

Second-Generation Liberation Wars

The formation of postcolonial states in Africa and the Middle East gave birth to prolonged separatist wars. Exploring the evolution of these separatist wars, Yaniv Voller examines the strategies that both governments and insurgents employed; how these strategies were shaped by the previous struggle against European colonialism; and the practices and roles that emerged in the subsequent period, which moulded the identities, aims and strategies of postcolonial governments and separatist rebels. Based on a wealth of primary sources, Voller focuses on two postcolonial separatist wars: in Iraqi Kurdistan, between Kurdish separatists and the government in Baghdad, and in Southern Sudan, between Black African insurgents and the government in Khartoum. By providing an account of both conflicts, he offers a new understanding of colonialism, decolonisation and the international politics of the postcolonial world.

Yaniv Voller is Senior Lecturer in the Politics of the Middle East at the University of Kent. He is the author of *The Kurdish Liberation Movement in Iraq: From Insurgency to Statehood* (2014). His articles have appeared in leading journals on international politics and Middle East studies.



Intelligence and National Security in Africa and the Middle East

Series Editors

Rory Miller, Georgetown University Clive Jones, Durham University

Editorial Board

Sandy Africa, Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces Wyn Bowen, King's College London
Florence Gaub, European Union Institute for Security Studies
Stacey Gutkowski, King's College London
Hazem Kandil, Cambridge University
Imad Mansour, Qatar University
Roland Marchal, Center for International Research, Sciences Po
Ami Pedahzur, University of Texas at Austin
Tore T. Petersen, Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Walter Posch, National Defence Academy in Vienna
William Reno, Northwestern University
Dina Rezk, University of Reading
Philip Roessler, College of William & Mary
Abeer Shaheen, Columbia University
Miles Tendi, Oxford University

Intelligence has long been regarded as a function and an instrument of national power and national security. From supplementing more orthodox forms of diplomacy to its role in the prosecution of violent conflict, intelligence has played an integral role in the conduct of international relations, as well as ensuring state stability or regime security and survival. *Intelligence and National Security in Africa and the Middle East* is a series consisting of monographs and edited volumes dealing with several independent but inter-connected areas of intelligence and security research, all with an African and/or Middle Eastern focus. It aims to cover areas of research that traditionally fall outside of the more established realm of intelligence studies, with a continued emphasis upon historical case studies.



Second-Generation Liberation Wars

Rethinking Colonialism in Iraqi Kurdistan and Southern Sudan

Yaniv Voller

University of Kent





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316513132

DOI: 10.1017/9781009071840

© Yaniv Voller 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Voller, Yaniv, author.

Title: Second-generation liberation wars : rethinking colonialism in Iraqi Kurdistan and Southern Sudan / Yaniv Voller.

Other titles: Rethinking colonialism in Iraqi Kurdistan and Southern Sudan Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2022. | Series: Intelligence and national security in Africa and the Middle East | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021031664 (print) | LCCN 2021031665 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316513132 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009071840 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Ethnic conflict – Iraq – Kurdistān – Case studies. | Kurds – Iraq – History – Autonomy and independence movements – Case studies. | Postcolonialism – Iraq – Kurdistān – Case studies. | Insurgency – Sudan – Case studies. | Sudan – History – Civil War, 1983-2005. | Postcolonialism – Sudan – Case studies.

Classification: LCC DS79.89.K87 V65 2022 (print) | LCC DS79.89.K87 (ebook) | DDC 956.704–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021031664 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021031665

ISBN 978-1-316-51313-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Yasmin





Contents

	Acknowledgements	page ix
	Maps	xi
	List of Abbreviations	xiii
	Introduction	1
	Why Is Postcolonial Violence Still a Relevant Topic?	6
	Iraq and Sudan: Representative Cases of Postcolonial Separatist Violence Structure of the Book	te 12
1	Practices, Roles, Colonialism and Decolonisation:	
	Rethinking Postcolonial Separatist Wars	20
	Postcolonial Separatist Wars and the Challenges to Decolonisation	25
	Beyond Path Dependence: Practices, Roles and Postcolonial Violence	32
2	The Historical and Ideational Context of Postcolonial	
	Liberation Wars	55
	Colonial Rule and Counter-Insurgency Practices	56
	The First-Generation Anti-Colonial Struggle and the Practices of	
	Resistance The Chronology of the Second-Generation Liberation Wars in Iraq and	63
	Sudan	79
	Iraq: From the Monarchy to Ba'thist Oppression	79
	Southern Sudan: Isolation, Integration and Violence	83
3	Postcolonial Governments and Counter-Insurgency: The	
	Return of Colonial Practices	90
	Colonial Methods and the Colonised Elites	92
	Baghdad and Northern Iraq	97
	Southern Sudan: Civilising Mission and Tribalism	118
4	Second-Generation Liberation Strategies	139
	Early Encounters: Pre-rebellion Interaction between the	
	Two-Generations of Liberation Movements	141
	The Kurds in Iraq: From Paris to the Republic	142
	Southern Sudan: From the Mahdi Rebellion to Decolonisation	149
	The Rise of Second-Generation Anti-Colonial Liberation Ideology	160

vii



viii

	Contents	
	The Kurds in Iraq and the Rise of the Kurdistan Democratic Party Southern Sudan and the Anyanya Rebellion	160 174
5	Transition in Liberation: From Guerrilla Fighting to	
	State-Building	191
	The Changing Nature of Liberation in the Post-Cold War Era	192
	The Rise of the Kurdistan Regional Government The 'Democratic Experiment' and the Consolidation of the Kurdish de	197
	Facto State	205
	From Guerrilla to Civil Authority in Southern Sudan	212
	The Shift towards State and Capacity Building	222
	Conclusion	233
	Liberation Struggles: A Research Agenda	237
	Bibliography	243
	Index	263



Acknowledgements

This book's writing has taken me on a journey, in the literal sense of the word. Throughout the research and writing, I have travelled across cities, countries and continents, from London to Edinburgh to Juba, Erbil, Palo Alto and Canterbury, to name only a few of the places I have visited and lived. And I have many people to thank. First, I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust. Without the trust's generous support in the form of the Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship, this book could not have happened. I am also thankful to the team at Cambridge University Press: the series editors, Rory Miller and Clive Jones, as well as Harry Verhoeven, for their feedback and advice; Maria Marsh, Dan Brown and Atifa Jiwa for their constant support in the process of publication; and the two anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful comments that have contributed significantly to the writing of this book.

The School of Social and Political Science at the University of Edinburgh was my academic home for the three years of the Leverhulme Fellowship. I met some great people at the school, but I am particularly indebted to Ewan Stein for mentoring me academically and introducing me to some of the best pubs in Edinburgh. From Edinburgh, I moved to assume my first permanent position at the University of Kent. At the School of Politics and International Relations, I met a wonderful and supportive community. Even though a Londoner, I have always felt at home in Canterbury, thanks to my friends, colleagues and students.

Many people have gone out of their way to help me with research. The project involved extensive archival research. In Juba, I was greatly impressed by the team running the South Sudan National Archive. With minimal resources, at a time of conflict and under challenging conditions, the Juba team, backed by the Rift Valley Institute, has done a tremendous job in making documents accessible, turning the archives into a real treasure. That a country still struggling to build up its infrastructure and emerge out of years of bloody conflict can have such an archive is an indication of the power of history. Opoka Musa Obalim, in particular, was of great help to me in the archives. The Rift Valley

ix



x Acknowledgements

Institute has also maintained the Sudan Open Archive, an astounding online collection of primary sources concerning Sudan and South Sudan. This project, carried out with limited resources, is a remarkable example of the dedication to knowledge of a community of scholars and professionals. I met many wonderful people in South Sudan. Still, in particular, two individuals helped me get around during my first visits to the country, especially by introducing me to people and places, and for that, I am grateful to Martin Muortat and Haim Koren, the former Israeli ambassador to South Sudan and Egypt.

Working on the Ba'th Party archives at the Hoover Institution and the University of Colorado in Boulder was another brilliant experience. The collections provide a rare insight into the making of an authoritarian regime. Teams at both institutions have done a great job maintaining these massive collections and making them available to a new generation of Iraq scholars. I wish to express my gratitude to Haidar Hadi at the Hoover Institution who was always quick to help with any problem I encountered or question I had. At the University of Colorado, David Hays was of great help both inside the library and in giving me tips on spending my time in Boulder. I am also thankful to Michael Brill for his help in the process of research. Other work was carried out at the archive of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Durham University's Middle East Documentation Unit and Sudan Archive; and the University of Exeter Library's Special Collections. There, too, I received help and support from staff.

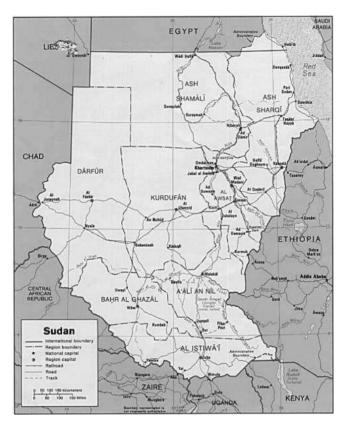
Many friends in London, where I have lived for the past fifteen years, deserve my appreciation and acknowledgement. And I thank them all for their friendship, support and patience. But most of all, I owe the greatest debt to my family: my sister and my brother and sister in-law; my in-laws; and, of course, my parents, without their help, I would not have been able to be where I am today. I love you all – and the Covid-19 crisis has shown me the importance of family, even when thousands of miles set us apart. My lovely daughters, Alma and Maya, always made sure to remind me what is really important, especially at these strange times. And my wife, Yasmin, you are still the reason for everything I do.





Map 1 A CIA-produced map of Iraq (1976). Downloaded from the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection at the University of Texas Austin. http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/iraq_rel_1976.jpg





Map 2 A CIA-produced map of Sudan (1989). Downloaded from the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection at the University of Texas Austin. https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/sudan_pol_1989.gif



Abbreviations

ALC - African Liberation Committee

ALN – Armée de libération nationale

BRCC - Ba'th Regional Command Collection

CANS - Civil Authority of the New Sudan

CO - Colonial Office

CPA - Comprehensive Peace Agreement

DUP - Democratic Unionist Party

EC – European Community

ED – Eastern District Kapoeta (as catalogued in SSNA archives)

EPLF - Eritrean People's Liberation Front

FLN – Front de libération nationale

FO - Foreign Office

FRRA - Fashoda Relief and Rehabilitation Association

HEC - High Executive Council

HRW - Human Rights Watch

ICP - Iraqi Communist Party

IGADD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development

ISPF – Iraqi Secret Police Files

ITP – Iraqi Turkoman Party

JD – Juba District

KDP - Kurdistan Democratic Party

KNA - Kurdistan National Assembly

KRG - Kurdistan Regional Government

KSSE - Kurdish Students Society in Europe

LND - Lou-Nuer District

MMD - Moru and Maridi District

MSA – Ministry of Southern Affairs

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NDA - National Democratic Alliance

NDB - National Defence Battalions

NIDS - Northern Iraq Dataset

NIF - National Islamic Front

xiii



xiv List of Abbreviations

NLC - National Liberation Council

OAU - Organisation of African Unity

OLS - Operation Lifeline Sudan

PD - Pibor District

PKK - Kurdistan Workers' Party

PUK - Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

RASS - Relief Association of South Sudan

RCC - Revolutionary Command Council

SACDNU - Sudan African Closed Districts National Union

SANU - Sudan African National Union

SCP - Sudanese Communist Party

SOA - Sudan Open Archives

SPLM/A – Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army

SRRA - Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association

SSLM - South Sudan Liberation Movement

SSNA - South Sudan National Archives

TCCDR – Tribal Criminal and Civil Disputes Regulations

TPLF - Tigray People's Liberation Front

UNESCO - UN Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNGA – UN General Assembly

UNHCR – UN High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF - UN Children's Fund

UNP - Upper Nile Province

UNSC - UN Security Council

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

VSS - Voice of Southern Sudan

ZD - Zande District