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## A HISTORY OF MODERN SUDAN

Sudan's modern history has been consumed by revolution and civil war. The country attracted international attention in the 1990s as a breeding ground of Islamist terrorism, and recently tensions between the prosperous center and the periphery, between the North and the South, have exploded in Darfur. In his latest book, Robert Collins, a frequent visitor to and veteran scholar of the region, traces Sudan's history across 200 years to show how many of the tragedies of today have been planted in its past. The story begins with the conquest of Muhammad 'Ali in 1821 and moves through the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium to independence in 1956. It then focuses on Sudanese rule in the post-independence years, when the fragile democracy established by the British collapsed under sectarian strife. It is these religious and ethnic divides, the author contends, in conjunction with failed leadership, that have prolonged and sustained the conflict in Sudan. The author is a forthright and engaging expositor and is not afraid to tackle some difficult themes. The book will make a singular and important contribution to the history of this ravaged country.

ROBERT O. COLLINS is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His recent publications include *Civil Wars and Revolution in the Sudan: Essays on the Sudan, Southern Sudan and Darfur, 1962–2004* (2005), *Darfur: The Long Road to Disaster* (2006), and *A History of Sub-Saharan Africa* (with James M. Burns, 2007).

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ROBERT O. COLLINS  
*University of California, Santa Barbara*



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In memory of Louise J. Collins, my beloved *Mither*,  
who throughout her long life told me to seek out  
remote places and write about their past,  
which I have done for fifty years

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## *Preface*

My subsequent obsession with Sudan first began during the academic year 1953–54 at Dartmouth College while writing a history honors thesis about Emin Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer) and his administration of the Turco-Egyptian Province of Equatoria in the upper Nile valley (1878–89). I did not arrive in Sudan to continue my research until several months after independence on 1 January 1956. During the next fifty years I returned regularly to live, travel widely in every part of Sudan, and conduct historical research in the archives and the field. During these early decades one was free to travel without restraint and to probe the voluminous archives in the National Record Office in Khartoum, “the House of Abu Salim,” and to conduct extensive research in the provincial and district records in southern Sudan. During these same years I was present when many of the events in the following narrative took place; when I returned to Sudan others were the subject of long hours of discussion in the cool of the evening with scores of Sudanese friends. I personally knew some of the prominent political players; those I did not were the subject of vigorous gossip and candid opinions during my visits. Now in the twilight zone of my life I have sought to bring to fruition my search for the Sudanese past in a comprehensive and readable history for the general public in which my insights, interpretations, and anecdotes are the culmination of my many books, articles, and essays supported by a voluminous compendium of memories accumulated during a half-century of experience, inquiry, and intellectual challenge.

Spelling can be a curse that often results in chaos, particularly when the documentation for a book, like this one, comes in many languages. Motivated by familiarity, practice, or ethnic pride, Africans, Arabs, and Europeans have spelled the name of a person, place, or event in a transliteration that reflects their own parochialism, patriotism, and panache. The result is often confusion rather than clarity. The only legitimate principle is consistency in the text. Consistency, however, is not a universal virtue and does not always guarantee clarity, in the search for which I have consequently

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*Preface*

Anglicized or given the English equivalent for people, place-names, and events recorded in different languages. Place-names are spelled for understanding rather than in the local patois. Personal names are more precisely retained because they are complex, for everyone spells their name to their own satisfaction and not according to standardized rules of transliteration. If spellings are a curse, abbreviations are a necessary evil. When the name of the organization is first presented, the abbreviation is placed in parentheses, e.g. Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). In a few instances where the abbreviation appears in a later chapter I refresh the reader's memory by repeating the full name of the organization.

I wish to convey my special thanks to Alan Gouly who, as in the past, has read much of the manuscript to offer encouragement, corrections, and his thoughtful commentary. Jan Hogan, the ever helpful Keeper of the Sudan Archive at Durham University and co-author of *Images of Empire*, has graciously selected the illustrations. Steve Brown has, once again, employed his cartographic skills to fashion superb maps.

ROBERT O. COLLINS  
Santa Barbara, California

## *Abbreviations*

£E	Egyptian pounds sterling
£S	Sudanese pounds sterling
AACC	All-African Council of Churches
ACROSS	African Committee for the Relief of the Southern Sudanese
AFESD	Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development
AGI	Arab Group International for Investment and Acquisitions Co. Ltd. (Saudi Arabia)
ALF	Azanian Liberation Front
AMIS	African Union Mission to Sudan
ANAF	Anya-Nya National Armed Forces
APG	Anyidi Provisional Government
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation
bopd	barrels of oil per day
CARE	Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Company
CCI	Compagnie de Constructions Internationales
CEO	chief executive officer
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (United States)
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CNODC	China National Oil Development Corporation
CNPC	China National Petroleum Corporation
COC	Convention Organizing Committee
COPI	Chevron Overseas Petroleum Incorporated (United States)
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPMT	Civilian Protection Monitoring Team
CUSS	Council for the Unity of Southern Sudan

DC	district commissioner
DGSE	Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure (France)
DLF	Darfur Liberation Front
DoP	Declaration of Principles
DPA	Darfur Peace Agreement
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
ECCI	Equatoria Central Committee of Intellectuals
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ERDP	Economic Recovery and Development Programme
EU	European Union
FAN	Forces Armées du Nord (Army of the North, Chad)
FANT	Forces Armées Nationales Tchadiennes (National Armed Forces of Chad)
FIS	Islamic Salvation Front (Algeria)
FOP	Front of the Opposition Parties
FROLINAT	Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad (National Liberation Front of Chad)
GDP	gross domestic product
GDR	(East) German Democratic Republic
GIA	Groupe Islamique Armé (Armed Islamic Group, Algeria)
GNOPC	Greater Nile Operating Petroleum Company (Sudan)
GOS	Government of Sudan
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
GPLF	Gambella People's Liberation Front
HEC	High Executive Council (southern Sudan)
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
ICF	Islamic Charter Front
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICP	Islamic Committee for Palestine
IDP	internally displaced person
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGADD	Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEC	Interim National Executive Committee (SSIM/A)
INLC	Interim National Liberation Committee (SSIM/A)
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence (Pakistan)

*Abbreviations*

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IS-SOR	Internal Security/Islamic Security Service, <i>al-amn al-dakhil</i> (Sudan)
ITCZ	Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement (Sudan)
JEO	Jonglei Executive Organ (Sudan)
JIM	Joint Implementation Mechanism (UN)
JMC	Joint Military Commission (UN)
JMM	Joint Monitoring Mission (UN)
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MFC	Mechanized Farming Corporation (Sudan)
MP	Member of Parliament
MPS	Movement Patriotique du Salut (Patriotic Salvation Movement, Chad)
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NAS	Alliance of Professional Organizations and Trade Unions (Sudan)
NASC	National Alliance for the Salvation of the Country (Sudan)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NC	National Convention (SPLM/A)
NCDJCA	National Council for the Development of the Jonglei Canal Area (Sudan)
NCO	non-commissioned officer
NCP	National Congress Party (Sudan)
NDA	National Democratic Alliance (Sudan)
NGO	non-governmental organization
NIF	National Islamic Front (Sudan)
NPG	Nile Provisional Government (Sudan)
NRF	National Redemption Front (Darfur)
NSRCC	National Salvation Revolutionary Command Council (Sudan)
NSS	National Security Service
NUP	National Unionist Party (Sudan)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front (Ethiopia)
OLS	Operation Lifeline Sudan
ONGC	Oil and National Gas Corporation (India)
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries
OSO	Other Shades of Opinion (Sudan)

Oxfam	Oxford Famine Relief
PAIC	Popular Arab and Islamic Congress
PCM	Provisional Council of Ministers (Sudan)
PDF	People's Defense Force (Sudan)
PDP	People's Democratic Party (Sudan)
PJTC	Permanent Joint Technical Commission (Egypt and Sudan)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PMHC	Political–Military High Command (SPLM/A)
PNC	Popular National Congress (Sudan)
PVO	private voluntary organization
QC	Queen's Counsel
RCC	Revolutionary Command Council (Sudan)
SACDNU	Sudan African Closed Districts National Union (southern Sudan)
SAF	Sudanese Allied Forces
SALF	Sudan African Liberation Front
SAM	Sayyid 'Ali al-Mirghani
SANU	Sudan African National Union
SAR	Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman
SCA	Sudan Christian Association
SCC	Sudan Council of Churches
SCP	Sudan Communist Party
SFDA	Sudan Federal Democratic Alliance
SLM/A	Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
SNP	Sudanese National Party
SNWA	Sudanese Nationals Working Abroad
SPAF	Sudan People's Armed Forces
SPAFF	Sudan Pan-African Freedom Fighters
SPCC	State Petroleum Corporation of Canada
SPDF	Sudan People's Democratic Front
SPLA-Nasir	Sudan People's Liberation Army-Nasir
SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
SPLM/A-United	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army-United
SPS	Sudan Political Service
SRP	Socialist Republican Party (Sudan)
SRRA	Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association of the SPLM/A
SRWU	Sudan Railway Workers' Union
SSB	Sudan Security Bureau

*Abbreviations*

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SSDF	South Sudan Defense Force
SSIM/A	South Sudan Independence Movement/Army
SSLM	Southern Sudan Liberation Movement
SSPA	Southern Sudanese Political Association
SSPG	Southern Sudan Provisional Government
SSU	Sudan Socialist Union
SSUM/A	South Sudan Unity Movement/Army
Sudapet	Sudan National Petroleum Corporation
SUNA	Sudan News Agency
SWTUF	Sudan Workers' Trade Union Federation
TMC	Transitional Military Council (Sudan)
TNA	Transitional National Assembly (Sudan)
TNC	Transitional National Council
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USAP	Union of Sudan African Parties
VMT	Verification and Monitoring Team
WAA	Workers' Affairs Association (Sudan)
WCC	World Council of Churches
WNBF	West Nile Bank Front



## Glossary

- ‘abd* (pl. *‘abid*) slave
- ajawiid muatamarat al-suhl* the traditional conference in Darfur used by rival ethnic groups to settle disputes
- amir* military commander
- ansar* (Ansar) partisans of Islam
- ashiqqa’* (Ashiqqa) brothers by the same father and mother
- ashraf* kinsmen of Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi
- awlad al-bahr* people of the river
- awlad al-gharib* people of the west
- baliila* boiled, tasteless grain
- bayt al-mal* house of wealth, treasury
- bay‘a* Islamic oath of allegiance
- bazinqir* armed slave troops of individual traders in southern Sudan in the latter half of the nineteenth century
- bilad al-sudan* “Land of the Blacks,” the term used by medieval Muslim geographers for the great Sudanic plain stretching from the Red Sea to the Atlantic
- dahabiah* large sailing vessel with cabins, used on the Blue and White Niles
- dar* homeland, territory
- dar al-harb* country of war
- dar al-islam* the Muslim community
- dura* sorghum, traditional grain for bread
- effendi* *Turkish* name given to an educated bureaucrat in the Turkiya and civil servant during the Condominium
- feddan* (*faddan*) 1 *feddan* = 1.038 acres
- faki* holy man
- falasha* Ethiopian Jews
- fashir* a Fur royal encampment

## Glossary

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- fellahin* small farmer of agricultural laborer in the Middle East, specifically Egypt
- habub* sandstorm common throughout northern Sudan
- harab* banditry
- harakat al-tahrir al-islami hiwar* the Islamic Liberation Movement debate
- hizb* political party
- hudud* Islamic punishment for crimes, usually amputation
- hükümdar* Turkish governor-general
- jah* Fur customary taxes
- ijma'a* consensus of the community
- ijtihad* independent interpretation
- ikhwan* brethren in a religious or military brotherhood
- ird* inherited property of women
- itthadiyyin* those who support Union, i.e. *hizb al-itthadiyyin*, Unionist Party
- jabal* hill, small mountain
- jabal hadid* ironstone plateau in southwest Sudan
- jakab* Fur struggle; a Fur fighter with an automatic weapon supplied by Chad
- jallaba* northern Sudanese petty traders
- janjawiid* ghostly rider; evil horsemen
- jaysh al-salaam jiech mabor* army of peace (Fartit militia) the White Army (Nuer)
- jihad* struggle in the cause of God
- jihadiyya* government slave soldiers
- kafirin* unbeliever, infidel
- kariyat al-salaam* Peace Villages in southern Sudan
- kasha* forced deportation
- khalifa* "steward," commonly used title for the leader of the Islamic community (*umma*), often rendered in English as Caliph
- khalifat* stewardship, commonly used for the leader of Islam (Caliph)
- khalwa* Islamic primary school
- khawadja* Turkish "sir," but in Sudan a colloquialism for pale people, i.e. Americans and Europeans
- kisra* Sudanese bread made from *dura*
- kokora* Bari to divide equally
- kuttab* Sudanese secular primary school
- kwer-kong* permanent grasslands east of the Sudd and the Ethiopian escarpment

- lukiko* chiefs' court  
*mahdi* an inspired holy man who will come at the End of Time to bring justice and revive the glory of Islam  
*majlis* council, legislative assembly  
*makk* powerful Sudanese chief  
*mamur* Egyptian or Sudanese administrative assistant  
*marahil* in Darfur, a demarcated migratory pathway between settled farming land  
*marissa* beer  
*mudir* governor of a province in Sudan  
*mufti* one who interprets Islamic law and can issue a *fatwa*  
*mujadid* a reformer of Islam, one who renews the Islamic faith  
*mujahidiin* warriors engaged in *jihad* for Islam  
*mulazimiyya* a corps of mercenary soldiers, bodyguards  
*murabiliin* Arab militiamen  
*musalaha* reconciliation specific to the National Reconciliation between Sadiq al-Mahdi and President Numayri on 7 July 1977  
*mutathaqqifia* urban intellectuals  
*nas* ordinary Sudanese folk  
*nazir* head of a tribe or large clan  
*nizam al-jadid* New Model Army  
*pasha* *Turkish* the highest title in the Ottoman and Egyptian courts  
*qadi* Islamic judge  
*qa'id al-'amm* commanding officer  
*qiyas* analogy  
*qoz* sand and scrub  
 Qur'an recitation for the book of divine guidance to be the literal word of Allah revealed to the Prophet Muhammad  
*razzia* raid  
*Reth* King of the Shilluk (Chollo)  
*Sadana* Sudanese slang for the cabal of officials surrounding President Numayri  
*sadd* barrier, obstacle applied to the great swamps of the Nile, the Sudd  
*salafist* "predecessors," a generic term for the Sunni school of thought that takes the pious ancestors (*salaf*) of early Islam as a model for the contemporary revival and reformation of Islam  
*shari'a* Islamic Divine Law  
*shartai* a district chief in the sultanate of Darfur and during the Condominium  
*shaykh* lord, revered wise man, Islamic scholar

## Glossary

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- shura* consultation, council, consultative body  
*sirdar* commander-in-chief of the Anglo-Egyptian army  
*sufi* (*sufism*) Islamic mystic  
*suq* market  
*tahjir* name of forced migration of Baqqara by the Khalifa in 1889–90  
*taifiya* Sudanese sectarian political parties  
*talib* a student attached to an Islamic reformer  
*tariqa* (pl. *turuq*) religious brotherhood  
*tawali al-sayast* political alliances  
*tobe* traditional flowing robe of Sudanese women  
*toic* rich, green pastures of southern Sudan that emerge as the flood-waters of the Sudd recede after the rains  
*tukl* grass home, hut  
*'ulama'* community of legal scholars of Islam and *shari'a*  
*'umda* mayor of a town, head of a large village  
*waliya* *sufi* holy men  
*zakat* alms tax  
*zariba* stockade of thorn bushes or stakes  
*zawiya* lodge, usually of a *sufi* brotherhood  
*zurug* (pl. *zurqa*) dark blue, darkness, a pejorative term in Darfur meaning “Black Africans”

