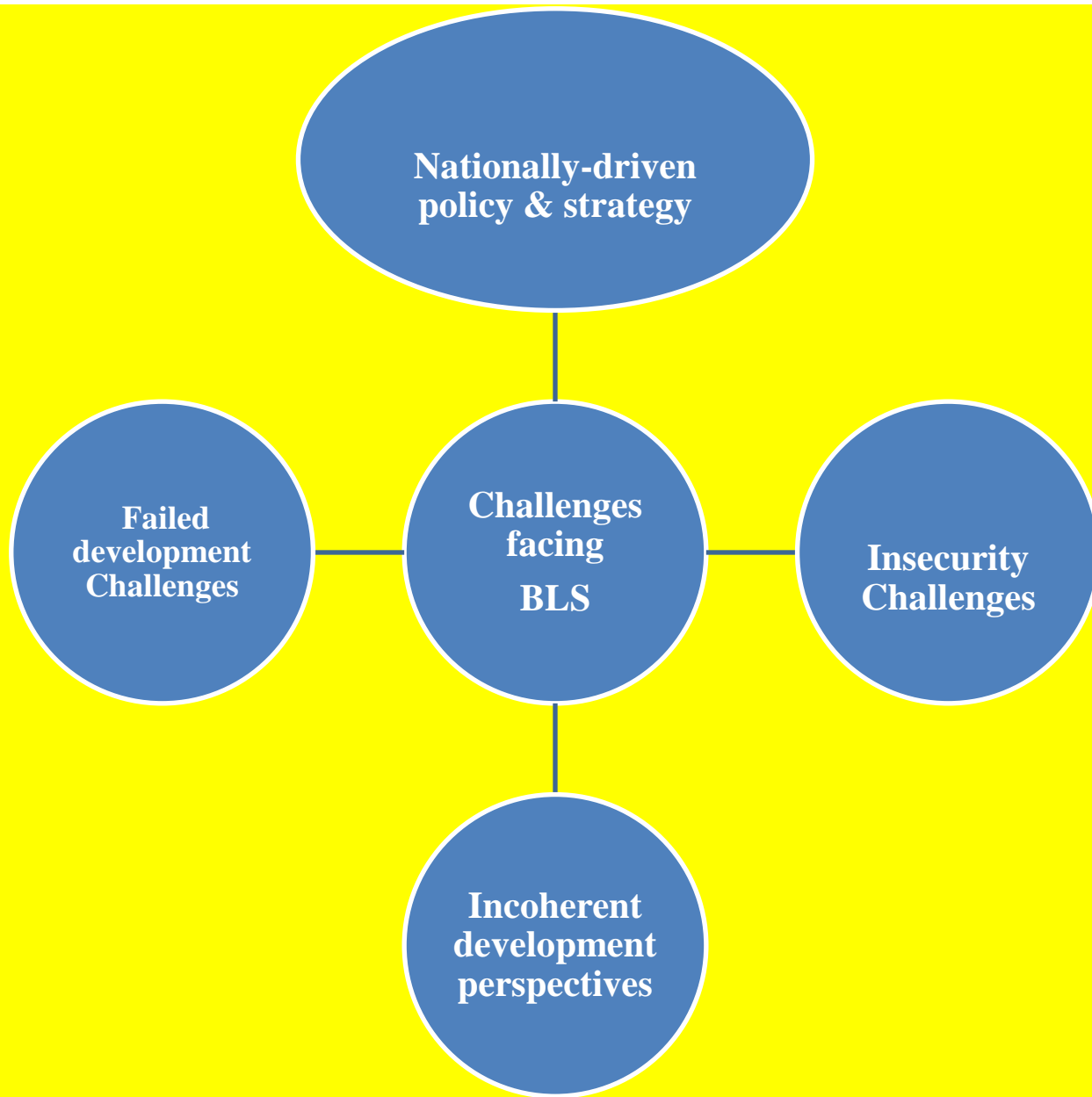
- **First: Which vision-and-role could best serve stability, peaceful neighborliness and sustainable use of resources for development of the two ‘new’ states along the North-South borderline for the people living in the ten states?**
- **Second:**  
**potential hotspots with Abyei at centre-stage is:**  
**“Who holds the key to future stability, of the 2-Sudans at the point of the separation?**  
**Abyei oil; Blue Nile or South Kurdufan, in connection to ‘Popular Consultation’; the Three Transitional Areas (TTAs) as a whole; or resource issues in other areas in BLB?**

**•Second: Central Sub-sector (South Kurdufan Sector, 27E - 32E) comprised of five states; Unity, Warab, North and West Bahr-al-Ghazal States, and parts of South Darfur State.**

**•Third: Western Sub-sector, covering longitudes 22E – 27E, (Darfur-Bahr-al-Ghazal Sector), encompassing SDS, North and West Bahr-al-Ghazal States**

# Entry points

1. The first entry point is to:
  - Establish parameters of benchmark situation;
  - **Emphasize significance of BLB as research field + analyze internal challenges,**
  - **Highlight the relevance of the research field for policy of collaboration among BLS.**
2. Focus on identifying challenges – persistent and emerging - that might be posed by the post-separation dynamics, defined as the first two years after the main event.
3. There is need to build a basis for futurist perspectives, with multiple scenarios for North Sudan, after separation.
  - 3.1 **Assess factors that could generate conflict in borderline states between North Sudan and South Sudan;**
  - 3.2 **Probe and assess the manner in which to mitigate negative impact of such factors.**





## **PRESSING PRIORITY POLICY ISSUES (continued)**

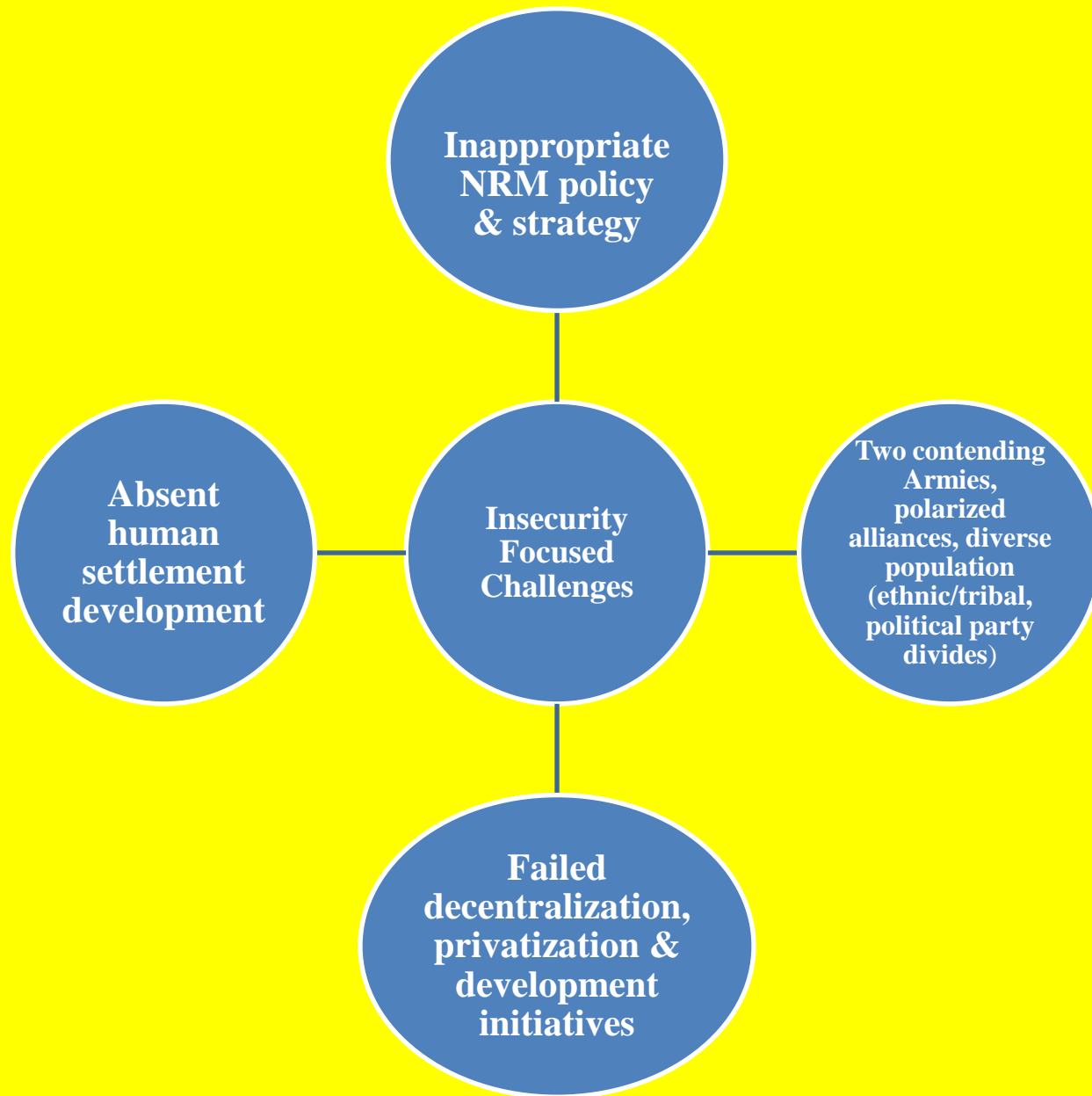
- **The second challenge, directly related to the BLB, is to determine priority tasks “what is to be done” in the borderline belt where BNS and SKS are governed by the two areas protocol (TAP) of the CPA, and the disputed Abyei Area is governed by Abyei Protocol under the Presidency.**
- **The challenge posed by these three areas must prompt the rulers of the country to make crystal clear their positions:**
  - **do they intend to make the BLB a future arena for reconstruction and development, or leaving it to degenerate into a dragon space for resource-based competition and conflict?**

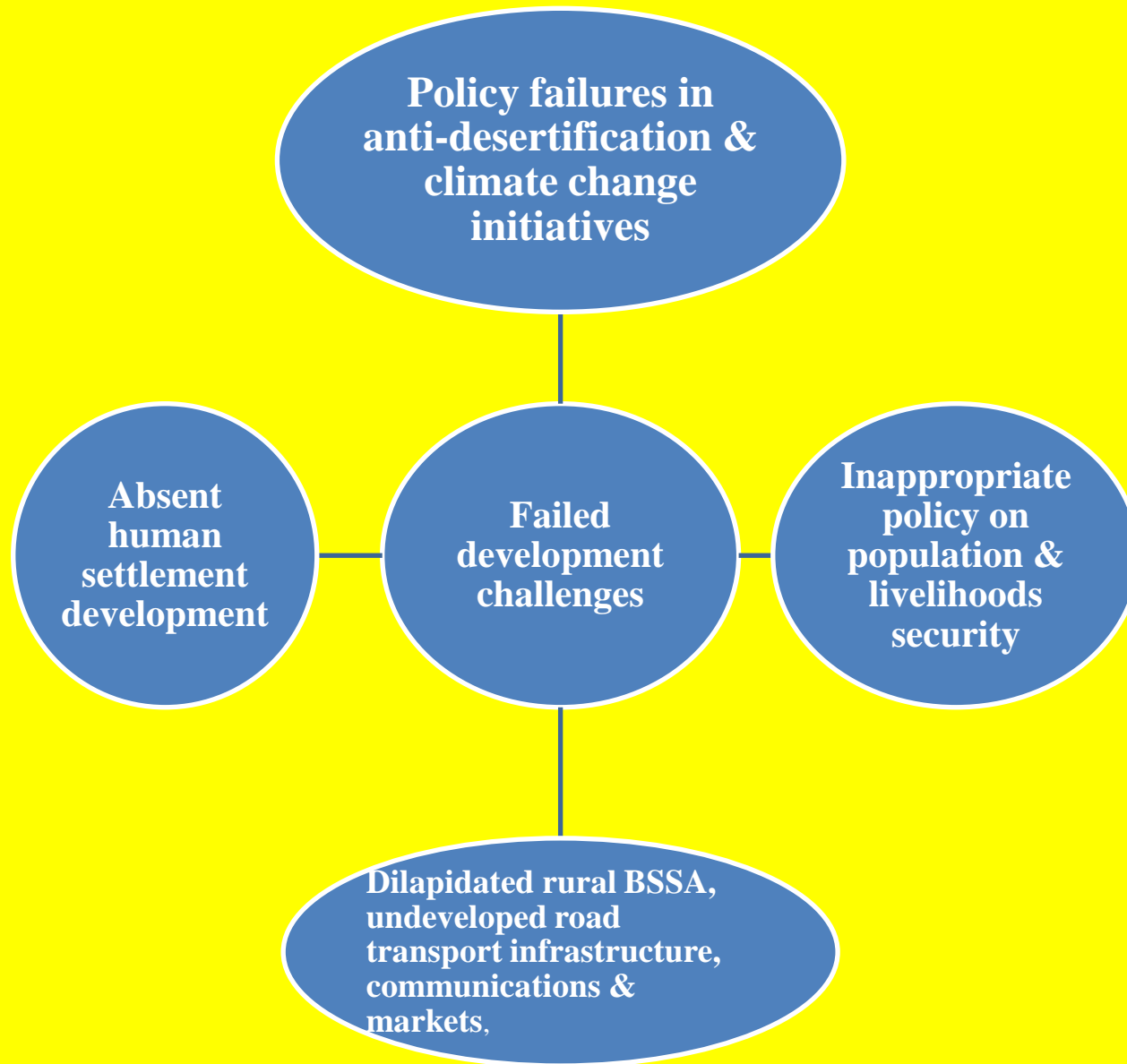
**In order to determine these priority tasks, policy makers need to:**

**firstly, resolve the ‘borderline debate’, and agree with the rulers of south Sudan on a shortlist of priority interdependencies on which to build cooperation policies and strategies in order to address emerging issues in the north-south borderline states.**

**Including finding answers to:**

**“How to wean ‘the elderly brother’ from oil in ‘mama-south-tender breast’, that gives 80% of oil revenues.**





# PLANNING SPACE

- **For planning purposes, BLB can be seen as comprised of three sub-sectors, extending East-to-West.**
- **First: Eastern Sub-sector (White Nile Sector), with four states, BNS, SINS, WNS and UNS, covers longitudes 32E -36E.**
- **South Kurdufan State touches on the eastern sector and shares border disputes with UNS at Jebel Migainis area and Kaka town area.**

## **PRESSING RESEARCH PRIORITY ISSUES**

- Researchers and research institutions are challenged by the shortage of current and dependable development information and data sets to analyse and comprehend the situation on the ground, in order to advise policy makers on priority issues.**
- They need to start to draw out socioeconomic profiles with a closer lens on the BLB, not only at the individual state-level but also for evidence-based assessment and identification of hotspots and flash points along the BLB where conflict is occurring or is likely to occur.**
- That is to assess the direction in which current hotspots and potential flash-points might behave after separation.**

## **PRESSING RESEARCH PRIORITY ISSUES (cont.)**

- to develop a general perspective that could make sense of the relationship between North Sudan and South Sudan, a few years after separation.**
- to draw out socioeconomic profiles for assessment and identification of hotspots and flash points along the BLB where resource-driven competition and conflict is occurring or is likely to occur.**
- to assess the direction in which current hotspots and potential flash-points might behave in the short-term (12 months) and medium-term (2-3years), after 9 July;**

# **PRESSING ECONOMIC ISSUES AT BLS LEVEL**

- **POVERTY AND FOOD INSECURITY**
- **Develop BLB Emergency Employment Action Program;**
- **Develop state food security strategy;**
  
- **MISMANAGEMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES**
- **Established Forestry Reform Legislation and Monitoring Committee;**
- **Establish state-level task forces on Oil and minerals to annually assess Operation and Management ;**



**PRESSURE ON REINTEGRATION**

- **Develop BLS Commission for Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (State DDR) to lead the process;**
- **Recruit ex-combatants & IDPs in labor intensive jobs in BLS;**
- **Support, demobilize & reintegrate child soldiers;**
- **Improve BLS-wide access to education & training;**
- **Establish (3) BLS training and research centers;**
- **Develop shelter/economy-housing skills;**

# **PRESSING GOVERNANCE-RELATED ISSUES, BLS LEVEL**

## **LEADERSHIP AND USE OF POWER**

- **Establish autonomous governance reform commission.**
  - **Establish state-level anti-corruption strategy and related legislation.**
  - **Plan a review of the five BLS state constitutions;**
  - **Restructure state security architecture.**
  - **Improve tax revenue collection systems.**

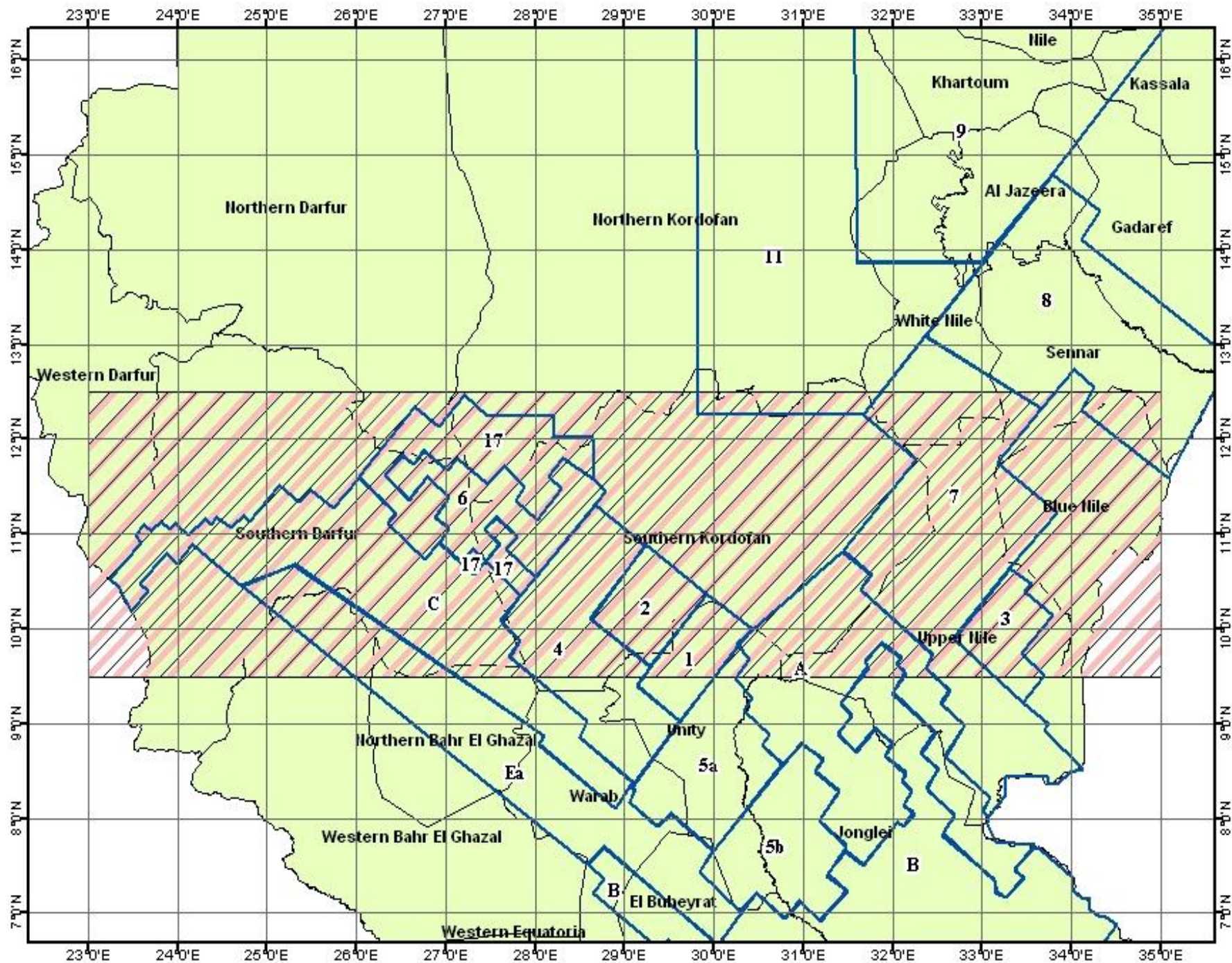
## **JUSTICE SYSTEM:**

- **Develop legal framework for judicial institutions;**
- **Establish Commissions on human rights & legal reform;**
- **Review dual justice system & abolish customary law;**
- **Train NA leaders on human rights & legal education;**
- **Reform & restructure BLS police;**

## **PRESSING GOVERNANCE-RELATED ISSUES, BLS LEVEL (continued)**

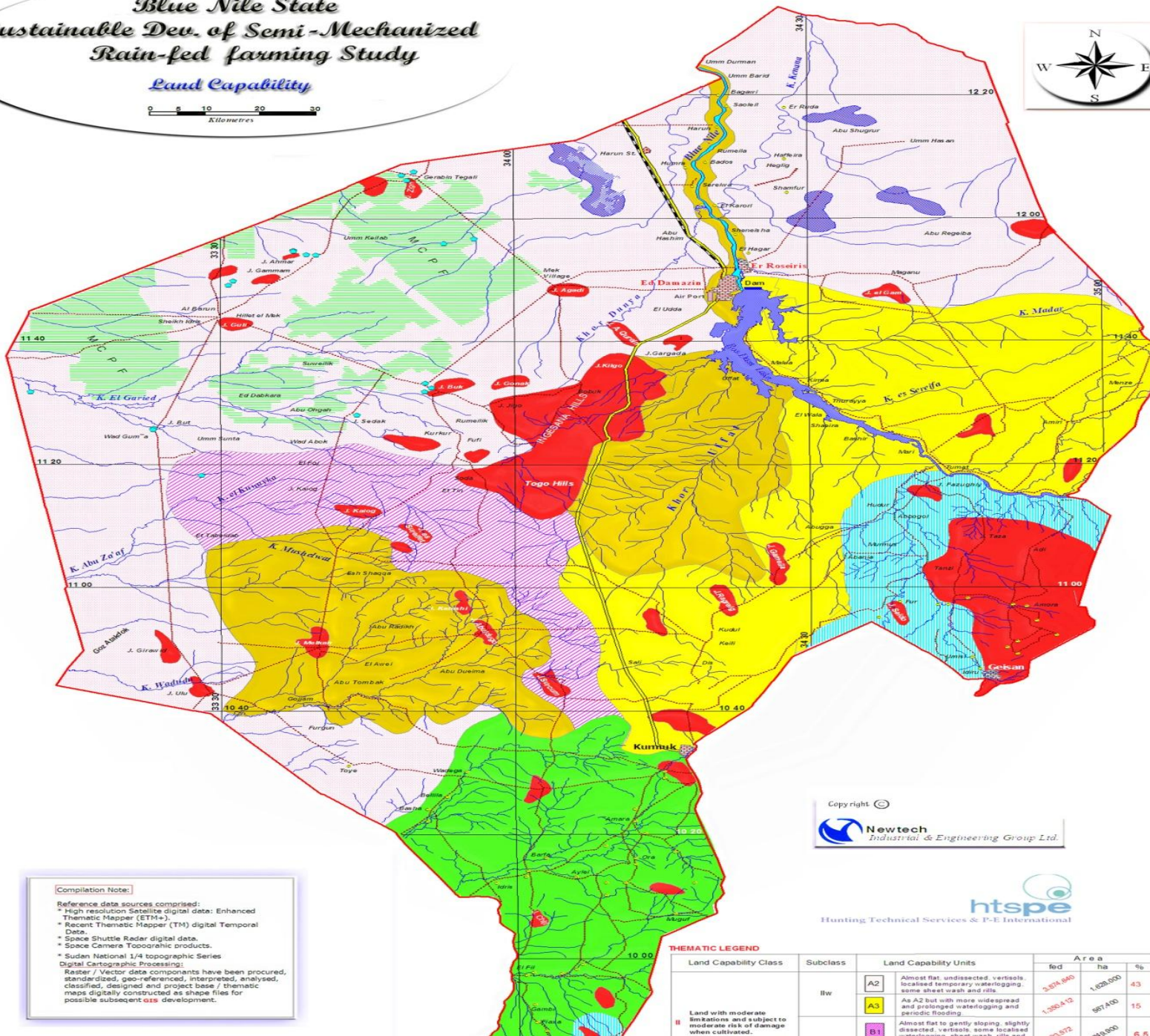
### **IDENTITY-BASED DIVISIONS & LACK OF SHARED NATIONAL IDENTITY**

- Establish accountability record of human rights violations;**
- Create national visioning strategy with the aim of building ‘new’ shared vision upon which to build ‘sense of belonging’ to N-S;**
- Mediate inter-ethnic, religious, land and property disputes and community conflict;**
- Support research on traditional forms of reconciliation in BLS**



# Blue Nile State Sustainable Dev. of Semi-Mechanized Rain-fed farming Study

## Land Capability



**Compilation Note:**

Reference data sources comprised:  
 \* High resolution Satellite digital data: Enhanced Thematic Mapper (ETM+).  
 \* Recent Thematic Mapper (TM) digital Temporal Data.  
 \* Space Shuttle Radar digital data.  
 \* Spice Camera Topographic products.  
 \* Sudan National 1/4 topographic Series

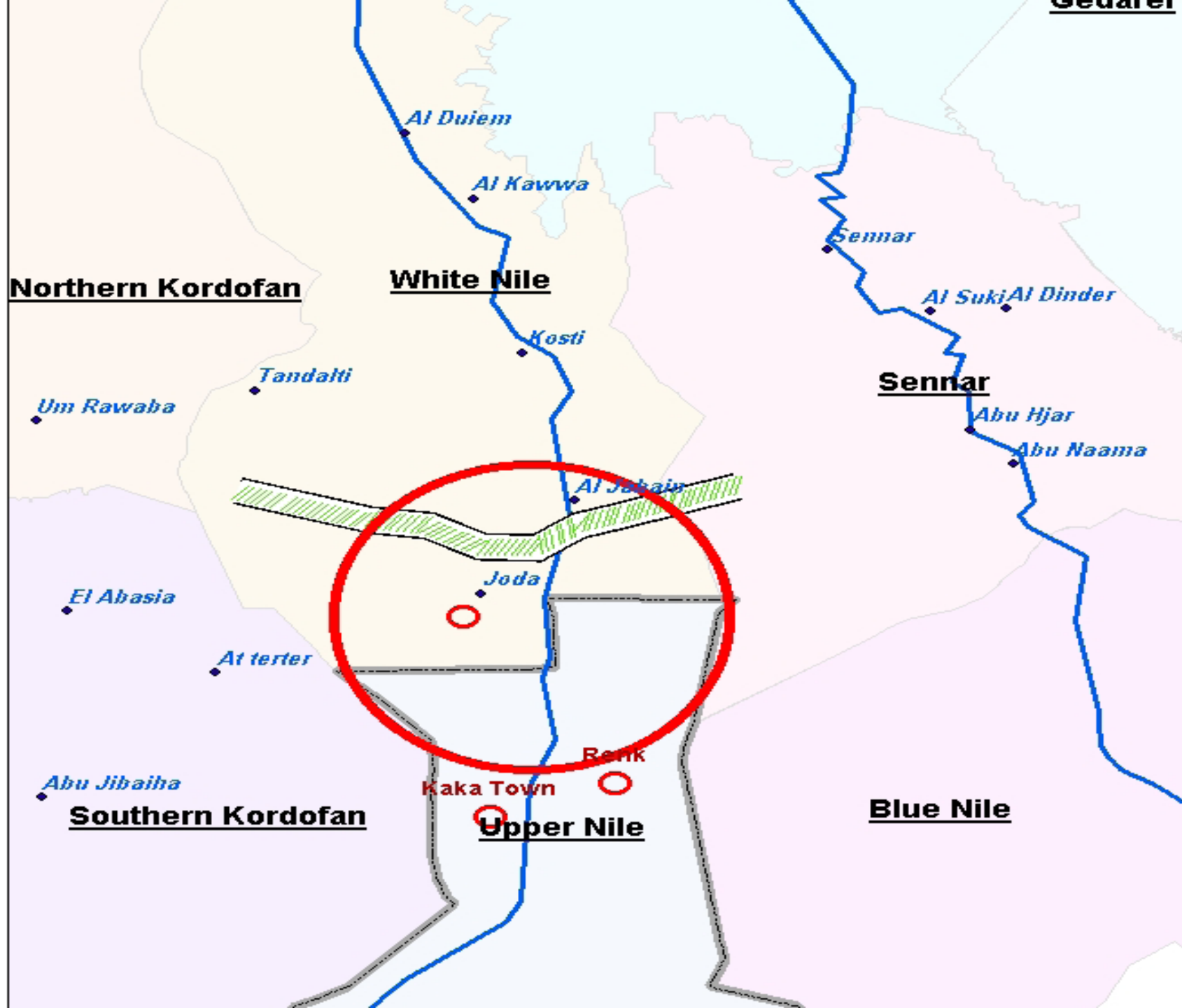
Digital Cartographic Processing:  
 Raster / Vector data components have been procured, standardized, geo-referenced, interpreted, analysed, classified, designed and project base / thematic maps digitally constructed as shape files for possible subsequent GIS development.

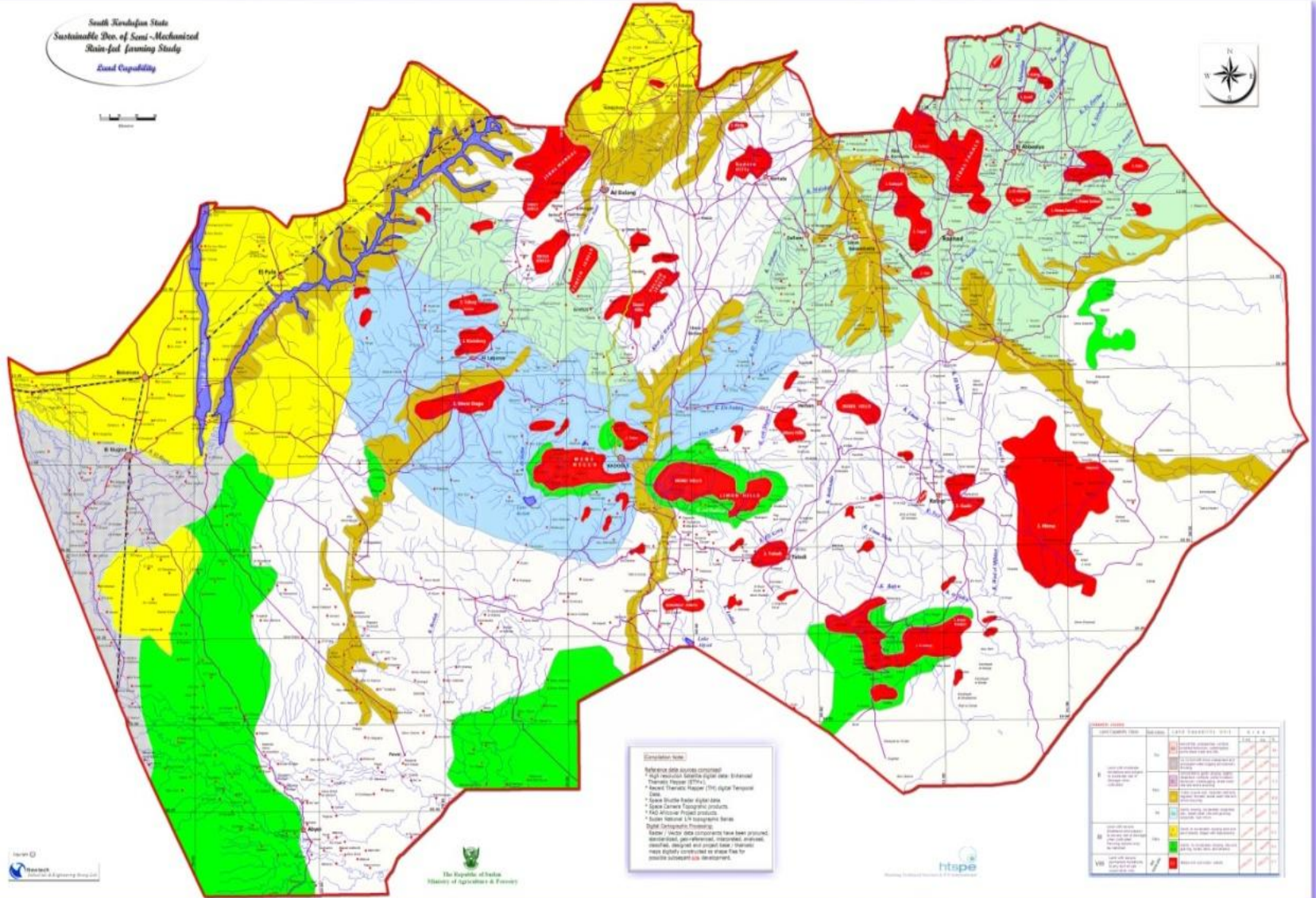
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**THEMATIC LEGEND**

Land Capability Class	Subclass	Land Capability Units	Area		
			fed	ha	%
II Land with moderate limitations and a subject to moderate risk of damage when cultivated.	A2	Almost flat, undissected, vertisols, localised temporary waterlogging, some sheet wash and rills.	3,674,640	1,628,000	4.3
	A3	As A2 but with more widespread and prolonged waterlogging and periodic flooding.	1,380,412	987,400	15
	B1	Almost flat to gently sloping, slightly dissected, vertisols, some localised waterlogging, sheet wash, rills and rills.	893,872	293,800	6.5

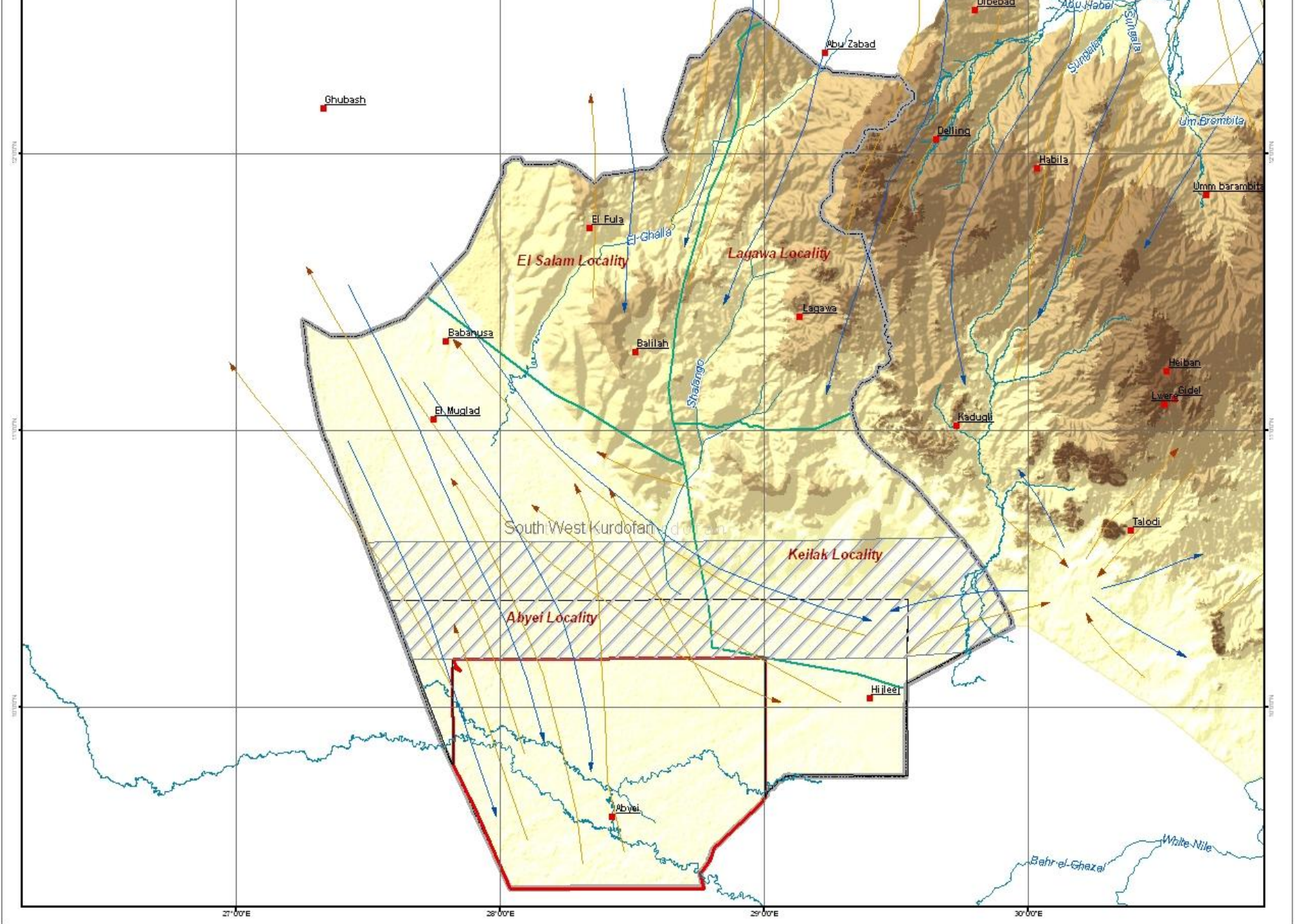




**Disclaimer:**  
 Reference data sources consulted:  
 \* High resolution satellite digital data: Enhanced Thematic Mapper (ETM+)  
 \* Aerial Thermal Mapper (TM) digital Thermal Data  
 \* Open Shuttle Radar Topography Data  
 \* Open Source Topographic products  
 \* FAO Africover Project products  
 \* Aerial National 1:50,000 scale maps  
 Digital Cartographic Processing:  
 Source: vector data components have been processed, standardized, geo-referenced, mosaicked, analyzed, classified, digitized and stored base. Thematic maps digitally constructed in shape file for remote computerized management.

Land Capability Class	Symbol	Land Use/Management	Soil	Water	Climate	Vegetation
1	Light Green	Very High Potential	Very High	Very High	Very High	Very High
2	Yellow-Green	High Potential	High	High	High	High
3	Yellow	Medium Potential	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
4	Light Yellow	Low Potential	Low	Low	Low	Low
5	Orange	Very Low Potential	Very Low	Very Low	Very Low	Very Low
6	Red	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Not Suitable







### Comparative Map of the Abyei Area

