

THE SUDANESE CIVIL WAR - THE EFFECT OF ARABISATION AND ISLAMISATION

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ABSTRACT:

SUDAN IS NOT AN ARAB ETHNIC EVEN IF THE ARAB CIVILIZATION IS FUNDAMENTAL IN THIS STATE, SUDANESE BEING CONSIDERED AFRICANS OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC ORIGINS. THE PROCESS OF ISLAMISATION OF EGYPT HAS IGNORED SUDAN, BEING RECORDED ONLY OCCASIONAL RAIDS IN THE SUDAN OVER MORE THAN THE TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM WHAT HAS ATTRACTED THE EMBLEM OF THE BORDER OF ISLAM (TURABI USES THE WORDS "FRONTIER ZONE ARABS"). THE TRANSFORMATION OF SUDAN IN A SPACE OF ARAB CIVILIZATION HAS NOT BEEN CARRIED OUT BY MILITARY CONQUEST BUT BY TRADE AND ARAB MISSIONARIES WHICH BANISH CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES, ARABISATION ESTABLISHED ITSELF THROUGH ISLAM (TWO THIRDS OF THE POPULATIONS) AND RABA LANGUAGE (HALF OF THE POPULATION).

THE PROSPECTS OF IRRECONCILABLE ISLAMIC ON THE STATE THE SUDANESE OF TABANI AND KUTJOK REFLECTS THE GRAVITY OF THE CONTRADICTIONS WHICH IT CONTAINS THE FOUNDATIONS OF THIS STATE. THE POPULATION IN THE SOUTH OF THE COUNTRY COULD ACCEPT A FEDERALIZATION, BUT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ISLAMIC POLICY IN THE NORTH WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED LOSS OF POWER; THE POLITICAL ELITE IN THE SOUTH OF THE COUNTRY STILL PRESSED FOR THE SECESSION.

FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE STATE UNITY, THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE ELITE OF THE NORTH AND THE MINORITY POPULATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA (NILE MINORITY DINKA, NUER MINORITY OF BAHR AL-GHAZAL, MINORITIES IN THE AREA OF THE UPPER NILE AND THE EQUATOR) IS POWERED BY THE UNFAIRNESS OF THE REDISTRIBUTION AND MONOPOLISE RESOURCES AFTER OBTAINING INDEPENDENCE. THE SITUATION BECOMES EVEN MORE COMPLICATED WITH THE DISCOVERY OF THE RESOURCES OF THE OIL IN THE SOUTH.

EXPORTS OF PETROLEUM WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL REVENUES AND LINES FOR THE TRANSPORT OF OIL ARE THE PRIORITY FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TARGETS FOR THE SPLA.

KEY WORDS: SUDAN, RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM, ISLAMIC RADICALISM, EAST AFRICA, GOVERNMENT, ISLAMIC LAW

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Sudan is a true kaleidoscope of ethnic, linguistic on a background of Arab culture and civilization specific black Africa; on the territory of this Member State more than a hundred languages are spoken, a stunning diversity.³ To achieve a cohesion of the area of a variety rarely encountered resorted to Islam as a factor of unification of the structure of the state and to a tendency of Islamisation within the meaning to create a nation.⁴

HISTORICAL REFERENCES

In the year 23 B.C., Nubia is invaded by the Romans, under the leadership of the emperor Gaius Petronius and large part of the country is annexed to the Roman Empire under the name of Dodecashaenus.

In the year 350 D.C., the United Christian Aksum of Ethiopia is formed, resulting from the conversion of the majority of the population to Christianity, because in the late sixth century D.C. to form the other three kingdoms Christian faith. The most powerful of these is Mqura, which has the capital in Dongola, and which continues its existence until the beginning of the 14th century, the period which is destroyed by an invasion of Egyptians Mamluks.

Starting with the XVI century it is noticed a significant increase in the Ottoman influence in the area, which leads to an increasingly stronger affirmation of the Islamic religion in these territories. Almost at the same time, the population of Black Muslim, known as and Fung or Funj, develops its own identity in the form of a sultanate with its capital at Sannar. This city becomes, subsequently, one of the largest Islamic cultural centres from that period, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Funj's power drops dramatically. Internal disputes between the main leaders make this sultanate easy prey for Egyptians invaders, who are also a province of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1820, after the invasion of the Turkish-Egyptian Sudan becomes although late, part of the Islamic world fever, with Sufi predominance specifics and connections of religion with politics.

Support by the British administration of the orientation of the Islamic orthodox and Mahdism suppression (Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi - Ansar) and Sufi orders Sayyid 'Ali al-Mirghani - Khatmiyya Sufi has created the fight for a sectarian nationalism Sudanese; politically, the Mahdism cult is represented by the Umma Party while the Khatmiyya Sufi tariqas the Unionist Party. While the Muslim Brotherhood does not have a major political influence, the Sudanese communists in the absence of a secular party develop an Islamic conception covering the sectarian parties through a policy of national reconciliation.⁵

Islam has been introduced in Sudan by several religious orders, each with their own interpretations and dogmas, being able to talk about different sects (tariqa), the Muslim Brotherhood corresponding the schools of Muslim thinking. Each Muslim cult has its own structure, leader, space and after independence from Anglo-Egyptian condominium it has its own political party. The multitude of sects and the differences between them do not permit to speak of a Muslim community; over time, the differences between these sects have generated conflicts,

³ The study is built on the skeleton of the material on Sudan from Paul Duta and others, *South - an economic target?* Sibiu: Media Techno, 2009, pp. 258-277.

⁴ Viorst Milton, "War; he; Problems; Political systems; Political power; Minority & ethnic groups; Culture; Islam; Government," *Foreign Affairs*, 74/3, 1995, pp. 14-28.

⁵ Condominium Anglo-Egyptian (1898-1956) removes Mahdista leadership (1885-1898), the period in which the Islamic orders shall make connections with political parties. See Simon Rachel, "Politics and Islam in Contemporary Sudan," *Domes*, 7/4, 1998, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, pp. 32-39.

fighting against each other allowing the British and Egyptians to successfully apply the adage “divide at impera.”⁶

In 1882, Egypt wins a big victory and becomes independent of the Ottoman tutelage and Nubia once again becomes an Egyptian Province, known under the name of the Egyptian Sudan. The Egypt's domination over Sudan has lasted for more than half a century.

In 1885, the movement of the Mahdista which started in 1880 conquer Khartoum,⁷ which has meant a total victory against the Egyptian army. After 60 years Egyptian occupation of the Sudan, Mahdi removes the colonial administration primarily interested in the trade with slaves, in their great majority Muslims to be sold in the Arab world (despite the fact that it criticised by not banned by the Koran); Sudanese historical memory keeps memories about the horrors of slavery practice against this populations).⁸

The Administration of the British colonial divides the Sudan into three provinces into an integrating vision aiming to enclose their colonies in East Africa,⁹ substituting the Arabs official with Black official and forbidding access to the south to the Northern population, promoting Christianity and revitalising African tribal culture.

The Mahdist Revolution against the British and the Egyptians (1885-1898) gives the start of birth of Sudanese national conscience and influence of the Muslim Brotherhood - what appears in Egypt (1920) toward a membership to the local Muslim community supported by the Muslim Brotherhood of the Sudan (1940), best represented by the creation of a political party which wins the elections (1960).¹⁰

In 1899, the Egyptian and British Governments signed an agreement that prefigures the common rule in the Sudan.¹¹ Application of a radical Islamism in both the leadership of the state and asocial life, especially because the penetration of Islam in this Member State it is done after the Islam had several Member African states in the north and Western Europe, as a result of the British colonial leadership (1898-1956) and of the nature of the post-independence political forces.¹²

In 1953, the two governments signed an agreement which allows for a transitional period of three years for achieving independence of the Sudan. Thus, at the end of the same year, the first elections are held and the first wholly Sudanese Government is installed in 1954, thus giving birth of the Republic of Sudan.

⁶ Daly Martin W. and Peter M. Holt, *History of the Sudan: From the Coming Islam to the present day*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1971.

⁷ A military leader local, Mohammed Ahmad (1844-1885), figure Muslim traditional chosen by Allah to lead “Jihad” for the defense of Islam, and clean the whole world of devil, meet the forces of resistance under the name of Alkaleefa Abdulahi At-Taataishi and proclaim the Mahdi.

⁸ Hodgkin lymphomas Thomas, “Mahdisme, messianisme et marxisme dance them africaine contexts,” *Presence Africaine*, Vol. 22. No. 1, 1969, pp. 128-153.

⁹ Closed door policy.

¹⁰ Thomas Hodgkin lymphomas, *op. cit.*, p.151-153; Susan Wolf, *The Muslim Brotherhood in the Sudan*, Hamburg: Unveroeffentlichte Magisterarbeit, Hamburg Universitat streets, 1990, pp.7-10; Roland Marchal, “Soudan verse une recomposition du champ politique,” *Revue provides its du Monde Muslim et from Fiorita*, No. 81-82, 1998, pp. 109.

¹¹ In 2 September 1898, 's forces Kitchener shall obtain a crashing victory in the battle of Karari-Omdurman. This battle is the end of an era in the history of the Sudan and the beginning of another us. Member Mahdist is upside down and starts was “possession policy.” “Agreement Anglo-Egyptian of tenure Common” finds the British control on the Sudan which is maintained until in 1950, despite the increasing demands of the goddess on its withdrawal from the area. These claims are supplied by some political groups which favors the attempt to give the Sudanese people the chance to govern themselves. Roland Marchal, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹² Sidahmed Abdel Salami, *Politics and Islam in Contemporary Sudan*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996, pp. 12-19.

Since 1956, the composition of the extremely black-ethnic from the point of view of the ethnic and the many sources of conflict in the framework of the Sudanese society due to the mixture of Arab and Muslims, of African custom and Christian communities, especially in the south, are heavily tested by a brutal process of Arabisation and Islamisation.¹³ During the beginning period of the decolonisation, the North imposes the Arabic language as the official language and appoint officials Arabs in the administration of the south, the population in the south observes that the British colonial Administration is replaced by the Arabic tyranny and it becomes active vector of insurgent groups which is quickly transforms into the germs of civil war.

In 1958, a coup led by General Ibrahim Abboud, overturns the Government; at the same time, it is dissolved the parliament and declared martial law. General Ibrahim Abboud self-proclaims Prime Minister. In the first years of independence, the southern rebellion lead to the fall of the Sudanese Parliament; between 1958 (the military intervention in the south of General Ibrahim Abbud) - 1964 (Revolution in October), Sudan functioned without political and constitutional institutions.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the governments of the fundamentalist Islamic, pursued a campaign to ethnic and religious in the southern provinces in an attempt to eliminate the opposing African and Christian groups, which blocked access to the oil resources.

In 1964, the unsuccessful search for a political solution for to the problem of the south has created the conditions for a new military coup led by Jafar Numairi followed by a strict military regime and from secularism toward socialism which has led to an even more pronounced Islam (1969-1985).

In 1965, the declaration of independence is accompanied by strong social unrest in the southern Sudan.

In 1969, immediately after the coup of colonel Jaafar Nimeiry are negotiated an Agreement with the South on autonomy by which is carried out for a period of time a time of peace. The discovery of the petroleum resources in the south has reborn the conflict between the north and south. The perspective that overlays the North – South Sudanese conflict on relation Islam-Christianity can and must be filtered through the operation of the federal system surrounding the administrative or not religious tolerance of Islamic traditions.¹⁴ In the perspective of the south, the administration ordered by Khartoum promotes Islamisation and Arabisation forced;¹⁵ Colonel Jafaar Mohammed al-Nimeiry reinstates a Government under the leadership of the Revolutionary Council.

In 1972, Nimeiry is the first elected president of Sudan and as a president the "Agreement Addis Ababa" is signed in an attempt to put an end to the conflict between the north and south of the country. The civil war also known under the name of "war Anyanya" is mediated Ethiopia, following a decade of autonomy for the southern region, autonomy denied in 1983 by Khartoum

¹³ See Hassan al-Turabi, "Principles of Governance, Freedom and Responsibility in Islam," *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1987, p. 3.

¹⁴ "The charge of forcible Islamization is smear propaganda," Ghazi Salahuddin al-Atabani, who is Turabi terminologist's man in the presidential palace. "Our government's constitutional decrees treat all citizens equally, without reference to religion, color, or ethnicity. Sharia is a source of our legislation because the majority Muslim population perceives it to be absolutely necessary. But certain Sharia provisions are not applicable in non-Muslim areas, and we have also included 'custom' as another source of legislation to cater to non-Muslim legal precepts."

¹⁵ "The government is working for the Islamization and Arabization of the entire country," said Ezekiel Kutjok, president of the Sudan Council of Churches, which criticizes what Kutjok calls the government's calculated anti-Christian policies.

under the pretext that the peace treaty has not been written in the language of the Koran and therefore is not valid.

In 1980, the Nimeiry regime appointed Turabi as attorney general even if previously they held him for seven years under the detention; in September 1983, Nimeiry embraces the radical Islamism, giving up to his previous policy of tolerance, imposing Sharia law.

In 1983, Nimeiry is re-elected for the third time in the presidential seat. By declaring Sharia as the fundamental law of Sudan and Islamisation of the State's basic institutions, Jafar Numeiry obliges South to react by reactivation of civil war after, once hostilities has ceased in 1972, due to failure of the promise that the Sudan to become a secular and democratic State.

In 1985, Hasan al-Turabi as Attorney General imposes the Muslim penalties for non-Muslims in the south. The leader of the reform movement of the Republican Brothers, Mahmoud Muhammad Taha is declared apostate and hanged, declaring intifada. As a result of social disorder, the Interim Military leader Suwar al-Dahab promises to return to civil law in a period not exceeding one year. However, the economic policy is ineffective for the recovery of Jafar Numeiry country resulting to overthrow form from power through a bloody coup. The Post-Numeiry period recorded an increase in the Islamism, the involvement of the Islamic organisations on all the bearings of the political life and social rights.¹⁶

In 1986, after a year of transition are organized elections.¹⁷ The democratic elections carried out strongly contested are won by the Umma party and the Sadiq al-Mahdi becomes Prime Minister. It fails to put an end to the civil war, relying of the irregular Arab militias ordering them along the border with the South.¹⁸

The period up to 1989, is characterized by two major challenges: modernisation secularisation against the Islamic traditional forces declared anti-reform.¹⁹ The option between these two challenges require: leadership by a minority in the absence of democratic standards will antagonise the traditional Muslim Brotherhood. The solution will be to create a "National Congress" for the birth of the modern Islamic society, including by attracting Christians from the south.²⁰

On 30 June 1989, takes place the third coup led by Umar Hasan al-Bashir, the government being led by Hasan al-Turabi with a NIF program, the press being strongly censored, the opponents being imprisoned in "ghost house" and public meetings prohibited. It creates a front of opposition - National Democratic Alliance.²¹

The Sudanese political scene further evolves from the regime of a member militarized towards a form of fascism, with accusations against Western anti-Islamism and against the political solution by applying the right to self-determination.²²

¹⁶ Brunot Patrick, "Sudanaise menace," *National Defense*, Vol. 55, No. 2, 1998, p. 120.

¹⁷ Problems begin for the new republic of almost immediately in the form of the conflict between the north and south. The insulation of some people as compared to the others, careful imposed by the rules of the British domination, cultural differences exacerbated between these two regions, lead to an escalation of the conflict, the outburst of civil war becoming imminent. <http://hrv.org/rabic.orgs>.

¹⁸ Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA, the armed wing of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, SPLM).

¹⁹ Hassan al-Turabi, "The Awakening Islamic's New Wave," *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Summer 1993, pp. 42-45; John O. Voll, "Fundamentalism in the Arab Adherents World: Egypt and the Sudan," in *The contemporary Islamic Revival, A Critical Survey and Bibliography*, ed. John L. Esposito, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991, p. 390.

²⁰ Hassan al-Turabi, "Principles of Governance, Freedom and Responsibility in Islam," *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1987, p. 3.

²¹ Establishes its head in Asmara, Eritrea in the former head office of the embassy of the Sudanese.

²² Millard Burt and Robert Collins, *Requiem for the Sudan: War, the disaster, and disaster relief on the Nile*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1995, pp. 5-13.

The power takeover by the National Islamic Front by *coup d'etat* means is materializes through a military regime, ruled by General Ahmed Hassan al-Beshir, continuing the South policy of sewage under the pretext of the holy war against groups of the other ethnic or religion.²³ The power increase of the Islamists, in fact it can be explained by their pragmatism, culminate with the coup in 1989 for the declared intention to transpose into reality their utopia – Islamisation. In a common comparison Iraq-Sudan, Sudan enjoys an appreciation of the more favourably in comparison with the brutality in Iraq; but, immediately after the coup in 1989, NIF proponent its supporters in key posts of the state by promoting a doctrine of generalized and forced.

Sudan is declared Islamic state; in the following years, start a new war between the Islamic north and the Christian animist south. It begins a process of international isolation of Sudan, because it appear a reaction of suspicion from the West considering radical Islamism as a repressive ideology and anti-democratic. On the other hand, Egypt is interested to have their say on the Upper Nile region, Libya did not want a new independent actor that would encroach on the regional supremacy and the control of petroleum resources in the North-East area (disputed with Egypt) and in South Africa (dead-line of armed conflicts).²⁴

The Omar al-Bashir regime is installed through the *coup d'etat* in 1989 follows by measures taken a homogenization of a population with greater ethnic diversity among the African States towards the Arabisation amid a Ismailism went to the extreme.²⁵ After a decade of forced Islamisation and despotic leadership, even the allies of the central Sudan turn against the Government, the state entering into a bloody civil war.²⁶ The period of 90's has recorded unprecedented crises but also political opportunities to turn the Sudanese state.

In April 1990, a *coup d'etat* has failed results in the execution of 28 army officers, seizure of the properties of the opposition Sufi also arrest the union leaders, the prohibition of student demonstration.²⁷

In 1995, the traditional opposition elite from the south through the SPLM is the “New Sudan Brigade” with the support of ethnic minorities in the Nuba Mountains, the west of the province of Kordofan and Darfur, the provinces of Blue Nile and Eastern Sudan; Sudanese Alliance Forces (SAF)²⁸ based in Eritrea conquer the territory of eastern Sudan.

Starting with 1997, attacks by guerrilla forces²⁹ threatens the government in Khartoum forced to opt for a confederation (Turabi) or the continuation of the war (Bashir).

In December 1999, Omar al-Bashir, the president of the Sudan claims a palace coup among other things imposing Hassan al-Turabi, the parliament speaker, an event perceived favourable given the previous less pro-Islamic policies of the two political actors. The Bashir-Turabi regime

²³ For winning this “internal jihad” which followed the creation of an Islamic state model for the rest of Africa, the Government in Khartoum calls to different means of terrorize of population non-Muslim, ranging from the deportations in the areas of Northern Ireland and its transformation in the slaves “modern” to “challenge controlled the Famine Times,” more precisely the destruction of the water sources and food. Purges continue, and in 1998 a record figure of 200,000 dead. Raul Marian, “Măcelul din Sudan – Bosnia Africii,” in *Cadran politic*, 2015, p. 3.

²⁴ Bellucci Stefano, *Islam and democracy: The 1999 Palace a “coup in Sudan”*, Middle East Policy, Middle East Policy Council, Washington 7/3, 2000, pp. 168-175.

²⁵ Gresh Alan, “The Free officers and the Comrades: the Sudanese Communist-era party and Nimeiry do to Face,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1989, pp. 393-409.

²⁶ Voll John O., “Fundamentalism in the Arab Adherents World: Egypt and the Sudan,” in *The contemporary Islamic Revival, A Critical Survey and Bibliography*, ed. John L. Esposito (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991), p. 390.

²⁷ Hassan al-Turabi, “The Awakening Islamic's New Wave,” *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Summer 1993, pp. 42-45.

²⁸ The Sudan Alliance Force - SAF.

²⁹ Southern People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), supported by Eritrea, the Christians in the south of the country, and rebels animists.

is accused of supporting terrorism (accusations of involvement in the bombing of the World Trade Centre - 1993, attacks against Mubarak - 1995, the support of Usama bin Laden), culminating in the bombing of by the USA has the factory in al-Shifa, north of Khartoum - 1998 (after the attacks against the US Embassies in Nairobi and Dar As-Salaam). Subsequently, the accusation of supporting terrorism deducted from the intensity.³⁰

In December 1999, Bashir after consultation with the Mubarak (Egypt) and Qadhafi (Libya) dissolved the Parliament and establish a militarized leadership and removes the Turabi.³¹

The conflict started and extended from the south, never Turabi or Nuneiry or never proclaimed any jihad on the Christina-animist south. The USA supports the Christians and animist in the south by supporting the formation of alliances with the neighbouring states of the Christina Sudan - Uganda, Kenya, Eritrea, while Great Britain and Israel ensure factions weapons from the south through Uganda and Kenya.³²

The military coup led by Bashir takes out Turabi from the spheres of power, the North-South conflict continues and the introduction of democratic reforms is postponed.

ISLAM AS A SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE

From an Arabic perspective, Sudan chooses to head towards fundamentalism via the option for Islam as a system of governance, even at the cost of a continuously civil war. Even if it is a national state it cannot speak of a nation in the case of this State, given the set of ethnic groups, the characteristics of the regions and the tribes, the differences between the north and south.³³

In an opinion, the use of the concept of “fundamentalism” is risky it resembled the acceptance of the form instead of concept; fundamental are the obligations of the Muslims: Faith, prayer, charity and pilgrimage. If these obligations are fundamental, their implementation is variable, variability generating the difference between the ideal religious ideologies. The religious ideal is apolitical and is the basis to return to correct faith; religious ideology are identified with the radical Islamism is the policy and aims to introduce of Islamic order through the instruments of power of the state.³⁴

The option for Islam as a form of the ruling party is Hassan al-Turabi the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in Sudan transformed into the Islamic National Front – NIF the political vector of edifying a Islamic state in Sudan.³⁵

³⁰ Fluehr-Lobban Carolyn and Richard Lobban, “The Sudan since 1989: National Islamic Front rule,” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 23/2, Pluto Journals, London, 2001, p. 8.

³¹ Patrick Brunot, “Sudanese menace,” *National Defense*, Vol. 55, No. 2, p. 120-123; Pastors Gianluca, “II Sudan in Search di Nuovi Equilibri,” *Internazionale Policy*, No. 1-2, January-April 1996, p. 20.

³² “The Clinton administration decided to bomb the Al-Shifa chemical plant ... [despite the fact that] ... There was insufficient evidence linking it to either Osama Bin Laden or the extending of chemical weapons. Under pressure from international protest and media inquiries, administration sources have substantially backpedaled on both claims ... The administration needed to make some kind of gesture in response to the embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania] ... [says Time a correspondent William Dowell]...they [the Clinton administration] were experimenting with cruise missiles as a low-risk way of dealing with these Gold members Member.” *Time Magazine*, October 27, 1999. See also, Bellucci Stefano, *Islam and democracy: The 1999 Palace a "coup in Sudan*, Middle East Policy, Middle East Policy Council, Washington 7/3, 2000, pp. 168-175.

³³ Martin W. Daly and Peter M. Holt, *History of the Sudan: From the Coming Islam to the present day*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971, pp. 22-27.

³⁴ Sidahmed Abdel Salami, *Politics and Islam in Contemporary Sudan*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996, p. 6.

³⁵ Abdelgadir E. Hamid, *Islam, With Sectarianism and the Muslim Brotherhood in modern Sudan*, London, School of Oriental and African Studies, The University of London, 1985, pp. 5-15.

The promotion of Islam less strictly according to Hassan al-Turabi perspective, normally that it caught the hardliners disapproval from both the Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood³⁶ but also from the perspective of strict compliance with the rules of the Islamic societies.³⁷

In addition to North – South dichotomy is proposed the criterion of religious ideology in structuring the Sudanese society. The Sudanese Islam as ideology includes various variants promoted by the leaders of the political parties: The Islamic al-Sadiq al-Mahdi (The Party Umma) is idealistic while Hasan al-Turabi (NIF/e.g. Ikhwan or Muslim Brotherhood) is realistic. On the secularism bearing is the Sudan Communist Party and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement.³⁸

The regime led by brigadier general Omer Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir promoted later to the rank of General Lieutenant, dissolve the parliament, political parties and suspend the Constitution.³⁹ The new government starts on the path to an Islamic member by starting an “Islamic experiment” for obtaining a national consensus, because it is considered that the State has no identity, any purpose.⁴⁰

In fact, it is establish a military dictatorship with strong repressive accents, even if the practice of the Islamic rules was less strict than in Egypt, more relaxed than in most Arab States. The leader of the Sudanese leader claims that priority is to maintain peace in the state; he considers that it is difficult to speak about peace,⁴¹ ignoring the reality that its Islamic policies are a serious obstacle for the process of peace.

Hassan Al-Turabi stated that he is against a dual system for Muslims and for non-Muslims but supports the regionalisation which provides non-Muslims their rights and the Muslims with the exercise of their religion.⁴²

³⁶ El Sheikh el-Hibr Youssef el-Daim, traditionalist who heads the Muslim Brothers, told me Turabi is mistaken in claiming the right to reinterpret the Islamic scriptures. “Sudan is not his for preserve to do what he likes about Islam.” Viorst, Milton, *op. cit.*, pp. 16.

³⁷ El Sheikh Muhammad Hashem el-Hadiya, leader of the strictly, Saudi-oriented Ansar Sunna sect, told me he objected to Turabi's heterodox online on democracy and the status of women, and particularly on the limits Turabi would impose on the powers of the ulama, the body of jurists and clerics who traditionally Islamic interpreter law. Viorst, Milton, *op. cit.*, pp. 18.

³⁸ Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement.

³⁹ Following period is characterized by the escalation of violence in the framework of a civil war between the government dominated by Muslim Arabs and majority tribes Africans, religion or Christian animists, war which lead to the loss of 1.5 million of human life and to the exodus of more than 4 million of refugees. Starting from the 90s, the conditions in the Sudan is deteriorating constantly. The war between the Popular Movement for the release of Sudan SPLM, led by John Garang and government troops continue. Hundreds and thousands of people are displaced, while many others face economic ruin and the threat starve. The Opposition North Sea under the umbrella of the National Alliance Democratic (NDA), which includes SPLM, rose up against the regime headed by al-Bashir and occupies the eastern territories of Sudan, as well as the springs of the Nile blue. War and the famine continue to affect the country, which makes between 1000 and 2000 people to sidle daily in groups led by international organizations.

⁴⁰ Turabi, “Sudan has no identity, no direction,” specifying that “we do not advocate a very strictly form of Islam.”

⁴¹ Colonel Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, the leader of the coup in 1989 and the head of state says that “Not all groups agree on how we have interpreting the Shari'a punishments, but we believe there is wide latitude. We have chosen a moderate way, like the Koran itself, and so the Shari'a punishments in the Sudan will be moderate.” Wolf Susan, *The Muslim Brotherhood in the Sudan*, Unveroeffentlichte Magisterarbeit, Universitat streets of Hamburg, 1990, pp.1-5.

⁴² “In other countries, nationalism might be the alternative to Islam. But the only nationalism that is available to us, if we want to assert indigenous values, originality, and independence of the West, is Islam. Islam is the only modernity. It is the only doctrine that can serve as the national doctrine of today.” See Sidahmed Abdel Salam, *Politics and Islam in Contemporary Sudan*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996, p. 6.

Sadiq al-Mahdi, one of the critics of Turabi orientation and head of the Umma, stresses that it is impossible to imagine the Sudanese political component without the Islamic challenge; this is the unification of Sudan but also the transition from tribal identity at the national level.

The prospects of irreconcilable Islamic on the state the Sudanese of Tabani and Kutjok reflects the gravity of the contradictions which it contains the foundations of this state. The population in the south of the country could accept a federalization, but the leadership of the Islamic policy in the north would not be accepted loss of power; the political elite in the south of the country still pressed for the secession; possibility hard accepted by the north especially as Muslims from the north refuse both secularism and secession amid a significant public outcry towards the political and religious concessions previously made with a view to ensuring peace within the State.⁴³

On the other hand, the South is not very pleased with the federalization under the conditions which talks about jihad in the North, the level of mutual trust being at very low after decades of violence and less favourable negotiations.

In the opinion of the many specialists Sudan is not an Arab ethnic even if the Arab civilization is fundamental in this State, Sudanese being considered Africans of different ethnic origins. The process of Islamisation of Egypt has ignored Sudan, being recorded only occasional raids in the Sudan over more than the turn of the millennium what has attracted the emblem of the border of Islam (Turabi uses the words "frontier zone Arabs"). The transformation of Sudan in a space of Arab civilization has not been carried out by military conquest but by trade and Arab missionaries which banish Christian influences, Arabisation established itself though Islam (two thirds of the populations) and raba language (half of the population).

Sufist Islam is strongly represented on the political bearing by two dynasties - Ansar and Khatmiyyah - having a significant influence on both the religious bearing and politically.

From the perspective of the state unity, the civil war between the elite of the north and the minority populations of South Africa (Nile minority Dinka, Nuer minority of Bahr al-Ghazal, minorities in the area of the Upper Nile and the Equator) is powered by the unfairness of the redistribution and monopolise resources after obtaining independence. The situation becomes even more complicated with the discovery of the resources of the oil in the south.

Exports of petroleum without substantial revenues and lines for the transport of oil are the priority for the government and the targets for the SPLA.

⁴³ Major coordinates of understanding of the company Sudanese: relationship Islam, society, policy; Islam and the Sudanese; the politicization of Islam, and policy Islamize; the Islamic tendency Islamize. Marchal Roland, "Soudan verse une recomposition du champ politique," *Revue provides its du Monde Muslim et from Fiorita* , No. 81-82, 1998, pp. 109.

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