

Readings, Discussion Questions, Select Bibliography, and Selective Chronology on Sudan

Department of Public Instruction Workshop—July 12, 2006

Africa: Bridges and Barriers: Political Stability and Economic Growth

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Readings for Session.

Deng, Alphonsion, Benson Deng, Benjamin Ajak, Judy A. Bernstein. *They Poured Fire On Us From the Sky. The True Story of Three Lost Boys from Sudan* New York: Public Affairs, 2005, pp. 38-54. We will discuss a brief excerpt from this work, but it may be useful for use with students to convey a Dinka childhood from the viewpoint of remembered childhood of a Dinka man.

Glickman, Harvey. "Ethnic Conflicts. Islamism in Sudan's Civil War" In *Orbis* (Spring 2000), 267-281. This article was written with particular focus on the war in the south and its relationship to Islamism.

Manger, Leif. "Reflections on War and State and the Sudan" In *Social Analysis* 48, 1 (Spring 2004), 108-115. A social anthropologist, Chairman of the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen. In addition to this essay, he has another monograph based on his work in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan: *From the Mountains to the Plains. The Integration of the Lafofa Nuba into the Sudanese Society*. Uppsala: Nordic Institute of African Studies, 1994.

Discussion Questions for Sudan Session

1. What are some of the main themes in Sudan's history? (Just think in terms of two or three for each period).
 - a. Pre-colonial
 - b. Colonial
 - c. Post-colonial
2. What are the factors that lead peoples to search for new identities? (Manger)
3. What is Islamism? What are the hopes of those who embrace it? (Gluckman)
4. Discussion of the types of war
 - a. What is meant by a "fault-line war"? (Gluckman)
 - b. What is an "ethnic war" (Manger)
 - c. What is a "war economy" (Manger)
 - d. How does the context of globalization affect the conduct of war? (Manger)
5. How do these developments affect our understanding of the definition of a state and its functions?

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- a. How does the notion of “new systems of sovereignty” (Manger) affect our understanding of the conflicts in Sudan?
 - b. How do “global diasporas (Manger) help shape new ideas of nation and state?
 - c. How do such “global diasporas” affect us in the United States?
6. How can we use—or can we—material from accounts like those you have read in *They Poured Fire On Us From the Sky* to help students of any age to understand the personal experience of those caught up in war?
 7. Can you identify some “If” conditions that might enable Sudan and its peoples to find peace?

For Further Reading.

- Africa, Justice. “Sudan: Prospects for Peace” In *Review of African Political Economy* Volume 30, No 97 (September 2003), 489-497. A discussion on the negotiations to resolve the north-south issues that focuses on principal issues: security; the national capital, power sharing, accountability, the marginalized areas, and social and economic issues.
- Deng, Alphonsion, Benson Deng, Benjamin Ajak, Judy A. Bernstein. *They Poured Fire On Us From the Sky. The True Story of Three Lost Boys from Sudan* New York: Public Affairs, 2005. A remarkable memoir by three Dinka men who survived five years on the move as refugees among the “Lost Boys” of Sudan. The work is a moving testimony to the human spirit and its endurance in the face of odds that are unimaginable to most of us in the United States. Because it is told from the viewpoints of the three authors, it creates a powerful first-hand account of the experience of victims during the long north-south conflict in Sudan.
- De Waal, Alex and A. H. Abdel Salam. “Islamism, State Power and *Jihad* in Sudan” In *Islamism and its Enemies in the Horn of Africa*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004, 71-113. Alex De Waal is the co-author of the following book. A scholar and an activist, he was trained as a social anthropologist, and is currently director of Justice Africa, a London-based human rights organization for Africa. A. H. Abdel Salam is a Sudanese lawyer who served as secretary-general of the Sudan Human Rights Organization in 1994-1999. He is the author of *The Phoenix State: Civil Society and the Future of Sudan* (1999).
- Flint, Julie and Alex de Waal. *Darfur. A Short History of a Long War*. London/New York: Zed Books; Cape Town: David Philip in Association with the International African Institute. 2005. A book by two individuals with long experience in Sudan. Alex de Waal is a “writer and activist on African issues, he is a fellow of the Global Equity Initiative, Harvard. He has published other books on Darfur, Islamism, and the Horn of Africa. Julie Flint is a journalist and filmmaker with 30 years of experience across the world. She has written on the Nuba of Sudan and made three films dealing with Sudan and the long conflict there.
- Library of Congress Country Study on Sudan. For broad outlines of chronology up to 1989. To get to this site, go to <http://countrystudies.us/> then select Sudan.
- Manger, Leif. *Empires, World Systems and Globalization*. A publication of Global Moments in the Levant, a research project of the University of Bergen. 2005-2006. found at A longer study by the author of “Reflections on War and State and the Sudan”.

Meyer, Gabriel. *War and Faith in Sudan*. With photographs by James Nicholls. Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005. A long-time war correspondent who has written on the Middle East, Gabriel Meyer tells the story of the Nuba people, also victims of the long war between the Khartoum government and the South of Sudan. The Nuba Mountains were drawn into the conflict later than the Dinka and other peoples further south. The Nuba further experienced the irony that Nuba historically were an important segment of the Sudan military waging war against them. The Sudanese, Bishop Macram Max Gassis, the Roman Catholic bishop of El Obeid Diocese in central Sudan invited Meyer and Nicholls to this area in the latter half of the 1990s. This account features the Christian themes of the north-south war, but also shows how Muslim and Christian Nuba were victims of the government's campaigns.

Muhammad, Baqie Badawi. "Famine, Women Creative Acts, and Gender Dynamics in Manawashai Darfur, Western Sudan" In *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women's Studies* (2002) found at <http://www.jendajournal.com/jenda/vol2.1/muhammad.html> An article on the historic role of women in the local agricultural economies and the consequences of the terrible conflicts that have occurred there in the past decade.

Rone, Jemera. Sudan: Oil and War" In *Review of African Political Economy* 97, 30 (September 2003), 504-510. A history of the significance of oil in Sudan by the Washington counsel for Human Rights Watch. First discovered in 1978, oil was not exported from Sudan until 1999 because of the north-south war. The location of the oil tracts lie primarily in the southern states or along the border. The protection of the fields led to major civilian displacement during the 1990s and the sharing of its revenues will be a political issue for years to come.

U. S. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on Africa. Sudan: Peace Agreement around the Corner? Hearing before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on International Relations. H. R. 108th Congress 2nd session, March 11, 2004.

Young, John. "Sudan: Liberation Movements, Regional Armies, Ethnic Militias and Peace" In *Review of African Political Economy* 97, 30 (September 2003), 423-434. An analysis of the liberation movements in the North-South war as well as the militia forces that had been used by the Khartoum government.

Websites.

African Studies Programs, Research Centers, and Universities.

<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/afstprog.html#U> A site prepared by the Columbia University African Studies Centers listing web links to African Studies Programs, research centers and universities throughout the world. Most of the major U. S. Centers: Columbia University, UCLA, University of Wisconsin, Madison, University of Indiana, University of Pennsylvania, Illinois University are listed here. Each one has many different topics featured on their websites, often including country pages such as this one: University of Pennsylvania African Studies Center. Sudan Country Page. http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Country_Specific/Sudan.html. These sites are the most scholarly, and contain a wide range of information, images, and weblinks.

AllAfrica.com. Major internet source for news on Africa. Sudan page.

<http://allafrica.com/sudan/> AllAfrica.com is the leading American internet site for news of Africa that includes African news sources as well.

CIA Factbook. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/su.html>

Compare InfoBase Pvt Ltd. Sudan Political Map. <http://mapsofworld.com/sudan/sudan-political-map.html>

Human Rights Watch Sudan page. <http://hrw.org/doc/?t=africa&c=sudan> . Human Rights Watch is a non-governmental organization highly respected for its work on Human Rights globally. Its website is one of the most frequently updated sources of developments in the Sudan. While the site in general is persuasive, the well-documented reports make this a valuable resource for in-depth coverage and analysis.

Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). Website for one of the main groups of insurgents in Darfur. <http://www.sudanjem.com/>

Manger, Leif. *Empires, World Systems and Globalization*. <http://www.globalmoments.org/wp/empires-world-systems-and-globalization> This page has a link to the PDF file for the longer document.

Sudan Tribune. http://www.sudantribune.com/article.php3?id_article=15853 According to its website home page, *Sudan Tribune* "is a non profit web site based in France. Its goals are to promote plural information, democratic and free debate on Sudan."

Sudan Net. <http://www.sudan.net/> A site developed by Muaz M. AtaalSid who is located in Norcross, GA. This site features a number of features on news, society and culture (including recipes); music/dance; travel and tourism, government, history. It is mentioned in a number of the major African Studies sites and includes a discussion board.

The Sudan Peace Act Public Law 107-245-October 21, 2002. www.state.gov/documents/organization/19897.pdf

United Nations. Political Map of Sudan as of 2004. <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/sudan.pdf> The main difference between this map and the current situation post 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement is that Western Kordofan no longer exists and appears to have been divided between Southern Kordofan and Northern Kordofan. See following site for new state boundaries.

United Nations Sudan Information Gateway. <http://www.unsudanig.org/index.php> A website concerning Sudan developed for the humanitarian community working in Sudan. The site has a number of sub-topics and includes a copy of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (242 pages) accessible as a pdf file. This site appears to be under development but should eventually be a good source of information about states counties within the states of Sudan.

United Nations. Sudan. Map No. 3707 Rev. 7 May 2004. Map showing the state boundaries, names and capitals of the *wilayah* of Sudan seen at www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/sudan.pdf June 26, 2006.

University of Texas Perry Castañeda Library Map Collection. <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/> One of the very best sources of maps of the world, this site under Africa, has several maps of Sudan including a USAID map of oil and gas concession holders (2001) http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/sudan_oil_usaid_2001.pdf

Website links for images of individuals and places relevant to this report. Most of these links were found in Google Images, June 29, 30, July 1, 2, 2006. The web links for the ancient Nubia and Kush images were identified by Mr. Lewis Nelson in June.

Alpha Oumar Konare, head of African Union, former President of Mali. <http://www.africa-union.org/Graphics/Images/Alpha%20Oumar%20Konare.gif>

http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/jpg/Alpha_Oumar_Konare.jpg

Ali Osman Taha. http://www.jihadwatch.org/dhimmiwatch/1550536_taha150.jpeg

Beja. <http://www.sudan101.com/images/beja%209.jpg>

Dinka Cattle. http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/transition_initiatives/country/sudan/cattle.jpg

Hassan al-Turabi.

http://www.sudansupport.no/sudan_konflikt/whoiswho/images/image011.jpg

Janjawiid.

http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.survivorsunited.com/images/sudan_jangaweed.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.survivorsunited.com/thejanjaweed3.htm&h=200&w=300&sz=16&hl=en&start=1&tbnid=JcixFqxyL40UIM:&tbnh=74&tbnw=111&prev=/images%3Fq%3DSudan%2BArab%26svnum%3D10%26hl%3Den%26lr%3D

Jebel Marra.

http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.sudansite.com/images/West_pics/EI-Fasher_local_market_small.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.sudansite.com/west_sudan.htm&h=86&w=125&sz=14&hl=en&start=68&tbnid=DGSbuIoTrtawOM:&tbnh=57&tbnw=84&prev=/images%3Fq%3DEI%2BFasher%2BSudan%26start%3D60%26ndsp%3D20%26svnum%3D10%26hl%3Den%26lr%3D%26sa%3DN

Jebel Marra (2).

http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.sudansite.com/images/West_pics/EI-Fasher_local_market_small.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.sudansite.com/west_sudan.htm&h=86&w=125&sz=14&hl=en&start=68&tbnid=DGSbuIoTrtawOM:&tbnh=57&tbnw=84&prev=/images%3Fq%3DEI%2BFasher%2BSudan%26start%3D60%26ndsp%3D20%26svnum%3D10%26hl%3Den%26lr%3D%26sa%3DN

John Garang. <http://www.un.org/av/radio/unandafrica/images/john%20garang%20sm.jpg>

Khalil Ibrahim, leader of JEM http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/jpg/Khalil_Ibrahim_dr1.jpg

Kitchener, Herbert. http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/sudan/sd01_05a.jpg

Mahmoud Mohamed Taha 1909-1985.

<http://www.pbb-iainjakarta.or.id/images/berita/03172005040044.jpg>

Minni Minnawi (SLA).

http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/jpg/Minni_Arcua_Minnawi_speaks_.jpg

Musa Hilal. <http://hrw.org/images/050205musa.jpg>

<http://www.taipeitimes.com/images/2005/05/13/20050512181124.jpeg> (with others)

Nuba Mountain People. <http://www.sudan101.com/images/su%20arab%206.jpg>

Nubians bearing gifts (Ancient Nubia). <http://www.snaithprimary.eril.net/eg11.htm>

Nubian Princes in Procession (Ancient Nubia).

<http://www.homestead.com/wysinger/tombofhuy.html>

Nuer Village. <http://www.dlib.indiana.edu/collections/nuer/slides/full/027.jpg>

Nuer Village (2).

http://image50.webshots.com/150/1/47/91/467214791SPcXsx_ph.jpg

Nyala (Western Sudan).

http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.sudansite.com/images/West_pics/El-Fasher_local_market_small.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.sudansite.com/west_sudan.htm&h=86&w=125&sz=14&hl=en&start=68&tbnid=DGSbuIoTrtawOM:&tbnh=57&tbnw=84&prev=/images%3Fq%3DEI%2BFasher%2BSudan%26start%3D60%26ndsp%3D20%26svnum%3D10%26hl%3Den%26lr%3D%26sa%3DN

Omar al-Bashir. http://static.flickr.com/33/45417223_2e76252561_m.jpg

Petroleum Graphic.

http://www.sudan.net/graphic/news/people/bashier_oil_garang_soldier.jpg

Queen Malakaye (ancient Kush).

http://www.mfa.org/collections/search_art.asp?recview=true&id=142605

Riek Machar. http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/jpg/Riek_Machar_3-2.jpg

Sadiq al-Mahdi.

http://www.sudansupport.no/sudan_konflikt/whoiswho/images/image007.jpg

Salva Kiir Mayardiit. http://www.sudan.net/graphic/news/people/salva_kiir.jpg

(2)

http://newsimg.bbc.co.uk/media/images/40678000/jpg/_40678252_050811kiir.jpg

SLA Troops, Darfur. <http://www.iansa.org/images/front-page/sla-troops-darfur.jpg>

SLA Troops (2). http://www.sudan.net/graphic/news/conflict/darfur/SLA_Rebels.jpg

Slavers of 19th century. <http://www.dignubia.org/maps/timeline/img/c1820-slavers.jpg>

SPLA. Ceasefire. <http://www.crimesofwar.org/sudan-mag/images/spla-ceasefire.jpg>

Sudan Flag

(gif image). <http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://unimaps.com/flags-africa/sudan-flag.gif&imgrefurl=http://unimaps.com/flags-africa/sudan-print2.html&h=599&w=900&sz=10&hl=en&start=9&tbnid=4NhCljaH0t9FoM:&tbnh=96&tbnw=145&prev=/images%3Fq%3DSudan%2BFlag%26svnum%3D10%26hl%3Den%26lr%3D>

Jpg. <http://www.nap-japan.com/sudan%20flag.jpg>

Sudan peace Cartoon.

<http://www.aljazeeraah.info/Cartoons/2003%20cartoons/cartoon%20negatives/2003/December/ar10.jpg>

Taharqa (sphinx sculpture ancient Kush). <http://www.livius.org/pha-phd/pharaoh/pharaoh.htm>

Selective Chronology for Sudan²

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- Early History.** Cultivation and trade preceded the establishment of Dynastic Egypt, but certainly continued after that with the middle Nile. Trade in ivory, incense, gold, carnelian, slaves.
- 2100-1750 B.C.** Egyptian Middle Kingdom establishes forts along Nile at Samnah to guard gold trade from Wawat.
- 1720 B.C.** Emergence of an indigenous politically centralized urban center, Kerma.
- 1570-1100 B.C.** Under the New Kingdom. Kush becomes a province of Egypt and many Egyptian officials came to reside in the areas between the 1st and 4th cataracts. Egyptian styles and more importantly religious custom adopted by the Kushite upper class.
- 750 B.C.-740 B.C.** Conquest of Upper Egypt and Thebes by Kushite king Kashta. Piankhi conquered Lower Egypt and consolidated the 25th Dynasty under a line of Kushite kings through Taharqa (688-663 B.C.) who withdrew dynasty to Napata in face of Assyrian invasion of Egypt.
- 590 B.C.-350 C.E.** Destruction of Napata by Egyptian army led the Kushite court to move to Meroe further south. Expansion of Meroitic kingdom independent of Egypt. Center of iron-working technology, irrigation, and trade. Despite incursions in the north of nomadic warrior groups, Meroe existed as an independent kingdom until its destruction by Axum in 350.
- 500 B.C.-1276.** Rise of Christian kingdoms in Nubia: Nobatia (Bellana), with capital at Faras; Muqurrah, capital at Dunqulah; Alma, capital at Sawba in heart of old Meroe. While under occasional pressure from Arabs after their spread across North Africa in the 7th century, these kingdoms existed until 1276 when the Mamluks made Dunqulah a satellite of Egypt.
- 1517.** Conquest of the Mamluks in Egypt by the Ottomans. Ottoman rule over Nubia relied on military warriors known as *kashif* who were agents of the pasha of Cairo. For 300 years, people of the middle Nile suffered slave raids and tax collection at the hands of the kashif.
- 1504-1761.** Funj Sultanate in southern Nubia.
- 1596.** Founding of the Fur Sultanate in Darfur.
- 1805-1885.** The era of the Turkiyya under Muhammad Ali and the institutionalization of slave trading in Sudan first through a state monopoly, then after 1843, through private licenses. Even when Ismail (1863-1879) forced to stop the slave trade in the north, little was done to end it in the south.
1869. Sir Samuel Baker becomes Governor of Equatoria Province. He was succeeded in 1874 by Charles David Gordon who dealt severely with the slave traders, hanging many of them.

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1874. Darfur brought under Egyptian control by the governor of Bahr al Ghazal province, Rahman Mansur az Zubayr.
- 1884-1898.** The Mahdiyya. An Islamic reform movement widely recognized as the first nationalist movement of Sudan under Muhammad Ahmad ibn as Sayyid Abd Allah. The defeat of the British garrison at Khartoum led to establishment of an Islamic state. However the Mahdi died within months of conquest of Khartoum and Sudan experienced an unstable period under the Khalifa Abdullahi ibn Muhammad who with the help of the Baggara (Ansar) attempted to consolidate and expand the Muslim state into Ethiopia.
- 1892-1898.** British direct the reconquest of the Sudan under Herbert (later Lord) Kitchener.
- 1899, January.** Establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in Sudan. Port Sudan opened in 1906; the Gezira cotton scheme launched in 1911 expanded with construction of a dam near Sennar in 1925. Cotton became the mainstay of Sudan's economy. After Egyptian independence in 1922, Britain used Indirect Rule to govern Sudan.
- 1917.** The Fur Sultanate which had been reformed following the defeat of the Mahdi, and allied with the Ottoman Empire was absorbed into the British Empire as a result of WWI.
- 1922-Southern Sudan Policy.** In the three southern provinces of Equatoria, Bahr al Ghazal and Upper Nile, the British closed off the area to outsiders justifying their policy by saying the isolation would allow the three provinces to develop along their own lines. However, Arab merchants controlled commerce and Arab bureaucrats ran the government. Christian missions: Roman Catholics, American Presbyterians, and Anglicans ran schools and medical centers in the south. Gradually, British expelled Arab administrators and merchants further isolating the south. A 1930 administrative directive anticipated the southern provinces' eventual incorporation into British East Africa.
- 1920s and 1930s.** Early expressions of nationalism were dominated by Arab sentiment in the north.
- World War II and 1946.** During the war, and in response to pressure from Sudanese northerners, a decision was taken at the Sudan Administrative Conference to rule Sudan as one country, to abolish trade restrictions against northerners in the south, to allow northern bureaucrats to serve in the south, and southerners to seek work in the north. The Conference also agreed to impose Arabic as the administrative language to be used in the south. Despite protests from southern Sudanese and British colonial officials in the South, unification progressed with the dispatch of many northerners to serve in the bureaucracy in the south. In August 1955, southern army units mutinied in opposition to their being placed under northern military garrisons. The mutiny was repressed severely with the execution of some 70 men for sedition. These changes led southerners to give up hope for any significant role in an independent Sudan.
- 1956. January 1.** Sudan becomes an independent country.
- 1958, November 1-1964.** First military coup with military leaders from the Umma party taking over. General Abboud created Supreme Council of Armed Forces of Sudan. Khatmiyya and Ansar were both represented with latter being the stronger until removal of Abd el Wahab in March 1959. The influence of these two groups decreased under the military regime. The most important religious leader, Abd ar Rahman al-Mahdi was succeeded by his son, Sadiq al-Mahdi (the elder) in 1959. At his death in

1961, Ansar political leadership fell to his brother Imam al Hadi al Mahdi and his son, Sadiq al-Mahdi (the younger). Abboud's undoing was his southern policy that expelled Christian missionaries from the south then foreclosed avenues of complaint to the southerners in the legislature. Southerners had organized resistance off and on since 1955 and seriously from 1963 under the Anya Nya (the name of a poisonous concoction).

1965-1969. Period of divisive politics and continued resistance from the south. Hassan al Turabi reinstates the original constitution and introduces a new Constitutional bill in 1968 stating that Islam would be the basis of Sudanese law. No government was able to assert enough parliamentary authority to deal with the country's problems. John Garang, later a leader of the SPLM, served in Parliament and as Minister of the South during this time.

1969-1985. The Nimeiri Era. Coup d' état in May led to the creation of a Revolutionary Command Council that sought to convey the impression of a civilian government. By November, Nimeiri had become both prime minister and head of state. He survived a coup attempt in 1971 and attempted to develop a socialist state under a provisional constitution of August 1971. In September 1971, Nimeiri elected to a 6 yr term as President of a "socialist democracy" with the Sudan Socialist Union.

The Southern Problem. Following the 1955 mutiny, forces in the south had grown and by the mid-1960s were a serious military threat through having received training and weapons via Israel and the Congo and funds from Sudanese in other parts of the world. By 1969, 500,000 people had lost their lives in this struggle. The Any Nya, estimated to never by more than 5,000 to 10,000 controlled much of the southern Sudan. The Government of Sudan received massive amounts of military aid from the USSR. By 1971, Joseph Lagu announced creation of the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement that sought to develop a government throughout the southern region. The Anya Nya remained the most important force behind the SSLM.

1972

- **March 27.** Peace treaty signed in Addis Ababa between Sudan Government and the Anya Nya. Autonomy for the southern region of Equatoria (now Al Istiwal), Bahr al Ghazal, and Upper Nile (now Aali an Nil). A regional President appointed by the President of Sudan with the advice of a Southern Regional Assembly. The southern government would manage all aspects of government except foreign affairs, defense, currency. A 12,000 man Southern command would include former Anya Nya veterans under officers representing both the south and the north. Arabic retained as Sudan's official language, but English would be used in education and administration in the South.
- Nimeiri seeks unsuccessfully to accommodate northerners opposed to the terms of the southern settlement by promoting decentralization. Nevertheless, a Constituent Assembly promulgated a draft constitution in 1973 that featured a one-party state under the Sudan Socialist Union. By 1974 a series of coup attempts waged against him led to consolidated opposition in the National Front. This composed of Sadiq al-Mahdi's Umma; the National Unionist Party (NUP) and the Islamic Charter Front, the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood. An Ansar-inspired coup in 1976 was brutally put down and Nimeiri was elected in 1977 for a second 6-year term.

1977. A program of National Reconciliation developed following negotiations between the National Front and the government. But the reopening of politics led to greater expression of dissatisfaction against the Nimeiri regime, especially among northern

elements. He responded by clamping down on opponents via the State Security Organization.

1983. Divided the Southern Region back into the old three provinces. In September, issued the "September Laws" declaring shari'a to be the law of the land.

The government's policy led to the formation of the Republican Brothers by Mahmud Taha. It was a moderate Islamic group that campaigned for greater tolerance for non-Muslims. Mahmud Taha was executed as an apostate in 1985.

1985-89.

- **April 6. Transitional Military Council** attempted to restore order amidst renewed civil war.
- **May.** Overthrow of Nimeiri.
- Transitional president General Abdel Rahman Suwar al Dahab, an Islamist, stepped up war vs SPLA by dispatching his Minister of Defence, Gen. Fadlalla Burma Nasir to Kordofan and Darfur to mobilize Arabs against the SPLA. Burma used Ansar and army officers to lead the Baggara Arab militias and provided them with arms and military support. This was the fateful beginning of the militia strategy. The Baggara were promised a free hand to seize cattle and raid Dinka and Nuba seen as supporters of SPLA. Militias came to be known for their atrocities and by 1987 were known locally as *Murahaliin*. In Bahr el Ghazal (1986-88); Nuba mountains (1992-1995) and Upper Nile (1998-2003) they inflicted a scorched earth policy of massacre, pillage and rape.³
- **1986, March.** Koka Dam Resolution. Between TMC and SPLM. A further attempt to resolve the north south crisis demanded repeal of sharia and calling of a constitutional conference. But party factionalism and the failure to create a sense of national leadership left the economy in shambles and continued divisiveness in the political scene.
- **1986 April.** Elections. The Umma Party under Sadiq al-Mahdi won 99 seats. The DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) under al-Mirghani held 64 seats. Dr. Hassan Abd Allah at Turabi's NIF party won 51 seats with regional parties from south and Nuba region winning fewer. The Sudanese Communist Party and other radical parties failed to win any important victories. Continued divisions and failure to resolve the major issues plagued the regime.
- **1987-1989.** Arab-Fur War costing thousands of lives as result of Khartoum's exchange of arms from Libya with a "blind eye" towards the ambitions of Gaddafi for the Arab Belt. This war result of two factors: (1) emergence of a strong Arab movement called the Arab Gathering that established close ties with Muammar Gaddafi of Libya; (2) the repercussions in Western Sudan of the catastrophic drought of the mid 1980s. Where in the past Arab nomads and Fur farmers had co-existed, the drought brought pressure onto the farmers' land and they began restricting access to the nomads. Further, the opening up of arms trade meant that modern automatic weapons like Kalishnokov where many could be killed by sweep of a gun undermined the old moral order where deaths were compensated by blood money.
- **1987. October 5.** Open letter to Prime Minister Sadiq al Mahdi by 23 prominent Arabs calling on the government to acknowledge the Arab predominance in population in Darfur with greater assignment of government posts and economic,

³ Julie Flint and Alex DeWaal, *Darfur, A Short History of a Long War*. New York&London: Zed Press; Cape Town: David Philip, 2005, 24-25.

political and social attention from the Khartoum government. This was followed by a second document, *Qoreish 2*, that decried the dominance of Khartoum's riverine elite, called on Darfur Arabs to infiltrate the National Congress Party and to lay a plan for domination of Darfur and Kordofan.⁴

1989-2005

- **June 30.** Military coup. Colonel (later Lieutenant General) Umar Hassan Ahmad al Bashir overthrew Sadiq and established the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation to rule Sudan. Al-Bashir insisted on shari'a being imposed in the south and worked for a military victory over SPLA meant that hopes for unity less than ever. According to the International Crisis Group, this government sheltered Osama ben Laden from some indeterminate time until 1996.
- **July.** Reconciliation of Arab-Fur war called for disarming of Fur self-defense groups and the Arab Janjawid (first official use of this term).
- **1990, Feb.** Khartoum involved in attempted overthrow of Hissène Habré of Chad. Although beaten back by Habre's forces, Khartoum continued as did Libya to support one of attempted coup leaders Idriss Deby. Hassan al-Turabi and Ali Osman Taha begin support of radical Arabs (including Osama bin Laden) and other groups taking advantage in early 1990s of fall of Siad Barre in Somalia and Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia.
- **1991, May.** Letter from Zaghawa elders in Darfur complaining that the government was creating an apartheid region in Darfur.
- **1991.** Split in the SPLM/A into two factions roughly along Dinka/Nuer lines. Riek Machar Teny Dhurgon, a SPLA commander, led the Nuer break away. Nuer were key group for oil development as Nuer lands extended to most of the southern oil basins.⁵
- **1991, December.** Following Arab-Fur war, tensions building in Darfur made more heated by Khartoum's indifference to effects of drought. Daud Bolad a long-time political leader in Darfur planned an invasion of Darfur with SPLA troops under the leadership of Abdel Aziz Adam al Hilu (from Nuba mountains but of Masalit descent). As they crossed Baggara territory they were reported to the military governor who dispatched regular army and militia of Beni Halba Arabs to defeat them. Bolad was captured along with detailed notes of his underground cells. He disappeared and Darfurian resistance was set back 10 years.⁶
- **1992-2000. Splits in Southern Forces and the Development of Oil.** Khartoum Agreement brings together groups split from SPLM/A, especially Riek Machar's Nuer group, SPLM/A-United and other groups in the south opposed SPLM/A's tactics, and unlike Garang's notion of the New Sudan, wanted autonomy for the region. The Agreement committed government to hold a referendum on self-determination for the South after an unspecified period (this pledge also included in Sudan's 1998 Constitution (Articles 137-138). These developments weakened SPLM/A and permitted the emergence of an oil industry in Nuer Unity state. The Southern Sudan Defence Forces became a crucial element in defense of the oil fields. The government failed to follow through on the referendum and Machar's complaints led government to support anti-Machar Nuer forces. By May 1999, GoS forces, Islamist militias, and pro-government Nuer were attacking Riek Machar's troops. Over succeeding months,

⁴ Flint and De Waal, *Darfur*. 53-54.

⁵ Jemera Rone, "Sudan: Oil and War" In *Review of African Political Economy* No 97, Volume 30 (December 2003), 506.

⁶ Flint and de Waal, *Darfur*, pp. 25-26.

- fighting led to displacement of tens of thousands of Nuer from Block 5A leading to Machar's abandonment of his "alliance" with the Government in January 2000.⁷
- **1993.** Formation of a first secret cell in El Fasher, of the movement that was to become the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) the second fighting force in Darfur. The motive was to reform the National Islamic Front to achieve greater attention and distribution of wealth to Darfur region and to other marginalized areas. Additional cells were formed later in the 1990s in Kordofan (1994) and Khartoum (1997).
 - **1994.** Division of Darfur into three regions: North, south and West, and proliferation of administrative positions by Khartoum government rewarding Arab allies in Darfur.
 - **1995, June.** Sudan was sanctioned by the UN Security Council for its role in an attempted assassination of Hosni Mubarak, President of Egypt, during a visit to Addis Ababa.
 - **1996.** Abdel Wahid Mohamed al Nur, Ahmad Abdel Shafi, and Abdu Abdalla Ismail form a clandestine organization in Khartoum to mobilize Fur, and other non-Arabs of Darfur against pronouncements of the Arab Gathering. Raised 1 million Sudanese pounds and began to purchase ammunition.
 - **1997.** First meeting of group that had organized in Khartoum with representatives of Fur self-defense groups. Sought help from but was rebuffed by President of Chad, Idriss Deby. By December of 1997, whole of Jebel Marra region of Darfur was mobilized.
 - **1998.** Hassan al Turabi engineers a new constitution, becomes Speaker of the House, and forms a new single party, the National Congress.
 - **1999, May.** Completion of the pipeline to the Red Sea.
 - **1999, August/early September.** Sudan exports crude oil for the first time. Oil went from zero in 1998 to 42% of government revenue in 2001.⁸
 - **1999, Dec.** Declaration of a National State of Emergency. In the political crisis that precipitated this, Ali Osman Mohamed Taha broke with Hassan al Turabi, who had led the Islamic Revolution, and this enabled Bashir to dismiss Turabi.
- Ali Osman Taha. B. 1948, a Shaigiyya (one of three controlling riverine tribes); from poor family, but climbed to top because of his talent and clarity of his goals. Leader of the National Islamic Front's parliamentary delegation during democratic government of Sadiq al Mahdi 1986-1989.
- **2000, May.** Public dissemination of *The Black Book: Imbalance of Power and Wealth in Sudan* documenting how Sudan had been dominated since independence by a small group of 3 tribes from along the Nile north of Khartoum: Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyiin and Danagla. 1600 copies distributed over 3 days: 800 in Khartoum, 500 in other parts of Sudan; 300 abroad. Denunciations by press only spread the news further. Detailed statistics showing dominance of government positions—whether cabinet ministers or drivers ; police and military hierarchy; judiciary; provincial administration; banks and development schemes dominated by these three who constituted something like 5.4 % of population. It levied a strong critique against the National Islamic Front that had seized power in 1989⁹ This work seems to have

⁷ Rone, "Sudan: Oil and War", 507.

⁸ Rone, "Sudan: Oil and War", 508.

⁹ This account of the Black Book incident from Flint and De Waal, *Darfur*, 17-18.

- originated within the group that would be announced the following year as the Justice and Equality Movement(JEM) out of a decision taken in 1997 to educate ordinary Sudanese men and women about the inequities they felt.¹⁰
- **2001.** During first 8 months of Bush Presidency, US policy shift in support of north-south peace process run by IGAD.
 - **2001.** Decision by Zaghawa in Darfur not to pay taxes to the government because of its inaction in the face of intensifying attacks on villages and camps by the Janjawiid.
 - **2001, July 20.** In Kornoi, Zaghawa allied with the efforts of the Fur following consultations. Continued to work throughout the fall to forge a tie also with the Masalit and succeeded in November.
 - **2001, August.** Khalil Ibrahim announces the existence of the Justice and Equality Movement(JEM).
 - **2002, January.** Reunification of Riek Machar and the SPLA after 11 years.
 - **2002, February 25.** First joint operation by Zaghawa and Fur.
 - **2002, July. Machakos Protocol** under auspices of IGAD created for first time hope of a negotiated settlement between Government of Sudan and SPLM/A with regard to issue of self-determination and role of religion. GoS agreed to referendum for southern self-determination following 6 and a half year interim period after the signing of a final peace agreement. GoS also agreed that for the interim period, the south could have its own law and legislation (no shari'a).
 - **2002, August.** Part Two of the Black Book appeared on JEM's website.
 - **2002, October. Sudan Liberation Army (SLA)** elects leadership divided between three main tribes: Fur, Zaghawa, and Masalit. Some Arabs were also involved in commander positions. In mediation discussions organized by General Ibrahim Suleiman, the governor of North Darfur, SLA representatives insisted they were not separatists; that they wanted amnesty and recognition as a political movement; that the Sudan government implement development projects in Darfur, and that the region have autonomous powers within a federal system.
 - **October 15.** Memorandum of understanding between Government of Sudan (GoS) and SPLM/A permitting cessation of hostilities during the peace negotiations of their forces and allied forces and militia.
 - **October 26.** Parties agreed with UN-coordinated umbrella relief agency Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) not to impede humanitarian relief. There was in addition an oral agreement for free elections within three years of signing of a peace agreement.
 - **October-January 2003.** Second round of IGAD negotiations adjourned with no agreement. In early 2003, GoS declined to participate in sessions intended to discuss status of three rebellious areas in the north, Abyei, Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile because it claimed the negotiations concerned only the South.
 - **2003, January.** First contacts between SLA and SPLA.
 - **JEM Manifesto.** Proposed a five point plan: It called for a unified Sudan; for justice and equality in place of social injustice and political tyranny; for radical and comprehensive constitutional reform guaranteeing to all regions participation in ruling country; for basic services for all Sudanese; for balanced economic and human development in all regions of the country. It also called for the Presidency to rotate

¹⁰ Flint and De Waal, *Darfur*, 92-93.

- among the regions and on freedom of choice in the application of personal religious laws.¹¹
- **2003, March.** SLA attempts for first time to set up a civilian administration in Golo. A critical element of discussions occurred when SPLA encouraged the SLA not to worry about the talks in Kenya, but to continue fighting in Darfur.
 - **2003, Summer and Fall.** Initial successes by SLA and JEM forces in Darfur are met by massive recruitment of Arab youth into the Janjawiid under Musa Hilal. By the fall, it had become a well-supported paramilitary operation that gained support from government army, air force, and security sections.¹²
 - **2003, September.** Move of north-south talks to Naivasha—beginning of process that would end with signing of CPS on January 9, 2005.
 - **2004, February and March.** A series of massacres of the Janjawiid in Tawila, Deleig, Wadi Debarei, and Mukjar.
 - **2004, April.** First discussion of the situation in Darfur at the African Union's Peace and Security Council Meeting. Recognition that an African Union force sent to Darfur was too small with a mandate inadequate to help civilians there.
 - **2004, 8 April.** Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement signed in N'Djamena calling for the government of the Sudan to "neutralise the armed militias" in Darfur.
 - **2004, June.** UN Security Council Resolution 1556: Disarm Janjawiid, arrest leaders, and permit unobstructed humanitarian access within 30 days. But concern over the progress of talks in Kenya led external forces and UN representatives not to push the Sudan government.
 - U. S. Congress passed a resolution describing developments in Darfur as genocide. Secretary of State Colin Powell made the same point before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in September.
 - **2004, August.** A directive from Musa Hilal, leader of the Janjawiid, to "' Change the demography of Darfur and empty it of African tribes.'" This took place despite Khartoum's having signed an agreement to disarm all militias. The Janjawiid operation was bigger than ever.¹³
 - **2004, September.** UN Security Council Resolution 1564. Mandated an International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur (ICID) to investigate human rights violations and ascertain whether or not genocide had occurred.
 - **2004, November 18.** UN Security Council meets in Nairobi concerning the peace process being undertaken at Naivasha.
 - **2005, January.** As a result of the campaigns throughout the last 9 months of 2004, nearly 2 million people had been driven to camps inside Darfur; another 200,000 had fled to Chad.
 - JEM became the first rebel movement in Darfur to codify its structure by creating a 21 member executive board encompassing all Sudan's regions; 51-member legislative committee; a General Congress headed by an easterner from the Blue Nile. Members of the General Congress limited the term of the chairman to four years, renewable once.

¹¹ Flint and De Waal, Darfur, 93.

¹² Flint and De Waal, Darfur, 102-109.

¹³ Flint and De Waal, Darfur, 39.

- The Security Council's International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur issued its report declaring that while it found no evidence of genocide as an intentional policy of the government, it did recommend the 51 individuals for criminal investigation.
- **2005 January 9.** Signed in Nairobi, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) ending the long north-south war and creating a Government of National Unity in which the National Congress Party is the majority partner sharing power with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). Transitional areas: Abyei, Southern Blue Nile, and Nuba Mountains—areas which under the CPA are considered to be "transitional".
- **2005, July 5.** Ratification of Interim National Constitution.
- **2005, July 30.** Death of First Vice President and chairman of SPLM, John Garang in a plane crash from Uganda to his home. Appointment of Salva Kiir Mayardit by SPLM Leadership council as new SPLM Chairman (and therefore President of the GoSS and 1st VP of the GNU. Whereas John Garang was a national political figure with considerable support in the North as well as the south because of his vision of a New Sudan that would be more representative, Salva is a lifelong military man who had actually split with Garang a few weeks before the CPA. The divisions between the followers of the two appear to have continued even though Salva has now succeeded to Garang's positions.¹⁴
- **2005, July.** Signing of Declaration of Principles in Abuja by the Government of Sudan, SLA/M and JEM.
- **2005, December.** Constitution of Southern Sudan signed.
- 2006. January 8.** Signing of the Juba Declaration which intends to integrate the SSDF forces (militia groups in the south that had been supported by GoS against SPLM/A with the SPLA via the establishment of a High Political Committee and a Military Technical Committee to oversee the integration of both political and military units. A major political achievement here was the inclusion of large sections of the predominantly Nuer SSDF into representation in Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS).
- 2006.** March 9-10. Meeting sponsored by World Bank in Paris of the Sudan Consortium: Government of National Unity (GNU), GoSS, international institutions and bilateral partners working together to oversee the implementation of the CPA.¹⁵
- 2006-May 5.** Signing of Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) in Abuja, Nigeria. Under auspices of Africa Union, Sudan Liberation Army faction under Minni Arkou Minnawi (SLA/MM) and the government of Sudan signed this agreement. However, the faction of the Sudan Liberation Movement led by Abdel Wahid Mohammed al-Nur and the Justice and Equity Movement (JEM) have refused to sign the agreement. Although Abdel Wahid considered to have the largest political following, Minni's military strength was only party able to ensure security. Abdel Wahid's reluctance to sign DPA was tied to unsatisfactory positions on wealth- and power-sharing. The primary elements of DPA

¹⁴ International Crisis Group (ICG). "Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement: The Long Road Ahead" Africa Report No 106, 31 March 2006, 20-21.

¹⁵ ICG. "Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement", 26-27

are three protocols on power-sharing, wealth-sharing and security arrangements. There is also a framework for a "Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation"¹⁶.

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¹⁶ International Crisis Group. "Darfur's Fragile Peace Agreement" Africa Briefing No 39, Nairobi/Brussels, 20 June 2006, 1-3.