

Dear Teachers/Professors:

“We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools.” Dr. Martin L. King Jr. I undertook this research as a McNair scholar at the University of Wisconsin-River Falls (UW-RF) to understand more about the historical and cultural factors that have contributed to Sudan’s long running conflict. As a second generation Sudanese, I often wondered about the land my father and uncles grew up in and told stories about. Though I have never met my father’s parents or visited the land he calls home, I am as eager and hopeful to see the fulfillment of a peaceful Sudan. It is my belief that this research will not only expand my knowledge but that of countless students and individuals alike. A greater knowledge of Sudan’s past history will facilitate a rational analysis of the Sudanese conflict and its resolution.

In dedication to the millions of lives lost, I present to you this curriculum about the history of conflicts in the Sudan. The purpose of this curriculum is for students to explore Sudan’s lengthy history of colonization, separatism, civil wars and most recently, genocide. The objectives:

- Students will learn about the role colonization played in shaping Sudan’s history.
- Students will develop a greater understanding of the diversity of the people, their culture, their languages and their ways of life.
- Students will analyze the Darfur genocide and explore the statement of “never again.”

This curriculum is intended for audiences from grades eight and beyond; and does not have a specific presentation time limit. Please select topics to explore according to grade levels and allocated time.

To compliment the written curriculum, I have provided clips of taped testimonials of survivors of the Sudanese conflict. In July, 2005, I traveled to Memphis, Tennessee and interviewed Mr. Joseph Othow of the Shilluk tribe; Mr. Salim Salim from the Nubia Mountains; Mr. Zeen Shatta from Darfur; and Mr. Francis Gbee of the Azande tribe. These individuals, who have resided in the United States for various lengths of time, shared their knowledge and views on issues ranging from their tribal origins, the recently signed Comprehensive Peace Agreement, to their optimistic outlook for Sudan’s future.

By learning about Sudan and its history, students become knowledgeable of the world around them; and are inspired to become peace advocates. Please feel free to contact me by email Lzagino@msn.com with further inquiries. If you are interested in obtaining the interviews in their entirety, please contact the University of Minnesota’s Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (www.chgs.umn.edu).

Thank you for your interest in promoting your students’ knowledge on this topic.

Sincerely,

Leon Z. Gbee
UW-RF McNair Scholars Program

Introduction

“We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools.”

Dr. Martin L. King Jr.

To truly appreciate what is happening in the Sudan today, it is essential for us to look back at Sudan’s long history of armed conflict and the role of the British administration prior to independence in 1956. I believe this historical knowledge will help future students become more informed and knowledgeable about what has prompted the current conflict in the Sudan and how it might be more effectively resolved. Given the fact that this conflict has been declared a genocide, it is imperative that we learn what caused it to reduce, prevent, and eliminate further human suffering and restore peace and harmony to the Sudan.

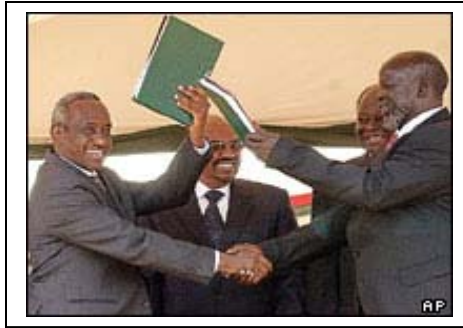
If I have informed where there was no prior knowledge, my purpose has been partly accomplished. While the entire history of the Sudan dates back centuries ago, this research focuses on how past conflicts and unrests have impacted Sudan’s contemporary history, from continued civil wars to genocide.

Recent Events

For the last four decade (1983-2005), Sudan has been engaged in the longest, uninterrupted civil war, putting the people of the north against those of the south. Over 2 million lives have been claimed by the conflict, and approximately 4.5 million people have been driven from their homes – more internally displaced persons than anywhere else in the world (Waller, 2002). The recent attacks and killings in Darfur have captured the attention of many in the international community, including the United Nations, the U.S. and former Secretary of State Colin Powell, who charged that the attacks and killings are



“genocide;” and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum’s Committee on Conscience which issued a “genocide warning” for Sudan (Book resource #5). The recent peace deal signed (2005) by the government of President Omar al-Bashir in Khartoum and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) led by John Garang brings to a close the longest running war in modern world history (Internet resource #2).



2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Photo from Internet source #9)

Chronology

Please keep in mind that no chronology is complete. This one simply tries to provide readers with a broad perspective of some of the main events in the long history that has shaped modern day Sudan.

DATE

EVENT

1820	Following two military expeditions of Muhammad Ali (Pasha of Egypt), Sudan is conquered by Turkey and Egypt (Turko-Egyptian rule).
1881	Rebellion against the Turkish-Egyptian administration; rise of the Mahdist state.
1882	The British invades Sudan.
1885	An Islamic state is founded in Sudan.
1899	Sudan is governed by British-Egyptian rule.
1955	Revolt and start of the civil war.
January 1st 1956	Sudan becomes independence.
1958	A military coup takes place in Sudan. The civilian government is removed.
1962	Civil War begins in the south, led by the Anya Nya movement.
October 1964	People of Sudan rebels. The military junta (rule) falls after a collective general strike. A national government is formed.

May 1969	New military coup placing Col. Muhammad Gaafer al-Nimeiry in power.
1971	Leaders of the Sudan Communist Party are executed for attempting a coup against Nimeiry.
1972	A peace agreement is signed in Addis Ababa between the government and Anya Nya. Southern Sudan becomes a self-governing region.
1978	Large findings of oil are made in Bentiu, southern Sudan. The oil becomes an important factor in the strife between the North and South.
1983	Nimeiry introduces the Sharia (Islamic law) to Sudan leading to a new breakout of the civil war in the Christian south. In the south the forces are led by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) under command by John Garang.
1985	President Nimeiry is removed from power in a military coup.
1986	Coalition government formed in a general election, Sadiq al-Mahdi elected prime minister.
1989	Lt. Gen. Omar Ahmed al-Bashir and his National Islamic Front (NIF) take power in a military coup.
1995	The Sudanese government is accused of being part of an attempt on the life of Egyptian prime minister Mubarak. UN decides on sanctions against Sudan.
1998	USA launched a missile attack on a chemical plant in Khartoum assumed to develop chemical weapons possibly in corporation with the Al'Qaeda terror network. Civilians are killed in the attack. The Sudanese government denies any link to terror and chemical weapons.
1998	A new constitution is endorsed by over 96% of voters in referendum.
1999	President Bashir dissolved parliament and declared a three-month state of emergency.
1999	Sudan begins an export of oil assisted by China, Canada, Sweden and other countries.
2001	An internal struggle in the government leads to the arrest of an ideological leader who was making peace attempts with the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA)
March 2001	Hunger and famine in Sudan affects 3 million people.
May 2001	A Danish pilot flying for the International Red Cross is attacked and killed when delivering aid in southern Sudan. All flights in the area are temporarily stopped.
June 2001	Peace negotiations break down in Nairobi, Kenya.
August 2001	The Nile river floods leaving thousands homeless in Sudan.
September 2001	The UN lifts all sanctions against Sudan to support ongoing peace negotiations.
October 2001	Following the New York terror attacks, USA puts new sanctions on Sudan due to accusations of Sudan's involvement with International terrorism.
During 2001	More than 14,550 slaves are freed after pressure from human rights groups.
January 2002	A ceasefire between government forces and the SPLA are finally agreed upon.
July 20th 2002	The government and SPLA signs a protocol to end the civil war.
July 27th 2002	President al-Bashir meets for the first time with SPLA leader John Garang. The meeting was arranged by Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni.

July 31st 2002	Government attacks SPLA again.
October 2002	The ceasefire is confirmed again, but remains very uncertain. Peace negotiations still continue during the next years.
February 2003	The 2 rebel groups representing the African population in Darfur starts a rebellion against the government protesting against neglect and suppression.
December 2003	Progress is made in the peace negotiations. The negotiations are mainly focused on sharing the important oil-resources.
January 2004	Government army strikes down on uprising in Darfur region in the Western Sudan. More than 100,000 people seek refuge in Chad.
March 2004	UN officers reports that systematic killings on villagers are taking place in Darfur. UN names Darfur as the worst humanitarian crisis currently, but nothing happens.
May 26th 2004	A historic peace agreement is signed, but the situation in Darfur remains unchanged and extremely critical.
January 9th 2005	In Nairobi, Kenya the government and rebels signs the last parts of the peace treaty for Southern Sudan. All fighting in Africa's longest civil war is expected to end in January 2005, but the peace agreement still doesn't cover the Darfur region. More than 1.5 million people lost their homes since the conflict in Darfur broke out early 2003.
March 15th 2005	United Nations Security Council agrees to send 10,000 peace keeping soldiers to Southern Sudan. Again the decision does not cover the Darfur region.
April 2005	International donors pledge \$4.5 billion in aid to help Southern Sudan recover.
June 2005	Government and exiled opposition grouping - National Democratic Alliance (NDA) - sign reconciliation deal allowing NDA into power-sharing administration.
June 9 2005	Former southern rebel leader John Garang is sworn in as first vice president. A constitution which gives a large degree of autonomy to the south is signed.
August 1, 2005	Government announces death of vice president and former rebel leader John Garang in an air crash. He is succeeded by Salva Kiir.

SOURCES USED TO COMPILE THE CHRONOLOGY

- British Broadcasting Company News. "Timeline: Sudan-A Chronology of key Events" retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/827425.stm on 5/31/ 2005 & 8/4/2005
- CIA World Fact Book retrieved from <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/su.html> on 5/24/2005
- Colin, Robert O., Tignor, Robert L. 1967. *Egypt and the Sudan*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.

- <http://www.encyclopedia.com/html/S/Sudan.asp>
- http://crawfurd.dk/africa/sudan_timeline.htm
- Said, Beshir M. 1965. *The Sudan: Crossroad of Africa*.
- <http://www.sudan-embassy.co.uk/infobook/history.php>

Definition of Sudan

Formerly the Republic of Sudan, its name comes from the Arabic “Bilād al-Sūdān, meaning “land of the Blacks”” (Book resource #3, pg. 3).

Neighbors

Located in the Northern region, Sudan is the largest country on the African continent (slightly more than one-quarter the size of the United States). With Khartoum, the capital, located in the north; Sudan shares borders with nine African countries, they are: Egypt in the North, Libya in the Northwest, the Central African Republic and Chad in the West, Eritrea and Ethiopia in the East, and with Kenya, Uganda, and Congo in the South, and is bordered by the Red Sea in the Northeast, (Internet resource #4 & book #3).



Climate, Features and Land

Like most African countries, Sudan experiences two main climatic seasons, a rainy season from April to November and a dry season (these varies by region). The north is desert and semi-desert with most cultivation taking place in rain-fed and floodwater plains. The south is dominated by savannah grasslands, swamps and tropical forests. The vast, trackless areas of the north are home to a bewildering variety of peoples. Consisting of deserts and arid planes, the north is very dry. Formed by the Blue Nile and White Nile rivers (including the Atbara), which

formed in the capital, the main feature of Sudan is the Nile River. The Nile provides irrigations for agricultural settlements for much of the Sudan. Much of the remaining of the Sudan is made of rolling plateaus, including mountains in the Northeastern region near the Red Sea, and in the Southern, Western and Central portions of the country (Internet resource #5 and #4).

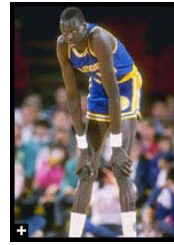
The People



Hassan Tubari, leader of the Muslim Brotherhood movement



Woman from Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya.



Manute Bol, former professional basketball player in the NBA.



Woman from Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya.

(Women - Internet resource #10, and Hassan Turabi & Manute Bol - Internet resource #11)

Sudan is inhabited by peoples of different origins, different religions, different languages, and different ways of life. These inhabitants can be divided into three major groups, they are:

- The **Northerners**, who reside mainly in the northern region near the Nile, consist of Nubian and Arab groups. They are Muslim-mostly Sunni, speak the country's official language, Arabic, and follow the teachings and laws of the Arab culture.
- The **Westerners** (so named because they emigrated from West Africa), are also Muslim, and live by and large in the central part of Sudan. They primarily work as agricultural laborers and/or farmers.
- The **Southerners**, who follow traditional beliefs, although many are Christian; are made of the Sudanic and Nilotic peoples. They speak most Nilotic languages and are pastoralists (shepherds or herders) or engage in shifting cultivation (Internet resource #4).

- **HIV prevalence rate aged 15-49: **Male**-1.9%
Female-2.6%
- **Birth per 1,000 women aged 15-19: 55
- *Ethnic groups: Blacks-52%
Arab-39%
Beja-6%
Other-1%
- *Religions: Sunni Muslim - 70% (in the North)
Christian – 5% (mostly in the South and Khartoum)
Indigenous beliefs - 25%
- *Languages: Arabic (official language); Nubian; Ta Bedawie; Diverse dialects of Nilotic; Nilo-Hamitic; Sudanic languages; and English
- *Literacy rate: **Male**-71.8%
Female-50.5%
Total population-61.1%
Definition-Age 15 and over can read and write
- **Illiterate rate (>15 years): **Male**-29%
Female-51%

(Sources: *CIA – *The World Fact Book*, and ** State of World Population -United Nations Population Fund. 2004. *The Cairo Consensus at Ten: Population, Reproductive Health and Global Effort to end Poverty*.)

Way of Life

The majority of Sudan's inhabitants live in small towns and villages. The lack of rain, the desert and semi-desert lands in the north have left many parts of the region uninhabited. As a result of the political, economical, and environmental problems in the region, waves of displaced refugees from neighboring countries have settled in areas around Khartoum. Ironically, the civil war in the south has caused many Southern Sudanese to migrate out of Sudan to seek refuge. Educational facilities are very limited, making illiteracy rate high. Nevertheless, there are higher learning institutions in Sudan, with the main ones being the University of Khartoum, the Khartoum branch of the University of Cairo, Juba University, Gezira University, and the Omdurman Islamic University (Internet resource #4)

Historical Prospective - Colonization

Civil war has been occurring in Sudan off and on since 1955, a year before independence. The conflict between the North and South (signed a peace agreement in January, 2005) has been going on since 1983, headed by the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) (South) against the government of Khartoum (North). The south, which is mainly Christian and animist, doesn't support the Khartoum government's attempt to impose a traditional Islamic Law (Sharia) on the entire country. From the north's point of view, the war is a *holy war* against the unbelievers (Christians/Southerners) of the "true faith" (Islam). The war, whether rooted in religious, ethnical, racial, or political differences; has caused the death of millions, left countless refugees, and pitted many Sudanese against their fellow countrymen. Conflicts in the Sudan dates back thousands of years. But the conflict is not limited strictly to North against South, fighting amongst Southern tribes has also been common and just as demoralizing to the development of the entire nation.

According to historians, more is known about the north or Nubia's history than that of the south or Nilotic, because historical documents do not exist prior to the 19th century. History of early invasions and unrests in the Sudan dates back to c. 2755-2255 BC, when the first Egyptians made their way into Nubia. By the 18th century, Nubia was reduced to the status of an Egyptian province, evident by the ruins, monuments and other relics left behind between the Nubian Desert and the Nile River regions. The period following a Nubian rebellion, which ended the Egyptian reign, saw successions of kingdoms established in Nubia; including the Christian states of Maqurra and that of Alwa.

After the Funj (black Muslims) took over around 1500, they established a powerful Muslim state, which became one of many great cultural centers of Islam. By the final years of the 18th century, the Funj kingdom weakened due to disagreements among its leading tribes. Subsequently, their kingdom was invaded by the Egyptian army (then a province of the Ottoman Empire) in 1820 and ended in 1822 with a complete victory by the Egyptian army.

Most of Nubia then became known as Egyptian-Sudan, as it was colonized by the Egyptians. This followed 60 years of Turkish-Egyptian rule which was marked by southward expansion culminating in a slave trade. The slave trade and lack of competent administrative rule steadily mounted. The administration of British general Charles Gordon (who served as governor of Egyptian-Sudan) attempted to suppress the slave trade and other abuses.

The state's affairs developed into anarchy following the resignation of Gordon, resulting in a revolution, led by Muhammad Ahmad, the self proclaimed Mahdi (the person who, according to Muslim tradition, would rid the world of evil). His rebels were able to annihilate the Egyptian army and capture Khartoum, killing Gordon in the process and winning complete

control over the province. Conditions under Mahdi's rule worsened and didn't change under Abdallah at-Taaisha, his successor (Internet resource #4 and#12)

As Egypt became an important possession of Great Britain, the British and Egyptian governments became alarmed at the spread of French influence in Nilotic Sudan. So, under a joint military expedition, led by General Horatio Kitchener, the caliph's forces were taken over. A joint agreement between the British and Egyptian governments to provide joint sovereignty in Sudan established the Anglo-Egyptian reign and brought an end to the Mahdist movement.

The period of British-Egyptian Sovereignty rule encountered many obstacles from Egyptian nationalist who voiced their discontent over the authority of the British government in Sudan. This discontent lingered and following WWII, the Egyptian government demanded British withdrawal from Sudan, leading the British to propose certain modifications to the existing regime. After a brief deadlock in negotiations, a newly authorized legislative was elected in Sudan. This new legislative adopted a resolution asking Egypt and Great Britain to grant full self-government to Sudan in 1951. As the Egyptian government continued their demand for British withdrawal from Sudan, the legislative went on to denounce the earlier joint ruling agreement between Egypt and Great Britain. Following further negotiations, the first Sudanese parliamentary elections were held, and after a win by the pro-Egyptian Unionist Party, the first all-Sudanese government assumed office. This initial victory is known as "Sudanization"- a process of replacing all foreigners in responsible governmental and military post with Sudanese. After agreements by Great Britain and Egypt to withdraw their troops from Sudan and dissolve the condominium (dual ruling government), the Sudanese government went on and declared Sudan an independent state; forming the Republic of Sudan on January 1, 1956,

which was recognized by both Egypt and Great Britain as a new nation (Internet resource #4, #6 & #12).

Initial Separation of Northern and Southern Sudan

Following the conquests of the Turko-Egyptians, preceded by the Mahdi, then the British, little was accomplished toward the integration of Northern and Southern Sudan. The north adapted the Arabic and Islamic culture of Egypt, but the south remained inhibited by a mixture of tribes. As the north unified over time, the south continued their fight against the invaders and resisted cultural assimilation. This, according to Sarkesian (1973), not only led to the policy that treated the north and south as separate entities, but also their language, religion, economics, and politics emerged in different ways. Over time this separateness evolved into distrust and suspicion between Northerners and Southerners, whereby the north viewed the south as a forbidding land occupied by savages, and the Southerners viewed the Northerners as Arab exploiters, and slavers, intend on complete suppression of the south into an Islamic state (Journal resource #2).

This separation was furthered by the condominium of Anglo-Egypt. The first two decades of British rule were very accommodating adapting to existing regional characteristics, making no major effort to change them. As in other British colonial territories, British imperial ruled followed the familiar pattern of maintaining the status quo to avoid sociopolitical unrest along with rising expectations. Although southern Sudan was a part of the condominium, the colonial administration ignored the South entirely because it was thought to be remote and poor (Journal resource #4). The British, who practically dominated the condominium, viewed the south as “an untamed frontier,” focusing initially on establishing law and order to the region. The British, focused on the cultural differences between the regions, viewed the southern

provinces as part of “Black Africa” and therefore, separate from the north (Journal resource #2). So much so that, “many British administrators worked to have the south administered as part of Uganda or even possibly Kenya” (Colins, 1962: 62).

The Muslims in the north were governed as a separate and more advanced cultural society, and their fellow (but distinct) countrymen in the south remained completely separated and isolated. The British went on to clarify a policy in 1930, separating the two regions, by barring virtually all northern Sudanese from entering or working in the south (Journal resource #4). The exclusionary policy and separateness pursued by the British made it difficult for northerners to develop any realistic sense and understanding of their southern brothers.

Consequently, the south was deprived of any meaningful advantage it could have gained from the economic progress and institution-building going on in the north. Little changed in this policy and practice until after World War II, but by then, the British had established the groundwork for two ‘separate’ regions (Journal resource #2).

First Civil War -The Anya Nya Resistance Movement

Following a period of relative peace between the north and south, an army mutiny of southern troops against northern officers broke out in 1955 (Journal resource #6). Fearing reprisal at the hands of northern soldiers, many mutineers and civilians disappeared into the bush; the events that followed led to the birth of the Southern Liberation Movement in Sudan (Journal resource #4)..

Also, after independence, many southern members of parliament along with politicians, educated southerners, and a number of prominent citizens, fearing persecution, and increased political arrests at the hands of the newly elected government, fled the country (Journal resource #2).

It was in early 1962 when some of these previously exiled organizations of southerners returned to form the Sudan African National Union (SANU). A year later, the Anya Nya (meaning poisonous insect), a military group with ties to the southern resistance movement, was organized. This was particularly important because it “signaled the frustrations and dissatisfaction of peaceful attempts at resistance against the Arab North” (Sarkesian, 1973:13).

The activities of the Anya Nya followed that of a revolutionary guerrilla warfare pattern, meaning they operated effectively in the countryside in the south, while limiting the Sudanese army and administrators to the larger villages and towns (Journal resource #2).

The Anya Nya at this stage didn't represent a mass movement or a cohesive political or military effort. “For over ten years after the 1955 mutiny, it consisted of scattered local resistance bands; and even after the proclamation of the Anya Nya in 1963 and the extension of insurrection in the late 1960s, there was still little unity or organization” (Howell, 1978: 425). They “didn't develop into a politically organized movement under a disciplined military leader”, until 1969, “when Joseph Lagu began to assert his claims (Howell, 1978: 425). Even then, there existed sectional rivalries which dominated the movement and inhibited its military effectiveness and political credibility (Journal resource #3).

For the most part, the Anya Nya, foot-bound, poorly-trained, undisciplined and often poorly armed, recruited young men to its movement and brought villages under its authority. “The early fighters tended to be ex-prisoners released after imprisonment following the Southern Mutiny..., and ex-government employees and students hostile to the increasingly brutal activities of successive northern-dominated government” (Woodward, 1981: 382). The Anya Nya used whatever material support available from depleted villages and homesteads in the south. While the Anya Nya didn't control most of the south, they had a degree of popular support and armed

strength, giving it a relatively permanent force which could legitimately claim to represent the interest of southerners and gain the recognition of the Sudanese government as a negotiating equal (Journal resource #3).

Generally speaking, the Anya Nya military operation represented four main phases:

1. The period of organization, starting with the 1955 mutiny and extending through 1963, when various numbers of organized bands were loosely organized into the Anya Nya.
2. The “Simba” revolt in the Congo, when the Anya Nya, after ambushing some of the convoys moving to the Congo, gathered a number of modern weaponry from a spillover of the Congo rebellion. This enabled the Anya Nya to initiate more active military operations against the Sudanese Army forces.
3. The period from 1965 to 1970, described as the period of greatest military and organizational activity, leading up to a unified political and military structure in 1970.
4. The negotiation and consolidation period, culminating with the Addis Ababa Agreement (granted the South a measure of self-rule) in 1972 between General Gaafur Nimeiry’s military regime, which seized power in 1969, and the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (Journal resource #2). The movement of Anya Nya was appropriately summarized by Howell when he said, “The Anya Nya strugglewas a fundamental struggle putting an indigenous African culture against alien invading forces – Arabization and imperialism” (Howell, 1978: 429).

Second Civil War-The Sudanese People Liberation Army/Movement

In light of the years of mistrust, missed opportunities to create a unified Sudan, and separateness between the north and south, the Addis Ababa Agreement was at least a beginning step. But, this agreement was short lived. Two main factors led to the second civil war in 1983:

1. Nimeiry divided the south into three separate regions, thus effectively annulling the agreement that ended the first civil war (Journal resource #6).
2. Following years of economic struggle under Nimeiry's rule, his credibility as a leader came under attack by groups like the Muslim Brotherhood movement, led by Hassan al-Turabi. Nimeiry, seeing his support base dwindling, suspended the southern self-rule agreement (Addis Ababa Agreement) and in 1983, unilaterally imposed strict Islamic law (Sharia)--"theft, adultery, murder and related offences would hence forth be judged according to the Koran, and alcohol and gambling were both prohibited; non-Moslems, however, would be exempt from Koranic penalties except when convicted of murder or theft" (Internet resource #4), as a way to appease the Muslim Brotherhood (Internet resource #12).

Southerners resisted the dominance of the north, but imposing Islamic law on the entire country further inflamed the political instability in the south which renewed fighting by the largely Christian and animist Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) led by Joseph Garang. Unlike Lagu's Anya Nya who called for an independent south, Garang's SPLA/M wanted the south to "have a greater share of the national wealth and development funds, more representation in parliament, a certain degree of autonomy and more legislative power" (Internet resource #12 and Journal #6). This horrible war, which has killed at least two million people and displaced another five million, finally came to an end in January, 2005 when

Joseph Garang and President Omar al-Bashir signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Internet resource #12).

Highlights of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement

- * Oil revenues will be shared on a 50-50 basis
- * Civil service jobs will be split 70-30 in favor of the government
- * A 39,000-strong army comprising troops from both sides will be formed
- * The south will be autonomous for six years after which there will be a referendum on whether it wants to remain within the union or go its own way
- * Sharia law will remain in force only in the north; the south is also demanding that Khartoum should not be subject to Sharia law even though it is practiced in the north
- * John Garang to be vice-president responsible for the south
- * The status of three disputed territories -- Abyei, Blue Nile and Nuba mountains - to be discussed and resolved in due course (Internet resource #12).
- * Under the new constitution signed in 2005, the current ruling party will control 52% of the government and parliament, and John Garang's SPLA/M will control 28%, with the remaining 20% being controlled by northern and southern opposition parties (Internet resource #18).

Omar al-Bashir, current president and leader of the National Islamic Front who took power in a military coup in 1989 (Journal resource #6).



Photo from Internet resource #11

Dr. Joseph Garang (1945-2005), a Christian Dinka from the South and leader of the SPLA/M. Trained at Ft. Bennin military school in Georgia, U.S.A. Got a Ph.D. in Economics from Iowa State University (Journal resource #6).



Salva Kiir Mayardit, following the death of first vice president Joseph Garang, Mr. Kiir was nominated his successor. He is the former deputy leader of the SPLM (Internet resource #19).

Genocide as a Social Problem

Through the use of sociology/social science we can look beyond the brutal acts and dehumanizing nature surrounding this social problem to better understand and explain why genocide occurs and its role in society. Reasons social scientists study genocide are to:

- Determine the extent of the problem in society
- Determine ways to intervene in future genocide
- Evaluate likely consequences of social policies
- Measure subjective concerns or attitudes toward genocide

Genocide is a social problem that we all should be concern about. Since the Holocaust and “never again”, it has continued to take place. The extent of its actions affects not only the immediate individual or society; it has a prolonged, often negative effect on a nation. When studying genocide, we can also look at the psychological effect it has on the social structure of society. Though they may have survived the genocidal period, many men, women and children are left psychologically scared and emotional defeated. It also affects the perpetrators’ and victims’ ability to trust and carry on daily life tasks. Many suffer mental problems that take years to treat (if treatment is provided).

Organizations like the United Nations (U.N.) and other governmental agencies have taken steps to intervene or prevent future genocides. But, as evident by the recent incidents in Darfur, Sudan, there is more work to be done. Many times, due to international laws and the fact that countries are sovereign nations, the U.N. and other Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) cannot intervene in conflicts if all conflicting sides do not agree on intervention. Nevertheless, through the drafting of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of genocide in 1948, these organizations have helped increased the awareness of genocidal acts

worldwide (Internet resource #13). Many in the international community view genocide as wrong, but are often either powerless to do anything to stop it, or knowingly choose not to intervene (i.e. Rwanda and Darfur). With the continued help of governments, NGOs, non-profit organizations, and private organizations, and scholarly studies [Gregory Stanton's Eight Stages of Genocide], the knowledge of how to spot, intervene, and prevent future genocides will become more successful. Please visit: <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocidetable.html> for a detailed table of past, on-going and current genocides and politicides.

Origin & Definition of Terms

The word genocide derives from the ancient Greek word *genos* (race, clan) and the Latin suffix *cide* (killing) (Internet resource #13). Genocide is defined as the systematic and planned extermination of an entire national, racial, political, or ethnical group (Other resources 2). By international law, according to the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, genocide is defined in Article II to mean any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as:

- (a) Killing members of the group
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group

The discipline of genocide also includes several term, namely: *gencide*—the killing of men first and then dealing with women and children as the perpetrator sees fit. Men are perceived as fighters and defenders. This was true in Armenia, the Holocaust, Bosnia, East

Timor, and in Rwanda and now in Darfur. *Politicide*—the destruction of a political entity (Feinstein, 2005).

The Darfur Genocide-After “Never Again”

This curriculum is been written in August 2005 and reflect developments at the present time. I hope to update its developments as in the future. It was in 1948, when the international community drafted the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of genocide and pledged “never again” should such evil strike humanity. Years later, the pledge proved empty; numerous genocides has followed, including six cases in the 20th century: “the mass killings of Armenians by Turks in 1915, of Jew (and other groups such as Gypsies) by Hitler, of Cambodians by the Khmer Rouge, of the Kurds of North Iraq by Saddam Hussein, of the Croats, Muslims, and the Albanians of Kosovo by the Serbs, and of Tutsi by Hutu in Rwanda” (Mohan, 2002:157). Most recently, the 21th century has seen its first (and hopefully last) genocide in the ethnic cleansing of non-Arab Black African groups in Darfur, Western Sudan by pro-government Arab militias known as Janjaweed, and (arguably) the government itself; which has been described as ‘genocide’ by the U.S. House of Representatives in a resolution on Sudan (Internet resource #15).

Background of the Darfur Conflict

Described as the world’s worst humanitarian crisis by the U.N., the two-year (and counting) conflict in Darfur is said to have driven some two million people from their homes and left approximately 180,000 dead. It was in early 2003 that a rebel group began attacking government targets, claiming neglect at the hands of the Khartoum government. Darfur (meaning land of the Fur) is occupied by grazing, mostly nomadic Arabs and farmers from the Fur, Massaleet, and Zagaqa communities; who have accused the government of oppressing black

Africans of the region in favor of Arabs. The two main rebel groups making the accusation are the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA), led by Abdelwahid Mohamed el Nur, and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), led by Khalil Ibrahim (Internet resource #17).

For their part, the government has admitted to mobilizing what it called “self-defense militias” after rebel attacks, but continues to deny any links to the Janjaweed—accused of trying to cleanse large territories of black Africans. The government denies being in control of the Janjaweed and President Bashir has even called them “thieves and gangsters” (Internet resource #17). The government is accused of using aircrafts to conduct air raids, and then allowing the Janjaweed (on horses and camels) to ride into villages to slaughter the men (gendercide), steal valuables and rape the women (Internet resource #17). Sexual violence and the use of rape are used many times during conflicts as another form of weapons. As in Rwanda, where militiamen and other perpetrators of rape and other physical violence were said to have raped between 250,000 and 500,000 women and girls (Other resource #3); many Sudanese women have reported being abducted and held as sex slaves by the Janjaweed for more than a week before being released.

The conflict has caused millions to flee their destroyed villages for refuge in camps near Darfur’s main towns, causing food, water, and medicine shortages. Even so, many civilians do not feel safe. Darfurians report that men are killed and women are raped if they venture too far from the camp at the hands of the Janjaweed who patrol outside the camps (Internet resource #17). Another 200,000 Darfurians have fled to Chad, creating similar situations of food, water, medicine shortages. The U.N. has warn that approximately four million people may be affected by food shortages over the next 18 month; and many thousands are at risk of starvation and

disease, including one million children threatened by malnutrition (especially during the raining season), warn aid workers (Internet resource #17).

International Community's Response

During the early months of the conflict, the international community did not intervene. It wasn't until human rights groups, along with the US Congress and former Secretary of State Colin Powell said that genocide is taking place in Darfur that many begin to take notice of the dire situation. Even so, a U.N. team sent to investigate said that "though war crimes had been committed, there was no intent to commit genocide" (Internet resource #17). Following the threat of sanctions and pressure from the international community, the Sudanese government did promise to disarm the Janjaweed, but there is little evidence to this promise. The government deployed thousands of policemen to protect the refugees, but the faith of the refugees in the Sudanese security is little or non-existent (Internet resource #17).

Recent Developments

In April 2004, a ceasefire was signed between the government and the two rebel groups, but this has not been successful. Nevertheless, barring further disputes, the two warring sides, the SLA and JEM, agreed to a peace deal with the Khartoum government in 2005. In it, both sides agreed to free prisoners and utilize dialogue to resolve future disputes (Internet resource # 20).

Conclusion

After so many years of hatred and despair in our country, we must take Dr. King's advice and learn to live together as brothers and sisters. The people of Sudan have suffered long enough. Years of armed conflicts and suffering did little to amend our hatred toward our fellow countrymen; now that the peace agreement has been signed, Sudanese can embrace a new

approach to overcoming their disagreements. We, the new generation of Sudanese born abroad, look forward to the day when we can return to the beloved homeland of our fathers, the day when, like the mighty Nile, peace will flow from the north to the south, and shine brightly from the pinnacle of the Nuba Mountains to the land of Darfur. We look forward to a unified and economically prosperous Sudan; but most of all, we look forward to a Sudan John Garang and countless others envisioned and fought for for twenty plus years.

Final Assessment

1. Where in the world is Sudan located?
2. Sudan is the _____ country in Africa?
3. Who is the current president of Sudan?
4. _____ is the leader of the SPLA/M?
5. Why is January 1, 1956 important in Sudan's history?
6. What year did the first civil war began between the north and south, and which rebel group was the north fighting against?
7. Where did the genocide take place?
8. What is the meaning of Sudan?
9. Briefly discuss the two main reasons that led to the beginning of the second civil war?
10. Name the nine countries bordering Sudan?
11. The capital of Sudan is _____?
12. Which neighboring country ruled Sudan during the Condominium period?
13. Name the two climatic seasons in Sudan?
14. Which river provides irrigation for much of the Sudan?
15. The inhabitants of Sudan can be divided into three major groups, what are they?
16. The following are some languages spoken in southern Sudan:
A) Ma'di B) Shilluk C) Moru D) Morokodo E) All of the listed F) A and C
17. What is the estimated population of the Sudan?
18. What is the meaning of SPLA/M?
19. How does the north view the war against the SPLA/M?

20. Name the group accused of carrying out ethnic cleansing in the Western region?
21. List the two groups accusing the government of neglecting black Arabs in the Western region?
22. Do you believe the international community handled the Darfur situation appropriately? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in a paragraph form.

Answer Key

<i>1</i>	<i>North Africa</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>Egypt</i>
2	Largest	13	Rainy and Dry seasons
3	Omar al-Bashir	14	
4	Joseph Garang	15	Northerners, Southerners and Westerners
5	Independence Day	16	E
6	1983, Anya Nya Movement	17	35 Million
7	Darfur	18	Sudanese People Liberation Army/Movement
8	Land of the Blacks	19	As a holy war against the unbelievers of the true faith
9	See page 18	20	The Janjaweed
10	Egypt, Libya, Chad, Central African Republic, Uganda, Eritrea, Congo, Ethiopia and Kenya	21	The Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)
11	Khartoum	22	Essay—Teachers' discretion

Group Discussion—Reaction to the Peace Agreement

- Divide students into small groups of two or three and assign each group a statement to discuss. What are their initial reactions? In what way can they sympathize with the testimonial? What are some lessons learned? Allow ten minutes of small group discussions; afterward, let each group present what they discussed to the class.

“I am an old man. We have been promised peace many times.”

“My wish now is to be able to visit the south of Sudan...I am sorry that as a Sudanese, I was never able to go down there.”

“I returned last year, after spending seven years in camps in northern Uganda.”

“It was a wonderful day when we were re-united with my family after 20 years...I want to be separated from the Arabs. I have suffered too much in their hands.”

“I am very happy to be back - although my husband did not manage to come with us. Rumbek is different from the time when I fled in 1994. When I left I saw war - now I see hunger. A baby was born in our hut the day we returned - we called him 'Tomorrow'.”

“All the Sudanese people are hoping that this peace will be signed. But personally, I think that we are not concerned. The negotiations only brought together the government and the SPLA. We have not been involved. This peace will not change anything in my life.”

“My wife and all my children but one died during the war. I spent 13 years on the border with Uganda. I had to come back because I was born here - I was homesick.”

“The war destroyed our people, our lives.”

“I think that peace will change our lives. It will stop all these killings.”

Source: (Internet resource #16)

Individual Essay (Choose one)

- Title the poem and justify why you choose that title in a one page essay
- Analyze and examine the poem and photo. Do you think the poem expresses your feelings as you examine the photo? Explain your reaction to the photo in a few short essays or in a poetry format?

Poem



Dear elder

May your tears flood our nation with peace.

May your generation's suffering arouse generation of greatness.

May your strength embody that of many lost.

May your cry echo the end of suffering and the beginning of prosperity.

May peace comfort you in its loving bosom.

Dear elder, dry your eyes.

References

Book Resources

1. Colin, Robert O. 1962. *The Southern Sudan, 1883-1898*. New Haven: Yale University Press
2. Colin, Robert O. and Tignor, Robert L. 1967. *Egypt and the Sudan*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.
3. Holt, P. M. 1961. *A Modern History of the Sudan*. New York: Grove Press, Inc.
4. Said, Beshir M. 1966. *The Sudan: Crossroad of Africa*. U.S.A.
5. State of world population -United Nations Population Fund. 2004. *The Cairo Consensus at ten: population, reproductive health and global effort to end poverty*. Annapolis, Maryland: Prographics, Inc.
6. Waller, James 1961-. 2002. *Becoming evil: how ordinary people commit genocide and mass killing*. Oxford University Press.

Journal Articles

1. Mohan, Brij. 2002. "The Age of Evil: Ambiguities of Hope." *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology* 39(2):153-168.
2. Sarkesian, Sam C. 1973. "The Southern Sudan: A Reassessment." *African Studies Review* 16(1): 1-22.
3. Howell, John. 1978. "Horn of Africa: Lessons from the Sudan Conflict." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 54(3): 421-436.
4. Boamah-Wiafe, Daniel. 1982. "Physiographic and Cultural Diversities in Modern Africa: the Case of the Republic of Sudan." *Journal of Black Studies* 13(1): 87-100.
5. Woodward, Peter. 1981. "Nationalism and Opposition in Sudan." *African Affairs* 80(320): 379-388.
6. Wenger, Martha. 1991. "Sudan: Politics and Society." *Middle East Report* 172:3-7.

Internet Resources

1. "Arming the Perpetrators of Grave Abuses in Darfur" retrieved from <http://www.amnestyusa.org/countries/sudan/document> on 2/11/2005.
2. Chronology "Timeline: Sudan-a Chronology of key events." Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/827425.stm on 5/31/2005.

3. Chronology and history information retrieved from <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/su.html> on 5/24/2005.
4. Country's profile retrieved from <http://www.encyclopedia.com/html/S/Sudan.asp> on 6/11/05.
5. Country's profile retrieved from http://www.sudan101.com/sudan_info.htm on 5/31/05.
6. Country's history retrieved from <http://www.sudan-embassy.co.uk/infobook/history.php> on 6/1/05.
7. People profile retrieved from <http://www.sudan-embassy.co.uk/infobook/people.php> on 6/1/05.
8. Country's history retrieved from http://www.historychannel.com/thcsearch/thc_resourcedetail.do?encyc_id=223310 on 6/11/05.
9. News retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4160395.stm> on 5/29/05.
10. Pictures of refugees in the town of Kakuma, Northern Kenya. Retrieved from <http://www.photomedia.no/gtb/kenya.html> on 6/6/2005.
11. Index of famous people in Sudan. Retrieved from <http://www.sudan.net/graphic/news/people> on 6/11/05.
12. Sudan Grassroots Activism Center. Retrieved from <http://www.sudanactivism.com/overview.html> on 4/3/05.
13. American Scholar, Volume 15, no. 2. 1946. "Genocide." Retrieved from <http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/americanscholar1946.html> on 3/10/05.
14. Genocide definition retrieved from <http://www.genocidewatch.org/whatisgenocide.htm> on 3/10/05.
15. US House Calls Darfur 'genocide.' Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3918765.stm> on 6/14/05.
16. Peace Hopes: Views on the end of a generation of conflict. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/in_depth/africa/2004/sudan/default.stm# on 6/28/05.
17. Q&A: Sudan's Darfur Conflict. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3496731.stm> on 6/25/2005.
18. Sudan ex-rebel joins government. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4666701.stm> on 7/25/05.

19. Profile: Salva Kiir. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/Africa/4738295.stm> on 8/9/2005
20. Darfur's Reble Groups Reach Deal. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4695807.stm> on 8/9/2005.

Other Resources

1. Feinstein, Stephen. "Definition of Genocide and Variants." 2005.
2. The American Heritage College Dictionary, 1997.
3. Nduwimana, Françoise, 2004. Historian, consultant in Human Rights and International Development and member of The Coalition for Women's Human Rights in Conflict Situations.

Additional Resources to Examine

www.sudan.net

www.lostboysfilm.com

www.chgs.umn.edu

www.preventgenocide.org

www.genocideinterventionfund.org