Ethnic Chauvinism and Polarization in Africa: Sudan and South Sudan

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Abstract: **Africa has been engulf with onflcit since after independent up to now tue to ethnic polarization. And in this article the authoe will use elucidate the ethnic conflict in Sudan and asouth suda and some African countries that are affected by wars due to ethnicity.**

The word Sudan was derived fro the Arabic word (SUDD) meaning black. And South Sudan was part of the old Sudan prior to the independent of the South Sudan from the Sudan. It was a closed district during the Turko-Egyptian rule in Sudan from 1821-1889 and British-Egyptian condominium rule from1989-1956. South Sudan was partly colonized by Belgium, what was formally known as the Lado Enclave, what is now known as Equatoria was a separate region of Sudan. Whereas, the Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile were colonized by the French, until 1878-1910. The British kept the South Sudan as a close district from the rest of Sudan, administered by the Governor-general. It was in 1954 and after the Juba conference of 1947 before independent that, South Sudan was annexed to North Sudan. The British had wanted to annex South Sudan to East Africa, especially to Uganda. But there was no positive response from the East African countries, besides, the Arabs influence the British and the South Sudanese during the Juba conference of 1947 and 1954 to annex South Sudan to Sudan. South Sudan succeeded from northern Sudan in 2011 during the referendum for the self-determination of the South- Sudan. The reason for the separation of South Sudan from the north was due to ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic and cultural bifurcation among the two nations. The author will explore various theories of ethnicities, and whether ethnicity is the cause of conflict, especially in Africa. The author will also elucidate in detail how ethnic and party politics in Africa is based on ethnic line, breeds conflict, polarization, and split of some countries into two States such as the Ethiopia, and Eritrea and Sudan South Sudan.

Keywords: **Ethnic Chauvinism, Polarization, religious, South Sudan.**

According to the encyclopedia of dictionary, an ethnicity is a large group of people who have the same national, racial, or cultural origins, it is the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national, linguistic, racial, religious or cultural tradition. Whereas, Chauvinism is the strong and unreasonable belief that, one's own country or race is the best or more important tor superior han others. It is also the belief that women are naturally less important and less intelligent, or less able than men. It's also meant exaggerated or aggressive patriotism, nationalism, racialism, ethnocentrism, prejudice, sectarianism, xenophobia, loyalty to one's own country. On the other hands, polarization is defined as divided into two sharply contrasting groups or sets of opinions or beliefs. In every society, there is an ethnic cleavage between white and black American especially in the U.S.A, and bifurcation between Muslim and Christian, Hindu and Muslim, Nuer tribe and Dinka tribe in South Sudan and more. Furthermore, societies are polarized between rich and poor, or any opposing factions. Political polarization can refer to the divergence of political attitude, public opinion, group opinions or within the political parties such as Democrats and the Republican polarization. Political polarization refers to cases in which an individual's stance on a given issue, policy, or person is more likely to be strictly defined by their identification with a particular political party or ideology. For instance in Sudan, the north Sudan look at themselves as Arabs, Muslim

and adopted the Islamic religion, whereas, South Sudan look at themselves as Africa, Christian and had adopted a Christians religion. This ethnic Chauvinism had polarized the Sudanese society, leading to the separation of the South from the north Sudn. The polarization of the Sudan and South Sudanese society had resulted in the first civil war in 1955 - 1972 before the independent, and the second civil war from 1983-2005 between the north and South Sudan.

After the independence of South Sudan from the north, the Dinka tribe hijacked the government of South Sudan in a crude form without building any institution of Government. According to Dr. Luka Biong, a Dinka by tribe, referred to the Dinka ruling elites as the pirates who have hijacked the government. He also condemned the hegemony of the Dinka tribe because of their propensity to dominate South Sudan. South Sudan lacks the institution of government; it is what the author referred to as a tribal democracy or a tribal village, ruled by the tribal chiefs. According to Thomas Hobbs, it is a state of nature where there is Brute, anarchy and savage society rule by the jungle's laws. John Locke concurred with Thomas Hobbs on the state of nature and proposed a civil property law that will protect the society from encroachment to their properties.

The problem that plunged the new country of South Sudan into war was due o the fact that, there are no proper institutions of government that regulate the conduct of government. There is a lack of a constitution and the rule of law. Besudes, there is a problem of leadership and governance that is responsible for the lawlessness, and conflict in South Sudan.

Ethnic chauvinism and polarization have been used as a tool to gain power, by mobilizing the loyalty of a tribe to rally behind a leader against the perceived threat from opponent tribal. There is no spirit of nationalism and Patriotism. The citizens are identified with their tribes rather than with the nation. Appointment to bureaucratic positions is not by merit, but rather through patronage And the leadership is sought through the military or the canvass and suffrage of the tribal ballot. The heads of the key government institutions are all controlled by his Dinka tribe men (Berger C. 2019). There is no tolerance for dissent and declaration for leadership contest is perceived as the declaration of war. Another factor that promotes tribalism is that people look at themselves as people belonging to a certain tribe rather than belonging to a Nation called South Sudan. Ethnic chauvinism is leading South Sudan into bifurcation and conflicts. South-Sudan looks at themselves as tribes rather than as national belonging to one nation. The fact that the new nation was plunged into civil war soon after independence was due to the underlying factors such as the lack of institutions of government and the constitution was poorly written to favor the incumbent president rather than the nationals. The president was given absolute powers, what Thomas Hobbs called the "divine power of the king" in his Leviathan. Hobbs believed that the King is the sovereign whereas John Locke contended that, it is the people who are sovereign, and the people have the right to withdraw their consent. Locke believed in a representative government. Locke thought that, the people have the right to remove the president by the withdrawal of their consent or through a revolution. Jean Jacque Rousseau proposed a constitutional government with the limited power of the president; a view which Locke and Rousseau shared.

Paglia, P.;(2004), stated that religion plays a crucial role in mobilizing members more than language due to fumdamentalism or extremism. For instance, When Silliman Rusdhi wrote a satanic verse book, he was criticized by Muslim worldwide which caused violent protest. And when Isreal bombed West bank in Palestine it drew criticism all over the Muslim world. And according to the Horowitz, "the polarized society base on religion, lack the inclusivity, and discriminate the other ethnic group base on religion". That resulting in conflict or revolution. South Sudan went into two civil war with northern Sudan because of religious discrimination. But Estaban and Ray (1994) however, contended that not all the ethnically divided societies have a problem of ethnic conflicts. There is also evidence of a good relationship between different cultures within the country. According to Horowitz, one can speak two or three languages but have one religion. Therefore, he contended that religion is the dominant factor influencing ethnicity, and sentimental values, which in turn polarize the people on the religious line. Religious fundamentalism is a threat to world peace and security and has been proven as the main cleavage that polarizes the world. For example, Muslims were handed artificial keys in Sudan to wage a Jihad war against Cristian. (*Nish Kama Karma Yuga)or the duty for the sake of diety.* And if they died, they will go to heaven or Jahna as a reward for killing pagans or non-Muslim in South Sudan.

Almost all the tribal or ethnic wars in Africa were caused by tribalism, couple with regionalism, and the sectarian, cultural and religious difference, perpetuated by the patronage of the leaders. But research has shown that tribalism or ethnicity is the secondary cause of the war; therefore, there must be underlying factors responsible for the primary cause of war. The primary cause of the war such as inequality or disparity of income and wealth, underdevelopment of certain ethnic groups or regional or territorial sections of the society; and competition for resources, especially in South Sudan, where oil was

discovered had been the main cause of the war. Religious, cultural, and linguistic differences in South Sudanese was also responsible for disunity and lack of harmony among the nationals of Sudan.

South Sudan and Sudan conflicts are as a result of cultural, linguistic, religious and geopolitical diversity between the two regions. South Sudan identified themselves as Africans, and Christians, whereas the north-Sudan identified themselves as Arabs and Muslim. This polarization in Sudan was responsible for the two wars leading to the separation of South Sudan from North Sudan. Polarization is human nature and will continue to perpetuate as long as the human race exists in the universe, there is no society which is immune from practicing polarization. But John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Benthem, in their utilitarianism theory have proposed a model that is being used even in modern democratic societies. His theory call for the majority happiness, and rights of the majority, although it infringes on the right of minorities, yet it has been a practical theory that is being used in majority rule in a democracy. According to which, action or policy should aim at maximizing the greatest happiness of the greater number of people. This theory, although has been criticized by many, yet it is the most practical model of democracy in the world. And although the majority always ruled over minority which sometimes resulting in conflicts and dissent, which in turn polarize the citizens, yet its aims in maximizing the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. Therefore, social policies should aim at maximizing the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people.

South Sudan society which is the most polarized society base of the tribal line, and it will take a half century before it embarks in a real nation and state building or civil society. Ethnification of politics causes bifurcation within the state, for example, the South Sudan President targeted the Nuer Ethnic group in Sudan and killed over 20,000 people in a house to house hunt simply because the Nuer leader Dr. Reik Machar has expressed his intention to run for election. The president mobilized his tribal men, trained tribal Militia called Mathinag Anyor, and Duk Benzj to protect the chief, because, for the Dinka tribe, the leadership of the president is Dinka leadership. And tis view is concurred by the Dinka (Jeings) council of Elders, who advised the president on policies and decision making which undermined and override the role of the national legislatures. The Jeings also admitted that they are there to protect Dinka leadership, a view attested by Berger C. 2019 researcn and questionnaire and Dr. Biong L. 2019 who was a member of the Dinka elite and former minister in the office of the president. Therefore, the cause of ethnic war is due to fear of security or threat form perceived opponent's groups. Hnece, ethnic war also resulted from the fear of minority and lack of trust in the majority who may abuse the power which encourages the minority to secede from the country a case of Eritrea which separated from Ethiopia in 1994, and South Suan who separated from Sudan in2001 *(Fearon 1994, De Figueiredo- Weingast 1997)*. Finally, according to the author, ethnic emotivism risk the sacrifice even death for the sake of the groups. F\or example, the sentimental's urge to wage wars against other ethnic groups in Africa and even in the western world had resulted in the loss of lives. For example, the world wars fought between nation, arose the feeling of nationalism against other countries or groups. It is a fight for the defense of your kin and territorial integrity and existence. Hence, the spirit of ethnic nationalism is a genetic spirit due to the kin selection theory of evolution (*Show 1981, Wong 1980*).

According to Bates (1974 pp.470-71), majoritarian political institutions in Africs are either due to geopolitccal and ethnic cleavage, and the legislative constituencies that are ethnically homogeneous even in the western countries further bifurcation. For instance, the ruling majority party of the incumbent have ruled the country since the independent of Botswana in 1966 which in which the opposition candidate accused the incumbent ruling party of practicing the tribal democracy. Such practice are prevaillent in Uganda, Kenya, and Nigeria where a candidates garner their support from geopolitical distribution rather than from the plurality of heterogeneous support. Horowitz (1989) contended that institutions such as an independent electoral commission can alter conflict outcome. In addition, devolution of powers to the region or state could mitigate the bifurcation of the politics of ethnic identities. Horowitz (1991 pp..103-203; 1985 pp.601-613). Further, Horowitz (1993 pp. 28-3)1stated that, although Institution ameliorates the conflict, yet, the human tendency has the propensities to cleave in a bias fashion. Therefore, since the group cannot live alone, it is inclined toward conflicts and warfare due to competition with others who are socially and ethnically divided by boundaries from other groups. Even animal kingdoms socially live in group zones and are hostile to other animols from other zones According to Levine & Campbell 1972 pp72-80) similarities in race, color, religion, language, custom, and culture makes people attracted to each other easily. Because ethnicity is a powerful tool due to affiliation. Most scholars believed that, Muslim extremism, including September 11 bombing of the world trade center was as a result of the American and the NATO policies in the middle east; that was responsible for the creation of Al Qaida, Al Shabab, ISIL, Hijab Allah who stood in solidarity with Palestinians independent and also the bombing of Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan by America and NATO. In addition t that, Hindu and Muslim counter attack in Jammu and Kashmir in India, and Pakistan, and India wars are due to ethnicity (Wilkinson 1997).

According to DiMaggio et al. (1996), the researcher found that polarization happened when there is divergence on issues, beliefs or ideological cleavage. Further, (Sartori 1996, 1997) contended that ideological cleavage in constituencies can be a factor of party polarization. Some scholars suggested that ethnicity is playing a crucial role in structuring party politics in Africa. Further, (Scarrit and Mazaffar (2005) contended that the geopolitical polarization of ethnic groups is the determining factors of political parties.

Studies have also found that Botswana, Senegal, and Zimbabwe and Mali after 2001 have relatively low levels of polarization. And there is a decline in ethnic polarization in Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, and South Africa.

Ethnicity and polarization are the social fabric that is embedded in human nature. It originated from the tribal society in the state of nature. Even modern societies are facing the same problem of ethnic chauvinism and polarization. Polarization between different political parties; religious sect, creeds, racial and tribal polarization have created tension, wars, and disharmony in most of the nations globally. There is also polarization between black and white Americans, in the U.S.A, between Hindu, and Muslim, and polarization between tribes, for example in Africa between Tutsi and Hutus in Rwanda that leads to the genocides in 1994. In December 15,2013 there was ethnic cleansing and genocide against the Nuers tribe of South Sudan leading to the cureent civil war between Nuers nd Dinka. Further, ethnic polarization between Israeli Palestine, is one of the longest ethnic conflict in the world; which has drawn in supporters around the Muslim world in support of their fellows Muslim from the Israeli subjugation and oppression. For example, the September 11.2001 bombing of the world trade centers was the result of the al Qaida. Other, terrorists organization have lso emerged such as Al- Shabab, ISIL and Hijab Allah, are all extremist movement in defense of religious ethnicity.

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