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# THE SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATION OF THE SUDANESE CONFLICT 2003-2011

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#### Abstract

Conflict in many African countries over the years has led to many unresolved political and socio-economic problems. However, the study extensively looks into the economic and socio-political implications of Sudanese skirmishes that erupted in 2003. The study argues that the major factors that led to the conflict is the imposition of sharia on the country and marginalization of South Sudan. The egregious crisis devastates the socio-economic life of the people, while millions were displaced from their homes. Politically, the study points out that the conflicts ended the marginalization of South Sudan because of her independence. The research employs historical and interpretative methods. Secondly sources in the form of books and other relevant secondary sources like, journal articles were also used. Oral interviews and internet sources also contributed to the research immensely. Due to the lingering skirmishes that keep on resulting. The research recommends that the two countries should accommodates the cultural, religious and developmental differences within the objective of one indivisible nature. In other to ensure lasting political stability and economic development. There should be respect for individual and community rights, justice, fair play, equity, transparency and high degree of public morality.

#### Introduction

Many African countries have fallen victim to political unrest and civil wars for various reasons throughout their development. Most of these reasons for civil unrest include the fight for resources, colonization, corruption and foreign influence. These disastrous armed conflicts that have caused catastrophic breakdown of law and order and opened the floodgate of social dislocation, hunger and famine.

Conflict and its consequences are among the top factors that have inhibited a number of African countries from achieving their aspirations to peace, security and socio-economic development. Countries emerging from conflict are over- burdened with complex problems, including political instability, insecurity of lives and property, human rights violation, reconciliation, re-integration and re-habilitation of displaced populations and socio-economic challenges which include unemployment, corruption and poverty. Over the years, these challenges have constituted a sore on the national life of many African states, as well as threatened their very existence. During the four decades between the 1960s and the 1990s, there have been about 80 violent changes of governments in the 48 sub-Saharan African countries.<sup>1</sup>

The conflict, which broke out in Darfur in the Sudan in 2003, has so far displaced nearly two million people and caused an estimated 400,000 deaths.<sup>2</sup> It was a guerrilla conflict which goes back to land disputes between semi-nomadic livestock herders and those who practise sedentary agriculture.<sup>3</sup> In 1991, the elders of the Zaghawa people of the Sudan had complained that they were victims of an intensifying Arab apartheid campaign.<sup>4</sup> The Arabs, who control the government, are widely referred to as practising apartheid against Sudanese non-Arab citizens. An American economist, George Ayittey, sometime ago accused the Arab government of practising apartheid against the black citizens. According to Ayittey, "In the Sudan… the Arabs monopolized power and excluded the blacks".<sup>5</sup> The Northern part of the Sudan, which has held power since independence in 1956, has always believed that Sudan is an Arab country.<sup>6</sup> It is on this premise that the North decided to forcefully impose Islamic culture and Arabic way of life on all Sudanese people regardless of race and religion.<sup>7</sup>

At the beginning of the new millennium, there were 18 countries facing armed rebellion, 11 facing severe political crises and 19 enjoying more or less various states of stable political condition.<sup>8</sup>

### **Theoretical Frame Work**

The study adopted Darwinist conflict theory. It explains conflict in terms of survival of the fittest. The theory states that society is socially constructed by individuals who are constrained by the material conditions of human environments.<sup>9</sup> The generalization is that struggle and conflict are inevitable as man struggle for the limited available food resources for survival. Like all other species, humans are organisms that have been built by millions of years of biological evolution, both in their anatomy/physiology and their behavioural predispositions. In the struggle for survival and reproduction, humans give overwhelming priority to their own selfish interests and to those of their kin, especially their close kin. The resources that humans struggle for, which allow them to survive and prosper, are in short supply. This means that humans are caught up in a struggle for survival and reproduction with their fellow humans. This struggle is inevitable and unceasing.<sup>10</sup> In their pursuit of resources and closely related activities, humans, like other species, have evolved to maximize efficiency. Other things being equal, they prefer to carry out activities by minimizing the amount of time and energy they devote to these activities.

#### **Background to the Conflict**

Although, it has been contended that the conflict began as a localized civil war in 1997 (graduating as a full-blown civil strife in 2003).<sup>11</sup> We may recall that in the ancient times, Northern Sudan was known as Nubia.<sup>12</sup> At the time, each of the kingdoms in Sudan was, culturally, economically, militarily and politically strong. The Kushite kingdom as it was called competed with ancient Egypt to the extent that in ancient Egyptian history, the king of Napata conquered and unified Egypt itself as the Pharaoh of the twenty first- century dynasty. In the Sudan, there is a conglomeration of various ethnic groups which are Arab-Africans and Black Africans. It is a pluralistic society with religious and ethnic groups. The Sudanese State has two distinct regions with hundreds of ethnic groups which make effective collaboration a major problem. In this chapter therefore an examination of the causes of the Sudanese conflict is carried out.

## **Causes of Intra-State Conflict in The Sudan**

Sudan has been at war for half a century. The major issue regarding the causes of the intrastate conflicts is centred on cultural imperialism, marginalization of the South by the North and religious intolerance.

The northern part of the Sudan, which has held power since independence, has always believed that Sudan is an Islamic State. It is this belief that led to the imposition of Islamic culture and Arabic way of life on all Sudanese people, irrespective of the ethnic groups and religions. In 1983, President Gaafar Nimery imposed sharia law on the whole of the Sudan.<sup>13</sup> His response to the growing discontent among the workers and peasants at the time was in the form of repression and oppression, these included amputation and hanging as a penalty for varieties of alleged crimes.<sup>14</sup> We may further examine the causes of the conflict under the following:

**Lack of Power Sharing Formula:** The unequal distribution of political positions between the North and the South is considered one of the sources of the friction between the two regions. The past governments in Khartoum is said to have signed too many agreements with the South, but the agreements were allegedly broken and dishonoured. These governments made no concrete attempts to adequately incorporate the South into the mainstream of political power.<sup>15</sup>

The outcome of the absence of the implementation of the peace deal of 1997 (which talked about power and wealth sharing) led to the formation of the South Sudan Independence Movement (SSIM) organised and led by Rick Machor. Much later, the movement transformed into the United Democratic Salvation Front (UDSF).<sup>16</sup> The agreement in question stipulates that participation shall be based on values of efficiency, qualifications, honesty, justice and equality amongst all citizens without discrimination.<sup>17</sup> Commenting on the issue of lack of power sharing formula, Muhammed Ishah, has observed that " many southerners were exempted in certain key ministries, which include Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Office of Foreign Trade"<sup>18</sup>. It may be necessary to note that for these years, no southerners were appointed as a secretary in any ministry. Even the National Salvation Front (NSF) failed to provide an avenue for political power sharing.<sup>19</sup>

**Colonial Legacy:** It has been contended that the British that ruled the Sudan with Egypt handed power to the Arabs, on their departure. British rule in the Sudan was unfriendly to the people of South Sudan. On their part the Arab, the Muslim North, and the Christian South were

administered separately as a result of acute racial, geographical, political and socio-cultural distinction between the two regions of the Sudan.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, in order to ensure the effectiveness of separate administration, the British imperial regime enacted the "closed district ordinance act of 1920 and promulgated the passport and permit ordinance Act in 1922.<sup>21</sup> In essence, these ordinances strictly charted the course for complete separation in educational, socio-economic and political developments which required strict code on passport and permits for travelling between the North and the South. This development was further consolidated by the issuance of passports and permits to the Arab and Muslim traders from the North to carry on trade in the South.<sup>22</sup> During the era of British rule, Southern Sudanese were denied equal rights. Thus, the Southerners were left with many questions unanswered.

**Inequality in the Distribution of Infrastructure and Development:** In terms of natural resources the South Sudan is one of the richest and the most fertile areas on the Nile Valley. It is rich in oil, raw materials, mineral resources and agricultural resources. The Sudanese Peace Agreement clearly states that the federal government shall observe the following for the purpose of distribution of national revenue among the states and for the selection of major projects: giving of priority to the less developed states and war ravaged Southern Sudanese States; economic feasibility of projects and their efficient function and effects of cost benefit analysis for the project in the attainment of self- sufficiency, in the basic needs of the country.<sup>23</sup>

The agreement also stipulates that in the case of rehabilitation of war-affected areas, the federal government, in conjunction with the coordinating council, shall work to generate and solicit loans, and granting of aid from foreign governments and non-governmental organisations in order to rehabilitate the socio- economic infrastructure which ceased to operate or got damaged as a result of the civil war.<sup>24</sup> In the view of Geba Senso, the Southerners were neglected almost in all ramifications. He further observes that the Northerners did not place premium on the development of the Southern Sudan.<sup>25</sup>

Most importantly, the peace agreement in the Sudan also empowered the coordinating council to conduct international agreements on culture and trades including the procurement of foreign capital investment and development assistance from governmental and non-governmental organisations in cooperation with the Sudanese federal government.<sup>26</sup> It was thus the failure to keep the agreement that led to animosity between the South and the North.

**Imposition of Sharia on the People of the Southern Sudan:** In accordance with Islamic law, most Sudanese Muslims do not eat pork. Usury is also forbidden by Islamic law, but Islamic banks have also developed other ways of making money available to the public. In the Sudan, civil and commercial law generally prevailed. In the North, sharia law was used to govern the country. It was usually called family and personal law, and this was used in matters such as marriage, divorce and inheritance.<sup>27</sup>

Sergeant Adam Mijautahau has observed that "the imposition of sharia law on the people of southern Sudan by Nimeiry led to the Sudanese conflict".<sup>28</sup> In September 1983, Gaafar Nimeiry imposed sharia law throughout the land. He eliminated the civil and penal code which had been governing the country since the beginning of the twentieth- century. It also resulted in protests which led to the death of many persons, while several others were injured. According to R. Unechue, "the Upper Nile province in the South and villages were attacked by the Sudanese air force, which led to the death of over 800 civilians in 1983.<sup>29</sup>

No doubt, the policy of Arabization and Islamization of the Sudan remained a sore taste in the country's politics and economy. For instance the change in the day of worship from Sunday to Friday by Abbound was another factor that shook the country's foundation. He also nationalised missionary schools in the South, as well as introduced the Arabic language. He further forced students, civil servants and chiefs to change their English names to Arabic names.

Lack of Wealth Sharing: In the past wealth sharing has always been an issue of debate.<sup>30</sup> The Sudanese peace agreement states that the federal government shall lay down a comprehensive economic and social plan in order to bridge the gap between the South and the North. It was agreed, that there should be parity in the provision of security, employment, clean water, food, education, health and housing.<sup>31</sup>

It is unfortunate that none of the aforementioned promises was implemented. Professor Ali Abadalla Ali has observed that "the government of the Sudan [Khartoum] concentrated on the already developed North, leaving the rest of the country (the South) behind."<sup>32</sup> The only major economic development project that was said to have been undertaken in the South was the development of oil extraction in Benitin and Unity States.<sup>33</sup> Yet, this did not contribute adequately to the development of the regions.<sup>34</sup> Ibrahim Oman has observed "that since independence, numerous systems of government had witnessed financial resources, but they were not used judiciously".<sup>35</sup> This is because most of the regions in the South were still having dilapidated infrastructure and bad network of roads.

Perhaps, the best way to better appreciate the height of hypocrisy and insincerity in the old Sudan is through an examination of what the situation was at independence vis-a-vis employment opportunities. Of the eight hundred jobs left by the British and Egyptian officials on their departure at independence in 1956, it was only eight places that were allegedly allocated to the southerners.<sup>36</sup> This disparity was probably one of the causes of the conflicts. In an interview conducted Adams Martins one of the army personnel notes that the war resulted as a result of inequality in the sharing of power between the North and the South.<sup>37</sup>

## The Impact of the Sudanese Conflict

The economic and socio-political impact of the conflict can hardly be overemphasized. The human and economic costs of the conflict are said to be horrific. It has been argued that many villages were reportedly destroyed in the course of the conflict. Massive number of villages, including men and women, were killed in Khartoum. Sequel to this, the UN World Food Programme estimated that 3.5 million Darfurians, more than the half pre-war population needed international food assistance.<sup>38</sup>

The crises forced a lot students out of school. Many homes and villages were completely destroyed. On a far end, about 2.5 million people were displaced.<sup>39</sup> The displaced people left their jobs and their businesses. As a result of the conflict, a referendum took place in South Sudan between 9<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> January, 2011, on whether the region should remain as a part of the Sudan or become independent.<sup>40</sup> The outcome of the referendum was the granting of independence to the Southern part of the Sudan on July 9, 2011, with its capital in Juba.

## The Economic Impact of Sudan After The Conflict

The economy of Sudan at the end of the conflict was retarded due to a lot of damage that were wrought in the country. During the conflict, many establishments, especially in the Darfur area,

were destroyed. Neighbouring countries such as Chad, Libya, and the Central African Republic according to a source found it difficult to invest in Sudan.<sup>41</sup> The unwillingness of the people to return to their farms resulted in low agricultural output. This has contributed in the reduction in the exportation of sugar.<sup>42</sup>

The US government generally restricted foreign aids probably because Sudan was found, by the Secretary of State, to be a supporter of acts of international terrorism, operating under a military dictatorship. It also suspended bilateral preferential trade relations, commercial exports to the country. It denied Sudan the export of defense articles and defense services.<sup>43</sup>

Also, during the strife, many workers of the White Nile sugar company withdrew, and their withdrawal affected the exportation of sugar to other countries. In the Sudan, sugar is one of the most widely- consumed commodities by ordinary citizens. The trading network and entrepreneurship of Darfurian traders are legendary and have long been the source of Sudanese most important exports of agricultural products, including sugar, groundnut and livestock.<sup>44</sup>

At present, Sudan is known to be bleeding economically. It is rated among the least in terms of economic growth. An intelligence report unit estimates that Sudanese economy has shrunk to a large extent. According to it, the country lost about 75 per cent of its oil revenue during the war.<sup>45</sup> Sudanese economic crisis has led to inflation and reduction in the country's currency value. The crisis has further increased the poverty rate and also led to high cost of living in the country.

**High Poverty Rate in Sudan Increased:** According to the 2011 Human Development Report, Sudan is ranked as the 169th poorest country among 177 states.<sup>46</sup> The major segment of the country hit by poverty are people living in the rural areas, particularly women and internally displaced people. Due to the high poverty rate in the country, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has intervened by supporting the rural areas in poverty reduction.<sup>47</sup>

Commenting on the Sudanese poverty rate, Sergeant Saidu Lada observed that "the conflict left many Sudanese in poverty, because, many of the Sudanese villages and farm orchards were burnt."<sup>48</sup> At present, Sudan is below poverty line. There has ever since been a serious gap in the food aid, health, nutrition, shelter, hygiene, sanitation and other necessities on which 4.7 million residents of Darfur are largely dependent, with the expulsion of 12 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) by the Sudanese government. The result of this government action was the issuance of warrant of arrest on President Omar al Bashir by the International Criminal Court(ICC) in 2009.<sup>49</sup>

## The Impact of The Conflict in Some Sudanese Companies

The Kenana Sugar Company in the Sudan was affected by the civil strife, because a lot of sugar plantations saddled with the production of raw materials were burnt and destroyed in the course of the conflict.<sup>50</sup> As a result of this, there occurred a reduction in sugar production. What really happened was that when the war broke out, company workers abandoned their jobs and fled to refugee camps for the safety of their lives.

Sudan is reputed as the greatest producer of Arabic gum which is extracted from the Senegalese acacia trees. Its production covers 80 per cent of the world's consumption.<sup>51</sup> The production of Arabic gum has somehow reduced because some of the acacia trees were burnt during the conflict.

The Sudanese oil companies were affected by the war because many extraction facilities and oil pipe lines were blasted by the troops. The result was a reduction of crude oil production.<sup>52</sup> Some of the refineries in the Port Sudan, Eloled and Abu Gabra were also affected by the conflict because some of the indigenous workers and the expatriates stopped work as soon as the conflict extended to the regions where the refineries were located.<sup>53</sup>

## The Impact of the Conflict on Agricultural Sector

In respect of agriculture, it has been argued that the major economic activity of the Sudanese people, has reduced. The principal food crops in the country are sorghum and millet, while the cash crops are cotton, groundnut, sesame and Arabic gum. The main animal wealth comes from cattle, sheep, goats camels, and others.<sup>54</sup>

However, the conflict has affected the agricultural production. This is because many farm orchards and crops were damaged by bombs. In the course of the conflict, there was a drastic decrease in livestock population, which stemmed from migration of herders to the safest areas. Some owners lost a whole herd; others migrated with their herds to town boundaries and even camps, where they faced difficulties in accessing good pasture. In some other cases, some entered secure towns and settled in temporary houses or camps. Their animals were in some cases kept loose sometimes resulting in most of them being looted, by thieves or armed robbers.<sup>55</sup> Commenting on this development, P. Simpkin observed that "apart from being killed or wounded by bullets, bombs and landmines, livestock are often stolen or slaughtered by different militias or raiders, or left to wander without herdsmen or killed by wild animal." <sup>56</sup>A lot of the cattle were killed as a result of scarcity of water and lack of good arable land.

In Fargal, a village in Southern Kordofan, almost all the farm orchards were burnt. The villages were fired heavily through the use of various kinds of weapons, which completely destroyed the town. As a result, villagers left their farms and their businesses taking refuge in mountains, forests and valleys.<sup>57</sup>

## **Economic Impact of the Conflict on South Sudan**

South Sudan became an independent state on July 9, 2011.<sup>58</sup> South Sudan exports timber to the international market. The region also possesses huge natural resources such as petroleum, iron ore, copper, chromium ore, zinc, tungsten, mica, silver, gold, diamond, hardwoods, limestone and hydropower.<sup>59</sup> The country's economy is heavily dependent on agriculture.

Before the conflict that led to her independence, the oil fields in the South had kept the region's economy alive since 1999. But, after Southern Sudan gained independence, Southern and Northern negotiators were not immediately able to reach an agreement on how to split the revenue from the southern oilfield. As a result of this development, South Sudan lost half of her oil field to the Northern Sudan.<sup>60</sup> Oil revenue is said to constitutes more than 98% of the government's annual budget according to the Southern government Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. This has amounted to more than 8 billion US dollar in revenue, since the signing of the peace agreement.<sup>61</sup>

Moreover, there are poor human capital developments in the South. The economy of this new state basically relies on oil. The major challenge confronting the new state is how to develop its economy. At present, the region remains one of the poorest in the world. After the independence of South Sudan in 2011, Northern Sudan lost about 75 per cent of her resources to South Sudan. This was because the basic natural resources are owned by the Southern Sudan.<sup>62</sup>

At present, South Sudan appears to be facing severe economic hardship. For instance over 65 per cent of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture. Commercialized farming is limited to certain areas, while poor transportation network and frequent fuel shortages persist.

## **Social Implication of the Conflict**

On the social plank, the strife has resulted in the death of tens of thousands of people, malnutrition, and mass exodus of South Sudanese people into the neighbouring countries. Also, thousands of students stopped going to school due to migration and lack of proper settlement.<sup>63</sup>

Many women were raped in the torrent of violence that forced them to flee their villages. Sudanese security forces, including the police deployed to protect internally displaced people, were reportedly implicated in the acts of rape and sexual violence.<sup>64</sup> In respect of displacement, statistics shows that many Sudanese left their homes due to damage that was wrought on their homes. It has been estimated that about 200,000 people in the Sudan escaped to Chad where they lived in the camps.<sup>65</sup> Many camped in the desolate areas near the city of Abeche, where the temperature frequently exceeded 100 degrees Fahrenheit.<sup>66</sup> Reports have it that many persons in the Sudan became wanderers. It was estimated that about 1.5 million people became homeless in the Western Sudan region.<sup>67</sup> In another account, it was estimated that about 2.7 million people were displaced from their homes, making them become refugees in Darfur major towns.<sup>68</sup>

Also, according to Sudanese authority, the conflict claimed a death toll of roughly 19,500 civilians.<sup>69</sup> The coalition for International Justice claims that over 400,000 people died in the course of the conflict.<sup>70</sup> In September 2004, for instance, the World Health Organisation estimated that more than 50,000 people in Darfur alone lost their lives, on account of starvation.<sup>71</sup> The UN agency report may be helpful to us. According to report released in March 2005 by the UN Emergency Relief Coordinator, Jan Egeland, about 10,000 people died every day due to ethnic violence.<sup>72</sup>

#### **Political Impact of the Conflict**

The Sudanese conflict has given rise to both negative and positive political effects on the country. The long-term effect has led to the division of the country into two parts. The situation also gave South Sudan freedom from the political marginalization and oppression of the North.

While the war lasted and souls perished, it became obvious that one single alternative to end it and thereby bring a permanent solution to the protracted problem was a division of the country into two political regions. As a result, arrangement began to be made for this. A referendum was thus held from 9th to 15th January, 2011, to determine if South Sudan would attain its independence from Sudan. In the referendum, 98.83% of the population voted for independence.<sup>73</sup> Those living in the North and South Sudanese overseas also voted for their independence in the referendum. Sudanese officials had said, throughout the campaign, that regardless of their pro-unity or pro-separatist stance, the ultimate aim was a peaceful transition.<sup>74</sup> On 30th January, 2011, the result of the referendum was released, which favoured the separation of the South Sudan from Northern Sudan. Following this, on 9th July, 2011 South Sudan became a sovereign nation.<sup>75</sup> Vice President Salva Kiir Mayardit had acknowledged that the administration had failed to deliver "the dividends of peace" and noted that a campaign to confiscate arms was a solution to maintaining stability in the country.<sup>76</sup>

Furthermore, it has been pointed out that, the many years of political marginalization of the South Sudan ceased following its separation from the North. South Sudan is known to be endowed with human and natural resources, but has been marginalized almost in all areas. The peripheral region of Darfur and the South remain particularly neglected and underdeveloped. The separation on 9th July, 2011, has made the South to control about 80 per cent of the Sudanese current oil production of 490,000 barrels a day.<sup>77</sup> The South should, however, go beyond the

control, but to think of developing the expertise for the exploration of the resources for the welfare of its citizenry. Otherwise, its long years of poverty at the hands of the North may remain perpetual. This, perhaps, is a challenge to its political leadership.

#### Conclusion

The occurrences in the Sudan during the period in question have shown that civil strife in any country could generate into sub-regional or regional tensions. The secession bid of the South Sudan, is rooted deeply in religious, economic, and political issues pertaining to national inclusion, identity question, power sharing, and matters of faith. It is imperative to infer from the study that the strife in the Sudan was generated by the dynamics inherent in colonial socioeconomic and political evolution of Sudanese states. The Northern Sudan being predominantly Muslims and Arabs were much more empowered with economic resources and leadership positions in the post-colonial Sudan. That is to say that the ex-colonialists bequeathed the mantle of leadership to the Northern Muslim elements in the Sudan. On the other hand, the South Sudan is predominantly inhabited Christians and black Africans, who are much less empowered in the political economy of the country. Hence, there abounds the continuous history of struggle for dominance and survival. Without an iota of doubt the secession war in the Sudan, which finally saw the emergence of South Sudan as an independent country, was largely occasioned by economic and political marginalization, religious intolerance inherent in the Sudanese politic. The crisis has however resulted in the displacement and death of hundreds of thousands of people across the Sudan. The oil politics around the border adjoining the North and the South has also created serious tensions that have come to outline the dynamics that surrounded the crisis in the first place. Therefore, that the South Sudan is an independent sovereign entity outside the parent Sudan does not seem to remove the fact that tensions capable of reviving old animosities has gone.

It is the idea of this study that the extent of the political strife and the war the country saw have created economic problems for other African countries in the sub-region. Refugee problem as a result of the crises, created economic and social burden for Sudan neighbouring countries like Chad, Niger, Ethiopia, and Somalia, even Congo. Away from this circles, the question of food crisis and drought were heightened as the war continued in the Sudanese society.

#### Recommendations

It is unfortunate to mention that, despite the independence of South Sudan that conflict continues to occur to some extent between the two countries. To avoid further skirmishes concrete dialogue and communication should continue between the two countries in order to ensure lasting peace.

All recovery and development programmes should be oriented to the needs and priorities of the people of the two countries. This will result in more equitable distribution of public resources in other to reduce poverty and promote the emergence of a strong private sector.

High premium should be place on investment in social and physical infrastructures that will help rejuvenate livelihoods lost during the war and promote economic growth. With this the economic wounds of the two states will be healed and as well turn to a new economic leaf.

Since the two countries are multiethnic and multi religious. The cultural, religious and developmental differences should be accommodated within the objective of one indivisible nation and an integrated development that would ensure the involvement and participation of the two countries with the aim of fostering social justice and protect fundamental human rights.

In addition, the appointment and recruitment to all central government services, in South Sudan and Sudan, such as the military, police, diplomatic corps, civil service, and professionals groups should reflect the federal character of the nations. This to some extent will solve the problem of marginalization and nepotism which contributed to the crises.

Without an iota of doubt the two countries had undoubtedly witnessed serious devastation as a result of the conflict. However, international communities should come to their aid for the reconstruction and socio-economic development, especially in the more neglected and war ravaged areas of the countries.

In other to ensure lasting political stability and economic development. They should be respect for individual and community rights, justice, fair-play, equity, transparency and high degree of public morality. Also the two countries should create a society that would bring about sheer religious tolerance and democracy which allow freedom of worship, freedom of expression and rights to life, and so on.

Since the two countries are yet to enjoy lasting peace, international community should set up a reconciliation committee that will bring the two countries top leaders together with the aim of settling their grievances. However, they should also see how to provide socio-economic amenities such as good roads, electricity, pipe-borne water, and others, for the two countries, especially in the war ravaged areas.

As a result of the devastation the countries witnessed. The policy of rehabilitation should be place in high premium. This policy will facilitate the renovation of many of these cities and villages that were affected by the crises.

Finally, the two countries should embrace peaceful means of settling any matter that would arise in the future. The use of violence in resolving issue should be discouraged, as this would cause further crises.

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