

The Impact of Militarization and Political Polarization of the Misseriya Community on the Abyei Referendum and Security in Sudan

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Introduction:

Max Weber said “Both social structure and normative system of a society are influenced by powerful persons represent the interests”. In Missaria community and special Ajjair Missaria Homor , traditional system have completely destroyed and exploited by successive political regimes , however , the so called salvation revolution government of 1989 have embarked unprecedented step that interrupted and frustrated society natural mechanism . In 1993 and within the so called (political Gain) , Khartoum government committed a serious sin after increasing native administration , removed some of traditional leaders of opponents loyalties , established new tribal leaders and has began politicizing the traditional community of Missaeria. At the same time Khartoum Government established People Defense Army PDF training centers at Dar Missaria , and by the year of 1997 more than 300000 Missaria persons have been militarized thus new political tribal leaders have dominating the society . Here one must remarkj since 1997 Missaria community have trapped with politicization and militarization, unfortunately , climatic changes and environmental deterioration jeopardized the situations .History and social functionalism tells us society has functional requisites or imperatives where different functional requisites produce differentiated structures that specialize in accomplishing the requisites. If these strains are so severe or prolonged that

such actions cannot compensate, organizational features will be altered or destroyed and the entire organization may change

The paper explores three issues within peace & conflict studies perspectives and key informant analysis and assumes that these aspects will effect the Abyei upcoming referendum in 2011. These issues as followings :

a) Political polarization between the NCP and SPLM/A over Abyei area, here mainly the paper investigates the hidden text of the Abyei conflict escalation, to analyze Abyei conflict escalation and to unfold the the NCP and SP:LA political and tribal camouflaged confrontation causing violent action among Missaria tribe and Dinka Ngoak .

b) The paper criticizes politicization of the Missaria and Dinkja Ngoak Native Administration by both NCP and SPLM/A which has ended up with eruption of Indigenous Knowledge System IKS , thus community has lost it's natural funtion

c) Since 1966 Misseriya community has witnessed an ongoing process of militarization due to the war which led to the spreading of illicit small arms and light weapons in the area. About 300000 pieces of Arm at the civilian hands will stand one of the major security threatening not only in Abyei but all Sudan state

Hypotheses:

One of the main hypothesis through this paper is that : illicit proliferation of Arms over Missaria community coupled with politicization of Missaria and Dinka Community and political polarization and confrontation between NCP and SPLA over Abyei area could will damp Abyei 2011 Abyei Referendum . The paper argues that this illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the Abyei area coupled with politicization of the Misseriya community will lead to one of the following scenarios in the near future:

1) Armed confrontation between the Government of National Unity (GONU) when Khartoum government failed in any compromising agenda with Missaria tribal leaders and what has been called the 'People Defense Princes'. Thus armed conflict could

happen when the Government in Khartoum starts to force the Misseriya to accept the Abyei demarcation that defined by the Permanent International Arbitration Court (PIAC) in 2009 or when Missaria came across the fact that they were black milked and both NCP and SPLM/A had their hidden agenda

2) Armed violent could break out violently if SPLM/A could start the implementation of the PIAC demarcation with it's own way , to ensure that all part of demarcated Abyei area that was transferred to Kordofan in 1905 identified by the PIAC is included in the upcoming 2011 referendum . In this case, an armed conflict is likely to break out between Misseriya militias and the SPLA, and the area could enter another security kayos collapse like what had taken place in 2008 when Abyei town burnt down to the ashes .

Methodology of Key Informant Analysis :

Researcher as Abyei Key Informant , within peace research concept the information in the field obtained within two direct meeting .a) as general information since the area conducted defined as Western Section of South Kordfan State with HQ in Fulla Town .Second ,information provided by localities separately including Babnouysa , Muglad < Miram Dibab and Abyei Administration .Tables show figures . Informant Analysis is comprehensive deep and original and because peace is not only the absence of war therefore all information can be utilized in this analysis . That means there is information provided by the section and others provided by the localities Some times information are not congruous

Nature and levels of Abyei Conflict Escalation :

Escalation defined as "An increase in quantity, intensity, or scope of violent exchanges among parties. Commonly referred to as a 'downward spiral', escalation typically occurs in cycles of attack or counterattack. A strategy of escalation is typically adopted based on one of two conditions: First, although losses are expected for all the parties engaged in a conflict, the party pursuing escalation projects that its losses will be tolerably less than the losses of others. Second, a party commits to previously stated intentions, regardless of any risks

associated with escalation. Although the latter can suggest inflexibility, commitment in such cases is important to generating credibility. It is expected that eventually an opponent will be coerced through fear of continued”

The Messariya conflict started early when they moved from the kingdom of Wadai, between Darfur and Kufra, to their present homeland in the 17th Century to avoid paying tributes to Sultan Suban and others strict Wadai " ..the object of the Bagara which include Messeria and others move to avoid having pay tribute to the Sultans"¹After Sudan independency in 1956 the area remained as (Dar Missariya Homor. Within the Nimiri military regime 1969-1984 the area of Dar Missariya remained as Misseriya Rural Council at South Kordfan State, and the capital was Fulla Town. Immediately after the 1989 Military coup the area defined as Western Kordfan State. In 2005 after the signing of the CPA and according to the political polarization over Abyei protocol the State of western Kordfan was absolved, deconstructed and finally attached to South Kordfan State. This led to mass grievances and security insatiability. In the period 2006-2009 the area witnessed numbers of violence ended with killing of citizens, injuries and some others structural violence had broken out. The collapse of comprehensive security in Abyei town can be marked as the most devastated violent action, however the Abyei Conflict root goes back to the early 1964. In 2007, violent between the SPLA military and Bagra Arabs had took place in (Grintee) area near Bahar Alarab more than 70 civilians were killed, and some of these were seriously injured. In April 2009 a tribal Armed conflict between Rezigat tribe and Misseriya tribe had broken out in the western corridor (Miram villages), more than 300 people were killed and 180 police were killed. With its geographical situation, diverse ethnic integration and multi- demotions conflict, the Abyei area stands as a dilemma and a real peace challenge for unity or separation of Sudan. The history of the area tells us that Abyei area has been one of the most strained and conflicting area in Sudan. Historian and anthropologist left behind them some good lessons about Sudan can be understood to avoid historical conflict. The fact is that Abyei conflict was not an arbitrary or sudden event. In 1935 K.D.D Henderson wrote “ It might be remarked here that the poison of Ngoak Dinka as friendly buffer state between the Homor and Bahr el Ghazal has proved of such value for the preservation of good feeling

¹ - K.D.D.Henderson : A note on the Migration of the Messeria Tribe into South west of Kordofan

and prevention of friction that apart from impossibility of drawing boundary it would be a political mistake to transfer them on racial grounds to another province. Such a proposal should only be considered at their own consideration (at present most improbable) or in the Homr becoming a sedentary “ⁱ the sentence *apart from impossibility of drawing boundary* is our key word to argue that Abyei conflict is not arbitrary. Unfortunately, although the Sudanese CPA moves from Peace keeping to peace building in transitional period, developmental projects are the most ignored. In 2006 Conflict Transformation started in Abyei (Recovery and Rehabilitation Program 2006 ARRP), unfortunately the project ended up by Abyei fire burning and destruction in 2008 and almost 2000000 \$ US provided by EU has gone astray when Abyei town was completely looted. In fact Abyei area witnessed numbers of failure projects, by example Harvard Development Project in 1970th which could be described as Wrong Project, Wrong place and Wrong times. In Nemiri Military Regime Milk Factory provided to assist *Bagra* in settlement, however, and as usual lack of prior studies and vision, the Factory located in Babnousa in the north part of the area the result is completely (wrong project). Abyei conflict escalation has taken three levels in timeframe and stages as followings

One: Abyei Grassroots level conflict :

Conflict over resources in the period of 1966-1973. This is the level where conflict managed and resolved within traditional mechanisms by Missaria and Dinka council of Ajweed and wisdoms of elders, however with insight look to the devastating and tragic incidents in 1964 when more than 200 Dinka citizens had burnt by fire in Babnousa and Muglad and 101 Missaria citizens killed in Ragaba Alzarga, these incidents generated Abyei conflict escalation which led to 'Abyei War Cycle. The Abyei conflict had exceeded the possibility and traditional mechanism capacity. Firearms leak into the region gradually from the northern government and the movement of Alanana

Two: Abyei Military stage Conflict :

In the beginning of the 70th Some Dinak Ngoak joined the Anna 2. Then Abyei conflict shifted from merely grassroots level into Military and strategic level with gradual

mechanism , unfortunately while military administration in both government of Sudan and SPLA , know this fact , however they tackled conflict management to tribal and traditional mechanism of the community , mean while , and from functionalism view the community organization had completely disrupted and destroyed within political politicization , the community system developed alienation and powerlessness . In this juncture and in 1972 Abyei was one of the reasons that led to the collapse and fragmentation of the Addis Ababa peace agreement

Third : Abyei International Stage Conflict .

Abyei conflict entered the international stage during Nevasha Peace talks , in the year of 2004 Abyei could have disrupted and blown off the peace negotiations between the Government of Sudan and the SPLA. Negotiators . observers raised their eye brows when Abyei plot of conflict action brought identity confrontation to the negotiation table. Abyei is the only issue shifted the negotiation process from Macro theory of Conflict to the Micro theory of Conflict . There had been tow levels of negotiation one among Missaria and Dinka tribal leaders , and the second level brought together political negotiators from NCP and SPLA and behind that theatrical scene there was the international actors .It was clear for research centers , negotiations observers , that the Abyei dilemma could have ended up with negations fatigue which will become the stalk that broke the camel's back . In fact when Abyei protocol came out, it cam as an imitation sketches for Sudan conflict mosaic conflict. Abyei Protocol can be described as a document infected by three stages and levels of conflict (Identity , Boundary and security) .In 2008 the military doctrine had collapsed among Joint Integrated Units in Abyei area then comprehensive security collapsed , the Abyei town burnt down to the ashes and looted , more than 160 people where killed in front of UN Peace keeping mission and more than 3000 cizens fled the area in different direction to north and south . Both NCP and SPLA/M were fear inflicted had when they saw a horrible sample of CPA collapsing , immediately Abyie Map Road signed and both NCP and SPLA/M run to the Heike under tribal camouflage An when Abyei town 2008 Abyei was burnt down to the ashes and completely looted by Misseriya militias after the so called Military

Doctrine Collapsing among the Joint Integrated Units in the area. Abyei international level of conflict taken to Heik

Political polarization :

Unfortunately Missaria community suffers political polarization. In the past , the area considered as locked zone for Amma Party where no development and people plugged political conjuring trick .One of the most sad story being narrated in the Missaria area (*If an anemic Missariya child managed to see one of Mahdi famil in their rarely visit to Muglad , he would instantaneously get cured and recovered from Anemia*) , but by the military kop 1998 the Missaria community has completely overwhelmed by structural polarization and Militarization

Native Administration and Indigenous Knowledge System IKS

The Missriya Homor (Bagara) native administration consisted of two major clans mainly (Flayta) and (Ajaira). Each of these clan comprises of five sub- tribes called (Amarh) with sub components of Omdas and Shikhs (see figure 1) by example the Flayta clan resides in the villages of Bgarh, Kejarh ,and their capital town is Fulla .The Flayta comprises of the followings five Amarh as small and sub-tribes ,

Flayta :

- 1- Mtaneen - Amarh
- 2- Awlad Sroor- Amarh
- 3- Zued - Amarah
- 4- Jobarat - Amarh
- 5- Slammat- Amarh

The Ajaira resides in Babanosa , Steeb , Dibab , Miram and their capital town is Muglad.The Ajayra also has five Amarh as followings :

- 1- Fyareen Amarh
- 2- Awlad Kamel Amarah

- 3- Mazagna Amarah
- 4- Fadliya Amarah
- 5- Awlad Omran Amarah

The Ameer is the tribe chief and each Amarah divided into numbers of small (*Omdahs*) Mayor. Also each Omdya comprises of numbers of *Shikhs* and the Mashykha consists of (*Damins*), this last one can be considered as the smallest unit of native authority at grassroots levels. Without good understanding of this traditional systems, efforts in obtaining information could face some difficulties or could have gone astray. The area defined as western section according to South Kordfan State Administration

The Northern part of the area Fulla, Babnousa and Muglad Localities, as defined Western Section in the South Kordfan State. Historically this is the so called Bagara Arabs land². The ultimate objective is to develop local economic implementing program based on the human, environmental, social, natural resources ecological, physical and economic assets of Missariya Homor (Bagara) through the stimulation of self-replicating systems of capacity-building for self-reliant livelihoods. This will in turn lead to enhanced physical, social and economic security for Bagara Arabs of Misseriya and the poor more generally. It is Concern contention that the people of Missariya Homor in Fulla, Babnousa, Muglad and Abyei area already have many of the human, social and natural resources for self-reliance; however the enabling conditions for more active promotion of sustainable development are not yet in place – namely security, access to (micro) finance and equitable, jobs opportunity and safe access to ecological and other natural resources. Concern aims to enable Missriya Homor (Bagara) to access their potential natural resources and this can be mad within peace building and conflict transformation projects yards, health services and empowerment programs for women and youths (including literacy), peace culture, social awareness, and the sustainable reintegration of Militias and ex – combatants. The majority of Missariya Homor (Bgara

² - Cunson, Jan : Bagra Arabs Man power and Linkages, 1955

) make their livelihoods from the land, and pasturage a key focus for training needs relates to the agricultural sector and developing the Bgara livelihood System , especially if Bgara in question will be returning to settlements in the north part of Abyei and other primarily rural areas .

a) Education Services :According to the information provided by the Director of Education in Western Section of South Kordfan State in Alfulla there are 280 basic schools with 18960 classrooms all over the localities. Only 591 classrooms have built from the contestant materials the rest built from local materials. All these classrooms can collapse at any moment in rainy seasons and students would stay under trees .only 58 basic school are for migrated Bagara (*School of Rohall*).The total of basic teachers M/F are 1954 the deficiency rate is about 1144 teachers. In a meeting with basic School Teachers of Western Section , they assumed that , by 2020 the hole basic Education could collapse in quantity and quality , main reasons is the lack of teachers training and the schools maintenance. The issue of basic School training would stand as real challenges only 40% have some training the rest of teachers are completely left without capacity building , the result is the bad learning quality. “*Student in 8 level can not read or even knows to write his name*” said Mali Mastoor , a returnee school teacher There are 32 secondary school all over western section 17 for boys , 14 for Girls and only 1 technical school .the total of students of Secondary school is 7919 , with 511 teachers (male and Females) the deficiency is 229 teachers . Educational drop rate is About 60000 Students per year .The Educational office in Western section in South Kordfan state criticized the so called (Attractive School Training) conducted by some international organizations and identified the followings issues as educational threats and constrains :

- 1-Teachers deficiency
- 2- No Students Boarding homes
- 3- Lack in Teachers training

In his answer to the question : what is the crucial needs ? Director of Education Office in Western section answered : *we would be happy if we had Teaching training Center .This is very simple we need only one big Hall and teaching materials , because some*

returnees teacher with competency and good skills can be deployed as trainers in stead of throwing them to the road with out jobs”

There is Salam University under establishment .Two colleges have resumed teaching Natural Resources College in Fulla and Economic and Social Studies in Babnousa , total of Students 2100. Total of teaching staff 102 In meeting at University Principle office , they expressed interests in supporting the peace and conflict studies program.

B) Health Services

The area is completely plugged by the shortages in the Health services. There are only 3 uncompleted hospitals in the area,

1 Hospital in Fulla ,

1 Hospital in Babnosa and

1 Hospital in Muglad .

These Hospitals suffer shortages in doctors , pharmacists , nursing , laboratories .Specialized Doctors fled the area , only physicians under training can stay .Reasons are shortage in medical equipment , surgery constrains , no electricity .Dr.Abubaker Abdelabagi in Muglad hospital mentioned that “ *This hospital could be cancelled and closed within the two coming years , because of shortages in staff , electricity , and others constrains”* . Diseases , Malria ,Secl Cell Anemia , Hepatitis B, HIV /AIDS, Guardia , Dysentery have become endemic. The Present age of HIV/AIDS is 7% in each 10 examined group .According to information provided no centers or population awareness and no preventive strategies at the local levels .Considering the high HIV/AIDS cases among citizens, a crucial programs for testing and treatment is needed . The people of Western Section were completely ignored by government and NGOs and let down to be devastated by HIV/AIDS .No HIV/IADS Strategy at Western Section of South Kordfan State. No Blood Bank in the hole area . There are 32 health centers in deferent villages in the sections . Most of these Health Centers “ *are Just names with only one untrained technician”* Said Dr.Awad the Director of Health Academy in Foulla. The Director Health Academy declared that “ *the academy could fill the gap in the health centers and provide the necessity technical staff the in the future”* . Numbers of accepted students from male and female at Health Academy is 325 divided into these specializations:

1- 232 Nursing

2- 40 Pharmacology

3- 50 laboratory

In and out- Migration:

Western Kordfan Section inhabited by 519000 in the localities of Salam , Babnosa and Muglad .This is approximate number . According Executive Director of Muglad Locality the population of Muglad locality is 196000 citizens according to the 2009 census

.Muglad locality Citizens distributed in four areas as followings :

Muglad 40000

Dibab 60000

Seteep 1260

Miram 18 000

While he mentioned the population in Salam (Foula) Locality is 250000 and Babnosa Locality is 73000 . According to Executive Director these numbers are incorrect , because it shows only list of names that registered for coming general elections. The Majority of Missaria Homor at Western Section are Bgara (Cows owners) , they move seasonally from North to the South and vice versa .This livelihood system called (*Massar*) , each clan and (*Amarh*) has it's own Corridor they call it (*Morhal*) .Bagara Arabs moves seasonally to the South in the period of (November , December , January , February , March , May and June) .They starts migration back to North in (July , August , September and October). The Bagara have their villages , campuses and stations along their seasonal magnetron corridors .The Bgara life has become a culture and ways of thinking , there for any program aims to settlement shall be carefully designed within development culture strategy .Bagara culture has become stigma . However *Massar* Migration of Bagara faces the challenges of sustainability , because of desertification and climate changes. Some citizens fled the *Masar* system and lived in towns stricken by poverty without jobs . It is clear that no any project or strategy for public awareness , thus the traditional community left to the danger of history .The Bagara migrates cross boundaries of others in southern states like North Bhara Elgazal , Unity State and some times move to the southern part of South Darfour State , this have become major causes tribal conflict .Unfortunately , although these conflicts usually at grassroots level and

related to the livelihood systems , the government usually address these conflict within Top Down and political approaches the results always conflict escalations .Ameer Mokhtar Babo Nimir of Awalad Kamil stated that “ *there are two causes of conflict between us and Dinka Tribes or Rezigate tribe. These two reasons are migration and weapons*” While Bashtana Momed Salim one of Missaeria Traditional Mechanism for conflict Resolutions Council (*Ajaweed*) stated that “ *If Bagra have become settlers there would be no conflict in this area*)

C) Ecology and Environment

The land of Western section is flat and ranges between desert in the north kordfan to the poor Savanna in the south area of Abyei locality. The *Wadi Valley* with it's branches *Wadi Alghala* and *Wadi Somoaa* surrendering the area in a contouring way, creates some abrupt swamps like *Raggba ELzrga* and *Ragab Imoro* in the north west of the area. The land almost is sandy soil in the north with hard muddy near Kiir River at Abyei locality . *Bahar Alarab* or (kiir) in Dinka language is the only river runs seasonally from west to the east , diereses southern part of the area and creating grazing land for Bagara Arabs cows in Summer and fishing resources for the Settlers from Dinka Ngoak tribes. This Kiir river could be described as the major cause behind the violent conflict between Bagra and Dinka , because of competition over water resources in Summer and drought period (December to May), this is one of the longest summers .The area covers by hard deserts pushes in north of Babnousa and Foulla , transforms gradually into savanna environment. This area of about more than 1800,000 livestock , with birds , and wild animals in the south part .Rain fall approximate 2ml in the rainy season between July and September .The summer season is hot and dry which called (*Jallwi*) in Bagra languages , all waters pool in the north part evaporate then immediately Bagara starts their seasonal migration to the south in traditional searching for water and grazing for their cows and the themselves. In Autumn , insects and mosquitoes out break cause Diseases for cows ,this the main cause for Bagara movement to the North .The land of Bahar Alarab is completely ignored and no any (laws or policies against tree cutting/or for tree planting) .Some trees like (Amsroog and Ingato) coplettly vanished .In 2003 small Dump established by Development Services Corporation as a pilot project in the Wadi Vally , only 10 K/M South of Muglad . More than 200 families settled and

transformed into farmers . Tomatoes , lady fingers of *Valley Wadi* farmers can be seen in Muglad marke.This experience can be taken as example in livelihood development , if water is harvested by damping water of *Wadi valley* this could assist in livelihood development and transformation

D) Youth , Gender and Security Information :

According to Mohmmmed Sobahi Security officer in Muglad the area suffers of illicit proliferations of small arms and lights weapons. The Security officer emphasized that *the majority of youth were fall in frustration* because of no jobs opportunities , this is the generation of war culture . Youths also left down to the danger of frustrations , where no programs or cultural programs. The security officer mentioned that six out of ten youths in Muglad have victimized by *Hasheesh* and drugs adductions . The security officer expressed his interest to see collaborative projects between local SCOs and Concern in the field of peace culture for youths and women. No women organization .In meeting with Environment Organization in Babnousa , Angato Orgnization in Muglad ,NDO in Abyei and Exceptive Youth Movement in Fulla Yagoub Abulegassim , the issue of youth and peace culture was the most important .The Youth Movement in Fulla express their appeals and request for peace culture funding.

Budgets , infrastructure:

Muglad locality budget 4200000 SD . 3000SDG is first chapter and 1200000.Resources : chapter one direct from the State Budget , while others from taxations and others resources. In Fulla information about Western section can not be provided it considered as one of the strategic information. However some said chapter one in fulla locality is about 5200SDG .Babnousa was the the cross station for railways to Nyalla and Wau .However after the stopping of Babnsa railways , people lost their jobs and the trade between southern part and north part part . The railway between Babnosa and Nyala , not active with also this effect trades and transportation in the area

Recommendations: The key informant analysis shows :

a) the necessity of development project with conflict transformation include “Water , livelihood , agriculture , peace culture , training workshops .Supporting program for youths and women , HIV/AIDS program”

b) The area suffers illicit proliferation of Small Arms and light weapons 30000 pieces of weapons are in civilians hands .There have been bad DDR program and Arms control, this also needs of DDR through Traditional Mechanism and indigenous Knowledge

System IKS

c) Jobs opportunity program programs for women and yout

Babnousa Locality

Education Services	Health Services	Water Yards :	Agriculture	Infrastructure	Livestock
Basic School 23	Hospitals 2	Wells 7	Rainy	Roads (No)	19000
Basic school Teachers 283	Pharmacy Private 1	6 Pools		Bridges (No)	
Students 2423	Pharmacy Gov 2				
Sec School 7	Health Centers 6				
Sec School Teachers 37	HIV Center (No)				

Muglad Loclity

Education Services Basic School 36 Basic school Teachers 146 Students 3794 Sec School 1 Sec School Teachers 15	Health Services Hospitals 1 Pharmacy Private 4 Pharmacy Gov 1 Health Centers 7 HIV Center (No	Water Yards : Wells 38 10 Pools	Agriculture Rainy	Infrastructure asphalt Roads (No) Bridges (No)	Livestock 250000
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Fulla Locality

Education Services Basic School	Health Services Hospitals 1	Water Yards : Wheels 17 Pools 2	Agriculture Rainy Irrigation	Infrastructure No asphalt Road	Livestock 32000
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<p>23</p> <p>Students 7000</p> <p>Teachers 76</p> <p>Seco School 3</p>	<p>Pharmacy</p> <p>Private 2</p> <p>Pharmacy Gov</p> <p>2</p> <p>Health Centers</p> <p>5</p> <p>HIV Center</p> <p>(No)</p>			<p>No Bridges</p>	
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