

Index

Abbas I (Viceroy of Egypt) 14 AMIS (African Union Mission to Sudan) 291-2, 'Abbud, Ibrahim 72-3, 81-2 military regime of 73, 76-7, 80-2 Amnesty International, on Darfur humanitarian 'Abd al-Latif, 'Ali 39, 40 crisis 290 ANAF (Anya-Nya National Armed Forces) see 'Abd al-Rahman, Sayyid 40, 41, 49, 50–1, 52–3, 64, 69, 70-I, 73-4 Anya-Nya 'Abdellahi ibn Muhammad (Khalifa) 24-5, 27-8, Anglo-Egyptian Agreement (1953) 62 Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement rule of Darfur 277-8 (1899) 33, 59 Anglo-Egyptian Nile Waters Agreement (1929) 'abid (slaves) 8 Abu Jummayza, Ahmad 277 Anglo-Egyptian Slave Trade Convention 20 Abu Widan, Ahmad Pasha 14 Abuia Anglo-Egyptian Treaty (1936) 46, 53, 59 Agreement (2006) 296-8 Annan, Kofi 292 peace negotiations 294, 295-6 Ansar 51, 98 ansar (partisans of Islam) 21-2 Acholi insurgency (north Uganda) 255-6 anti-British feelings 39–40, 41 Addis Ababa Agreement (1972) 111-12, 113, 137, Anya-Nya 79-80, 86-7 Administration Conference 53-4, 55 absorption into Sudanese army 114 Advisory Council for the Northern Sudan Order command structure of 105-6 guerilla warfare by 106-8 51-2, 53-4 Afghan-Arab mujahidiin 196, 197, 216-17 Israeli arms supplies for 103-5 Afghanistan, relocation of al-Qa'ida to 220-1 see also SSLM African identity, dichotomy with Arab identity Anya-Nya II 140, 143 167, 302 joining SPLA 175 African Muslims 5-6, 251-2 APG (Anyidi Provisional Government) 105-6 marginalized in Darfur 285-6 al-Aqqad, Muhammad Ahmad 18 AGI Co. Ltd. (Arab Group International for Arab Gathering 179, 279 Arab identity 9, 137 Investment and Acquisitions) 231 agriculture 36, 43-4, 90-1, 235-6 dichotomy with African identity 167, 302 foreign investment in 118-19 Arab Legion 178 mechanized 150-1 Arab states air force 254-5 and Darfur crisis 291, 298 Albright, Madeleine K. 238 investments in Sudan 118-20 alcohol, consumption forbidden 146 Arabic language, use of 10 'Ali Dinar Zakariya Muhammad al-Fadl (Fur Arabization of Darfur 274–6, 284 Sultan) 35, 276 Alier, Abel 103, 108, 112 of southern Sudan 78-9 on Jonglei Canal 121 of Sudanese government 137 Arabized Muslims 4-5 opposition to 133 president of HEC southern Sudan 134 Arakis Energy Corporation of Canada 229-31



-1 A A I .: 1 D	Dlank Dank (all bit al. al. anna 1) 202 200
al-Armani, Arakil Bey 15	Black Book (al-kitab al-aswad) 285, 288
army	Black September Movement 181
communists in 94–5	"Black Sunday" (1964) 82–3
conscription 246–7	Blue Nile (Bahr al-Azraq) 3
integration of southerners in 113, 139	Bor mutiny 141–2
absorption of Anya-Nya into 114	Brun Rollet, Antoine 15–16
during Islamist regime 192–3, 211, 252–5	"Bucketwheel" machine 122, 144
mutinies 73, 141–2	Bush, George W., support for Sudanese
during Turkiya 12, 17	Christians 240–1
see also PDF	business and commerce 91
Ashiqqa (brothers) 50–1	businessmen 150
ashraf 28	alliance with Islamist regime 237–8
Asmara Accords (1995) 213	
Aswan High Dam (Sadd al-'Aali) 71–2, 74–5	"Carlos the Jackal" (Ilich Ramirez Sanchez)
al-'Ata, Hashim 100–1	218–19
Atem, Akwot 143	CCI (Compagnie de Constructions
AU (African Union)	Internationales) 144–5
role in Darfur crisis 291–2, 298–9	cease-fires in civil war, monitoring of 264-5
see also AMIS	center and periphery relations in Sudan 238,
'Awadallah, Babikr 94, 95, 97–8	300
awlad al-bahr (people of the river) 8, 24, 28	central government 20–1
awlad al-gharib (people of the west) 8	weakness of 300-1
marginalized in Darfur 285–6	Chad
Azande 8	conflict in 179
and Zande Scheme 60–1	Islamic Legion in 279
al-Azhari, Isma'il 49–51, 53, 67–8, 69, 89, 92, 97	mediation in Darfur insurrection 290
ai 1121aii, isiiaii 49)i, jj, 0/ 0, 09, 09, 92, 9/	presence in Darfur 280, 282, 283
Badi IV (Funj Sultan) 12	Charter of the Alliance for National Salvationis
Bahr al-Jabal (the Mountain River) 3, 107	Chevron 123, 144
SPLA activities in 256–8	child soldiers
Baker, Sir Samuel (governor of Equatoria) 18–19	in the LRA 255–6
Bani Husayn, conflict with Masayit 284–5	in the SPLA 172
Baqqara 5	China, relations with Sudan 231–2
fighting	Christian movements, American, support for
attacks on Dinka 173–4	southern Sudanese Christians 240
in Darfur 277–8, 279	Christianity, in southern Sudan 15–16, 137
for the Mahdist State 27–8	Chuol, William Abdullah 140, 143
against the SPLA 174	civil service 152–3, 183
migration from Darfur to Omdurman 277–8	civil war
Bashir Nasr, Hasan 73	capture of Kurmuk 167, 245
al-Bashir, 'Umar Hasan Ahmad 187	goals of southerners 142–3
military coup by 185–6	humanitarian suffering caused by 258–60
presidency of 197–8, 221, 222, 224, 227	monitoring of cease-fires in 264–5
and Darfur crisis 291, 298–9	and oil exploration in the South 233
and IGAD mediation in civil war 266–7	peace agreements 161, 242
rift with Turabi 219, 226–7	Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA,
Batuna grasslands 2	2005) 242, 268–71
Beja 5, 25I–2	Machakos Protocol (2002) 263, 264
bin Ladin, Osama	peace negotiations 171, 200, 207-8, 260, 262
in Sudan 196–7	267–8
departure for Afghanistan 220–1	governmental willingness to participate in
extradition attempts 220	262
Biró, Gaspar 219–20	IGAD mediation 207-8, 243-4, 258,
"Black Belt" squatter settlements around	260–2, 263, 266–7
Khartoum 154	influence of Darfur conflict 268



civil war (cont.)	1985 156
SPLM/A willingness to participate in 262-3	1989 170–1, 185–6
US mediation 241–2, 250–1	political, by Turabi 225–6
start of 139–40	Cox, Christopher 47, 48
and Sudanese government	CPMT (Civilian Protection Monitoring Team)
Islamist regime 206–7, 211	264-5
Sadiq al-Mahdi government 172, 176	Cromer, Lord Evelyn Baring 33, 35
TMC regime 161	
see also SPLM/A	Danaqla 4, 8
climate 3	Danforth, John C. ("Jack") 241, 250–1
CNODC (Chinese National Oil Development	Darfur 19, 277–8, 286–7, 299
Corporation) 231	Arab Gathering in 279
CNPC (China National Petroleum	Baqqara Arabs in 277–8, 279
Corporation) 232	Chadian presence in 280, 282, 283
commerce, Sudanization of 91	conflicts in 242-3, 272, 280-1
"Committee of Forty" (Council of the	between Fur and Rizayqat 179, 278,
Defenders of the Revolution) 188	279–80
communists	between Masalit and Bani Husyan 284–5
in army 94–5	and peace negotiations between northern
and May Revolution (1969) 95–8, 99–102	and southern Sudan 268
Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA, 2005)	famine in 154–5, 283
242, 268–71	genocide in 292
Condominium (British rule of Sudan,	history of 272
1898–1956) 1, 9	Condominium rule in 276–7
Anglo-Egyptian Agreement (1899) 33	Fur sultans 272–4
anti-British feelings 39–40	Mahdiya regime in 276–8
in Darfur 276–7	Turco-Egyptian rule in 276
educational policies 43, 47–9, 277	insurrection in 287
elections 64	Abuja Agreement (2006) 296–8
end of 64–5, 67–8	Abuja peace negotiations 294, 295–6
governmental structure 36	AU role in 291–2
Indirect Rule 37–9, 42–3	Chadian mediation in 290
reforms 46–7	government responses to 289, 298–9
administrative 49, 51–2, 53–4, 59	humanitarian aid 290–1
riots and disturbances 64	humanitarian crisis and insecurity 289–90,
and Sudanese nationalism 41, 45–6	_
see also southern Sudan, British rule of	294–5, 298, 299 <i>janjawiid</i> attacks 289
Congo–Nile watershed 2	SLA military successes 288–9
Congress see Graduates' Congress	UN role in 292–3, 297
conquest of Sudan, Anglo-Egyptian 28–31	and United States 242–3, 292, 295–6
conscription 246–7	Western public outcry over 291, 292, 293–4
Constituent Assembly 92, 161–2	Islamist regime seeking control of 284
constitution 116–17, 224	Islamization and Arabization of 274–6, 284
	Libyan presence in 178–9, 278–80, 281–2
corruption 152–3	
cotton production 60, 69–70	Mahdism in 276–7
Council of the Defenders of the Revolution see	marginalization of <i>awlad al-gharib</i> in 285–6
"Committee of Forty"	opposition movements in 286–7
Council of the South (South Sudan	refugees from 299
Coordinating Council) 247	separatism in 25, 35, 277
coups d'état	De La Warre Educational Commission 47
1958 72–3	Declaration on Political Agreement see Asmara
1969 92, 94, 95	Accords
1971 100–1	Deng, William 88
1975 127	Dinka 6–8, 42–3
1976 128–9	hostility of Equatorians toward 136



Index

323

massacred by Nuer 205	presidential, 1971 102
violence of Baqqara against 173–4	in southern Sudan 136
Diraig, Ahmad Ibrahim 297–8	electoral reform, by Transitional Government
discussion clubs 45	84–5
displacements	elites 37
resulting from oil exploration activities 233-4	environmental issues 121-2
see also refugees	Equatoria
DLF (Darfur Liberation Front) 287	guerilla movement in 79–80, 107
drought of 1983-85 154-5	hostility toward Dinka 136
DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) 89	SPLM/A in 143, 201, 270
agreement with the SPLM/A 168-9	Eritrea, and opposition to Sudanese Islamist
in government coalition 90, 165, 168	regime 213
Duran, Khalid 214–15	Eritreans, Sudanese support for 180–1
	Ethiopia
eastern Sudan, insurgencies in 251-2	Italian invasion of 46
economic crises 44–5, 69–70, 152, 153, 182, 262	relations with Sudan 25, 180–1
riots and disturbances caused by 183-4	southern Sudanese refugees in 176, 203
economic development 60, 76–7, 91–2, 118–20,	support for southern insurgencies 104–5,
123–4, 235–6	180–1, 201–3
Khartoum as center of 238	tripartite agreement over Nile waters with
in southern Sudan 134–5	Sudan and Egypt 243
economic policies	
4 4	ethnic and linguistic groups 4–8
of Islamist regime 234–5	Europeans
of Numayri regime 98–9, 117–18, 126	seeking control of Nile 29, 32
of Sadiq al-Mahdi government 182, 183–4	in Sudan 14, 15–16
economic reforms, imposed by World Bank	exports 236
153-4	folio (Maralina Iralina na mara)
education, in southern Sudan 48–9, 78–9	fakis (Muslim holy men) 274
educational policies, of British in Sudan 43,	family firms 91
47–9, 277	famine
Egeland, Jan 292, 297	in Darfur 154–5, 283
Egypt	as weapon of war 176
claims to sovereignty over Sudan 59	FANT (Forces Armées Nationales Tchadiennes)
cooperation with Great Britain 46	279
conquest of Sudan 28–31	Faruq (King of Egypt) 59
and independence of Sudan 59, 62	Federal army of Darfur 179
Islamists in	financial support, for Muslim Brothers 149
assassination attempt on Mubarak 215–16	5 May Agreement see Abuja Agreement
suppression of 215	FOP (Front of the Opposition Parties) 76
relations with Sudan 25–6, 179–80, 216, 243–4	foreign aid 77, 154–5
agreements over Nile waters 71–2, 74–5, 243	foreign debt 153, 182–3, 235, 236
unity with 64	foreign investments 118–20, 126, 236–7
revolution in (1952) 59	in agriculture 118–19
rule of Sudan <i>see</i> Turkiya	in infrastructure 119–20
Either This or the Flood (hatha aow al-tawafan,	see also oil exploration
Taha) 149	foreign policy
elections	of Sadiq al-Mahdi government 178–81
and Condominium 64	socialist orientation in 99
and Islamist regime 221–2	France, imperial ambitions of 32
parliamentary	Free Officers 94–5
1953 62–4	Funj Kingdom 12
1958 70–1	Fur 6
1965 85	attacks by <i>janjawiid</i> on 289
1968 89–90	conflict with Rizayqat 179, 278, 279–80
1986 161–2	opposition movement in Darfur 286–7
-	11



Fur (cont.)	followers of 22
persecuted by Islamist regime 282-3, 284	see also Mahdism
sultans 272–4	identities
future	Arab 9, 137
of Darfur 299	national 8–9, 302
of Sudan 300	dichotomy between Arab and African 167, 302
Gai Tut, Samuel 140, 143	in southern Sudan 137–8
Gar 111, 0amuer 140, 143 Garang (de Mabior), John 114, 140–2, 270	Idris, Bahaa al-Din 125–6
broadcasts on Radio SPLA 142–3	
death of 271	IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on
	Drought and Development)
leadership of the SPLM/A 142, 143, 171, 172,	mediation in Sudanese civil war 207–8, 243–4
175, 177–8, 209	258, 260–2, 263, 266–7
challenges to 203–5, 301	see also Machakos
meetings with Sadiq al-Mahdi 171	monitoring of cease-fires by 265
views of TMC 160–1	IMF
Garang, Joseph 103	agreement with Sudan (1988) 183
Gbudwe (Yambio, King) 8	reforms demanded by 182
gender roles, in Islamist regime 191	Independence Front 58
genocide, in Darfur 292	independence of Sudan 67–8
Gezira plains (<i>jazira</i>) 2	calls for 52–3, 58–9
Gezira Scheme 43–4	and Egypt 59, 62
"Ghost Houses" 189	preparations for 64–5
Gillian, Sir Angus 49, 50	and southern Sudan 65
GNOPC (Greater Nile Operating Petroleum	Indirect Rule 37–9, 42–3
Company) 231–2	end of 46–7, 49
Talisman's participation in 232, 234	in the South 41–3
Gordon, Charles George (Governor of Sudan)	infrastructure, foreign investment in 119–20
19, 20, 23	insurgencies
and siege of Khartoum 22–4	anti-British 41
Gordon Memorial College 37	in eastern Sudan 251–2
Graduates' Congress 49–51, 52, 53	in southern Sudan 65–7, 79–80, 86–7
grain "barons" 150–1	Ethiopian support for 104-5, 180-1, 201-3
Great Britain	Ugandan support for 105
colonial rule of Sudan see Condominium	see also civil war
cooperation with Egypt 46	in Uganda 255–6
conquest of Sudan 28–31	see also riots and disturbances
guerilla movements, in southern Sudan 79–80,	insurrection in Darfur 287
86–7	Abuja Agreement (2006) 296–8
guerilla warfare, in southern Sudan 106–8	Abuja peace negotiations 294, 295–6
Gulf War (First), Islamist reaction to 194	AU role in 291–2
. ,,	Chadian mediation in 290
al-Hadi, Imam 90, 97, 98	government responses to 289, 298–9
High Executive Council (HEC), in southern	humanitarian aid 290–1
Sudan 133	humanitarian crisis and insecurity 289–90,
hudud punishments 147, 192	294–5, 298, 299
human-rights violations 219–20	janjawiid attacks 289
international criticism of 290–1	media coverage of 291
humanitarian aid, to Darfur 290–1	SLA military successes 288–9
humanitarian crises, in Darfur 289–90, 298, 299	UN role in 292–3
humanitarian criticism, of oil exploration in	and United States 242–3, 292, 295–6 Western public outcry over 290–1, 292, 293–4
southern Sudan 233–4	
Ibn ʿAbdallah, Muhammad Ahmad (al-Mahdi)	ironstone plateau (<i>jabal hadid</i>) 2
	IS-SOR (Internal Security/Islamic Security Service, <i>al-amn al-dakhili</i>) 188–9
2I-2, 24	5c1 v1cc, ui-uinii ai-aakiiiii) 100–9



and Numayri 125, 145–7

Islamic fundamentalism 165-6

Islamic banks, support for Muslim Brothers 149

in Sudan 17-18, 36, 117

Index

attacks in Darfur 289

internal divisions 290, 294

janjawiid (ghostly riders, evil horsemen) 285

JEM (Justice and Equality Movement) 268, 287,

325

see also Islamists	<i>jihadiyya</i> (slave troops) 12
Islamic Legion 129, 178, 278	JIM (Joint Implementation Mechanism, UN)
in Chad 279	292
in Darfur 278–80, 282	JMM/JMC (Joint Monitoring Mission/Joint
Islamist ideologies, of al-Turabi 198–9	Military Commission) 264
Islamist regime 185–8, 190–1, 197–8, 222–3, 302	Johnston, Harry 239
alliance with new entrepreneurs 237-8	Jonglei Canal 120–2
army 192–3, 211, 252–5	attacks on 144–5
autocratic rule and oppression of opponents	Juba Conference (1947) 56–8
by 188, 190	judiciary, Islamist purge of 190
and civil war in the South 206–7, 211	Juhayna 4–5
and Darfur crisis 289, 290–1, 298–9	Junu/1111 4)
economic policies of 234–5	Keen, M. F. A. 57
implementation of <i>shari a</i> by 191, 192	Kenana Sugar Company 119
isolation of 216–17, 219–20	Kerubino Kuanyin Bol 140, 247–8, 249–50
NIF domination of 223–4	Khair, al-Tayib Ibrahim Muhammad (<i>al-sjikka</i> ,
opposition against 211–12, 219, 223	the iron bar) 284
PDF created by 193–4	Khalifa see 'Abdellahi ibn Muhammad (Khalifa)
relations with Libya 281–2, 283–4	Khartoum
support for international terrorism 199	"Black Belt" 154
al-Turabi's role in 185–7, 190, 194, 228	center of economic development 238
women discriminated against by 191–2	Darfuri graduates in 287–8
Islamists 187	disastrous rainfall in 177
Darfuri graduates 287–8	European merchants in 15–16
in Egypt	riots and disturbances in 64, 80–3
assassination attempt on Mubarak 215–16	siege of 22–4
suppression of 215	southern political organizations in 88
reaction to Gulf War 194	Khartoumers 16–17
Sudan as safe haven for 194–5, 196, 197	Khashoggi, Adnan ("AK") 126
Islamization	al-Khatim al-Khalifa, Sirr 81
in Darfur 274–6, 284	Khatmiyya 51
of Numayri regime 137	Khurshid (Agha Pasha), 'Ali (Governor-General)
Sadiq al-Mahdi on 150, 164–6	13
of southern Sudan 78–9	Kitchener, Horatio Herbert 29–30, 31, 32
Sudanese views of 150	Knoblecher, Ignaz 15–16
Ismaʻil, Mustafa 291	Koka Dam Declaration (1986) 161, 172
Isma'il Pasha (Khedive/Viceroy of Egypt) 10,	Kong Chol, Gordon 204
11–12, 17, 18	Kony, Joseph
abdication of 20	Kurmuk, capture by the SPLA 167, 245
military expeditions by 19	
Israel, arms supplies for Anya-Nya 103–5	labor movement 61–2, 151
Italy, invasion of Ethiopia 46	Lagu, Joseph 103–4, 105–6
ivory trade 16	on division of southern Sudan 135
•	president of HEC southern Sudan 133-4
Jaʿal, Ibrahim 4	Lakwena, Alice (Aruma) 255
Ja'aliyyin 4, 8	Lam Akol Ajawin 204, 208, 247
resistance against Mahdist State 29	accepting government support 206
Jaden, Aggrey 87, 103	minister in Islamist government 223–4
Ja'far Pasha Mazhar (Governor-General) 18	landownership 90–1
jallaba (petty traders) 16–17, 91	League of Sudan Union 39
J (F)	



Legislative Assembly 58–9 Libya and coup d'état of 1976 128–9 presence in Darfur 178–9, 278–80, 281–2	Milner, Lord Alfred 37 Minnawi, Minni Arku 287, 296 al-Mirghani, Muhammad 'Uthman 168–9 al-Mirghani, Sayyid 'Ali 40, 49, 51, 53, 69
relations with Sudan 178, 283–4	missionaries 15–16, 48–9, 78–9
Libya–Sudan Integration Charter (1990) 282	Moi, Daniel Arap 261–2
Lonrho Ltd. 119	monitoring, of cease-fires in civil war 264-5
LRA (Lord's Resistance Army, Uganda)	Morris, James 290
in southern Sudan 256	Mt. Kinyeti 2–3
Luel 7	Mubarak, Husni
Lundin Petroleum 233, 258	assassination attempt by Islamists 215–16
Luo 7 Lutfi, Jalal 'Ali 190	crack-down of Islamist opposition 215 Muhammad 'Ali (Viceroy of Egypt) 10, 12, 14 interest in sources of the White Nile 13–14
Machakos (Kenya)	Muhammad Sharif 28
peace negotiations 258, 263	Muhay al-Din 'Abdallah 73
Protocol (2002) 263, 264	mujahidiin, Afghan-Arab 196, 197, 216–17
Maffey, Sir John 41	murahiliin (Arab militiamen), fighting in civil
al-Mahdi, Mubarak al-Fadl 212	war 174, 176, 177
Mahdi revolt 22–4	Muslim Brothers 76
Mahdism 18, 35	and Numayri regime 130, 155
in Darfur 276–7	Turabi's leadership of 149, 162
Mahdiya regime (1881–1898) 21–32	Muslims in Sudan 4–6
in Darfur 276–8	African 5–6, 251–2, 285–6
Mahjub, 'Abd al-Khaliq 94–5, 97, 100	Arabized 4–5
Mahjub, Muhammad Ahmad 67, 85-6, 88, 89,	Mussolini, Benito 46
90, 97	mutinies, in Sudanese army 73, 141-2
Mahu Bey (Governor-General) 12	• • •
Malwal, Bona 166	"Nairobi Declaration" of unity between John
Mansur, Ibrahim Moniem 126–7	Garang and Riek Machar (2002) 249
Marchand, Jean-Baptiste 32	NASC (National Alliance for the Salvation of
Marsa Bashayir tanker terminal 228–9	the Country) 157
Masalit, conflict with Bani Husyan 284–5	"Nasir Faction", of the SPLA 205–6
Matip, Paulino 175, 248	al-Nasser, Gamal 'Abd 74
May Revolution (1969) 94–103	National Assembly
and communist party 95–8, 99–102	elections for 221–2
Mayardit, Salva Kiir 123	al-Turabi speaker of 221, 222, 223
Mayen, Gordon Muortat 105, 106	dismissal of 224, 227
media coverage, of Darfur crisis 291	National Declaration of Peace (1989) 169–70
mediation see peace negotiations	National Front 58–9
MFC (Mechanized Farming Corporation) 150–1	in exile 129
middle classes, new 151	see also NIF
migration, rural-urban 151	national identity 8–9, 302
military coups d'état	dichotomy between Arab and African 167,
1958 72–3	National Passanciliation (1977) 129, 29, 138
1969 92, 94, 95 1971 100–1	National Reconciliation (1977) 129–30, 138
1975 127	nationalism 40, 41, 45–6 nationalization policies 98–9
1976 128–9	Native Administration 49
1985 156	dismantling of 173
1989 170–1, 185–6	NCP (National Congress Party) 225–6
military regimes 73, 76–7, 80–2	NDA (National Democratic Alliance) 211–12,
militias	223
Arab (<i>murahiliin</i>) 174, 176, 177	and Asmara Accords (1995) 213
southern 247, 248–50, 255	attacked by government forces 252
	, 0



Index

327

cooperation with the SPLM/A 212	Obang, Philip 135
Joint Military Command of 246	oil exploration 122–3
Neguib, Muhammad 59, 64	attacks on 144
Newbold, Sir Douglas 51	Chinese involvement in 231–2
newspapers 45	companies involved in 229, 232, 234
NIF (National Islamic Front) 129, 162	opposition to 233–4
control of elections in 1996 222	oil fields, civil war fighting in 258
domination of Islamist regime 223–4	oil production 228–9
in government coalition 168	oil revenues 232–3, 236, 252–3
military coup of 1989 planned by 170–1	Omdurman, riots and disturbances in 98
reorganized by Turabi into the NCP	ONG (Oil and National Gas Corporation)
225–6	Videsh Ltd (OVL, India) 234
Nile 3	orthodox Islam 36
European struggle for control of 29, 32	Ottoman empire, rule of Sudan see Turkiya
waters	ottoman empire, rate of sudan see rainiya
agreement with Egypt 71–2, 74–5	PAIC (Popular Arab and Islamic Congress,
tripartite agreement between Sudan, Egypt,	al-mutamar al-arabi al-shabi al-islami)
and Ethiopia 243	194–5
Nilotic Sudanese 6–8	support for international Islamist terrorism
9/II attacks 24I	195–6, 197, 199–200, 213–15
non-Arab Muslims 5–6, 251–2	parliamentary elections
marginalized in Darfur 285–6	
	1953 62–4
non-Muslim Sudanese 6–8	1958 70–1
and implementation of shari a 192	1965 85
northern Sudan, regionalization of 130–1	1968 89–90
NPG (Nile Provisional Government) 105–6	1986 161–2
Nuba 5, 251 Nubians	parliamentary politics
Arabized 4	post-independence years 69, 72
•	of Sadiq al-Mahdi government 165, 166, 169,
resettlement of 75	170, 184
Nuer 7–8, 42–3	PCM (Provisional Council of Ministers) 159
invasion of Dinkaland 205	and TMC 159–60
Numayri, Ja'afar Muhammad 92, 95, 98, 99–103,	PDF (People's Defense Force) 193–4, 211
118, 301	PDP (People's Democratic Party) 69
conversion to fundamental Islam 145–7	peace agreements
criticism of 135	in civil war 161, 172
international acclaim for 112	Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA,
and Islam 125, 145–7	2005) 242, 268–71
Numayri regime 123–4, 155	Machakos Protocol (2002) 263, 264
Arabization and Islamization of 137	in Darfur crisis, Abuja Agreement (2006)
autocratic rule 117, 127–8, 131–3, 155	296–8
constitution 116–17	Peace Charter between Bashir and Machar
economic policies of 98–9, 117–18, 126	(1996) 209
and Muslim Brothers 130, 155	peace negotiations
oil exploration policies of 122–3	in civil war 171, 200, 207–8, 260, 264, 267–8
opposition to 128–9, 147–9, 151–2, 155–6	governmental willingness to participate in
reconciliation with 129–30	262
regionalization policy 130–3	IGAD mediation 207–8, 243–4, 258,
and Southern Problem 103	260–2, 263, 266–7
Addis Ababa Agreement (1972) 111–12	influence of Darfur conflict on 268
division of the South 135–7, 138–9	SPLM/A willingness to participate in 262–3
political solution of 108–11	US mediation 24I–2, 250–I
warfare 107	in Darfur crisis, at Abuja 294, 295–6
and the SSU 115–16	peacekeeping forces in Darfur 297, 298-9
NI ID (National Unionist Party) 62 4 95 6	Potronos (Molavoja) activitios in Sudan 227

328 Index

PNC (Popular National Congress) 227 political coup d'état, by Turabi 225-6 political crises 165, 166, 169, 170 political opponents, torture of 188-90 political parties 62-4, 82, 224-5 political racism 8 politicians leadership of 92-3, 301-2 southern 72, 79, 87-8 poverty, in rural Sudan 238 Powell, Colin, on Darfur crisis 292 Powers of Nomad Sheikhs Ordinance (1922) Powers of Sheikhs Ordinance (1927) 41 presidential elections, 1971 102 presidential rule 127–8 public corporations 152-3 Qadhafi, Mu'ammar disdain for 283 persecution of Islamists by 283-4 policies toward Sudan 178, 179, 278 building Libyan presence in Darfur 278 support for Sadiq al-Mahdi 278–80 al-Qa'ida relocation to Afghanistan 220-1 in Sudan 196-7 racism 8-9 political 8 Radio SPLA 142-3 Rahad Scheme 119 rainfall 3-4 causing disaster in Khartoum 177 Ramcharan, Bertrand 291 Rasas, 'Abdullah 135 RCC (Revolutionary Command Council) 95, 185, 187-8 refugees from Darfur 299 from southern Sudan 176, 192 in Ethiopia 176, 203 Regional Assembly, in southern Sudan 114–15, Regional Government Act (1980) 131 regionalism, of Numayri regime 130–3 Republican Brothers 147–9 Republican Order Number One (1983) 137, 138-9 Reth Akwot (Shilluk King) 6-7 revolts see insurgencies revolutions

Riek Machar Teny-Dhurgon 204, 205, 208-9, alliance with government 206, 209 president of Council of the South 247 riots and disturbances during Condominium 64 economic crises as causes of 183-4 against Islamist regime 219 in Khartoum 64, 80-3 in Nubia 75-6 in Omdurman 98 in southern Sudan 120-1, 123 see also insurgencies Rizayqat, conflict with Fur 179, 278, 279-80 Robertson, Sir James "Willie" 55, 56 Round Table Conference on Southern Problem (1965)83-4Rowland, Roland "Tiny" 119 rural Sudan economy 90-1 migration to urban areas 151 poverty in 238 Sadiq al-Mahdi 88–9, 97, 129–30, 163 escape of 223 on Islamization in Sudan 150, 164-6 Libyan support for 278 meetings with John Garang 171 as prime minister 162-4, 167 and civil war in southern Sudan 172, 176 economic policies of 182, 183-4 foreign policy of 178-81 parliamentary politics of 165, 166, 169, 170, 184 Sa'id Pasha, Muhammad 14–15 Salih, Bakri Hasan 188 Salim Qapudan (Captain) 13-14 Salisbury, Lord (Robert Cecil) 29 SANU (Sudan African National Union) 79, 80 -Inside 88 al-Sanussi, Ibrahim 193 Saudi Arabia, relations with Sudan 181 SCP (Sudan Communist Party) 75-6, 94-5 and May Revolution (1969) 95-8, 99-102 see also SSU secessionist movements, African dislike of 109 security services 188-9 reorganizations of 219 separatism, in Darfur 25, 35, 277 September Laws (implementation of shari 'a), replacement of 164-6, 168, 191 Shannan, 'Abd al-Rahim 73 shari a implementation of 146, 160

in Egypt (1952) 59

May 1969 94-103

Islamist 302



Index

329

by Islamist regime 191, 192 hudud punishments 147 popular response to 147 replacement of September Laws 164-6, 168, as source of legislation 224, 263 Shayqiyya 4, 8, 11-12 al-Shifa pharmaceutical factory, US attack on 239 Shilluk 6-7 Shingeiti, Muhammad Salih 57 Shukriyya 5 Siwar al-Dahab, 'Abdel-Rahman Muhammad 156 TMC formed by 157-8 size of Sudan 1-2 slave-raiding expeditions 13 slave trade 16-17, 18, 20 slave troops (jihadiyya) 12 slavery, in Sudan 8, 15, 37 slaves ('abid') 8 SLM/A (Sudan Liberation Movement/Army) 268, 287 internal divisions 290, 294 military successes of 288-9 socialist orientation, in foreign policy 99 The Solidarity Book (Southern Regional Government) 135 Somalia, Sudanese support for Islamists in 199 South Sudan Coordinating Council (Council of the South) 247 Southern Front 88 Southern militias 247, 248-50, 255 Southern Problem 77-8, 80 Addis Ababa Agreement (1972) 111-12, 113, 137, 138 Mahjub's handling of 86 Numayri regime's handling of 103, 107, 108-12 Round Table Conference (1965) 83-4 al-Turabi on 84 southern Sudan British rule of (Southern Policy) 35, 36, 41-3, Christianity in 15-16, 137 deteriorating living conditions in 176 division of 135-7, 138-9 economic development in 134-5 education in 48–9, 78–9 elections in 136 guerilla warfare in 106-8 identities in 137-8 insurgencies in 65-7, 79-80, 86-7 Ethiopian support for 104-5, 180-1, 201-3 Ugandan support for 105 LRA in 256 Mahdist struggles in 26-7

political organizations in Khartoum 88 politicians from 72, 79, 87-8 provisional governments 87, 103-4, 105-6 refugees from 176, 192 in Ethiopia 176, 203 regional government in 112-13, 114-15, 172 Council of the South 247 High Executive Council (HEC) 133 Regional Assembly 114-15, 134 The Solidarity Book 135 transitional government 135 riots and disturbances in 120-1, 123 self-determination of 263 and Sudanese independence 65 see also civil war SPAF see army SPCC (State Petroleum Corporation of Canada) 229 SPLA-Nasir 205-6 SPLA-United 206, 207, 208, 209, 247 SPLM/A (Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army) agreement with DUP 168-9 and Asmara Accords (1995) 213 in Bahr al-Ghazal 256-8 child soldiers in 172 cooperation with NDA 212 diplomatic success of 201 in Equatoria 143, 201, 270 fighting against by Baqqara militia 174 confrontation with LRA 256 government offensives 250, 256, 258 by southern militias 247, 248-50, 255 Garang's leadership of 142, 143, 171, 172, 175, 177-8, 209 challenges to 203-5, 301 military operations of attacks on Jonglei Canal 144-5 capture of Kurmuk 167, 245 capture of Wau 247-8, 249-50 fighting in oil fields 258 successes 172-3, 175, 177-8, 200, 210, 211, 245-6 National Convention at Chukudum 209-10 southern opposition against 246 split in 205-6, 207 support for from Ethiopia 180–1 from United States 239-40 and TMC regime 161 willingness to participate in peace negotiations 262-3 SRWU (Sudan Railway Workers' Union) 61 SSDF (South Sudan Defense Force) 248-9

330 Index

SSIM/A (South Sudan Independence Movement/Army) 208 SSLM (Southern Sudan Liberation Movement) negotiations with Sudanese government 108-11 SSPG (Southern Sudan Provisional Government) 87, 103-4 SSU (Sudan Socialist Union) 102, 115-16 Steiner, Rolf 105-6 strikes 151-2 Sudan Peace Act (United States) 242, 265-6 Sudan Plantations Syndicate 44 Sudan Political Service (SPS) 35-6, 38 Sudan Question 53, 62 Sudanic plain 1–2 Sudanization Committee 64-5 Sudd swamp (sadd) 2, 107 sufism in Sudan 17-18 views on Islamization 150 sugar production 119 Sumbeiywo, Lazarus 261-2, 263 SWTUF (Sudan Workers' Trade Union Federation) 61–2 Symes, Sir George Stewart 46-7, 48, 49, 54-5 Tafeng, Emedio 105-6 Taha, 'Ali 'Uthman Muhammad 188, 218–19 Taha, Mahmud Muhammad 147-8, 149 al-Tahir, al-Tijani 281-2 Talisman Energy Corporation 232, 233-4 taxation in independent Sudan 92 during Turkiya 12, 13 al-Tayib, 'Umar Muhammad 158-9 telecommunications sector 237 supported by Sudan and PAIC 195-6, 197, 199-200, 213-15 end of 216–17 Western concerns over 216 terrorists Sudan as safe haven for 218-19 see also Afghan-Arab mujahidiin Tigreans, Sudanese support for 180-1 TMC (Transitional Military Council) 157-8 foreign policy of 178-81 and PCM 159-60 TNC (Transitional National Council) 190-1 al-Tom, Shaykh Ali 5 torture, of political opponents 188-90 Total S. A. 234 trade unions see labor movement training camps for mujahidiin, in Sudan 197

Transitional Government (al-Khatim al-Khalifa) electoral reform by 84-5 al-Turabi, Hasan 195 arrest of 227-8 and assassination attempt on Mubarak 215-16 formation of PNC 227 Islamist ideologies of 198-9 and Islamist regime 185-7, 190, 194, 228 leadership of Muslim Brothers 149, 162 leadership of PAIC 194-5, 196, 199-200, and Numayri regime 130 political coup d'état by 225-6 relationship with bin Ladin 196 and replacement of September Laws 168 rift with al-Bashir 219, 226-7 on Southern Problem 84 speaker of the National Assembly 221, 222, dismissal of 224, 227 Turkish language, use of 10 Turkiya (Egyptian-Turkish rule, 1821-1881) 1, 10-21 in Darfur 276 Uganda Acholi insurgency in 255-6 support for southern insurgencies 105 Umma Party 52-3, 58, 63 in ruling coalition 69, 85-6, 90 United Kingdom see Great Britain United Nations and peace process in Sudanese civil war 268 role in Darfur crisis 292-3, 297 sanctions imposed on Sudan 217 United States aid to Sudan 71–2 Christian movements, support for Southern Sudanese Christians 240 refusal of Sudan's offer to extradite bin Ladin relations with Sudan 181, 199, 240 closure of embassy 238-9 cooperation in anti-terrorism 241 and Darfur crisis 242-3, 292, 295-6 mediation in civil war 241-2, 250-1 sanctions imposed on 239, 265-6 support for SPLM/A 239-40 unity between Egypt and Sudan 64 of Sudan 55-9

Upper Nile region 107



Index 331

urban areas, migration from rural Sudan 151 'Uthman Bey (Governor-General) 12

The Vigilant (Southern Front newsletter)
88
VMT (Verification and Monitoring Team)
265
Vulcan Force 178, 279

al-Wahid al-Nur, 'Abd 286–7, 296 Wau, SPLA capture of 247–8, 249–50 Werne, Ferdinand 13–14 Western public outcry, over Darfur crisis 291, 292, 293–4, 295–6 Westernization, in Sudan 17 White Flag League 39, 40 White Nile (*Bahr al-Abyad*) 3 search for sources of 13–14 Wingate, Sir Reginald 36
women, discrimination against, by Islamist
regime 191–2
World Bank, economic reforms imposed by
153–4
World Trade Center
1993 terrorist attack on 199
2001 terrorist attack on 241

Zaghawa 6
Zande Scheme 60–1
Zarghawa, opposition movement in Darfur 286–7
zaribas (walled trading forts) 16–17
al-Zawahiri, Ayman 215
al-Zayn, 'Abd al-Qadir wad 12
Zoellick, Robert 296
al-Zubayr, Rahma Mansur 18, 19