



The 2015 RVI Sudan and South Sudan Field Course takes stock eighteen months after a devastating civil war began in South Sudan and in the wake of controversial elections in Sudan and ongoing insurgencies. The course confronts the stark trade off between aspirations for transformative change and basic demands for stability and security facing citizens in both countries. In South Sudan, political enmities, the war economy and ethnic antagonisms have spread and worsened. Despite regional and international pressures, any meaningful peace deal has proven elusive. In Sudan, the ruling National Congress Party (NCP), by creating and exploiting political rivalries and patronage opportunities, maintains stability and seems in casual control of power. The April 2015 elections, played off against peace talks and a 'national dialogue' that never began, were once again an opportunity, not a threat, for a regime that masters the art of politics. To make sense of current dynamics, this year's Sudan and South Sudan Course, held from 11 to 17 July in Kenya, examines key themes of society, economy and politics in both countries, in their near and distant past.

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RVI Sudan and South Sudan Course 2015

Syllabus Summary

- DAY 1 The State: Fragile or formidable?
- DAY 2 Peoples, Culture, Identity and Belief
- DAY 3 Governance, Political Control and Resistance
- DAY 4 Political Economy: Livelihoods, resources, geopolitics
- DAY 5 Learning from Experience?
- DAY 6 Futures

Please see the following pages for more details

Confirmed teachers

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|------------------------|----------------------|
| Sharath Srinivasan PhD | Aly Verjee |
| Jok Madut Jok PhD | Dan Large PhD |
| John Ryle | David Deng |
| Douglas Johnson PhD | Joanna Oyediran |
| Laura James PhD | Nada Mustafa Ali PhD |
| Suliman Baldo PhD | Cherry Leonardi PhD |
| Magdi el Gizouli | Guma Kunda Komey PhD |
| Eddie Thomas PhD | Yousif Takana PhD |

Rift Valley Institute Field Courses, now in their twelfth year, offer a unique opportunity to spend an intensive week with an outstanding group of experts and fellow participants, away from routine distractions. Taught by teams of leading regional and international specialists, the courses provide the basis for an understanding of current political and developmental challenges in Eastern and Central Africa. The dawn-to-dusk programme of seminars, lectures, group discussions and special events examines key environmental, political and cultural features of three sub-regions, contextualizing contemporary problems. The courses are designed for policy-makers, diplomats, investors, development workers, researchers, activists and journalists—for new arrivals to the region and those already working there who wish to deepen their understanding.

Note: The syllabus may be subject to change.



DAY 0

Registration and Introductions

The evening of arrival is an opportunity for participants and teachers to meet and get to know each other.

16.00 – 17.00 *Registration*

17.00 – 19.00 *Welcome and Introduction*

Introduction to RVI

Health and security

Hotel facilities

Classwork and timetable

Participant groups and their meanings

Staff and participant introductions

Half hour in groups: Why are we here & what is the history of our organizations in Sudan and South Sudan?

19.00 – 20.00 *Dinner*

20.00 – 21.00 *Sudans Quiz*



The first day of the Course considers the idea of the state itself: the way it has been created, the political culture which has developed around it, and the way it has driven conflict. Participants are encouraged to discuss the ways in which conflicts in Sudan have been explained as being driven by the state. How far should these arguments be accepted, and what, if anything, do they imply for those involved in seeking to mediate or resolve conflict?

8.30 – 8.45 *Introduction* **Knowledge as a basis for action**

8.45 – 10.00 *Lecture* **A historical problem? The Sudanese state**

This lecture discusses the history of the modern Sudanese state, in Sudan and South Sudan. It explores three alternative ways in which the state has been identified as the key to understanding the persistence of violent conflict. The lecture suggests that these competing interpretations drive different political programmes. These programmes, notwithstanding the state's history of fomenting violence, have usually seen the state as the solution.

10.00 – 10.30 *Tea and Coffee*

10.30 – 11.30 *Panel* **South Sudan: state formation or collapse?**

Is South Sudan's civil war best explained by legacies of state power inherited from Sudan? Or do the war's legacies and particular features of the SPLA/M and its transition shed the most light on the reasons for rebellion? How much responsibility lies with how peace was made under the CPA? Three speakers present and debate different explanations for the enduring crisis, followed by responses and wider discussion.

11.30 – 12.30 *Lecture* **Does Sudan 'work'? Explaining a quarter century of NCP state-building**

The era of National Congress Party rule in Sudan has, other considerations aside, produced some notable successes in building a functioning state. What kind of state has it sought to build, and how has it managed to achieve this? Is failure and fragility in Sudan's peripheries an accepted cost for the ruling elite? This lecture provides a critical but realistic assessment.

12.30 – 14.00 *Lunch*

14.00 – 15.00 *Break-out groups*

Four groups, led by short introductory remarks • *Is the South Sudanese state too weak or too strong?* • *The role of the state in Darfur's conflicts* • *The Sudanese state before and after the NIF coup* • *The state and civil wars since the 1960s*

15.00 – 15.30 *Tea and Coffee*

15.30 – 17.00 *Panel* **State of war? Sudan, 1956-2011**

Through discussion of a series of conflicts in southern (now South) Sudan, Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile and eastern Sudan, this panel asks why these conflicts arose, how they were connected, and why they proved to be so persistent. What best explains this long history of wars? Predation, neglect or manipulation?

17.00 – 18.00 *Panel*

Regional relations

A panel on regional relations, focused on conflict complexes and Sudan and South Sudan's place with them • *Egypt, Middle East* • *Libya, Chad, CAR* • *Ethiopia and Eritrea* • *Uganda and Kenya*

18.00 – 20.00 *Dinner*

Evening

Film

'Sudan's Secret War' (1972) by Allan Reed

Film

'The Price of Survival' (1994) by John Ryle and Bapiny Tim Chol



DAY 2

Peoples, Culture, Identity and Belief

This day deepens our understanding of society and politics in the Sudans through knowledge of their diverse peoples: their common worlds and belongings, and their relations with others. Complexity and change—not neat and fixed categories—characterise society and culture, and evolving social organisation lies at the heart of political life. Participants are encouraged to pursue these connections, whilst appreciating the virtue of better knowing the peoples of the Sudans for its own sake.

8.00 – 8.30 *Introduction* **Classifying and categorising, and its problems and Feedback**

8.30 – 10.00 *Lecture* **Social geography in Sudan and South Sudan: identity, place and movement**

The multiple kinds of identity which co-exist in diverse geographies in the Sudans; identities that may be mutually supportive or the source of conflict.

10.00 – 10.30 *Tea and Coffee*

10.30 – 12.30 *Panels* **Inter-ethnic relations: conflict and cooperation, continuity and change (i) South Sudan; (ii) Sudan**

Two consecutive panels explore inter-ethnic relations in both Sudans in historical and contemporary perspective, and their relation to politics. These relations incorporate shifting ethnic identities and memories of enmity; violence and co-dependence; political allegiance and mutual suspicion. Short presentations focus on specific cases that illuminate broader themes • *Murle-Nuer relations* • *Dinka-Nuer relations* • *Nuba-Baggara relations* • *Fur-Baggara relations*

12.30 – 14.00 *Lunch*

14.00 – 15.15 *Lecture* **Belief in the Sudans**

This lecture explores how discrete systems of belief have been forged out of the diverse landscape of Sudanese and South Sudanese religious practices. It reflects upon how the process of taxonomizing religions has the potential to harden boundaries between peoples once far more porous, and the roles played by colonial powers, post-colonial bureaucracies, religious leaders and lay believers alike in shaping faith.

15.15 – 15.45 *Tea and Coffee*

15.45 – 17.00 *Panel* **Gender, Society and Politics**

This panel, with two short lectures, examines how gender mediates the causes and effects of political instability in Sudan and South Sudan.

17.00 – 18.00 *Break-out groups*

Three groups, led by short case-study presentations • *Shifts in inter-ethnic relations during Darfur's conflict* • *Islam in Sudan and South Sudan* • *Prophets and prophecy in South Sudan* • *The many lives of women in Sudan and South Sudan*

18.00 – 20.00 *Dinner*

20.00 – 21.00 *In conversation* **Everyday beliefs**



Day 3 examines politics and authority in both countries. Participants are encouraged to critically evaluate the extent to which violence dominates to the exclusion of civil politics. Often against a backdrop of coercion, everyday experiences of authority and justice play out and different actors—at different levels—vie with each other over power and resources. With an understanding of how politics is practiced, what hope is there for multi-party democracy?

8.00 – 8.30 *Feedback and Introduction*

8.30 – 10.30 *Panels* **Coercion and resistance: state and non-state actors**

This panel considers how political control by the state and violent resistance are closely related. The mosaic of actors and their clandestine practices warrant comparative analysis • *SAF, NISS and the PDF in Sudan* • *Non-state armed groups in Sudan* • *The SPLA, state and non-state security actors in South Sudan*

10.30 – 11.00 *Tea and Coffee*

11.00 – 12.30 *Panel* **Government, representation and conflict outside the capital cities**

This panel looks in more detail at the nature of state authority at a very local level, and considers how the state mediates or exacerbates conflict through local interventions • *Traditional authority, local government and justice in South Sudan (Cherry)* • *The governor's dilemma* • *The invention of traditional authority in Darfur* • *Government and conflict in Jonglei*

12.30 – 14.00 *Lunch*

14.00 – 15.30 *Short lectures* **Authoritarian rule and multi-party politics in the Sudans**

In effect, power has not changed hands in Sudan or South Sudan for over a quarter-century—nor has there been chance for it to—through credible civil processes. Does it make sense to talk about political parties and democratic pluralism? Is the real politics going on within the ruling parties and negotiations with armed groups? • *Shifting inter and intra party politics in Sudan* • *The SPLM crisis and its implications for South Sudan's politics*

15.30 – 16.00 *Tea and Coffee*

16.00 – 17.30 *Lectures* **Civil society in Sudan and South Sudan since the CPA**

Civil society is seen as a counter to authoritarian rule, weak party politics and the violent devastation of resistance, but is its promise achievable? Looking back, what are the successes and failures of over a decade of civil society development in Sudan and South Sudan? These two lectures reflect on experience and also address forms of civil society often overlooked by the conventional wisdom of outside interveners.

17.30 – 18.30 *Break-out groups*

A choice of breakout groups • *Armed groups at the border between the Sudans* • *Authority at state level in Darfur and South Kordofan* • *Women and civil society in Sudan and South Sudan* • *Going to court in South Sudan*

18.30 – 20.00 *Dinner*

20.00 – 21.00 *Social life of things*

An evening exploring the cultural significance of everyday objects in the Sudans.



Resources invariably feature in conflict and contestation in the Sudans. Yet social and political forces, not resources themselves, cause conflict. Resources and land, though often fixed in place, are always changing in value as people move, borders are drawn or industrial technologies advance. This day examines these dynamics at different scales, from the local and national to the regional.

8.00 – 8.30 *Feedback and Introduction*

8.30 – 10.30 *Excursion (TBC)*

10.30 – 12.30 *Lecture*

The changing economies of Sudan and South Sudan

A survey of the economies of the two Sudans. Special attention will be paid to the nature and future of the oil industry in its economic context, examining the importance of oil to the state and to everyday economic activity.

12.30 – 14.00 *Lunch*

14.00 – 16.00 *Panel*

Resources, livelihoods and land

The need to control access to land, water, pasture, livestock, wildlife and oil often involves attempts by the State and by groups to control others. The panel will include short presentations on the following topics • *South Sudan: An economic history* • *Cattle and crops, grazing and water in Darfur* • *Land and livelihood in southern Kordofan* • *Who owns the land in South Sudan?*

16.00 – 16.30 *Tea and Coffee*

16.30 – 18.00 *Break-out groups*

Geopolitics of Sudan and South Sudan

A choice of breakout groups • *China and the Sudans* • *Geopolitics of oil and water* • *Sudan's neighbours* • *South Sudan's neighbours*

18.00 – 20.00 *Dinner*

20.00 – 21.15 *Evening lecture*

Assessing Naivasha's legacy for the Sudans



This day draws on the discussions of the first four days to consider the success—or lack of success—of multiple interventions that have been intended to improve wellbeing and governance, and reduce conflict in the Sudans. It will remind participants of the long history of such interventions, and the unintended consequences of some of them, and encourage discussion of possible reasons for some apparently recurrent failures.

8.00 – 8.30 *Feedback*

8.30 – 10.00 *Lecture* **A history of interventions**

This lecture gives a critical historical account of interventions in the Sudans—humanitarian, developmental, peace and otherwise—revealing deeper continuities below surface changes, the role of new global actors, and what lessons, if any, have been learnt.

10.00 – 10.30 *Tea and Coffee*

10.30 – 12.30 *Panel* **Why is it so hard to negotiate peace?**

‘North-South’ negotiations • The AUHIP, the two areas and ‘National Dialogue’ • The South Sudan mediation

12.30 – 14.00 *Lunch*

14.00 – 15.30 *Break-out groups*

A choice of breakout groups • *Humanitarian: Lessons from Operation Lifeline Sudan, and since* • *Peacemaking: Lessons from IGAD, AUHIP and Doha* • *Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding: Lessons from the south since the CPA* • *Development, Investment and Trade: Lessons from China and the non-West* • *Human Rights and Transitional Justice: Lessons from Sudan and South Sudan*

15.30 – 18.00 *Sporting event*

18.30 – 20.00 *Dinner*

20.00 – 21.00 *Discussion* **Where Sudanese and South Sudanese get their news**



The final day of the Course draws on the lessons of the previous days to ask a series of questions: what are the possible scenarios for political change within Sudan and South Sudan? What are the prospects for peaceful coexistence between the two states? And what are the most important things that those involved in interventions of all kinds—diplomatic, humanitarian, developmental, governance support—should be doing, or *not* be doing?

8.00 – 8.30 *Feedback and Introduction*

8.30 – 10.00 *Panel* **Current conflicts, future prospects**

Short panel presentations followed by wider discussion on the current status and immediate future prospects for the conflicts in both countries • *Introduction: same war(s)/different names?* • *Sudan* • *South Sudan*

10.00 – 10.30 *Tea and coffee*

10.30 – 12.30 *Panel* **Political change with or without democratic change?**

What are the prospects for Sudan's 'national dialogue' and the 2015 election? • *What kind of political settlement is realistic and workable in South Sudan?* • *What are the real prospects for political change?*

12.30 – 14.00 *Lunch*

14.00 – 15.00 *Conversation* **A bitter peace? Prospects for relations between Sudan and South Sudan**

15.00 – 15.30 *Tea and coffee, group photo*

15.30 – 16.30 *Seminar* **Specific questions in groups**

Seminar discussions, in groups, on governance, justice, economic development, security sector reform, and peace negotiations.

16.30 – 18.15 *Plenary* **What is to be done?**

Discussion with rapporteurs from each group.

18.15 – 20.00 *Cultural Event and Dinner*

Evening *Farewell party*