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THE ROLE OF COLONIAL POWERS IN AFRICAN CONFLICTS: A CASE STUDY OF

BRITAIN IN SUDAN CONFLICT AND THE SECESSION OF SOUTH SUDAN

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signature………………………………………….Date……………………………………………..

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research work to my family and friends for their unconditional support during my studies.

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ABSTRACT

The overall aim of the research was to determine how colonial powers contributed to conflicts in Africa. Specific objectives included to discuss the role of former colonial powers in African conflicts, examine the role of Britain in Sudan conflict and the secession of South Sudan, and discuss how African states should limit the negative influence by former colonial powers in their countries. The study also set out two hypotheses namely colonial legacy is one of the causes of African conflicts, and secondly that the British colonial legacy has is associated with Sudan conflicts and the secession of South Sudan. The research was founded on Structural theory of imperialism by Johan Galtung, and triangulated both primary and secondary data and utilized mixed research method in addressing the research problem. Purposive sampling technique was used to select 15 respondents categorized as diplomats, politicians, and academicians. A semi-structured questionnaire was used to collect data which was analyzed using thematic content analysis technique. On the other hand, secondary data was obtained from relevant journals, books, periodicals and maps to help in expounding the relationship between colonialism in Africa and the conflicts witnessed in the region, including the situation in Sudan and South Sudan.

Through historical analysis of secondary data and primary data, the study established that colonialism has a significant influence on many conflicts and wars in Africa. One of the most affected countries on the continent includes Sudan, with historical conflicts having culminated into the 2011 South Sudan secession from Sudan. Furthermore, the British divide-and-rule policy was practiced in most African countries, even long after colonization on the continent ended. This scenario continues to thrive on the continent in form of the ruling class minority often dominating the majority who are the ruled, by making important policy decisions with little regard to the preferences of the latter. Many countries in Africa continue to experience political upheavals whose exploiting factors result into the colonial policy of creating a self-perpetuating ruling class and the ruled; something akin to carryover from the colonial governments.

Lastly, the study has made a number of recommendations on how African states should limit the negative influence from former colonial powers in their countries. The recommendations include the fact that African countries should strive to adopt a holistic approach for dealing with issues related with colonialism in Africa through strengthening of relevant peace negotiation institutions, and encourage multi-agency strategy when resolving conflicts in any parts of the continent. Also, the study recommended that, as leading peace negotiators in Africa, the UN and the AU should move away from emphasizing so much on military intervention when resolving conflicts on the continent to embracing dialogue and mutual respect to conflicting parties. With regard to conflict resolution in Sudan, the secession of the south from the north should provide the best opportunity for the two countries to work together to benefit citizens belonging to the two nations. It is only through mutual respect that mistrust between the two nations can be eradicated and frontiers for development mooted. The study also recommended the need for a heightened goodwill by intercontinental friends in rallying all the countries on the continent to respect the rule of law in their governance and foster the spirit of interstate and intrastate friendships so as to dispel the fear of creeping mentality of 'recolonization' by the ruling elite in some parts of the continent.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ICC	International Criminal Court
IGAD	Inter-governmental Authority on Development
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
OAU	Organization of African Unity
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPLM/A-N	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army – North
SSLA	South Sudan Liberation Army
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

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<center>**Introduction to the Study**</center>

1.1 Introduction to the Study

In the last five decades, different countries of Africa have experienced conflicts, with some history scholars estimating to have occurred more than 75 coups where regimes were violently overthrown especially in developing nations.[1] Around the same period, different kinds of war and other forms of conflicts have been witnessed in many of these countries. Some of the most affected countries in the African region include Somalia and Sudan just to mention but a few.[2] Such fights have led to untold human suffering, as well as deaths of hundreds of thousands of people among other atrocities.

1.1.1 Conflicts in Africa

The conflicts being experienced in the African continent has been linked to external interests from the African colonial powers. With vested ambitions of causing disharmony in their former colonies so that they can achieve their political and economic ends, most colonial powers are thought to have employed isolationist approaches and tactics in achieving their ends.[3]Historians have further stated that the deeply entrenched rift amongst conflicting nations in Africa cannot be fully addressed without looking back to where the historical journey of the conflicting nations. This is because political instability in Africa is seen as basically entrenched among African communities

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[1]Adedeji, A, (ed). (1999). Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts, London: Zed Books.
[2]Gordon-Summers, Trevor. (1999). In Adebayo, A. (ed.) (1999) Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts. London: Zed Books.
[3]Ake, Claude. (ed.) (1985). The Political Economy of Nigeria. Lagos and London: Longman.

<center>1</center>

thereby mostly linked to the colonial past of the states marred in conflicts. This view is buttressed further in the argument that conflict resolution efforts in Africa have not yielded lasting peace outcomes due to external pressures; which in many instances come from former colonizing countries.[4]

Although it is true that conflict resolution community has applied varied strategies in addressing conflicts in the African region, due to external influence some peace pursuing policies are often marred by ambiguities and contradictions.[5] Hence, this scenario may lead to silenced, but unresolved antagonism in African states. Many scholars as well as researchers addressing peace negotiation on the continent have proposed the need to approach this subject from a broader perspective, with deep understanding of the intricate web of historical and political dimension. Both intra-state and interstate conflicts have been witnessed in the Africa, albeit in varying proportion and magnitude. It has also been argued that in the East African region for instance, the South Sudan war, the State collapse in Somalia, as well as the long-experienced skirmishes in a number of other African countries only serve as evidence of these fights. Furthermore, the Ethiopian conflict situation and other regions may only be testimony to entrenched wars in the African region. Notwithstanding their intensity and protracted nature, a lasting solution to these wars has been elusive in ages. This then brings about a question whether most nations in Africa are able to end these conflicts.

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[4]Zartman, I. William (2000). The OAU in the Africa State System. In: Ayouty, Y.E. and I. William Zartmaneds. The OAU After Twenty Years. Westport, CT, Praeger.
[5]Anyang' Nyong'o, P. (1991). The Implications of Crises and Conflict in the Upper Nile Valley, In: Deng and Zartmaneds. Longman, London.

1.1.2 The Sudan Conflict

The conflict in Sudan has dominated history books for decades, ostensibly attributed to internal wrangles sparked by the political class. Although the formal declaration of the autonomy of South Sudan as an independent state in in the second quarter of 2011 was viewed by many as a possible end to the prolonged Sudan conflict, that only seemed to have lulled the storm for a while. Almost two years soon after South Sudan cessation from the North and the declaration of the formation of the youngest nation in the African continent, there emerged two main opposing camps – Salva Kiir's pro-government group and the oppositionist movement led by his Deputy in-command, Riek Machar. This split of the South from the North to form its independent state did not end the conflict in the North, with this culminating into the ouster of long-serving President El Bashir from power in the first quarter of 2019. Whereas the protracted conflict in Sudan is largely attributed to internal conflict attributed to the push for control of vast natural resources by riffling political groups, the hand of the country's colonial master is often seen to feature at the centre of the conflict.[6] This study intended to examine how the colonial powers contributed to the conflict experienced in African colonies, with emphasis on the British colonialism and its connection with the Sudan impasse and cessation of South Sudan.

1.2 The Statement of the Research Problem

The European colonization of the African continent has contributed significantly to the ongoing conflicts in many African countries which continue to suffer the devastating effects of these conflicts. The Sudanese conflict is one of the most violent and devastating African conflicts and

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[6] Anderson, G. Norman (1999). Sudan in Crisis: The Failure of Democracy. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

the longest-lasting, the country has got peace in a few intermittent periods. The conflict in Sudan began in the southern region since 1955 before the independence from the British colonial in 1956. This conflict caused directly by the colonial policies practiced by the British in Sudan, which led to the emergence of this violent conflict, including two civil wars, which considered of the most violent civil wars in the continent, left thousands of civilians dead, several others displaced and serious environment as well as property destructions, with these finally leading to the division of the country which started by The secession of southern Sudan in 2011and there some expectations and indications of more divisions. Over the decades, African peoples and governments have attempted to get rid of these violent conflicts that are threat the peace and security on the continent by finding some temporary solutions that often halt these conflicts for a few, but not lasting, periods. Even the countries that have achieved peace and succeeded in stopping conflicts still suffer from the fragility of security, which makes peace always at risk and the possibility of a return to conflict is always possible.

Sudan is an example of those countries that have had temporary peace in some periods. Always there is blaming on the African peoples in these conflicts while forgetting the major role attributed to the European colonizing nations in instigating and fuelling outbreak of conflicts. Therefore, all peace processes on the continent remain deficient and unsustainable unless scrutiny is launched to clearly unearth how colonialism is linked, in one way or the other, to the emergence of these conflicts, including the Sudanese peace problems that eventually led to the split of the larger Sudan into two nations. A clear understanding of this situation means that the historical circumstances must clearly be analyzed. The research intended to take a historical look at the problem of ignoring the role played by colonial powers in African conflicts when African countries (Sudan as a case study) discuss the peace processes to stop these conflicts and make sustainable peace on the

continent. In order to address this problem, the study based on the hypotheses sets out three objectives in addition to the research questions.

1.3 Study Objectives

The general objective of the study was to determine the relationship between the colonial powers and conflicts in Africa. Specifically, the study sought:

1.3.1   To discuss the role of former colonial powers in African conflicts.

1.3.2   To examine the role of Britain in Sudan conflict and the secession of South Sudan.

1.3.3   To discuss how African states should limit the negative influence by former colonial powers in their countries.

1.4 Research Questions

The study intended to answer the following research questions:

1.4.1   What is the role of former colonial powers in African conflicts?

1.4.2   What is the role of Britain in Sudan conflict and the secession of South Sudan?

1.4.3   How should African states limit the negative influence by former colonial powers in their countries?

1.5 Study Hypotheses

Hypotheses of the study included the following:

1.5.1   Colonial legacy was central in contributing to conflicts in Africa.

1.5.2   The British colonial legacy has directly linked to the conflicts and eventual split of South Sudan from the North.

1.6 Justification and Significance of Study

The study was important in many respects as it will be significant to scholars and researchers interested in the relationship between colonialism in Africa and conflicts in the region. It will also be critical for policymakers with respect to how to link colonialism to current conflicts in the African region. .

1.6.1   Academic Justification

Most of the conflicts being witnessed in Africa today have been blamed on the weaknesses of the African states' governance structures and lack of enough democratic space to allow alternative voices. Thus, conflicts in Africa are rarely linked to colonial history of the continent. Yet, many countries in Africa inherited governance structures from their colonizers which, although with some modifications, largely retain their original scripts.

This study was important in rekindling the debate about colonialism and the role it plays in the current conflicts being witnessed in some parts of Africa. It may provide history scholars and social scientists an opportunity to trace the root cause of intrastate conflicts in post-independence Africa. Although there are emerging issues as a result of modernity which often lead to stiff political and economic competition, these may not be fully understood without tracing them to the history of democracies in the African region.

1.6.2 Policy Justification

In order to address any conflict successfully, this calls for effective policy formulation. Yet, effective polices must always be backed by historical and contemporary facts. By tracing the

conflict is Sudan to historical times, this study may provide policymakers with justification to focus on areas of much importance so that they can come up with better governance systems. Empirically-backed policies stand a better chance for influencing important decisions. Hence, this study may be very critical in providing historical facts upon which to institute better working policy documents not only for Sudan, but for the rest of the countries in the African region which may be facing the problem of interstate conflicts. The study will also be important in helping South Sudan to institute effectively working policy documents that will encourage inclusivity in government so as to end the current political stalemate and forestall any future fallout in the government.

1.7 Literature Review

Existing empirical works on the relationship between colonialism in Africa and conflicts witnessed in the region are addressed in this section. A critical analysis is provided based on what various authors regarding the subject of study.

1.7.1 Colonialism

Conventionally, colonialism started in the US when Europe invaded, occupied and exploited natural resources and human capital for its own benefits. [7] It was basically driven by Europe's expansionist desire to materially and culturally dominate other regions and in the process institute what was viewed as superior approach to the global rule. Over time, the three terminologies have been viewed as synonyms.[8]British colonialism was hinged on the concept of the British Empire, a worldwide system of dependency where colonies and protectorates, and other territories were seen

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[7]Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America. Nepantla: Views from South.
[8]Munzu, Simon (1995). Southern Cameroons peoples conference press release. Washington, D.C.

as an extension of Great Britain under one central crown and the administration of the British government, sitting in London[9]. By the 20th century, the notion of the British Commonwealth was born, sanitizing the policy of self-governance by British former colonies. The concept was coined and embodied in a statute in 1931, and today the Commonwealth includes former British colonies in a free club of sovereign states.

In many parts of Africa, colonization by the European powers began in 1870s-1900 when the imperialists aggressively undertook to control their colonies in all aspects of life.[10] This took place especially after the Berlin Meeting organized in Portugal by one Chancellor Otto Bismarch of German in 1884-85.[11] Together with other inter-European territorial accords, the Berlin Conference officially paved way for dividing Africa along artificial territorial borders for easier and organized governance attributed to parts or nations of Europe. The British, French, German, Belgian, and Portuguese governments stand out as some of European colonial powers that had vast interests in the African continent.

Most European countries were motivated by the essentials of capitalist industrialization to spread tentacles to capture new horizons in Africa, especially after the dying of slave trade in the 18th century. The high demand for cheaper goods and services formed the greatest motivation for Europe to look out for more lucrative investment markets. The European scramble for Africa therefore was majorly spurred by long-term economic interests of the former. By and large, the colonial policy was one of dependence and exploitation through political and economic

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[9]Cohen, Herman J. (1996). Conflict management in Africa CSIS Africa Notes
[10]Gerhart, Gail. (1978) Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology. Berkeley: University of California Press
[11]Stedman, S.J. (1991). Conflict and conflict resolution in Africa: A conceptual framework. In: Deng and Zartman eds. 1991.

manipulation as well as coercion of people, countries and regions for selfish gains by the colonizers. Less developed countries were viewed as forever indebted to the European nations for their survival, both economically and socially. Colonized countries experienced serious invasions and military incursions, with this eventually leading to ultimate capture of the African continent by the colonialist. These intrusions precipitated various forms of resistance from African societies against dominance by the foreigners. Literature indicates that despite the spirited resistance by most African countries, this did not stop Europe from advancing its expansionist interests.[12]

1.7.2   Colonial Powers and Conflicts in Africa

Between end of 18th and 19th centuries, the European powers began to aggressively spread their presence and capture new territories in the African continent. For easier administration and control of the resources of the European colonies, divide-and-rule policy came handy. This was the genesis of the conflict in Africa since the divide-and-rule tactics pitted colonial sympathizers against the opponents of the European rule.[13] Since the 1870s-1900 when the imperialists aggressively undertook to control their colonies in all aspects of life, a sizeable part of the African continent has often largely been defined based on historical conflicts. Even after the ouster of the colonial master from the grip of the African continent, in a number of countries, indigenous communities are still in conflict amongst different ethnic groups. Hence, this scenario helps to explain well the role of colonialism in the conflicts experienced in Africa even today.

The European imperialist pressures witnessed during the latter part of 19th epoch sparked rebuttals from some African states, and subsequently led to armed opposition. At the time of the Berlin

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[12]Anderson, David (2003). Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire. New York: W. W.
[13] Ibid. p.9

Conference, a number of countries from Europe sent delegates to represent them in signing treaties or agreements with in the African protectorates where their interests were secured. However, misunderstandings that sometimes emanated out of these treaties would later cause further frictions between parties and eventual armed resistance by countries that felt they had been given a raw deal. Through the signed accords, to the Europeans this implied relinquishing autonomies or powers by their protectorates. However, for indigenous communities, this meant just creating diplomatic and friendship ties. According to Nyong'o[14], the Africans discovered later to have been duped by colonizers since the latter had started imposing political authority in the African territories. This prompted the African rulers to organize their armies for countering the colonizer's grabbing and supremacy of their colonies.

Since the 1960's, many conflicts have been witnessed or reported in various African nations, including Sudan (1955-1990), Rwanda (1990s-2001), as well as Chad (1965-1985) just to mention but a few.[15] According to Cook[16], the concept of conflict underlies a strained relationship between conflicting parties or nations, or competing interest groups, which is underlined by idiosyncratic aggressions or strains. Conflict has also been defined as a struggle over scarce values, status, power, and resources where the conflicting parties are driven by their desire to hurt or eliminate their opponents. [17] Conflict can be ferocious or irrepressible, prevailing or receding, resolvable or insolvable, depending on many forces at play. These definitions of the term conflict presume that violence is not inherently part of the conflict but rather a probable form that conflict may assume.

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[14]Anyang' Nyong'o, P. (1991). The Implications of Crises and Conflict in the Upper Nile Valley. In: Deng and Zartman eds. 1991. pp 95-114.
[15]Adeyemo, F.O (2000). Conflicts, Wars and Peace in Africa, 1960- 2000, Lagos, Franc Soba Nig. Ltd.
[16]Cook, C and Killingray, D. (1983). African Political Facts Since 1945, London/ Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press Ltd
[17]Coser, L.A (1968). "Social, Aspects of Conflict" International Encyclopedia of Social Science, New York.

However, historically most conflicts are violence-ridden, visiting long-term and short-term injuries on the victims and causing uncountable human and animal deaths as well as destruction of innumerable property.

Armed resistance in Africa was often underscored by revolutionary formations that launched attacks and counterattacks to protect the continent's interests. The guerrilla warfare tactics were often employed by small and decentralized societies otherwise called 'stateless societies', since these communities had small populations hence lacking professional armies. [18] Despite their inferior numbers, their mastery of the terrain boosted their performance where they could easily apply the hit-and-run raids against their stationary army opponents. Obasanjo points out that this tactic was most prevalently used by the Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria against the British in 1900-1902. As Italy intensified its pressures in 1890s, the Ethiopian military under the stewardship of Emperor Menelik II put up a spirited resistance to keep off the Italians.

Despite the artificial borders that were created by the colonizing countries where different communities were lumped together to make colonial states, empirical studies indicate that intrastate conflicts have been relatively fewer than interstate wars.[19]Some of the conflicts between sates have been as a result of border or territorial disputes. These include countries like Chad and Libya which has once engaged in conflicts due to misunderstanding over the Aouzou strip. Also, Tanzania conflicted with Uganda in 1979 when Idi Amin of Uganda was ousted from power. Furthermore, between 1963 and 1967, Kenya became into loggerheads with Somalia; just as did Somalia with Ethiopia between 1964 and 1078. Other conflicts were witnessed between Egypt and Libya in 1977, Eritrea and Ethiopia between 1998 and 2000, and Cameroon versus Nigeria in 1994

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[18]Burton, John W. 1990. Conflict Resolution and Prevention, New York: St. Martin's Press.
[19]Cohen, Herman J. (1996). Conflict Management in Africa. CSIS Africa Notes.

when the two countries conflicted over the oil-endowed Bakassi Headland. Often, interstate or intercommunity conflicts have been linked to external interests from the superpowers.[20]

On the other hand, according to Cohen[21], interstate or international conflicts involve two or more states, usually pitting forces from the warring countries against each other. Over the years, the African continent has experienced both types of conflicts albeit in varying degrees. Popularly referred to as civil wars, such conflicts are often associated with external involvement. Some of the commonly affected countries with such conflicts in Africa have been influenced by bad politics and vested interests that tend to override the common good of citizens of warring countries.[22] Even though, a number of countries have been affected by ethnic conflicts, which can be traced back to colonial legacies where the colonizers created artificial boundaries to advance the tactics of divide-and-rule as a way of antagonizing and weakening their target communities. This move resulted into diving some communities across more than one country such as the Maasai and Kuria people who spread across Kenya and Tanzania borders, Teso and Luo who strut across Kenyan and Ugandan borders among others.

Inter-ethnic or inter-community fights have led a number of devastating outcomes including poverty, diseases, loss of livelihood opportunities as well as displacement of people which end up interfering with numerous important social and economic activities such as schooling and farming among others. The fight over power is imminent in a number of neighbouring African countries, and this is often attributed what the colonizer planted amidst the African territories. Most of the inter-ethnic fights have been attributed to bad politics engineered by the colonial master as well as

[20] Burton, John W. Op cit. p11
[21] Ibid p 9
[22] Edgar, Robert, and Luyandaka Msumza, eds. (1996) Freedom in Our Lifetime: The Collected Writings of Anton Muziwakhe Lembede. Athens: Ohio University Press.

religious and cultural differences which in the first place were created by imperialists. In the modern African states, the inter-ethnic or inter-community conflicts are further fuelled by the ruling elite who often pick a cue from colonial legacies.[23]

Perpetuation of colonial mentality in Africa abound. The case in point is the Somalia and DRC wars where external influence has played a significant role in fuelling them.[24]Studies have further observed that the flawed de-colonization process in many African nations created a contradiction of colonial states passing self-rule or independence to their former colonies. There are further postulations that the recurrent conflicts, political instability and wars in some of these countries have some connections to their former masters. Such scenario may be what led to wars in Angola and Mozambique in 1974-1976 when Portugal let these countries to have their independence at a time when they were actually ill-prepared for it.[25] The conflict in Sudan has equally been blamed on colonialism, especially with regard to the manner in which the divide-and-rule scheme was orchestrated.[26] According to Obasanjo[27], North and South Sudan were ruled under a carefully crafted isolationist arrangement which basically operated without clear administration policies and statutory securities for the natives and the hitherto already underprivileged South. The aforementioned countries can only serve as examples of states in Africa where conflict was caused

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[23] Obasanjo, Olusegun 1991. Preface. In Deng and Zartman eds. 1991. pp. xiii-xx.
[24]Zartman, I. William ed. (2000). Traditional cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict 'Medicine'. Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers.
[25] Burton, John W. Op cit. p11
[26]Doyal, Len and Ian Gough (1991). A Theory of Human Need. New York, the Guilford Press.
[27]Obasanjo, Olusegun (1991). Preface In Deng and Zartman eds.

and perpetuated by colonial countries.[28] This implies that any attempt to resolve 'colonially' crafted conflicts in African states should address the question of the law.[29]

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study used the theory of imperialism as an analytical framework. The theory of imperialism was held by Johan Galtung.[30] The theory takes as its point of departure profound philosophical disparity and how to end this stalemate. In the theory, inequality between and within nations is viewed as pervasive in all aspects of human life hence necessitating the need to resist this injustice. Furthermore, the theory views the world as consisting of the center and periphery nations where the former is often attempting to dictate to the latter. This relationship can be seen in the context of the colonizers and their colonies. The theory further points out that regardless of the side the nation may be considered to belong; each one of them has its center and the periphery. In this sense, the center can be seen as comprising of the rich or the high class while the periphery consists of the poor or the proletariat.[31]

The discrepancy that emanates from this relationship creates tension between the parties in either of the social divide. Based on the relationship between the colonial powers and the colonized countries where the former can be seen as being at the center hence holding a superior position over the latter, the theory further insinuates that this skewed relationship was bound to trigger resistance from the weaker (colonized) nations. Based on the Marxist ideology of oppression of

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[28]Thomas, Nicholas (1994). Colonialism's culture: Anthropology, travel and government. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press.

[29]Lingren, et al (1991), Major armed conflicts in 1990, SIPRI Yearbook 1991: World Armaments & Disarmament. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

[30] Johan Galtung (1971), A Structural Theory of Imperialism, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, University of Oslo.

[31] Ibid

the masses (proletariat) by the bourgeoisie class or the rich with a grip on the means of production, theory of imperialism serves well to explain why the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized could not hold forever. At the fall of human trafficking in the 1800s and expansion of European chauvinism, most European countries developed the urge to spread their influence to Africa so that they could procure cheaper goods and services as well as ready markets for finished products. The Western invasion to the South which was majorly spurred by long-term economic interests of the former did not last long before the indigenous communities began to revolt.[32]

The European forays into Africa were motivated by economic, social and political factors.[33]In the context of the theory of imperialism, the coexistence of the colonial master and the colonized countries was only workable for the imperial countries where they were viewed by their colonies as intruders. These intrusions precipitated various forms of resistance from African countries against dominance by the foreigners.

1.9 Research Design and Methodology

This study used both primary and secondary data with the aim of harmonizing the varied views by various authors regarding the cause and possible solution to the conflict. Triangulation of primary and secondary data finally provided an opportunity to arrive at a suitable conclusion regarding the role of Britain in Sudan conflict and secession of South Sudan.

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[32] Gerhart, Gail. (1998) Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology. Berkeley: University of California Press.
[33] Anderson, David. (2003). Op cit. p9

1.9.1 Research Design and Methodology

The study adopted descriptive research design to address research questions. This was appropriate for this study as it provides an opportunity to gather relevant information and analyze it without manipulating variables used in the study. Descriptive design allows in-depth scrutiny and analysis where variables involved in the study are critically linked. Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill[34], postulate that descriptive research design is a research blueprint that makes it possible for a researcher to give an accurate description and presentation of the relationship between variables without manipulating them. This design applies deductive reasoning, allowing generalization of the study findings to other areas beyond the scope of the study. Mugenda and Mugenda[35] further add that descriptive research design aids in solving a more practical problem through collection and collation of suitable information. The research design therefore helped to enhance soundness of the research output.

1.9.2 Data Collection Methods and Research Tools

The study triangulated secondary and primary information where the former was acquired in journals, books as well as periodicals to help in expounding the relationship between colonialism in Africa and the conflicts witnessed in the region, including the situation in Sudan. Given that this was basically a historical analysis, secondary data was more suitable for giving a historical background of colonialism in Africa, and in Sudan specifically, to help address the research

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[34] Saunders, M.; Lewis, P., and Thornhill, A. (2013). Research Methods for Business Students, London: Pearson Education Limited.
[35] Mugenda and Mugenda (2003). Research methods: quantitative and qualitative approaches.

question. Various journals, books, periodicals, maps and the internet were good sources of the relevant information for answering the research questions in this study.

Primary data, on the other hand, was used to complement secondary data, especially by providing information regarding the recent and current situation in Sudan conflict. This was obtained from the research participants using key informant interview schedule. Key informant schedule was suitable for eliciting detailed information from the respondents through a structured interviewing process.

The sample for primary data was picked purposively, where purposive sampling is a non-probability sample selection procedure that gave the researcher an opportunity to interview individuals who had in-depth understanding of the subject of study. Purposive sampling was suitable for identifying at least three different groups (diplomats, politicians, and academicians) based on their unique positions which would enable each one of them to provide detailed information from their respective standpoints. Subject to the quality of information they were able to provide, at least five individuals from each of the groups were interviewed, which made a total of 15 respondents.

Prior to starting data collection, contacts were made with the respondents where they were requested to grant interview appointments based on their convenience. This gave the researcher time for preparation for the actual interviews by procuring enough relevant materials for note taking. During the actual data collection process, the researcher made necessary introduction and explained fully the intention of the research. Participants were also properly acquainted with the role they were supposed to play, and that their participation was voluntary. They were also informed of the whole interviewing procedure. The interviews were saved for later transcription,

coding and organization of the data for analysis. There was also note taking as a backup strategy for the collected data.

1.9.3   Data Analysis and Presentation

After fieldwork, data was organized and carried out based on emerging themes based on the study specific objectives. Both primary as well as secondary data was thematically analyzed where thematic scrutiny technique was applied where close inspection of the information was conducted. Analyzed data will be presented using narratives and excerpts that will be embedded into the main text.

1.10   Chapter Outline

The first chapter lays a foundation for the research, giving its background and proposing the methodology adopted. Specifically, chapter one summarizes the background and introduction to the study. In addition, there are brief highlights of research problem; objectives of the study as well as the questions that were addressed. Furthermore, chapter one outlined the scope of the study, as well as its justification. Furthermore, a brief literature review is given, which is based on the concept of colonialism, colonialism and conflict on the African continent. and nature of south Sudan conflict. Other areas addressed in the chapter include theoretical framework, and research methodology. Research methodology is further broken into subsections to clearly communicate how the study was designed and executed. The second chapter provides a background of former colonial powers and the role they played in stalking conflicts on the African continent. These included the scramble for Africa (Berlin Conference), the role of Britain and France in the African skirmishes, and Portuguese in Africa, the Colonial strategies and African resistance. Chapter three focused on British colonialism in conflict in Sudan and separation of the South from the North.

Some of subthemes this chapter covered included Sudan geography, Sudan society and population, Sudan political system, Sudan economy, Region of south Sudan, Sudan before British colonialism, British colonialism over Sudan, Sudan conflict, The role of British colonialism in Sudan conflict, separation of South Sudan from the North and the impacts of Sudan conflict over neighbouring countries.

Chapter four in the study discusses the role of African countries and organizations on how to contain the negative effects of colonialism in the continent. It also provides a discussion on the African solutions to the conflicts which resulted from the colonial era and features how African states should limit the negative influence by former colonial powers in their countries. Chapter five will give a summary, recommendations and conclusions of the study.

<center>**Chapter Two**</center>

<center>**An Overview on the Role of Former Colonial Powers in African Conflict**</center>

Introduction

Colonialism was basically driven by the desire to acquire more wealth, ready market and power by powerful Western countries. Colonialism was further marked by capitalism, which has basically been defined as political and cultural domination which paved the way for economic exploitation.[36] In many parts of Africa, colonialism began in 1884-85, especially after the Berlin Consultative Meeting most attributed to one Chancellor Bismarch, in Portugal.[37] Together with other inter-European territorial accords, the Berlin Conference officially paved way for dividing African along artificial territorial borders for easier and organized governance by colonizing nations such as Belgium, Britain, Portugal, Italy, and Spain among other European colonial powers that had vast interests in the African continent.

2.1 The Scramble for Africa: Berlin Conference

During the initial struggle for African wealth and exploitation of raw materials by European powers heightened competition amongst the colonizers of the African continent where each European country wanted the best for themselves. Initially, the scramble created the feeling of 'survival-for-the fittest' where the financially better-endowed countries were likely to acquire

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[36]Munzu, Simon 1995. Southern Cameroons peoples conference press release. Washington, D.C., 2 June 1995.
[37]Stedman, S.J. 1991. Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Africa: A Conceptual Framework. In: Deng and Zartman eds. 1991. pp. 367-399.

more African territories at the expense of weaker European states.[38] The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 was a consultative meeting organized by the European nations to discuss how they were going to share Africa amongst themselves for colonization. Guided by one Chancellor Bismarch, the Meeting where the participating countries agreed on how they were going to carry on with the escapades in their colonies to enrich themselves. Besides the material things, cheap labour and ready market were also on the list of what the colonial master wanted to achieve and reap maximum profits.[39]Some of the natural resources which dominated the interests of the colonial master included iron ore, crude oil, petroleum, natural gas, gold, diamonds, coffee, cocoa, and cotton among others.

The natural resources formed the main basis for the scramble for Africa, with the European colonial powers shipping the raw materials back to their countries for industrial growth.[40] Besides the raw materials, there was readily available and cheap local labour which provided a platform for the colonial empires to easily exploit the natives. With cheap local materials for the industry and locally available human capital in mind, it was now time for the colonial powers to craft an agreement on how they were going to share the potential immense wealth within the African continent. This gave rise to the Berlin conference which was convened in 1884-1885 under the stewardship of Otto von Bismarch, the Germany Chancellor. Already, African had been mapped as a rich continent with vast resources which were going to make a huge impact in the European market after exploration of the same. The following map provides an overview of the natural

[38] Norton and Company, 2005.Boahen, A. Adu. African Perspectives on Colonialism. Baltimore: John's Hopkins University Press, 1987.
[39] Mba, Nina Emma. Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900–1965. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1982.
[40] Norton and Company, 2005.Boahen, A. Adu. African Perspectives on Colonialism. Baltimore: John's Hopkins University Press, 1987.

resources which attracted the European colonial powers hence leading to what was famously referred to as the scramble for Africa.

Figure 2.1 Natural Resources that Attracted Colonialists in Africa

Some of the important natural resources that attracted colonialists in Africa included petroleum and natural gas, crude oil, iron ore, cotton, uranium, gold, diamond, copper, and coffee as well as grains among others.[41] During the struggle for the African continent, some dynamics also came into play, which included the colonizing counties competing amongst themselves for supremacy back at home.[42] For Britain and it compatriots, their main driving force was amassing of as much wealth as possible. Naturally, Africa was included in the mix.[43] Industrialization precipitated a major social problem of unemployment, displacements from rural areas hence increasing level of poverty especially among the lower social class. According to Worger et al[44], this scenario heightened the need for expansion of territories to Africa so that some of the 'surplus population' could be exported to the colonies. Initially, this resulted into creation of power base in strategic African states, with Britain and other colonial powers expanding their stakes to more parts of the African territories. For instance, Egypt, Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana, and South Africa were some of the countries that became major interests for the British.[45]

Different kinds of natural resources, including minerals, wood products and crops among others, were found in different parts of Africa hence prompting the colonizers to spread in many parts of the continent. They colonial masters were basically motivated by exploitation of these resources for their own industrial needs back in their mother countries. It was on this basis that the scramble

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[41] Abd elgadir A, An interview held in Khartoum, October 8th, 2019.

[42] Norton and Company, 2005.Boahen, A. Adu. African Perspectives on Colonialism. Baltimore: John's Hopkins University Press, 1987. Op cit

[43] Worger, William, Nancy Clark, and Edward Alpers, eds. Africa and the West: A Documentary History from the Slave Trade to Independence. Phoenix: Oryx Press, 2001.

[44] Ibid

[45] Mba, Nina Emma. Op cit. p21

for African by European countries was very intense, with each of the colonial powers wanting to

amass as much wealth from Africa as possible.

Figure 2.2 African Countries Colonized by Britain

The interplay between socio-economic resources caused the colonizing countries to struggle for

and pitch camp on the continent so that they could secure their commercial and military interests.

Inter-imperialist moneymaking competition and staking of exclusive territorial claims in particular

native countries of interests accelerated this need for exclusive hold onto watercourses and other

profitable ventures in colonies.[46] Given the intensity of the scramble for Africa which posed a threat to inter-imperialist peace and harmony, there was need to find a common ground where all the colonizing countries could feel fairly treated in terms of their share of the colonies. This then forced Chancellor Bismarch to convene another meeting amongst conquering nations to chart the best way for exploiting the presenting economic opportunities. Major provisions of the Agreement included stakeholders communicating amongst themselves about the interests they had in their respective territories so that there was no overlap. Furthermore, there was an agreement to stop or suppress slave trade by all means as well to enhance free market between all the colonizing countries and their colonies.[47],[48]

2.1.1 The British Role in the Scramble for Africa: Indirect Rule

Like the rest of the colonial powers, Britain had vast interests in Africa. However, the British aggressively advanced their presence in Africa, ostensibly to cement their control. For instance, in 1895 the British decision to conquer Sudan indicated a colonizer's resolve inn tightening a grip on Africa and thwart the efforts of other powers from advancing their control into the colonies.[49] The move by the British to consolidate their control and prevent other powers from advancing into Africa was seen as trying to protect their investments in their colonies, including Egypt. The overriding economic goal of colonialism was to gain as much benefits as possible as the colonies were left economically and politically weak and much more vulnerable. For major colonizing nations such as Britain, German and French, each one of them wanted a bigger share of the colonies

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[46]WaWamwere, Koigi. I Refuse to Die: My Journey for Freedom. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002.
[47]McGovern, George 2010. Foreword. In: Zunes, Stephen and Jacob Mundy 2010. Western Sahara: War, nationalism, and conflict irresolution. Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press pp. xiii-xv.
[48] Mba, Nina Emma. Op cit. p21
[49]Adeyemo, F.O (2000). Conflicts, Wars and Peace in Africa, 1960- 2000, Lagos, Franc Soba Nig. Ltd.

natural resources and markets for their goods.[50] Hence, the need to control production at every stage became paramount to the colonial masters.

Before Africa was partitioned for the benefit of the colonizers, many African countries maintained significant control over their economies and economic development. Unlike during the pre-colonial periods when the African economies produced for home consumption and international trade where they had relatively significant control, colonialism forced the African colonies to produce basically for the export markets, hence controlling the pricing of produce.[51] In Tanganyika for instance, the British forced the locals to abandon small scale farming to pave way for the commercial farming where cheap and intense labour was to be availed by the locals with an emphasis cash crop production[52].

Colonizer's promotion of hitherto locally less popular crops such as peanuts and sesame while reducing the production of staple food meant that the local communities had to suffer from famine. This further led to prolonged lack of food for the local communities whereas on the other hand the colonial master enjoyed cash crop abundance. This move was further meant to weaken the local communities for easier control and colonization. In effect, the British and other colonial powers forced local communities to concentrate on producing crops which were more beneficial to the colonial master at the expense of the colonized. This further widened a wedge between indigenous communities hence cementing the 'divide-and rule' philosophy.

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[50]Adedeji, A (1999). Op cit. p1
[51]Osaghae, E.E (1992) "Managing Ethnic Conflicts under Democratic Transition in Africa: The Promise and the Failure" in Canon B. et al (eds), Proceedings of the Symposium on Democratic Transition in Africa, Ibadan.June16 19.
[52]Colonial Policy and Subsistence in Tanganyika 1925 -1945 by Marilyn Little

It has further been argued that economic policy was basically often arbitrarily imposed on the colonized economies for the benefit of the colonial master. This was done with total disregard to the real needs of the countries producing these goods. Historians and economic experts have further argued that besides economic subjugation, the British colonialism was driven by the desire for the colonial master to grab local resources for their own industries back home. This means that Britain was not motivated to help their colonies to expand their own economies for the sake of improving the latter's people's livelihoods locally. The commerce control rules by the British limited the freedom of choice for marketing of the goods hence destabilizing pricing. While disguising this under colonial development, the move by the colonizer to create trade embargoes weakened traditional rulers hence threatening their hold in their local communities. This also engineered the 'divide-and-rule' philosophy, which gave the colonial master stronger control on the affairs of the colonies.

Forcing of the Africans by the British to abandon practicing their ways freely and marketing their goods without restrictions meant that the locals had no otherwise but to toe the line of their benefactors. For instance, growing of specific produces by the locals meant that the colonizers did not value the prevailing local communities' way of doing things for themselves. Hence, this resulted into African economies become dependent on Britain and other colonial powers for their survival. The external pressure from outside forces made the local farmer unable to make independent decisions regarding the kind of crops to grow or the resources to promote. This further meant that the market was predetermined for the local economies hence enhancing the British colonial economic policy which was essentially meant to favour the British raw materials trade.[53]

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[53]Adebayo, A.G. The Production & Export of Hides and Skins in Colonial Northern Nigeria, 1900-1945

In order for the British to effectively propagate their rules and extend their colonial escapades, they introduced the system of indirect rule hence perpetuating divisions among local communities. In colonies such as Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, and the Gold Coast for instance, Britain organized local governance structures in terms of central, provincial, and district levels of administration. These were intended to make it easier for the coordination and propagation of the colonial rule, with the British main representative acting as a focal point for executing or implementing the orders.[54] This arrangement further perpetuated the principle of indirect rule where the local leaders were largely enticed by the British authority work under their behest.

2.1.2 The French Assimilation Rule in Africa

Unlike the British who conveniently introduced indirect rule to pursue their interests in Africa, the French adopted assimilation rule where they instituted a more centralized administration system which was influenced by national tradition of consolidated power.[55] The French colonial ideology of assimilation was hidden under the claim of a 'civilization mission' where they colonizer wanted to 'liberate' the colonized from the latter's dark past and backward cultural practices. Through acculturation and education, the French believed that some of the local communities were going to evolve and become civilized French Africans.[56] Despite the insinuation of the French that they were out to 'civilize' the Africans so that they could become French citizens, practically this was not to be achieved, following stringent rule of the locals becoming French nationals. For instance, some of the rulebooks for citizenship of the civilized French nation included fluent speaking of

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[54]Ekechi, Felix (2002). "The Consolidation of Colonial Rule, 1885–1914." In Colonial Africa, 1885–1939, vol. 3 of Africa, ed. ToyinFalola. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.
[55]Oyebade, Adebayo (2002). "Colonial Political Systems." In Colonial Africa, 1885–1939, vol. 3 of Africa, ed. ToyinFalola. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.
[56] Ibid

the French language, winning of an award for serving the French government and dedicated service to the French government for a given period.

Studies have indicated that the French applied clever rules to brainwash and conquer the minds of their colonies so that they could exploit them more.[57] This was more evident due to the fact that France was not in a position to provide education structures for effective and sufficient training of all its colonized subjects so that they could speak fluent French language. Furthermore, France was not in a position to practically put in place structures for creating employment opportunities for all its subjects. Consequently, assimilation emerged as more of a strategy for self-aggrandizement for the colonizers rather than for as well-meaning human development strategy.[58]

With regard to French ways of operation in its colonies such as Tunisia, and Morocco in North Africa, and Senegal, Guinea, Upper Volta, and Dahomey, among others, direct-rule approach was commonly applied.[59] This meant that all the colonial representatives were legally required to implement France's central law. Further subdivisions of the colonies into smaller administrative units made it possible for the African chiefs to enforce the rules set by the French government which effectively made colonization of the colonies a lot easier. Since there was resistance in some parts of the French colonies, the French had to apply indirect rule by using African chiefs, who effectively operated at the behest of their masters.[60]

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[57]Stilwell, Sean. "The Imposition of Colonial Rule." In Colonial Africa, 1885–1939, vol. 3 of Africa, ed. ToyinFalola. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2002.
[58] Ibid
[59]Iweriebor, Ehiedu E. G (2002). "The Psychology of Colonialism" In The End of Colonial Rule: Nationalism and Decolonization, vol. 4 of Africa, ed. ToyinFalola. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.
[60]African Perspectives on Colonialism by A. AduBoahen (1999).

2.1.3 Conflicts and the Portuguese in Africa

Between 1961 and 1974, Portugal wedged war in its colonies, also called war of liberators which involved the military and other emerging nationalist groups in Portuguese colonies.[61] Unlike other colonial powers, Portugal did not leave its colonies, and therefore around the 60s there were a number of armed liberator groups that started to become very active in Portugal's former colonies. Most of these groups were domiciled in West Africa and operated mostly in a discrete manner lest their activities were unearthed and subsequently crashed.[62] Most of these groups' activities came into fruition due to their underhand maneuvers such as what the Mozambique rebellion to succeed. Following a staged coup in Lisbon in 1974 by Portuguese armed forces, the fight resulted into mass movements of people of all races from the Portuguese colonies.

It was estimated that at the end of the war, more than one million people of mixed races and origin had moved from the Portuguese colonies in search of safer places to stay. This did not leave behind the military that had been at the center of the war. What followed later were deadly civil wars wedged in Mozambique and Angola that lasted for several years and left millions of casualties, with so many of them dead and others seriously injured. Devastating civil wars also followed in Angola and Mozambique, which lasted several decades and claimed millions of lives and refugees. It was at this time that the former Portuguese colonies joined the so called family of nation-states and worked towards self-discovery in terms of social, political and economic independence.[63] The irony however was that the political and economic structures left behind by the Portuguese were not destined to benefit the locals as had wrongly been anticipated. Rather, despite having enjoyed

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[61] Cann, John P. (1997) Counterinsurgency in Africa: The Portuguese Way of War, 1961-1974. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997.
[62] Ibid
[63] Newitt, M.D.D. 1981. Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years. London, UK: Longman.

many years of what would be called liberation, very few local leaders had been prepared fully to understand how to control and run their own economies and governments.[64]

2.2 The Colonial Strategies and African Resistance

Colonial dominance was majorly witnessed through direct rule and assimilation.[65] Examples of direct rule by the colonialists included Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda among other Eastern African countries where the British dominated and organized their governments from the central to devolved governance units for easier coordination and exploitation of local resources. A senior government official was domiciled at the colonial capital where he or she was expected to craft a local governance unit comprising of key members of the community who were ready and willing to serve the interests of the colonial master. In order for the smooth operation of the link between the colonized country and the colonizer, key colonial government representative ensured that there were effective policy enactments, and these were duly communicated back to the mother country in London for ratification before they could be applied. The British colonies were often.[66]

To France however, theirs was a more unified governance system where they consolidated power to effectively propagate their ideologies of centralize government. Their claim to civilize the African natives was better advanced through a firmer grip on the local communities and preaching the philosophy of removing backwardness from the locals in an effort to create civilized French Nationals in Africa. The French policy of assimilation was put into use to achieve the French "civilizing" mission in Africa where the locals were introduced to the French culture and education

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[64] Ferreira Carolin Overhoff (2005). Decolonizing the Mind? The representation of the African Colonial War in Portuguese cinema. Studies in European Cinema. 2(3):227-239.
[65] Mba, Nina Emma. Op cit. p21
[66] Ibid

in the pretext of exposing the locals to the finer things in life. However, practically, this was not going to be as easy to convert African natives into civilized French nationals as it was made to sound. The desire to convert African natives into more civilized French nationals necessitated the assimilation policy which France used to hoodwink the locals that they were being 'elevated' into civilization.[67] Historians have indeed suggested that the tactic of integration by France worked in their favour rather than benefitting local people as the latter had been made to believe.[68] Whether through direct rule or through assimilation, the 19th century saw most African colonies rebelling against the European imperialists.

The Western expansionist push into Africa witnessed towards the end of 19th era provoked numerous ambassadorial rejoinders, which were later succeeded by military opposition. Immediately after the Berlin Conference, Many western nations strove to sign agreements with key African leaders, ostensibly to protect the interests of the former in their protectorates. Some of the commonly engaged groups included fiefdoms and chieftaincies which had a strong voice with regard to land and political matters. However, varied interpretations by some of these groups later resulted into civil conflicts which sooner or later morphed armed fights. Through the signed accords, to the Europeans this implied relinquishing power by the native communities and allowing the colonizer to take center stage in matters administration. However, for native communities and the host nations in general, this meant just creating diplomatic and friendship ties. According to Nyong'o[69], the Africans discovered later about having been tricked by the colonizing countries into signing the treaties since the latter had started imposing political authority

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[67]Webb, Keith, Vassiliki Koutrakou and Mike Walters 1996; The Yugoslavian conflict, European mediation, and the contingency model: A critical perspective. In: Bercovitch ed. 1996, pp. 171-189.
[68] Mba, Nina Emma. Op cit. p21
[69]Anyang' Nyong'o, P. 1991. Op cit. p10

in the African territories. This prompted some African rulers to organize their bases to reclaim their grabbed lands; albeit to the annoyance of the colonial supremacy.

The nature and drive of African resistance to imperial rule must be viewed in light of Western European global expansionist exploits. Following orchestrating of divisive administration and political machinations mastered by the colonial powers, by 1885 a number of colonies had started staging protests and resistance to the European rule. The dominance of European colonizers in Africa had purely been informed by their greed for resources and for the desire for prestige and creation of empires to amass wealth. This had prompted them to spread their tentacles to Africa for gaining proxies as well as allies who were poised to be coopted into the colonizer's system so that they could help the latter to further their exploits. Given the dynamics surrounding the whole process of colonialism and scramble for Africa, resistance to the European rule was a complex affair.

The situation of African resistance to the European invasion suffered complications due to conflicting materialistic interests pitted against the two sides.[70] At the initial stages of what was termed 'legitimate trade', the business was conducted through middle men, with each side poised to make some profit. However, as time progressed, European traders wanted to sidestep mediators and procure goods directly from the source so as to maximize on their profits. The move caused natural resistance from the natives who felt that this move was likely to jeopardize their economic opportunities. As Obasanjo[71] posits the Western countries' greed sooner than later led to conflicts,

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[70]Galtung, Johan 2004. Human needs, humanitarian intervention, human security and the war in Iraq. Keynote address, Sophia University/ICU, Tokyo, 14 December 2003, and Regional Studies Association, Tokyo, 10 January 2004.

[71]Obasanjo, Olusegun 1991. Preface. In Deng and Zartman eds. 1991. pp. xiii-xx.

with the local leadership expressing their disaffection following what they viewed as betrayal from the imperialists. The confrontation presented in various forms and was directed towards different directions. The very nature of colonialism demanded a diversified approach to address it. For instance, while some groups openly staged their resistance, others chose to be discrete in their rebellions.

The African armed resistance to imperialism assumed a discreet form of attacks often employed by small and decentralized societies otherwise called 'stateless societies', since these communities had small populations hence lacking professional armies.[72] Despite their inferior numbers, their mastery of the terrain boosted their performance where they could easily apply their underhand tactics against their much stronger army opponents. Obasanjo points out that this tactic was most prevalently applied by locally assembled armies such as the Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria who had to marshal all their strengths to face off with the British in the early 1900s. Ethiopia also used similar approaches to fight off Italy as the local communities consolidated their power bases to defend their wealth. As Italy intensified its pressures in 1890s, the Ethiopian military under the stewardship of Emperor Menelik II put up a spirited resistance to keep off the Italians.[73] Another example of colonial resistance featured Samory Toure of the Mandinka Empire in West Africa where his troops tried resisting the French imperialists' spread into the hinterlands, from their base in Dakar, Senegal[74]. Between 1882 and 1898 he employed various tactics to keep off the French incursions. The aforementioned is indicative of brief demonstrations depicting what occurred during the scramble for Africa. Although different tactics were applied by different community

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[72]Burton, John W. 1990. Conflict resolution and prevention, New York: St. Martin's Press.
[73]Obasanjo, Olusegun 1991. Op cit. p34
[74] Ibid

leaders to fight of imperialists, the bottom-line is that a lot of efforts had to be applied for the

colonizing countries to be expelled from Africa in general.

Chapter Three

British Colonialism and the Conflict in Sudan

Introduction

The history and present of Sudan is marked by and filled with conflict and uncertainty. This

uncertainty culminated into renewed conflict in 2011 when the process of separation of the south

from the north began.[75] A number of scholars have viewed the new development as a drastic departure from the 19th century Sudan that was a creation of the invasion by Egypt and the imperial rule by the British.[76] The present and future of Sudan can however be better understood from the backdrop of its history, culture, geography and the people. For instance, specific episodes of the mid-20th century which was dominated by the separation debate about northern and southern Sudan have substantially shaped Sudan, especially if viewed on the basis of the British separationist policies. The Sudan conflict and secession of south Sudan are highlighted in this chapter, as well as topography, climate plus natural resources. Furthermore, the Sudan society, population, religion, Sudan and colonialism, and regional impacts of this conflict are some of the subtopics featured in this section.

3.1 Sudan Geography, People, Climate and Natural Resources

Prior to separation of the south from the north, Sudan was largest country in Africa, spreading more than 2.5 million km^2. The country comprises a vast pain which is bordered to east by the Red Sea Hills and Jabal Marrah to the west.[77] There are also the Nuba Mountains and Ingessana Hills in the south-central region of the country and the Boma Plateau adjacent to the Ethiopian border. Despite Sudan lying within the tropics, the country's climatic conditions comprise of mixed dry and wet periods. Sudan is endowed with several natural resources, including the rivers, gum Arabic and edible glue, acacia seyal which form an important part of the economy.

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[75]Walzer, Michael, Edward T. Kantowicz and John Higham 1982. The politics of ethnicity. Cambridge, MA, Belknap Press

[76] Ibid

[77] Abd al-Rahim, Muddathir. The Development of British Policy in the Southern Sudan, 1899–1947.

It is estimated that in September 2019 Sudan had a population of about 43 million people, with annual growth rate of 2.5% and an estimated fertility rate of 4.85 births per woman. It is further estimated that Sudan has more than 300 tribes spreading across the northern part which is mainly occupied by Arabs and the south which is most inhabited by Africans. Prior to the separation of the south from the north, more than 60% Sudanese people professed Islamic religion, 25% Animist while 15% was Christians.[78] Although the country is home to in excess of 100 ethnic groups, the country's dominant and formal language remains Arabic. More than 97% of the Sudanese people profess the Islamic religion, with the Sunni Maliki doctrine dominating the Islamic school observed by its adherents. Furthermore, a few people in the country profess the Christian faith, especially those living around Khartoum, the country's capital city.

3.2 Sudan and Colonialism

Like most African states, after the 1886 Berlin Conference where African countries were demarcated for colonization by the Europeans, Sudan witnessed some of form of conflicts. According to Feldman[79], in the early part of 19th century, Sudan conflict was based on ethnic lines, pitting the dominantly Arab north against the predominantly African south. Rather, the conflict had become tribal where territory and resources were at the centre of the disagreements. From the late 1890s, the country was under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule, a strategy used by Britain and Egypt. However, some scholars have indicated that in reality Egypt did not have any influence but acted at the behest of Britain[80]. In fact, Deng[81] postulates that the cooperation

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[78] Ibid
[79] Feldman, R.L. (2008). Problems plaguing the African Union peacekeeping forces. In Defence and Security Analysis, 24 (3), pp. 267–279.
[80] Stedman, S.J. 1991. Conflict and conflict resolution in Africa: A conceptual framework. In: Deng and Zartman eds. 1991. pp. 367-399.
[81] Deng, Francis M. and I. William Zartman eds. 1991. Conflict Resolution in Africa. Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution.

between Britain and Egypt provided a platform for the former to officially claim its place in the administration of its colony.

The Ottoman-Egyptian rule of the 19th century marks the history of Sudan. Although gaining of its independence in 1922 of Egypt marked the removal of its troops from Sudan, arrangement under the cooperation which was under British control continued to hold onto power in Sudan. However, the beginning of 1924 saw Sudan being governed as two separate jurisdictions where movements between the two regions were controlled. This trend continued until 1940s when legislative assembly and the executive council were instituted to cement administrative and legislative functions for smooth and effective service delivery to the public. The Egyptian revolution of 1952 caused retraction of Ottoman-Egyptian pact with Britain, which later led to adoption of self-government statute as the Sudan Transitional Constitution in 1956.[82] Even after Sudanese self-rule in 1956, the country is yet to witness lasting peace for its people. The conflict in Sudan has dominated history books for decades, ostensibly attributed to internal wrangles sparked by the political class. Although the formal declaration of south Sudan as a sovereign nation in the last quarter of 2011 was largely viewed by many as a possible end to the prolonged Sudan conflict, that only seemed to have lulled the storm for a while.

Almost two years soon after cessation of the south from the north and the declaration of formation of the youngest South Sudan nation in the African continent, there emerged two main opposing camps – Salva Kiir's pro-government group and the oppositionist movement led by his Deputy, Riek Machar. The separation of South from Northern Sudan to form its independent state did not end the conflict in the North, with this culminating into the ouster of long-serving President Omar

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[82]Nasredeen Abdulbari, "Citizenship Rules in Sudan and Post-Secession Problems", Journal of African Law Vol.55, No.2, 2011, pp.157-180.

El Bashir from power in the first quarter of 2019. Whereas the protracted conflict in Sudan is largely attributed to internal conflict attributed to the push for control of vast natural resources by riffling political groups, the hand of the country's colonial master is often seen to feature at the centre of the conflict.[83]

3.3 The British Colonialism and Sudan Conflict

Historians have consistently indicated that the fighting that took place after the split of Sudan was mainly as a result of the ethnically created disunions and mobilizations orchestrated by Britain up to the close of 1956 when Sudan gained self-rule.[84] In order to control Sudan amidst divided attention amongst other African states the British wanted to dominate, separationist rule came handy. This policy worked in the British favour as the Sudanese developed a sense of distrust and fear amongst different tribes, which led to incessant internal fighting, instead of fighting their colonizers.[85] Furthermore, incessant wars and drought caused a number of locals to dessert their own homes, forcing some of them to pitch tents around major cities and towns including Khartoum. Given the history of Sudan, over the years groups of people have freely tended to cross into the territory of Sudan where they culturally blended with the natives to create a complex racially and ethnic mix of people. Consequently, the Islamic religion played an important role in amalgamating ethnic formations and kingdoms which culminated into the eventual creation of the Sudanese nation in the early 16th century.[86]

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[83]Anderson, G. Norman (1999). Op cit. p3

[84]Cohen, Herman J. 1996. Conflict management in Africa. CSIS Africa Notes, 181 (February).

[85]Bercovitch, Jacob ed. 1996. Resolving international conflicts: The theory and practice of mediation. Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

[86]Petterson, Donald. Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict, and Catastrophe. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2003.

It has been argued that the early discord created by the British has continued to divide Sudan even to the present-day. This is thought to have culminated into the 2011 secession debate that eventually caused the formation of South Sudan, the youngest nation on the African continent today. Armed with the separationist philosophy, the British were determined to cause disharmony in Sudan in order to weaken its people and make it easier for the colonizer to penetrate the colony for the benefit of the former. According to Ryan[87], in their characteristic xenophobic nature, Britain accused the south for not being receptive to new ideas and accommodating the rest of the world hence the need to let it go and leave North Sudan to embrace new global changes as it was more ready than the south. Subsequently this led to modernization and liberalization of key institutions such as health, education, and economic development facilities in the North at the expense of the same in the south.

Scholars have further posited that the Islamic religion in the North was favoured by the British where they provided immense monetary resources for construction of praying institutions as a way of 'modernizing' the north while leaving the south 'backward' where the southerners were left to lead indigenous way of life. Separationist rule managed to separate the two regions geographically, with the south mainly adopting a policy of Christianity while leaving the north to largely practice Islam.[88]

As illustrated in table 3.1, prior to secession of south Sudan, Sudan considered Khartoum as its capital city and the centre for its administration. Despite the two dominant religious divides where the north was predominated by Islam and the South by Christianity, by and large, the country was held together by a single administration. However, the British were keen on ensuring that the

[87]Ryan, Stephen 1990. Ethnic conflict and international relations. Aldershot, Dartmouth Publishing Company.
[88] Dr. Sinnary, An Interview held in Nairobi. November 16th, 2019.

country did not hold together for long since they sowed seeds of discord to tear the country to

create two feuding states which featured the south from the north.

Figure 3.1 Map of Sudan before the secession of the south Sudan

Source: Google Maps (accessed 15ᵗʰ November, 2019)

The British had the sole intention of dividing Sudan for its own gains. The indirect rule used by the colonial government in southern Sudan also slowed down development in the region. Past historical studies indicate that the British empowered tribal leaders in southern Sudan through whom they ruled.[89] This strategy was meant to prevent the educated people and other key leaders from influencing important economic and political decisions in the south. Furthermore, Britain strove to perpetuate its separationist tendencies so that it could sustain the rift between the two countries of the larger Sudan in order to weaken their respective economies. One of the strategies included to advocate for a situation that encouraged creation of smaller ethnic units that were organized around their local beliefs and customs, thus denying them a wider world view in terms of politics and economic structures.[90] This implied that the tribal units in the south were required to operate independent of each other, as a strategy to isolate them from a common political and economic agenda. The British separatist rule dominated throughout in Sudan hence planting the seeds of discord in the country; a situation which has seen even the current leaders to maintain their antagonism.

The separationist rule did not favour the south as had been made to appear. Instead, this was a form of hoodwinking the northerners, with some of their officials being transferred from the south in the name of strengthening their region economically and administratively. Furthermore, some cultural manoeuvres such as encouraging speaking of Arabic language and of putting on Arabic attires in the north while discouraging the same in the south was clearly meant to create a wedge between the two regions – a perfect case of divide-and-rule tactic.[91] Whereas the colonizer pretended to help prevent exploitation of the south by the north, this was not a genuine help since

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[89]Ibid pg. 42.
[90]Munzu, Simon 1995. Southern Cameroons peoples conference press release. Washington, D.C., 2 June 1995.
[91] Ryan, Stephen 1990. Op cit

the south remained more marginalized and economically weaker than the north.[92]. This notion was well captured when the southern policy was reversed in 1946 in what the British said was meant to bond the two regions again for economic and cultural development for the long future'[93]. This abrupt decision was motivated by the British's desire to continue protecting its interests at the expense of the local communities in the two regions, especially putting in mind the role the south had played in the Second World War.

Looming distrust between the north and the south that had existed for decades later exploded into an armed conflict in the mid-1950s when southern army officers rebelled in 1955.[94] Hence, there emerged a long civil war in the country, lasting from 1955-1972. By and large, many history scholars have linked this war to the British schemes to divide the two regions for self-aggrandisement. In this scheme to have the two regions separated, the British ensured that the two regions remained politically connected such that it could be easier to manipulate them. Furthermore, over time there was the resistance movement by the south against the north, hence prolonging the enmity which was advantageous to Britain.[95]

In a number of ways southern Sudan remained economically underdeveloped, and globally economically isolated; all thanks to the British separationist tactic. This state of affairs made South Sudan region politically unprepared to satisfactorily handle its own affairs both economically and politically; a situation that has been looming even long after the two regions separated.[96] Thus, relegated to the periphery during the British rule, the southern Sudan has remained marginalized

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[92]Cohen, Herman J. 1996. Conflict management in Africa. CSIS Africa Notes, 181 (February).
[93] Ibid
[94]Skjelsbaek, Kjell and Gunnar Fermann 1996. The UN Secretary-General and the mediation of international disputes. In: Bercovitch ed. 1996, pp. 75-104.
[95]Ibid, pg. 44.
[96]Munzu, Simon 1995. Southern Cameroons peoples conference press release. Washington, D.C., 2 June 1995.

and underdeveloped in the post-independence period, leaving the north to be calling political and economic shots. This subsequently triggered the southern rebellion and the civil wars of 1955-1972, and 1983-2005 that ravaged Sudan for a very long time before culminating into the debate for the south to separate from the north.[97] Nonetheless, while most African states have been blamed by the rest of the world for such bad things as corruption, lack of rule of law, and despotism among other ills, the main contribution to Sudan wars, like many African states, can be attributed to the colonial policies instigated by the former colonial powers.

Right from the time of the Anglo-Egyptian cooperation, Sudan was viewed as the north – mainly inhabited by Arab Muslims, and the south which was primarily occupied by Africans practicing Christianity. The north represented the European colonial powers' interests, where it was viewed as constituting resourceful part of the country with numerous external and internal interests.[98] On the other hand, the South which was predominantly 'native' was termed by the European powers as "heathen" and remote, bereft of resources and left to take care of its own affairs under the sympathy of missionaries. This state of affairs already created mistrust between the two regions within the same borders. With the Northerners considering themselves as superior to the southerners, this was a sure way of creating suspicion and a sense of disharmony. The Anglo-Egyptian pact which created an official internal boundary to alienate the two parts of Sudan in terms of development programs further created a wedge between the two regions of the supposedly one nation. Effectively, the boundary put the south out of reach of the north hence demonstrating the social and ideological differences between the two regions, which would later culminate into a permanent secession when south Sudan broke away from the north in 2011.[99] Although the

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[97] Osman M, An interview held Nairobi November 11th, 2019.
[98] Ibid
[99] "Sudan Conflict Not Isolated to South,"

boundary between the two regions was not officially demarcated, the social and ideological differences between the two regions were real.

After Sudan gained freedom in 1956, administrative and political barrier between the two regions was officially lifted but the damage had already been done. It was not long after the country attained its self-rule status from the British imperialism before an agitation was launched by the south to officially secede from the north. It was obvious that following this historical bias, the south was severely disadvantaged as compared to the north hence it did not take long before it launched the agitation for separation from the north which would hand it its official recognition as an independent state.[100] The separation between the two regions however was not just a bilateral phenomenon. Rather, each of these states had unique problems where, for instance, the North was experiencing tremendous political instability despite the country's national political office being centered there. The constant switching of power between military and civilian governments was a demonstration of the extent to which the northern region was in political turmoil, which soon spread to the whole vast country. Although the southern region was resentful of the north for its dominance of the country's top leadership and its indifference to the plight of the southerners, their anger did not translate into meaningful actions. This was majorly informed by the deep divisions exhibited in the south which were influenced by tribal animosity among the many tribes in the south. Unfortunately, the inter-ethnic feuds in the south rendered the region vulnerable to the already politically powerful north, which took the advantage to weaken the rebellions such as the

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[100]Simon Freemantle (2010) Southern Sudan: Future potential shines a torch on current shortcomings, Standard Bank, May 2010.

ones staged by the Anya-Nya in the early days preceding conflicts and SPLAM witnessed from 1983.[101]

The discovery of commercial oil around Bentiu and Heglig in 1978 in the north-southern part of the country intensified conflicts, with each of the towns staking claims to the control of the new territory. The situation was even worsened by the fact that the area where the oil was discovered was not clearly defined in terms of where it was actually located – between the north and south.[102] Prior to this discovery, the 1972 agreement signed in Addis Ababa had pacified the southern uprising and encouraged integration of key leaders from the south into big government positions. By 1980s, another upheaval was staged due the coming to power of President Jafaar Nimeiri whose earlier military rule had not motivated many Sudanese people from the south.[103] His return of the sharia rule in Sudan created acrimony and anxiety to non-Muslim adherents who formed the majority of country's citizens, especially coming from the south. The abolishing of the elected assembly in the south and division of the region into three independent provinces was, to the southerners, reminiscent of the colonial 'divide-and-rule' policy hence unwelcome.[104] These events slipped Sudan back into war, with the conflict between the south and north being witnessed again, which reached its climax after President Nimeiri, was overthrown in 1985.

Omar al-Bashir-led coup of 1993 led to an undemocratic rule in Sudan where an alliance was crafted between military leaders and National Islamic Front NIF (an Islamic Party) under al-Bashir's leadership. Al-Bashir's reign was embroiled in unceasing conflicts, with north fuelling

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[101] Ryan, Stephen 1990. Op cit
[102] The World Bank (2010) Sudan: Strengthening Good Governance for Development Outcomes in Southern Sudan: Issues and Options.
[103] Ibid, pg. 47
[104] Riek Machar (1995), South Sudan: A History of Political Domination.

conflicts and tribal feuds in the south. The ensuing competition to control oil fields by multinationals and the conflict in the Darfur region in 2003 later complicated matters even more. Although initiating of the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) in 2005 seemed to calm things down in the two Sudan states, several issues still remain alive in fueling the conflict thereby causing the separation of South Sudan from the North in 2011.[105] However, before the CPA, this was preceded by two long-standing civil wars in Sudan which occurred 1955-1972 and 1980s-2005, with the latter being spearheaded under the auspices of SPLAM.[106] Two domestic wars had devastating effects on the Sudanese people regardless of their origins in the two states. Ideological differences have continued to play out even today hence portraying Sudan as a country which is never in peace.

3.3.1 Sudan's First Civil War (1955-1972)

The first war in Sudan which lasted almost 20 years started in 1955 when the country's southern region started pushing for autonomy from the central government. However, the refusal by Khartoum to grant this request provoked a mutiny by military officers from the southern region which took a great toll on the country at large. The rebellion by the south appeared to sabotage the earlier efforts by the northern Sudan to unify the whole country under one central regime led by the Arab-Muslim authority (the structure which has been built by Britain policy in Sudan). It is this move that angered the Christians-dominated Southerners who felt that the Muslim sharia law was being imposed on them; which they were not ready to take in. The Christians and animists and other minority groups staged resistance, which culminated into a revolt.[107]

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[105] Makuei R. An interview held in Khartoum, 8th October 2019.
[106] The World Bank (2009) Sudan: Toward Sustainable and Broad-Based Growth.
[107] Ibid

Throughout the 1960s, a succession of civilian regimes aggravated the conflicts by refusing to grant self-rule to the southern region. Although Col. Nimeiri who came to power in 1969 instituted a policy which he signed into an agreement in 1972 giving self-government to the south, he later faced immense opposition from the north and soon he was forced to abandon what was viewed as unpopular support for the southern region. Indeed, he faced two failed coup attempts as a result of this push.[108] Subsequently, the staunch backing from an Islamic nation and the oil reserves' location in the south dashed out hopes for an appeal to have an autonomous southern Sudan.[109] This forced Nimeiri to retract his earlier stand in 1983 and abandon his quest to advocate for a separate south. The resultant forcing of Arabic language as the new normal and official communication mode, and a reaffirmation of sharia law in the country eventually gave birth to the people's resistance through the PLA/M, which cleared intended to spearhead a spirited campaign for an imminent separation of the two states in Sudan, hence this marking the beginning a second civil war in the country.

3.3.2 Sudan's Second Civil War and the Rise of SPLAM

Having been ousted from power in 1985, Col. Nimeiri paved way for attempted provisional governments but which failed in its bid to isolate south Sudan from exercising the Islamic rule. The big tussle rose between the North which was pro-Islamic law and the South which was anti-Islamic decree.[110] The escalation of the conflicts eventually led into a coup in 1989 that ushered into power President Omar al-Bashir who installed a government of National Islamic Front (NIF)

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[108] Simone D'Abreu (2011) Oil Transparency Would Start South Sudan Off on Right Foot, Foreign Policy in Focus, A Project for the Institute of Policy Studies
[109] Ibid
[110] Samson S. Wassara (2009) The Comprehensive Peace Agreement in the Sudan: Institutional Developments and Political Trends in Focus Areas, CMI Sudan Working Paper.

party. While there initial expectations that this was going to offer a lasting solution in terms of uniting both the north and south based on neutral laws, al-Bashir's insistence on adopting Islamic laws into the mainstream operations of the country drew the ire of the southerners hence widening the North-South rift.[111]

It is during the al-Bashir's long reign that the SPLAM gained popularity as the main champion for the South Sudanese people. The isolation of the rest of Sudan by al-Bashir's government except the North attracted a number of people to be sympathetic to the SPLA/M, which was being led by the late Col. John Garang and later led by the current South Sudan president, Salva Kiir.[112] The second civil war in Sudan, largely organized under SPLAM has persisted for many years, eventually culminating into the separation of the south from the north as of 2011. Although over time several faction rebel groups attempted to sign agreements with the Sudan central government to end the conflicts, the SPLA mostly stayed out of these events hence portraying it as being in perpetual opposition with the government. Hence, the conflict between the South and the north was witnessed in a long time, eventually culminating into formation of the two states in Sudan.

3.4 The Secession of South Sudan

The civil wars in Sudan have caused deaths to thousands of Sudanese people and displacement of millions of them. Even after the country gained self-rule from the British in 1956, rarely has it experienced peace. This eventually culminated into secession of the south from the north. The Southern Sudan's history of self-determination has been marked by several negotiations, and which is intricately associated with imperialist policy (closed area policy of south region).[113] The

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[111] Ibid
[112] Ibid
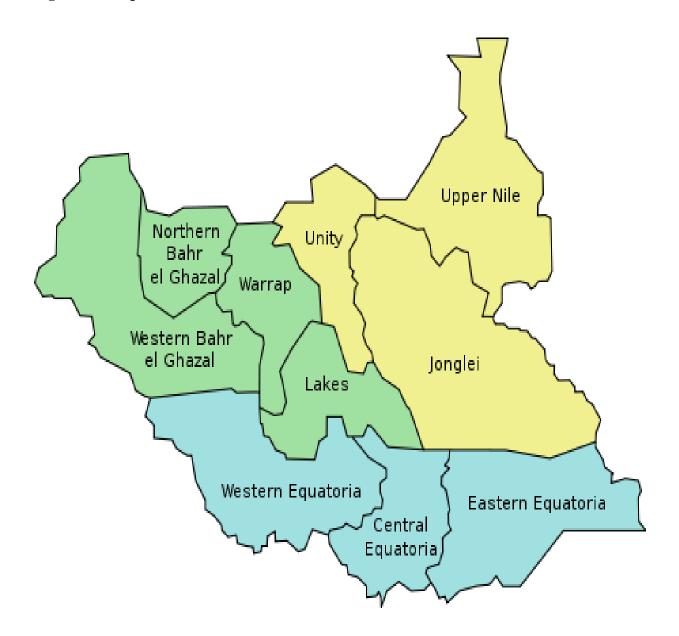[113]Khairy, An interview held Nairobi November 12th, 2019.

British governed the North and the South separately, where each of the two regions was expected to maintain distinct cultural and religious norms hence limiting them from elaborate social interactions and integrations.[114] For instance, the distinct colonial army – the Equatorial corps – separately ruled the South while the interregional travels involving the two Sudan regions were restricted in 1940 through initiation of a system where people needed to obtain a legal permit before crossing borders, ostensibly meant to control the northerners' movement to the south.

Before 1946, the British felt it their obligation to insulate southern Sudan's intrusion by the north. This move was further intended to ensure that Arabic was prohibited and Arabic names restricted to the north while the Christian missionaries were allowed to preach only in the south. The religious differences in the north and south further enhanced divisions across the two states, creating a predominantly the northern Arabs and the southern Africans.[115] The south was further segmented into 10 sub-regions, but which have refused to hold together since even today there are unending conflicts.

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[114]Walter, B.F. 'Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict', International Studies Review, 5, no 4 (2003): 137-53.
[115]SaadiaTouval. "Treaties, Borders, and the Partition of Africa." Journal of African History 7, no.2 (1966) 279-293

Figure 3.2 Map of South Sudan

Source: Google Maps (accessed 15th November, 2019)[116]

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[116]Available on Google Maps (accessed 15th November, 2019)

As illustrated in table 3.2, South Sudan is a landlocked country lying in the east-central African region and falls within the United Nations' sub-region of Eastern Africa. The country comprises of the vast Sudd region, locally known as the Bahr al Jabal. South Sudan further comprises of 10 states created out of the three historic former provinces (and contemporary regions) of Bahr el Ghazal (northwest); Equatoria (southern), and Greater Upper Nile (northeast). The states are further divided into 86 Southern Sudan counties.

Over time, the conflicts in Sudan pitted against the two states which led to the secession debate in 2005 and eventually separation of the two nations in 2011 are alive today. Despite the formal declaration of Southern Sudan as an independent state in July 2011 having been viewed by the international community as a lasting solution to the protracted conflict in Sudan, apparently the conflict seems to be far from over. In spite of the country's immense wealth from oil exploits and other vast natural wealth, most of the Sudanese people live in poverty while others have been made refugees in neighbouring countries and other international territories.[117] The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 has not led to long-lasting peace in the country, with the citizens of South Sudan still blaming the Khartoum government for their continued suffering.

Soon after the secession of South Sudan from the North and its declaration as an independent state in 2011, there emerged two main opposing camps – Salva Kiir's pro-government group and the oppositionist movement led by Riek Machar, the country's deputy president. In retrospect, the split of South Sudan from the North did not end the conflict in the North. This has in the recent past led to the ouster of long-serving President Omar El Bashir from power in the first quarter of 2019[118]

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[117]Rupesinghe, K. and Anderlini, S.N. 1998. Civil Wars, Civil Peace: An Introduction to Conflict Resolution. London: Pluto Press.
[118] The Guardian: (Sun 16 Apr 2017) Op cit

hence leading to transitional government to take charge of the country's affairs with the hope of putting a democratically elected government within 3 years.[119] Whereas the protracted conflict in Sudan is largely attributed to internal conflict attributed to the push for control of vast natural resources by riffling political groups, the hand of the country's colonial master is often seen to feature at the centre of the conflict.[120]

Despite the generally peaceful referendum vote in 2011 which created the south from the north, there are still contentious and underlying issues that remain unresolved hence prolonging the conflicts. This included the question of Abyei border region, which initially wanted to conduct its own vote to help it make a decision regarding where to remain – whether in the north or south. Even after the south Sudan secession, Abyei and South Kordofan, another controversial border region, have remained involved in incessant squabbles where the inexperienced army and the rebels have been in unending warpaths for the better part of this century.[121]

3.5 Beyond Colonial-Inflamed Conflicts in Sudan

The breaking up of Sudan into two states has had significant impact on other countries in the region. An erstwhile ally of South Sudan, because of political and economic dynamics, Uganda is now seeking to make amends with the north for a united eastern African regional market. The efforts are directed towards creating a lasting relationship that could give all the allies some leverage both economically and politically. Pundits argue that the new dynamics have created sort of an economic vacuum in north Sudan hence the desire for all the three states to create a common

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[119]Ibid
[120]Anderson, G. Norman (1999). Op cit. p3
[121]Ibid, p54.

market front for their survival, especially given the likely new opportunities to be expected in the south.[122]

South Sudan boasts of immense oil mineral resources, which are exported through Sudan, but its production fell sharply with the eruption of civil war in the later part of 2013. Following the end of the civil war however, Juba is now keen on renegotiating the terms of its 2012 oil transfer agreement that mandated large payments to Sudan. The main argument is that a new deal needs to be reached which reflects the global downturn in oil prices and its own post-civil war financial straits. The reluctance by donors to bail out South Sudan financially amidst spirited calls by the donor community for the South Sudan government to instill a high sense of transparency and accountability in its governance structures complicates matters for Juba even more. This move may present making a deal with the north as the best option.[123] With the country still reeling from the effects of 2011 secession from the north and a troubled cross-border trade, South Sudan appears to be at cross-roads. For any meaningful trade deal with Sudan and working bilateral relations, the wars must be stopped.

Regarding the relationship between Sudan and Uganda, the two countries have experienced mutual conflicts that sometimes strain their territorial operations. For instance, in the 90s Uganda seemed to have a problem with Sudan's efforts to encourage the spread of the Arab Islamic culture into the south. In order to counter this move, Uganda chose to support the SPLA during the Sudan civil war. On retaliation, Khartoum gave their support to the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) and Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), among others that were giving Kampala sleepless nights.

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[122]Ibid, p54.
[123]Ibid

After gaining self-rule in 2011 by South Sudan, Uganda and other eastern African nations directed renewed interests towards the south. However, this did not stop Uganda and the Khartoum government from competing for other commercial interests such as oil exploration in South Sudan under now what is viewed as a stable government. In order to quell what was viewed as a possible escalation into a bigger cross-border war, countries bordering Sudan sought mediations from able governments and international regional bodies. These included the Horn of African regional organizations and the IGAD. Despite the failure by to stop the civil fighting from escalating with the Sudan borders, at least it was pacifying that both Uganda and Sudan came together to initiate processes of ensuring that the war did not have to affect the whole eastern Africa region in a big way.[124]

Some of those efforts climaxed in the crafting of Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS) in August 2015, which was spearheaded by presidents Al-Bashir of Sudan and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. Key resolutions included withdrawing of Uganda forces and the "disarmament, demobilization and repatriation" of Sudanese rebels operating in South Sudan, including the SPLM and the Justice and Equity Movement which was viewed by the north as supporting the south. Both of these groups had also been engaged by the African Union mediation, but which had not been resolved.[125]

Substantial efforts have been directed towards the Sudan conflicts. However, the complex dynamics involved in the whole situation, which include vested interests and intricacies of conflict resolution have not made it any easier to reach to the bottom of the antagonisms. The mistrust amongst different players has further tended to complicate matters even more thus placing

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[124] United States. Department of State. Bureau of African Affairs. Background Note: Sudan. Washington, DC, 2004.
[125] Ibid, p56.

innumerable hurdles for peace negotiation process. Some of the notable peace accords but which have not found lasting peace included the Chad-Sudan 2010 Agreement which caused the abating of Chadian and Darfur rebel groups' activities. There was also the peace accord between Khartoum and Juba in 2013 that led to disbanding of SLA and cessation of its activities in the south.[126]

Another problem that is impeding the peace process in Sudan includes the refugee menace. It is estimated that since the outbreak of the civil war in Sudan in 2013, close to 900,000 Sudan nationals have run away from their country in search safe haven in neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that since the fighting ensued in Juba in July 2013, close to 190,000 citizens of South Sudan have fled to the north. There also more than a million people who have been displaced within the South Sudan's territories spread across both urban and rural areas. Given the seriousness of the situation, there is call for humanitarian assistance in form of food, healthcare services and shelter among other social amenities thereby making the countries directly involved in the peace process more strained resource-wise.[127]

[126] Ibid
[127] Welsby, Derek A., and Julie R. Anderson. Sudan: Ancient Treasures. London: British Museum, 2004.

<center>**Chapter Four**</center>

<center>**Limiting the adverse Effects of Colonialism in Africa: Role of African States and Organizations**</center>

Introduction

Different countries and organizations have performed various roles in addressing colonialism and its adverse effects in Africa. From peace conferences to negotiated democracies, afforest have been made at different levels where different notable countries and organizations have been tasked with different responsibilities. Although negotiations for peace and ending of the negative effects of colonialism has been a long and laborious process for all the stakeholders in the African region, a lot of ground has been covered in terms of achieving lasting solutions. The United Nations (UN) for example has convened several peace negotiation meetings and impressed upon countries and groups to consider embracing peace for the sake of development.

4.1 Beyond Conflicts-Other Negative Effects of Colonialism in Africa

Colonialism is believed to have had varied effects on the native communities and the colonies in general. The institutionalization of colonial rule in African countries in 1880-1900 placed control on numerous aspects of production besides encouraging enhanced European investments and enforcing profound changes on labour and land markets. [128] Although the colonial powers abolished slavery, other forced labour schemes were into place. Some historians have argued that colonialism was good for development while others have the opinion that it was not beneficial to

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[128]Nwankwo, B. C. (1990). Authority in Government. Makurdi, Nigeria: Almond Publishers Makurdi

the colonized. Eminue[129] argues that several nations in Africa witnessed a steady economy growth during colonial periods compared to pre-colonization epochs. For instance, a number of African countries were able to benefit from the mining and railway technology. Furthermore, some have argued that colonization exposed the European colonies to the world market hence expanding their income base.

The colonies were viewed from three perspectives, including those with a centralized state at the time of the European expansionist policy and these comprised such countries as Botswana, Benin, Burundi, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Rwanda and Swaziland. The second category encompassed countries of white settlement, which included Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, as well as Angola and Mozambique. The third category belonged to those countries which did not experience significant white settlement or pre-colonial state formation such as Somalia or south Sudan or where there were both centralized and uncentralized societies such as Uganda, Nigeria and Sierra Leone among others. Regardless of the direction colonialism took, the colonial master had the intention of taking control of the economies of the colonies and administration as a strategy for protecting their investments in Africa.[130] The surplus accumulated as a result of the industrial revolution had to be guarded by all means. The colonial government took direct control of the African economy or allowed the indigenous representatives to take up the administration through a charter. An example of such a charter is what was granted to the Royal Niger Company by the British government until 1900 when the charter was revoked, only for the British government to take full control and administration of Nigeria.

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[129]Eminue, O. (2004). "Conflict Resolution and Management in Africa: A Panorama of Conceptual and Theoretical Issues" African Journal of International Affairs and Development, Vol. 9, No 1 and 2.
[130] Ibid

Imperative to note is the fact that initially the Africans lacked the requisite technology needed for maximization of their businesses and exported goods. This called for a reorganization and reorientation of the indigenous labour force so as to fit the demands of the economic situation then. The use of force by the colonial master was inevitable to compel the Africans to provide the required labour force hence making it hard for the African workers to move freely and willingly in search of new jobs in the upcoming industries. Caution had to be exercised by the colonial master however so as to influence the African worker to provide labour in the new industries with little or no resistance. Taking direct control of the indigenous economy and political administration by the colonizer therefore became apparent where the government machinery was used to enforce the law and compel African labourers to change their attitude and embrace the colonizer's ways of production. This paved the way for direct colonization of the African economies and the ensuing expansionism.[131]

Over time, one of the underlying questions regarding colonialism in Africa revolves around the tactics used by the colonizer and the impact of colonization in the colonies. Documented evidence shows that a number of methods and strategies were employed by the colonizer to dominate over the colonies. Most of these strategies were intended to compel the African nations to be submissive to the colonial administration and to the colonizer's line. Some of these tactics included conquest, forced labour, taxation, monetization of the economy, and payment of low wages. It is imperative to note that each of these strategies had unique outcomes or effects on the natives and the local economies.[132] For instance, the conquest method ensured that the local people were completely fearful to the colonial master and the representative of the colonial government including the local

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[131]Global Coalition for Africa (2004). African Social and Economic Trends, 2003/ 2004, Washington, D.C
[132] Ibid

chiefs and the home guards hence ensuring that the colonized always did the bidding of the colonizer. Similarly, forced labour was demeaning to the African labourers where they spend almost all their time in the settlers' farms, ironically, making meager incomes. Underpayment and overworking of the locals ensured that the colonized people did not have time to engage in other gainful activities hence making them further vulnerable to the master. This ended up becoming a cyclic process where young and energetic people were continually engaged in the white settlers' farms as the old were sent home as soon as they were considered 'unproductive' enough to continue working in their master's farms.[133]

Taxation and monetization of the economy was also another tactic used by the colonialists to perpetuate the colonial legacies in Africa. This ensured that local people continually felt that they had the obligation to work so that they could pay taxes. The feeling of owing allegiance to the colonial master pushed the local people to continue providing labour in exchange of the money for pay the compulsory taxes. In spite of the methods used by the colonialist to colonize and maintain their administration of the African territories, the ultimate goal was to ensure that as little expenses as possible were expended on the economic input while maximizing on the outcome, the profit. Having used the first and most effective strategy to colonize the African territories, the rest of the strategies were a bit easy to operationalize. Various African states and territories had been conquered politically, socially, culturally and economically and effectively enslaved. As noted by Chinweizu[134], for more than six centuries, Western Europe had dominated the world economy; which sparked the interests by the locals to launch revolutions. Buoyed by widespread Christianity,

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[133] Ibid
[134] Chinweizu, C. A. (1978). The Eest and the Rest of US. Lagos: Nok Publishers (Nigeria) Ltd.

encouraged by the gun, and motivated by the allure of enriching looting, the whites were determined to conquer and exploit the African territories.

In synch with their avaricious nature, the Europeans were very determined to systematically interfere with the sovereignty of the African territories and meddle in their affairs as they furthered their individualistic interests. The divide-and-rule tactic worked very effectively in this case, with the colonizer helping their collaborators to ascend to and stay in power for as long as they helped the former to achieve and perpetuate their interests.[135] They also ensured that they suppressed the interests of all the locals who dared show any signs of opposition or sabotage. The net effect of all this was the suppression of local talents in terms of leadership and the promoting of sycophancy in furtherance of the interests of the colonial master. Through what was known as the gunboat diplomacy which was spearheaded by the British in the shores of Africa, African states were further subdued and undermined where their sovereignty was put to test.

4.1.1 Underdevelopment and Colonialism in Africa

Under-development in Africa is a concept widely linked to colonialism on the continent. This has been viewed from different contexts, including education and political perspectives. Although it has often been argued that colonialism brought in western education and western civilization which heralded development in African territories, this argument is sometimes viewed as plausible on the surface. In a critical sense, some analysts consider western education and western civilization as the genesis of the current sense of under-development in many parts of Africa.[136] Many scholars have postulated that the colonial education was not founded on the realistic situation in the African

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[135] Hassan, A. an interview held in Khartoum on 8th October 2019.
[136] Chinweizu, C. A. (1978). Op cit. p 61.

context and did not factor in the local culture. Lack of what some scholars have termed organic linkage meant that the western education was not well placed to address the local challenges on the continent.

Colonial education has also been viewed as lacking any technological base relevant to the African environment hence meant to lay ground for the colonizer to establish roots in Africa in preparation for exploitation of the indigenous people. Indeed, some historians have attempted to link under underdevelopment to what they call poor foundation established by the colonizers to further their interests. The fact that colonial education was initially basically meant for training clerks and interpreters and producing inspectors and artisans among other elementary skilled workers meant that this kind of education did not factor in critical issues related to the African context.[137] This cadre of employees was intended to help the colonizers effectively exploit Africa's abundant resources for the sole benefit of the colonial master. In this sense, economic analysts view colonial education as not having been intended for industrialization and development of the African territories as initially claimed by the colonizer. Furthermore, this inadequate training of the indigenous workers was not sufficient to spur any technological development within the African environment; rather, this appeared to be disruptive of the status quo.

Historians have also postulated that before modern educated associated with colonization, Africans had own indigenous technologies which worked very well for them. Although some scholars view these technologies as not relevant and adequate enough to help in advancing mass production which was imperative for any industrialized nation, the colonial education is nonetheless considered as not having been intended to benefit the colonies more than its originator, the colonial

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[137]Ake, C. (1981). A Political Economy of Africa. Longman, Geria.

master. The introduction of the colonial education forced Africans to abandon their arts and technological skills so that they could adopt the new model which emphasized reading and writing at the expense of artwork. This, to some scholars, was the beginning of proper colonization of the indigenous people hence further preparing the ground under-development of the African states. This is because an education model not deeply rooted in the culture of a people it is meant to serve is not likely to help them realize meaningful changes in their lives.[138]

The distorted pattern of economic development exercised by the colonial master was another way of perpetrating underperformance by indigenous communities. The international division of labour created a dislocation produce and markets as well as transportation of goods; to the disadvantage of Africans. This further created a sense of pessimism and unpredictability in terms of flow of goods and interfered with the pricing where the original producers of goods did not benefit as much as the colonialists who were very determined to grow their industries. At the same time, the Africans were not given the chance to engage in manufacturing other than engaging in industries producing raw materials for exports. This meant that the best African materials were extracted and purchased at very low prices at the expense of the original producers hence creating a dependency syndrome among the indigenous communities.[139] Essentially, this move would impoverish most Africans even more as the Africans were compelled to concentrate and use most of their time on the production of goods meant for export. The fact that the indigenous people were not encouraged to produce goods and food items that were mostly needed locally meant that the local communities were likely to be faced with starvation hence weakening them even more in terms of purchasing power. Furthermore, this implied that there was going to be food shortage and increase of food

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[138]African Development Bank, (2003). Globalization and Africa's development. African Development Report. New York: Oxford University Press.
[139] Ibid

prices. Indeed some scholars have argued that the present scenario where African countries import food is reminiscent of the dependency history created on the African communities by colonialism.[140] This basically means that colonialism distorted the production of essential goods for local communities while favouring their foreign markets especially in terms of industrial development.

Destabilization of the African markets through colonialism was a deliberate move to create a sense of deficiencies in the Western colonies and hence force the local people to be submissive to the colonial master. Destruction of the African markets which were originally based on local needs disoriented the local people as new market centers were created for the colonizers' as opposed to the natives' good. The gradual degeneration and eventual death of most of the African market centers created a general distortion of real situation at the local level.[141] Export-import oriented businesses orchestrated by the foreigners were thought to have created more confusion since the move did not adequately factor in internal dynamics as well as forces of production and marketing. This further resulted into hijacking of the African markets by the more advanced European markets. Many African economies were subsequently perpetually indebted to the European markets hence further worsening the lives of majority of the locals.

Trade imbalance created by colonialism gave the colonial master comparative advantage when it came to marketing of goods and services since the newly introduced export-import pattern of

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[140]Akinde, F, 2004. The roots of the military-political crises in Coˆte d'Ivoire. Research Report No 128. Uppsala: NordiskaAfrikainstitutet.

[141]African Development Bank, (2004). Africa in the global trading system. African Development Report. New York: Oxford University Press.

African economy spearheaded by the European countries did not leave room for competitive production on the part of the local economies.

4.1.2 Ethnicity and Colonialism in Africa

Ethnicity and ethnic mobilization was a tool applied by the colonialists to their advantage. This has continued to have far-reaching implications on the continent even today, with many scholars arguing that the high levels of tribalism and nepotism experienced in many parts of the world is a colonial legacy. A number of historians have argued that the colonialists created African territories disproportionately for their selfish easy administrative purposes where they had no interests of the natives at heart.[142] In this sense, the African states were shaped as extractive rather than investment endpoints. Grabowski[143] further intimates that the division of the African regions into states gave the colonial master the chance to engage in predatory activities with total disregard to the indigenous people's cultural, religious and ethnic preferences. The arbitrary creation of boundaries in European colonies interfered with genuine development process of the African continent hence heralding the under-development journey of the African region. Interference with political systems in Africa meant that the colonialists were determined to create a wedge between communities hence perpetuating conflicts for their own selfish gains. The mergers of diverse ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic groups within the same territories created distinct societies hence signifying the beginning of divide-and-rule philosophy which was a perfect tool for the colonialist to govern their colonies. This move further provided the opportunity for the colonialists to create rifts amongst various communities thus continuing to strengthen their grip on power.

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[142]Kumuyi, WF, (2007). The Case for servant leadership. New African, 467: 19–20.
[143]Grabowski, R, (2006). Political development, agriculture, and ethnic divisions: an African perspective. African Development Review, 18(2): 163–82.

Even after independence in most African states, the expansionist ideals, as opposed to prudent use of resources and unity of tribes, had dominated the scene. Pursuing of narrow ethnic and individual interests continue to dominate African politics where serving the national good is often relegated to the periphery; and this is no different from what happened during the colonial period. Political alignments and realignments which coalesce around ethnic and tribal kingpins persist even today where this serves as more or less like the erstwhile hero-worshipping of the colonial master by their African subjects.[144] Even today, some ethic groupings continue to monopolize resources and big positions in government hence perpetuating the culture of divide-and-rule and domineering tendencies mostly associated with the colonial period in Africa. A perfect example can be picked from Uganda and Sudan with regard to the fact that, for instance, in Sudan the country's natural resources are dominated by the Arab Muslim north; a phenomenon which has caused protracted conflict pitting the two states in Sudan against each other for close to five decades.[145] Despite The British were the main cause of the historical part of the conflict, but the national governments post-independent they did not took the right approach to tackle the conflict.[146]

In Uganda, the Yoweri Museveni-led government has often been equated to a military regime rather than a civilian one hence perpetuating the 'big-man' syndrome exhibited by the colonial master during colonization period.[147] The ethnic-inspired conflict spearheaded by the Lord's Resistance Army since 1986 remains active even today hence confirming the notion that many civil conflicts in Africa today can be traced to the colonial mentality where some 'superior' groups want to exploit the weaker ones at all costs. Ethnicity in Africa has persisted due to the divisions

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[144] Ibid
[145] Bottigliero, I, (2007). UN seeking to avert a new Rwanda. Africa Renewal, 18(2): 14–16.
[146] Elbagir F, An interview held in Nairobi November 24th, 2019.
[147] Finnstrom, S, (2005). No-peace2no-war in Uganda. News from the Nordic Africa Institute, No 1, January.

created by the colonialist. However, in some countries such as Burundi, Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), there has been witnessed ethnic transformation defined by collective actions of some groups against others or the state. In Rwanda, for instance, the ethnic fighting between the majority Hutu and minority Tutsi which was witnessed in 1994 led to almost a million lives lost and millions others displaced. In Burundi, there were similar conflicts from 1993 which lasted for almost 12 years, leading to almost 300,000 deaths and hundreds displaced. In the oil-rich Ogoniland in Nigeria, ethnic mobilization has for a long time led to a distinct group agitating against what the people in the region term as discrimination and marginalization by the Nigerian government.[148]

Despite historical ethnic mobilizations and conflicts in Africa linked to colonialism on the continent, which has led to untold suffering to the communities and loss of many lives, many African countries have tried to device ways of ending the conflicts. In Rwanda, for instance, rebuilding the country through community integration programmes initiated by President Paul Kagame government has led to calm and peace in the county hence making people to live harmoniously. In Uganda, the Lord's Resistant Army has for a long time been fought and contained by president Yoweri Museveni's government.[149] These actions have been replicated in many other countries hence calling for more concerted efforts from all the players to intensify their resolve.

In Nigeria, the country's ethnic divisions and religious bigotry have played as stumbling blocks to lasting peace and creation of a stable government. Evidently, the country's strong ethno-religious atmosphere influences the central government's development agenda. The tension created by a situation where the influential Hausa-Fulani ethnic group, which has held political power for much

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[148]Harsch, E, (2004). UN seeking to avert a new Rwanda. Africa Renewal, 18(2): 14–16.
[149] Ibid

longer than any other tribe, views itself as superior to the rest of the communities hence perpetually advocating for the status quo. The lack of proper national unity has led to more corruption in the country where each ethnic group wants to gab as much as they can especially from the country's oil fields.[150]

The introduction of colonial rule in Africa took many angles, with the British basically adopting the indirect rule where they used the indigenous community leaders to institute their paternalistic rules on the African soil. The French on their part used the philosophy of assimilation in order to entrench their presence in Africa. Through this tactic, they purportedly intended to make Africans to be the citizens of France, especially for those who cooperated and showed commitment to be introduced in this culture. However, for all intent and purposes, none of the colonial countries had genuine intentions for the local communities or their colonies in general. It all led to negative effects of their presence in Africa, beginning with plundering of resources which they took to their home countries for the industries. Furthermore, overworking of the local communities who provided cheap labour for the colonialist meant that every adult member of the African homestead was forced to work in the colonial master's farms and this kept them away from concentrating on their own economic activities. This was to ensure that there was perpetual relying on the upkeep from the colonial powers hence creating the unpleasant dependency syndrome on the part of the indigenous communities.

4.2   Addressing the Negative Effects of Colonialism in Africa

The polarization of African communities by the colonial master has left a legacy of continued wrangling amongst diverse interest groups which often mobilize along ethnic groups. In almost all

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[150]Kimani, M, (2008). East Africa feels blows of Kenyan crises. Africa Renewal, 22(1):18–19.

African countries, there are the major tribes trying to dominate power for eternity hence resulting into incessant resistance from those communities which feel they are disadvantaged. In Rwanda and Burundi, for instance, the Hutus and Tutsis have been in conflict for the longest time, often culminating into intense fighting. The 1994 genocide witnessed in Rwanda serves as a stark reality of inter-ethnic conflicts can do to a country or communities.[151] However, over time, all peace and development stakeholders at both local and international levels have been searching for lasting local solutions to the conflicts. Some of the efforts for long-term ceasefire have been directed towards a demand by the people for a strong political servant-leadership where the person at the helm of the country's governance is largely accountable to the people. Rwanda, for instance, has demonstrated this feat through President Paul Kagame who has tried to bring the two main tribes – Hutus and Tutsis – together for the sake of the country's peace and development as he strives to position the country as one of the emerging strong economies in the eastern African economic bloc.[152]

Fighting discrimination of citizens on the basis of ethnicity as a violation of human rights, has not been an easy task. In a number of African countries, some of the minority ethnic communities still continue to feel economically marginalized and politically disenfranchised in terms of both resource allocation and decision-making. In Kenya, for instance, the bad blood often experienced between some of the big ethnic groups such as the Kikuyu, Luo, and the Kalenjin among others can go a long way in demonstrating this argument. The same problem is strongly featuring in south Sudan, especially among the Nuer and the Dinka ethnic groups. Indeed, it has been argued that the culture of suspicion among tribes created by the colonial master is the main reason there has been

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[151]Ilorah, R, (2004). NEPAD: The need and obstacles. African Development Review, 16(2): 223–51.
[152] Ibid

historical divisions among the people of south Sudan and even North, which is yet to find long-term peace almost 9 years since the secession of south Sudan from the north in 2011.[153]

In a number of instances the continental body – the African Union (AU) – has acted as the go-between in helping to resolve conflicts in the African region. Founded on broad, strong and credible human rights principles which emphasize, among other things, the need for protection of marginalized ethnic groups, the AU plays a critical role in helping member African countries to co-exist in peace. The Union's courts are supposed to be autonomous and well-resourced, with the powers to investigate crimes against citizens and prosecute offenders accordingly irrespective of their political or economic abilities. Empirical evidence indicates that, as a legacy of the colonial administration, many African countries have poor human rights records. In their hunger for immense power and the quest to amass as much wealth as possible, the colonial powers tended to deny the colonies their human and civil rights; a situation which created perpetual marginalization of the African people. Since some political leaders continue to harbor the colonial mentality of suppressing the voices of the weaker majority in society as they corruptly amass more wealth for their own selfish ends, Africa's human rights record still remains largely wanting.[154]

Studies indicate that, ironically, the transition of power to Africans even escalated human rights abuses, especially during the Cold War period when a number of African states were ruled by military dictators who wanted to use the opportunity to grab enormous resources for their selfish ends. Ilorah[155] noted that numerous authoritarian military rulers in Africa, buoyed by colonial hangovers, forced their opponents into exiles, jailed or killed them so that the former could remain

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[153]Lipumba, IH, 2003. Politics is too important to be left to professional politicians, (interview). News from Nordic Africa Institute, 2: 12–15.
[154] Ibid, p71
[155]Ibid, p71

in power for as long as they wished. Such kinds of happenings where there was willful and wanton abuse of human rights encouraged ethnic discrimination and biases hence entrenching the erstwhile colonial tendencies. It is against this backdrop that Bottigliero[156], for instance, argues that many African countries have not yet fully appreciated the need for respecting human rights as an important strategy to end the colonially-instigated ethnic-based conflicts and promote long-lasting peace in the region.

A number of regional organizations in Africa have attempted to spearhead peace in most African countries so as to restore lasting peace and encourage harmonious co-existence among ethnic groups within and outside national borders. In their quest to achieve their long-term end, they have tended to prioritize peacekeeping and peace implementation operations at the expense of human rights issues. In this sense, ethnic bias and discrimination continues to thrive in the region, which holds back development in the region. Many political analysts have argued that for most African countries, rather than adopting a holistic approach to ending conflicts and restoring enduring peace in the region, they have taken the cue from the colonial master of fueling conflicts as a strategy to keep the ruling class in power. Like the infamous 'divide-and-rule' strategy used by the British to turn some sections of the communities against others so as to hold onto power, even today the ruling class employs a similar strategy where local communities are turned against others for the benefits of the politicians or the ruling class without consideration of the countries interests.[157]

Although a number of organizations have been established to address the question of ethnic marginalization and human rights abuses in Africa championed by the colonial master, more

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[156]Harsch, E, (2004). Op cit. p68.
[157]Al mubarak A. An interview held in Khartoum 8th October 2019.

conclusive outcomes are yet to be realized. The current African Court on Human Rights, operational since 2004, and some other parallel operating instruments and institutions such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, operational since 1986, and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, a quasi-judicial regional human rights institution, established in 1987, all have inadequate commands – a limitation that impedes them in their quest to address ethnic minority issues on the continent.[158] For instance, the African Commission which had been mandated to deal with interstate complaints from governments as opposed to groups or individuals lacks the capacity in terms of powers and resources to investigate cases. Furthermore, the Commission is limited in terms of autonomy since it must seek authorization from the Assembly of Heads of State and Government before it can take any action against the accused.[159]

Critics further argue that many African judges, wary of losing their jobs or being persecuted, are puppets of their governments where they are unable to pass judgments against senior government officials or influential members of the society hence defeating the principle of justice for all. In a sense, this is reminiscent of the colonial times when the colonial master – who may be viewed in the person of the modern powerful political class – was law hence untouchable. Since most judges and other senior court officials are not insulated from political manipulation and pressures, they are severely and relentlessly impaired when it comes to dispensing of their judicial duties. This scenario renders courts and other legal justice administration avenues rudderless thereby creating a state of 'African neocolonialism' in modern world. The seemingly constraints experienced by the African Commission may explain the Commission's inability to effectively play its role in deal with the 1994 Rwanda genocide e.g.[160] These inadequacies by commissions and courts to deal

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[158]Harsch, E, (2004). Op cit. p68.
[159]Sheyin, O, (2007). Nigeria, the power behind the throne. New African, 459: 28–33.
[160]The economist, (2005). Special report: Congo, Africa's unmended heart, 11–17 June.

with conflicts in Africa may justify the need for a much stronger, independent and more credible African court on human rights.

As a strong arbiter in conflicts in the African region, the African Union faces other serious challenges of holding African political leaders accountable to their people. The dearth of strong and clear mechanisms for holding state leaders answerable to their citizens on economic and political responsibilities means there will be limited avenues for objectively assessing their actions. The Peer Review Mechanism as an arm of the African Union is meant to, among other things, assess member countries' governance outputs and promote service public delivery. However, like its predecessor the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the AU hides behind its Charter of 'non-interference of internal affairs of neighbouring states' hence stifling criticisms of African leaders by the fellow national leaders on the continent.[161] This principle continues to give African leaders powers to unconstitutionally seize powers, cause genocide, and participate in war crimes and human atrocities without attracting much reprimanding from their fellow heads of state on the continent.[162] There continues to be witnessed a number of African leaders, otherwise popularly called 'strong men' who refuse to leave office at the expiry of their terms and even want to use the masses to agitate for constitutional changes so that that could give them more time in office – sadly and ironically, at the expense of the voters who are used as pawns in political games.[163]

A number of countries in Africa such as Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda among others continue to agitate for more and genuine freedom of expression but to no avail. This mentality of hanging onto power still reflects what was largely experienced during the colonial period where it was not easy

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[161] WORLD BANK, 2006. World Development Indicators, 2006. Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank.
[162]Harsch, E, (2004).op cit. p68
[163] Finnstrom, S, (2005). No-peace2no-war in Uganda. News from the Nordic Africa Institute, No 1, January.

to make the colonial master leave office and bequeath the resources and instruments of power to the original owners of those resources – the Africans.[164] Even on the face of a number of organizations in the region trying to improve the democratic space by urging leaders, for instance, to adhere to constitutionalism, the conflicts being witnessed today in some of the states in the region tell it all – that the African elite, who somehow is an embodiment of the colonial master, is not about to relinquish power free of coercion of some sorts.

Despite the efforts by African states and organizations to address the negative legacies of colonialism, special emphasis on ethnic bias and discrimination as one of the main causes of conflicts in Africa, is still lacking. Lack of strong and independent judicial systems in many African countries complicates these efforts even more.[165] Hence, these kinds of behaviours from African top political leaders continue to perpetuate the policies of colonialism.

4.3   The Colonial Legacy on the Continent

Several decades since the end of colonialism in Africa, the legacies of colonization still liners in many parts on the continent. In what has often termed as neocolonialism, the ruling class on the continent continues to be accused of more or less practicing ethnic mobilization and favouritism, with the masses largely left on their own. Ethnically-based conflicts still reign in many parts of Africa; something akin to what the colonial master practiced through the 'divide-and-rule' policy.[166] This continues to undermine democracy where exclusivity by the powerful minority in leadership positions is the norm.

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[164] Harsch, E, (2004). Op cit. p68
[165] Akinde, F, 2004. The roots of the military-political crises in Coˆte d'Ivoire. Research Report No 128. Uppsala: NordiskaAfrikainstitutet.
[166] Finnstrom, S, (2005). No-peace2no-war in Uganda. News from the Nordic Africa Institute, No 1, January.

The hegemonic African elites in power in many countries continue to rule rather than govern, and this is a perfect example of the colonial master encouraged and professed. The African 'rulers' are interested more in protecting their interests and those of their own ethnic group on whom their power mostly depends hence inspiring under-development within their respective borders and on the continent.[167] The African Union and other regional bodies championing the ideals of peace and democracy should institute strong, independent and credible institutions, including legal and justice as well as human rights bodies, with broad mandates to holistically address conflicts and marginalization on the African continent.[168] By and large, it can be concluded that conflicts on the African continent which was originally instigated through colonial rules have continued over time and these will take great efforts and resources to dismantle. The African elite, in a literal sense, has somehow assumed the colonialist's position, with the same mentality of exploiting the common person.

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[167] Ibid
[168] Madot, J. an interview held in Khartoum on 4th October, 2019.

Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

Introduction

The study examined the role of colonial powers in African conflicts: a case study of Britain in Sudan conflict and the secession of south Sudan. Specifically, the study focused on the role of former colonial powers in African conflicts, the role of Britain in Sudan conflict and the secession of South Sudan, and how African states should limit the negative influence by former colonial powers in their countries. This chapter gives a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations.

5.1 Summary

There was a clear relationship between the former colonial powers in Africa and the conflicts that have been witnessed on the continent for years, even after the end of colonialism in the said countries.[169] It emerged that the 'divide-and-rule' policy used by the British to rule their colonies in Africa has persisted even to date, with the political elite in powerful government positions dividing people along tribal lines where ethnic mobilization is commonplace.[170] The study also established that colonial legacy is still haunting most African countries, with the minority in power taking advantage of the ignorant majority in terms of skewed policy formulation.[171] There was also grabbing of important resources through corruption and plunder, and political manipulations among other chauvinistic schemes. Ethnic conflicts were the most commonly experienced forms

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[169] Cohen, Herman J. (1996). Conflict management in Africa CSIS Africa Notes
[170] Stedman, S.J. (1991). Conflict and conflict resolution in Africa: A conceptual framework. In: Deng and Zartman eds. 1991
[171] Ibid

of clashes, and these put the citizens in perpetual antagonism with one another hence derailing development.

Like during the colonial period when a bigger section of the society in Africa was living in poverty as a result of the mismanagement of resources and looting by the colonial master, the ruling class in Africa has today perfected the art of subjugating the masses hence replaying what was the norm in most colonies during the colonial period.[172] Majority of the respondents indicated that at the center of the conflicts were resources and wealth; and this is no different from what was witnessed during the colonial period. The struggle for power by the political class has often tended to divide communities along ethnic lines – a scenario that replays the colonial 'divide-and rule' policy, especially as was propagated by the British in their colonies.[173] Even after secession of South Sudan from the north, the top political leadership is still in antagonistic mode, ostensibly driven by selfish personal interest rather than the common public agenda.

Sudan is a country with diverse people in terms of culture, religion, environment, and resources among other features. For instance, in a national population of more than 43 million people, the country boasts of more than 300 ethnic groupings.[174] This diversity makes the country unique in many ways. Indeed, some scholars have argued that the cultural and social diversity in Sudan is partly to blame for the conflicts the country has witnessed for the last decades.[175] The British capitalized on the heterogeneity of Sudan communities to divide them for the former's political gain and dominance. Despite the predominant Arabic language for communication as the official

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[172] Op cit. p39.
[173] Cook, C and Killingray, D. (1983). African Political Facts Since 1945, London/ Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press Ltd
[174] Burton, John W. 1990. Conflict resolution and prevention, New York: St. Martin's Press.
[175] Ibid

language in Sudan, there are more than 100 ethnic languages in the country hence dividing the country even more.[176]

Varied economic activities which fuel differences in terms of lifestyles among the people of Sudan have also tended to put a wedge between communities hence sometimes creating animosity as communities compete for opportunities to satisfy their economic needs. For instance, in the dry north and west most communities practice pastoralism as their main economic activity, often moving with their animals in search of water and pasture. In the southern part where there is dependable rainfall, the settled residents mostly practice farming. These competing economic interests often put communities into collision course, especially when the pastoralists invade lands belonging to the farming communities from the southern part of the country. Again, under such circumstances, such conflicts depict the legacy left behind by the colonial master who used to divide communities and segment them within arbitrary boundaries based on the former's parochial interests.

Disguised as 'saviours' of their colonies in Africa, the colonial powers cemented ethnicity in the colonies through the 'divide-and-rule' policy, among other strategies. Ultimately, this led to underdevelopment of the African countries. This realization by some of the African leaders created the urgency to address the negative effects of colonialism. Over time, formation of international organizations has helped in addressing some of the pertinent issues such as human rights abuses. For instance, the African Union (AU) has often provided a platform to address conflicts in the

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[176] Holt, P. M., and M. W. Daly. A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day. 6th ed. New York: Longman, 2011.

African region. The organization was founded on broad, strong and credible human rights principles which emphasize the need to protect and uphold peace in the African region.

The International Criminal Court (ICC) has also helped to tame some of the human rights abuses hence serving as a warning to the African political class hell-bent on using violence to intimidate their opponents with the aim of clinging to power.[177] The poor human records left by colonialism have vigorously been addressed by the ICC and other international organizations hence providing a platform for equality and equity in former colonies. The African Commission, which had been mandated to deal with interstate complaints from governments as opposed to groups or individuals, lacks the capacity in terms of powers and resources to investigate cases. Furthermore, the Commission is limited in terms of autonomy since it must seek authorization from the Assembly of Heads of State and Government before it can take any action against the accused.[178]

5.2 Conclusion/Study Findings

The study sought to determine the relationship between the colonial powers and conflicts in Africa. The research questions included: what is the role of former colonial powers in African conflicts? What is the role of Britain in Sudan conflict and the secession of South Sudan? How should African states limit the negative influence by former colonial powers in their countries? Further, the study tested two hypotheses namely: colonial legacy is one of the main factors of the cause of African conflicts, and the British colonial legacy has played a significant role in Sudan conflicts and the secession of South Sudan. The study was anchored on the theory of imperialism as an analytical framework.

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[177] Adeyemo, F.O (2000). Conflicts, Wars and Peace in Africa, 1960- 2000 , Lagos, Franc Soba Nig. Ltd.
[178] Ibid p 12.

Based on the study findings, the three research questions were sufficiently addressed and the two hypotheses clearly tested. In understanding the role of former colonial powers in African conflicts, the study established that colonialism had a significant effect on the conflicts that have been witnessed in African countries for ages, even long after the departure of the colonialists. The divide-and-rule policy used by the British has spilled over to most African countries where the political class still manipulates the masses through ethnic mobilization. Despite the creation of a number of international organizations to deal with the aftermaths of colonialism, they lack clear direction and resources to effectively deal with this problem. There is therefore need for a careful renegotiation of the political direction in African countries to engineer objectivity in running of governments. In this sense, the first hypothesis that colonial legacy is one of the main factors of the cause of African conflicts was proven right. This is in view of the current political and economic scenarios in most African countries where the political elite is ever determined to cling to power and amass as much wealth as possible at the expense of the masses. The Berlin Conference laid ground for the colonial powers to divide their territories in a bid to establish and spread their expansionist ideals. Although technically the activities of the colonial master were defeated at the attainment of independence by the African states, the study established that the philosophy of subjugation of the masses by the powerful minority is still common in Africa.[179]

Furthermore, the theory of imperialism which guided this study was adequate in addressing the research questions in the sense that inequality is still persistent in most African countries even in the current dispensation. In view of the theory, inequality between and within nations is viewed as pervasive in all aspects of human life hence necessitating the need to resist this injustice. The resistance can be viewed in terms of the consistent petitioning of African governments by their

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[179] Ibid, p81.

citizens to distribute resources equally and provided services equitably. Also, the theory views the world as consisting of the center and peripheral nations where the former is often attempting to dictate to the latter. As much as this relationship would ideally be viewed in the context of the colonizers and their colonies, even today the world is still fashioned more or less in a similar way where developed economies are trying to ever dictate to the developing nations. This can be interpreted as perpetuation of imperial tendencies especially by the western countries on African and other developing countries.

With regard to the role of Britain in Sudan conflict and the secession of South Sudan, it was evident from the study that the British continue to play a significant role in the Sudan conflicts. Like in most African states, after the 1886 Berlin Conference where African countries were arbitrarily demarcated for easy ruling by the Europeans, in the 19th century Sudan was faced by ethnic-based conflicts where territory and resources were at the centre of the disagreements between the northern and southern communities. Since Sudan gained independence in 1956, the conflict in the country has dominated history books for decades, ostensibly attributed to internal wrangles sparked by the political class. Although the formal declaration of Southern Sudan as an independent state in July 2011 was viewed by many as a possible end to the prolonged Sudan conflict, that only seemed to have lulled the storm for a while. The study established as much. For instance, barely two years soon after South Sudan secession from the North and the declaration of the formation of the youngest nation in the African continent, President Salva Kiir and his Deputy President Riek Machar started conflicting.[180] Ironically, the split of South Sudan from the North

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[180] Anderson, G. Norman (1999). Op cit. p3

did not end the conflict in the North. This culminated into the ouster of long-serving President Omar El Bashir from power in the first quarter of 2019.

Whereas the protracted conflict in Sudan is largely credited to internal conflicts attributed to the push for control of vast natural resources by riffling political groups, the hand of the country's colonial master is often seen to feature at the centre of the conflicts. The post-independence conflict in Sudan has largely been attributed to the ethnic divisions and mobilizations created by the British colony in 1899-1956. The British wanted to dominate Sudan, like other African countries, through the divide-and-rule policy. This move created a sense of distrust and fear amongst different tribes hence eventually leading to incessant internal fighting. The discord created by the British has continued to divide Sudan even to the present-day. This came out clearly in this study. Armed with the separationist philosophy, the British were determined to cause disharmony in Sudan in order to weaken its people and make it easier for the colonizer to penetrate the colony for the benefit of the former. The intercommunity hostility engendered by the British in Sudan is believed to have defied time hence continuing to linger even long after Sudan got independence in 1956.

From the foregoing, the second hypothesis of the study was proven right. Based on the current events in Sudan, both in the Khartoum and Juba, it can rightly be argued that the British colonial legacy still persists in Sudan and South Sudan. Hence, the British has played a significant role in Sudan conflicts and the secession of South Sudan. Again, considering this argument from the perspective of the theory of imperialism, it is right to argue that this theory was adequate in providing direction in the study. The theory takes as its point of departure philosophical inequality and the resistance of this inequality to change. In the theory, inequality between and within nations is viewed as prevalent in all aspects of human life thereby demanding for resistance to the injustices.

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Furthermore, the theory views the world as consisting of the center and periphery nations where the former is often attempting to dictate to the latter. In the context of South Sudan, the relationship of inequality can be viewed as between the ruling class and the ruled. The theory further points out that regardless of the side the nation may be considered to belong; each one of them has its center and the periphery. In this sense, the center can be seen as comprising of the powerful clique in high government offices whereas the periphery consists of the poor or the proletariat.[181]The discrepancy that emanates from this relationship creates tension between the parties in either of the social divide; as has been the case in Sudan.

The third question that the study sought to answer was how should African states limit the negative influence by former colonial powers in their countries? The study established that the seed of discord planted in African states and communities has tended to persist to date. For instance, in Sudan this feeling has been perpetuated even long after the departure of the colonial master from the country. In terms of religious diversity, empirical evidence further indicates that before secession of the south, more than 60% of the Sudanese population professed the Islamic religion, 25% Animist while 15% was Christians. Instead of celebrating this diversity, Sudan has ever witnessed divisions along religious lines.

The ethnic conflicts witnessed in some African countries even today tend to derail development in all aspects of human existence. For instance, the study revealed that certain sections of African countries were denied resources so as to weaken them and hence keep the local communities ever dependent on the colonial master for meager jobs. This move ensured that the colonized ever looked up to the colonizer for economic support; a situation which forced the indigenous people

[181] Ibid

to pledge loyalty to the colonial master so as to earn favours. Although the colonialists wanted to portray themselves as 'saviours' to what they termed a dark continent, in the real sense they did not have the interests of their colonies at heart. This exploitative tendency is, ironically, still exhibited by the political elite in Africa today where the masses are deliberately denied life opportunities so that they can easily be controlled by the political class.

During colonial times, resources were at the center of the conflicts where natural wealth such as minerals, forests, and land among others, formed the basis for the struggle by the local communities which wanted to liberate themselves from the colonial yoke. Unfortunately, even today, although in an abated degree, similar types of conflicts observed during colonial times are still being witnessed among a number of African communities. For instance, there are political conflicts, environmental conflicts, intercommunity conflicts, economic conflicts, physical/territorial conflicts, and ethnic/tribal conflicts in a number of countries such as Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Burundi among others. Post-election skirmishes are common in most African countries not because people want to fight, but because they are incited so as to push the selfish agenda of those in high political offices.[182] Similarly, those people who invade forests and other natural resources mostly take such actions at the behest of political godfathers hence perpetuating the kind of relationships experienced during colonialism where colonial sympathizers, such as home guards and colonial chiefs, were used to sabotage the interests of the local communities.

Despite some obvious parallels which could be drawn between the past and current situations regarding conflicts in Africa, a lot has improved where conflicts are receding. Some of the reasons for this state of affairs include the fact that there is generally more respect to the rule of law even

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[182] Violence in African Elections. NAI Policy Note No 7:2018
Nordic Africa Institute, November 2018. P4.

by those who are in power as opposed to the colonial times when the colonized was totally not respected by the colonizer. Furthermore, the formation of international organizations which focus on human rights and equality has tried to make the environment more favourable in terms of fighting for human rights and respect for the rule of law. Contrary to formation of biased rules and regulations governing resource allocation during the colonial period which were meant to deny life opportunities to the indigenous people, current democracy enjoyed by majority of African states demands that equality and equity prevail in all aspects of human existence.

Despite some leaders in Africa trying to engage in conflicts to pursue their personal political interest, there are set boundaries which limit their actions. For instance, the African Union (AU) in Africa tends to intervene on behalf of the citizens whenever there are political conflicts that threaten national or international peace.[183] Similarly, the International Criminal Court (ICC) has prosecuted a number of African leaders involved in human rights abuses hence keeping under check those who may be having similar intentions. Such kinds of bodies and rules and regulations have tended to put 'war mongers' under check for the sake of peace in most African countries.

5.3 Recommendations

The study gives several recommendations based on the colonial conflicts and its effects on UN and other international organizations, AU and sub-regional organizations in Africa, the conflict and its effects on the Sudan government, as well as its effects on South Sudan government.

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[183] Stacy-Ann Elvy, (2013) Theories of State Compliance with International Law: Assessing the African Union's Ability to Ensure State Compliance with the African Charter and Constitutive Act, New York Law School.

5.3.1 The Role of UN in African Conflict Resolution

The UN and other outstanding international organizations on peace resolution in Africa should strive to increase their capacity in the execution of their mandate of spearheading peace and co-existence of its member countries.

Since it is evident that conflicts in African states do not necessarily emanate from the inability of the African leaders to navigate through their own political problems, it is important for the UN and its collaborators in the peace process in Africa to create a platform through which African heads of states and governments can seek home-grown peace solutions whenever there is conflict within their jurisdictions.

Having participated in numerous peace negotiations in Africa since independence, including in Congo, Mozambique, Angola, and Rwanda among other countries in the region, the UN has enough experience in peace negotiation.[184] However, in most instances, the UN has approached African conflicts through military interventions rather than roundtable talks. In a sense, this would be viewed as carryover of the colonial legacies hence generally inappropriate in addressing conflicts on the continent. Hence, it would be important that the UN, and other notable peace negotiators, attempts to negotiate for peace on the continent without necessarily bringing in the element of military intervention. This approach will be critical in engineering a sense of mutual respect to the conflicting parties hence brokering a long-lasting peace.

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[184] Boulden Jane, (2003) Dealing With Conflict in Africa, the United Nations and Regional Organizations. p12.

5.3.2 The Role of AU and Sub-regional Organizations in African Conflict Resolution

Until the 1990s, the African Union (AU) is currently viewed as generally non-responsive to African conflicts due to its sacred doctrine of non-interference in the internal affairs of member countries. Hence, the conservative nature of AU where the autonomy of the member states overrides the common interests of the people has portrayed it as a toothless and rudderless peace negotiator in Africa. It is important therefore that the AU reorganizes itself so that it can proactively and effectively serve its mandate in peace negotiation on the continent.

Like the UN, the AU has emphasized the approach of using peace-keeping forces to quell the violence rather than trying to address the underlying issues in the conflict. Consequently, the AU peace-keeping mission has been derailed by its principles of non-interference, territorial integrity, and the sacrosanct nature of colonial interstate boundaries.[185] Nonetheless, this approach by the AU to African conflicts is fundamentally flawed due to inadequately trained troops, lack of funding, and absence of political willpower among the member countries to actively flex their muscles in dealing with emerging conflicts. This situation could encourage continued conflicts since military only succeed in reducing violence but not resolving the conflicts.[186] Furthermore, this state of affairs is likely to attract outside interference and imposition of non-African solution, which does not warrant lasting peace. It is therefore safe to argue that African conflicts will only be satisfactorily resolved if they are addressed with respect to their specific root causes. This is in line with the argument that there are varied causes of conflicts in Africa; with each of them requiring unique solutions. For the sub-regional organizations, one of the key advantage of these

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[185] Ibid, p87.
[186] ibid, p86.

organizations such as IGAD to conflict resolution lies in the quick intervention as well as some understanding of the conflict due to proximity with neighbouring countries.[187]

5.3.3 Conflict Resolution in Sudan

 The simmering tensions and mistrust between the northern and southern Sudanese in the mid-1950s when southern army officers rebelled in 1955[188], led to the first long civil war in Sudan which lasted from 1955-1972. The rift created between the north and the south persisted until the cessation of South Sudan from the north in 2011. Yet, it would later turn out that the two countries need each for the prosperity of the Sudanese people. In this sense, the colonial conflicts should be viewed by the north as having offered the region an opportunity to reconsider its existing relationship with the south.

The British segregationist policies rendered southern Sudan economically underdeveloped.[189] This has further continued to define the South as a marginalized and underdeveloped state in the post-independence era. Politically, the north remains stronger hence standing better chances of more economic prosperity. However, these events should serve as an avenue for political and economic rediscovery of the south where, upon secession in 2011, the country has entered into a global map as an independent entity striving for its own prosperity.

Corruption in Sudan, like in many other African states, has largely been blamed on colonialism and colonial conflicts. Based on its historical context, Sudan should however focus on rebuilding

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[187]Mwagiru Makumi, Conflict in Africa – Theories, Processes and Institutions of Management, (Nairobi, Centre for Conflict Research, 2006) pg. 28
[188]Rupesinghe, K. and Anderlini, S.N. 1998. Civil Wars, Civil Peace: An Introduction to Conflict Resolution. London: Pluto Press.
[189]Munzu, Simon 1995. Southern Cameroons peoples conference press release. Washington, D.C., 2 June 1995.

its social, economic and political institutions where economic liberalization and political democracy is encouraged and practised for the good of the Sudanese people across the two countries.

In spite of the country's immense wealth from oil exploits and other vast natural wealth, most of the Sudanese people live in poverty while thousands others have sought refugees in neighbouring countries.[190] Essentially, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005 has not led to long-lasting peace in the country. The blame game that this situation has created between the people of South Sudan and the Khartoum government should not be allowed to continue forever. Rather, this should offer a golden opportunity for the people of the two countries to work together for economic development and political pluralism and democracy.

The Southern Sudan's history of self-determination has been marked by several negotiations which can be traced back to the colonial policy, otherwise known as the closed area policy on the south region.[191] The British separatist ideology where the North and the South were governed separately ensured that the two countries professed distinct cultural and religious norms. This move further limited the two countries in terms of elaborate social interactions and integrations.[192] However, some of the social restrictions imposed by the British between the north and the south where, for instance, Arabic was intended for the north only, should provide new resolve for a stronger Sudanese society.

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[190]Ibid, p89.
[191]Khairy, An interview held in Nairobi November 12th, 2019.
[192]Walter, B.F. 'Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict', International Studies Review, 5, no 4 (2003): 137-53.

Despite the formal declaration of Southern Sudan as an independent state in July 2011 and which had been preceded by spirited negotiations since 2005, the Sudan conflict seems to be far from over. However, the independence of the South from the North should inspire the international community and other peace negotiators to increase their efforts of restoring lasting peace between the two countries.

The goodwill by the international peace players exhibited in resolving the wrangles between President Salva Kiir and his Deputy Riek Machar should be scaled up and maintained. In retrospect therefore, the split of South Sudan from the North and the current conflict in the South should be viewed as another good opportunity for the two countries to redefine their politics and relations for the common good of the masses. The recent ouster of long-serving President Omar El Bashir from power should only serve as an eye opener to political players in the two countries to understand the need for lasting peace as a precursor to economic prosperity.[193]

5.3.4 Conflict Resolution in South Sudan

It is evident that the indirect rule used by the colonial government in southern Sudan slowed down development in the country and the eastern Africa in general. Since this strategy was also meant to influence the educated South Sudanese and religious leaders in terms of the political direction of the country, this should at the same time provide them with an opportunity to redirect the philosophy and lives of people of South Sudan.

The British colonial powers attempted to integrate, through indirect rule, policies as a way through which to penetrate the country. Through this strategy which engendered the 'divide-and-rule'

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[193]The Guardian: (Sun 16 Apr 2017) How factions in South Sudan's war took shape on British campuses.

policy managed to isolate leaders from the common citizens. Basically, this implied that there was going to be more divisions hence making it easier for the political elite to dominate the majority of the masses. Although this development isolated the majority of the people from the ruling class, this should serve as an opportunity for the people to redefine their history and focus more on how to re-emerge as a stronger nation.

The eventual secession of south from the north should now serve as basis for a spirited reconnaissance of South Sudan's new horizons for a possible stronger nation. This means that the political leadership needs to view the British colonialism in Sudan as a blessing in disguise. Going forward, there is need for the two countries to fully reconcile and forge ahead with renewed enthusiasm to create a larger Sudanese community.

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