

## The Religious Principles for Human Rights and Co-existing: “A Case Study on the Sudanese Religious Conflicts”

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### Abstract

### Case Studies

Human rights are global concern guarded by the United Nations Convention, and the African Union (AU). The objective of this article is to examine and to narrate the religious impact on the Sudanese life and its role in conflicts, social rights and co-existence.

The article explores the shared religious values of beliefs, which could be utilized for co-existence and social harmony in the Sudan. The article narrates and analyses the basic terms shared by the Abrahamic religions; Judaism, Christianity and the Islam. The last two are having the majority followers in the Sudan and the surrounding regions.

The guiding questions are; how principles of human rights being understood in religious perspective in the Sudan? How these terms can be applied positively by their followers? How can the verses be applied for co-existing and peace-building?

**Keywords:** Abrahamic, Conflict, Human Rights, Religion, Sudan and Peace.

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### Time and Geographical Scope:

There are two types of scopes being the focus of this article; (a) the religious historical influence on the Sudanese, up to the time of separation of South Sudan from the North in July 2011.

(b) The geographical scope is focusing on the Old Sudan before the separation of the South.

**The Methodology:** The article is guided by social science research methods of qualitative. Some quantitative methods may be involved due to the

nature of the religious influence in the community and its extension impact in the surrounding regions.

### 1. Introduction

The religion for the Sudanese is the basic foundation, which its principles and values are appearing in all the life styles and social gatherings heritages like; marriage, mourning rites, learning institutions and among others (Mading 2019). Thus, two religions Christianity and Islam are having the highest majority followers. Therefore, this article aims to highlight, narrates, and discusses the basic



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principles for human rights contained in each religious book. The article is exploring ways in which the Sudanese people have used religion positively for unifying either, or negatively for divisive practices. The article however, will basically focus on three issues: Religion and Human Rights. The common elements shared by the three religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The basic principles within each religion foster the possibility of peace-making and co-existing.

## 2. Definition of Religion

Religion in Biblical context, is refers to as a system of believes practices and values that connect humanity to the divine, (Elwell 1997). Furthermore, the King James Version with Cross References (KJV-TSK) defined religion in its most comprehensive sense, includes a belief in the being and perfections of God, in the revelation of his will to man. While man's obligation is to obey God commands. In a state of reward and punishment man's is accountable to God; and he is also required to practice all his moral duties. Thus, in this context, religion aims to connect the human being to God the creator in worship, adoration of Him and united the communities with God through believing in unseen supernatural power (Civic Education 3, 2012). And this power accordingly, is the foundation of human rights based on creation and responsibility.

The religious beliefs in the Sudan in this article's perspective, are essentially rooted in two religions; (Christianity and Islam), are the most dominance with the majority of followers. The Judaism influence in some cases also appeared within the Christianity and in other African beliefs (Evans-Pritchard 2018). The African traditional religious, though nowadays it is being overshadowed by both Christianity and Islam, still it has a sizable number of followers; who practicing it's among many communities world-wide. These practices often appeared in traditional marriage, funeral rites and in the daily activities. The influences of the African beliefs also appear in some political practices, because in some political occasions traditional sacrifices are being made to politicians, such as the slaughtering of Bulls, to a politician or politicians, in order to jumps over the slaughtered animal.

## 3. The Human Rights in the Global Perspective

The issue of human rights became a global concern since the end of the Second World War. In these regards, during the Assembly of the African Heads of States and Government held in Liberia in 1979, the African countries decided to draft their own Charter on human and people's rights, to supplement the 1948 United Nations Declaration. The charter was formally approved on 27<sup>th</sup> June 1981, with involvement of all the 53 independent African Countries by then (Pauline's, 2012). The Republic of the Sudan which has been independent since January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1956 as well was one of them. In that commitment, Article Two emphasised that:

*“Every individual shall be entitled to the enjoyment of the rights and freedom... without distinction of any kind, such as race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language or religion”.*

But opposite to the continental declaration, we realised that, religion was misused to fuel conflicts in the Sudan in particular and in many countries within the African continent. Though, this declaration was continental adopted and Sudan by then was one of the signatories to the Human Rights Charter. Yet there was no significant of human rights reform or religious freedom for co-existing as it was clearly acknowledged in the (Machakos Protocol 2004, P, 2, CPA 2005). The United Nations basic declaration which requires each nation seeking membership has to commit itself says;

*“Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes the freedom to change his religion or belief; and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance”* (UN 1948; 18, 1881), and (Pauline 2012, p 16).

In contradictory practice, it's realised that, religion was used in Sudan for violence and discrimination. These activities were categorised as human rights violations and abuses as well. For example; Sudan Tribune electronic newspaper published on 7/5/2017 saying;



*"...This morning, Sunday, May 7, 2017, while the Sudanese Church of Christ Congregation gathering for Sunday services, Khartoum authorities came and bulldozed their Church "Soba El-Aradi Church", International Solidarity Campaign with Sudanese Christians (ISCSC)".*

The act done by the central government in Khartoum was typically rights according to the Islamic beliefs; in fact the Sudanese Government was practicing their rightful duty of Islamic faith. Though that act was condemned internally and externally, but the government intended to challenge all the protocols it signed internally, continentally and globally. Therefore, the religious and human rights violations continued at the day light.

#### 4. The Role of Religion in Conflicts in Africa

The African people described by Mbiti (1969) and Mvumbi (2015), as notoriously religious and that religion permeate every aspect of their lives. The Abrahamic religions were imported by the Middle Eastern and Europeans in different period of times, and they were adopted by the African and replaced their original beliefs. Consequently, the worship of God, or Allah became deeply rooted and is evident of daily lives with new styles of rituals included; baptism, circumcisions, fasting, daily prayer, weekly warship plus annual festival celebrations and pilgrimages. The issue involved changing of names into either Hebrew or Arabs with total believes that, these are the only God's accepted for reining the paradise.

Religion in Africa plays the role of unifying and amalgamating it followers from different background. At the sometimes it also separates and disintegrate people of one family, communities, tribes and countries world-wide. The religious factors drive individuals to join foreign wars as Mujahidin do; group or individuals and their influences could come through external motivations. The religious influence in Africa motivates Muslims to support the Arab interests in Palestine worldwide, and majority of Christians as well sympathise with Israel.

The religious affiliation in Africa is connected to identity and piety in present time and for internality of paradise. Matthias Basedau (2017) stated that, eight

out of ten-armed conflicts in sub-Saharan are displaying a religious dimension. It is not a secret seeing country like; Nigeria, Mali, Somalia, Central Africa, Chad, Sudan which is the focus of this article and among others, warring factions are being divided by religious affiliation identity. Basedau emphasised that, "ideas-based "theological" conflicts have strongly increased recently". It has been witnesses and experienced that religious armed conflicts in these countries had already spilled over to neighbouring countries or are likely to do so.

In comparison, the modern Sudan's religious conflicts started in 1954 one year before the independence (Mading 2019). It occurred during the drafting of the first National Constitution, when the Majority Muslims insisted on an Islamic Religion to be the official religion of the Country, (Jendi 2002; Yoh 2002). Likewise, the religious violence in Nigeria refers to Christian-Muslim can be traced back to 1953, seven years before independence from the Great British Colonial. Today, religious violence in Nigeria is being dominated by the Boko Haram insurgency, which aims to establish an Islamic state in North Nigeria against the Christian majority in the South Nigeria.

Somalia in East Africa is also another country which has been going under religious turmoil for more than 30 years now. The religious motivation was developed by the Islamic Courts Union in Somalia, which changed its name to Al-Shabab Jihadist. This religious movement has caused instability in the country, which is now blocking major part of the Red Sea and western Indian Ocean for the Horn and Eastern Africa. The three East African countries; Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, have much been affected by these religious activities, which have been targeting the diplomatic curbs, educational and economic institutions (Madding 2019).

#### 5. The Religion and the Human Rights

The three religions dominates a major part of the world today in which Sudan, is even playing a very little part of it: Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which are known as the Abrahamic came from one roots and common background importantly, '*El-Tawhid*', meaning unity of God. They trace their history to the covenant God has made with Abraham



in the Hebrew Bible (Genesis 12:1-3). This puts Abraham in the heart of God's plan with significant agenda of both influences; immediate and long-term future. Thus, two sons were born to him by his two wives; Hagar the mother of Ismail (Gen. 16:11-15), and Sarah the mother of Isaac (Gen. 21:1-5). Although Hagar was unofficial wife to Abraham because she was a servant girl owned by Sarah to the level of slave, but, according to the ancient Near Eastern cultures, a slave or servant woman obtains her legal status, when she bears a child to her master or master. This changed Hagar's position to the level of wife sharing the same rights of inheritance through her child in (Mading, 2006). This position as well happened of Jacob's two servant wives Bilhah and Zilpah (Gen. 30: 1-13, and 33:1-20).

The two major religions Christianity and Islam are basically dominating the modern Sudan. Each of them is containing a strong tradition of moderation and tolerance (Fantini, 1978), not just as a faith but containing system of governance, where it became the basic for the legal-framework. Hence, issue of human rights violation through religion in modern Sudan, was a concern since the First National Constitution was drafted in 1954 one year before an independence of Sudan from the British (Jendia 2002, Yoh, 2000 and Deng, 2003). The fact says that, when the Prime Minister Ismail Ahmed El-Azhary appointed 46 members for National Constitution, 43 of them were Muslims, while Christians among them were three only. Therefore, the majority Muslim members decided to write an Islamic Constitution for the whole country. This made the three members who were Christians to resign, and within one year the civil war between the South and the North broke out and it continued for 17 years. Paulines (2012), stated that;

*“...in our day, both religions have a strong role to play in preserving and promoting peace, liberty, social justice and moral values in the society”.*

The human rights are essentially part of the religious perspective. Therefore, Vatican Head of the World's largest Christian Headquarter declared that: The human person has a right to religious freedom. Freedom of this kind means that all men

should be immune from coercion on the part of individuals, social groups and every human power so that, within due limits, nobody is forced to act against his convictions in religious matters in private or in public, alone or in association with others" (Vatican Council 1965: par. 3. No. 2. Ibid. No. 2). These statements were keys for giving understanding of how human rights should be protected regularly by law in community and the religion should come as an individual choice.

## 6. The Role of Religion in Sudanese Lives

The role played by different religions in the Sudanese communities' lives through the centuries is very clear and recorded in many academic works. For example, Fantini (1978); KJ Liah 2019), believed that, religious influences upon the Sudanese communities started from the ancient times beginning with the Egyptian religions, followed by Judaism, Christianity and lastly, the Islam. The role of religions further explained by Naoum Shugeir (1981, p. 39), to the level that, "some of the religious practices in Merowe Kingdom (332-30 BC) were that, "if the Priests felt unhappy of the King, they ask him to kill himself in order to make the gods happy". Thus, all the mentioned religions through many eras progressively, were converted by the Sudanese people. And hence, in every region, though majority were either Muslims or Christians are still practicing unknowingly norms and rituals with connection to the ancient beliefs. The history telling continued that, the Sudanese lives were transformed by the religions either positively or negatively according to the situation. And therefore, the Sudanese people were turned into typical religious communities. These made the entire live rigid, and made it difficult to distinguish between religious practices as personal faith and the social life, which is related to ethnic affiliation.

Thus, since entrance of the Arab Muslims into Sudan in 7<sup>th</sup> century, the religious extremism started causing social segregations and discriminations among the Sudanese citizens. Unfortunately, the modern Sudanese became siding themselves either Muslims-Arabs, or non-Muslims non-Arabs. The Arabs and the Arabised Muslim groups, who have



inherited the power from the British Colonial, have continually been facilitating their supporters financially, practicing their faith freely and exalting one religion which is the Islam. The governing power in Khartoum has continually been imposing the only identity and its culture the Arabs social standard for the country, (Deng1995); Jendia 2002). These policies have been causing human rights violations against non-Muslims who are mostly the Africans. Thus, the religious discrimination which has been affiliated with ethnic superiority caused the longest and destructive wars in Africa for the country of Sudan.

Therefore, living in such community, bothers the ordinary citizens who are often eager to know if his/her rights are safeguarded (CPA 2005). Yet, the researchers have many questions in mind; such as what is the role of religion in safeguarding the human rights and peace-making in the Sudan? The question is essentially referred to; what do the two major religions; Christianity and Islamic books teaches about the human rights and basically the terms; unity of God, mercy of God, justice in God, equality in God and their applications for social harmony.

However, in most cases, studies about religions, is realized that, the scholars always focus on comparative methodology, highlighting and discussing differences between them. But these kinds of studies we observed has negatively affect cooperation upon the human relations and peaceful co-existing in the communities. Hence, our observational perspectives in this study proved that, followers of each religion would always focus on proving their faith to be absolute truth to the level that, the opposite faith have no right to practice or to lives or even to survive in an Islamic community. The general belief being emphasised in Sudan is, that, Islam is the progressive and the final religion. In turn therefore, such a belief has developed conflicts, abused human rights and making the entire life into continues wars of such identity as the case of Sudan (Jendia, 2002), & Deng, 2003). Therefore, the question which is being asked by many scholars, is there any opportunity for religion to safeguard human rights and play a positive role in community for peace-full co-existing? This

article is exploring positive principles within the religion's official books (the Bible and Qur'an) plus other secondary available references.

In our opinion, there should be a differentiation between the doctrine, which is aiming to guide and transform the lives of individuals to repentance and believing in God. This type was practiced by Apostle Paul one of the pioneered of Christianity and exposition evangelists who used logic while debating in order to convince new converts to his faith. Paul in his teaching was declaring religion a personal matter which one can accept or refuses when he or she wishes to do so.

*"In the past God overlooked such ignorance, but now he commands all people everywhere to repent. For he has set a day when he will judge the world with justice by the man he has appointed. He has given proof of this to all men by raising his Son from the death" (Act 17:30-31).*

In this regards Jemmy Swaggart (2013), says, God did not judge people as they deserve, but gave them time to repent meaning to accept the calling or to continue refusing without intimidation from other hum beings. This call is opposite to the religio-political opinions being employed by many religious groups, who their defending objectives aims at protecting self-interests is causing conflicts in communities. Therefore, this article focuses on the positive side within each religion; what does it says about the human rights and its expected role in the process of peace-making and co-existing? How could these positive points be applied by the Sudanese in their different beliefs?

## 7. The Islamic Book and the Human Rights and Position of non-Muslims

Mansour Khalid (1986), in his book El-Fajir El-Kazib (the lyre morning) criticised the President Jaafer Mohammed Nimeiry who ruled the country from May 1969 to April 1985, upon his application of the Sharia laws in September 1983. The President turned the country of Sudan from typical secular liberal into an absolute Fanatic Islamic State as an



absolute religious violation of the 1973 Constitution which ended the war and united the country. This was a clear an abuse for non-Muslim rights and also it led to the cancelation of the National Unity Day being celebrated yearly on 27<sup>th</sup> March, the day agreement was signed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1973.

Thus, Khalid said; Nimeiry has focused on the negative part of the Sharia which is a punishment, but ignoring the most important element of Sharia which is mercy. In the same perspective, (Surat Al-Araf 7: 188) addresses that God is the Final Judge for Mankind's good and bad deeds. The Surat Al-Tuba (9: 105) as well in the same line urges the believers to work positively in order to get support from; Allah (God), God's messenger and the believers. According to Khalid (1986), the verse assures the believers, including the President Nimeiry that, all mankind shall return to Allah who knows the seen and unseen and He will Judge them by their deeds.

Furthermore, Surat Al-Nisa (4:113) cautions those who commit a fault or sin against innocent persons. Therefore, cutting off the hands of civilians on accusation of theft with no proper investigation, Khalid sees Nimeiry as lacking the most important element which is justice and mercy "certainly bears the burden of a calumny and a manifest sin". In Surat Al-Maida (5: 54) warns those who falsely swear by Allah (God) that, "their works are vain and they have become the losers". In these regards, if there is sincerity, the Islamic faith shows that, God is the Final who will Judge the Mankind by their deeds punish the evil and reward the good.

The Muslim fanatics though emphasise of Islam as the Final in comparative religions' studies, yet, realises important of dialogue among the religions for peaceful co-existing; "Surely Allah is with those who shun evil and who do good 'deeds'" (Surat Nahal 125). And also supported by the verse; "He has revealed to you 'O Prophet' the Book in truth, confirming what came before it, as He revealed the Torah and the Gospel" Surat Umran 3:64).

## 8. The Christianity and the Human Rights

The issue of human rights in Christian teaching is taken from the Bible, which believed the oldest

spiritual reference text in the mankind history with meaning of peace-making. And peace-making is originated from the Hebrew word Shalom in the Old Testament. And this dressed the Lord Jesus as the Prince of Peace of greatness and governs peace forever (Isaiah 9:6-7). And this King will rule with Justice and Righteousness. This principle was the bases for Jesus's teaching in the New Testament "Blessed are the Peace-Makers, for they will be called the Children of God" (Mathew 5:9). Therefore, Christians see Christ himself, as the source of peace as emphasised by Apostle |Paul "for he himself is our peace..." (Ephesians 2:14). The Bible in Christian teaching and faith conceives peace as much more than just the absence of conflict or disorder. To live in peace is to be in right relations with God first, oneself, one's neighbours and indeed with all of creation.

The sign of living in peace is also related to material prosperity and happiness being protected by God's favourable promise. Being at peace in Christian perspective is what and how the individual related with other people and to the environment. Righteousness goes with and reconciliation. Peace and love are Christianity's foundations. Christianity does not demand its followers to maintain peace among themselves alone, apart from other people, when the Bible says "love one another and be at peace with all" (Heb. 13:1). This means in spite of differences, all mankind are created by the same God's image and likeness. It is absolutely necessary for Christians to live in peace and love their neighbours, including the Muslims and African traditional religious followers.

The elements of reconciliation and peace-making are in developing a theology of reconciliation to address conflict resolution. The important aspects of reconciliation and peace-making include pursue justice by bridging broken relationships. Some kind of reconciliation process through admitting the truth of what happened must precede efforts at justice (Mat. 5:33-37).

## 9. Unity of God

Christianity and Islam teach their followers that there is only one God, who is the origin and source of all that exists (Hassan 2016, p. 8). He cares about the



entire creation and has provided the basic rules to guide mankind. He is good, righteous and merciful. Followers of both religions conscientiously fear and respect Him (Grace and Truth, 2007). The Old Testament which is the foundation of Abrahamic religions says: hear, O Israel: “The Lord our God is One Lord” (Deuteronomy 6:4).

The same verse was quoted by the Lord Jesus in His teaching in (Mark 12:29). God alone is the Almighty, the Creator, the Sovereign, and the Sustainer of everything in the whole universe. Swaggart (2013, p. 1742), further says, it means to be united as one, one in number. He manages all affairs, stands in need of none of His creatures, and all His creatures depend on Him for all that they need. Quran says, “He is God, the One. God, as the most High to whom the creatures turn for their needs (Surat Al-Ekhlas 112:1).

## 10. God and Peace

The Judaism and Christianity used the word Shalom, which is peace in meaning stability and joy. For example, Moses was instructed to tell his brother Heron the First High Priest, to bless the people of Israel by saying; “the Lord will turn his face toward you and give you peace” (Numbers 6:26). This means, God will pay attention to each and individual’s needs, not only absent of evil (war, sickness) but also the presents of good well-being, health and the fellowship with God.

The peace is a grant and free gift from God to mankind as Jesus used it with His fearing disciples; “Peace I leave with you. “My Peace I give to you; not as the world gives to you. Don’t let your heart be troubled, neither let it be fearful” (John 14:27). This reflects the Hebrew (Shalom), which is also used as customary Jewish of greeting and farewell (John 20:19, 21, 26). This peace fundamentally characterizes the Messianic Kingdom.

In the Arabic language, the word peace is derived from the radicals S-L-M, means peace, which is always used in greeting and in the conclusion of every Muslim prayer (Salamu Alekum in plural). Here the Muslim believes that, however, he/she is greetings are not alone, but accompanied by two angels, namely; (Naker WA Nekeer). One angel is

on the right recording the good deeds and other on the left recording the bad deeds. Islam’s claim to peacefulness is supported by Surat Al-Bagara 2:256, and Surat Al-Kafirun 109:6, which state that there is no compulsion in religion. Meaning, everyone is free to choose what to believe. The peace-making perspective, require the Muslims not to conflict with people of the Book (Jews and Christians) but to live peacefully alongside them; “Do not argue with the People of the Book unless gracefully, except with those of them who act wrongfully. And say, “We believe in what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to you. Our God and your God is ‘only’ One. And to Him we ‘fully’ submit.” (Sura Al-Ankabut (29:46). This verse excludes violence. The same as well Sura Fuslat (41:34) says; “Good and evil cannot be equal. Respond ‘to evil’ with what is best, and then the one you are in a feud with will be like a close friend.” This is a direct instruction that one should do well to those who do evil to him. But the question is, if Quran has such elements of verses for doing good to others, why the history of Sudan is characterized with religious violent, wars and human rights abuses?

## 11. Mercy of God

The term mercy is the basic in religion specially both Judaism and Christianity. In Arabic, the term al-Rahaman appearing in all Chapters in the Quran, except one (Repentance Chapter), is considered the bolt sign in Islam. Each Chapter begins with: Bismillahi Al-Rahman al-Rahim, or in the name of Allah, Most Gracious and Most Merciful”. Each worshipper repeats the attribute of mercy 68 times a day during the five daily prayers. Khalid (1986), says that the Sharia, which was applied in Sudan, did not reflect the truth of religion. Nimeiry focused on the negative side of it to serve his interests. The Quran does not talk about justice alone, but the most important part is mercy which appears more than 40 times;

*“It is Allah, who created you and then He has provided for you; then He will cause you to die and then He will bring your life...” (Surat Ar-Rum 30: 40).*



## 12. Justice of God

The issue of the Justice of God, any Muslims see Justice as the real application for Sharia Laws. The opposite, which became the culture in Sudan, is focusing on one religion and promotion of one culture. This led the country into cultural conflicts by encouraging ethnic superiority. The lack of diversity reflected injustice and constant conflict which resulted in separation of South Sudan from Sudan in 2011. Yet, it's continuing because the black African who are Muslims are still feeling in Justice Treatment in their own country.

Based on Mercy and Justice as stated, it is a right for individuals to follow what he/she believes. Persecuting a person because of religious opinions distorts the freedom. Therefore, the calling for accepting one another's opinions and beliefs, build the real application of Justice and Mercy, and strengthens human brotherhood. This applies the meaning of verses; "*La Ekreha fi Deen*" which means no one should be hated or persecuted because of his/her belief. Furthermore, Islam cautions Muslims to avoid fruitless religious debates when it says; "*To you be your way and to me mine*". It also recognises that there are other religions apart from Islam and followers of those religions are right. So, everyone should follow his religion faithfully without discriminating other people's religion or beliefs.

## 13. Peace-building in Christian perspective

Peace-making and reconciliation should foster forgiveness, which usually means giving up resentment. Biblical theology experts acknowledge that the Christian understanding is that it is God who forgives, although the ministry of forgiveness was given to mankind by Jesus after His resurrection (John 20:22-23). Accordingly, forgiveness is more than foreign resentment; it is an endeavour to live in peace with the individual self which automatically reflect on the human relationships.

Peace is a vitally important element deficient in the Sudanese communities for such a long time. Each person is seeking for peace as the missing ingredient. All the previously mentioned principles come as a package which binds the communities

together. It intends to bring peace and reconciliation through which a group or society can reach perfect harmony. The hope that comes from God, the growth in a philosophy around peace-making is supposed to encourage Christians to delve deeply into the Bible and theological foundation of them is the peace-maker and forgivers. The theme that reverberates in the hearts of both Muslims and Christians is Religious Community. What the church is for the Christians is what the "Umma" is to Muslims. Christians and Muslims both consider themselves as accountable to a community of faith. It is not enough to believe in isolation; without linking the lives of brothers and sisters in the faith and humanity.

The effect of religion appeared when the war broke out in 1955 three months before the country obtained its official independent and continued for 17 years. During this period, the Central Government in Khartoum, made the war absolutely a religious affiliated. Unfortunately, the religious ideology never ended and did not ever give a room for Nation trust building in unity with diversity. In further proof, however, the 1983 explosion, which continued up to 2005 known as the 21 years destructive religious war. Thus, the problem of the National Identity in a complex of social structure, cultural diversities and political rivalries, was the real concern terrified the unity of Sudan, not for the south, which with the majority of non-Muslims, but even other areas like; Darfur, Eastern Sudan, Southern Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains. The problem of the Central Government in Khartoum Ideology continued to dominate the resources and turning the country into Islamic, with the Arab identity. The religion had formed the Sudanese community into classes, where non-Muslims do not merge into the same level of rights and social status with Muslims. In addition, religion had affiliated with ethnicity exalting the Arab origins, putting other ethnics below category of citizenship.

The conflict started as grievances from the Southern Sudanese who were even categorised as animists. But, Christianity, which its followers were branded by the northern Sudanese and Arab writers as a minority, yet got deeply involved. Suddenly, therefore, it became the major religion competing to



Islam in a way or another. Due to its flexibility of social integration, Christianity was advancing, winning the mood of the people as the substitute. Accordingly, this study emphasised that political grievances are supposed to be solved by applying social equality by the Central Government, but unfortunately became totally missing. Many liberals and unity lovers throughout the years of war have been repeating the statement; “the religion is for God and the state is for all”. In addition, the Christians repeat their master’s teaching that, “give what belongs to César to César and what belongs to God to God” (Mathew 22:21, Mark 12:17, Luke 20:25). Both statements are totally rejected by the religious parties controlled by certain families. Therefore, they consider the first statement as a communist teaching means (Kufar). The second statement as well is not acceptable due to its sources from other religion, which they believe has been replaced by Islam. However, the sensitivity continued mixing up between faith and social live promoting and widening the social gap.

Therefore, the call for federation, confederation and referendum for the self-determination of Southern Sudan, was a result of this huge gap of lack of flexibility which became known during CPA 2005-2011, by the Attractive Unity. In other words, it was as well-known as Unity in Diversity from the Northern side. History proved that just a day before the Referendum Poll, a friend sent to Bishop Isaiah Majok Dau of the Sudan Pentecostal Church (SPC) a Contextualised Version of the Lord’s Prayer that went as follows;

*“Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy referendum, thy independence come, they will be done on January 9<sup>th</sup> 2011, as it is in the CPA. Give us this day our daily peace and righteousness. Forget those who have been oppressing us since 1821. Lead us not to unity, but deliver us from marginalization, for Thine is justice, equality and prosperity in the land of the blacks forever and ever, amen” (Dau 2011, P. 64).*

The referendum result showed that 98.83% voted for the separation, thus fulfilling the desire of the South Sudanese as cited in the prayer above.

#### 14. The Recommendations and way forward

Although the South separated with an alleged Christian majority, there is a need for the remaining non-Muslim minority in the North to have their National Rights. These rights are; the freedom of worship, equality in education and employment. Thus, the recommendations of this dissertation are directed to three groups of the Sudanese Community; the Leadership, Religious Leaders and the general population.

**14.1. The Sudan leadership;** although Sudan leadership is the supreme authority which cannot be directed by any means or any entity, history has proved that Sudan through many decades has been led by a specific Arab ethnicity and Muslims. This entity has always been accused of applying discriminating devotion against others. As a result, the one-way program which became a rigid ideology, led the South into separation in 2011. In my opinion, if the Sudanese Leadership continues with such an ideology, it may lead other parts that feel marginalised politically, economically and ethnically like; the Southern Blue Nile, Nuba Mountains, Darfur, Beja Region of Eastern Sudan, to continue demanding for similar criteria as the South.

**14.2. The Religious Leaders;** majority of the Sudanese religious leaders, were from the Arab origin. Through centuries and decades, they combined both family reputation and the religio-political power. Therefore, they have developed a hierarchy of being at the top leading their followers into discriminating conflicts. Yet, this continued to affect the minority rights and other parts of Sudan that lived in grievances, demanding Justice. Thus, they are advised to drop their one-sided emphasis and apply the religious principles; the Unity of God, Mercy, Justice and Peace.

**14.3. The General Population;** the research findings have indicated that the general population have been blindfolded and misled into implementing other people’s personal interests a move that is not compatible with humanism.



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