AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CAUSES OF THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT IN SUDAN

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ABSTRACT

The Sudanese conflict started before the country's independence from Britain in 1956. Disagreements between the northern and southern parts of the country merely deepened after the country became a sovereign state. A major issue was the failure of the new government to fulfill the agreement reached with the leaders of the southern part of the country following their support for independence based on the premise of southern autonomy. The findings in this paper show that the merged by the colonialists who fused the people who are not compacted led to the protracted conflict in Sudan and this has great effects for the conflict to be resolved. Also, third parties played key roles in ending the conflict. At various times they got the warlords to have roundtable discussions, such as in 2002. In 2005, they got the warlords to sign the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which specified an interim period of six years for the stakeholders to decide if the North and the South of Sudan could cohabit. However, the effect of colonialism was not peculiar to Sudan; it can be seen in Africa and beyond. Also, the paper concluded that conflict in Africa can be reduced or minimized to a greater proposition if all the ethnic groups that form the country can be included in governance, and equity is evenly distributed without nepotism and bigotry.

Keywords: Arabs, Africans, colonizers, cultural, marginalization

INTRODUCTION

Post-independence Africa has experienced extensive inter- and intrastate conflicts and various approaches have been adopted to resolve such conflicts, with varying degrees of success. The case of Sudan has been significant because, after decades of war, South Sudan was unable to secure independence through the diplomatic approach until 2011. This paper is problematical within the context of the difficulty of third-party intervention in the Sudanese conflict at the initial stage, especially in the light of its impact on conflict resolution in other African states where conventional methods such as mediation, arbitration and reconciliation have prevailed. Despite all that has been done both within and outside Sudan, violent conflicts continue to rage in different parts of the country.

Towards resolving the Sudanese conflict, as was the case with similar conflicts across Africa in the 1970s, various patterns and processes of conflict resolution were employed. For example, in Liberia, Chad, Sierra Leone, and Mali the patterns and processes which led to conflict resolution involved third-party intervention where the United Nations (UN), the Africa Union (AU) and other regional organisations used mediation, reconciliation, negotiation, conciliation, peacekeeping, peacemaking and other means to restore peace and democratic rule in those countries. In Sudan, considerable attention was paid to internal mechanisms in the effort to resolve the protracted conflict which the country experienced from the 1970s to the early 2000s. Clearly, inter- and intrastate wars in Africa have hampered the continent's development, as vast amounts of resources are diverted away from infrastructural and economic development. Interestingly, in the case of Sudan the framework for achieving peace without external intervention had in fact been developed as early as the 1960s. In the end, the internal mechanism for conflict resolution in the Sudan, reinforced by a range of external efforts, helped to build collaboration among communities which had been divided by the protracted conflict. A combination of both processes thus contributed to the peaceful

secession of South Sudan in 2011. Therefore, in this paper, we assess the various factors either by nature or created by both internal and external, that necessitated the war in the Sudan.

Geography

Sudan was the largest country in Africa before the secession of South Sudan on the 9th of July 2011. The larger Sudan was unique in terms of its Arab and African populations; as such, it marked a frontier between Islamic and non-Islamic values in Africa and between Arabic-speaking areas and the non-Arabic languages spoken in East Africa. The country is bordered by nine countries: Egypt in the north, Ethiopia and Eritrea in the east, Uganda, Kenya and Democratic Republic of Congo in the south, and the Central Africa Republic, Chad and Libya in the southwest, west, and north respectively. By virtue of such a geographical location, therefore, Sudan is an interesting case for the politics of identity. (McMichael, 1922 and Hassan, and Ogot, 1992). During the inter-war years, some of these countries aided either the Sudanese government or the Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) by providing arms, logistics and sanctuary for the prosecution of the civil war. The countries constituted the regional organisation known as the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which intervened in the conflict from 1993 to 2005 when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed by some of the war actors. The Agreement ended the second civil war and led to the secession of South Sudan in 2011.

Sudan consists primarily of an extensive plain rising gradually to mountains in the northeast near the Red Sea coast as well as plateau and low mountains near the southern and western borders. The country has three lateral geographical areas. The first comprises the northern zone in the area from the Egyptian border to Khartoum, which is flat and arid land, together with the Nubian Desert, which stretches east to the Red Sea Mountains, as well as the Libya Desert in the west merges, which with the Sahara. The second is the central zone, which is intersected by many rivers and streams; there, the mountains rise to over 10,000 feet and the massive Abyssinian plateau borders the east. The third zone is made up of vast swamps of arable savanna and tropical forests. The impact of topography on the conflict between the north

and the south was very minimal except in the northwest, that is, in Darfur, but this is beyond the scope of the present study.

People

Ryle and Willis (2012), argued that based on archaeological evidence, it has been claimed that thousands of years ago groups of human beings emerged in East Africa, from where they gradually spread to other parts of Africa and the rest of the world. Olduvai Gorge, in present-day Tanzania, is known as 'The Cradle of Mankind,' where Homo sapiens (human beings) were said to have lived 17,000 years ago. Evidence also indicates that the first group of human beings migrated northwards from the Great Lakes of East Africa to the Nile region between the Ethiopian highlands and the Congo Basin which is presently known as South Sudan. During that era, the land was scantily populated and the people hardly infringed on one another's rights. However, as population rose sharply, people began to compete fiercely for the few available natural resources, thus leading to conflict.

Following their massacre by the army of Mohammed Alli of the Great Ottoman Empire, surviving Mamluk barons migrated from Egypt and settled in the present region of North Sudan in 1811. Olomola, (1977). Most of the Arabs came to Sudan via the Egyptian Desert into Eastern Sudan, while some came to Sudan across the Red Sea, either through Abyssinia or directly to Sudanese ports such as Badi and Suakin between 641 and 651 AD. Breidlid, (2014) stated that in fact the full meaning of 'Sudan' is 'Bilad al Sudan', meaning 'land of the Blacks'. Present-day Sudan is comprised by Arabs in the north and Nilo-Saharan peoples in the south. The migration of Arabs from Egypt into northern Sudan was another landmark in the history of Sudan. As the Arabs migrated, they took along their culture and religion. Always keen on propagating their religion and culture, the Arabs sought to introduce a newlifestyle to the peoples among whom they settled. Consequently, Sudan soon became a cultural and religious melting pot. This imposition of Islam and Arab culture on the southerners before and after independence is viewed as a major source of the protracted conflict between the north and the south. For example, various Khartoum governments

imposed Shariah law, thus worsening the situation. According to McMichael, (1922) the ethnic composition of the southerners was another key reason why it was difficult to resolve the conflict.

As the foregoing shows, for centuries there have been interactions by people of different religions (i.e. Islam, Christianity, and African traditional religions) and races (Westerners, Easterners and Southerners and the invading Arabs from the Middle East) in Sudan. Beshir, (1968), pointed out that as such, Sudan remains a culturally plural entity, being multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual. An individual study of any aspect of this diversity will reveal numerous identities and loyalties. According to the 2000 population census, Sudan had the following ethno-linguistic groupings: sixty-one percent Black Africans; thirty-one percent of Arab stock; eight percent of other races and nationalities made up of principally of Egyptians, Turks, and Yemenis. The population census of April 2008 put the total figure at 39.2 million, with 30.9 million in Northern Sudan and 8.3 million in Southern Sudan. Malok, (2009). These figures differ significantly from those of 1956; in particular, the sharp rise in the northern population is remarkable.

Furthermore, according to Berry, (2015), the ethnic population of Sudan consists of some 600 ethnic groups which are divided into two main groups: Arabs and non-Arabs. Mostly found in the north, forty (40) percent identify themselves as 'Arabs' by language and culture. Others sharing Arab affinities are mostly found in the Northern Nile and in the Kassala areas, with the Beja in the east and the Fur in the west. These peoples are popularly known as Nubians. In addition, 17 percent of the southerners are Christians from the ethnic groups of Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk. These ethnic groups are also further divided into other ethnic groups. The Nuba who are found in the mountainous areas of South Kordofan are quite distinct culturally and linguistically from other ethnic groups in the south of Sudan but still identify them as Southern Sudanese.

As at 2010, the population of Sudan slightly surpassed 41 million with a population growth of 2.143. Approximately, 43 percent of the population resided in urban areas such as

Khartoum. The population of the urban areas has been rising steadily due to the regional conflict that forced people to migrate to the cities in northern Sudan. This could be because of the increasing numbers of residents in Khartoum and other regions.

The three regions of Upper Nile, Bahr al Ghazal and Equatoria constitute the southern regions. According to the 1973 census, the population of the region stood at 19.9 percent of the overall Sudan population. It was 25.5 and 19.9 in 1983and 1993, respectively. The central regions in the east, south, and Darfur in the west had the highest populations a few decades ago. In terms of population, Khartoum, the federal capital, ranked sixth in 1972 but due to the influx of immigrants to the city, it came to third in 1993. The population has not risen since then. (Prendergast, and Mozersky, 2004).

Darfur was the most populous, with 19.2 percent of the total population, while the central region, in the eastern part, was second with 19 percent. However, when the three southern Sudanese regions combined, they came in the first place with 21.8 percent. The north has mostly been the least populated because of the arid nature of the land; in fact, the population has lately decreased due to desertification. The northern population was 6.5 percent in 1973 and 4.6 percent in 2008. (Sudan in Figures: 2005-2009)

However, it may not be correct to claim that religion runs across only the ethnic lines of Arab-Muslims and non-Arab-non-Muslims. While 75 percent and 25 percent of Sudanese in the north are Muslims and non-Muslims respectively, the south has a preponderant non-Arab, non-Muslim population. There, 65 percent of the population is African traditional worshippers while 17 percent and 19 percent are Christians and Muslims respectively. Most of the non-Arab Muslims are Black Africans living in the western region. It is therefore wrong to claim that South Sudan is a Christian-dominated region. (James, 2012). Adding to the country's ethnic diversity is the large number of refugees from neighbouring countries, such as Chad, Uganda, Kenya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and the Central African Republic. Studies also reveal that more than half a million Egyptians and tens of thousands of people of other Arab and African nationalities pursue better economic opportunities in the country. Some of these

peoples had in fact been in the country before independence. Thus, many questions arise on the concept of citizenship in relation to religion and ethnic diversity as well as language. It may be argued that the secession of South Sudan was a response to the poor handling of the nation-building process by Khartoum. The study found that Khartoum appeared to have pursued a pro-Arab identity agenda at the expense of other ethnic nationalities.

Economic Life

The first Sudanese settlers in the land practiced a mixed economy thousands of years ago and they were mainly cattle rearers. Those who settled along the banks of the Nile River and the Savanna areas practiced farming and fishing alongside animal rearing. Others specialised in animal husbandry and migrated seasonally with their cattle to areas where they could find green pasture and water to feed their cattle. Also common in Nilo-Saharan households were animals such as pigs, hens, donkeys and goats, cows sheep, horses, .

Breidlid, and Said (2014), explained further that hunting was also one of the earliest occupations of the people. There appears to be very little evidence to show that the Sudanese had large number of sheep and goats, when compare to other animals but they rode and used them to pull chariots. They also used elephants in wartime, but camels were not common along the Nile until the beginning of the Christian era. The Sudanese had a special irrigation system whereby they stored rainwater in large vessels about 50 feet deep and 820 feet wide, from where a system of canals transferred water to the fields. The system allowed them to grow millet, flax, cotton, groundnuts, simsim, sorghum, and cassava.

The earliest Sudanese also engaged in international trade. In the north of the Fifth Cataract, traders crossed the desert to rejoin the Nile above the Second Cataract so that they could avoid the dangerous stretches of the Nile in between. Many routes went eastwards to the Red Sea, where the Romans had developed ports to encourage trade. In this manner, the people exchanged goods with the people of Greece and Rome, near the East, southern Arabia and Abyssinia. It is also believed that the people traded with China and India. The articles of trade

included iron tools, pottery, jewelry, bronze, silver artifacts, ivory, leopard skin and ostrich feathers.

Sudan is also endowed with natural mineral resources such as gold in the Red Sea Hills and in Nuba Province. Gypsum can be found in the Darfur area and chrome on Ingessana Hills. Asbestos, marble, manganese, iron ore, limestone, uranium and mica are in abundance in the country and these can create employment if explored. (James, L. 2012). The discovery of crude oil in the 1970s in the Abyei region of the country is another major issue in the prolonged Sudanese conflict. Oil was discovered in western Upper Nile (now Unity State in South Sudan) in the 1970s by Chevron. (James, 2012). Indeed, it has been argued that the discovery of oil hastened the abrogation of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, as President Nimeiri wished to ensure that the oil revenue was controlled by the government in Khartoum, without interference from the autonomous southern government in Juba. In any event, the oil fields saw some of the earliest activities of the war, with skirmishes beginning in 1983, leading to the closure of the Chevron operation in 1984 after three expatriate workers were killed and six others injured during a night-time attack on the camp by SPLM/A. Earlier that year, oil workers had been captured and subsequently released by the rebels, but Chevron ignored warnings to shut down its operations and leave the area.

Thereafter, ECOS called upon the oil industry to suspend operations until there was peace, as oil activities had intensified the conflict and were contributing to international crimes. Through its representatives, Dr. Haruun Ruun and Telar Deng of New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC), the church met Jim Buckee, the CEO of Canadian company Talisman, a major player in the Sudanese oil industry. They were accompanied by two senior Canadian churchmen, Rev. Bill Phipps, the Moderator of the United Church of Canada, and Rev. Clint Mooney. Buckee appeared not to take them very seriously and assured them that Talisman would never pull out. (Interview with Mr. Gildo Francis, 2017 by the author).

Religion

In Sudan, religion is a daily affair. It is therefore no surprise that it played a big part in South Sudan's secession in 2011, as governments controlled by the northern elite had sought to Islamise and Arabise Sudan. Predictably, the Christian and animist southerners vigorously resisted such attempts. To be sure, two-thirds of the Sudan population is Muslims of the Sunni sect, although members of the Sufi brotherhood also exist. In general, Muslims are found in the eastern, western and central parts of Sudan.

Christianity dominates the south, followed by Islam. However, African traditional religious worshippers are also very visible in the region's religious landscape. The South Sudanese were converted to Christianity by the Christian missionaries who came into the country in the 5th century. Oral records suggest that Christianity came into Sudan before the advent of Islam in the late 14th century. There was trading between Egyptian Christians and Nubians at Fara in the 5th Century, and the 6th Century witnessed the conversion of Nubian kings to Christianity. The missionaries who came from Ethiopia were then known as Abyssinians. From the 6th to the 15th centuries, the Nubian kings were Christians and Christianity was the state religion of the three Sudanese kingdoms before the invasion and conquest in the middle of the 15th century by the Arab Muslims. Oral sources also indicate that before the advent of Christianity and Islam, the Black (Nilotic) Sudanese practiced their indigenous religions without discriminating among themselves. It is thus clear that the foreign religions were responsible for dividing the people and prolonging the conflict. Nowadays few Sudanese continue to practice the religions of their forbears. (Interview with Mr. Joseph Awet, 2017 by the author).

Colonial rule

British colonialism in Sudan severely impacted Sudanese history, as it, ab initio, sought to divide the north and the south. Indeed, the British were known to have favoured the divide-and-rule policy in many parts of Africa. Noticing the divergent personalities of southerners and northerners, the British nevertheless ensured a "forced marriage" between them in 1956. Certainly, Sudan fell to Britain after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. However, before

the Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule which ran from 1820 to 1889, South Sudanese had experienced the slavetrade during the Turko-Egyptian and Mahdist periods. The emergence of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium ended the slave trade era in the southern part of Sudan and another era of imperial dominion began in the country. (Interview with Mr. John Abbound, 2017). This Anglo-Egyptian occupation also affected every aspect of the country's development. From 1899 to 1945, the Anglo-Egyptian rulers practiced dissimilar systems of administration in the South and in the North. With the Closed District Ordinance, the South was effectively separated from the North. This era also witnessed the coming of the Christian missionaries and the introduction of a few mission schools, as well as the connection of the Southern Sudanese economy to the world market. The Christian missionaries did not allow the southerners to form political parties as their counterparts in the north did and the number of available schools was insufficient for the region's population at the time. This situation appeared to have been contrived by the colonial authorities in the hope of slowing down political and economic development in the South. No doubt, this factor also contributed to the prolongation of the Sudanese conflict.

By the 1870s slave trading in southern Sudan had reached unprecedented levels even though it had been outlawed in the United States of America in 1863 and in Britain in 1807. The governors of Equatoria, Sir Samuel Baker and General Charles George, tried to suppress and end the slave trade. In 1882, Britain invaded Egypt in response to Tawfic's request, and Britain then took over control of Egypt and Sudan. Soon after, the Mahdist rebellion grew in strength and eventually resulted in the overthrow of the Turko-Egyptian government in Sudan in 1885. The subsequent killing of Governor-General Charles George Gordon was unexpected and this led to the sacking of the country. Owing to the demand from the Christian missionaries and fraternities at home, Britain was compelled to authorise Lord Kitchener in March 1896 to launch a campaign to retaliate Gordon's death and to conquer the Mahdists in Sudan. Britain provided an army and war materials, while the Egyptians financed the expedition. Therefore, Anglo-Egyptian troops overthrew the Mahdists in April 1889. (Bredlid and Said, 2014).

In its bid to gain a foothold in Sudan during the late 19th Century, Britain contrived to prevent other European powers from competing for the territory. In the end, it was Britain and France which dominated the contest for Africa, although Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and Germany also had their share of the 'African cake.' The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 had specified the rules for competing over the continent's territories. One of the rules was that each European power was obliged to inform others about their intentions before trying to take over any territory. Another requirement was that the European power had to sign treaties with the local chiefs in order to effectively secure the territory and avoid clashes with other European powers. (Daly, 1991).

As noted already, the Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule (1899-1956) created a gulf between the north and south of Sudan, thus making conflict inevitable after the country's independence in 1956. While some view the British intervention in the southern region (i.e. Bahr El Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria) as humane, others feel otherwise about the isolation of the south via the Closed District Order of 1922. The Order, together with the Southern Policy of 1930, appeared to have led to the uneven pace of sociopolitical and economic development in both regions, as the policies effectively prevented trade between traders from both sides. From the northern perspective, however, this amounted to no more than the cutting of an artery. A distinguished northerner observed that British policy saddled independent Sudan with a heavy baggage which led to the emergence of some form of pervasive ethnic patriotism in the south even though the sentiment was not acceptable to everyone living there.

While the British argued that the Southern Policy was in fact meant to protect the region, not retard its development, it has been observed that the policy was pursued to absurd lengths and that the British government actually dragged its foot on developing the south. It has also been argued that the British governance of southern Sudan was haphazard and caused tribal rivalries. This is also claimed that the departing Rassa discouraged the use of English in the North because the British feared that the use of Arabic in the South would strengthen the

sophisticated north against the vulnerable southerners. The British had thought there would be time for the South to build up some kind of administrative structure of its own after independence. Ghaffare, Holt, and Ibrahim (1989).

However, contextual exigencies resulted in the British handover of power to the Sudanese following international pressure for decolonisation of the colonies after the Second World War in 1945. In 1946, the Southern Policy was reversed in a declaration which acknowledged the fact that southern Sudanese were inextricably bound, geographically and economically, to the Middle-Eastern and Arabised northern Sudanese as far as future developments were concerned. The new policy would, therefore, be to ensure that they were equipped to stand up for themselves as social and economic equals of the northerners. The new policy was an early herald of Sudanese independence and was based on British recognition that withdrawal from Sudan was only a matter of time and the South could not be allowed to secede from the North. (Interview with Prof. Anne Itto Leonardo, 2017).

However, there were many other reasons for this decision. Britain had realised that, in the post-world War II years, the Sudanese Defense Force, guarding 1200 miles of frontier with only 4500 men, had many times held off Italian troops from Ethiopia. Subsequently some units from the North which had served with the British Army in North Africa to protect the vast interests of the British in the Suez Canal Zone, became anxious to placate Egypt and were all too conscious and resentful of the fact that they had been very junior partners in the Anglo-Egyptian condominium. There was concession in Egypt, which had become a sovereign power by 1936 and was claiming the whole of Sudan as its southern province. Egypt decided to proclaim Farouk the king of Sudan in 1951. But in 1952, King Farouk was forced to abdicate and the new Republic of Egypt opted to support independence for Sudan.

Meanwhile, southern intellectuals, who had criticised the British for doing too little for the southerners' economic, social and educational development, condemned the reversal of the southern policy as a sellout to the Arabs. Khartoum claimed at the time that the southerners had been fully consulted by the North on the unity of Sudan and that southern

representatives had agreed to this policy at a conference held in 1947 in Juba. But the few educated people, the elites and the articulate minority in the South accused southern delegates of having been bribed, blackmailed and intimidated into saying 'yes' to the total unification of Sudan in 1956. Moor-Harell (1999).

The northerners who took over power from the British failed to honour or implement any of the agreements reached between 1955 and 1972 with the southerners on the issues of true federalism and the emergence of a secular state. The South argued that they were no more ready for unification than for 'Sudanisation' in 1954, a position which the Southerners resented and rejected. After the attainment of independence in 1956, out of the available official positions of 800 senior government posts only 8 were given to southerners. Moor-Harell (1999).

Before colonisation, different ethnic groups, including the Arabs and non-Arabs, intermingled, intermarried, integrated and generally had some things in common. The divide-and-rule strategy of colonialism succeeded in legally alienating some of the ethnic groups from one another, as it hindered understanding and cooperation among them. It has been noted that the "imperial power prevented the Sudanese from knowing each other, feeling with each other, working with each other and learning from each other." These artificial barriers were most blatant after the enactment of the 'Close District Order'. Under this law, movements across certain areas were prohibited to northern and southern Sudanese. Each region was compelled to use strictly its own language and harsh penalties faced those who did not abide by the law. Ibrahim, (2009).

CONCLUSION

The patterns in which the British negotiated the independence of the country only with the Arabs whom they believed were more politically mature and capable of ruling compared to the southerners, can be traced to be the remote causes of the country's protracted conflict. Consequently, this bred political agitation in the south, east and west although these regions lacked the political movements or parties that could compete favourably with those in the

North. Prior to independence, therefore, the British had contrived to hand over economic and political power to the Arabs in the North. In response, the southerners had organised a conference in Juba in 1947. The conference communiqué condemned the unification with Khartoum, although the delegates had to abide by the British decision.

In 1957 another conference was held in Juba on the southerners' position on relations with Khartoum. The delegates called for the granting of an autonomous status to the South under a federal model or the right to self-determination and total independence from the North. (Interview with Mr. Barnabas Bior, 2017). Although the North agreed to address these demands, the status quo remained. In fact, northerners continued to infiltrate the South to replace British officials as administrators, teachers and senior officers in the army and police force. Consequently, southerners saw the Arabs as another group of colonisers. Earlier in August 1955 there had been a mutiny by southern soldiers under the command of a northern officer. Fearing that they might be disarmed and moved to the North, the soldiers retreated into the bush and neighbouring countries to form the Anya Nya (meaning snake poison) and pursue armed struggle for emancipation. The Anya Nya was the first southern guerrilla movement to challenge Khartoum.

Without doubt, the main task for Khartoum was to decide on the future constitutional status of Sudan and to prepare the country and its people for independence during a three-year transitional period. Two further major issues were left unresolved in the constitution. First, the religious nature of the state was not addressed as to whether Sudan should be secular or Islamic. Second, the constitution did not specify the distribution of power between the different regions and levels of government, Sudan being a federal model. The influx of northerners to the south and failure to implement a decentralised model of governance led to the first Sudanese civil war. Similarly, Khartoum's failure to honour the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 led to the second civil war which lasted from 1983 to 2005. The war only ended after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

Lastly, from the foregoing, it can be seen that Sudan was already well primed for

conflict as at independence, considering the divergent political interests in the country and the challenges of its geography.

RECOMMENDATION

The paper makes the following recommendation:

1. The paper reveals the importance of adopting a multi-track approach to conflict resolution in Africa, with internal mechanisms being fruitfully combined with external ones in the effort to achieve peace and stability on the continent.

2. The paper demonstrates that deprivation, ethnic differences and political exclusion were the primary causes of the protracted conflict in Sudan, hence the need for governments in Africa to be sensitive to these issues in policy formulation and implementation.

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