# TABLE OF CONTENT

## Geography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Divisions and Topographic Features</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deserts</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Sea Coast</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nile River Valley</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Sudan</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay Plains</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nile</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Nile</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Nile</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atbara River</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Cities</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khartoum–Omdurman</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Sudan</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kassala</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Concerns and Natural Hazards</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endnotes for Chapter 1: Geography</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early History</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kushite Dynasties</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meroe</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian and Muslim Nubia</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Nubia</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ottoman Turkiyah</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mahdi</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th-Century History</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-Egyptian Sudan</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence and Failed Governments</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Events</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darfur</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Sudan Secession</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COUNTRY IN PERSPECTIVE | SUDAN

Endnotes for Chapter 2: History ................................................................. 26
Assessment ......................................................................................... 28

Economy

Introduction .......................................................................................... 29
Agriculture ............................................................................................ 30
  Cotton ............................................................................................... 30
  Sugar ................................................................................................. 31
Industry ................................................................................................. 31
Oil, Energy, and Natural Resources ..................................................... 32
Trade ..................................................................................................... 32
Tourism .................................................................................................. 33
Banking and Finance ............................................................................ 33
  Debt .................................................................................................... 34
  Investment .......................................................................................... 35
Standard of Living ............................................................................... 35
Outlook .................................................................................................. 36
Endnotes for Chapter 3: Economy ......................................................... 37
Assessment ........................................................................................... 41

Society

Introduction ............................................................................................ 42
Ethnic Groups and Languages ............................................................. 43
  Arabs .................................................................................................. 43
  Nubians .............................................................................................. 43
  Beja .................................................................................................... 44
  Fur ....................................................................................................... 44
  Dinka .................................................................................................. 44
  Nuer ..................................................................................................... 45
  Nuba .................................................................................................... 45
Religion .................................................................................................... 46
  Islam ................................................................................................... 46
  Christianity ........................................................................................ 47
Cuisine ..................................................................................................... 47
Traditional Dress ................................................................................ 48
Gender Issues ....................................................................................... 48
Arts and Recreation ............................................................................ 49
Endnotes for Chapter 4: Society .......................................................... 50
Assessment ............................................................................................ 53
COUNTRY IN PERSPECTIVE | SUDAN

Security

Introduction ......................................................................................................................................... 54
United States-Sudan Relations .................................................................................................. 55
  U.S. Response to Darfur ......................................................................................................... 56
Relations with Neighboring Countries ..................................................................................... 56
  Egypt ............................................................................................................................................ 56
  Libya ............................................................................................................................................ 57
  Chad ............................................................................................................................................ 58
  Central African Republic ........................................................................................................ 59
  Ethiopia ....................................................................................................................................... 59
  Eritrea .......................................................................................................................................... 60
Police Force ..................................................................................................................................... 60
Military ............................................................................................................................................. 61
  Army ............................................................................................................................................ 61
  Navy ............................................................................................................................................. 62
  Air Force ..................................................................................................................................... 62
Other Issues Affecting Stability ................................................................................................. 62
  Darfur Rebel Groups ................................................................................................................ 62
  Janjaweed .................................................................................................................................. 63
  Sudan People’s Liberation Movement—North (SPLM-N) ..................................................... 63
  Human Trafficking .................................................................................................................... 64
Water Security ............................................................................................................................. 65
Abyei Region .................................................................................................................................. 65
Outlook ........................................................................................................................................... 66
Endnotes for Chapter 5: Security ............................................................................................... 67
Assessment ....................................................................................................................................... 74

Further Readings and Resources

Books and Articles ...................................................................................................................... 75
Films ................................................................................................................................................ 77

Final Assessment

Final Assessment ........................................................................................................................... 78
Geography

Introduction

Sudan is the world’s 16th-largest country and the third-largest in Africa. The White and Blue Nile rivers and their tributaries, as well as one of the world’s largest swamps, are dominant geographic features of the country. Just as Sudan plays an important geopolitical role in northeastern Africa, Sudan’s geography has played an important role in the country’s history.

The White and Blue Nile and their tributaries flow through the eastern and southern regions of the country. The Blue Nile originates in Ethiopia and the White Nile flows...
in from South Sudan. The two rivers merge in Khartoum to form the Nile. From Khartoum, the river flows northward to Egypt. Mountains dot the landscape along the Red Sea coast to the northeast and along the western border with Chad.

Geographic Divisions and Topographic Features

Deserts

The Libyan and the Nubian deserts—divided by the narrow but fertile Nile River Valley—cover the north of Sudan. The Libyan Desert is mostly sand dunes and makes up the northeastern part of the Sahara that extends to Libya, Egypt, and Sudan. Mount al-Uwaynat, the highest point of the desert at 1,934 m (6,345 ft), is located where these three countries converge. The Nubian Desert stretches from the Nile to the Red Sea. This sandstone plateau is rocky with few sand dunes and many wadis, or dry river valleys. Annual rainfall in the desert averages less than 13 cm (5 in). Erkowit Mountain is located on the far eastern side of the Nubian Desert near the Red Sea.

Red Sea Coast

The Red Sea coast stretches for 1,900 km (1,180 mi). This rocky coastal strip is a mixture of salt marshes and desert. The coastal Red Sea Hills run from Eritrea northward to Egypt. The coastal plain ranges in width from 24 km (15 mi) in the north to 56 km (35 mi) in the south. The coastal stretch of sea has three depth zones: the shallow reef, less than 50 m (164 ft), the deep shelves, at 500-1,000 m (1,640-3,280 ft), and the central trench at a depth of more than 1,000 m (3,280 ft). The temperatures of the Red Sea are evenly distributed at different depths, ranging from 26.2-30.5 and 23.9-25.9 degrees Celsius.
Nile River Valley

The Nile River valley begins just north of Khartoum, where the White Nile and the Blue Nile meet. The last tributary of the Nile, the Atbara, enters just before the river meanders through the Nubian Desert. The Great Bend—located in northern Sudan—is a curve in the Nile that follows a southwestern course for 300 km (186 mi) before flowing north toward Egypt. Eventually the Nile empties into the Mediterranean Sea, where it flows into several channels along the valley.

Western Sudan

The historic region of western Sudan includes the regions of Darfur and Kordofan. While the region lacks perennial streams, limited amounts of water are available in permanent small tube-wells (mataras). The vast savanna plains of Darfur make up a large portion of western Sudan. Main rivers in the region include the Senegal, Gambia and the Niger with some tributaries of the Nile emptying into Lake Chad.

Clay Plains

In Kordofan, located in south-central Sudan, the Nuba Mountains form the western border of the clay plains, which stretch southward to Ethiopia. Agriculture in these plains between the two Niles forms the backbone of Sudan’s economy. The Gezira Irrigation Scheme, the largest and oldest irrigation project in Sudan, is located in this region where the land supports cotton, wheat, groundnuts, vegetables, and fruit.
Climate

The climate of Sudan varies in relation to the country’s geography. In the north of the country, desert temperatures range from 42°C (108°F) in the summer to 32°C (90°F) in the winter. The hottest times of the year are May and June. Temperate weather occurs in the Red Sea Hills. The climate becomes more equatorial/tropical as one travels south where temperatures fluctuate less throughout the year, averaging 27°C to 29°C (80°F to 85°F).\textsuperscript{15}

Rain falls between July and September, resulting in an average of 175 mm (7 in) annually. The lack of rain and strong winds coming from the north can produce large sandstorms. During winter, these winds bring cold air to the deserts.\textsuperscript{16, 17, 18}

Rivers

Nile

All bodies of water in Sudan flow into the Nile River. The Blue and White Nile meet at Khartoum and flow northward toward Egypt. The large S-shaped curve known as the Great Bend directs the water northward, then southwest and north again. Tectonic plate movement may have formed the cataracts in the upper portion of the Nile.\textsuperscript{19} Originally, there were six classical Nile cataracts between Aswan, Egypt, and Sabaluka (north of Khartoum), all of which prevented boats from navigating the Nile from Cairo to Khartoum.\textsuperscript{20} Two of these cataracts are now submerged under the waters of Lake Nasser near Aswan and the hydroelectric Hamadab Dam near Merowe.\textsuperscript{21}
Blue Nile

The Blue Nile originates in Ethiopia at Lake Tana and supplies much of the Nile’s water. Both the Blue Nile and the smaller Atbara vary in the amount of water they carry because of seasonal Ethiopian rains. During droughts, the Blue Nile can run dry. The Sennar Dam south of Khartoum provides water for the Gazira Irrigation Scheme. Where the Blue and White Nile meet in Khartoum, the colors of the water are noticeably different.

White Nile

The White Nile is formed by many small tributaries. The main tributary, the Mountain Nile, enters from the al-Sudd wetlands of South Sudan before continuing toward Khartoum. The White Nile contributes only 16% of the Nile’s water, but its steady flow ensures that the Nile does not dry up. In 1937, the British built the Jebel al-Awliya Dam, located before the White Nile reaches Khartoum. This dam was used to store water for periods of drought when the Blue Nile did not provide enough to maintain the heavier flow. Today the dam is used principally for irrigation projects.

Atbara River

The Atbara is the northernmost tributary to the Nile. Rising from the Ethiopian highlands, the Atbara flows westerly into Sudan for 805 km (500 mi). It flows into the Nile 300 km (186 mi) north of Khartoum. This small river contributes 1% of the Nile’s total flow and sometimes dries up during the dry season; at other times, it nearly overflows. The river is navigable when it floods.
Major Cities

Khartoum–Omdurman

Founded in 1821, Sudan’s capital is located in the center of the country. Throughout the British colonial period, it was an administrative center. The name Khartoum literally means “elephant’s trunk” and refers to the shape between the two Niles before they converge. Today, Khartoum has a population of over 6 million and is an urban center that includes North Khartoum and Omdurman, the old city and legislative capital. Khartoum is also the commercial, economic, and administrative center of Sudan. Omdurman is home to the tomb of the Mahdi (Muhammad Ahmad bin abd Allah), who used it as a base to lead the Sudanese revolution in the 1880s.

Khartoum is connected to Egypt, Port Sudan, and El Obeid via highways, railroads, and river barges. Khartoum has an international airport as well as an oil pipeline linking the city of Port Sudan.

Port Sudan

Since 1906, Sudan’s port on the Red Sea has handled the majority of the country’s foreign trade. It is the principal seaport of Sudan situated along the Red Sea. Port Sudan is home to an international airport and an oil-refining facility. The city has a population of approximately 410,000 and is known for its beaches and scuba diving. Important nearby sites include Sanganeb National Park which has a living reef, and two archeological sites, the Sesibi and Sedeinga Temples.
Kassala

Kassala is situated on the Ethiopian Plateau, with the Taka Mountains providing a picturesque backdrop. The Kassala and Mokram mountains, east and south of the city, help create a cooler climate for this town of nearly 300,000 people. The indigenous population is a mix of tribes, including the Nubians, Beja, Rashaida, Hausa, and Fulani. The city, once a major hub for trading cotton, is now the main market for fruit, which abound in the city.

Environmental Concerns and Natural Hazards

Sudan’s deserts have limited supplies of potable water. Water supplies in many areas are contaminated and are sources for countless diseases as well as breeding sites for malarial mosquitoes. According to United Nations reports, more than one-third of all hospitalizations are caused by waterborne parasites. However, the discovery in 2007 by NASA of what appeared to be the vestiges of a massive underground lake in the Darfur region may present a solution to this problem. Whether this water can be brought to the surface remains to be seen. The coastal waters are polluted by industrial waste, oil spills, and sewage.

Recurring droughts have plagued Sudan since the mid-1980s and have led to famine, crop failure, and loss of livestock. Moreover, droughts have caused increased desertification, which results in a reduction of agricultural land.

Some species of wildlife have been decimated by hunting, continued factional violence, and natural hazards. Twenty-one species, including the northern white rhinoceros, the Tora hartebeest, and the slender-horned gazelle, were listed as endangered as
of 2001.\textsuperscript{50} Nine bird species and two plant species are also on the list. The Sahara oryx no longer exists in the wild.\textsuperscript{51} National Park officials have seen the buffalo and elephant populations decrease by 90% and suspect that Janjaweed militias are killing these animals.\textsuperscript{52} Nevertheless, the tiang and white-eared kob antelopes, numbering at least one million, still live throughout the savanna region. Their movements constitute one of the largest migrations of animals in the world.\textsuperscript{53}

In northern Sudan, strong winds carry sand across the desert and through towns. These sandstorms—known as haboobs—can be so thick that they literally block out the sun and leave a fine dust on everything in their path.\textsuperscript{54} In eastern Sudan, the rainy season, which lasts from June to September, often causes flooding.\textsuperscript{55}
Endnotes for Chapter 1: Geography


Country in Perspective | Sudan


38 Siân Pritchard-Jones and Bob Gibbons, Africa Overland: 4x4, Motorbike, Bicycle, Truck, 5th edition (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2009), 293.


40 Trip Advisor, ‘Things to Do in Port Sudan,’ n.d., https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g677545-Activities-Port_Sudan_Red_Sea_State.html


52 Michael Ray, “Janjaweed: Sudanese Militia,” Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 16 January 2015,The name Janjaweed comes from a Sudanese Arabic slang word meaning “mounted raiders or warriors.” They are composed of western Sudanese Arab tribesmen, loyal to the Islamic government. Since 2000 they have led brutal raids on the villages of the Darfur region.


Sudan in Perspective

Chapter 1 | Geography

Assessment

1. Most of northern Sudan is subtropical, with lush vegetation and water sources that provide ample resources for irrigation.

2. Port Sudan is an important Red Sea port through which most of Sudan’s imports and exports pass.

3. Continued factional violence has affected wildlife populations in Sudan.

4. The backbone of Sudan’s economy is oil.

5. The White Nile does not contribute to the water flow of the Nile River.

Assessment Answers: 1. False; 2. True; 3. True; 4. False; 5. False
Early History

Sudan has been inhabited by humans since the Paleolithic period, which spanned more than 60,000 years. Archeological evidence confirms that by the eighth millennium B.C.E. a Neolithic, or New Stone Age, culture was in place along the Nile. People lived in mud-brick buildings and survived by hunting, fishing, and cattle herding. Sudan’s population today reflects the blending of Mediterranean and African populations that occurred during the Neolithic period.¹

Sudan may have been a trading hub between Central Africa and Egypt. As the Egyptian kingdoms grew stronger, they began to expand their influence southward along the Nile.

¹ Sudan in Perspective
Nile, reaching past the fourth cataract in 1500 B.C.E. They named this area Kush and later referred to it as Nubia, from the local word nob (slave). Kushite temples built to honor Egyptian gods, along with mentions of Nubia in Egyptian artifacts, attest to Egyptian influence in northern Sudan.²

**Kushite Dynasties**

As Egyptian power began to wane in the 14th century B.C.E. under Pharaoh Ramses II, the Lower Kush region became a no-man’s-land, while the Upper Kush region moved toward independence. In the eighth century B.C.E., the Kush king Kashta began to rule from Napata, a city on the Nile about 400 km (248 mi) north of present-day Khartoum. After conquering southern Egypt, he was succeeded by his son Piye, who extended Kush influence as far north as the Nile Delta. In 719 B.C.E., Piye was succeeded by his brother Shabaka, whom historians consider the founder of the 25th Egyptian Pharaonic dynasty. Shabaka was the first Nubian king to live in Egypt and occupy the Pharaonic throne. Carvings and statuary dating from this era have been found along the banks of the Nile in northern Sudan. These statues, which stand from 1.2 to 3 m (4 to 10 ft) tall, are inscribed with the names of five Nubian kings.³

**Meroe**

During the sixth century B.C.E., an indigenous Pharaonic dynasty regained control over Egypt and began to move troops south. In 593 B.C.E. Egyptians under Psamtik II invaded the Kush kingdom in Napata.⁴ The capital was moved farther south to Meroe during the third century B.C.E. Meroe (a region bounded by the Nile, the Atbara River, and the Blue Nile) was much more fertile than Napata. It was
here that Kushite culture survived through the advent of Christianity and the coming of Islam in the late sixth century B.C.E.³

**Christian and Muslim Nubia**

*Christian Nubia*

Although by the fourth century Sudan was surrounded by Coptic Christian nations to the north and to the southeast (Egypt and Ethiopia, respectively), it was not until the sixth century that all of Sudan came under Christian influence. The three states that once made up the Kushite Kingdom of Meroe—Nobatia (Ballanah), Muqurra, and Alwa—fell under Christian influence at different times. According to written accounts, missionaries from the Byzantine Empire brought the gospel to the Kushites with greater zeal than the Coptic Christians of Egypt and Ethiopia. These accounts date Byzantine contacts from around 540 C.E. The Kushite monarchy protected the church’s interests because the church confirmed the legitimacy of the royal line.⁶

The coming of Christianity to Nubia allowed for renewed ties with Egypt. The Coptic Christian church encouraged literacy, and Arabic became widely used during the seventh century. With the spread of Islam to Egypt, Sudan became isolated again. An agreement made with Muslim invaders in 652 C.E. allowed Sudan to continue as a Christian kingdom. According to the agreement, Christians gave an annual tribute of slaves, while Muslims gave grain in exchange. Muslims continued trading peacefully with their southern neighbor, using Red Sea ports. This agreement lasted for 600 years until Muslim raids began in 1270. In 1315, the agreement was abolished and a Muslim prince took the throne.⁷,⁸

*Islam*

The Muslim kings stood strong against invading Egyptian Mamluks and later against the Ottomans, who were colonizing the Red Sea coast. Although the Ottoman Empire had administrative officials along the Red Sea coast, they had little power over the interior of northern Sudan. Instead, they relied on kashif (military leaders) to collect
taxes and slaves. For 300 years, the people of northern Sudan dealt with constant terror and the infighting among the kashif themselves.\(^9\)

The Ottoman Empire, which gained a foothold in Red Sea settlements to the south of Sudan, had no control over southern and central Sudan, where indigenous Funj tribesmen founded the Funj Sultanate of Sennar. The Sultan (mek) lived in Sennar, and the rest of the south was divided into tribal homelands. The Funj Sultanate reached the peak of its power in the 1600s, but by 1800 it lost its authority to Ottoman influence from Egypt in the north to Ethiopia in the south.\(^10\)

**The Ottoman Turkiyah**

With the defeat of the Funj, northern Sudan came under Turco-Egyptian rule in the early 19th century. In 1835, the Turkiyah, as the regime was known, made Khartoum the capital and divided Sudan into administrative areas along tribal boundaries. A new legal system for criminal and commercial codes was developed; Shari’a law was maintained only for civil matters such as those related to marriage and inheritance. Ismail, the Khedive of Egypt and a descendent of strongman Muhammad Ali, extended Ottoman Egypt’s influence farther south in a move to consolidate Ottoman holdings along the southern Red Sea coast and in the Hijaz region of Arabia. Forces under Ismail annexed Darfur and installed telegraph lines to improve communications with Cairo’s royal court. After abolishing the slave trade in northern Sudan, Ismail employed the British to help stop it in the southern region.\(^11, 12\)

By the early 1870s, the British arrived in Egypt to protect their newly acquired interest in the Suez Canal Company. They wanted greater control over Egypt. In 1877, Charles George “Chinese” Gordon was appointed by the Khedive to be Governor General of
Sudan. Upon the death of the Khedive in 1879, and having effectively ended the slave trade, Gordon announced his decision to resign from his position as Governor General.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{The Mahdi}

The end of the Turkiyah brought turmoil to a leaderless Sudan. In 1881, a charismatic leader named Muhammad Ahmad stepped into the void. He claimed to be al-Mahdi, or the Guided One, an Islamic messiah-like figure who would establish an unadulterated form of Islam, unify the people of the Sudan, and rid the land of Egyptians and Turks.\textsuperscript{14} He gained followers, called the Ansar, by calling for a jihad (holy war) on the Turks and by denouncing the collection of taxes.

The growing Ansar engaged in small battles as they made their way to Darfur, where they sought refuge. In February 1884, British Prime Minister William Gladstone, feeling Khartoum was threatened, sent Gordon back to Sudan to lead an Egyptian withdrawal. Within a month, al-Mahdi and the Ansar besieged and attacked Khartoum, leading to Gordon’s death on 26 January 1885.\textsuperscript{15} After the fall of Khartoum, the Ansar claimed Sennar and Kassala, essentially taking southern Sudan, briefly severing Ottoman control.

Al-Mahdi died in mid-1885. Abdallahi ibn Muhammad, his successor known as the khalifa, became the leader of the Mahdiyah movement. This movement is considered by some to be the first Sudanese national government. Shari’a law was reintroduced; service in the jihad (holy war against infidels) replaced the pilgrimage to Mecca as one of the five pillars of Islam, and the zakat (almsgiving) was used as a state tax.\textsuperscript{16}

The Mahdiyah maintained Sudan as an independent state until 1898, with the khalifa dividing the area into provinces and appointing members of the Ansar to oversee them. However, they were unable to keep the forces of colonialism at bay. In 1896, the British began building a railroad along the Nile. Their sophisticated weaponry easily protected them from an attack by the Mahdiyah at Omdurman on 2 September 1898. Although the khalifa escaped, he later died in a battle in 1898. Upon his death,
Sudan reverted to British-Ottoman administration.\textsuperscript{17}

20th-Century History

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

To protect their Egyptian interests, the British signed joint authority agreements with Egypt in 1899. This action formed the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (a joint jurisdiction), granting Britain administrative rights over Sudan. The British government appointed Sir Reginald Wingate as Governor General and housed him in Khartoum. The Egyptian-British-Sudanese government was reestablished as a central authority, thus bringing a measure of stability to Sudanese affairs at the end of the century.

In 1911, the British launched the Gezira Scheme, an irrigation project between the two Niles. With the 1925 completion of Sennar Dam, the Gezira Scheme was enlarged, and cotton became the mainstay of the Sudanese economy. At the same time, Egypt declared independence and the British retained Sudan.\textsuperscript{18, 19}

During the Second World War, the Graduates’ General Conference (1942), a nationalist movement founded by educated Sudanese, sent its demands for autonomy to the colonial government. The government implemented political reform, creating a system of decentralized local governments headed by a partially-elected Legislative Assembly. A boycott of the elections by the pro-Egyptian National Unionist Party (NUP) made the assembly pro-independence. In 1952 the assembly drafted a constitution calling for a prime minister and council, who in turn would form a bicameral parliament. Although British forces would oversee military and foreign affairs, the newly empowered Sudanese would oversee all internal matters. In 1953, England and Egypt signed the Anglo-Egyptian Accord,
which allowed for a three-year transition to Sudanese self-governance.  

During the three-year period a series of elections were held leading to a majority of NUP delegates in parliament. Having achieved majority status, the NUP leader, Ismail al-Azhari, moved from a position endorsing an Egyptian and Sudanese Union to one advocating an independent Sudan. Neither President Nasser of Egypt nor the British government was able to counter Sudanese intentions. On 1 January 1956, an independent Sudan was inaugurated.

**Independence and Failed Governments**

When Sudan’s independence was established, Arab Muslims occupied most of the influential government posts, although they made up only 39% of the country’s total population. The predominantly Christian south was immediately alienated. Two years after independence, Lieutenant General Ibrahim Abboud staged a coup that ushered in a six-year military dictatorship. His emphasis on Arabization of the south further fueled the southern opposition toward the Muslim government in Khartoum. In 1964, Abboud was overthrown and replaced by a series of civilian governments. On 25 May 1969, Jaafar Muhammad al-Nimeiri and the “Free Officers” movement seized power.

Together with his co-conspirators al-Nimeiri formed the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). The RCC promptly suspended the constitution and all political parties and declared a state of emergency. Al-Nimeiri declared that Sudan would have one political party, the Sudanese Socialist Union. His dictatorship was legitimized in an election held in September 1971. Under al-Nimeiri, Khartoum initially refused to allow the south self-determination. In 1972, however, in an effort to garner support from the Christian south, al-Nimeiri signed the Addis Ababa Agreement with southern rebels, granting the south limited autonomy.

The agreement with the south lasted only 10 years. In 1983, al-Nimeiri stripped the south of autonomy and made Arabic the official language of Sudan. His attempt to subdue the southern militias sparked the second civil war, which lasted until 2005. He introduced
Shari’a punishments into the penal code, applying to both Muslims and non-Muslims. Throughout the 1970s, there were several unsuccessful attempts to unseat al-Nimeiri. Finally, in 1985, a popular uprising in Khartoum toppled al-Nimeiri’s revolutionary government and the Sudan Socialist Union.24, 25

The transitional government of the newly named Republic of Sudan was headed by General Suwar al-Dahab. In the elections of 1986, and amid allegations of gross polling fraud, a civilian government under Sadiq al-Mahdi was elected. Nevertheless, government policy toward the Christian minority and the south remained unchanged. Opinions toward non-Muslims polarized, and in a 1989 coup the New Islamic Front of General Omar Hassan al-Bashir came to power.26

Under al-Bashir’s regime, Sudan became a supporter of Islamic activism and provided a safe haven for radical groups and insurgents from other Muslim countries. Recognition of Sudan’s adversarial role in eastern African affairs over the preceding decade, its involvement in the attempted assassination of President Mubarak of Egypt in June 1995, and its support for terrorism in other Middle Eastern countries led the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on Sudan in 1996.27

Recent Events

In July 2002, an end to the civil war that began in 1983 seemed near. The Machakos Protocol was signed in Machakos, Kenya, by both parties. The agreement had been brokered through African and international intervention between the Khartoum government and representatives of John Garang’s Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). This document defined the role of state and religion, and the right of the south to self-determination. Throughout 2003 and 2004, the government of Sudan and the south continued to work toward a peaceful resolution. On 9 January
2005, they signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), establishing a Government of Unity for Khartoum and a Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS). The CPA specified that elections for all government posts would be held in 2011.28

**Darfur**

The Darfur crisis began in March 2003 as two rebel groups, the Sudanese Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), attacked government troops in northern Darfur. These two groups were heavily supported by Darfur’s local population. The central government fought back, destroying villages and mosques. With the support of the central government, Arab tribes in Darfur formed the Janjaweed militia. These nomadic Arabs had clashed with the settled tribes in Darfur before over water sources. The need for land and water, accompanied by the notion of Arab supremacy, became the agenda of the Janjaweed. They continued to destroy villages and displace settled people of Darfur, further enraged the rebel groups.29

The international community echoed the verdict of the U.S. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, which condemned the genocide in Western Sudan.30 The African Union sent peacekeeping troops to the area, but UN peacekeepers did not arrive until mid-2007. With the threat of unilateral economic sanctions from the United States, Sudan agreed to allow an international force to help end the fighting in Darfur.31, 32

**South Sudan Secession**

In early January 2011, a referendum was held in the southern states of Sudan to determine whether they would remain part of Sudan or secede. Over 98% of the ballots were in favor of secession. President al-Bashir agreed to abide by the outcome.33, 34 However, sporadic violence between northern and southern forces and between southern forces and renegade elements occurred over the following months.35 Salva Kiir Mayardit, who had previously served in the joint presidency of Sudan as President
for Southern Sudan, orchestrated the secession on 9 July 2011, witnessing the birth of the independent nation of South Sudan. Kiir became the first president of the new nation.\textsuperscript{36}

The status of South Kordofan, a Sudanese province that remained part of Sudan after South Sudan’s secession, remains a problem. Many of the state’s residents are ethnically tied to groups in South Sudan and are loyal to the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army, which governs South Sudan. The boundaries of the state are ill-defined, and the state sits next to the restless Darfur region. Sporadic violence continues, and Sudanese security forces have deployed to the area, clashing with pro-South Sudan militias.\textsuperscript{37}

Of particular interest is Abyei, a special administrative unit, currently held in common between Sudan and South Sudan. Both nations claim the oil-rich area, and a referendum over its future was scheduled for January 2012. However, Sudan has unilaterally postponed the vote, citing ongoing violence in the area. In 2011, Ethiopian peacekeepers deployed to Abyei, but they have not been able to contain the violence.\textsuperscript{38, 39}

In September 2011, a similar situation emerged in Sudan’s Blue Nile state.\textsuperscript{40} Like South Kordofan, Blue Nile state is home to people who have ethnic ties to groups in South Sudan, but who were not granted the option of secession.\textsuperscript{41}
Endnotes for Chapter 2: History


29 Paul R. Williams and Matthew T. Simpson, “Chapter


1. In the sixth century, Sudanese kingdoms adopted Christianity.

2. Al-Mahdi briefly led a movement that was able to reassert Sudanese control in southern.

3. The secession of South Sudan on 9 July 2011 has led to a lasting peace.

4. When Sudan’s independence was established, Arab Muslims occupied most of the influential government posts, although they only made up 39% of the country’s total population.

5. Under the terms of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, the Sudanese government granted a limited degree of autonomy to Sudan’s south.

Assessment Answers: 1. True; 2. True; 3. False; 4. True; 5. True
Introduction

It will be some time before the economic impact of the secession of South Sudan is fully known. The most immediate change to Sudan’s economy, besides the shrinking of its market, is that oil (which has accounted for nearly all of the country’s export revenues) is no longer available! Most of the oil fields are in South Sudan. The economy does not have the diversification necessary to offset such a loss. Moreover, the global economic downturn of the world economy since 2008 has struck Sudan hard.
Agriculture

Agriculture has long been the backbone of Sudan’s economy, employing 80% of the country’s workforce and contributing nearly 28.6% to the GDP. Agricultural products include cotton, peanuts, sugarcane, millet, wheat, sheep, and other livestock. Large-scale commercial farming takes place mainly in areas irrigated by Nile water, while subsistence farming is done wherever there is enough water to support it. A major irrigation project, the Gezira Scheme, is located between the Blue and White Niles, south of where the rivers join. The British built this irrigation project in 1925 as a way to provide water to farmers and create arable land. More than 100,000 farmers participate in the scheme in partnership with the government. By distributing water from the Blue Nile through 4,300 km (2,671 mi) of canals, the Gezira Scheme has made this area the most productive in the country.

Cotton

Although cotton had been grown as a commercial crop in Sudan since 1905, the Gezira scheme and the Sennar Dam helped make it one of Sudan’s most significant cash crops. Most cotton is grown on large state-managed farming tracts, with a small percentage grown by private farmers. Cotton makes up a sizeable portion of Sudan’s exports; some cotton is used domestically in textile factories. Currently, Bangladesh, China, Pakistan, and India are the largest importers of Sudanese cotton. Cotton is not a competitive commodity in world markets and generates only marginal income.
Sugar

The Gezira Scheme made it possible for a variety of agricultural products to be grown in Sudan, including sugarcane.\textsuperscript{16} What began in 1962 as a single operation has grown into big business. Today, Sudan has five sugar factories, including one of the largest producers of white sugar in the world, the Kenana Sugar Company (KSC). KSC produces sugar for export and domestic use and uses the waste products to make molasses and tar-like burnable fuel, like ethanol, further increasing the company’s commercial viability.\textsuperscript{17, 18}

Industry

Since independence, Sudan’s industrial base has expanded modestly to include cotton textiles, sugar, hides and skins, cement, tires, flour, soap, shoes, cigarettes, batteries, sesame oil, cookies, confectionery, household appliances, paints and varnishes, plastics, and pharmaceuticals.\textsuperscript{19} The discovery of oil and the domestic refining of oil played an increasingly large role in Sudan’s economy. By 2009, oil revenues accounted for more than 50% of the country’s revenues and 93% of its export revenue.\textsuperscript{20} However, government efforts to implement major industrial projects were hindered by a weak infrastructure and shortages in critical areas such as imported components, skilled workers, and energy supplies. Complicating the picture is the fact that most of the proven oil reserves are in the south of the country.\textsuperscript{21} With the secession of South Sudan, oil revenues that were previously divided equally between the north and the south no longer support Sudan’s economy. This is a source of contention between the two nations.\textsuperscript{22}
Oil, Energy, and Natural Resources

In 1979, Chevron discovered oil in southern Sudan. Because of the two decades-long civil war, however, the oil industry remained largely undeveloped until 2005. The oil sector is being developed exclusively by an international consortium, the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (GNPOC), jointly operated by China, India, Malaysia, and Sudan. However, the secession of South Sudan has significantly complicated development because nearly all the proven oil reserves are in South Sudan and all the oil refineries are in Sudan. These refineries are situated in El Obeid, El Gaily, Khartoum, and Port Sudan, along a 1,400 km (870 mi)-long pipeline.

Although the sale of oil contributes greatly to the GDP, not all of Sudan's oil is for export. Domestic use in 2013 was around 26,750 barrels per day. Electricity is generated by fossil fuel plants and by hydroelectric plants. The main plant at Roseires Dam, which generates up to 280 megawatts, is located on the Blue Nile and provides irrigation for the surrounding area. Because of seasonal variations in the river's water level, energy production levels fluctuate. However, the facility is being renovated to boost its power and irrigation output. People outside the power grids rely on diesel generators for electricity and on wood or charcoal for cooking and heating.

Trade

Sudan's foreign and national trade was affected by its long civil wars and international isolation. The country's first surplus in foreign trade occurred in 1999 with the exportation of oil. Today's exports include oil and petroleum products, pharmaceuticals, petrochemicals, livestock, cotton, gum arabic, and sugar. Sudan's major trade partners are China, Japan, Indonesia, India, Saudi Arabia,
Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates. The Bank of Sudan administers all foreign trade. Other banks, with authorization, act as exchange houses after the export or import companies register with the ministry of trade.

Tourism

Tourism in Sudan has suffered for decades because of instability caused by the civil war. However, since the signing of the peace agreement in 2005, tourism has begun to expand. The country’s largest attraction is the Red Sea coast, a major destination for coral reef diving and underwater photography. The Sudanese government established the Sanganeb National Marine Reserve, the first Sudanese reserve on the Red Sea. Divers can descend on coral reefs and observe an array of sea life, including hammerhead sharks, turtles, and colorful fish.

Sudan has numerous historical sites, mostly in the north of the country, attracting tourists interested in ancient pyramids, temples, and artifacts. Sites in Sennar and Sinja include archaeological remnants from the Funj Sultanate of Sennar. At Sai, located south of the second cataract on the Nile, there are monuments dating from the first Stone Age.

To attract tourists, the Sudanese government also developed wildlife parks. Al-Dinder National Tourist Park, built on the flood plains of eastern Sudan in 1935, is a designated biosphere reserve and one of the largest wildlife parks in Africa. Animals roam freely as they would in the wild. The park is accessible only from December through May.

Banking and Finance

Sudan’s banking system is the result of the Anglo-Egyptian period. The central bank, the Bank of Sudan, founded in 1960 in Khartoum to regulate currency, advises the government on fiscal policy and oversees all other national and foreign banks. Along with conservative fiscal policies, the central bank introduced a new currency, the Sudanese pound (SDG), in 2007.
After independence, five major commercial banks were criticized for their unwillingness to aid in long-term development projects. This led to the nationalization of all domestic banks in 1970. Subsequently, in 1995, most banks were once again chartered as private entities, but the banking system has been slow to endorse privatization schemes and to encourage foreign investment.

In 1975, foreign banks were once again allowed to operate inside Sudan. The Faisal Islamic Bank, backed by Saudi Arabia, opened in 1977. As an Islamic bank, interest charges on loans or debts is forbidden, and it is exempt from many of the rules and regulations imposed on other banks.

Today, there are numerous foreign and domestic banks and several Islamic banks operating in Sudan. The Sudanese economy was profoundly hit by the global economic slowdown and by the secession of South Sudan. The central bank has adopted deficit financing in the short term and austerity measures designed to correct monetary policies and excess liquidity in the long term.

Debt

Sudan’s national debt is the result of failed projects, decades of civil war, and a sporadic economy. Outstanding loans in the 1970s led to a national debt of USD 13 billion by 1990. In 1993, Sudan defaulted on a loan, which prompted the World Bank to deem Sudan unable to borrow from the International Development Association (IDA). The International Monetary Fund has designated Sudan as a Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC). For 10 years, the World Bank suspended development funds for Sudan. As of 2013, Sudan has a debt of USD 45.6 billion in net present value terms. humanitarian aid from foreign countries has been misused and applied to
peacekeeping operations, food aid, and refugee assistance, but not toward debt relief.\textsuperscript{66, 67}

**Investment**

Foreign direct investment in Sudan rose sharply in the early 1980s with the discovery of oil and the creation of numerous companies involved in oil exploration and extraction.\textsuperscript{68} Two free trade zones, the Suakin Free Zone and the Aljaily Free Zone, were established to attract foreign investors.\textsuperscript{69} Following U.S. sanctions and withdrawal of World Bank funding, foreign investment came to a standstill.\textsuperscript{70} Although there were plans for a stock exchange in 1962, the Khartoum Stock Exchange did not emerge until 1994, when the country was changing from a centrally planned economy to a free market. Shari’a law regulates the Khartoum Stock Exchange.\textsuperscript{71}

Although much of the West placed sanctions on the al-Bashir regime for its actions in Darfur and southern Sudan, China (in order to protect its future oil supply) continues to invest heavily in Sudan. It contributes billions of USD toward road construction, dams, mining, and oil projects.\textsuperscript{72, 73}

**Standard of Living**

Sudan’s standard of living is not high, ranking 171 out of 187 countries.\textsuperscript{74} The average life expectancy is 64.1 years; the literacy rate is 75.9%; and the GDP per capita is USD 4,400. Around 55.5% of the population have access to clean drinking water.\textsuperscript{75, 76}

The United Nations has identified Sudan as one of the least democratic countries of the world and as one of the most extreme
violators of human rights. An estimated 40% of the population lives on degraded land. Over 73% of Sudanese live in a state of dependency, unable to eke out a living on their own. Only 11.5% of all Sudanese have a high school education.

Outlook

Despite its oil revenues, Sudan has long been among the poorest nations of North Africa. The nation remains heavily in debt to international lending institutions. Moreover, 80% of the proven oil reserves are located in the states that seceded to form South Sudan; thus, oil revenues will fall dramatically in coming years. Continued violence in the country poses a serious hurdle to the government’s attempts to remedy its economic difficulties and could lead to an international conflict with South Sudan. Diversifying the economy and cultivating new industries are essential for Sudan to regain its financial footing. Given that oil accounted for over 90% of Sudan’s exports prior to the secession of South Sudan, the leadership of Sudan faces the serious challenge of trying to find ways to replace such a vital element of the country’s exports. The ability to cope with this profound economic change is compromised by the fact that many businesses continue to be state-owned and operated. The country’s GDP has steadily declined over the previous 5 years; this trend is likely to continue. At the same time, the inflation rate has nearly doubled in the past five years and will probably continue to do so.
Endnotes for Chapter 3: Economy


Country in Perspective | Sudan

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Sudan in Perspective

Chapter 3 | Economy

Assessment

1. The secession of South Sudan has fundamentally altered the economy of Sudan.

2. All electricity in Sudan is generated by fossil fuel plants.

3. Sudan’s central bank has recently adopted deficit financing in the short term and austerity measures designed to correct the ongoing global economic crisis and in 2007 introduced a new currency.

4. The Sudanese economy suffers from a staggering international debt.

5. In response to international criticism, Sudan has forbidden Islamic banking.

Assessment Answers: 1. True; 2. False; 3. True; 4. True; 5. False
Chapter 4 | Sudan in Perspective

Society

Introduction

Arabs and Africans make up Sudan’s population.¹ These two major ethnic groups are further divided into tribes, which can be subdivided into clans. The Nile, Nubian, and Beja tribal groups are spread out over vast territory in northern Sudan. The Fur people predominate in Darfur but share the land with other groups, including the Abala, Kawahla, Baqqara, and Daju. The tribal groups farther south live closer together. The Nuba, Shiluk, Dinka, and Nuer share the southern reaches of Sudan and the northern portion of South Sudan.²
Although the constitutions of 1973 and 1998 guarantee freedom of worship, there has never been an effective mechanism for protecting religious freedom in Sudanese society. The constitution names Islam as the state religion. The central government continues its brutal attempts to Arabize and convert non-Muslim minorities.\(^3\)

**Ethnic Groups and Languages**

The official languages of Sudan are Arabic and English. However, Sudan is home to over several dozen languages used as a first language.\(^4\) The languages spoken in Sudan belong to either the Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan, or Niger-Congo language families.\(^5\) Arabic and the Chadian Arabic spoken in the west of the country belong to the Afro-Asiatic language family. The Beja speak Bedawiye, an Afro-Asiatic dialect. The Dinka and Nuba languages belong to the Nilo-Saharan language family. Languages spoken by other smaller tribes are part of the Niger-Congo language family.\(^6,\)\(^7\)

**Arabs**

An estimated 70% of Sudan’s population self-identify as Arab.\(^8\) This identification has less to do with ethnicity and more with cultural, linguistic, and economic ties to the Arab-influenced government. The Arab population is diverse; some Arabs are nomadic, while others are more settled and engage in subsistence farming. There are numerous Arab tribes, including the Jaali, the Juhanya, and the Kawahla.\(^9\)

**Nubians**

Since ancient times, the Nubians have lived in the area of northern Sudan and southern Egypt. The Nubian civilization is widely considered to have been one of the great civilizations of Africa.\(^10\) Today, however, the Nubian population is only about 300,000.\(^11\) This Nubian minority is vulnerable to manipulation by the government. Their land has been reduced and they have been relocated because of the construction of dams on the Nile. Nubians were among the first to be Arabized. They are divided into two major societies, the Kenuzi and the Fedicca.\(^12,\)\(^13\)
**Beja**

Over 2.5 million Beja live in southern Egypt, northern Sudan, northern Eritrea, and along the Red Sea coast and mountains. Many Beja continue to live traditionally nomadic lives and tend herds of camels, sheep, and cattle. Some have begun farming in the Red Sea coastal areas. Although the Beja practice Islam and speak Arabic, they do not consider themselves Arabs.

**Fur**

The Fur are located in Darfur and are the largest ethnic group in western Sudan. They are herders and farmers. Historically, the Fur people migrated to Darfur from the Borno region of Nigeria. The Borno ruled Darfur until the late 17th century. Sulayman Solong, a Fur herdsman from the Keira clan, overthrew the ruling group and became Darfur’s first sultan. He introduced Islam to the region and is considered a cultural icon by the Fur people. Their language, Fur, is a Nilo-Saharan language, but most Fur are bilingual and speak Arabic. Because the Fur are considered African, they are one of the groups most widely targeted by the Janjaweed militia.

**Dinka**

The Dinka tribe is the largest ethnic group in South Sudan. The Dinka inhabit much of the disputed areas of South Kordofan, Abyei, and the Blue Nile states. They call themselves the moinjaang, or “people of the people.” The Dinka have traditionally herded cattle, fished, and farmed in the al-Sudd region. Their way of life remains unchanged, with women tending to the agricultural chores and men taking care of the cattle. Dinka society greatly values honor and dignity. Dinka tribes solve problems by involving all, women included, in public forums.
Nuer

Nuer tribes make up the second-largest group in South Sudan and are a minority in the southern states of Sudan. Nuer tribes rely on lineage for political order. The Nuer base their livelihood on herding and bartering cattle. In fact, cattle are of such great importance and significance that they form the basis of what amounts to an alternative regional economy. The Nuer farm vegetables and grains.

Nuba

The rugged granite slopes of the Nuba Mountains lie in the Kordofan region of central Sudan. The Nuba Mountains are home to the isolated Nuba people (who are not related to the Nubian people farther north on the border with Egypt). Many non-Nubian Sudanese withdrew to the narrow valleys of the Nuba Mountains seeking refuge from the civil war, persecution, and the Arabization imposed by the central government. Nuba clan members, who may be Muslim, animist, or Christian, speak over 100 different dialects. Their small villages have access to water year-round, which helps support farming and livestock. Since 1992, when the Khartoum government began to pursue a program of eradication of the Nuba people, the Nuba have remained largely disenfranchised.
Religion

Islam

Most Sudanese are Sunni Muslims and adhere to the Five Pillars of Islam: 1) shahada, or the profession of one’s faith; 2) salat, or prayer at five specific times each day; 3) zakat, or the giving of alms; 4) sawm, or fasting during the month of Ramadan; and 5) hajj, or the pilgrimage to Mecca. In countries where it is the dominant religion, Sunni Islam has a decentralized leadership and is a large part of the legal, political, and economic systems. Whereas Shi’ites looked for divinely inspired leaders, the Sunnis historically relied upon the consensus of the umma (community) to determine their leadership in the office of caliph. This is the greatest defining element of Sunni Islam: religious authority is inseparable from the community.

Sufism has been a major influence on Sudanese interpretations of Islam. Sufism is a mode of religious expression commonly referred to as Islamic mysticism. Sufis are an eclectic group identified by a number of unique practices and approaches to their religion. They seek spiritual insight without the intervention of an imam. They seek a personal encounter with the divine that may come through meditation, chanting, or even dancing.

Some scholars suggest that the name Sufism comes from suf, the Arabic word for wool. Early monastic Sufis wore woolen robes. Many Sufis have practiced a sort of monasticism by following Quranic admonitions to leave the material world behind and to pursue only eternal happiness.

Sufi influence can be seen in the fact that many Sudanese Muslims belong to religious brotherhoods known as tariqas.
Christianity

Christianity has a long history in Sudan and South Sudan, dating back to the Christianization of ancient Nubia during the 2nd century. The Coptic Church gained adherents in the region before the Byzantine era. Many conflicts have erupted among the Muslims in the north and Christian and animist groups in the south. Today, southern Sudan is home to the country’s minority Christian population, which includes members of the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. Christians in southern Sudan were influenced by 19th-century British missionaries who had more success converting the animist Dinka tribes than they did Muslims in the north.

Cuisine

Sudanese cuisine varies by region and reflects the cross-cultural influences of the country’s many tribes and ethnic groups. Tea and coffee are popular drinks. Each day usually begins with a cup of tea. Sudan is famous for its jebena coffee, brewed by grinding specially fried coffee beans with spices. The mixture is then steeped in hot water and served in small cups after being strained through a grass sieve. Millet, a staple of the Sudanese diet, is made into a porridge called asida and a flat bread called kissra. The Nubians use wheat in their main dish, gourrassa. Eastern Sudanese make their most popular dish, moukhbaza, out of banana paste.

Lamb and chicken are commonly used meats. They are combined with a variety of vegetables to create stews, such as kawal or sharmout abiya.

Sudanese enjoy sweets and often put large amounts of sugar in their tea. Most meals are finished with fresh fruit cut into small pieces or sweets such as crème caramela.
Drinks include tabaldi, guddaim, and hilumur, the latter a favorite during the time of Ramadan. Karkade, an infusion made from the dried red flowers of the hibiscus tree, is drunk hot or cold by most Sudanese year-round. It is very high in vitamin C and is believed to be a tonic.

**Traditional Dress**

Somewhat resembling an Indian sari, the Sudanese tobe is a long piece of fabric wrapped around the body. Women frequently wear this traditional garment over other clothing when they venture out of the home. The tobe is prescribed attire for Sudanese women, dictated by the country’s laws. Many men wear a jallabiyah, a long flowing white robe, with a turban or small cap. While the wearing of these customary garments prevails in rural areas, many urban dwellers wear Western clothes.

**Gender Issues**

In this Muslim majority country, people’s lives are determined by Islamic customs. Women face job discrimination in Khartoum, even though such discrimination is constitutionally prohibited. Women who are educated and in the workforce may still need to revert to a traditional role in the home, taking care of the family and children. Although a Muslim man is free to marry a non-Muslim woman, all Muslim brides must marry a Muslim man.

Female genital mutilation (FGM), or circumcision, is widespread in Sudan among both Muslim and Christian women. A woman who has not been circumcised is considered unmarriageable and unclean. UNICEF estimates that in Sudan 90% of women have undergone FGM. These procedures are carried out on girls between the ages of 4 and
7, though some may not be circumcised until later. Often, the procedure takes place in unsanitary conditions and is performed by a traditional practitioner, not a doctor.  

**Arts and Recreation**

Although much of Sudan’s literary tradition is oral rather than written, authors such as Tayeb Salih, whose work has been widely translated, have gained both domestic and international acclaim. In his novel *Season of Migration to the North*, Salih uses multilayered narrative about the lasting effects of colonialism and weaves together a tale set amid the religious and ethnic divisions of Sudan.

Much of the music and dance in Sudan is heavily influenced by traditional styles and by popular trends in the larger Arabic communities of North Africa and the Middle East. In and around Khartoum and Omdurman, Sufis perform the whirling dervish rituals they believe bring them closer to God. In addition to having religious significance, the dervish rituals also attract onlookers and tourists.

Soccer is the most popular sport in Sudan. Along with basketball and volleyball, it was introduced to Sudan during the British colonial era. Other favorite sports include traditional forms of wrestling and martial arts.
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Country in Perspective | Sudan


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1. The official languages of Sudan are Arabic and French.

2. The Fur are Muslim, but are widely targeted by the Janjaweed militia because they are considered African, rather than Arab.

3. Most Sudanese are Shi’ite Muslims.

4. Sudanese law dictates that women must wear the tobe outside of the home.

5. Some Sudanese writers have found international literary success.

Assessment Answers: 1. False; 2. True; 3. False; 4. True; 5. True
Chapter 5 | Sudan in Perspective

Security

Introduction

The secession of South Sudan has not improved security in Sudan.\(^1\) Continued violence between ethnic militias in the southern and western states of Sudan has met with stern reactions from government forces and northern militias.\(^2\) Conflict in the border areas between Sudan and South Sudan greatly affects the various peoples of the two regions and is a major source of concern for policy makers around the world.\(^3\) What once was a civil war could easily become an international conflict, as the violence in the Abyei area and South Kordofan and Blue Nile states threatens to draw South Sudan into defending Sudanese minority groups with close ethnic and religious ties to the new nation.\(^4\)
United States-Sudan Relations

Relations between Sudan and the United States have long been turbulent. Any improvement will be contingent on resolution of the conflicts in Sudan. Volatile relations between the two countries began in 1967 when Sudan cut ties with the United States over American support for Israel. Ties were briefly strengthened in 1971 when President Jaafar Muhammad al-Nimeiri suspected Soviet support in the attempted overthrow of his government. However, only two years later, in March 1973, a Palestinian terror group, Black September, murdered U.S. Ambassador Cleo A. Noel and the Deputy Chief of Mission George Curtis Moore in Khartoum. When Sudan released the terrorists, the United States recalled its next ambassador and terminated economic assistance.

President al-Nimeiri’s assistance to Israel in Operation Moses (November 1984 to January 1985), during which eight Ethiopian Jews were airlifted to Israel, earned him some short-lived credit with Tel Aviv, but did little to bolster Sudanese relations with the United States. Indeed, they continued to be rocky throughout the late 1970s and 1980s. Following the military coup in 1989 against the al-Nimeiri government, the United States stopped economic assistance yet again.

By 1996, Osama bin Laden had left Afghanistan and relocated to Sudan, having brought with him mujahideen fighters as well as several shiploads of construction equipment from the warehouses of the Bin Laden Construction Company. As the United States reassessed the security implications of Sudan’s state support of terrorism, it imposed further economic, trade, and financial sanctions. These sanctions were further justified when Sudan’s role in sheltering suspects in the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 became known.

Although Sudan has occasionally collaborated with the United States against international terrorism since the attacks on 11 September 2001, it remains on the U.S. State Department list of terrorism sponsors. Despite grave misgivings regarding the Sudanese government, the United States continued to provide millions of dollars in emergency food aid to support the World Food Programme (WPF) in Sudan.
U.S. Response to Darfur

Throughout the Darfur conflict, the United States strongly urged the Sudanese government to admit UN peacekeeping forces. The U.S. government declared that the Sudanese government was supporting genocide in Darfur. In May 2007, President George W. Bush imposed new economic sanctions on Sudanese government-run oil companies and on three individuals believed to be key players in the ongoing conflict in Darfur. These sanctions prevented 31 companies and the three individuals from doing business with U.S. companies or entities. However, U.S.-imposed sanctions did not deter foreign companies from doing business in or with Sudan. The economy and infrastructure continued to grow at a much faster rate than those of many other African nations. Economic investment from China and other Asian countries, along with income from oil, enabled Sudan to withstand the sanctions. The presence of a joint African Union-United Nations peacekeeping force, under provisions of the 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement, has done little to control the violence in the area, which escalated again prior to the January 2011 South Sudan referendum. While keeping many of the sanctions in place, the Obama administration offered incentives to the Sudanese government, encouraging it to implement measures that will lead to an end to the conflict.

Relations with Neighboring Countries

Most of Sudan’s borders are porous, with refugees and citizens crossing to and from neighboring countries. The civil war and Darfur conflict caused millions to flee to Chad, Ethiopia, Kenya, and the Central African Republic (CAR). In turn, conflict in neighboring countries has led to an influx of refugees in Sudan.

Egypt

The border between Sudan and Egypt spans 1,276 km (793 mi). On 1 January 1956, since Sudan gained independence from Egypt in 1956, the relationship between the two countries has vacillated between open hostility and regional cooperation. The Nile River, which runs through Sudan before entering Egypt, has been a source of contention. The current agreement concerning water allocations stipulates that Sudan will not divert the water flow and thus lessen the amount that enters Egypt. However, construction
of Africa’s largest hydroelectric dam near the fourth cataract of the Nile at Meroe has caused some deviations in water flow rates and renewed Cairo’s concern about Sudan’s ability to fulfill water flow agreements.\textsuperscript{32, 33}

A more hotly contested dispute focuses on Egypt’s development of the Hala‘ib Triangle, a small oil-rich area bordering the Red Sea.\textsuperscript{34, 35} Egypt claims the area, according to the 1899 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, and is developing it economically.\textsuperscript{36} Sudan claims that amendments to the treaty in 1902 and 1907 shifted the border farther north. In 1995, skirmishes over this area resulted in deaths on both sides. Sporadic clashes have continued.\textsuperscript{37, 38}

With the toppling of the decades-old Mubarak regime in Egypt, the demise of the Qaddafi regime in neighboring Libya, the successful secession of South Sudan, and the other ongoing reverberations from the Arab Spring, it is difficult to predict how the relationship between the two countries will progress.

\textit{Libya}

Relations between Libya and Sudan began to fall apart in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{39} The presidents of both countries, al-Nimeiri in Sudan and Muammar Qaddafi in Libya, staged “bloodless revolts” against colonial governments. Both were leaders in the Free Officers movements that had trained in Egypt at one time or another.\textsuperscript{40, 41} However, the two men never established a close rapport. During the early 1980s, cross-border raids from Libya into Sudan occurred in response to Sudan’s role in supporting counterrevolutionary forces in Libya. Libya alleged that transmitters in the northwest of Sudan were used to broadcast anti-Qaddafi propaganda into Libya. After the Sudanese coup of 1985 toppled the al-Nimeiri regime, the new government in
Khartoum began to reestablish relations with Libya.42

Libya played a positive role in trying to resolve the Darfur crisis, helping to negotiate the 2006 peace agreement.43 Additionally, the Qaddafi regime permitted international aid to flow into Darfur through Libyan ports and across Libyan territory. Qaddafi also protested against the International Criminal Court’s arrest warrant against Sudan’s President al-Bashir.44, 45

It remains to be seen how relations with a post-Qaddafi Libya will turn out.46 Widespread reports that National Transitional Council forces in Libya have targeted African immigrants, including Sudanese, indicate that relations might be strained. Should that prove to be the case, the al-Bashir regime in Khartoum will have lost one of its staunchest regional allies.47, 48

Chad

Relations between Sudan and Chad have been tested by continued violence in western Sudan.49 In the early 1990s, relations seemed to be improving when Idriss Déby Itno was permitted to use Sudanese territory from which to launch his successful invasion of Chad. However, once secure in his position as president of Chad, Déby immediately clashed with the Sudanese government over the proper demarcation of the borders. The two countries also disagreed over the direction of development of the Sahel region of northern Africa, with Chad looking out for African interests and Sudan looking out for Arab interests.50

Further complicating the situation between Chad and Sudan, the violence in Darfur affects tribes with ties to Chad, leading many to seek shelter in Chad, thus bringing the Chadian government into the crisis.51 Chad’s covert and overt support for the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), fighting against Sudanese government forces and Arab militias, has further alienated the two neighbors.52, 53 The Sudanese government responded in kind, offering relief to the various Chadian rebel groups aiming to topple the Déby regime. In response to cross-border raids and skirmishes in the area throughout 2005 and into 2006, the Central African Republic, Chad, and Sudan negotiated a tripartite
agreement to secure their shared borders. In January 2010, Sudan and Chad signed a peace accord aimed at ending the proxy war, but serious issues remain unresolved.

**Central African Republic**

Although the length of the border between Sudan and the Central African Republic (CAR) was greatly reduced when South Sudan seceded, the remaining border is still porous and there is considerable movement between the two countries. In May 2002, during clashes over land use, border movement resulted in the death of dozens of Sudanese herders. Sudan maintains the clashes were tribal matters; the CAR claims the Sudanese men were poachers. Nevertheless, the Sudanese government supports the president of the CAR. The inability of the CAR to secure its borders from the various conflicts that rage among its neighbors resulted in the implementation of the United Nations in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT), a peacekeeping mission tasked with assisting the nations to assure the violence does not spill over the borders.

**Ethiopia**

Ethiopia, where the Blue Nile originates, has been a source of support for the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) in retaliation for Sudan’s historical backing of anti-Ethiopian groups and Islamic fundamentalists. However, in 2016 Ethiopia discontinued support for the SPLM/A. Mutual antagonism toward Eritrea has further strengthened Ethiopian-Sudanese relations; yet disputes over the demarcation of their shared border pose a threat to the relationship.
Eritrea

Sudan’s relations with its smallest neighbor, Eritrea, continue to be unstable. Since 1993, when Eritrea brought accusations at the UN Security Council that Sudan supported the Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement, Eritrea has supported the SPLM/A. In 2000, Eritrea and Sudan signed an agreement to reestablish political ties, but those bilateral relations were short-lived. Sudan collaborated with Yemen and Ethiopia to combat terrorism in the Horn of Africa. However, Eritrea claimed this alliance was created to overthrow its government. Following the establishment of Sudan’s national unity government in 2005, relations with Eritrea slowly improved. One can assume that in the wake of the South Sudan secession, Eritrea will have somewhat friendlier relations with South Sudan than with Khartoum.

Police Force

When South Sudan seceded in 2011, the structure of law enforcement in Sudan was transformed under the auspices of the peace agreement of 2005. Thus, it is difficult to provide an exact summary of how law enforcement in Sudan is organized. Progress had been made in decentralizing authority once vested in the United Police Force (UPF), which included typical police activities, passport control and immigration services, prison security, and game warden duties. These duties are largely confined to the urban centers. In conflict zones, law enforcement falls to the military; in remote localities it tends to be administered by tribal authorities or government-supported paramilitary organizations, known as the Popular Police Forces and the Popular Defense Force.
Military

Sudan’s defense forces consist of a modest army of approximately 100,000 members and 330 battle tanks, supported by an even smaller navy and a small air force.\(^78, 79\) In the 1980s, to compensate for outdated equipment, the U.S. and Sudanese governments worked together toward upgrades.\(^80\) At that time, Sudan was the largest recipient of U.S. military assistance in the sub-Saharan region. However, in 1989, following the military coup in Khartoum, the United States terminated all assistance.\(^81, 82\) Thereafter, China, Russia, and Libya supplied modern military hardware and training, all purchased with oil revenues. Most of Sudan’s more up-to-date weapons systems are of Russian and Chinese design.\(^83, 84\)

Although Sudan has never contributed to United Nations peacekeeping operations, it has provided troops to the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), a Libyan-sponsored regional force.\(^85\) Under its auspices, Sudanese troops assisted in ousting Comoran rebels from Moroni in 2002. Additionally, Sudan is a member of the African Union’s East African Brigade.\(^86, 87\)

Army

Sudan’s infantry elements include six divisions, seven independent brigades, one mechanized division, and one independent mechanized brigade. These are augmented with one armored division, three artillery regiments, an airborne division, a Special Forces battalion, and an unknown number of irregular forces made up of tribal militias and government-sponsored paramilitary groups. Having now abandoned its base in Juba, South Sudan, Sudan’s army will be reshuffling its base assignments.\(^88, 89\)

Throughout the past decade, the United States, United Kingdom, Kenya, and South Africa have all provided training for Sudanese units.\(^90, 91, 92, 93\) Prior to that, the Iranian Revolutionary Guard (IRG) provided counterinsurgency training for Sudanese troops in the 1990s. Recent reports indicate that the IRG continues to provide such training and may be playing an active role in the ongoing violence in Sudan.\(^94, 95, 96\)

The Sudanese army is equipped with hundreds of Soviet/Russian and Chinese main battle tanks and light tanks.\(^97, 98\) Additional equipment includes Western-manufactured reconnaissance vehicles; Soviet, Warsaw Pact, British, and Saudi armored personnel carriers; numerous field artillery of mixed origins; a variety of British and Soviet antitank weapons; and several different antiaircraft systems.\(^99, 100\)
Navy

The Sudanese navy is estimated to be roughly 1,800 strong. It has 12 coastal defense craft to monitor the country’s coastline. The navy protects the nation’s waters and focuses on patrolling the nation’s extensive river systems. There are naval bases at Flamingo Bay, Khartoum, Kosti, and Port Sudan. The Sudanese navy is equipped with less than two dozen small boats of Iranian, Yugoslav, and domestic manufacture.

Air Force

Estimates from 2004 place the troop strength of the Sudanese air force at approximately 3,000. Using its oil revenues, Sudan embarked on a significant upgrading of its air force in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The most sophisticated upgrades included Russian MiG-29 multirole fighters and Mi-24/35 attack helicopters; Chinese-made A-5C attack aircraft and K-8 armed trainers; and Belarusian Su-25 attack aircraft.

The air force’s primary mission has been to support ground operations. Units are stationed at bases at al-Fashir, al-Ubayyid, al-Junaynah, Khartoum, Khashm al-Qirbah, Nyala, Port Sudan, and Wadi Sayyidna. Pilots have trained in China and Iran.

Other Issues Affecting Stability

Darfur Rebel Groups

The Darfur Liberation Group, now known as the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA), was formed in 2003 and originally sought to stand out from other southern rebel groups. The group changed its name in 2004 to indicate a desire for creating a united, democratic Sudan. The SLA did not want an independent Darfur, but called for political autonomy and a more equal share of Sudanese resources. The Justice and
Equality Movement (JEM), a splinter group of the SLA, has close ties to Chad.\textsuperscript{116, 117, 118, 119} Khalil Ibrahim, a prominent JEM leader, reportedly returned to Darfur from Libya in mid-September 2011, possibly bringing weaponry and wealth with him.\textsuperscript{120} Ibrahim died later that year. If his actions as head of the JEM are any indication, JEM likely intends to continue the conflict in Darfur.\textsuperscript{121, 122, 123}

**Janjaweed**

Since the 1980s, the Sudanese government has supplied arms to nomads in Darfur.\textsuperscript{124} The Janjaweed, as they known, became an armed militia dedicated to preventing Africans in Darfur from sympathizing with those in the South.\textsuperscript{125} Many young Sudanese Arabs trained at camps in Libya before joining the militia.\textsuperscript{126} Throughout the 1990s, the Janjaweed aided the government in quelling uprisings in the west of Sudan. The Janjaweed also occupied villages and farmland, further exacerbating tensions with the local population.\textsuperscript{127} Although the government denies supporting the Janjaweed, it has yet to fulfill any agreement to disarm them.\textsuperscript{128, 129, 130}

**Sudan People’s Liberation Movement—North (SPLM-N)**

Created as the northern division of the ruling party of South Sudan, the SPLM-N is active in the ongoing conflicts in the Sudanese Abyei area and the South Kordofan and Blue Nile states.\textsuperscript{131} In September 2011, the government of Sudan banned the SPLM-N, arrested several members of the organization, and seized their properties.\textsuperscript{132} In September 2011, Sudanese President al-Bashir ordered Blue Nile Governor Malik Agar (also chair of the SPLM-N) removed from office, installing a military governor as a replacement.\textsuperscript{133} The SPLM-N has signed agreements with Darfuri rebel groups, hoping
to combine their military and political influence in an effort to topple al-Bashir from office.\textsuperscript{134} Given that the SPLM-N has a history of fighting Khartoum, the violence will almost certainly not end with the banning of the SPLM-N as a legitimate political party.\textsuperscript{135, 136}

Some intelligence sources indicate that tens of thousands of African Sudanese are now internally displaced persons (IDPs), or refugees, in Ethiopia.\textsuperscript{137} Additionally, some nongovernmental organizations and SPLM-N sources have leveled accusations of mass graves filled with victims of the government’s brutal attacks in the region.\textsuperscript{138} The Sudanese government has restricted the movement of UN personnel in the Blue Nile state.\textsuperscript{139}

**Human Trafficking**

The U.S. State Department rates Sudan as a Tier 2 and 3 country, meaning it does not comply with the minimum standards for eliminating human trafficking, nor is it making an effort to do so.\textsuperscript{140} Sudan continues to be a source country, transit state, and destination for men, women, and children trafficked for the purposes of forced labor, domestic servitude, and sexual exploitation.\textsuperscript{141} Sudan is also taking children from neighboring countries for military purposes.\textsuperscript{142} These child soldiers are forced to cook, clean, and fight for government militias participating in the continuing conflict in Darfur.\textsuperscript{143, 144} Young girls may also be used in small brothels located inside refugee camps.\textsuperscript{145}
Water Security

Water security concerns have significantly defined Sudanese-Egyptian relations. Because Sudan has the ability to restrict the flow of the Nile, which would be devastating to Egyptian agriculture and commerce, the Egyptian government has assisted Sudan in building canal projects aimed at increasing water flow to the White Nile by draining the swamps of southern Sudan and South Sudan. Some reports indicate that while Egyptian leaders have offered such incentives, they have also made thinly veiled threats against nations planning upriver projects that might diminish the flow of the Nile. Thus, significant threats to regional water security could greatly affect stability in north and east Africa.

Abyei Region

Under terms of the agreements that led to the secession of South Sudan, the Abyei region was set aside as a special administrative unit. It was to be a demilitarized zone and governed by a special commission comprising leading intellectuals from both Sudan and South Sudan until a definitive determination could be reached on the matter. In 2005, the government of Sudan promptly rejected the commission's recommendation that the region be granted to the South. It was then determined that the status of Abyei be decided by referendum. However, in May 2011, Sudan sent thousands of troops into the region. The central issue is the region's rich oil fields, which both countries hope to acquire. Sudan's refusal to abide by international agreements calling for withdrawal of its troops and the prompt resolution of the matter by referendum threatens to create an international conflict. In November 2011, South Sudan offered Sudan aid worth billions of dollars to resolve this and other territorial disputes between the two countries. However,
Sudan pulled out of negotiations, which were sponsored by the African Union.154, 155, 156

Outlook

The security situation in Sudan appears bleak. With sporadic insurgencies in Darfur and the southern states, Sudan finds itself entangled in seemingly perpetual warfare.157 Although the government has signed ceasefire agreements with some of the smaller insurgent groups, others—large and small—remain at war with the al-Bashir regime.158 This is a tremendous drain on financial and manpower resources, exacerbated by the fact that much of the country’s export revenue relies on the oil fields located in regions hostile to Khartoum. Despite the Sudanese government’s half-hearted attempts to assuage Western powers, the country remains on the U.S. State Department list of sponsors of terrorism.159 Sudan has been marginally affected by the Arab Spring of 2011, during which Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi, one of Sudan’s closest allies, and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, fell from power. Sudan’s relationship with the new rulers of these two countries remains in question.160, 161 Furthermore, as the Arab Spring continues to reverberate, the likelihood of a more direct impact on Sudan grows more plausible.162, 163
Endnotes for Chapter 5: Security


41 George Lane, “Gaddafi’s Coup and His Path to Dictatorship,” Real Clear History, 02 September 2015, http://www.realclearhistory.com/2015/09/02/gaddafis_coup_and_his_path_to_dictatorship_4412.html.


52 Enough, “Sudan: Key Terms and People,” The Project to End Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity, n.d.


89 Lesley Anne Warner, “It’s Wednesday, so Naturally Peter Gadet has Defected from the SPLA,” Lesley on Africa, 18 December 2013, https://lesleyannewarner.com/category/south-sudan/page/3


96 Cameron Evers, “Iran’s Other Shadow War is in Africa,” War is Boring, 01 May 2016, https://warisboring.com/irans-other-shadow-war-is-in-africa-fada3f1b4383?gi=96348a316d1b


Chapter 5 | Endnotes


116 Thirteen political parties make up the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in Sudan. This group has opposed the government of Omar al-Bashir since he took power in a military coup in 1989.


Chapter 5 | Endnotes


162 Nesrine Malik, “Sudan is Finally Building Up to its Own Arab Spring,” Guardia, 01 October 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/oct/01/sudan-arab-spring-khartoum-omar-al-bashir

Sudan in Perspective

Chapter 5 | Security

Assessment

1. The United States and Sudan have enjoyed generally friendly relations since the 1980s.

2. Relations between Sudan and Chad have been sorely tested by continued violence in western Sudan.

3. The Sudanese police force is in the midst of major transitions, decentralizing powers once held by the United Police Force (UPF).

4. The Janjaweed is a rebel organization fighting for an independent Darfur.

5. The Sudan People’s Liberation Movement—North (SPLM-N) is a political/insurgent group that champions the rights of African ethnic groups in the southern states of Sudan.

Assessment Answers: 1. False; 2. True; 3. True; 4. False; 5. True
Further Readings and Resources

Books and Articles


Films

http://sudanproject.ryanspencerreed.com/


http://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=sudan+videos&view=detail&mid=04AAE31E5262D90B5B8704AAE31E5262D90B5B87BFORM=VIRE

Return of the Lost Boys of Sudan. YouTube, 58:59. DocuTV1, 02 September 2013.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v7qWbsRppVo

http://www.pbs.org/pov/lostboysofsudan
Sudan in Perspective

Final Assessment

1. Sudan is one of the largest countries in the world.

2. The Congo is Sudan’s longest and most important river.

3. Khartoum-Omdurman is sparsely populated and lacks proper infrastructural connection with the rest of the country.

4. Waterborne parasites are a major health concern in Sudan.

5. The haboob is a common species of white rhinoceros in Sudan.

6. Modern-day Sudan was intricately connected with ancient Egypt.

7. An agreement made with Muslim invaders in 652 C.E. allowed Sudan to continue as a Christian kingdom.

8. The Ottoman Empire, which gained a foothold in Red Sea settlements to the south of Sudan, quickly gained control of southern and central Sudan.

9. Many observers view President al-Nimeiri’s violation of the Addis Ababa Agreement as the catalyst for decades of civil war.
10. The international community has deemed the violence in Darfur to be government-sponsored genocide.

11. Shunned by most Western nations because of human rights violations, other donor nations are investing in Sudan.

12. Sudan has a surprisingly high standard of living, which is due in large part to oil revenues.

13. Sudan has little to offer tourists.

14. Agriculture has long been the foundation of the Sudanese economy.

15. Cotton is Sudan’s most significant cash crop.

16. The Sudanese population is made up of Arabs and Africans.

17. The Nubians migrated to Sudan from what is today Yemen, hoping to escape religious persecution.

18. Sudan’s Christian minority is found largely in the cities along the northern Red Sea coast.

19. Female genital mutilation is common among both Muslim and Christian women in Sudan.

20. Many of Sudan’s most popular sports were introduced during the colonial era.
21. For a time, Osama bin Laden operated out of Sudan, helping to rebuild the country’s infrastructure.

22. Sudan and Egypt share a lengthy border and warm bilateral relations.

23. Government-supported paramilitary militias, such as the Popular Defense Force, serve as unofficial police forces in rural areas and augment the armed forces.

24. The United States and Iran have both provided the Sudanese military with training.

25. The Sudanese navy is a small but modern force, vigorously defending the nation’s territorial waters.