

“ The Dar Hamid Sons’ Union”
*Understanding Political Development Among
The Dar Hamid Agro-Pastoralists in North Kordofan, Sudan*



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Dar Hamid agro-pastoralists



Urban rural interaction in Dar Hamid area

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List of abbreviations

CSOs	civil society organizations
HAC	Humanitarian Affairs Commission
GDSU	General Dar Hamid Sons' union
ICC	International Criminal Court
NGOs	non-governmental organizations
NCP	National Congress Party
UDP	United Democratic Party
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement

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Chapter I

General Introduction

The main theme

In this thesis I explore the mobilization of a particular civil society organization among the Dar Hamid agro pastoralist people in northern Kordofan, western Sudan . The analysis is based upon information gathered from people living in the Dar Hamid homeland in northern Kordofan , and among Dar Hamid association elites in Khartoum. The fieldwork period was between June and December 2011.

The mobilization of civil society organizations in the Sudan has been and continues to be related to social change and to changes in political awareness among agro-pastoralist people. This is also the case for the Dar Hamid Sons Union. My discussion will therefore link the description and analysis of the start, organization and practices of the union with such changes in the Dar Hamid region in North Kordofan. I aim to show some of the ways in which the Dar Hamid Sons Union interpreted and negotiated the political and organizational spaces they found themselves in, including what their stated aims were, how they related to people at the grass-roots level, to local, regional and national levels of the government, and how in the process they were able to maintain and redefine the identity of their organization in changing political games and circumstances.

The important question here is to explore to what extent the Union is part of a development that signals an increasing political awareness and participation on the part of local Dar Hamid people, or whether the Union is part of the cooptation strategy carried out by the government, through which such unions are part of a government strategy of infiltrating what is called the civil society.

By applying an anthropological perspective, my research attempts to trace the organizational history of the Union, by looking into the narratives and discourses among the key members of the union relating to the motives behind the establishment of the union as well as its major aims. Also, I have tried to collect information that can elucidate

the various ways the Dar Hamid Sons Union relates to new identities emerging among the wider Dar Hamid population.

My work, then, is one of political anthropology, in that I try to explain how new groups of urban regional elites are evolving under new forms of regional and national political contexts, and how these elites may exploit this new space to pursue their aims. A major organizational tool in this quest for elite influence is the type of civil society union of which The Dar Hamid Sons Union is one.

The Dar Hamid Sons Union, in fact, emerged as a result of major changes both in their home areas in Dar Hamid as well as major political changes on a regional and national level in Sudan. The first type of change is related to the drought periods in the home region during the 1970s and 1980s, through which many families were forced to leave their agro-pastoral adaptations and move to the cities. These generations of Dar Hamid agro-pastoralists are the parent generation to the current elites that I am dealing with. Born in cities, in this case in Omdurman and Khartoum, the children of these poverty stricken Dar Hamid families got education and came to become part of an urban society in which political engagement was normal. When they came of age, some of these individuals got together to start the Dar Hamid Sons Union.

The study thus also tries to answer the question of how the urban based leaders of the Dar Hamid Sons Union try to develop a political identity that can be credible to local Dar Hamid people, and what kind of political messages were formulated that could allow local political support to emerge.

An important part of an answer to this is a negative one. The Union is not particularly linked with local issues in the Dar Hamid home communities, nor do local Dar Hamid people have much information about the organization. Furthermore, when it comes to the linkages between the Union and local political leaders, the so-called Native Administration, the situation is one of competition, in which the Union is regarded by local traditional leaders as a destabilizing factor in the political games in the region.

The objectives of the study

In order to discuss and provide some answer to some of the above points the study aims to:

- Describe and analyze the socio-economic transformations caused by ecological and climate changes that happened in the Dar Hamid region, to see how the lives of ordinary agro-pastoralists changed as a result of the environmental crises.
- Follow the development among two groups of people - one, those individuals and groups that fled their villages and moved into towns, due to the recurrent droughts and famines in the 1970s-1980s and into the 1990s. Second, discuss the situation of those who remained in the local areas, trying to deal with the situation of hardships and the ongoing desertification processes in their home region.
- Discuss the particular importance of land to local people, and how the loss of land due to out-migration also led to identity changes for those groups who were pushed out.
- Explore the role played by The Dar Hamid Sons Union at the grass-root level to see to what extent the Union and the new political visions put forward by the Union challenged the local government and interfered with the boundaries of influence held by traditional, tribal leadership groups.
- Examine the role played by the Sudanese state among the Dar Hamid people at a local level to see to what extent the Dar Hamid Sons Union operated in alliance with groups within the state structures.
- Describe the relation between the traditional leaders and the new Dar Hamid elites holding the current Union leadership, in the context of local support and political imaginations.
- Study the general issues that the Dar Hamid Sons Union is concerned with, especially focusing on good education to their children and how the policies of privatization during the last decade has affected the availability of such goods.

- Study, in particular, how the Union works among local people and how they relate to the State to attract projects that are considered as important for further development in the region.
- Examine to what extent such regionally based elites phenomena as this Union can affect wider political games and thus play a role in the future emerging of political identities in the Dar Hamid region.

Theoretical inspiration

This study relates to the issue of politics, and thus also to the dynamics of a civil society in a country such as the Sudan. The study is seeing social actions as structured by social institutions. A social institution is a cluster of organized moves, values and rules centered on satisfying basic needs in human society. Social action is channeled and molded by such social institutions and therefore social institutions can also be comprehended as a result of social conflict between rational actors seeking to maximize their benefits at the expenses of other actors. In other words, the new social institutions, such as the Dar Hamid Sons Union, must therefore be understood against such a context of competition among actors.

The basis for this kind of thinking is formulated by Knight (1992) and is a rational argument in which strategic actors behave strategically against other actors. But I also follow Douglas (1987) when she argues that social institutions evolve in a context of new identities, explained, remembered and forgotten in certain ways, allowing for new ways of classification of identities.

An emerging civil society in Sudan

Over the years, the political landscape in Sudan has changed, and new civil society organizations have emerged both as a result of external pressure, but also of internal developments in the political field. An important element in this was a process in which an arena emerged for civil society organizations that were, in theory at least, independent both from the State and from the primordial social ties of kinship and ethnicity. This development has historical roots.

For instance, the origin of civil society in Sudan are to be found in the semi-formal trade unions and religious groups of the early 20th century and the societies and educational organizations that resisted British colonial rule in the north (Don Basco 2009) One example is the White Flag Society (Vezzadini 2008) Brutally suppressed in 1924, it was a seed for the modern politically-oriented CSOs that culminated in the formation of the Graduates' Congress in the late 1930s. The Graduates' Congress led the resistance against colonial rule until independence, thereby also initiating the emergence of modern political parties.(Basco 2009).

From the 1940s, trade unions were particularly influential in the anti-colonial struggle and after independence, they led the overthrow of the military dictatorships of Ibrahim Aboud in 1964 when workers' and farmers' unions united to become the main force of change in the so-called October Revolution of 1964. Similar civil society activities were important in 1985 when an uprising against Jaafar Nimeiri was led by professional, urban-based, white collar unions. These unions had taken over from the workers' and farmers' unions that had been weakened by the Nimeiri regime. In both cases, in 1964 and 1985, university students, notably the Khartoum University Student Union, were vital both in spearheading and in coordinating of the revolt (Basco2009).

Following the 1989 coup in Sudan lead by Omar al-Bashir, all political parties were dissolved and trade unions and CSOs were required to re-register on new conditions that prohibited direct political engagement in political issues like human and civil rights activities and governance related actions, restricting their activities to service delivery. Later, especially into the 1990s, the consequences of natural disaster, growing violent conflict and the short-term negative impact of economic liberalization policies, CSOs were left to address the gap left by the 10-year ban on political parties and the weakness of state governments. But also during this period of marginalization the CSOs' agendas were re-shaped by increased interaction with international organizations, new emerging visions and methods of civic action and the spread of new development concepts like grassroots empowerment, participation and peace building. There was a growing space

therefore with some independence that could be used to challenge the traditional, tribally based leadership of various rural areas and regions. But in principle, such organisations could also challenge the state.

The concept of civil society, which encompasses groups and associations outside the market and state, including for example non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based associations, cooperatives and trade unions, the media, peasant, women and youth organizations as well as research institutions, was and is relatively new in Sudan. A key virtue of civil society is its ability to act as an organized counterweight to the state apparatus, working openly through democratic processes and having the ability to reach decision-makers in order to influence national events and priorities. In the Sudan this was met by various countermeasures by the state. For instance, the coordinating agency for voluntary work, later named the Humanitarian Affairs Council (HAC) was transformed into a security organ, imposing heavy restrictions on CSOs.

Ideally, the establishment of the Dar Hamid Sons Union was linked to such processes within a Sudanese civil society. The Union encouraged various individuals and also competing groups to become active in their participation in the development process in their home areas. By this they came to reflect the new heterogeneity of civil society in Sudan. But at the same time, the Union also met the constraints mentioned above of a civil society being denied an autonomous status, the state still remaining in control.

As indicated earlier, what happened was instead that the state could use the same civil society organizations to get support of its own programs and thus even to make use of such organizations to stay longer in the power.

Methodology

This study adopts an empirically based, grounded theory approach. By this is meant that the arguments are based on field observations rather than on decontextualized assumptions about social reality. Such assumptions are problematic as the area of study has undergone major changes in recent decades, being marginalized in many different

ways. The lack of recent research in the area further adds to this, a fact that made it necessary for me to investigate new things that have happened. This also meant that I found things in the field that I did not know about when writing my proposal. A major field of change that I found was precisely the field of politics, in which new developments had brought new organizations into the picture. One such organization was the Dar Hamid Sons Union.

Primary data

Thus I have carried out several trips back and forth to the Dar Hamid area, northern Kordofan province, between the end of June and December 2011. During these visits, I have stayed mainly in the Umsayalla small town, and nearby villages. The areas that I covered during my field work period make up what is commonly known as Eastern Dar Hamid area (*Dar Hamid Alshargia*). It includes villages like Umshape, Gamier, Alhumara, Alhashaba and Kabour Abdul Hameid.

The main method for collecting data was participant observation. Through this tool I collected information about the everyday life of the people, in terms of their social, economic and political activities. I lived with my informants, I participated with them within the households, I tried to collect information on various people living in neighborhoods, I talked to chiefs, Sheikhs and Omdas, I interacted with young people to get an impression about what the youth were thinking, I spoke to traders and politicians and tried to follow them as much as I could in all their daily activities.

Interviews

It is a well-known fact that Dar Hamid people today are living both in urban areas and in their Dar Hamid homeland. I had to focus on both of them in order to see how the two categories of people, living in very different residential areas were linked. And I had to focus on both of them to see the broader socio-political dynamics of the Dar Hamid. Thus I conducted interviews with individuals in both urban and rural areas, and I spoke both to individuals and organized group discussions. In-depth interviews were carried out with different key tribal informants, local teachers, officers, local administrators.

Apart from the fieldwork in the rural parts of Dar Hamid, I also stayed with and interviewed the leaders of the Dar Hamid Sons Union in Khartoum. Fortunately, I was able to meet many of new Dar Hamid elites at various occasions, especially during Ramadan month. I joined with them in various social and communal occasions organized by the Union in different places in Khartoum. At such occasions I could observe their activities and listen to their discussions about the Union's concerns. This later was useful background information for later interviews. One shortcoming is clear, however. My interaction and interviewing was carried out among men. Women were not available. Which is not surprising, given the various cultural and religious attitudes of people. As a Dar Hamid saying goes - woman and men are like stones and eggs, and they should not be put in the same basket. Obviously this is a constraint as it would be more fruitful if women's opinions were included in the context of the current study.

Secondary sources

Since there was no original study of my area of fieldwork, I used different sorts of secondary sources of information. This was the case both for collecting local ethnography and collecting information on the urban based Union. I tried to find relevant comparative research, in the form of books, papers, workshop contributions and governmental records that concerned the related issues of local adaptations, environmental change, civil society dynamics and broader political developments. In addition I used internet websites and films. Finally, I used my MPhil curriculums to orient myself in the broader field of political anthropology.

Specifying some main arguments in the study

Civil society

The concept of civil society relates to a third political space, between business and state¹. The emergence of this concept is one of the most important developments within political studies since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Hann & Dunn 1996). Civil society

refers essentially to the so-called "intermediary entity» such as professional organization, religious groups, labour unions, citizen advocacy association, that give voice to various sectors of society and enrich public participation in social development and stability (Keane2009).

Obviously this is a broad definition not explaining every possible aspect of the concept and the idea of civil society. An important starting point for me has been the notion that it is difficult to differentiate clearly between society, state and economy, and that faced with a particular social reality these elements appear in the same empirical processes. Keeping them apart is therefore not possible empirically, only at the level of analytical abstraction. This is contrary to the political discourse about the same factors within the field of civil society. In the political field various organizations talk and act as if the different processes can be kept apart and that this is an unproblematic path towards the democratic state. Therefore we need to keep a critical distance to the discourse of civil society, looking at its potential as well as its absences and incompleteness (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1999).

One problematic aspect of this is the relationships between civil society based political actors and the state. This relationships does not necessarily mean one of opposition. In real life we cannot isolate civil society and social movements from politics. This is very clear in my case of the Dar Hamid Sons Union. In principle this is a civil society organization, based on civic interests, it is not a political entity. But as we shall see, the study reveals that we cannot keep the elites activities of the Union leadership from politics and the state actions. In my study I conclude that the founders of the Dar Hamid Sons Union basically are politicians, not civilian actors.

Urban regional organizations

It is a well-known fact in Africa that family and kinship ties bind urban migrants to their home regions. Sudan is no exception to this. But it is also a fact that urban ethnic identities are not only emerging as remnants of the old rural-urban relationships, but are also consequences of new, urban based developments that have little to do with the

situation in the homeland (Francis and Micheal1998). But the rural-urban links still play a role, not least on an emotional level. In this regard, the strong emotional bonds that connect individuals and groups to place and territory may be non-rational but are not irrational (Wight 2007,7).

Such links are clearly visible in my study of the Dar Hamid Sons Union. The Union was established in 2010, and the organizers tried to mobilize support by referring to their home areas, and to argue for the need to provide social services to Dar Hamid people at home.

But this is at the level of rhetorical politics. In reality the urban based elites have few relations to the region they claim to assist (Chandihok 2002, Francis and Michael,1998). As we know, most of them are children of Dar Hamid people who migrated to town as a consequence of drought. Thus they are second generation of migrants, grown up in town and with an urban lifestyle as background. The reference to themselves as Dar Hamid, and their relationship to the reality of contemporary Dar Hamid people is thus limited at best. It is more realistic to express this relationship as one of imagined links by which urban elites uses their historical links in a political game (Francis &Michael 1998).

This is not new. Historically, urban regional elites have created associations precisely using the same type of arguments that, the associations have been established to work as mediator to the homeland, and a carrier of culture and norms and traditions seen as indigenous to the regions and to the groups these elites belonged to. Part of this was also to assist local people when they entered town as migrants. The traditional functioning of such processes was to create networks within which newcomers were assisted in their adaptations to new urban realities (Alhassan 2005). But since the 1980s the function and role of such organizations have changed. This change is related to wider changes in the political dynamics in a country such as Sudan. The change is in the focus of such organizations, from serving their own population to a new role as political actors, through which the state can use them as a base for challenging the traditional political leadership in the various regions of the country. As Sudan is a country with violent opposition to the

dominant regime the battle to maintain some support for the regime in the regions is an important part of the regime's political strategies. Organizations such as the Union we are discussing represent a key mechanism in this political game. The unions claim to work for the benefit of the people in their home areas, but are in fact representing the regime's views and strategies for maintaining control.

Agro pastoralist adaptation and political change

The concept of agro-pastoralist in this study refers to the Dar Hamid ethnic groups who practice dual economic activities, being involved both with cultivation and animal herding. The Dar Hamid agro-pastoralist people that I am concerned with in this study, are composed of following communities: Fera`hna , Nawahia , Hababbin , Meramra, Arifia , Awlad Akowi, Gilaydat, Meganin, Baghada and Maagla. They were mainly pastoralist till the beginning of the 20th century, herding sheep goats and camels. Some cultivation went on with the cultivation of millet and watermelon. This dual economic strategy helped people to make a living in the local environmental and climatic conditions in the area. But as we also know, climatic changes, wars and conflicts, urbanization and general population increase have created pressure on this way of life, leading to the outmigration of and increasing number of families.

It is very important to look at this situation not only as an adaptive process but to look at the political implications of these changes. The political development which I refer to in this study, is to a large extent a result of the overall process of social transformations occurring alongside the adaptive changes. The pushing out of people have put people in an urban context in which new ways of thinking and new practices have emerged as a result of education, the relating to new types of political institutions and new ways of interacting with power holders.

A continuous political crisis

Throughout its history, Sudan has seen different governing systems, moving between military rule and periods of semi-democratic regimes. Thus the state and society interaction has always been ambivalent, causing political instability. Ever since

independence in January 1956, Sudan has witnessed very essential problems concerning its unity and sovereignty. Actually the post-colonial elites have widened the gap between the state and civil community in the country (Ahmed 2008) By irrational policies based on unequal distribution of power and wealth, carried out by minor elites, Sudan has run into a vicious and miserable cycle. We have mentioned wars, an increase in urbanization movements, and an economic crisis. Here we can add an escalation of ethno-politicization among local communities. This situation created and strengthened the rift among parties in Sudan and led to the separation of South Sudan last 2011 and the continuous war in Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile.

The basic politico-administrative system in Sudan, built up in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from 1898 to 1956 has thus collapsed. This system was based on the use of Native Administration system to facilitate remote control of the whole country. The Native Administrative system opened up chances for all groups in the country to participate in the political system through their tradition, tribal leadership. There was thus a basis of legitimacy for political and administrative leadership positions within any single group. Such single groups were tied together in larger systems of tribal confederacies, such as Dar Hamid. This system was based on the concept of “*Dars*”. The Dar system is a homeland in which local groups have rights over land to cultivate and for herding. And it was administered by Native Administration groups of tribal leaders. Within the Dar system, the Nazir represented the top of that hierarchical system. Under this Nazir there were Omdas, who represented the individual tribes. Omdas were also helped by number of Sheikhs who held powerful positions on the village level. Taken together this was a system in which various forms of legitimacy were woven together into a system that people accepted (see e.g. Asad, 1970).

Leif Manger (1981) has presented an overview of the political structure among the Dar Hamid people. Manger shows the evolving tribal leadership structures from 1821 until the time of his fieldwork in the mid-1970s. For the families who were holding tribal leadership positions the situation was similar to that of the Kababish (see Talal Assad 1970). On top was a *Nazirs*, and in the case of Dar Hamid the family holding this position

was from the Hababin tribal group. While the rest of Dar Hamid groups all had *omdas* in leadership positions the Nazir thus represented leadership for a confederation of individual tribes, the overall name being Dar Hamid. The purpose of this system was to administer the country, not to promote political participation among groups of people. It thus represented a de-politization of Sudanese civil society.

During the Nimeri years (1969-85) the whole system of tribal leadership was abolished and the leadership functions were taken over by members of the Sudan Socialist Union, the only one party that was allowed during the period of this regime. Through this development the regime opened up space for many newly educated elites and youths from the middle class to engage in regime politics. Such participation was no longer the exclusive privilege of the old traditional ruling families. But these changes did not represent a total change. Although new leaders have appeared, they were often also recruited from within the families of tribal leaders, thus representing a continuation of political power within traditional elite groups. The political game was certainly changed, with new forms of political councils, but the players and the benefactors of this new system seemed to represent a continuation of the power and influence of old elite groups. But not always. In the Dar Hamid area the traders (*jellaba*), who were contemporary residents in the area, but who had migrated into the region in earlier centuries, were able to strengthen their position in the politico-administrative game through this period. This led to an “insider-outsider” competition between the trading groups and the old Native Administration groups.

A second change brought by the Nimeiry regime was the new 1971 land tenure act by which the traditional tribal system was abandoned, giving the government the absolute right to exploit and make use of land property according to its own priorities. New mechanized agricultural schemes appeared, taking land from traditional agro-pastoralists, creating local and regional problems. The Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile regions saw such developments fuel tribal and ethnic conflicts that later escalated into open warfare (see e.g. Manger 1988 for the situation in the Nuba Mountains).

The Dar Hamid areas, in contrast, were not affected by this development of mechanized farming. Ecologically, the area was not suitable for heavy machinery. Still, processes of land grabbing went on, focusing on areas of Gum Arabic trees. But at the time of Nimeiry's regime, the processes of over-cultivation, overgrazing and deforestation in the context of drought period was a more typical problem in this region. Hence, although profoundly affecting the adaptive chances of local people, these processes did not carry the same political implications as the mechanized schemes in the Nuba and Blue Nile regions.

The Dar Hamid area was thus stable in this political sense, and the inhabitants related to the political process through the traditional political parties of the Umma and DUP parties, linked to Sufis groups in the area. The Sudan Socialist Unions replaced these parties, but during the period from 1985 to 1989 the traditional parties returned. But a new military regime came to power in 1989, and with this we see yet another development. This was a regime promoting Islamization and Arabization, and many Dar Hamid educated people have adopted to the NIF ideology. Some of the Dar Hamid people, especially the elites in Khartoum, have occupied political and administrative positions in the ruling regime. And some of them also fought as Mujahedin with the regime against the armed opposition lead by SPLA.

These developments among the Dar Hamid have produced significant changes. The new political elite supporting the Islamist regime were precisely the urban based groups that did not originate themselves in the Dar Hamid region, but only had seen the urban contexts. These groups ended up supporting the NCP-regime, but they also were in opposition to the traditional leadership in the area. This opposition was based both in a view that the opinions and beliefs of this traditional leadership were traditional and "backward", but also in the realization that there was a real political contradiction in the positioning of the two groups within the political game. These groups therefore supported the regime's policies of appointing new leaders in these tribes, leaders whose main asset was not their kinship links to the traditional Native Administration families, but who were ideologically loyal to the regime. Thus, the new tribal leaders have become state

agents, who are appointed by, and should follow the NCP polices. If not, they will be considered as *Taboor Khamis*, Fifth Columnists, and be removed. These new leaders, together with the urban elite within the Dar Hamid Sons Union, make up the new political elite that play the role as go-betweens between local people and the regime.

Chapters outline

Chapter II will present the history of the Dar Hamid people and their land, and indicate the major changes they have experienced in recent decades. This will include discussions of the main ethnic groups living in the area, organization of land property and parts of their social history, their household and political structure, and the differentiation into ethnic groups as well as a description of the economic life of people. I will also trace some changes in terms of political and economic aspects of life in the area. Mainly, I will trace the changes that occurred in the area from the 1980s onwards to see how the Dar Hamid people who were pushed out and ended up in the cities could assimilated with life in the cities and how they adopted to the new urban environment. In addition I shall also discuss those groups who remained at home, to see how they could cope with deforestation and partial desertification of the area. Apart from the basic adaptive ethnography, my aim in the chapter is to discuss how the identity as “Dar Hamid” is a fragile identity, constructed less within the traditional context back home and more as a political imaginary in the ongoing political landscape of contemporary Sudan.

Chapter III will present the history of the Dar Hamid Sons Union, showing the early initiatives at establishing a Union, and how it evolved through time. I pay attention to the groups of individuals who took the initial initiative for the establishment of the Union, the early organizational structure, with the Initiative Committee and the ways they linked up with civil society and social movement dynamics in the Sudan. The main argument of this chapter is to focus on the ways those people who thought of themselves as Dar Hamid were able to use this identity for mobilizational purposes in Khartoum, getting support from some, receiving negative reactions from others. The discussion is thus also

a discussion of how the urban regional elites in Sudan work in a contemporary environment.

Chapter IV is based on the earlier chapters, and deals with how the Dar Hamid elites are able to engage in activities in the Dar Hamid home region. Through this discussion we see how alliances with the political leadership of the ruling regime are key mechanisms that allow the Union to produce successful results in their political campaigns in Dar Hamid. What we see then is a process that leads us towards a conclusion that the Dar Hamid Sons Union is not a civil society organization promoting local people's participation in political life in their regions, but rather represents an extension of the ruling technology of the regime, by which they can control the population, not only through authoritarian and violent means as we see in the Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile and Darfur, but also through peaceful means of distributing development inputs.

The case, and the thesis therefore is a contribution to understanding political processes in the Sudan that are not often talked about. It shows the workings of processes that are not characterized by violent opposition, but rather represent a situation in which the political game between local people and the regime in Sudan also may be characterized by more peaceful processes and even contain some support for the regime. Thus the conclusion is that the understanding of the situation in the Sudan is not complete if not considering this kind of political development as well – the understanding of voluntary political processes that also work to the advantage to the power holders.

Chapter II

Dar Hamid - People, Land, History and Change

Like many Sudanese communities the social history of the Dar Hamid in western Sudan was passed down orally from one generation to another. These communities have been transformed socially, economically and politically in the past few decades. However, due to lack of reference material about the social political and economic transformation of the Dar Hamid, the analysis of my field work relies on my observation and respondents' narratives .

Of course, a few written ethnographic accounts have dealt with the issues since the end of the 1960s . Lewis Hill (1969) and Leif Manger (1983) are some of them. In his seminal work Manger aimed to show how the introduction of new agricultural technology brought about social and economic change in the Kheiran area. Lewis wrote about the economic life of the Hababeen ethnic group, a group found in western Bara area. Both of these studies focus on the western area of the Dar Hamid, which is different from my area of investigation. My focus is on the eastern part of the Dar Hamid area

Dar Hamid communities are found in North Kordofan province, Western Sudan. The simple meaning of the term Dar Hamid is that of a territory, a homeland of Hamid. Dar is an area in which traditional executive rights of residence and resources are held by a certain group of people, in this case defined as the descendants of Hamid (Samia 2001). Dar Hamid is an area settled by different Arab ethnic groups, living in the area around Bara district.

North Kordofan province is a semi-desert savanna area, bordered by the transitional zone of soft clay to the south, and sandy soil to the north. The Dar Hamid area is approximately 500,000 people scattered in two localities, Bara and Western Bara . Bara city now is one of the northern Kordofan province localities. Bara represents the historical centre for all Dar Hamid people.

The North Kordofan area is populated by different tribes and ethnic groups, the major ones being Kababish around Sodarie, Jawaammaa around Um Rawaba, Bedariya around

El Obeid, Kawahlla around Um Badir, and Darhamid around Bara. All groups have “Nizara”, a traditional native system of leadership. Generally, the groups are agro-pastoralists (Shazali 2002). Deriving their livelihood from both agriculture and pastoral production (Manger 1983). Dar Hamid agro-pastoralist system is a combination of agriculture with livestock activities and both system are relatively interlinked with simple trading activities. Livelihoods are affected by recurrent droughts and processes of desertification, deforestation, soil encroachment and broader land degradation.

For the purposes of this research, I chose this area as my field of study because it has been neglected and marginalized for many decades, not only by government policy makers, but also researchers, such as sociologists and social anthropologists.

The Dar Hamid territory is made up of composite tribes, and commonly taken to include the following communities: Fera`hna , Nawahia , Hababbin , Meramra, Arifia , Awlad Akowi, Gilaydat, Meganin (MacMichael1967). Some tribes are not mentioned by MacMichael, such as the Maagla and Baghada ethnic groups, both of which today, unlike in MacMichael’s days, are taken to be part of Dar Hamid. All have Omodya tribal governing system under Dar Hamid *Nazara*. The system of tribal leadership in rural Sudan was significantly formed during the Anglo-Egyptian colonial regime from 1899 to 1956, to facilitate remote control of the scattered groups of tribes, normally agro-pastoralists people, such as Dar Hamid.

This system of leaders on different levels of segmentation, (*Shaikh, Omdas, Nazir*) is still operating in Sudan, but it is also complemented by, and challenged by new forms of organizations, of which the Dar Hamid Union is one. According to that past native administration system in Sudan, this area used to be recognized as *Rural Dar Hamid Assembly* and later called *Bara Assembly*. But the notion of Dar Hamid is unclear. On the ground there is no such thing called “Dar Hamid district” or “locality” or ”Dar Hamid area” at all. The area according to the general federal system is divided into two localities, Bara and Western Bara. Under each locality there are a set of administrative units. In my fieldwork the administrative unit is a big village surrounded by several scattered villages headed by administrative officer, with police building, health care center. The name of this is Umsayyala Administrative Unit.

However people in the area identify themselves as Dar Hamid, but it is difficult to distinguish between Dar Hamid as a geographical term and as a social category, made up by the groups of people living in the area as part of their self-understanding.

Household and economic life among Dar Hamid

Based on my field data, people in the Dar Hamid area are living under the poverty line, lacking basic services such as education, good health care and clean water. Fetching water still takes all people`s time in Dar Hamid area. Women without enough money to buy water from vendors are victims of this hardship, fetching water in addition to collecting wood outside the village district for cooking. To get some extra income people try to engage in some business activities in weekly markets. Umsayyalla`s Thursday market is a profitable one. People used to come from different villages selling and buying goods, sugar, tea, oil, onions and camel meats and so forth. Besides that, some women used to work as food and tea sellers on this weekly market days but Baghada women are not allow to work amongst the men in the public market. Young men and husbands usually spend the dry season in Omdurman and in Khartoum, working as daily laborers. As Samia al Nagar (2011) wrote, the migrated pastoralist`s people in Omdurman have changed their strategies continuously and mobilized their households` labor to survive.

Recently the young men have left the agricultural and peasant life for the current gold excavation in the river Nile province in the northern Sudan desert. A few years ago some people in that province discovered and excavated gold and got rich. Nowadays the area from river Nile province, up through the desert to the Libyan and Egyptian borders with Sudan, is considered a big gold mine. Gold mining is a new and dominant activity drawing people of all ages, including children from school. Stories about how people got wealthy in a very short time flourish, and rumors has it that huge money can be gained quickly without capital. The government has closed its eyes and allowed people to work. This gold rush is now a common feature throughout Sudan and pulls people away from the traditional occupations in agriculture and animal herding.

In terms of gender issues in Dar Hamid, women are definitely a subordinate category. The Baghada group among the Dar Hamid communities, among whom I stayed, is also a

very conservative. However women can be seen in the farms and grazing animals a bit far-away places, but they are not allowed to go to school, especially secondary schools. Or as the local people express it: “women and men are like stones and eggs, and should not be put in the same basket”, or “women should not leave any of the three spheres of her life - her father’s home, her husband’s home or her own grave after death”.

I was staying among Baghada households during my fieldwork time in Umsayyalla village, and for the entire period I could not talk to the wives, women or young women.. This was not only because the people were only traditional Muslims, but also because there is no common interest between women and men except in a narrow family context. One can of course shake the hand of women and younger women, but only for the first time when arriving, or when leaving the area. Guests stay at the hospitality department- which is usually a separate hut called a *Dewan* or *saloon*- receiving food and drink separately from the rest of the house. Normally in these areas, the house is usually divided into two sections: for the guests and then the family areas. The house itself is composed of some huts which used to be built using grasses and wood. More recently new types of houses have emerged. In these houses the family part, which means the women and young sons and daughters’ part, contains the kitchen, bedrooms, bathroom and quiet space for female guests. The second section, mentioned above - the *Dewan* - is designed especially for older boys and adult male guests.

Endogamy is practiced in marriage. For example among the Baghada group around Umsayyala district, where I conducted my field work 2011, the preferred form of marriage is customarily called “*Gati Gadahak*” *Al-Gadah* is a traditional dish made of wood which relates to hospitality and it is shameful not offer it to guests. Thus *Gati Gadahak* means cousins marriage. Among the Baghada group it is shameful if your cousin has married someone else. The logic of this kind of marriage revealed to some extent economic rationality aimed at keeping wealth and prosperity (land, cattle and camels and sheep) within the extended family in the same group of tribe.

Because of the vulnerability of the Dar Hamid area, and because of the difficult ecology, groups have typically had to survive through operating economic and social network which cross social and tribal boundaries and zones and help to link them together.

Markets and trading and land production are the most formal nodes in the network of exchanges that operate within a particular time and bind together people from different villages and different tribes in the Dar Hamid area. It is very obvious that the markets are not only a place of selling and buying but also a location of social interaction. Each village has a specific market day and traders move from one to another buying and selling goods. This system organized six or seven villages into a zone of mobile and active interaction the market thus a very essential zone of interaction.



Thursday market (souq) Gamair village, eastern Um sayyalla .2011

The Dar Hamid political and social structure

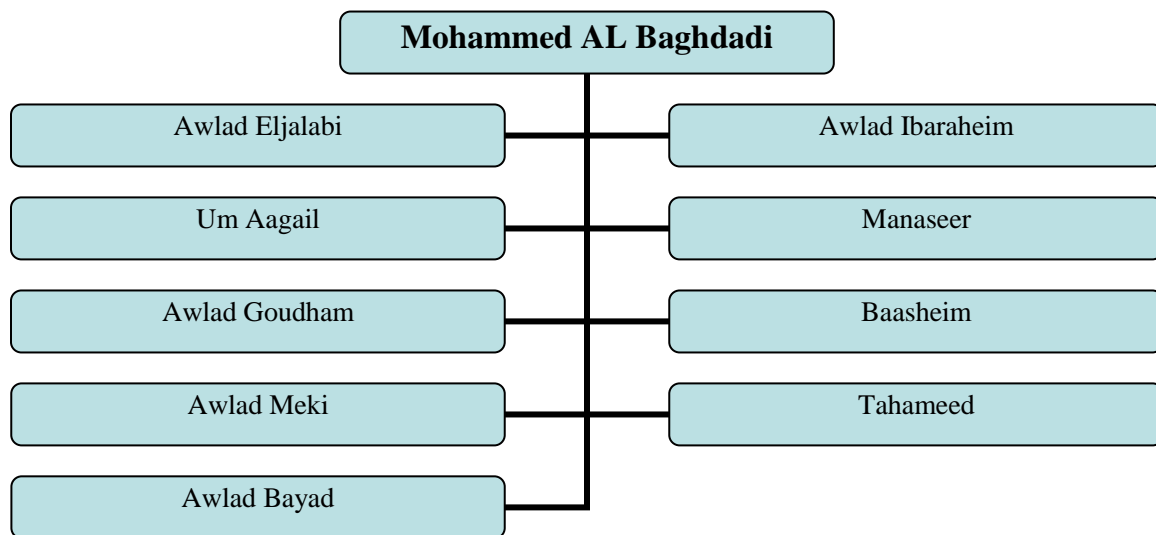
Traditionally, the leadership position of Dar Hamid is called “*Nazara*”, making the leader a “*Nazir*”. *Nazara* is about territory- or *Dar* (homeland). The chief of these tribes is called The *Nazir*. This does not mean, however, that such leaders are not challenged, nor that there is no competition around the elite status. The *Nazir* thus represented leadership for a confederation of individual tribes, the overall name being Dar Hamid (Manger 1983) .The *Nazir* is the top leader of the Native Administrative System usually being selected and blessed by the tribal *Shura Council*. The word *shura* is an Islamic phrase which perhaps refers to the democracy which was spread to the grassroot people with the implementation of Islamic sharia law from 1985 and emphasized by the current regime from 1989 up until today.

During the Nimeiry years (1969-85) the whole system of tribal leadership was abolished and the leadership functions were taken on by members of the Sudan Socialist Union, the only party allowed during the period of this regime. But although new leaders could appear, there was also a reality among tribal leaders that led to the election of old tribal leaders as political representatives in the new types of councils that were established.

When Nimeiry fell from power, and even before, the tribal system was brought back, in recognition of the chaos prevailing in the country, both politically and legally. The traditional leadership families thus consolidated their positions. But new challenges came along from new regimes. The current one, the regime of Omer Bashir, created new administrative units, and named them using terms taken from classical Islamic history *wilaya* (province)), *wali* (governor), *amir* (Nazir). At the tribal level the position of *Emirs* in spite of Nazir , represented a challenge to traditional leaders.

The tribal *shura council* thus was a committee containing a set of *Omdas*, which held meetings occasionally to discuss general issues that related to the whole *Nazara* , such as appointing a new *Nazir* or in the resolution of cases of tribal conflicts. Under this *Nazir* there are “*Omdas*”, leaders of individual tribes. *Omdas* also used to be appointed by the *sheikhs* senate and they were blessed by the *Nazir* himself, after showing loyalty to the *Nazir*. The *Sheikhs Senate* is a permanent committee composed of the heads of villages.

So at the village level the “*sheikh*” who is the local headman , was normally appointed by a village committee. The authority of all was to collect taxes and *Zakat* (obligatory Islamic alms) and to deal with simple legal issues such as clashes over farm borders, animal trespassing, and also representing the different levels vis-a-vis the authorities. Dar Hamid’s ruling family was within the Hababen ethnic group, one of the Darhamid ethnic groups settled in western Bara. The title of *Omda* in the Baghada group who settled in eastern Dar Hamid (Darhamid Alshargia), went to Abd-Allah Babiker from Awlad Ibrahim sub clan. At his death in 1981 he was followed by his brother’s son, precisely at the time when the native administration system in Sudan was brought back. The current Baghada *Omda* is Mohamed Ahmed Khidhir, 65 years old. The native administrative system was established in the colonial period in order to facilitate the administration of the tribal system. Native administration is not absolutely erased from the rural life. In some ways it is still working, but at a very low level and much narrower in range than previously. In this study the Baghada ethnic group is a new player in the Dar Hamid political development. The Baghada group was completely outside both the Dar Hamid confederation as well as the political arena, not only at the national level but also at the local one. The change in the position of the Baghada shows how the revival of identities in Sudan has been shaped by the general socio-cultural and political-economic matters in the country, affecting even remote communities like the Baghada group. Looking at the internal division of Baghada clans, the following picture emerges:



According to my informants, the Baghada ethnic group is not descended from Hamid, the ancestor of all Dar Hamid ethnic groups. They originally came from Baghdad (McMichael1967) Their ancestor was an Islamic preacher in his time. Baghada are scattered villagers in the southern and eastern Umsayalla district exactly midway between Omdurman and Bara cities.

The headquarters of the *Baghada Omodya* is located in Al Kormota village, in eastern Umsayyala. This *Omda* was running an efficient *shaikhs' senate* and *court*. He was the top authority at the grassroots level. Baghada *Omodya* (tribal territory chiefdom) contains approximately forty-two *shaikhs*, representing people of approximately thirty five villages centered around Umsayyala micro-administrative unit within the federal Sudanese system established in 1993.

Umsayalla contains 64,689 people, twice that of Bara city itself. The people are divided into 67 villages around Umsayalla. These villages are settled mainly by Baghaga but also by Awlad Akwi, Nawahia, Kababish and Hawaweer Arab nomads. Um Sayyalla village is situated in an area of sandy soil (*goz*) and sand dunes. The village itself has in the region of 6000 people, living in scattered huts made from wood and grasses, and some modern buildings. Once again, the Baghada ethnic group makes up the majority. In addition there are Jaalyeen, Jammoeia , Awlad Akowi , Meramra, Hababeen and some other nomadic Arabs (the term “Arab” here refers to people such as the Kababish and Hawaweer tribes). There is one hospital, a police building, and there are also two courts, one “native court” and one “civil court”, established in 2010 and run by a judge. More than 4,000 students compete for admittance to the only two secondary schools, one for boys and the other for girls (Dar Hamid Union`s data). The market day is every Thursday. Administratively Umsayayalla is one of Bara locality`s administrative units, run by an administrative officer. This new administrative system, when it came, challenged the native administrative system.

In the social field there are different levels of identities, the Dar Hamid level only being an overall umbrella type of identity. The different levels of clans and lineages within the different tribes of Dar Hamid are more central to the identity of people. To illustrate the fluidity of the identity I can refer to a story told me by one of my informants. When he

was in a police officer he was asked to produce his national identity card (the *Jinsia*). His answer was like this:

I am one of the Baghada ethnic group, one of the Dar Hamid Omodya , from a small village called Eadlanibage, a village in eastern Umsayyalla. I am a Dar Hamid dweller, but Hamid himself is not my ancestor. How can I belong to him? Dar Hamid is not a tribe, it is a homeland. My ancestor, called Mohammed Al Baghdadi, migrated from Baghdad, in Iraq (McMichael 1967). We are different in our customs, traditions and all. The officer asked me my tribal origin and the name of the tribe, and then I said: I didn't hear about it at all. Emphasizing that there is no tribe called Baghada in Sudan. You had to be just Dar Hamid, that is what we learnt about the Sudanese tribes. I was telling him that if you did not hear about them it did not mean that they didn't exist. This debate was in the police building and finally I accepted that I was one of the Dar Hamid tribe. But this was to speed up my dealings there, nothing more. This Baghada group that did not exist is now leading the newly formed Dar Hamid union”.

The scarcity of land due to the desertification, combined with increased population increase, might become a cause for future conflict in the region. The Land Act of 1971 combined with the Native Administrative system's abolition in 1973, enabled many ethnic groups to move into the other ethnic groups' lands, to own and cultivate it. This means that the traditional system of land which recognized the *Dar* (homeland) of each group was abolished by a system of tenure granting the government the right to deal with land as it wishes (Abdalgaffar 2001). And a mixing of tribes also followed processes of soil degradation. For example Kawahlla and Kababish, both semi nomads and camels herders groups (Talal Asad 1970), have been pushed towards the south into the Dar Hamid homeland, specifically the Baghada land around Alhumarra, the last village in eastern Dar Hamid area. This situation causes conflicts.

The Alhumarra area was on 20th June, 1996 (field data) officially added to the Bara locality as part of the Umsayyalla district. This land is Dar Hamid land but it is still a contested area in terms of its ownership. Till I finished my field work in 2011 Alhumarra was completely outside of the local authority for that tribal Baghada group that

represented the Dar Hamid tribal organization in the area. Alhumara area represent a very profitable market in which a weekly market, open on Wednesdays, was profitable because there are no taxes nor market license fees. Everybody is free to operate as he wishes in any kind of job. This ethnic polarization damages development of the area and poses questions related to state sovereignty in terms of land rights. .

Another case related to the ethnicity issue. According to the list of the Dar Hamid groups who formed the confederation we can see how Dar Hamid people as ethno- political identities are fluid and fragile. By taking the formal ethnographic studies about Dar Hamid tribes and ethnic groups into consideration we found out that the Meganin ethnic group was one of the main Dar Hamid groups (Manger 1983 & McMichael 1967). But nowadays the Meganin has been excluded from the Dar Hamid Sons Union ethnic list. Instead the union founders included “Baghada” ethnic groups who doubted whether they were Dar Hamid . So far the newly formed Dar Hamid Association is composed of ten ethnic groups claiming for the area political equality and further development .

It is well known that the Meganin (“mad men”) ethnic group used to be under Darhamid *Nazara*. They occupied a vast area around Al Hashaba village, eastern Umsayyalla and Elmazroup district, western Bara. They represented the whole of Dar Hamid people at local and national levels. Recently every third person in the National government is a Maganin, representing not only Dar Hamid people but the whole area. Why are they not members of the Union ?

A few years ago the Meganin had isolated and renamed themselves as an ethnic group of the Masalamia tribe, denying that they ever were a Dar Hamid ethnic group at all. Another development is that Meganin elites in Khartoum have established their own *shura council*, the so-called Meganin *shura council* (consultation committee). Meanwhile the rest of this Meganin ethnic group who settled in Elobied in northern Kordofan still have the sense that they are originally from Dar Hamid. The reminder of the Meganin ethnic group is the most educated group in the area. They moved both socially and politically and integrated themselves into urban life earlier than the rest of the Dar Hamid people. They participated and still do in the general national context, while they still share daily life with all the ethnic groups, not only in markets and

residential areas, but also via mixed marriages.

At first sight it is difficult to define to which tribe area any dweller belongs by only focusing on general features such as language, economic activities and way of life. They are all Muslims based on Arabic culture, cultivating the same crops, praying at the same mosque, participating in each other's ceremonies. However the ethnic label has always existed and is used when issues come up about land rights and property. An example is the problem between Arifia and Meganin. The two of them are considered as Dar Hamid tribes belonging to Hamid himself. In this clash they both lost many people. However it was an individual clash based on land aggression, converted to a tribal one which created an unstable situation between Dar Hamid people in western Bara locality. However ethnicity can be changed or manipulated, also in varying degrees (Schlee2008).

The Baghada ethnic group for instance, who are not certain whether they are a Dar Hamid ethnic group or not, nevertheless in cases of conflict with other tribes such as the Kababish or Jawawmaa around Allhumara village, adopt a Dar Hamid identity. Ethnicity in this case is used as a tool or strategy (Schlee 2008): *My brother and I against cousin, and all of us against the other* (native proverb).

This fluidity in terms of identity and belonging reveals to some extent that the Dar Hamid tribes are not bounded and that there is flexibility among the Dar Hamid people whether to join with the *General Dar Hamid Sons Union* or not.

“Drought is good”

Throughout history, the Dar Hamid area has oscillated between “feast and famine” situations. Sedentary cultivators coped with their unstable environment by storing surplus from bumper harvests for consumption in the lean years (Shazali 2002). But 1984 represented a very unique period in the recent Dar Hamid people's history. It was a time of severe drought and famine which affected the whole Horn of Africa. One of my sources, a 39 year old man, told me that:

We were put in a very critical position. There were only two options, either to flee

our home or to die. Our ground stores (Matmora²) were empty. Some of us had money but nothing could be bought. There was no food, people were ready to exchange a herd of animals for a sack of millet which also was not available. We lost our wealth, cattle, camels, goats. Life became terrible, then we were forced to migrate to Khartoum to secure our souls.*

People's migration movements from Dar Hamid area were in two opposite directions, towards the east by groups such as the Awlad aKwoi, Baghada , Meramra , and Nawahia and Meganin, mostly if not all of them to Aljazeera province and to Khartoum. The other Dar Hamid ethnic groups, such as the Ferahna, Arifia , Hababeen , and Maagla, Jilaydat migrated to Bara town and El Obeid city and established there big settlement areas around the city. This movement from Dar Hamid areas to the urban peripheries of Khartoum, El Obeid and Aljazeera, was not a smooth one. It was a very difficult transformation which turned upside down the total Dar Hamid agro- pastoralist lifestyle. It must be remembered that the Dar Hamid villagers did not have any connections with urban districts at all except a few of them through trade or travel links. The only relationships they had started in the mid-1960s, when a seasonal migration to Edwaeim city in the White Nile province started. There they sold their labor power to the irrigated schemes during the dry season in order to gain some money to better their family's life and then return to the villages to cultivate in the rainy season. But the 1984 drought forced them into urban life. They settled around Ombada area, western Omdurman, outside Khartoum. This urban area showed a diversity in terms of social and economic life that they had never expected (Samia 2001).

As with all western Sudanese people, the famine in the mid-1980s compelled Dar Hamid ethnic groups to flee from their homeland to the cities' peripheries, where they lived in shanty settlements and relied at first on their arrival on humanitarian aid which was provided by civil societies, agencies and aid organizations which were very active at that time in the area. Many changes occurred due to this ecological disaster which shaped not only economical life, but also the general socio-cultural life of the people, who found themselves suddenly in a new situation, starting a new life in new

² Matmora is an underground holding uses as store to the harvested millet.

surroundings. Three decades later, the hardship still hangs heavily in their communal societal memory, moments that can not be forgotten. Some of the Dar Hamid people told me their experiences of the first time arriving in a city, Khartoum in particular. they were talking:

in spite of the primary ones that we used , social relation was very functional concern only on the interested which also was very fragile, intimacy was rare ,women everywhere worked and went to the market and government offices like men did Everybody in the city is on his own. People, men and women are not at all generous as opposed to how we were taught to behave. In sum everything was very different to our culture.

The opposite migration, back to the villages, started immediately after 1986 onward. Due to the social and geographical shifting of mass migrated rural agro-pastoralists people to the urban districts , many of the Dar Hamid agro-pastoralists could not cope with the sudden change that happened in terms of living and settling conditions in cities such as Khartoum. So they preferred to go home to recover their assets and resume their life in the Dar Hamid homeland . However, the fact was that, both conditions of life whether in the cities or in the villages were at the same degree of hardship. The Dar Hamid people lived in double the amount of pain : first, because the new city life, especially in Omdurman and in Khartoum, required modern based education, career and capital which that they did not have, and second, the life situation in the villages after the droughts and famine was also a new one . Due to illegal cutting down of trees and the flourishing charcoal trade responding to the influx of people and extension of settlements in the cities being timed with the lack of fuel in Sudan at the 1980s, the whole Dar Hamid area became a big desert which meant that cattle herding, which had been the main source of wealth, became an impossible mission.

For Dar Hamid agro-pastoralist people, life in the cities was a very difficult, because they were depending completely on land production system as agro- pastoralists people, before the drought, but now they did not have any occupation or assets or even a little capital to establish small business in the cities to survive. Therefore women worked as food sellers in public markets. Men worked as well-diggers and porters in the animal

markets, but even this work was not always available. Some of them learned the lesson as to the consequences of depending on a single productive activity and that being a pastoralists was insufficient (Samia Alnagar 2001). So they established small business in order to gain some money to satisfy their household's needs.

For example, Mahmoud, 70 years old, from Baghada ethnic group. He is living in Ombada area western Omdurman in Khartoum. He was a pastoralist and cultivator, had a big herd of cattle which was lost due to the huge drought. He migrated early in 1984 to Omdurman with his family and his daughter's households. They lived very miserably in a shanty when they first arrived and had no jobs. Mahmoud's wife started working as food seller in the public market which was shameful in their culture which scorns women's work. But the situation was very critical. Later he and his elder sons took the wife from work at the market, because they established a business focusing on the forest production sector which in turn enabled them to improve their household income, and later they bought land and built a house. In 1989 the elder son, who was educated, emigrated with his own family to Saudi Arabia in order to provide extra income to the family. The two youngest daughters who were of school-age at that time, went to school and they are now university graduates.

The fact that Dar Hamid people sent their kids to school can only be explained by the exceptional situation of the drought. Without the drought no one, including the Baghada ethnic group, would never have allowed their children to go to school. That led some of them to say that "the drought was a good event" because it pushed people to the cities to discover education.

About, 59 years old is deputy mayor in the Baghada group in the Alhumarra village, Eastern Umsayyala district. He was telling me that :

Drought is something very bad which can't be described, but it also was good and had a positive side. We had rejected education for our villagers many decades ago. We did not know its importance in life. But after we fled to cities, we learned the lesson that educated people would never be affected severely by

change because they could modify their adaptation during cases such as drought or famine. In fact, our rumored education logic was such that, instead of going to school, we were enslaved by propaganda that said our dignity would suffer if we allowed our children to go to school. The propaganda said that educated people and schools communities would make your children homosexual. That is most shameful and taboo deeds and it is a very bad reputation not for the individual only but for his village, family and his tribe at large. For these reasons the people in Dar Hamid area prevented their children going to schools because they were afraid of that shame which would spoil the dignity and morals.

But as to how that happened no one could give a good answer. However some of the Dar Hamid people whom I met in the fieldwork attacked the *Omda's* position. This was because the *Omda* tribal leaders were the main beneficiaries of a situation with illiterate people, utilizing it as strategy to stay longer in power. Supporting my argument, was Abd-Algardir 55 years old , who migrated to the Aljazeera province after the drought. He said that:

the previous Baghada group's Omda , called Al- Omda Abdu- allahi had the school moved from one of the Baghada villages to Umshape a village of the Nawahia , Dar Hamid ethnic group which was very far from our village. This was because the Omda was afraid of the attitude from the Omodya if the people were educated as well as he believed. And I was one of the victims, because I could not complete my primary education.

In contrast the current *Omda* Mohammed Ahmed, *Omda* of the Baghada group himself has informed me of a different story about this problem. The story was that :

my people were against schools because they believed the schools would consume their money and take their children away from such work as farm-work or work with animals , and nothing in return would be seen.

But all sons of this *Omda* are educated. One of them is a doctor' assistant , and the other sons are school employees in the Umsayyalla area.

In this context Talal Asad's wrote in his classic monograph (1970) about the elite formation among the pastoral Kababish, a tribe just north of the Dar Hamid. Asad explains how individuals from the tribal elite allied themselves with the British colonialists, being selected for certain jobs on behalf of the rulers, such as local judges and mediators. This link also opened up for entry of their children into modern schools, thus starting a history of education that brought the following generations into a privileged position in terms of reproducing their elite status. Such elite families emerged among all tribal groups in the Sudan, and as a consequence of the system of Indirect Rule and Native Administration, they have remained in their elite positions up to the present day.

But after independence the situation changed, education was no longer the preserve of children from native administered families. A large number of elites have emerged as a result of spreading education all over Sudan and challenged that *native administration*. In 1964, immediately after the successful popular uprising, the first suggestion was made in abolishing and reducing the traditional leadership in order to create a national state. This view, propagated mainly by Khartoum university's graduates and elites at that time, did not succeed to abolish the system. But later political regimes provided new platforms for challenging this traditional leadership among the tribal communities of Sudan, including the Dar Hamid. And again these elites went back to their tribes and went away from the idea of building the nation-state, perhaps finding some political gain in the name of the homelands.

Dar Hamid elites in Khartoum have allied themselves with the native administrative leaders from home, in order to construct a common identity as Dar Hamid, as a homogenous political group. They are inventing a history of an imagined nation (Benedict Anderson), the so-called *Dar Hamid nation*, and based on such an ethno-political confederation have organized and started the *General Dar Hamid Sons' Union* in order to relate to and acquire some space in the contemporary political arena in Sudan now a day.

Chapter III

The Emergence of the Dar Hamid Union, the First Indicators and the Structure

In March 2010 the migrated Dar Hamid elites held their first general conference in Khartoum. The conference was attended by more than three hundred and fifty people, in addition to some guests and some press agencies. A number of Dar Hamid people in Khartoum, tribal headmen, traders and NGO activists, women, students and graduates. All had put aside their differences to join this initiative. Political parties also responded positively. The aim they agreed on was to establish the *General Dar Hamid Sons Union*.

The Dar Hamid Sons Union aimed at establishing themselves as a non-governmental association based on a positive cooperation with government and non-governmental institutions in order to unify and organize the Dar Hamid people efforts. Together with donor institutions, whether internal or external, the aim was to revitalize and develop the region by improving to the social services in the local Dar Hamid communities.

Here in this chapter I will show how the Dar Hamid Union has been established as a civil society organization aimed at serving social developmental purposes. First I am going to trace the development of the Dar Hamid organization and to present various case stories from different perspectives in which activities were discussed, and how the union's stakeholders, elites and general supporters have operated. Also, I want to look at the opinion of the union supporters about the organization's prospects, and also the opposite points of view from other Dar Hamid groups who are not as positive about the new union.

The Initiating Committee

The idea about a Dar Hamid Union emerged in 2008. At that time a specific group of men were visiting an elite Dar Hamid person in Omdurman. This group was composed of ten young men, all the Nawahia group, one of the main Dar Hamid ethnic groups. The Nawahia ethnic group can be found in between western and eastern Dar Hamid area, now

called Bara and western Bara localities. The Nawahia young men had the idea to establish a united body for themselves, serving only Nawahia interests. They wanted to do this by mobilizing their youths, graduates, traders and whoever belonged to the Nawahia in Khartoum and who were able to provide help to the Nawahia people, whether in Khartoum or in the homeland in Kordofan. But on this day in 2008, the discussion had developed into how to find possibilities to engage all the Dar Hamid ethnic representatives in Khartoum, Baghada , Ferahna, Hababeen , Arifia and so forth.

The logic of enlarging the socio-political network from Nawahia group alone to include the entire Dar Hamid was not only based on a political idea but rested upon the ties and kinship-based cross marriages among the groups, in addition to the neighborhood relations that bind many of the Dar Hamid people living in Khartoum to one another. Furthermore, a united initiative would of course also mean a larger number of actors and a larger political force. Therefore a regional umbrella like Dar Hamid was found to be a more workable idea than that of focusing on only one of the groups. It would also mean that one could avoid the government's policy of not allowing any attempt at establishing any kind of ethnically based political entities in Khartoum. By basing this on the totality of Dar Hamid one could avoid the ethnic link and present the organization as a regional one, thus emerging as another one of regional organizations that already existed in Sudanese cities. Regional organisations were well established in Khartoum, all the way back to the 1960s, like Darfur's Student Associations and Nuba Mountains Union Association. The Dar Hamid Sons Union would become one more of such organisations.

Responding positively to these possibilities the first ten young Nawahia men increased during this 2008-meeting into fifteen members. Those present at that time established themselves as an Initiating Committee. This first committee was headed by Alnour Rezig, from the Nawahia group. He is a traditional Islamic school graduate (*Khalwa*)^{3*}. At this early stage of the Dar Hamid Association development, the Initiating Committee was mostly dominated by the Nawahia ethnic group, and it is fair to say that the first seeds of the idea behind the Dar Hamid Sons Union came with the Nawahia group.

³ Khalwa is a traditional informal Islamic schools concerns only with learning holy Quran.

The committee was very active, and tried seriously to link all the Dar Hamid groups in Khartoum. To achieve this goal, the Initiating Committee converted themselves to a Communication Committee, with a specific mission to improve communication and information among possible members. These young men were able to establish links to most of the representatives of the Dar Hamid elites in Khartoum and they managed to convince them about the advantages of the unity idea. Based on this they all agreed to work together to develop the Dar Hamid region.

Developing and spreading this message of Dar Hamid unity, most of the elites and political actors of the Dar Hamid people in Khartoum were positive and wanted to contribute. The exception was the elites of the Meganin ethnic group who had an organization by themselves. The background for this situation will be discussed elsewhere.

The Initiating (and Communication) Committee held the first general meeting towards the end of 2008. In that meeting 270 members, representing nine ethnic groups of the Dar Hamid area, turned up. Again, with the exclusion of the Meganin group. The participants came in groups of about ten persons from each ethnic group, all selected and approved by their own ethnic groups. During the meeting the discussion focused on social and environmental problems facing Dar Hamid people at home, and suggested many drafts related to future development of the Dar Hamid area and how the new Union could work to achieve such aims. To continue this work after the meeting the Initiating Committee changed into a *Preparatory committee*. The main aim of this committee was to prepare the text of a permanent constitution, to initiate empirical studies about the home area, all to be presented and discussed in the first general conference of the Dar Hamid people, to be held in Khartoum March 2010.

The Preparatory Committee

The Preparatory Committee worked actively through 2008 and 2009. They held fixed and periodic meetings in which they were discussing and preparing for the first general Dar Hamid conference. The committee encountered financial difficulties as they

depended only on the low membership fee, which was not enough even to cover the administration expenses. The Committee was also constrained by the lack of management experience of many of its members. But they did manage to set up a system in which the different Dar Hamid tribes should elect three people from each tribe, who could be approved by their tribes to represent them in the Union. As for the committee itself, it was in 2009 composed of thirty members. Ethnically they belonged to the Nawahia, Meramra, Baghada, Gilydat, Maagla, Arifia, Hebabeen, Maalya, Ferahna and the group from Bara, the Jawabra, Danagla, Shawayga and Rekabia. The Bara group was considered as migrant people from northern Sudanese provinces into the Dar Hami area, usually called *jellaba*, which is the customary term for members of the traders group. This *jellaba* group was dominant in the home area, where they occupied a dominant economic and socio-political position, and they traditionally had represented the Dar Hamid people in the national and local governments. Part of the idea of the new union was also to change this situation.

The Preparatory Committee thus aimed at preparing for a first general conference, in which discussions and revisions of the permanent constitution of the new Dar Hamid Association could be approved by the *Dar Hamid Shura council*⁴. The *Shura council* was made up of the influential Dar Hamid persons, politician, traders, social actors and the journalists of the Dar Hamid people. The committee was divided into many sub-committees with specific missions. The most important ones included financial, communication, information and constitutional sub-committees. The labor division in these sub-committees depended on the members' qualifications, but an important principle was that representatives from all the Dar Hamid were involved. The committee also, after some controversy, also agreed on a name for the union, *The General Dar Hamid Sons Union*.

By taking the name of Dar Hamid the committee played on the different dynamics that was provided by a situation in which Dar Hamid was both a tribal term and a territorial term. This ambivalence allowed space for the elites to play a political game. By using

⁴ Shura council is an Islamic concept refers to the democracy.

Dar Hamid as a tribal term the elites could elicit the sympathy from the Dar Hamid grassroots. By using it as a territorial term they also made sure that non-Hamid descendants in the area also could join. For instance, Bara group who are basically *jellaba* could also join since they were a legitimate part of the territory. The Union thus came to represent both an alliance working for the general development of the area, while at the same time also representing an alliance that could work for the inclusion of Dar Hamid people in the running of the area, thus breaking the political monopoly enjoyed by the *jellaba*.

The Preparatory Committee was led by El-Hadi Ali, NCP member and one of the Hababen ethnic group. This is also the groups that used to control the whole Dar Hamid confederation via the *Nazara* system. Members of the Hababeen tribe are founded around Um Sadon, where the *Nazir* lives. This is part of the Western Bara locality. El-Hadi does not relate to the traditional Hababeen leadership. He was elected for his personal qualifications, particularly his experiences in the management of voluntary organizations. In addition to this, he was a manager in the Sudanese Red Crescent Organization in Khartoum. At the time of writing he is a governor of one of the northern Kordofan province localities. However, according to my informants, he failed to create unity in his committee. His committee was constantly engaged in internal conflicts.

What is to be noted here is that by the time El-Hadi was elected, the original initiators of the process, the ten Nawahia persons, were long out of the game. New leaders took over, El-Hadi Ali being one of them. Here is the view of one informant on these developments:

The initiative committee members, whom were ten, disappeared from the scene because all of them were from the same Dar Hamid, Nawahia, ethnic group. No one could deny their efforts in the current general Dar Hamid Sons Union establishment. But according to the Dar Hamid Association rules, the representation of the same ethnic group should not exceed three people. None of the members were chosen from among these ten. The problem was that the ten

individuals were all just traditional Islamic schools gradulators (Khalwa) which would not enable them to compete with the qualified elites.

As part of the process during 2009, the Preparation Committee organized collective Ramadan breakfasts (*Iftar Gamae*) throughout the holy month of Ramadan in 2009. These breakfasts were held in different public places around Khartoum and were attended by Dar Hamid and non-Dar Hamid people. But the Ramadan events were not only about a sacred breakfast. I could see how the new elites used the occasions to spread political propaganda for the Dar Hamid ethnic groups and for the Union as well. By this they also stressed the Dar Hamid identity in a place like Khartoum. The Preparatory Committee was able to assemble more than three thousand people, ordinary people and elites, in Khartoum, in support for the President of Sudan, Omer El Bashir, after he had been indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC). The supporting move represented the first link between the Dar Hamid people and the national political context in Sudan, and also introduced Dar Hamid as a new identity to the wide Sudanese public opinion, through the media, TV, radio and newspapers that covered the event. As part of this one of the Dar Hamid's traditional *Amirs*, Mohammed Tomsah - a son of the formal Hababeen *Nazir* of the Dar Hamid - attended the support program for the President, and was even placed in a seat up front with the President, who was himself present.

This coalition between traditional authority and new elites revealed to some extent the basic strategy of the elites in the Union. They wanted to include the traditional tribal authority in order to reach the grassroots of the communities. Dar Hamid is a large territory and the modern elites of the Dar Hamid don't have efficient links to key persons on the ground. As to this relationship Aboud, one of the traditional leaders among the Baghada group, a man in his late fifties, commented:

We as traditional leaders derive our position from the people of our villages. However we were not consulted about the union, but we are not against it. Our mission and practices and the issues that we are concerned about belong to a different scale from that of the new elites of Dar Hamid. The different scales, like urban and rural, indicate that there are no contact points between us at all.

I do believe that the Dar Hamid Union is an urban phenomenon, based and led by Dar Hamid intellectuals and professionals at a high level. The regional unions usually are discussing general problems of concern to the whole region that they represent, while we, the rural and villages leaders our mission is just to oil and to maintain the relationships between individual villagers inside the village. Sometime also to deal with problems between villages. So from what I argued above, I don't think that the Dar Hamid Union will obscure our position or abolish our functions at the grassroots level, at least not for now.

About is probably right. By the move in support of the President against the ICC, the Dar Hamid Association dramatically has brought their Union into a political realm far removed from village politics. Many observers widely believed that the Dar Hamid elites had a clear political agenda when they decided to support the President. They exploited and manipulated the crowd that attended the rally, putting them in a position in which they all came to show their loyalty to the ruling National Congress Party (NCP). By this they also pledged to keep supporting the President of the Republic and his government, whatever they would be exposed to. However, it should also be said that at the very day of the ceremony the President is said to have asked his aides about “who are the Dar Hamid?”, and “how many tribes are they?”

In this context I inquired about what advantage the Dar Hamid Union expected to gain from their public support to the President. One of the Union's leader has said that:

One of the most important aims was, first, to introduce and to mobilize the Dar Hamid identity in a place like Khartoum. And also to make known how the area of the Dar Hamid is facing severe conditions of underdevelopment. Secondly, we tried to show the Presidential Institution that the Dar Hamid people, no matter how marginalized they are, lacking any kind of development, such as social services, education, health care and clean water etc., are still standing up for and give support to the government. Thirdly, we also aimed at showing the Presidential Institution that the Dar Hamid carry socio-political weight. And

above all that we wanted clearly to articulate to the President of the Republic that the Dar Hamid people, in spite of their current situation of underdevelopment, would not respond to the calls by the rebellion movements (SPLM/A) to mobilize against the government to break the process of marginalization. This is so in spite of the fact that the rebels are only a stone's throw away from the Dar Hamid region, operating in Darfur and south Kordofan.

This event, and its implications have created conflicts within the Union. Many talks about the move to support the President as political hijacking. More precisely that the move represents an attempt by loyal NCP members of the Dar Hamid Union's leadership to link up with the ruling National Congress Party. By doing this some think that the new leadership of the Union has exposed the organization to the national political polarization, which will negatively affect the performance of the association in the future. For example, one of my informants, a 31 year old man, was commenting:

The Dar Hamid Association was born dead, not because they supported the president only, but because the Union clearly became a political agent for the NCP.

From their own perspective, the NCP members in the Preparatory Committee, argue that their support for the President against the ICC move is a "religious and national duty". The aim was also to show the government that they (the Union) are not against it. Rather, they showed their willingness to cooperate with the Regime, not only to get advantages for the new Union but in order to affect the political situation of the Sudan. In this context **Suhaib**, a journalist and NCP member, and one of the Dar Hamid Association elites, argued that:

Why should we oppose the government? What interest should we have to oppose the ruling party? What yields can we expect if we did that? We are just as mediating body. Our main mission is to find out the ways to develop our local communities, not to create social instability in our region. If we do that

we will never ever pull out of the war and be able to help our poor people living in the Dar Hamid area. For sure, by pursuing our aims peacefully, via the means of political pressure, will we get our socio-political and economics rights accepted.

The first Dar Hamid conference

In March 2010, the Preparation Committee had finished its work, and could arrange the first general conference of the Dar Hamid elites, in Ombada locality in Khartoum. The conference was attended by more than three hundred and fifty people, some invited guests and some press agents. The most important outcomes of the conference were that the participants agreed that the Dar Hamid Association should be *The General Dar Hamid Sons Union*, to be a voluntary civil society organization located in Khartoum aimed at providing services and mobilizing around issues of underdevelopment in the Dar Hamid homeland in the northern Kordofan province.

Also the attendants elected the union president for the first period from 2010 to 2012 . They agreed upon a permanent constitution as well as the practical procedures to regulate the membership affairs and how to deal with finance resources, how to delineate borders between the union secretaries, as well as how to clarify the general features of the Dar Hamid Union and it's future performance.

To summarize, the recommendations of the conference have come as following:

- 1- The name of the association will be *The General Da Hamid Sons Union* (GDSN) started from March 2010 onward.
- 2- The Union should get help by the *shura* council, made up of the trusted people among the whole Dar Hamid ethnic groups. The orders of this council would be very obligatory to the union assembly.
- 3- The Union sessions under one elected leadership should not exceed two years, emphasizing the accountability, and also to leave the door open for new leaders to be trained to participate in the general development of the region.

- 4- The Union should have a number of Secretaries, with very clear missions, to facilitate a division of labor among the union assembly members.
- 5- The Dar Hamid Union should be ruled by an Assembly which contains thirty members, three person from each of the Dar Hamid ethnic groups.
- 6- The selection for each position in the union should basically depend upon the qualifications of the member and his interests.
- 7- The General Assembly should be held at the end of each two year session to discuss the formal performance and to select a new president and Executive Bureau. But also this Assembly can be held in case of emergency issues.

The main targets of the Union should be:

Firstly, the Union was established to achieve overall development of the Dar Hamid area. Therefore the Dar Hamid Union sought to leave the door open for more positive cooperation with relevant governmental organizations, informal institutions, national and international NGOs and others, in order to improve the social services in the region.

The Dar Hamid Union also seeks to increase the general awareness towards environment and natural resources, finding out ways of exploiting resources in ways that serve communal ends in the area. Also raising public awareness towards citizenship rights of the people and how to deal citizenship issues.

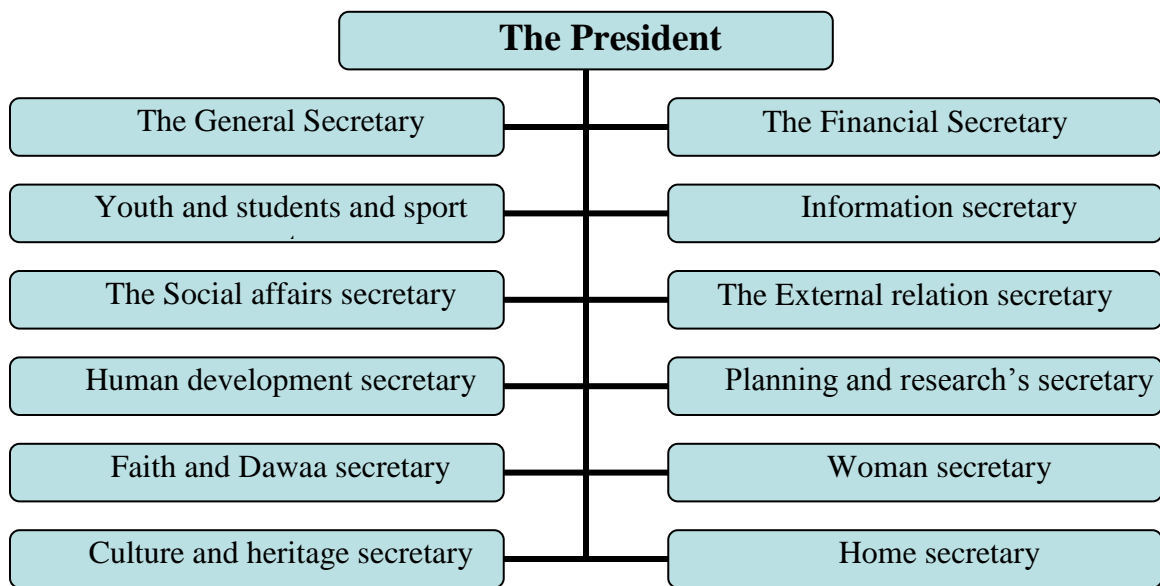
Similarly, to help the vulnerable people among the Dar Hamid local communities, enhancing the social integration. Also to support women and children`s rights.

The Union will try to establish a regional database for planners and those interested in the development by supporting research in the area.

Lastly, the Union aimed to protect the Dar Hamid heritage and socio cultural traditions and to promote them to be presented to the public through media writings. Overall, the aim was to maximizing the goodness among people, and to fight against the bad habits in the Dar Hamid local communities (summary to the union Goals 2010) .

In terms of the membership, any person with links to Dar Hamid, living in Dar Hamid areas or in Khartoum, can become a member at 18 years of age. People without links to Dar Hamid can also become members, but that would require a majority vote in the Dar Hamid *Shura council*. One would lose membership only at death, or voluntary withdrawal. Also, if the Dar Hamid *Shura council* ordered the withdrawal of membership.

The membership in the Executive Bureau of the Dar Hamid union is like this:



The most central secretaries of the Dar Hamid Union are the president and the general secretary and the financial secretary. These three secretaries represent the basic activity areas of the Dar Hamid Union, and these three are the only full-time workers in the Union, with a monthly salary. All other members are volunteers. The current Dar Hamid Union session leader is Suleiman Alamin, of the Baghada ethnic group in Umsayyalla district. Suleiman is a graduate from Omdurman University, Faculty of Faith and Information. He is a political actor also in the ruling NCP and while a student he was President of the Students' Union.

The Union is not yet formally registered with the Human Affairs Commission the formal institution concerned with the voluntary and human aid organizations in the country (HAC) This registration is also a legitimacy test which opens up the possibility for civil organizations to get regular support to from the government. Before that can happen, the issue of finance and budget is of interest. I have asked some of the union`s leaders about that. One of my informants said:

Financially, the Dar Hamid Sons Union basically depends upon the membership fee from the members. Which is not enough, however, and the member's fee is not always in hand. But some of the rich Dar Hamid traders used to be in contact with the Union to support our programs. Also we are using some of the Dar Hamid influential persons in the regime to attract money from the government and non-governmental NGOs. We also used to get irregular support from the charitable agencies, both national and international ones. But often the Dar Hamid Sons Union is depending on their own personal relationship in getting money to facilitate its needs.

Based on my fieldwork data and the general information above, It seems obvious that the ability of the Dar Hamid Sons Union to contribute to solve the current status of underdevelopment in Dar Hamid remains very limited. And the limitations are not only financial. First, the central government of the Sudan's coordinating agency for voluntary work, later named the Humanitarian Affairs Council (HAC)* was transformed into a security organ which imposed heavy restrictions on CSOs. For this reason the Dar Hamid Sons Union tries to work closely with the regime, but still they are not formally registered. Second, the regime is also suspicious towards civil society organizations. The discourse of such organisations focus on dealing with with local development problems in post-drought situations. But the state sees such civil society's institutions not as facilitators or mediators in development process only, but also as political pressure organizations. Thus they put restraining contexts in their way.

The most significant success of the Dar Hamid Union so far is that they managed to organize a big ceremony in El Obeid, attended by the Governor (*Al Wali*) and his government of the North Kordofan Province. This happened in 2011 and the festival was concerned mainly with the free distribution of 170,000 text books to the Dar Hamid students to fulfill the shortage of text books in the primary schools in the Bara and western Bara localities. As a result of this mobilization Governor ordered to establish a special committee called “The Development Committee of Bara and Western Bara Localities”.

This committee represents a “partnership” between North Kordofan government and the Dar Hamid Sons Union, in the same way as happened in Khartoum when the Union supported the resident of the country. And the national government took place in Khartoum. In practical terms the committee included some academically trained staff and politicians from the Dar Hamid and governmental offices, all of who would be engaged in preparing studies and plans for further development in the Dar Hamid region. Again, there is a two way process, the government supporting the Dar Hamid Union, and the engagements of the Union allowing the regional government to show that it is active in solving development problems in the state.

Conclusion

Generally the Dar Hamid elites believe the presence of the Union is representing a first and unique chance to encourage the entire Dar Hamid people to occupy their position in their region, based on their well-established social and political role in the region. The call for such rights indicates a significant social change in the area, that has produced a new mentality among these agro pastoralist groups. The historical experience in the Dar Hamid area has been that the local people have been governed by the jellaba groups with their base in Bara and El Obeid. This group had more educated people in their ranks compared to the Dar Hamid groups. The jellaba went into alliances with all the Sudanese governments, thereby controlling developments in the area from the 19th century until today. This has resulted in a situation in which all governmental officers, administrative officers, judges, police officers and even the soldiers in the eastern Dar Hamid area,



Class room in one of the Umsayyalla primary schools, fieldwork 2011

are outsiders, mainly from the urban, *jellaba* dominated towns, Bara, Um Rawaba and Elobied.

This *jellaba* dominance, and the absence of the Dar Hamid people from the political arenas in earlier times, may have many reasons. First, the nature of the Dar Hamid people as scattered agro pastoralist tribes had kept them from participation in the urban based political life of the region. Second, the Dar Hamid people only related to the government when they saw tax collectors and Zakat collectors, who are their own tribal leaders, *Omdas* and *Sheikhs*. Therefore the bulk of the Dar Hamid people have hardly had any understanding of what the government is or what governmental jobs imply. Consequently, they have never made the linkage between their problems and the actions of any government. This is now changing, and the Union is part of this change. But this change is emerging out of a new situation of the Dar Hamid.

As a result of earlier droughts, many Dar Hamid people are now living in the Khartoum area, and have thus entered education as well as living through the enormous social, economic and political changes that this urban area has gone through. This helped on people's understanding their position in larger systems, and it helped produce a shared Dar Hamid identity that could be used as a base for new political strategies.

Consequently, the Dar Hamid Sons Union made use of this identity to create the organization that is now part of the general transformation of the home areas, bringing agro pastoralist groups into the political game in new ways, also touching on the general political development in the Sudan.

The political ambiguity of the Dar Hamid Sons Union and its role in the current political situation in Sudan opens doors to many questions related to the legitimacy and the function of the Union. The union is not registered, and is thus not an official NGO. Nor is it representing any clearcut constituency in north Kordofan, as the Dar Hamid area can be both tribal and territorial. In spite of such lack of clarity the Union operates as an active political agent.

Chapter IV

The Socio-Political Impacts of the Dar Hamid Union

The emergence of the Dar Hamid Union in 2010 has resulted in quite a serious socio-political impact on the ground. The effect has extended from the elites who formed the Dar Hamid Union to people at the grass roots. In other words, the movement of Dar Hamid elites reflects to some extent the viability of the new urban regional elites, and their ability to take the lead in society to influence the recent political and social reality. The Dar Hamid Sons Union as regional organization is not a new phenomenon in Sudan. There are many similar regional civil society organizations in Khartoum. The elites of the Dar Hamid simply linked their concerns with what was happening in the country. Such groupings have produced a more intensive ethno-polarization in the Sudan, ever since the 1980s when the Arabization and Islamization policies were applied in the country. However the area of North Kordofan and Dar Hamid in particular were not affected by these policies, because they were considered as an extension to the riverian belt. In addition to that, the ethnic groups in North Kordofan, such as the Kababish and Dar Hamid, among others, were considered to be Arab. What is new in the emerging Dar Hamid Union is an increased political awareness also among some agro-pastoralist groups at home. Thus the elites have helped create a situation in which civil society organizations can operate. This is a very rare event in the history of the North Kordofan region.

This is so because in the general history of Kordofan, and in the area of the study in particular, there was never any unified political unity, such as in Darfur, for instance, where the Sultanate of Darfur provided an overall political system under which tribes were allotted their space. Rather, Kordofan was an area that was controlled by the Darfur and the Funj Sultanates at different times, then came under Egyptian control in 1870, was central in the Mahdia uprising, and was then controlled by the British during the Condominium rule until Independence in 1956. Attempts at state building in the region (Musabbaat and Tegale) were short-lived. All through these periods the Kordofan

“tribes” were fluid groups that had little awareness of being Dar Hamid ethnic groups at all (Manger1984).

2010 was thus a very productive year. With a new generation of Dar Hamid elites who managed to establish civil society organizations in Khartoum, while at the same time the native Dar Hamid people were working for themselves back home. The simple definition of a civil society organization is an agency that works for people in need. However the term “civil” in “civil society” does not mean non-political. New forms of civil movements based on regional identities were established in Khartoum in order to provide solution to problems of underdevelopment. This was also the case for the Dar Hamid region. The Dar Hamid Sons Union had as a stated aim to maximize the effectiveness of Dar Hamid ethnic groups coalitions, in order to enhance the region’s development, as well as to mobilize the new understanding of the Dar Hamid identity in Sudanese politics.

To consolidate this various collective activities and several communal occasions took place in different places in Khartoum and Kordofan. This was in order to spread the Dar Hamid new identity and to create propaganda for the union. In this context the union also held several communal Ramadan breakfasts in different places in Khartoum and also held conferences that were publicized through the media. These actions were designed and deliberated carefully by the elites to visualize some of Dar Hamid Sons Union’s stated goals to promote the development process in the Dar Hamid region.

Obviously the development discourse became a key element to the urban ethno/regional elites in order to point at marginalization at home, and the governmental ignorance to this state of affairs. We may say that the Dar Hamid Sons Union in a sense resulted from debates revolving around North Kordofan underdevelopment problems, finding out the suitable ways to achieve social and economic changes in the region. Thus the key element to the Dar Hamid elites was the development discussion and in what ways they could put pressure on the government to deliver social services in the area.

However the liberal development discourse sees the development only belonging to those who can help themselves through the market. The liberal point of view superseded the role of the state in development, but also gives a place for civil society organization to fill the government shortage in terms of services. The supposed role of the NGOs was to bridge the gap of development and urbanization of the local community, by engaging social initiatives from below. What is important here is that such charitable work among rural communities also would offer a good opportunity for those social actors to acquire considerable political influence. Through this the new Dar Hamid elites could challenge the local government in the Northern Kordofan province. And the impact of the Union also threatened the traditional Dar Hamid representatives in Khartoum as well as traditional leaders in the homeland.

In this chapter I will discuss some of the Dar Hamid Sons Union's socio-political effects, as seen within the elites themselves, and also among the general Dar Hamid ethnic groups. In addition, I will discuss how the Union managed to link people of the home areas with the general political context in Sudan.

The Dar Hamid Civil Society Organization and Politics

Civil society refers essentially to the so-called "intermediary body", between the state and society, where professional organizations, religious groups, labour unions and citizen advocacy associations, give voice to various sectors of society and enriched public participation in social development and stability (John Keane 2009). However, we cannot be indifferent to the state, simply because it exerts an overwhelming influence on people's individual and collective lives (Chandhock). The linkage between civil society and the state is therefore of interest.

Since the Dar Hamid Union supported the current president of the Sudan, Omer El Bashir, against the ICC in 2009, the Union has penetrated politics and become to many observers a political agent of the NCP. Practically the Dar Hamid Sons Union's political approach challenged the common belief that civil society is a neutral body between the community and state, without any contact to politics. It is clear therefore

that we cannot isolate civil society from politics. Cahoone, (2002) said the same, by paraphrasing John Locke's view that civil society is society as we know it, that is, with political authority.

The problem is that the political context always enables the community actors to give meanings to their actions and experiences. Therefore, once the Dar Hamid elites took the political initiative and supported the president against the ICC, they turned Dar Hamid people into followers of the current regime's political thought and policies. However, not all Dar Hamid people are followers of the NCP ruling party. The developments thus the Union helped reproduce the hegemony of the state over Dar Hamid people, leaving no space for freedom and no new ways of thinking.

What should be noted here is that the establishment process of the Union coincided with the Sudanese general election in 2010. The Union did not work directly with the government in that election, but many of the Dar Hamid elites had invested in the opportunity to promote their position within their own political parties. Some of them had exploited the Dar Hamid Union to serve their own interests. Later, some of these elites got political positions, as employees and officers, and what is remarkable is that some of the Dar Hamid Sons elites were selected as governors to some localities of the North Kordofan province. The previous leader of the Dar Hamid Union Preparatory Committee is one of those governors.

The Union, as a result, received special treatment from the current regime. Not because the leadership elites of Dar Hamid belonged politically to the ruling NCP but because the government is afraid of each clustering movement of people in the country. Especially the organisations that are based on regional or ethnical identity. Therefore the government did not stop the Union's work, but at the same time they did not register it formally yet. The registration matter is still pending at the Human Affairs Commission.

In spite of this the Dar Hamid Union was able to give voice to, and put the spotlight on a many types of problems among the Dar Hamid people. I attended one of the Union's meetings in Omdurman in December 2011. The agenda of that meeting was concerned

mainly with the Union's previous activities that had been carried out, in addition to evaluating the responses to the memorandum that the Dar Hamid Union submitted to the ruling congress party NCP in December 2011. Most importantly the Union's memorandum aimed at showing the possibilities of cooperation between the Union and the current regime in order to achieve some social and economic change in the Dar Hamid area.

More precisely the memorandum showed the historical governmental biases of North Kordofan in general, and the Dar Hamid area in particular. It mentioned how the Dar Hamid people have been marginalized politically since Independence till today. The people of the area are still suffering from underdevelopment, lack of very basic social services and needs such as roads, clean water, education and so on. What is more, the Dar Hamid memorandum politically put the spotlight on how people of the area, unlike neighboring regions - Darfur, south Kordofan - have not opposed the regime's policies since its ascent to power in 1989. Rather the people in the area are still in support of the Islamic civilization project that the ruling regime brought with it.

In the same meeting, the Dar Hamid Union assembly members declared that the current session of Dar Hamid Union did not fully represent support to NCP, but rather, that they, of tactical reasons, decided to cooperate with the regime. On the other hand the language that the Union used in the memorandum encouraged, even seemed to be begging, the central government to do what it was supposed to do, i.e. deliver essential social services to the Dar Hamid area. It was clear from this that the Union preferred to lobby the regime politically, rather than mobilizing military resistance back home. They did not want to start another Darfur.

The Dar Hamid Union and the North Kordofan Government

As in many other urban ethno/regional associations, civil society's organizations in Sudan drew mainly membership from outside the local community that they represent (Francis & Micheal 1998, (Chandhock 2001). This is also the case for the Dar Hamid Union. The current leaders do not have particularly strong links to the Dar Hamid area.

They migrated earlier, became engulfed in urban life, through education. But in spite of this they were able to challenge the government of North Kordofan province and even the traditional leaders in the Dar Hamid area. This is because the Union represents a large sector of agro pastoralist people who occupied most of two localities in Kordofan province. There are about 500,000 people from many ethnic groups living around Bara and western Bara districts. On behalf of that considerable number of people, the Dar Hamid Union put the government of North Kordofan in a difficult situation. By this they made the government to deal cooperatively and favorably with the Union, since the Union is referring to the rights of those people. In other words, the Union managed to transform their popular following among parts of the Dar Hamid grassroots into political power.

The Union, in fact, is a modern association based on politicians and professional elites who are well aware of how to deal with the current political situation in Sudan. In other words, the Union could provoke and direct general public opinion by various means, for instance the media. What is more, some of the Dar Hamid elites who lead the Union are members of the same NCP ruling party as the Kordofan governor, *Wali*. Thereby Dar Hamid elites could threaten the *Wali* himself by using their personal contacts with influential persons in the central government in Khartoum. Doubtless the power that the Dar Hamid Union has enables the elites to play essential roles at both local and national levels. Since power itself is based in the social relation of associations such relations will affect outcomes (Cahoone 2002).

The local effects of this is that for the first time two of the Dar Hamid peoples have occupied the posts of governors in some localities in North Kordofan Province. Most importantly, and also for the first time, the government of North Kordofan has shown some concern for the Dar Hamid area, bringing some social services and urgent developmental projects such as improving wells and modernising schools. Also, as a result, the area has been seriously included in the Kordofan government's development budget for the year 2012.

In this development, one of the decisive actions was done by the Dar Hamid Union in 2011 in Elobied city in Kordofan. The Union used the occasion of a large celebration to distribute 170,000 text books for free, as the first effort to make visible the lack of primary schools text books in the Dar Hamid area's schools. The step was aimed at encouraging people into education in the area, so as to eradicate illiteracy of the people and give hope to the coming generations. From another point of view the ceremony of Dar Hamid Sons Union also sent a message to the local government and the *jellaba* groups that the Dar Hamid agro pastoralist people has been educated and then can be leaders themselves.

Most importantly the event was attended by the governor *the wali* of North Kordofan himself, together with his ministers, in addition to many people from Dar Hamid area and elsewhere in El Obeid city. The *Wali* immediately in his speech at the ceremony afterwards expressed appreciation for the Dar Hamid Union's efforts towards development of the Dar Hamid area and encouraged the Union to further cooperate with himself and his regional government. He then ordered his government to establish a development committee for the Bara and Western Bara localities. This committee is composed of local governmental officers and the Dar Hamid Sons Union. The committee aims to provide reports about the area's needs to the government to deliver social and development projects into the area. Consequently, what has resulted in Kordofan due to cooperation between the *Wali* and the Union is a strengthening of the role of Dar Hamid Sons Union. In reality, however, the Union is not yet formally registered as a civil society organization with the government!

There are problems also locally. The Union is also being criticized for organising the book demonstration in El Obeid, and not in Bara, which is part of the Dar Hamid area, and thus create local support as well. To this criticism the current leader of the Dar Hamid Sons Union told me that:

We as Dar Hamid Sons Union cooperated with the Kordofan government, because its the institution directly responsible for development in the area. On the other

hand the Wali of Kordofan has contributed to our work in such projects and provided us with some funds. He gave us a good platform and access to discuss such issues that we were concerned with. But the governor of North Kordofan has no way to block us from working in Dar Hamid area. Not only because we are representatives of a big sector of Dar Hamid ethnic groups now living within districts under his authority, but also because we provided him with political support by creating for him a very good platform among the people of the area as a result of developmental results achieved on the ground.

Consequently, this success of the Dar Hamid Union resulted from the elites' complex networks connecting the Dar Hamid Union in Khartoum with local people's issues in Kordofan. As for the Dar Hamid Sons Union elites, in fact the appointment of two of Dar Hamid people in the Kordofan government as governors, is considered as a triumph by all Dar Hamid people in general and to the Union in particular. For the elites themselves, this success made them public figures, not only among their own ethnic groups at home, but also among important figures in the local and national authorities .

One of the most important socio impacts of the Dar Hamid Sons Union upon the Dar Hamid groups themselves, can be seen in the case of the Baghada and the Meganin ethnic groups. The Baghada group are people of eastern Dar Hamid area, whereas the Meganin ethnic group are people of the western Dar Hamid area. Both of these groups, as the rest of the Dar Hamid groups are agro- pastoralist. They are all considered as Dar Hamid tribes officially by the state as well. But internally, among the area groups there are sets of identities layers. For instance the Baghada ethnic group in Kordofan does not consider themselves as Dar Hamid tribe at all, while still, the current leader of the general Dar Hamid Sons Union is one of the Baghada ethnic group. This situation can be attributed to different reasons.

Actually the engagement of the Baghada ethnic group in the Dar Hamid Union has achieved them some benefits. Firstly, the Baghada ethnic group is considered as a minority group compared to the other groups in the area. However they occupied vast

areas of land around Umsayyalla district, eastern Dar Hamid area. In addition to that the Baghada group have engaged in modern education, starting after the droughts of the 1980th. In addition to that they do not have wider relations with the neighbouring ethnic groups in the area. They were till the 1980s involved with the land and had a very stagnant community, limiting themselves to animals and cultivation. However, after the droughts and famines, people mobilized socially and politically. Therefore, as to the Baghada elites the Dar Hamid Sons Union is giving them a good opportunity to link themselves to the rest of Dar Hamid groups, especially those who live in the western Dar Hamid area. In other words the Baghad group tactically is utilizing the Dar Hamid new identity to serve their own agendas. This is not only to have their identity as Baghada recognised as Dar Hamid. They descended not from Hamid. Rather, they wanted to be recognised among the Dar Hamid in order to benefit from the development projects that would come from the Dar Hamid Union's pressure on the government..

Heir local tribesmen at home did not use, the situation with the Meganin was the other way around. Their people at home are clearly part of Dar Hamid, but their elites in Khartoum do not use this identity. They deny their Dar Hamid identity and claim they are Masalmia. The Meganin elites in fact do not support the Dar Hamid Union because they believe that the new institution will affect their position in the government. In other words Meganin and *Jallaba* groups in Bara were a more educated category compared to the rest of the ethnic groups in the area and they were already involved among the political elites both in the region and in Khartoum. Thus the establishment of Dar Hamid Union has changed the equation for them. The Dar Hamid elites at present are empowered in addition to their being in majority. The Dar Hamid Union and its elites sought to include the elites of the Meganin group in the Union, but they refused the engagement by stating they were not part of Dar Hamid.

The clash over leadership in the Dar Hamid area is not only between the Meganin elites and the Dar Hamid Union as new player. Rather, it is extended into the groups of traditional *Nazirs, Sheikhs and Omdas*. It is well known that the Native Administration leadership in the area used to be held by the Hababeen ethnic group, a group from the

western Dar Hamid area. The current *Nazir*, Mohammed Tomsah, is from this group. This native system has been challenged by educated younger people, and we see that the Dar Hamid Sons Union represents precisely such a strong challenge to the Dar Hamid traditional leaders. Still, although the traditional leaders have lost, they are still influential.

Paradoxically, the Dar Hamid elites who are leading the Union at present and who are challenging the tradition leadership, combine two types of assets – on the one hand they appear as government representatives since they are closely related to the ruling political party. At the same time, they morally represent the victims of the government marginalization, by presenting themselves as representatives of the Dar Hamid people. This situation indicates to some extent how the tribal and regional politics have been intertwined and resulted in a very fluctuating situation of political belonging.

These elites evolved in very different local and national political settings. Thus the Dar Hamid Union elites not only challenge the traditional centres of power, *Nazra*, *Jellaba* and Meganin. They also threatened the local representatives of Dar Hamid area in the central government. Through such strategies they could move into future leadership positions in the areas of North Kordofan. Because political representation in the rural areas in Sudan normally is not based on elections only, and that appointments to positions is also related to loyalty to the state, rather than legitimacy from people (Manger 2002), the elites could play a mediating role between society and the government.

Conclusion

Due to ecological disasters, famines and recurrent droughts, profound changes have occurred in North Kordofan, demographically, economically and socio-politically. In the last three decades basic changes have occurred to agro-pastoralist people's lives, in this case the Dar Hamid people. Depopulation of the rural areas coupled with the urban pull factors on the other side, increased the already uneven relation between the urban and rural areas. In the political field during the same period, the ruling regimes have failed to build a national state based on citizenship rights and equal regional socio political

representation within a system of good governance. Rather, the regimes have concentrated development in the centre and then marginalized the bulk of Sudanese people in the peripheral regions.

This produced an ambivalent situation that expressed itself in the political practices on the ground. From the 1990s onwards one basic context for these political developments was the Islamic civilization project of the current regime, based on Islamic principles, a single-party system, a centralizing government and structural adjustment policies based on privatization. In the regions the current regime tried to polarize ethnic groups at all levels, sometimes through direct support to the tribes through political representation in important places. As a result of these policies, the tribes replaced the political parties in Sudan and brought in a new era of ethnicization that reshaped the political reality and introduced a very gloomy vision for the future Sudan

This is the context also for the Dar Hamid Union. Doubtless the Dar Hamid Sons Union has brought new regional discourses with them, encouraged by their groups of educated people in the cities, but also linked to regional discourses in North Kordofan. But the traditional leaders and native leaders are not included or consulted. Rather, the Union appears as exclusively an elite's work. Based on my field work, a large number of the Dar Hamid people in North Kordofan had not even heard about the Dar Hamid Sons Union at all. For instance Adam, in his fifties stated that:

If there is such a Union it would not be more than a reproduction and reemployment of the current regime agents, because North Kordofan area might also have resentment against the state for the marginalization situation that the area is living in. These new Dar Hamid elites who mainly are regime followers are part of this. Thus the regime and its elites in Dar Hamid have intended to absorb the public Dar Hamid anger through providing some services. But mostly they are broken promises, which is what the government used to do anyway.

This statement seems to be supported by the fact that the Union can operate at high levels, even without being formally registered to do any work at all. One may ask if non-NCP members could do the same.

Thus, the Dar Hamid Son's Union is a case that shows that the Western civil society perspective which portrayed the civil society and the state in extremely opposite positions. What we see is that state and civil society can interact. The Dar Hamid civil society organization as study case, showed that the state also has its own ways strategies to support and strengthen its own presence. The state also could use such ways and different methods in order to stay in power longer. By clustering and manipulating ethnic groups and make use of social and regional agents, such as the Dar Hamid Union leadership, they can achieve a lot. The Dar Hamid elites in fact belong to different political parties in Sudan, but consciously they put aside their political differences and appointed the NCP members at the head of the Union. This turned out to be a clever step to get access to the government. The Union may thus appear as promoting local development, but on another level it represents an organisation that facilitates the regime's relationship with people. The Union may not be very effective, but it becomes a continued necessity rather than short term option to establish developmental projects in the area and thus to link government and people. What we see then, is a relatively peaceful alternative to the violent reactions to the government that we see in Darfur, Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile areas.

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Appendix

بين رئيس البرلمان ومذكرة دار حامد وفاق التنمية المسدودة ببارا الكبرى!!! 1-4

صهيب حامد

قبل بضعة اسابيع قام بعض المنسويين لرئيس المجلس الوطني بتحرير صفحة مدفوعة القيمة بصحيفة الانتباهة وسمت بعنوان كبير يقول ان غرب بارا تودع العطش!! لقد استفز هذا الامر كافة مواطني وابناء المنطقة حيث يعلم علي نطاق واسع ان هذه المناطق هي الاكثر تائرا بالعطش علي نطاق السودان ،ذلك من جانب اما من الجانب الاخر فان هذا الاعلان قد اتى في توقيت تبذل فيه الجهود من قبل لجنة كونها والي شمال كردفان لبحث احتياجات المنطقة وايجاد الحلول لها وعلى راس ذلك معضلة العطش!!!.

يبدو ان هذا الامر بل بالف ولام العهد قد قام به بعض الصحفيين وهم يودون تقديم بعض الخدمات لرئيس المجلس الوطني اذ سرب لنا البعض ان هذا الامر قد تم خلف ظهر شيخ احمد ، هؤلاء انفسهم الذين طفقوا هذه الايام يسودون الصحائف ضد مقدمي مذكرة دار حامد لمكتب د.نافع مدعين بان ليس بالامكان احسن مما كان ، مستخدمين سرير بروكست في مط مواطني المنطقة واوضاعها قياسا علي امنياتهم في سبيل خدمة شيخ احمد مثلهم مثل ذلك اللص الاغريقي المدعو ببروكوست و الذي حكى عنه الميثولوجيا اليونانية ..فهو اما ان يقوم بقص اعضاء ضحيته ليتوافق طول الاخيرة مع سريره او ان يمت الضحية لتكون بطول السرير البروكوستي .. هؤلاء بالضبط يمارسون المط البروكوستي لاوضاع المنطقة ولكن علي الطريقة السودانية كي تتوائم مع ما تهواه انفسهم لتبييض وجه رئيس البرلمان فادخلوه بدلا من ذلك في حرج عظيم!!.

حسنا... وقبل عامين من الان تم جلوس الكاتب مع الاخ حاج ماجد محمد السوار حيث درج الكاتب انذاك على تناول الاوضاع المأسوية لمناطق دار حامد بما يمليه عليه ضميره، فاسر لي الاخ حاج ماجد انزعاج بعض الجهات التي لم يسماها من تلك الكتابات لدقة الظروف السياسية انذاك فاستجبت لتوجيهه بعد تطمينات منه ان المركز قد وجه بالاعتناء بتلك المناطق والبلاد مقبلة علي استحقاق انتخابي قريب. بالطبع اتت الانتخابات وذهبت ولم يحدث اي تحول جوهرى في موقف التنمية والخدمات هناك عدا تحسين القليل جدا من الابار وصيانة اخري اقل عددا وبعض الوعود الاخري التي لم تنفذ لمنطقة تكاد تتجاوز مساحتها بعض الولايات السودانية ويزيد عدد سكانها عن الكثير من بعضها!!!.

ان للاستاذ احمد ابراهيم الطاهر تاريخا ناصعا كشيخ من شيوخ الاسلاميين بكردفان خاصة والسودان على وجه العموم ،فلقد كان حظه اولاً ان يخلف الاستاذ محمد يوسف محمد بمدينة الابيض في مكانة سامقة كاحد مؤسسي الحركة الاسلامية السودانية وشيخ شيوخها الي يوم وفاته ،وكذلك في مكتب محاماته الشهير الذي ظل فيه الي يوم انتقاله الي الخرطوم في مبتدأ ثمانينات القرن الماضي كي يخلفه هناك الاستاذان الكبيران عبدالله الصافي والفاضل حاج سليمان واللذان واصلا سيرة عطرة في خدمة العمل الاسلامي سبقهما اليها شيخان كبيران افنيا زهرة عمرهما

في خدمة الحركة الاسلامية. ثم ثانيا فلقد كان من حظه كذلك ان تقدمه الحركة الاسلامية ممثلا لديوان النائب العام باقليم كردفان الي خلفه الشهير مع الفاتح بشارة حاكم اقليم كردفان انداك وزجه في السجن الي قيام الانتفاضة في 1985 . ومن ضمن ذلك فوزه الاول بدائرة الابيض لمجلس الشعب في ايام مايو ومن ثم ترشحه تارة اخرى ايام الجبهة الاسلامية حيث لم يكتب له التوفيق ، ولقد كتبت مقالا في تلك الايام بصحيفة الراية عن مرشحنا للدائرة 207 الابيض الشمالية ولم ازل طالبا بالصف الثاني المتوسط ..ان للاستاذ احمد ابراهيم الطاهر تاريخا ناصعا لا ينئى لا يتوفر سوى للقليل من سياسيينا وقد لا يعلمه الكثيرون اليوم بمن في ذلك اولئك النفر الذين وقفوا وراء اعلان الانتباهة فادخلوا شيخا في ورع احمد ابراهيم الطاهر في حرج ببلغ!!.

اما على مستوى السلوك والاستجابة السياسية فان الناس يختلفون حول رئيس البرلمان اختلافا كبيرا!!! ان الكثيرين من اهلنا علي مستوى كردفان عامة وبارا علي وجه الخصوص يسمون سلوكه واستجابته بالسلبية المفرطة فالي جانب كونه قامة سياسية فارعة وموئل روحي لكثير من الاسلاميين هناك الا انهم لا يتفائلون كثيرا من استجابته ازاء قضاياهم مهما كانت ملحة لذا فان الكثيرين يوصونك كلما اردت التوجه للخرطوم ان تختار بدانك بعد زيارة شيخ احمد ، فلقد آل علي نفسه ان لا يخصص جهوده لجهة ما حتي وان كان قد عاش بها ونشأ وترعرع فيها ،ولو كانت تقع في ذيل اولويات السياسيين وخارج دائرة اهتمام الدولة ، وكذلك حتي ولو كان رئيس البرلمان هو ابنها الوحيد الذي استثمرت فيه ووجد توفيقا اوصله الي مطبخ القرار السياسي _وبلئُ صاحب الفرصة البيئمة لاجراجها من وهدتها التاريخية دون باقي ابنائها من العالمين من لدن عبد الله بيه العريفي والي عبد الله محمد احمد_ اقول اوصله الي المطبخ السياسي الي جانب رئيس الجمهورية ونائبه هذا الاخير الذي يحتفظ مع صاحبنا بعلاقة احترام طويلة ومديدة لاكثر من اربعين عاما حين كان الاول رئيسا لاتحاد جامعة الخرطوم والثاني الي جانبه امينا ثقافيا بذات الاتحاد.

كاتب هذا المقال يتوفر علي مثال شخصي لم يحكه له احد ، فلقد تصادف ان قدنا مع اخرين من شباب كردفان احتجاجا شهيرا ضد امانة الشباب الاتحادية قبل بضعة اعوام توجت بانشاء الية لحل اشكاليات الشباب هناك، ولما كنا علي علم بعدم جدية القائمين علي امانة الشباب لحل هذه الاشكاليات لجأنا لحيلة اللجوء لكبير يعصمنا من ماء تلك الامانة فذهبنا الي منزل رئيس البرلمان في يوم عيد كاحد ابناء المنطقة ممن يعلموننا بالاسم ويعلمون اباؤنا وكسبنا بالحركة الاسلامية يوم كان الناس ناسا، ذهبنا اليه كي يكون بيننا وبينهم (يوم الغلاط) وجميعنا شباب نمثل كتلة شباب كبرى تبحت عن العمل والفرصة الكريمة لاستئناف الحياة. ان رئيس البرلمان باليد الاخرى لم يتذكرنا او يدافع عنا حين وجد اولئك الفرصة لحل تلك الالية دون ان يفعلوا شروى نغير لامل اولئك الشباب.. لقد وقف الجميع يتفرج علينا كصيد سياسي ثمين بمن فيهم صاحبنا وهو يعلم من نحن وابائنا بالاسم حيث لم يلحظ كونهم عاملونا كمنافسين محتملين ذلك ان لم نقل انه فاته اننا ابناء عمومة يقابل صريف منزله بقريته صريف منزلنا بقريتنا .. ونواصل في حلقتنا القادمة عن مأساة التنمية والخدمات ببارا الكبرى!!!.

بين رئيس البرلمان ومندوبة دار حامد وفاق التنمية المسدودة ببارا الكبرى! 2-4

صهيب حامد

وعطفا علي ما ذكرناه في حلقتنا السابقة فان طامة اخري قد تضافرت مع كل ما سبق ذكره كي تحيل اهاب رئيس البرلمان الي ما لا نتمني ان يكون عليه اهاب شخص نجله ونحترمه كاحمد ابراهيم الطاهر !! فلقد وضع علي بابيه حاجبا لا يذكره الا بما تذكره كتب التاريخ الاسلامي من حجاب غلاظ في بلاط الملوك والامراء الامويين والعباسيين والبويهيين ممن تحكي فيهم الحكايات وتقص عنهم القصص ونحن نذهب مع اخوتنا المسييرية والنوبة الي منازل قادتهم من امثال الدكتور عيسى بشري ومحمد مركزو فنجد الصالونات مفتوحة والقادة مبذولين لكل ذي حاجة او خدمة!!! لقد احال حجاب رئيس البرلمان مقابلته الي قطعة من نار وفي ذلك يمكن لاهلنا حكاية وحياكة القصص المضحكة ام المبكية لا ادري لمنطقة كمنطقتنا بيكي حتى البؤس من بؤسها!!.

هناك بعض المفارقة في العلاقة بين التنمية والتمثيل السياسي في السودان اليوم.. فبينما تجد المناذاة بالاولي مقبولة اكثر وان اقترنت بمزاج النظام السياسي فيما يتعلق بمتي واين ،فان الثانية والمتمثلة في التمثيل السياسي تواجه في الغالب بعنف لفظي وخطابي احيانا ومزيد من العزل السياسي!! في احييين اخري لجهة ان المطالبة الاخيرة تشير ضمنا او صراحة لاقصاء اخر يمثل نفس المنطقة (بالحق او بالباطل!) يمثل خيار النظام السياسي ويجد مقبوليته !!. ما اود قوله ان احدي اشكاليات منطقة دار الريح منذ القدم هي الغياب التام لابنائها من (الكتشن) الذي تطبخ فيه القرارات المتعلقة بالتنمية والخدمات والا فلينظر معي اولو العقول ..فلمنطقة تمتد من غرب امدرمان والنيل الابيض شرقا والي محليتي النهود غربا مثل بارا الكبرى لا تتوفر سوي علي اربعين دونكي نصفها معطل والنصف الاخر يعمل باقل من اربعين بالمائة من طاقته وهو ما يتذله بلا مواربة تقارير لجان المجلس التشريعي الولائي ،بينما محلية امروابة الحديثة (اي بعد اقتطاع الرهد وام دم) تتوفر علي مائة وثمانية وستين دونكي ..ولله المثل الاعلي!! .المثال السابق ليس من باب التعريض بجهة ما حباها الله بوضع جيد في مجال الخدمات بل هو مثال يعكس مدى مثابرة ابناءها وحدهم علي اهلهم ومناطقهم وهو مثال نتمني من الاخرين ان يحذوه في تدافع حميم من اجل مصالح الناس!!.

ذلك فيما يتعلق بالدوانكي اما بخصوص الابار فهناك الفان وخمسنة وخمسون بئر ببارا الكبرى وهي في الغالب ابار سطحية حفرها المواطنون بالجهد الذاتي عدا خمسين بئر او تزيد قليلا هي جهد حكومي او منظماتي ،بالطبع فان الابار السطحية لها اشكالياتها العديد والعويصة ،حيث ان استخدام الحبل او(الرشا كما يسميه الاهالي) يحدث تلوثا كبيرا بالمياه ،اضافة لاثرها في ظاهرة الفاقد التربوي فالمواطن يؤثر ان يقوم الابناء (من الجنسين) باعمال الرعي وجلب المياه علي حساب المثابرة في تعليمهم وادخالهم المدارس. هناك بعض الجهد في تحسين هذه الابار _ هذا الاخير هو مصطلح يعني تركيب طلمبة غاطسة وصهريج وواپور_ اقول جهدا في تحسين الابار ولكنه جهد محدود وبطي .فتخيل معي ان كل الجهد في تحسين الابار السطحية التي يتجاوز عددها كما ذكرنا اعلاه الالفين وخمسائة ،اقول لا يتجاوز هذا الجهد المائة بئر بما في ذلك الابار موضوع الازمة التي قام بها رئيس البرلمان ابان الانتخابات الفاتنة في بازار كسب الاصوات حيث لم يبذل جهدا في مجال المياه بعدها والي اليوم ،فضلا عن انها ركزت في منطقة واحدة (وهو امر يسأل عنه سكرتير رئيس البرلمان) فهي ايضا تواجه الكثير من الاشكاليات ، فان لم يكن

جلها معطل اليوم فعلي الاقل الكثير منها!! هناك جهد في هذا المضمار يقوم به كل من مشروع درء اثار الجفاف والتصحح ووزارة المياه والطاقة بالولاية بقيادة خالد معروف _المتهم الاخر_ ولكنه لا يرقى لمستوي التحدي لمنطقة مهددة بالاندثار خلال عشرين عاما ان لم تتداركنا اقدار الله كما تقول التقارير العالمية بخصوص التغير المناخي والتدهور البيئي!.

الطرفة ام المفارقة لا ادري والتي يمكنك ان تحكيها عشر مرات لتجد نفس الدهشة هي ظاهرة الفاقد التربوي ، اذ يدخل المدارس كل عام ما لا يقل عن الاربعة عشر الف طالب في الصف الاول بيد ان عدد طلاب الصف الثامن بكلا المحليتين لا يتجاوز الثلاثة الف ونصف طالب !!ان اشارت هذه الحقيقة لشيء دال فهي تشير لظاهرة الفاقد التربوي الكبير الذي تتجاوز نسبته الثمانين بالمئة ، اي ان احد عشرة الف طالب من جملة الطلاب يتسرب ما بين الصف الاول والثامن دون ان يطرف جفن لمسؤول مركزي او ولائي او محلي ..ولله في خلقه شؤون!! ان اسباب الفاقد التربوي هناك هي نفسها اسباب تدهور العملية التعليمية بالمنطقة ..انعدام الكتاب المدرسي ،البيئة المدرسية ،الاستاذ. امر اخر يتعلق بالتوازن المطلوب بين التعليم الاساسي والثانوي وها هنا فالارقام لموحية ..فهل يصدق احد ان بادارية ام سيالة ستة وخمسون مدرسة اساس مختلطة لا يقابلها سوي مدرستان ثانويتان ،اما بادارية طيبة القديمة فهناك ثمانية وستون مدرسة اساس لا تقابلها سوي مدرسة ثانوية واحدة واخيرا انشنت مدرسة بنات ثانوية بدميرة هذا العام بها فصل واحد واخري بطيبة للبنات ايضا انشنت بجهد ذاتي تقريبا لولا تبرع والي الولاية بثلاثين الف جنيه قبل بداية العام الدراسي بقليل ، وهاهنا علينا ذكر امر مهم يتعلق بالتعاطف الكبير الذي يوليه والينا الحالي لهذه المناطق وهو ما لم تجده من ولاتنا السابقين. الامر نفسه ينطبق علي ادارية ام كريمة بالمسطرة.. ستون مدرسة اساس مقابل مدرسة واحدة للبنين واخري للبنات . وهو نفس المنوال في باقي الاداريات الستة،كل ذلك يحدث علي مرمي حجر من اسماع وانظار كل الحكومات الولائية المتعاقبة والحجة التي الفناها هي ضيق ذات اليد وشح مال التنمية.هذه الارقام بالطبع مبذولة علي وجوه تقارير ادارة التعليم بالولاية والمحليتين!!؟؟. اما فيما يتعلق بواقع المعلم والبيئة المدرسية والكتاب المدرسي فحدث ولا حرج . ان من ضمن ما يربو علي الثلاثمائة مدرسة بالمحليتين لا يتجاوز عدد المدارس المبنية بالمواد الثابتة الاربعون مدرسة ، اما متبقي العدد_وكما ذكرنا في المذكرة المرفوعة لنائب الرئيس لشئون الحزب_ فهي مدارس قشية خالصة من نصيب التلاميذ اثناء الدوام ومن نصيب الحيوان بعده او في الاجازات مما يرهق الانسان وبيئته كل عام في سبيل الهرولة السنوية لبناء المدارس. اما الكتاب المدرسي فهو القشة التي قصمت ظهر البعير ،ففي دراسة مسحية قام بها الاتحاد العام لابناء عموم دار حامد فلقد تبين ان كل مدرسة خارج مدينة بارا لا تتوفر سوي علي كتاب واحد من كل نوع وهو بالطبع لا يكفي سوي للمعلم ..المعلم الذي يفتقد للمرشد التربوية وكل معينات العملية التعليمية بما في ذلك الطيبشور. لقد بدأ الاتحاد العام لابناء عموم دار حامد مشروعه الاول العام الفائت وهو سد النقص في الكتاب المدرسي حيث بدأ بالحلقة الاولى (اول ،ثاني ،ثالث) ، لقد كلف هذا المشروع ما يوازي مبلغ الخمسمائة وستة عشر الف جنيهه فنحننا في تنفيذ هذا المشروع ولكن بعد ان حفيت اقدامنا وجفت جيوبنا وادركنا ان امر الخدمات والتنمية لا يمكن ان يقوم بمبادرة فردية .

امر مهم يجب ذكره هاهنا وهو ما تقتضيه الذمة والامانة ، فلقد شارك كل من رئيس المجلس الوطني وولاية شمال كردفان ممثلة في واليها بقدر كبير في نجاح مشروع الكتاب المدرسي الذي قام به اتحاد دار حامد. اما الامر ذو الدلالة

فيما يتعلق بمساهمة رئيس المجلس الوطني هي انها اتت بعد ان باع بعض اعضاء الاتحاد سياراتهم في سبيل اكمال المشروع .فلقد ذهبنا عند التفكير بالمشروع اولا الي رئيس المجلس الوطني وراعي المنطقة في منزله في مفتتح رمضان الفائت ووقفنا لدي بابه لساعتين وبعد مكالمات مأكوية بين سكرتيره والحرس واخرين قفل وفد الاتحاد راجعا في الثانية صباحا دون ان يحظي بمقابلة رئيس البرلمان بعد ان تركنا اسمائنا ومسودة المشروع لدي الحرس .وهكذا انطلق المشروع دون مشاركة رجل المنطقة الاول بالمركز ولقد اجتهدنا فيما بعد للقائه عبر الكثير من المراسيل _ومن ضمنهم لواء بالجيش السوداني والامير_ وكذلك فشلنا فشلا ذريعا في لقائه!! .عموما نجحنا في تدشين المشروع حيث استلم التلاميذ بالحلقة الاولى الكتب المدرسية بنسبة مائة بالمائة بعد ان كان لا يوجد سوى كتاب الاستاذ ..وهاهنا تنبه ابن المنطقة الاول بالمركز للامر كي يطلب اجتماعا بالاتحاد ويتبرع بمبلغ معقول للمشروع ،فاستلمناه ولسان حالنا يقول (ليت الاولى هيله) ، فلقد كان من الوارد فشل المشروع بعد الاحباط الاول الذي لقيناه من الرجل الاول!!.

بين رئيس البرلمان ومذكرة دار حامد وفاق التنمية المسدودة ببارالكبرى! 3-4

صهيب حامد

حسنا..وكما ذكرت في خاتمة الحلقة السابقة فلقد شارك كل من رئيس المجلس الوطني وولاية شمال كردفان ممثلة في واليها بقدر كبير في نجاح مشروع الكتاب المدرسي الذي قام به اتحاد دار حامد. اما الامر ذو الدلالة فيما يتعلق بمساهمة رئيس المجلس الوطني هي انها اتت بعد ان باع بعض اعضاء الاتحاد سياراتهم في سبيل اكمال المشروع..فلقد ذهبنا عند التفكير بالمشروع اولا الي رئيس المجلس الوطني وراعي المنطقة في منزله في مفتتح رمضان الفائت ووقفنا لدي بابه لساعتين وبعد مكالمات مأكوية بين سكرتيه والحرس واخرين قفل وفد الاتحاد راجعا في الثانية صباحا دون ان يحظي بمقابلة رئيس البرلمان بعد ان تركنا اسمائنا ومسودة المشروع لدي الحرس .وهكذا انطلق المشروع دون مشاركة رجل المنطقة الاول بالمركز ولقد اجتهدنا فيما بعد للقائه عبر الكثير من المراسيل _ومن ضمنهم لواء بالجيش السوداني والامير_ وكذلك فشلنا فشلا ذريعا في لقائه!! عموما نجحنا في تدشين المشروع حيث استلم التلاميذ بالحلقة الاولى الكتب المدرسية بنسبة مائة بالمائة بعد ان كان لا يوجد سوى كتاب الاستاذ ..وهاهنا تنبه ابن المنطقة الاول بالمركز للامر كي يطلب اجتماعا بالاتحاد ويتبرع بمبلغ معقول للمشروع ،فاستلمناه ولسان حالنا يقول (ليت الاولى هيله) ، فلقد كان من الوارد فشل المشروع بعد الاحباط الاول الذي لقيناه من الرجل الاول!!.

ان للطرق مأساة اخري مع مناطق دار حامد ..اولا فان كل هذه المنطقة التي تمتد من غرب امدرمان شرقا والي تخوم دارفور غربا لا تتوفر علي طريق قومي سوي طريق بارا- الابيض الذي لا يتجاوز طوله الخمسين كيلو متر ، اما طريق بارا امدرمان_ وكما هو مذكور في مذكرة الاتحاد_ فهو قد صار مثل الخرافة نسمع به ولا نراه عكس الكثير من الطرق بالسودان التي تجدها امامك فجأة كأنما اقامها سحرة (!!!!) رغم ان طريقنا هذا يقبع في اضاير وزارة المالية الاتحادية منذ عشرات السنين !!! نفس الامر ينطبق علي الطرق الداخلية والزراعية حيث لا تتوفر مناطقنا ولو علي طريق واحد منها. ان الصدمة التي لم يفق منها مواطنينا والي اليوم هي الانحياز غير المفهوم الذي مارسه رئيس البرلمان لصالح وزير المالية الاتحادي علي حساب نائب منطقتة مهدي اكرت الذي ابكى حتي احجار البرلمان ،حيث يبدو ان رئيس البرلمان لم يري في ابن عمومته سوى (مستهيل) يزرف دموع التماسيح لاحراج وزير المالية هذا الاخير الذي لم ينفذه سوى تدخل رئيس البرلمان بالضغط على اكرت للتنازل عن حقه في تطوير الامر امام البرلمان كي يكتفي_ اي اكرت_ بنصر اعلامي صار بطله لعدة اسابيع وان منى ومواطنيه بهزيمة ساحقة نتيجة القبول الاجرائي لحجج وزير المالية من قبل البرلمان بفعل تواطؤ رئيسه!!.

اما فيما يتعلق بالخدمات الاخري المتمثلة في الصحة والطاقة فالامر لا يصدق احد لمنطقة تنام علي صفحة ولاية الخرطوم غربا وصفحة حاضرة ولاية شمال كردفان شمالا. الافتقار الكامل للمستشفيات و الشفخانات والمراكز الصحية ..مستشفي واحد غير مكتمل ببارا يعاني الكثير من الاشكاليات .مستوصف ريفي بام سيالة وطبية وام كريم وهي كلها لا ترقى لمستوي الشفخانات. الكهرباء لا تتعدى مدينة بارا المغذاة من الابيض عبر الشبكة القومية. وكما ذكرت المذكورة فلقد حدثت كارثة شهيرة العام الفائت بمنطقة الخيران حيث ادخل البنك الزراعي المزارعين السجن لعدم سداد القروض بعد ان فشل موسم زراعة البطاطس هناك والمشكلة كلها لعدم وجود مواعين تخزين مكيفة

للمحصول وتعزز الترحيل بسبب وعورة الطريق ففسد المحصول رغم ان ابعاد مسافة من بارا لا تتجاوز الخمسين كيلو مترا!!.

ان ام المشاكل بالمنطقة الشمالية لشمال كردفان هي التدهور البيئي المتمثل في الجفاف والتصحر والذي يمكن ان نؤرخ له منذ العام 1984 او قبل ذلك قليلا . فمذ اذمتناك ضربت المنطقة موجة من الزحف الصحراوي تزامنت مع شح في الامطار احال تلك المناطق الي مناخ الصحراء وشبه الصحراء بدلا من مناخ السافنا الفقيرة الذي كان سائدا . وهكذا فقد المواطن موارد الكبيرة بعد نفوق الثروة الحيوانية بالمنطقة حيث صارت تربية الحيوان في حدها الادني بما لايسمن ولايغني من جوع في منطقة يجري اسفل ارجل مواطنيها الحوض الجوفي الاضخم في السودان ان لم يكن في افريقيا والوطن العربي!! . وكذلك تآثر بشكل كبير النشاط الزراعي بعد ان شح هطول الامطار شمال خط عرض ثلاثة عشر..وهو ما وجده بعض المعنيين بالزراعة بالولاية زريعة لوضع سياسات تهمل تطوير التقانات الزراعية المروية وغير المطرية عبراستغلال المياه الجوفية الوفيرة والتي يشرب منها مواطني الابيض منذ عقد ونصف ،وظفق هؤلاء في حديث ممل عن اقتصاد المنطقة الرعوي الذي لم يوفروا له لا العناية البيطرية ولا السلالات المحسنة ولا سياسات تحسين المراعي الفعالة كي يترك مواطن دار الريح نهبا لبؤسه وفقره فلم يجد سوي المنافي بديلا!!.

لقد نشأ مشروع درء اثار الجفاف والتصحر قبل مايقارب العقدين من الزمان او يقل قليلا بمبادرة من الاستاذ ابن عمر محمد احمد لتلافي ما يمكن تلافيه جراء التدهور البيئي نتاج كارثة الجفاف والتصحر ،ولكن يبدو ان هذا المشروع قد اريد به مآرب اخري ..فهو لم يقدم والى اليوم اي خدمة فعالة لوقف هذه الظاهرة !! . الجهد الاكبر لادارة المشروع تركز في المجالات الاستثمارية فهو قد دخل في مجال تشغيل الاليات واعمال الطرق ،وحتي فيما يتعلق باعمال الحفائر فانه يهتم بمناطق اخري غير ذات التآثر الاكبر بالظاهرة ..فمثلا مناطق كالحمره وام ضبان وهي مناطق حصاد مياه وقراديد لا تجد ما تجده مناطق ابو حبل وود البقة!!لقد قام المشروع ببعض اعمال تحسين الابرار وبناء الفصول في المنطقة وهي اعمال لا ترقى لان يتم الادعاء تحت مظلتها بان المشروع يقوم بمهامه الاساسية ..لذا فهذه الاعمال تبدو كالرشوة لاسكات افواه المعنيين!! .

ان المشروع الكبير والحقيقي الذي قام به مشروع درء اثار الجفاف والتصحر هو مشروع الطاقة الشمسية وقد نفذ بتمويل صيني هندي يتجاوز العشرة ملايين دولار في سبيل نشر معدات الطاقة الشمسية لاغراض الاضاءة والتشغيل والطبخ في حزام الزحف الصحراوي لتخفيف الضغط علي البيئة .ووقف القطع الجائرللاشجار لاغراض الطبخ والبناء والانارة_ الخلاوى مثلا_ وهو ما ذكر فعلا في ديباجة المقترح المقدم للتمويل، ولكن الطامة الكبرى فيما يتعلق بهذا المشروع انه تحول لافة استثمارية تجاوزت المناطق المستهدفة وكي توزع المعدات حسب الحظوة وهو ما ذكرناه في مقالات عديدة قبل زمان مضي وكي تترك مناطق الحوجة لحظها العاثر السرمدي ..نواصل.

بين رئيس البرلمان ومندوبة دار حامد وفاق التنمية المسودة ببار الكبرى! 4-4

صهيب حامد

- 1/ ظاهرة اشار لها الكثيرون ما اذا كان المسؤول هو الذي يحل في الموقع ام الموقع هو الذي يحل في
- 2/رسالة الي الانقاذ حيال قادتتها من الذين لا يؤدون سوى المهام القومية دون كبير عناية بمناطقهم وخير مثال هو نهر النيل والشمالية
- 3/ان ما لا يجب نكرانه في هذا المضمار هو الاحساس الكبير الذي يكنه والي شمال كردفان لهذه المناطق فهو يحمل عواطف نبيلة ازاءها وقد فعل وفق امكانياته ما يستطيع فعله فلقد دعم مشروع الكتاب المدرسي الذي نفذه الاتحاد العام لابناء عموم دار حامد وساهم بشكل كبير في شبكة مياه ام سيالة وكذلك شبكة ام شيب. ولكن قدر ولاية شمال كردفان انها من الولايات الاقل موارد ان لم تكن الاقل وهو ما يجوب علي المركز الالتفات للعناية بتطوير مواردها كي تقوم ببعض اعباء التنمية خصوصا في ظل الكثير من الحقائق فاو لا فهي من الولايات ذات الكثافة السكانية العالية_ ما يزيد علي الثلاثة ملايين نسمة_ ثم ثانيا فهي ايضا من الولايات ذات الثقل الكبير في مجال الثروة الحيوانية . ان من جانب اخر فان والي شمال كردفان قد اجتهد كثيرا كي يجنب الولاية المخاطر السياسية التي نجمت جراء العجز في الفصل الاول هذا الاخير الذي كان مسلسلا مملا في عهود سلفيه ،فالولاية قد صارت اليوم اكثر حرصا علي اداء التزامات الفصل الاول
- 4/ ان من اهم نصائحنا لاستاذ معتصم ميرغني ازاء هذه المنطقة في المرحلة القادمة هي الاستعانة بابناء هذه المناطق في ادارة محلياتها فهم الاكثر مقدرة علي تحمل ظروفها الصعبة ومن ثم ثانيا الاكثر حرصا علي الارتقاء باوضاعها . وبالطبع فليس في ذلك اي موقف سلبي من معتمديننا الحاليين لكن يبدو ان محليات كمحليات بارا وغرب بارا وهي محليات طاردة بلا موارد لا تستوعب طموح الكثيرين
- 5/ ان كان للانقاذ كعب اخيل فان هذا الكعب هم اولئك الذين لا يعكسون مشاكل اهلهم ولا يطالبون بها وان طالبوا بها فهم يفعلون ذلك علي استحياء كأنهم بذلك يأتون عيبا كبيرا .. او بالاخري يدعون موقفا قوميا وكأنما القومية تعني جر الناس في شوك المعاناة وهم يرون الاخرين يحملون اهلهم علي كفوف الراحة ولا تثريب علي احد في ذلك فخيركم خيركم لاهله كما يقول رسولنا الكريم
- 6/ان مشكلة العرجان لهي خير مثال لما نشكي منه !. لقد اشتجر قبل اربعة اعوام او تزيد كل من العريفية وابناء عمومهم المجانيين حول بعض الزراعات قرب قرية ام عديريية وقد كان نتيجة ذلك ستة واربعين قتيلًا من الجانبين مناصفة . نعم لقد انعقد مؤتمرا للصلح بعد ذلك بمدينة الابيض علي ان تدفع الديات من الطرفين لاولياء الدم من الطرف الاخر ،ولما كانت الديات مبلغا كبيرا لضخامة الضحايا فلقد كان من العسير علي اناس يكتويهم الفقر ان يدفعوا تلك المبالغ وان توزعت علي البطون الاخري فهي الاخري لا تعاني باقل مما تعانيه الاول وهكذا ظل اولياء الدم معلقين منذ ذلك الوقت ومعظمهم اما ارامل او يتامى فقدوا العائل الاساسي في تلك الطامة الكبرى !!. ان من بين المقعدين جراء هذه المشكلة الشاعر القومي المفلق الكبير قسم الله ود جبر الدار شاعر الدوبييت الشهير وهو اليوم جليس عنقريب بقرية ام عديريية دون ان يتفضل عليه احد بتذكرة الي الاردن كي ننقذ تراثنا للادب الشعبي يمشي علي

رجلين!! لم يتدخل احد لحل هذه المشكلة لان ابن القبيلتين المتقاتلتين هو رجل بحجم احمد ابراهيم الطاهر هذا الاخير الذي لم يضغط علي الحكومة كي تشارك في الحل كما شاركت في حل مشكلة المسيرية والرزيقات والتي تجاوزت دياتها عشرات المليارات، بيد ان هذه المشكلة لا تتجاوز دياتها المليار الواحد!!

العريفية والمجانين ..كرة اخرى!!

صهيب حامد

لم يزل شيطان التفاصيل يطارد ولاية شمال كردفان ..فبينما تحاول الولاية الخروج من نفق ما حدث بود بنده وما استتبعه من كثير التداعيات هناك وعلى راسها مقتل زعيم العدل والمساواة الدكتور خليل ابراهيم ،اذا بالاحداث تنفجر في محلية غرب بارا مرة اخرى حيث قضى امر الله ان يلقى رجلان ربهما في داخل قسم شرطة مدينة المزروب بعد ان تم القبض عليهما على اثر مناوشات بينهما وفصيل قبلي اخر يتهمهما باخذ بعض البهائم ، احدهما من العريفية والاخر من قبيلة الجوامعة محلية ام دم وشخص اخر لم يصب باذى هو اليوم رهين الحبس بالمزروب . بلاشك ان هذه المسالة هي جزء من تداعيات الخلاف القديم بين العريفية والمجانين منذ خمسة اعوام مضت حيث لقي ستة واربعون شخصا حتفهم بعد معركة دامت يوما كاملا مناصفة بين الطرفين!!!.

نعم ..لقد انعقد الصلح بين العريفية والمجانين فيما بعد بمدينة الابيض علي ان تدفع الديات من الطرفين لاولياء الدم ،ولما كانت الديات مبلغا كبيرا لضخامة عدد الضحايا فلقد كان من العسير علي اناس يكتويهم الفقر ان يدفعوا تلك المبالغ وان توزعت علي البطون الاخرى ، فهي بدورها هذه الاخرى لا تعاني باقل مما تعانيه الاولوي ،وهكذا ظل اولياء الدم معلقين منذ ذلك الوقت ومعظمهم اما ارامل او يتامى فقدوا العائل الاساسي في تلك الطامة الكبرى !! ان من بين المقعدين جراء هذه المشكلة الشاعر القومي المفلق الكبير قسم الله ود جبر الدار شاعر الدوبييت الشهير وهو اليوم جليس عنقريب بقريه ام عديريه دون ان يتفضل عليه احد بتذكرة الي الاردن للعلاج من الشلل الذي اصابه جراء اصابة في ذات الاحداث، كي ننفذ تراثا للادب الشعبي يمشي علي رجلين!! وهكذا ظلت هذه القضية معلقة والجميع يضعون ايديهم علي قلوبهم خوفا من انفجارها مرة اخرى في ظل حس الغبينة بين اولياء الدم نتيجة عدم دفع الديات ..الانفجار الذي حدث الاربعاء الفائت بالمزروب ، وبذا تلعب الصدفة دورها فيفتح هذا الملف كرة اخرى وهو ما يحتم على الجميع الالتفات السريع والمسؤول لحل هذه القضية من جنورها .

ان العلاقة بين العريفية والمجانين هي اكثر من علائق الدم كابناء عمومة، فهم ظلا يرعيا جوارا تاريخيا يتجاوز مئات السنين وما يستتبع ذلك من علائق النسب والمصاهرة كي نعلم مبلغ الضرر الذي يمكن ان ينتج عن مثل هذه الاحداث المدمرة للسلام الاجتماعي المستدام والمتلفة للنسيج الاجتماعي في هذه المناطق ذات الحساسية الكبرى في ظل الاختراقات المتكررة للحركات الدارفورية المسلحة وليس اخرها ما حدث بود بنده ومناطق الذهب بشمال كردفان .

ان كانت من مسؤولية كبرى فانا نخاطب بها الاستاذ احمد ابراهيم الطاهر رئيس المجلس الوطني ابن المنطقة الاول بالمركز ونائب احدى دوائرها ،اذ ان تدخله في هذه اللحظة سوف يكفكف الكثير من المصائب الناتجة عن تراكم الغبن جراء عدم دفع الديات في القضية الفائتة وهو ما يحز في نفوس اولياء الدم وقد مرت اكثر من خمسة سنوات على المشكلة. كلنا شهود على المساهمة الكبيرة التي قامت بها الحكومة في مشكلة الرزيقات والمسيرية التي كان على

راسها رئيس البرلمان نفسه حيث تم دفع مليارات الجنيهات في سبيل كفكفة المشكلة ،فما بال رئيس البرلمان لا ينحاز
لاهله لكفكفة تيار الدم ؟!!!.

وفي هذا الصدد لا بد من لفت نظر والي شمال كردفان الى البطة الذي تعامل به معتمد غرب بارا مع تداعيات هذه
المشكلة فلم يلقى بالا لتحذيرات العريفية من تواجد المتهم الثالث بالمزروب وهو ما خلق شكوكا كبيرة لدي اهل
المتوفين .فحتى وفي ظل تأكيدنا على عفوية الحادثة فانا لا يمكن ان نتساهل مع الالهال في سلوك المعتمد وهي
ليست الحادثة الاولى التي تاكد ان معتمد غرب بارا لا يمتلك مواهب التعامل الحذق مع اشكالات هذه المناطق !! لذا
فانا لا نرجو من والي شمال كردفان سوى اصدار امل عاجل لنقل المتهم الثالث الى حاضرة الولاية والتحفظ على
المشتبه بهم حتى لا يتقول الناس الاقارب.واخيرا لا نتمنى سوي سلامة اهلنا والعيش بسلام في ظل سلام مستدام والله
المثل الاعاى.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الإتحاد العام لأبناء عموم دار حامد

خطاب للأخ مساعد رئيس الجمهورية

ونائب رئيس المؤتمر الوطني للشئون السياسية والتنظيمية

لعناية الدكتور/ نافع علي نافع

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

مدخل تعريفي:

تقع مناطق دارحامد في القطاع الأوسط لولاية شمال كردفان وتشمل محليتي بارا وغرب بارا حيث تمتد من محلية سودري شمالاً حتى مشارف مدينة الأبيض جنوباً، ومن محلية أم روابة و النيل الأبيض وولاية الخرطوم شرقاً وحتى محافظة النهود غرباً، في مساحة شاسعة تتجاوز مساحة العديد من الولايات السودانية. أما بخصوص السكان فتقطن هذه المنطقة تكوينات قبلية تمثل أغليبتها قبائل دار حامد المتمثلة في النواحية والبغادة والمرامرة وأولاد اقوي والعريفية والهبابين والفراحنة والجليدات والمعاقلة والمعاليا والمجانين والبزعة إلى جانب الجوامعة والركابية والجوابرة والجلابة الهوارة والذناقلة والجعليين وقبائل أخرى .

يبلغ عدد سكان هذه المنطقة وفق المعايير الفنية للتعداد الأخير ما يربو علي الأربعمائة وخمسين ألف نسمة ، وإن أشار الكثير من الخبراء لمشكلات اعترت هذا التعداد مثل وعورة الطرق وغيرها حيث يشير الكثيرون لتجاوز سكان هذه المنطقة الستمائة ألف نسمة. كما يجب عدم نسيان بطون دار حامد الذين نزحوا الي حاضرة ولاية شمال كردفان وولاية الخرطوم حيث يمثلون أغلبية كبيرة بمحلية امبدة والتي يمثلها أربعة نواب بالمجلس الوطني .
تصنف المنطقة بأنها تقع في حزام السافانا الفقيرة، وهي منطقة رعي وزراعة مطرية، حيث تعتبر المنطقة من الموارد المهمة للثروة الحيوانية بالسودان، خاصة تربية الضأن الصحراوي، وتوجد بها منطقة الخيران والواحات الصالحة لإنتاج الفواكه والخضر ويقع بها حوض بارا الجوفي أكبر بحيرة جوفية بالسودان. كما تشتهر المنطقة بإنتاج الملح ، الي جانب ظهور خام السيليكون بمناطق الرمال البيضاء بكل من البشيري والطويل ومناطق الخيران.

خلفية تاريخية:

ألمت بمناطق دار حامد في العام 1984 كارثة الزحف الصحراوي والجفاف والتصحر والتي أفقرت إنسان المنطقة وأهلكت نسله وزرعه وحيوانه وأجأته ولأول مرة في تاريخه للنزوح بفعل الطبيعة لولاية الخرطوم وحاضرة كردفان الأبيض حيث شكل أهلنا هناك أحزمة كبرى منذ ذلك الوقت وإلى اليوم ، وبذا صار لدار حامد وجود كبير بكل من محليتي بارا وغرب بارا ومحلية شيكان بشمال كردفان كما يمثلون اليوم الأغلبية بمحلية أم بدة والتي تشكل أربع دوائر قومية بالمجلس الوطني.

إن التحدي الكبير الذي يواجه الجميع اليوم - مسؤولين وقادة محليين- هو كيفية استدامة الاستقرار بهذه المناطق أولاً لوقف نزوح المواطنين من هناك ومن ثم الاستفادة من المواطن نفسه في مشروعات لإزالة الفقر ووقف ظاهرة

الزحف الصحراوي وخلافه . لقد استبشرنا خيرا حين تم إنشاء مشروع درء آثار الجفاف والتصحر قبل أكثر من عقد من الزمان وقد ظننا أن الحكومة المركزية قد التفتت لمحاربة الظاهرة الأكبر التي أفقرت المواطن هناك ولكن إذا بهذا المشروع يتحول الي اكبر كذبة بعد أن صار مطية للمسؤولين في حل مشكلاتهم بمعزل عن الاعتناء بالظاهرة التي أنشئ من أجلها عدا بعض الشذرات القليلة مثل تحسين بعض الآبار أو المساهمة في بعض انشاءات المدارس ولم تزل ظاهرة الجفاف والتصحر تتمدد جنوبا كما لم تزل الرمال تدفن الأحياء والأموات علي مسمع ومرأى من الحكومات والأجهزة والمسؤولين.

مشكلات الخدمات والتنمية:

المياه

إن لإنسان دار حامد قصة معاناة مع المياه لا تنقضي رغم أنها على بعد باع من قدميه، وكما هو معلوم فإن مناطقنا تتوفر علي أكبر بحيرة جوفية في السودان وهي حوض بارا الجوفي، ورغم ذلك وكما أبانت بعض الدراسات الموثوقة فإن ثلثي وقت إنسان هذه المنطقة مهدر في جلب المياه سواء في السير إلى المسافات البعيدة لجلبها أو الوقوف المضني علي أفواه الآبار لانتشالها من بطون الأرض عبر الرشا وجر الحبل نساء ورجالا وشيبا وأطفالا الأمر الذي ترك علامات مسجلة على أيديهم ووجوههم وإلى اليوم. فهل يصدق الأخ نائب رئيس المؤتمر الوطني أن من ضمن أربعة ألف بئر بمناطق دار حامد ليس هناك أكثر من مائة بئر محسنة وهو أمر انعكس على الاهتمامات الأخرى لإنسان تلك المنطقة، لذا فان مناطقنا تحوي المخزون الاستراتيجي الأساسي من الفاقد التربوي علي مستوي البلاد كما سيتبين في الأسطر القادمة.

التعليم

أما في مجال التعليم فحدث ولا حرج . فهل يصدق أحد أن إدارية أم سيالة ست وخمسون مدرسة أساس مختلطة لا تقابلها سوى مدرستان ثانويتان ،أما إدارية طيبة القديمة فهناك ثمانية وستون مدرسة أساس لا تقابلها سوى مدرسة ثانوية واحدة وأخيرا أنشئت مدرسة بنات ثانوية بدميرة هذا العام بها فصل واحد. الأمر ينطبق علي إدارية أم كريمة بالمسطرة.. ستون مدرسة أساس مقابل مدرسة واحدة للبنين واخري للبنات ، وهو نفس المنوال في باق الإداريات السبع. كل ذلك يحدث علي مرمي حجر من أسماع وأنظار كل الحكومات الولائية المتعاقبة ، والحجة التي ألفناها هي ضيق ذات اليد وشح مال التنمية.

قصة أخري تحكي حجم المأساة في مجال التعليم بمناطقنا ، فهل يصدق الأخ مساعد رئيس الجمهورية ونائبه لشؤون الحزب بأن مجموع طلاب الصف الاول بمحليتي بارا وغرب بارا يبلغ أربعة عشر ألف طالب- وهو كذلك لعدة سنين فائتة- بينما يبلغ مجموع طلاب الصف الثامن فقط ثلاثة ألف وسبعمائة طالب ..أي أحد عشر ألف وثلاثمائة طالب هو الكم المهدر في بحر الفاقد التربوي ما بين الصف الأول والأخير في مرحلة تعليمية واحدة . وهذه الأرقام بالطبع متاحة في تقارير إدارة التعليم بالولاية والمحليتين ولكن لمن نشكفي!!! أما فيما يتعلق بواقع المعلم والبيئة المدرسية والكتاب المدرسي فحدث ولا حرج . إن من ضمن ما يربو على مائتين وخمسين مدرسة بالمحليتين لا يتجاوز عدد المدارس المبنية بالمواد الثابتة أربعين مدرسة ، و مثل ذلك يتراوح وضع الفصول ما بين القشبية والثابتة ، أما متبقي العدد فهي مدارس قشبية خالصة من نصيب التلاميذ أثناء الدوام ومن نصيب الحيوان بعده أو في الإجازات مما يرهق

الإنسان وبيئته كل عام في سبيل الهرولة السنوية لبناء المدارس. أما الكتاب المدرسي فهو القشة التي قصمت ظهر البعير ، ففي دراسة مسحية قام بها الإتحاد العام لأبناء عموم دار حامد فقد تبين أن كل مدرسة خارج مدينة بارا لا تتوفر سوى على كتاب واحد من كل نوع وهو بالطبع لا يكفي سوى للمعلم .. المعلم الذي يفتقد للمرشد التربوية والتدريب .

لقد بدأ الإتحاد مشروعه الأول العام الفائت وهو (سد النقص في الكتاب المدرسي) وقد بدأنا بالحلقة الأولى (أول ،ثاني ،ثالث) ، لقد كلف هذا المشروع مبلغ خمسمائة وستة عشر ألف جنيه، حيث نجحنا في تنفيذ هذا المشروع ولكن بعد أن حفيت أقدامنا وجفت جيوبنا وأدركنا أن أمر الخدمات والتنمية لا يمكن أن يقوم بمبادرة فردية دون جهد الدولة صاحبة الجلد والراس في ذلك ، لا نعني الدولة على مستواها الولائي فهذه ذات خزينة أفرغ من فواد ام موسي!!.. اما فيما يتعلق بالتعليم العالي وبالرغم من اتساع هذه المنطقة ارضا وسكانا لا توجد بها ولا كلية واحدة للتنمية المجتمع دع عنك بقية اشكال مؤسسات التعليم العالي الاخري !!!.

الصحة .. الطاقة

أما بخصوص الخدمات الأخرى المتمثلة في الصحة والطاقة فالأمر لا يصدقه أحد لمنطقة تنام على صفحة ولاية الخرطوم غربا وصفحة حاضرة ولاية شمال كردفان شمالا تعاني الافتقار الكامل للمستشفيات و الشفخانات والمراكز الصحية ..مستشفى واحد غير مكتمل ببارا يواجه الكثير من المشكلات ..مستوصف ريفي بأم سيالة وطبية وأم كريمة، وهي كلها تقف عاجزة عن تقديم الخدمة لفاصديها . الكهرباء لا تتعدى مدينة بارا المغذاة من الأبيض عبر الشبكة القومية. لقد حدثت كارثة شهيرة العام الفائت بمنطقة الخيران حيث أدخل البنك الزراعي المزارعين السجن لعدم سداد القروض بعد أن فشل موسم زراعة البطاطس هناك والمشكلة كلها لعدم وجود مواعين تخزين مكيفة للمحصول وتعذر الترحيل بسبب وعورة الطريق ففسد المحصول رغم أن أبعد مسافة من بارا لا تتجاوز الخمسين كيلو متر..فتأمل!!، مأساة طريق بارا - أم درمان ..

إن للطرق مأساة أخري مع مناطق دار حامد ..أولا فان كل هذه المنطقة التي تمتد من غرب أم درمان شرقا وإلى تخوم دارفور غربا لا تتوفر على طريق قومي واحد ، أما طريق بارا أم درمان فهو قد صار مثل الخرافة نسمع به ولا نراه عكس الكثير من الطرق بالسودان التي تجدها أمامك فجأة كأنما أقامها سحرة (!!!!) رغم أن طريقنا هذا يقبع في أضيابير وزارة المالية الاتحادية منذ عشرات السنين ورغم الدموع التي انهمرت من اجله من ابناء المنطقة بالبرلمان والتي ننمني ان لا تمتصها رمالنا الزاحفة هباءا منثورا!!! نفس الأمر ينطبق على الطرق الداخلية والزراعية حيث لا تتوفر مناطقنا ولو على طريق واحد منها.

لجنة تنمية محليتي بارا وغرب بارا:

لقد دخل والي شمال كردفان مشكورا في شراكة مع الإتحاد العام لأبناء عموم دار حامد فأصدر قرارا يقضي بإنشاء (لجنة تنمية محليتي بارا وغرب بارا) وذلك في سبيل إنشاء قاعدة بيانات أساسية عن المنطقة لإقامة مؤتمر تنمية للارتقاء بأمر التنمية والخدمات هناك، ولكن للأسف الشديد لم تزل هذه اللجنة ومنذ إنشائها تترنح وسط شح الإمكانيات،وكما نعلم فإن مواعين المال بولاية شمال كردفان لا يحسدها عليه عدو ولا تسر صديق إلى جانب ثلاثة

الأثافي والمتمثلة في خواء أبناء المنطقة بالخرطوم ..جيوبهم وعلاقاتهم .وبذا صارت هذه اللجنة كحمار وقف في العقبه ونحن كشيخه وقفنا نتفرج عليه إلى أن يقضي الله امرنا كان مفعولا!!!
دار حامد والإنقاذ؟.

هنا تجب الإشارة إلى أن الاتحاد العام لأبناء عموم دار حامد هو كيان خدمني بالمقام الأول وليس كيانا عنصريا أو قبليا حيث إن دار حامد تضم أبناء حامد وغيرهم من القبائل حيث ظلت هذه المنطقة بوتقة تمازج وانصهار منذ القدم ، كما إن من يقود هذا الكيان اليوم هم أبناء الحركة الإسلامية الخالص بألف ولام العهد إذ تظل هذه الأخيرة المونل لكل المتعلمين من هذه المنطقة بحكم طبيعتهم كأبناء قبائل أصيلة في مضممار الثقافة العربية والإسلامية، وهو الأمر الذي لا تنتنع فيه عزان وشه الحمد . ذلك من يدٍ أما من اليد الأخرى فلقد قدمت هذه المنطقة للدولة السودانية منذ القدم أجل الخدمات فقد كانت ساعدا قويا للدولة المهدية في دحر فلول الترك ودولتهم ، أما في حاضر أيامنا هذه فلدار حامد تاريخ مشهود في دعم الإنقاذ حيث انخرطوا في سلكها بلا من ولا أذي ولا شروط فملؤوا سوح الجهاد منذ مبتدا التسعينات فلا تخلوا قرية من قراهم أو فرقانهم من شهيد أويزيد .

كما تجب الإشارة إلى أن قبائل دار حامد كانت لها وقفة مشهودة وشهيرة لمناصرة رئيس الجمهورية ضد ادعاءات المدعو لويس مورينو اوكامبو وذلك في العام 2009 بقاعة الشهيد الزبير حيث وقف رئيس الجمهورية وسط أهله من أبناء دار حامد الوقفة التي سجلها الإعلام العالمي والمحلي على السواء ،فلقد كان لقاء مناصرة ذا طبيعة خاصة أكد مدي شعبية الرئيس وسط الكيانات الأهلية والشعبية . أما باليد الأخرى فان مناطقتنا تعد صاحبة الرقم القياسي في الولاء للمؤتمر الوطني إذ يحسب لها أنها صاحبة النسبة الأعلى بولاية شمال كردفان في التصويت للمؤتمر الوطني في الانتخابات الفائزة سواء للرئيس أو الوالي أو المجلس الوطني أو التشريعي رغم الوعود الكذوب التي بذلت للارتقاء بمستوى التنمية والخدمات هناك . ورغم كل هذا الواقع المر لم ينجر إنسان هذه المنطقة وراء أحلام الحركات المتمردة والمتفلتة بدارفور وغيرها وكذلك لم تنجر وراء حوافز النظام الليبي وزعيمه الذي لم يدخر وسعا في سبيل إدخال أهلنا في دائرته الخبيثة ، فهذه المنطقة هي الضامن الأساسي لأمن المركز والدرع الواقى من كافة الأزمات ونحن على وعي بذلك مهما تجاهلنا الحكومات المتعاقبة ومهما تجاوزتنا قطارات التنمية والخدمات .فليتصور معنا الجميع أن هذه المنطقة التي تحتويها محليتان ويتشاطرها ما يزيد عن الستمائة ألف نسمة وتتجاوز في مساحتها الكثير من الولايات ليس بها مشروع تنموي واحد لتشغيل عشرة أفراد..فتامل!!!.

التمثيل السياسي:

لم يكن أبناء دار حامد من طلاب السلطة في يوم من الأيام حيث اكتفوا بتنمية مواردهم الخاصة بدارهم وذلك منذ القدم ، ولكن وبعد بروز مشكلات التدهور البيئي بالمنطقة ما بعد العام 1984 أصابت المنطقة الكثير من الكوارث حيث أعيّتنا- وإلى اليوم- الحيلة في كيفية لفت انتباه السلطة والمسؤولين لهذه المشكلات الكبرى .
وأخيرا تنبه المعنيون بمشكلات التنمية بهذه المنطقة أن أسّ البلاء هو عدم التمثيل السياسي لأبناء هذه المناطق في مواقع تجبر صناع القرار لسماع صوت مواطني هذه المناطق المنكوبة. إن الحل الحقيقي لكثير من مشكلات الناس هناك هو التمثيل العادل والمعقول لهذه المنطقة علي كافة مستويات السلطة ، وإن كان هذا الأخير مطلبا نرفع به

الأصوات لأول مرة إلا إنه يمثل حلاً للغز الأبواب المغلقة، وكذلك فإن منطق الحكم الاتحادي يعطي الناس حق رفع الأصوات عاليا دون أن يكون لذلك أية مغزى آخر كمخالفة النظام السياسي أو الطعن في مشروعه.

ثم ماذا أخيراً: أيها الأخ مساعد الرئيس ونائبه لشؤون الحزب ..فقد بسطنا في هذا الخطاب بعض مشكلات أهلنا وقد اتسم القول بالصراحة البالغة ونحن نعلم مقدار رحابة صدرك لمقابلة كل هذا الكلام دون تبرم أو صرة وجه ، فلقد أعيتنا الحيلة في كيفية بسط مشكلات المنطقة، وهانحن اليوم نقدم بعضا مما يؤرقنا في هذا الخطاب رغم خجلنا من أن يعاني أهلنا من مثل هذه المشكلات في الألفية الثالثة!!!.فنحن لا نطمح سوى للأخذ بالسوية مع الآخرين في مجالات الخدمات والتنمية والتمثيل السياسي وهو ما يمثل مكافأة يستحقها إنسان هذه المنطقة الذي صبر في ولاء طويل للانقاذ لم يلتفت لصيحات التقلت رغم أنه علي مرمى حجر من كل ذلك ولم يتذمر عسى أن تكون مكافأة صبره خير ..والله من وراء القصد ولا نريد الا اصلاحا والله خير الشاهدين

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

المكتب التنفيذي

28 يوليو 2011م

الخرطوم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

تصور مشروع التمويل الاصغر لمحلتي بارا وغرب بارا

مقدمة :

بلا شك فلقد صار مشروع التمويل الاصغر هو احد الاهتمامات الاساسية للدولة ومنظومة المنظمات ذات الاهتمام بقضايا التنمية وازالة الفقر لما يوفره من مال دوار تتداوله المجتمعات المحلية في سبيل الارتقاء بحياتها . لذا ورجوعا لتوجهات الدولة وحسب الحاجة الماسة والضرورية لمشروعات التنمية المختلفة في محليتي بارا وغرب بارا وعبراليات المجتمع المدني (جمعيات ومنظمات) ،رجوعا لكل ذلك يأتي الاهتمام بادخال مجتمعاتنا ضمن مظلة التمويل الاصغر خاصة مشروعات المياه ومشروعات الدخل المجتمعي ذات الطبيعة الانتاجية الزراعية والحيوانية . ولانفاذ ذلك ولطبيعة هذه المشروعات ذات النفع المجتمعي غير الفردي تاتي اهمية انشاء الجمعيات الائتمانية لاغراض التمويل الاصغر كي يتوفر تمويل مناسب لاقامة مشروعات ذات طبيعة معقولة نسبيا وتأثير مجتمعي كبير يتوفر عبر الية التمويل الاصغر .

الاهداف :

- 1/ الاسهام في تنمية المجتمعات المحلية بمحليتي بارا وغرب بارا .
- 2/ الارتقاء بمستوي دخل المجتمعات المحلية وتحسين معيشتها ببارا وغرب بارا .
- 3/ استثمار الامكانيات الحيوانية والزراعية والبيئية ذات القيمة النسبية بهذه المناطق .
- 4/ تحريك الطاقات الشبابية والنسوية بالمجتمعات المحلية ببارا وغرب بارا .
- 5/ تحديد نقاط الضعف في اقتصاديات المجتمعات المحلية والاهتمام بتقويتها لتقوية دخل الفرد والمجتمع .
- 6/ ايجاد فرص عمل للخريجين من ابناء المنطقة والفاقد التربوي عبر المشروعات المقامة عبر التمويل الاصغر . عبر هذه الالية يمكنها حفز رؤوس الاموال الوطنية والاجنبية للاستثمار pilot projects /7 اقامة مشروعات رائدة هناك .
- 7/ خلق موارد اضافية للمحليات عبر التوسع في هذه المشروعات ونجاحها .

الوسائل :

- 1/ تكوين الجمعيات الائتمانية بالقرى والاداريات ببارا وغرب بارا لاغراض التمويل الاصغر .
- 2/ خلق صلات ائتمانية بالبنوك ولائيا ومركزيا التي تتعامل بصيغة التمويل الاصغر وغيرها لتسهيل تمويل الجمعيات والافراد .
- 3/ توسيط الجهات المعنية سياسيا واداريا لتسهيل التمويل مركزيا وولائيا .
- 4/ تدريب المجتمع المحلي علي كيفية التعامل مع الية التمويل الاصغر .
- 5/ الاتصال بجهات الاعمال لتيسير الدراسات والدعم الفني والاستشارات طويلة وقصير الاجل .

6/ اقامة الورش والسمنارات في هذا الصدد .

الهيكل الاداري للمشروع:

المشرف العام

المنسق

نائب المنسق

مدير مالي م.جمعيات_ مشروعات_ تدريب

لمشروعات

المستهدفة :

1/ محطات مياه متكاملة

2/ تحسين ابار سطحية

3/ مراكز الشباب والرياضة

4/ مشروعات نسوية

5/ شبكات مياه

6/ تحسين نسل وتربية الحيوان

7/ مشروعات تربية الدواجن

8/ اقامة مزارع بسعة لا تقل عن مائة فدان لتجريب الري المحوري والتنقيطي بمناطق المياه الجوفية الوفيرة.

التكلفة بالجنيه	العدد	البيان
6600000	30	محطات مياه متكاملة
3000000	100	تحسين ابار سطحية
1000000	30	مراكز شباب
2500000	20	مشروعات دواجن
3000000	30	مشروعات نسوية
3000000	100	مشروعات توطين الغاز
5000000	5	شبكات مياه ل7000 اسرة
5000000		تحسين وتربية مواشي
10000000	20	مشروعات ري محوري وتنقيط
39100000		الجملة

تصور الجمعيات الانتمائية :

يتم تكوين مائة جمعية انتمائية خلال العام الاول من التجربة علي ان يتم توزيعها بمعقولية علي كافة الاداريات العشرة لمحليتي بارا وغرب بارا ، كما يجب ان يتم اختيار المشروعات بما يتناسب مع طبيعة هذه الاداريات لضمان نجاحها . كما يجب الحرص علي التدرج في تكوين الجمعيات بما يضمن التركيز والنجاح .

الاحتياجات :

- 1/ عربة بوكس (دبل كاب فور ويل درايف)
- 2/ طاقم مدربين بالتعاون مع وزارة المالية .
- 3/ ايجار مكتب واثاث بالابيض .
- 4/ طاقم بحثي لتجهيز الدراسات اللازمة للمشروعات المستهدفة تشمل الجانب الاجتماعي والاقتصادي والتسويق والاثر البيئي للمشروعات.
- 5/ تسيير .
- 6/ ورش وسمنارات .

الميزانية:

- 1/ ايجار عربة 12000
 - 2/ ميزانية تدريب 10000
 - 3/ مصروفات مكتب 10000
 - 4/ بحوث ودراسات 50000
 - 5/ تسيير 20000
 - 6/ الاعلام 10000
 - الجملة 112000
- الجملة: فقط مائة واثنان عشر الف جنيه لا غير .

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الخطوط:

مناطق غرب بارا مهددة هذا العام بكارثة كبرى ان لم يتدارك المسؤولون الامر

العطش اكبر المشكلات ولم يزل المواطنين يستخرجون المياه بجر الحبل

المواطنون يستغيثون بنائب دائرتهم بالمجلس الوطنى ويفشلون فى مقابلته !!

الكوتيشنات:

- بعض الابار غير صالحة للاستخدام الادمى وتسقى منها البهائم فقط ويعتمد الاهالى فى مياه الشرب على جلب المياه من مناطق اخرى .. اما برميل الماء فيبلغ سعره عشرة جنيهات !!
- اهالى قرية زقلونا ادرية ام كريمة :ندفع لشرب المدرسة 1430 جنيه شهريا .. والمدرسة مبنية بالمواد المحلية وقد كلفتنا هذا العام فى الصيانة 2750 جنيه!!
- اكثر وفيات النساء اما بسبب النزيف او الاجهاض او عسر الولادة ولا توجد قابلات مدربات لارتفاع تكلفة التدريب لا تزال تنتشر دابة الحبل بهذه المناطق .

مقدمة :

تعتبر محلية غرب بارا من افقر المحليات بولاية شمال كردفان ، واذا اعتبرنا بعض المعايير التي تضع ولاية شمال كردفان في ذيل قائمة الولايات تنمويا فسوف نجد ان محليات كل من بارا وغرب بارا من افقر (ان لم نقل الاكثر فقرا) على مستوي السودان !!. فلقد ألمت بهذه المناطق في العام 1984 كارثة الزحف الصحراوي والجفاف والتصحر والتي أفقرت إنسان المنطقة وأهلكت نسله وزرعه وحيوانه وأجأته ولاول مرة في تاريخه للنزوح بفعل الطبيعة لولاية الخرطوم وحاضرة كردفان الابيض حيث شكل أهلها هناك أحزمة كبرى منذ ذلك الوقت وإلى اليوم. لقد تم كتابة هذا التحقيق بعد جولة ميدانية في تلك المنطقة حيث اتضح انها تعاني شحا كبيرا في مياه الشرب وانعدام شبه تام في المواد الغذائية والحبوب مما يوحي بتكرار الكارثة.

مشكلات العطش والمياه:

الكثير من المواطنين كانوا يعملون في الزراعة اما في الصيف فليس من عمل سوي سقي البهائم ورعايتها. اما هذه الايام في ظل ظروف شح الامطار والمرعي ظهرت ظاهرة نفوق البهائم فمثلا في مناطق الشريف والهيماموى والصفاء تموت البهائم ما بين سبعة لتسعة بهائم في اليوم ، هناك بعض القرى بها بئر محسنة واحدة فتشرب معها القرى المجاورة وقد يصل عددها لخمسة عشرة قرية. ان البئر غير المحسنة محدد لها اربعة دلاو فقد ومن ثم ينتظر الناس لساعات حتي تجم البئر ومن ياخذ دلو خامس قبل ذلك يغرم خمسون جنيه. كما ان الابار تنهار وقد تم ابلاغ الجهات الرسمية ولم يحرك ساكن. في بعض القرى تم تحسين بئر واحدة ولكنها تنتج فقط عشرين برميل مع ان طاقة

الصهريج اربعين برمیل.ولا تكفي حاجة القرية الاساسية وهي ستين برمیل للناس والبهائم . بعض القرى نصيب الاسرة في اليوم جركانتين فقط ومن يريد ان يزيد عليه ان يذهب الي الحاج اللين التي تبعد خمسة كيلو من القرية. هناك جوع حقيقي بين الناس ، فحوال الدخن بلغ 200 جنيه اما الذرة ف 120 جنيه . الناس باعت بهائمها للعتش وعدم وجود المرعي لتاخر الخريف . وهناك نفوق كبير بين البهائم بسبب ذلك .

تقول الاستاذة فاطمة سالم عضو المجلس التشريعي الولاى ان المرأة بهذه المحلية تعاني معاناة لا توصف اولا فهناك جلب المياه حيث يقع العبء الاكبر في ذلك علي المرأة بشرق المحلية احسن حالا ولكن غرب المحلية المعاناة اكبر لوجود الصخور الاساسية . بعض المناطق يتم الحصول علي المياه بالتناكر وهي تاخذ اكثر من مسيرة يوم لجلب المياه من مناطق بعيدة . النساء يجلبن المياه علي الدواب وعلي رؤوسهن ورغم ذلك لا يوجد الماء احيانا حتي لمجرد الموضوع . وحتى المناطق التي توجد بها ابار فهي ملوثة بسبب جر الحبل.

يقول الاستاذ الحسين عبد الله الحاج عضو المجلس التشريعي بالولاية ان المشكلة الاساسية في هذه المناطق تتمثل اولا في المياه حيث يوجد في هذه المنطقة اكثر من ثلاثمائة بئر فشرق المحلية تقع في طرف حوض بارا الجوفي لذا فتكثر الابار السطحية اما غرب المحلية ونسبة لوجود الصخور الاساسية فهناك اشكال في وجود المياه. في شرق المحلية ورغم قرب المياه ولكن هناك مشاكل كثيرة في استخراجها من ذلك والى اليوم استخدام الرشا وجر الحبل في استخراج المياه مما ياخذ جل وقت المواطن بما لا يتيح له اي زمن لفعل اي شئ اخر . هناك جهد في تحسين الابار ولكنه في معظمه جهد غير حكومي بواسطة بعض المحسنين والمنظمات اما احمد ابراهيم الطاهر فقد قام بتحسين بعض الابار ولكنه جهد دون المرجو منه بكثير . هناك مطالبة لانشاء عشرة دوانكي بغرب المحلية (منطقة صخور اساسية) ولكنها في اطار القرض الصيني حيث تحتاج لبعض الوقت والجهد خصوصا وان الحفارة الان بغرب الولاية لحفر دوانكي وبار هناك.

قضايا ومشكلات التعليم:

محلية غرب بارا بها مائتين وخمسون مدرسة اساس عشرون فقط منها مبنية بالمواد الثابتة اما البقية مبنية بالمواد المحلية . كما ان هناك نقص حاد في المعلم ،ففي العام الفائت تم تعيين خمسمائة وسبعة معلم بالولاية كان نصيب المحلية كلها فقط ثلاثة عشرة معلم . يقول الاستاذ الحسين عبد الله الحاج نائب الدائرة 13 التشريعية ان دائرته تحوي فقد مدرسة اولاد واحدة ثانوية بطيبة اما مدارس البنات فهناك مدرسة دميرة التي افتتحت العام الفائت ومدرسة طيبة التي افتتحت هذا العام بفصلين بعد جهد مضني حيث تبرع لنا الوالي بثلاثين الف جنية استلمناها وتبرع لنا احمد ابراهيم بعشرين طن اسمنت لم نستلمها الي الان وقد حولنا مكاتب الاساتذة الي داخلات. طلاب الاساس يدرسون اسفل الاشجار لعدم توفر الفصول . اما الاجلاس فلا يوجد تماما في مدارس الاساس . فيما يتعلق بالكتاب المدرسي فلقد تم التغطية في لعام الفائت بنسبة 30% وهذا العام التلاميذ يدرسون من الكتب القديمة . هناك مساهمة من برنامج الغذاء العالمي في اطار برنامج العمل من اجل الغذاء حيث تم المساهمة في بناء ستة واربعين فصل.

الملاحظة المهمة الاخرى ان هناك سوء تغذية حاد وسط الطلاب .كما ان المتعاونين من المعلمين يقوم بدفع مرتباتهم اولياء الامور رغم شح موارد المواطنين هناك . اولياء الامور ليس لهم مقدرة علي شراء الزي المدرسي لذا لا يلزم

التلاميذ به ، لقد وعد احمد ابراهيم الطاهر نائب الدائرة الكثيرين باكمال او المساعدة في بناء المدارس القشية بالمواد الثابتة في الانتخابات السابقة ولكنه لم يفي بوعد.مثلا فقد قام اهالي قرية امدندر ابو السعود برفع طوب اربعة فصول بالجهد الذاتي والي اليوم لم تعرش لعدم توفر الامكانيات. هناك اشكال في الكتاب المدرسي لا توجد كتب تماما عدا كتاب الاستاذ . اتحاد دار حامد قام بتوفير كتاب الحلقة الاولي العام الفائت ووعدنا باكمال النقص هذا العام ولكن لم تاتي حتى الان.

مثلا مناطق كل من الشريف والهيماوي وما حولها تعاني من اشكالية في الكتب المدرسية من الصف الرابع الي الثامن حيث تدخل اتحاد دار حامد في حل مشكلة الحلقة الاولي بنسبة مئة في المئة). كما هناك نقص في السبائير وطاولات المعلمين .اما بخصوص المعلمين بهناك نقص كبير يكمل بالمتعاونين الذين يدفع مرتباتهم المواطنون. هناك ملاحظة اساسية وهي ان المواطنين اغلبهم قد ذهب للتنقيب العشوائي عن الذهب!!.

مشاكل الصحة والعلاج:

اما فيما يتعلق بالرعاية الصحية فيقول الاهالي انها مفقودة تماما الصحة ، فهناك اشكاليات كبيرة في موضوع الولادات لذلك لا تزال توجد داية الحبل بتلك المناطق. فمثلا ادارية الحاج اللين التي تحوي سبعين قرية بها مركز صحي واحد بالحاج اللين. وكذلك في منطقة الشريف هناك شفخانة واحدة عبارة عن حجرة تغطي خمسة عشرة قرية وبها فقط مساعد طبي واحد.

تقول الاستاذة فاطمة سالم عضو المجلس التشريعي الولائي فيما يتعلق بالصحة ان بام كريدم مستشفى ريفي بالمزروب كما هناك تحت الانشاء مستشفى لرعاية الامومة والطفولة بام كريدم بواسطة منظمة البر والتواصل. اما فيما يتعلق بالقبالات فهناك شح كبير فهناك قرية بها مائين اسرة ولا توجد بها قابلة. ويتعاملون مع قابلة الحبل حتي الان كما ان اغلب وفيات النساء بسبب النزيف والاجهاض وعسر الولادة كما ان هناك اشكالية في عملية تدريب القابلات لان التدريب في العام يكلف ثلاثة الف جنيه اما في الابيض او بارا وهو مبلغ كبير لا يتوفر للمتدربات.

خاتمة:

ان الهدف الاساسي لهذا التحقيق هو دق ناقوس الخطر جراء التداعيات الخطيرة التي تحدث في هذه المناطق من غرب بارا او بارا الكبرى وهو حديث موجه للحكومة الولائية وكذلك الحكومة المركزية في ظل شح الامكانيات بولاية شمال كردفان . اما الرسالة الاساسية فهي موجهة للاستاذ احمد ابراهيم الطاهر رئيس المجلس الوطني حيث لا يليق ان تكون احوال دائرته بهذا الترددي المزري وهو علي ما هو عليه رئيسا للهيئة التشريعية القومية . ان المآخذ الاكبر الذي لا يخفيه المواطنون هناك هو تصريحات نائب الدائرة المخزية بالصحف ان دائرته قد ودعت العطش حيث يحكي لسان الحال والمقال هناك انهم يعيشون في اوضاع لا يمكن ان يعيش فيها الانسان العادي من الازراء والمسغبة ، بل لا تليق ان يعيش فيها الحيوان ..واخيرا نتمني من المسؤولين و علي راسهم نائب الدائرة التفات الجاد لمشاكل تلك المنطقة.

لجنة متابعة مذكرة اتحاد دار حامد المرفوعة للسيد مساعد رئيس الجمهورية بتاريخ 2011/7/29

تحديد وترتيب المطالب والأولويات التنموية

ترى اللجنة أن محليتي بارا وغرب بارا شبه خاليتين من المشروعات التنموية، وأن المنطقة تحتاج لكل شئ وفي كافة المجالات الأمر الذي يستدعي الإتفاق على كيفية البداية و تحديد المشروعات الأساسية التي ينبغي إعطاؤها الأولوية، وبما أن مشروعات التنمية يمكن أن تدعم وتكمل بعضها البعض مستقبلاً، فإن البداية يمكن أن تنحصر فقط في المجالات الآتية: الطرق، المياه، التعليم، الصحة، الزراعة، الرعي، الطاقة، تأهيل البيئة.

تأتي الطرق على رأس الأولويات لما للطرق من أهمية بحيث أنها يمكن أن تساعد في ربط المنطقة بباقي الوطن بما يمكنها من تسويق منتجاتها وإستجلاب حاجياتها بسهولة أكبر ولما يحققه ذلك من إنفتاح وربط لإنسان المنطقة بالشأن القومي ومحاربة الإنغلاق وتسهيل إنسياب المستثمرين للمنطقة ما يحققه ذلك من نهضة في كافة المجالات، أما الخدمات الأساسية من تعليم وصحة ومياه فهي من ضرورات الحياة التي لا غنى للمواطن عنها وتأتي من صميم واجبات الدولة نحو المواطن الذي ظل يعطى دون مقابل لفترات طويلة من تاريخ السودان، أما الزراعة والرعي فهما عماد الحياة بالمنطقة ولا يمكن الإرتقاء بها ما لم يحدث تحول جوهري في طبيعة المنشطين، يأتي ذلك في الوقت الذي يلتفت فيه السودان لمنتجاته الزراعية والحيوانية بعد إنفصال الجنوب وضرورة تقليل الإعتماد على المورد البترولي بل وتعويض الفاقد منه نتيجة إنفصال الجنوب، وكلها جوانب قومية يستفيد منها السودان كله في هذا الوقت، وعموماً فإننا نقترح المشروعات التنموية الآتية:

أولاً: مشروعات الطرق:

- 1- مشروع طريق أم درمان- بارا
- 2- مشروع طريق الأبيض- أم جمط-السعته- أم كريمة -المزروب- سودري (طريق الذهب)
- 3- مشروع طريق طيبة-دميرة - أم قرفة (الطريق الزراعي).

ثانياً: في مجال المياه:

- 1- تحسين جميع آبار المياه السطحية بالمنطقة والبالغ عددها 3000 بئراً تقريباً.
- 2- انشاء عدد 50 دونكي بكل محلية لشرب الإنسان والحيوان.توجد الآن 32 دونكي تعمل بحوالي 30% من طاقتها(وهناك 36 دونكي معطلة تقريباً). مناطق الصخور الاساسيةالتي لا يمكن أن تنتج مياه سطحية هي مناطق أم كريمة والمزروب ومنطقة البقادة.
- 3- مشروع مياه القاعة والهشابية وقرى البقادة وغرب أم كريمة وذلك عبرمد أنابيب مياه من أقرب نقطة أوحوض مياه عذبهالي هذه المناطق .
- 4- مشروع حصاد المياه بمناطق أم سيالا وأم ضبان (وادي زايد).

ملحوظة: نقترح الاستفادة من القروض الميسرة من صناديق التمويل الأجنبية لأغراض تطوير مصادر المياه كأولوية قصوي.

ثانياً: في مجال التعليم:

1. تأهيل جميع المدارس بالمنطقة وتحويل جميع المدارس القشية إلى البناء الثابت وإكمال النقص في مجال الخدمات المختلفة (359 مدرسة أساس بالمنطقة 297 منها مدارس قشية) بالإضافة لإكمال النقص في المعلم والإجلاس مع التحسين الكامل للبيئة المدرسية.
2. زيادة عدد المدارس الثانوية بنين وبنات (عدد المدارس الثانوية الان 23 مدرسة منها 12 منها داخل مدينتي بارا والمزروب). نقترح انشاء عشرين مدرسة ثانوية علي ان يراعي التوزيع الجغرافي الجيد.
3. مشروع المدارس الثانوية النموذجية (بنين وبنات- داخلية) عدد أربع مدارس.
4. مشروع كليات تنمية المجتمع بكل من دميرة- ام كريدم - أم سيالا
5. مشروع الكلية التقنية ببارا (كهرباء - نجارة - حدادة - زراعة - بناء - سبابة الخ).
6. مشروعات لمحو الأمية وتعليم الكبار والأمية التقنية.
7. منح المنطقة نسبة للقبول الخاص وبعض المنح الدراسية بالجامعات كتميز إيجابي في المجالات التي تحتاجها المنطقة بالتنسيق مع وزارة التعليم العالي

ثالثاً: المشروعات الزراعية:

- 1- مشروع الخيران لانتاج الخضر والفواكه (مع ادخال الحيوان).
- 2- انشاء عدد 20 مزرعة تجريبية للتقطيط والري المحوري للإستفادة من المياه الجوفية في الزراعة.
- 3- إدخال تقانة إزالة الحشائش بالآله.
- 4- مشروع تعبئة وتصنيع واعداد الخضر للصادر ببارا - الخيران.
- 5- اقامة مشروعات انتاج الالبان والبيض والجبن بالمحليتين .
- 6- مشروع محطة البحوث الزراعية .
- 7- تطوير الزراعة من خلال التقاوي المحسنة وطرق الري الحديثة ومحاربة الآفات.
- 8- تطوير الزراعة البستانية ببارا والخيران وادخالها بكل من جريخ و ام سيالة و ام ضبان.

رابعاً: المشروعات في مجال الإنتاج الحيواني

- 1- انشاء عدد اثنين محجر بيطري بالمحليتين.
- 2- انشاء عدد 10 وحدة بيطرية بالمحليتين .
- 3- انشاء محطة للبحوث البيطرية .
- 4- مشروع انتاج الابل والضان للتصدير.
- 5- تطوير الإنتاج الحيواني من خلال إدخال مشروع الحظائر والمحميات وتحسين النسل.

خامساً: في مجال الصحة:

- 1- انشاء عدد 15 مستشفى ريفي بالمحليتين.

- 2- انشاء مستشفى الامومة والطفولة بالمنطقة الشرقية (ام قرفة – ام سيالا)
- 3- إنشاء مراكز صحية (50 مركز صحي).
- 4- تأهيل وتطوير المستشفيات القائمة بكل من ام سيالا وبارا والمزروب وام قرفة.
- 5- تاهيل عدد خمسمائة داية بالمحليتين (لم تنزل داية الحبل تعمل في كثير من مناطق المحليتين).
- 6- إدخال المواطنين تحت مظلة التأمين الصحي.

سادساً: في مجال الطاقة:

- 1- تمويل مشروع كهرباء قرى المحليتين (دراسه معدة لدى اللجنة).
- 2- مشروع كهربية المنطقة بالطاقة الشمسية (100 قرية).

سابعاً: في مجال البيئة

- 1- مشروع تغيير النمط السكني للمواطن وذلك باحلال المواد القشبية بالمواد الثابتة عبر انشاء مصانع لتصنيع البلك والطوب الرملي.
- 2- مشروع إعادة تأهيل البيئة (غابات، هشاب، مراعي وبذور، محميات رعوية، محاربة الافات، التشجير المنزلي والمدرسي، وقف القطع).
- 3- تصنيع الرمل والسيلكون بريفي بارا .
- 4- تصنيع الجير بجريخ.
- 5- تطوير صناعة الملح بالقاعة وشرشار.
- 6- تمويل مشروع توطين الغاز بمحليتي بارا وغرب بارا(دراسته معدة بطرف اللجنة).

52	-	3	1	2	237	%35	10920	6020	4900	7	55	59	3
0	0	0	0	0	57	%30	2612	1002	1610	8	7	12	3
0	1	2	1	1	138	%15	7008	3858	3150	4	31	30	5
19	1	1	1	0	95	20%	4214	2104	2110	3	17	14	6
10	30	3	2	1	213	%25	8460	4060	4400	0	42	32	1
81	32	9	5	4	740		33214	17044	16170	22	152	147	2

محليتي بارا وغرب بارا

إحصاءات التعليم

تغطية الكتاب المدرسي تتراوح بين 85-95% للحلقة الاولى و20% للحلقة الثانية والثالثة*

محليتي بارا وغرب بارا
إحصاءات الصحة والمياه

دولة	الآبار		أطباء				وحدات صحية	مراكز صحية	مستشفيات			الإدرية
	غير محسنة	محسنة	معاون صحي	مساعد طبي	عمومي	أخصائي			ريفي	تخصصي	تعليمي	
												محلية بارا
	541	5	3	1	2	0	4	1	1	0	0	أم سيالة
	300	45	2	2	1	0	3		1	0	0	أم قرفة
	42	5	0	2	0	0		2	0	0	0	جريجخ
					2	1	5	2	0	0	1	بارا والريف
				5	5	1	12	5	2	0	1	الجملة
												محلية غرب بارا
	38	2	15	2	1	0	15 قشبية	1	1	1 لم يفتح	0	أم كريمة
	25	4	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	الحاج اللين
	138	18	5	3	1	0	9	1	1	0	0	طبية
	37	6	1	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	دميرة
	0	0		3	2	0	1	6	1	0	0	المزروب
	238	30	22	14	4	0	32	8	3	1	0	الجملة
												جملة المحليتين

محليتي بارا وغرب بارا
إحصاءات الخدمات الاخرى

التعليم العالي	0	لا توجد مؤسسات تعليم عالي
الطاقة	2 مدينة	مدينة بارا من الشبكة القومية – المزروب مولد يغطي 50% من المدينة
الطرق	50 كلم	طريق بارا الأبيض
صحة الحيوان	3 شفاخانة بيطرية	بارا - أم سيالة – المزروب
إرشاد زراعي	1 مكتب	أم سيالة
مشروعات تنموية	0	
مصانع	0	
مصارف	2	فرع البنك الزراعي – بارا-المزروب
مشروعات بيئية	0	تقع المنطقة في قلب حزام الزحف الصحراوي