

Sudan: Understanding the Dynamics of Terrorism and Conflict Management. A Multifaceted Approach

Abraham Ename MINKO

Abstract: The research proposal aims to comprehensively examine terrorism and conflict management dynamics in Sudan. It seeks to understand terrorism's root causes, its interplay with conflict dynamics, and the effectiveness of current management strategies. Employing historical analysis, socio-political inquiry, and economic assessment, the study will explore Sudan's historical context, identifying key turning points and socio-political dimensions such as governance challenges and identity politics. Additionally, the research will scrutinize terrorism's economic underpinnings, including illicit economies and external financing. It will evaluate terrorism's impact on peacebuilding efforts, offering insights into effective conflict management strategies. Expected outcomes include a nuanced understanding of terrorism's dynamics, actionable recommendations for policymakers, and contributions to peacebuilding efforts. By shedding light on these complexities, the study aims to aid in mitigating terrorism and fostering sustainable peace not only in Sudan but also globally.

Keywords: Terrorism, conflict management, Sudan, Africa, dynamics, multifaceted approach, governance, identity politics.

I. Introduction

Background and context of terrorism and conflict in Sudan

The background and context of terrorism and conflict in Sudan are deeply intertwined with the country's tumultuous history, marked by decades of internal strife, political instability, and ethnic divisions (Carolan, 2020). Sudan, located in Northeast Africa, has experienced

Abraham Ename MINKO

Faculty of Political Science and
International Relations, Istanbul University
E-mail: abrahamminko@gmail.com

Conflict Studies Quarterly
Issue 49, October 2024, pp. 19–40

DOI: 10.24193/cs49.2
Published First Online: October 04 / 2024

numerous conflicts, including the protracted civil war between the northern Arab-dominated government and southern rebels, which lasted for more than two decades until the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005. This conflict, fueled by issues of religion, ethnicity, and regional disparities, not only resulted in widespread devastation but also provided fertile ground for the emergence of various armed groups and militias, some of which have been labeled as terrorist organizations by the international community (Deng & Deng, 2016).

One notable example is the Sudanese government's support for extremist groups such as al-Qaeda in the 1990s and early 2000s, under the leadership of President Omar al-Bashir (Bessler, 2015). During this period, Sudan became a haven and operational base for Osama bin Laden and other jihadist elements, contributing to its reputation as a breeding ground for terrorism. While Sudan has since undergone political changes, including the ousting of al-Bashir in 2019, the legacy of its past support for terrorism continues to influence its security landscape (Gebrekidan, 2021).

Furthermore, Sudan's internal conflicts have been exacerbated by external factors, including regional power dynamics and transnational terrorism networks. The country's strategic location in the Horn of Africa, bordering countries such as Egypt, Ethiopia, and South Sudan, has made it vulnerable to regional rivalries and proxy conflicts (Grawert, 2013). For instance, the conflict in Sudan's Darfur region, which erupted in the early 2000s, drew in neighboring countries and rebel groups, leading to a complex web of alliances and antagonisms that fueled further violence and instability. The secession of South Sudan in 2011, following a referendum that saw overwhelming support for independence, added another layer of complexity to Sudan's security challenges (Ille, 2016). While the separation was intended to end decades of conflict between the predominantly Muslim north and the Christian and animist south, it also created new fault lines and power struggles within each country, contributing to ongoing violence and instability (Cohen, 2012).

The background and context of terrorism and conflict in Sudan are shaped by a combination of historical grievances, internal power struggles, external influences, and regional dynamics. Understanding this complex landscape is essential for devising effective strategies for addressing terrorism and promoting peace and stability in Sudan and the wider region.

Statement of the research problem

The statement of the research problem in investigating terrorism and conflict management in Sudan lies in the urgent need to comprehend the multifaceted nature of these challenges and to identify effective strategies for mitigating their impacts. Sudan has long been afflicted by internal conflicts, ethnic tensions, and the presence of various terrorist groups, creating a volatile environment that threatens regional stability and human security. The primary issue at hand is the persistence of terrorism amidst ongoing efforts to manage and resolve conflicts within the country.

One pressing aspect of the research problem is understanding the root causes and dynamics of terrorism in Sudan. Despite changes in leadership and shifts in geopolitical alliances, terrorist organizations continue to operate within Sudan's borders, posing a threat to both domestic and international security. Unraveling the complex interplay of factors driving terrorism—such as historical grievances, socio-economic disparities, and external influences—is crucial for devising targeted interventions to counter these threats effectively.

Another facet of the research problem is assessing the effectiveness of current conflict management strategies in addressing the nexus between terrorism and conflict in Sudan. While various peace agreements and initiatives have been implemented over the years, the persistence of violence and the resurgence of terrorist activities indicate that existing approaches may be inadequate or misaligned with the realities on the ground. Understanding the limitations and shortcomings of these strategies is essential for refining and recalibrating efforts to promote peace and stability in Sudan.

Furthermore, the research problem encompasses the challenge of balancing security imperatives with the protection of human rights and the rule of law in counterterrorism efforts. In the context of Sudan, where authoritarian governance and human rights abuses have been prevalent, there is a risk that counterterrorism measures may exacerbate social tensions, fuel grievances, and undermine prospects for long-term peace. Finding ways to address security concerns while upholding democratic principles and respecting fundamental rights poses a significant dilemma for policymakers and practitioners.

Overall, the research problem revolves around the need to develop a nuanced understanding of the interconnections between terrorism, conflict dynamics, and governance challenges in Sudan. By identifying key drivers, vulnerabilities, and potential leverage points, this research aims to contribute to more effective and sustainable approaches for managing conflicts, countering terrorism, and promoting peace in Sudan and beyond.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study on terrorism and conflict management in Sudan are multifaceted and aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex challenges facing the country. Firstly, the study seeks to analyze the root causes and dynamics of terrorism in Sudan. By examining historical narratives, socio-political structures, and economic factors, the objective is to uncover the underlying drivers that perpetuate terrorist activities within the country. For example, historical grievances stemming from marginalization and discrimination against certain ethnic groups have fueled resentment and provided fertile ground for extremist ideologies to take root.

Secondly, the study aims to assess the effectiveness of current conflict management strategies in addressing the nexus between terrorism and conflict in Sudan. This involves evaluating the impact of peace agreements, security measures, and international interventions on mitigating violence and promoting stability. For instance, the implementation of the

Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005 brought an end to the long-standing conflict between North and South Sudan but failed to address underlying grievances in other regions, contributing to continued instability.

Thirdly, the study endeavors to explore the socio-political factors contributing to terrorism and conflict in Sudan. This includes examining issues of governance, identity politics, and social inequalities that exacerbate tensions and create fertile ground for extremist groups to recruit and thrive. For example, the authoritarian rule of former President Omar al-Bashir, characterized by repression and marginalization of dissenting voices, fueled resentment and provided a breeding ground for radicalization.

Fourthly, the study aims to analyze the economic dimensions of terrorism in Sudan, including the role of illicit economies, resource competition, and external financing in sustaining terrorist activities. This involves examining how economic grievances and disparities contribute to the vulnerability of marginalized communities to recruitment by terrorist groups. For example, in regions like Darfur, competition over land and resources has fueled conflict and provided opportunities for extremist groups to exploit local grievances.

Finally, the study seeks to identify best practices and innovative approaches for mitigating terrorism and fostering sustainable peace in Sudan. By drawing on lessons learned from comparative case studies and international experiences, the objective is to provide actionable recommendations for policymakers, practitioners, and scholars working in the fields of peacebuilding and security. For instance, exploring successful community-based approaches to countering violent extremism in other conflict-affected regions may offer valuable insights for addressing similar challenges in Sudan.

II. Historical Context of Terrorism and Conflict in Sudan

Evolution of conflict dynamics

The evolution of conflict dynamics in Sudan is a complex narrative intertwined with the country's history of colonialism, ethnic diversity, and struggles for power and resources. One significant phase in this evolution is the legacy of British colonial rule, which imposed artificial boundaries and exacerbated existing ethnic and religious tensions (Jawondo, 2013). The divide-and-rule tactics employed by colonial administrators laid the groundwork for future conflicts, as various ethnic groups and regions vied for control and autonomy within the newly created nation-state (Bessler, 2015).

Following independence in 1956, Sudan witnessed a series of internal conflicts driven by political, ethnic, and economic grievances. The First Sudanese Civil War (1955–1972) erupted shortly after independence, pitting the predominantly Christian and animist south against the Arab-dominated central government in Khartoum. The conflict, fueled by disparities in wealth and power, culminated in the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, which granted autonomy to the South but failed to address underlying grievances (Gebrekidan, 2021).

The ceasefire proved temporary, as tensions reignited in the late 1970s, leading to the outbreak of the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983–2005). This protracted conflict, characterized by widespread violence, displacement, and humanitarian crises, centered on issues of religion, ethnicity, and resource control (Khan *et al.*, 2019). The government's imposition of Sharia law in the predominantly Christian and animist south sparked rebellion and resistance, fueling the rise of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and other insurgent groups (Musa, 2018).

Amidst the civil war, Sudan also became embroiled in regional conflicts, particularly in the western region of Darfur. The Darfur conflict, which erupted in the early 2000s, was fueled by competition over land, water, and resources between nomadic Arab herders and sedentary African farmers (Phiri, 2016). The government's brutal response to the rebellion, including the arming of Arab militias known as the Janjaweed, resulted in widespread atrocities and mass displacement, leading to accusations of genocide by the international community (Zouhir, 2015).

In addition to internal conflicts, Sudan has been affected by regional power struggles and proxy wars, further complicating its security landscape (Petterson, 2003). For example, Sudan's support for extremist groups such as al-Qaeda in the 1990s and early 2000s drew international condemnation and led to sanctions and isolation. Meanwhile, neighboring countries, including Ethiopia, Uganda, and Chad, have been accused of supporting rebel groups operating within Sudan's borders, exacerbating regional tensions and prolonging conflict (Suliman, 2012).

In summary, the evolution of conflict dynamics in Sudan is characterized by a complex interplay of historical grievances, ethnic divisions, and regional rivalries. Understanding this historical trajectory is essential for comprehending the root causes of conflict and formulating effective strategies for peacebuilding and reconciliation in Sudan.

Emergence of terrorist groups

The emergence of terrorist groups in Sudan is deeply intertwined with the country's complex history of internal conflicts, regional instability, and geopolitical dynamics. One notable example is the presence of extremist organizations such as al-Qaeda, which found sanctuary and support within Sudan during the 1990s and early 2000s. Under the leadership of President Omar al-Bashir, Sudan provided a haven for Osama bin Laden and other senior al-Qaeda operatives, allowing them to operate and conduct training camps within its territory. This period marked Sudan as a hub for international terrorism and raised concerns about its role in facilitating global jihadism (Smith, 2011).

Furthermore, Sudan's involvement in regional conflicts and proxy wars has contributed to the emergence of terrorist groups operating within its borders. For instance, during the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983–2005), various rebel factions, including the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), were accused of committing acts of

terrorism, such as targeting civilians and carrying out attacks on infrastructure (Deng & Deng, 2016). Additionally, the government's support for proxy militias in regions like Darfur further fueled violence and instability, providing opportunities for extremist groups to exploit local grievances and recruit followers (Phiri, 2016).

Moreover, Sudan's strategic location in the Horn of Africa has made it susceptible to the spread of extremism and terrorist activities from neighboring countries (Madibbo, 2015). The porous borders, weak governance structures, and limited state control in remote regions have facilitated the movement of individuals and weapons across borders, enabling terrorist groups to establish networks and operate with impunity. For example, Sudan shares borders with countries such as Libya, Chad, and South Sudan, which have experienced security challenges and served as transit routes for militants and weapons (Khan *et al.*, 2019).

The aftermath of Sudan's internal conflicts and political transitions has also created conditions conducive to the emergence of terrorist groups (Bhoke, 2005). The power vacuums, socio-economic disparities, and breakdown of state institutions have left marginalized communities vulnerable to radicalization and recruitment by extremist organizations. In regions like Darfur, where grievances persist and trust in the central government is low, armed groups with ideological agendas have exploited local grievances to gain support and influence (Jok, 2013).

In summary, the emergence of terrorist groups in Sudan is a multifaceted phenomenon driven by a combination of historical, regional, and domestic factors. Understanding the complex dynamics at play is crucial for devising effective strategies to counter terrorism and promote peace and stability in Sudan and the wider region. Addressing the root causes of extremism, enhancing border security, and strengthening governance and the rule of law are essential components of efforts to mitigate the threat posed by terrorist groups in Sudan.

Historical narratives and key events

Historical narratives and key events play a pivotal role in shaping the understanding of terrorism and conflict in Sudan, providing critical insights into the root causes, grievances, and dynamics that have fueled violence and instability over the years (Gebrekidan, 2021). One significant historical narrative is the legacy of British colonial rule, which imposed artificial boundaries and exacerbated ethnic and religious divisions within Sudan. The divide-and-rule policies implemented by colonial administrators sowed the seeds of discord and laid the groundwork for future conflicts, setting the stage for the challenges that would plague Sudan in the post-independence era (Cohen, 2012).

One key event in Sudan's history is the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972, which temporarily halted the First Sudanese Civil War and granted autonomy to the southern region (Jendia, 2002). This agreement marked a significant milestone in Sudan's

efforts to address the grievances of marginalized communities and alleviate tensions between the North and South. However, the peace proved fragile, and underlying issues of identity, governance, and resource distribution remained unresolved, setting the stage for renewed conflict in the years to come (Barltrop, 2011).

Another pivotal moment in Sudan's history is the imposition of Sharia law by President Jaafar Nimeiry in 1983, which ignited the Second Sudanese Civil War between the central government in Khartoum and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) in the south (Hastrup, 2012). The declaration of Sharia law not only deepened religious divides but also alienated non-Muslim communities and fueled rebellion against the government. The civil war, characterized by atrocities, displacement, and humanitarian crises, lasted for over two decades and left a devastating legacy of violence and division (Musa, 2018).

In addition to internal conflicts, Sudan has been affected by regional dynamics and external interventions that have further complicated its security landscape (Jawondo, 2013). One notable example is Sudan's support for extremist groups such as al-Qaeda during the 1990s and early 2000s, under the leadership of President Omar al-Bashir. Sudan's designation as a state sponsor of terrorism and its role as a haven for jihadists had far-reaching implications for regional and global security, contributing to its isolation and diplomatic challenges (Khan *et al.*, 2019).

Moreover, the secession of South Sudan in 2011 following an independence referendum marked a significant turning point in Sudan's history, reshaping the country's political landscape and redefining its relationships with neighboring states. While the separation was intended to end decades of conflict between North and South Sudan, it also created new challenges and power struggles within each country, further exacerbating tensions and instability in the region (Phiri, 2016).

III. Socio-Political Factors Contributing to Terrorism and Conflict

Governance challenges

Governance challenges have been central to Sudan's struggle with terrorism and conflict, reflecting underlying issues of authoritarianism, corruption, and marginalization that have fueled grievances and instability. One significant challenge is the legacy of autocratic rule under former President Omar al-Bashir, whose regime was characterized by repression, human rights abuses, and a lack of accountability. Al-Bashir's authoritarian governance not only stifled political dissent but also marginalized certain ethnic and religious groups, exacerbating social tensions and creating fertile ground for extremist ideologies to take hold (Grawert, 2013). For example, the marginalization of non-Arab populations in regions like Darfur fueled resentment and provided recruitment opportunities for rebel groups and terrorist organizations operating in the area.

Moreover, Sudan's transition to democracy following the ousting of al-Bashir in 2019 has been fraught with challenges, including the difficulty of building inclusive and effective governance structures amidst ongoing conflicts and political divisions. The transition government, comprised of civilian and military leaders, faces immense pressure to address the root causes of past injustices while navigating competing interests and power dynamics. This delicate balance has been further complicated by the resurgence of violence in regions like Darfur and the failure to fully implement peace agreements, underscoring the fragility of Sudan's democratic transition (Zouhir, 2015).

Another governance challenge in Sudan is the prevalence of corruption and weak rule of law, which undermine trust in state institutions and erode public confidence in the government's ability to address socio-economic grievances and provide basic services. Corruption not only fosters inequality and injustice but also creates opportunities for illicit activities, including terrorism financing and organized crime (Philip, 2011). For example, the diversion of public resources and the lack of transparency in government contracts have facilitated the proliferation of illicit economies and enabled terrorist groups to exploit vulnerable communities for financial support.

Furthermore, Sudan's decentralized governance structure and uneven distribution of power have exacerbated regional disparities and fueled tensions between different ethnic and tribal groups (Suliman, 2012). The centralization of political and economic power in Khartoum has historically marginalized peripheral regions and perpetuated feelings of exclusion and marginalization among local populations. This governance imbalance has been exploited by armed groups and terrorist organizations to garner support and recruit followers, further destabilizing the country and hindering efforts to promote peace and reconciliation (Carolan, 2020).

Governance challenges lie at the heart of Sudan's struggle with terrorism and conflict, reflecting broader issues of authoritarianism, corruption, and marginalization that have fueled grievances and instability. Addressing these challenges requires concerted efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, promote accountability and transparency, and address socio-economic disparities to build a more inclusive and resilient society capable of addressing the root causes of terrorism and conflict.

Identity politics and ethnic tensions

Identity politics and ethnic tensions have been deeply entrenched in Sudan's social fabric, playing a significant role in fueling terrorism and conflict within the country. One prominent example of identity politics is the divide between Arab and non-Arab populations, which has historically been a source of tension and discrimination (Bol, 2000). The Arab-dominated government in Khartoum has often marginalized non-Arab ethnic groups, exacerbating feelings of exclusion and resentment. For instance, in the Darfur

region, the Arab-dominated Janjaweed militia has been accused of perpetrating atrocities against non-Arab tribes, leading to widespread displacement and violence (Adebajo, 2011).

Moreover, Sudan's diverse ethnic and religious composition has been exploited by political elites to consolidate power and maintain control over resources, further exacerbating ethnic tensions and exacerbating divisions (Idris, 2005). The manipulation of ethnic identities for political gain has deepened social cleavages and contributed to cycles of violence and reprisals. For example, during the Second Sudanese Civil War, the government's imposition of Sharia law in the predominantly non-Muslim south exacerbated religious and ethnic divides, fueling rebellion and insurgency (Gebrekidan, 2021).

Ethnic tensions have also been exacerbated by competition over land, water, and resources, particularly in marginalized regions where access to basic services and economic opportunities is limited. In the oil-rich regions of South Sudan, for example, competition between ethnic groups for control over resources has fueled violence and contributed to the resurgence of conflict, despite efforts to broker peace agreements and promote reconciliation (Fabrice, 2012).

Furthermore, identity politics and ethnic tensions have been exacerbated by the politicization of religion, particularly in the context of Sudan's transition to an Islamic state under President Nimeiry in the 1980s. The imposition of Sharia law and the privileging of Islamic identity over other religious and cultural identities further marginalized non-Muslim communities and fueled resentment and resistance (Idris, 2005). This politicization of religion has created fertile ground for extremist ideologies to take hold, leading to the emergence of terrorist groups that exploit religious grievances for their ends.

Identity politics and ethnic tensions are central to understanding the dynamics of terrorism and conflict in Sudan, reflecting historical grievances, social inequalities, and political manipulation (Jawondo, 2013). Addressing these issues requires efforts to promote inclusive governance, protect minority rights, and foster dialogue and reconciliation among diverse ethnic and religious communities. Failure to address these underlying tensions risks perpetuating cycles of violence and instability, undermining efforts to build a more peaceful and prosperous Sudan.

Social inequalities and marginalization

Social inequalities and marginalization have been pervasive in Sudan, contributing to deep-seated grievances that have fueled terrorism and conflict within the country. One significant manifestation of social inequality is the disparity in access to resources and opportunities between different socio-economic groups (Khan *et al.*, 2019). The concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small elite, often based in urban centers like Khartoum, has left marginalized communities in rural and peripheral areas economically disenfranchised and politically marginalized. For example, in regions like Darfur and South Kordofan, where poverty rates are highest, lack of access to basic

services such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure perpetuates cycles of poverty and exacerbates social tensions (Petterson, 2003).

Moreover, ethnic and tribal identities intersect with socio-economic disparities, further marginalizing certain groups and exacerbating feelings of exclusion and discrimination. In Sudan's pluralistic society, where ethnic diversity is a source of strength, it is also a source of division and conflict when certain groups are systematically marginalized (Jendia, 2002). For instance, in the Nuba Mountains of South Kordofan, the government's marginalization of the Nuba people, who are predominantly non-Arab and non-Muslim, has fueled resentment and resistance, leading to protracted conflict and humanitarian crises (Suliman, 2012).

Additionally, gender inequality is a pervasive issue in Sudan, with women and girls disproportionately affected by social and economic marginalization (Madibbo, 2012). Discriminatory laws and cultural norms restrict women's access to education, employment, and decision-making positions, perpetuating cycles of poverty and limiting their ability to participate fully in society. For example, under Sudan's previous regime, women faced legal and social barriers to political participation and were often subjected to gender-based violence and discrimination (Moro, 2008).

Furthermore, social inequalities and marginalization intersect with other forms of discrimination, such as those based on religion, ethnicity, and political affiliation, creating multiple layers of exclusion and injustice. For instance, religious minorities, such as Christians and animists, have faced discrimination and persecution under Sudan's Islamic legal system, further exacerbating social tensions and contributing to feelings of alienation and marginalization (Plooy, 2005).

Social inequalities and marginalization are significant drivers of terrorism and conflict in Sudan, reflecting underlying issues of economic disparity, ethnic division, and gender inequality (Philip, 2011). Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive efforts to promote inclusive development, protect minority rights, and address the root causes of social exclusion and injustice. Failure to address these underlying grievances risks perpetuating cycles of violence and instability, undermining efforts to build a more peaceful and equitable Sudan.

IV. Economic Dimensions of Terrorism in Sudan

Illicit economies and funding sources

Illicit economies and funding sources have played a significant role in sustaining terrorist activities and exacerbating conflict in Sudan. One notable example is the exploitation of natural resources, such as gold and oil, by armed groups and militias operating in conflict-affected regions (Petterson, 2003). In Sudan's Darfur region, for instance, rebel groups and government-backed militias have engaged in illegal mining and smuggling of gold,

using the proceeds to finance their operations and sustain their armed struggle. This illicit economy not only fuels violence and instability but also perpetuates cycles of poverty and marginalization, as local communities are often exploited and displaced in the process (Smith, 2011).

Moreover, the smuggling of goods and commodities across porous borders has facilitated the financing of terrorist groups and armed factions in Sudan (Madibbo, 2015). The country's strategic location in the Horn of Africa, bordering countries such as Libya, Chad, and South Sudan, provides ample opportunities for illicit trade and smuggling networks to flourish. For example, the smuggling of weapons, drugs, and contraband goods across Sudan's borders has provided a lucrative source of income for criminal syndicates and armed groups, including terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda and its affiliates (Hastrup, 2012).

Furthermore, the trafficking of humans, particularly migrants and refugees, has emerged as a lucrative illicit enterprise in Sudan, with criminal networks exploiting vulnerable populations for profit (Gebrekidan, 2021). Human trafficking routes crisscross Sudan, linking the Horn of Africa to North Africa and beyond, and facilitating the movement of people seeking refuge or economic opportunities. However, these routes are also exploited by terrorist groups and criminal gangs to smuggle weapons, contraband, and militants across borders, posing security risks and exacerbating regional instability.

Additionally, the informal economy, including the black market and informal financial networks, has provided fertile ground for terrorist financing and money laundering in Sudan. Weak regulatory oversight and enforcement mechanisms, coupled with widespread corruption and collusion, have allowed illicit actors to operate with impunity and launder proceeds from criminal activities (Phiri, 2016). For example, Hawala networks, which are informal money transfer systems prevalent in Sudan, have been exploited by terrorist organizations and criminal syndicates to move funds across borders and evade detection by law enforcement agencies.

Illicit economies and funding sources play a significant role in sustaining terrorism and conflict in Sudan, providing armed groups and terrorist organizations with the resources needed to perpetuate violence and undermine stability (Jok, 2013). Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive efforts to strengthen border controls, combat corruption, and enhance regulatory oversight of financial systems. Moreover, promoting inclusive economic development and addressing the root causes of poverty and marginalization are essential for reducing the vulnerability of communities to exploitation by illicit actors and fostering sustainable peace and prosperity in Sudan.

Resource competition and economic grievances

Resource competition and economic grievances have been significant drivers of conflict and instability in Sudan, exacerbating tensions between different ethnic groups and fueling

violence and displacement (Musa, 2018). One prominent example is the competition over land and water resources, particularly in regions like Darfur, where arable land and access to water are scarce. Competition between nomadic Arab herders and sedentary African farmers for grazing lands and water sources has led to conflicts over resource access and control. For instance, clashes between pastoralists and farmers in Darfur have escalated into large-scale violence, displacing millions of people and exacerbating ethnic and tribal tensions (Bassil, 2013).

Moreover, the discovery and exploitation of natural resources, such as oil and minerals, have fueled competition and grievances among different ethnic and regional groups in Sudan. The unequal distribution of wealth and benefits from resource extraction has led to feelings of marginalization and disenfranchisement, particularly among communities living in resource-rich regions (Deng & Deng, 2016). For example, in the oil-producing regions of South Sudan, tensions between the government in Khartoum and rebel factions seeking greater autonomy and control over resources have fueled conflict and hindered efforts at peacebuilding and reconciliation.

Furthermore, economic grievances stemming from poverty, unemployment, and lack of economic opportunities have contributed to social discontent and unrest in Sudan (Grawert, 2013). The country's economy has been plagued by decades of mismanagement, corruption, and underdevelopment, exacerbating socio-economic disparities and widening the gap between the rich and poor (Jendia, 2002). For example, high levels of youth unemployment and underemployment, particularly in urban areas, have fueled frustration and disillusionment among young people, making them vulnerable to recruitment by armed groups and extremist organizations.

Additionally, inequalities in access to basic services, such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure, have perpetuated socio-economic disparities and deepened feelings of marginalization among disadvantaged communities in Sudan (Bessler, 2015). For example, rural areas and marginalized regions like Darfur often lack basic infrastructure and social services, further exacerbating poverty and limiting opportunities for socio-economic advancement. This lack of development and investment in marginalized regions has fueled grievances and contributed to the perpetuation of conflict and instability (Phiri, 2016).

Resource competition and economic grievances are significant drivers of conflict and instability in Sudan, exacerbating ethnic tensions, fueling violence, and perpetuating cycles of poverty and marginalization (Carolan, 2020). Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive efforts to promote inclusive economic development, equitable resource distribution, and social justice. By addressing the root causes of economic grievances and promoting sustainable development, Sudan can build a more resilient and prosperous society capable of addressing the underlying drivers of conflict and instability (Fabrice, 2012).

Economic impact of terrorism on local communities

The economic impact of terrorism on local communities in Sudan is profound, exerting a significant toll on livelihoods, infrastructure, and socio-economic development. One notable consequence is the disruption of economic activities and markets, as terrorist attacks and violence create an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty, leading to decreased investment, trade, and productivity (Bessler, 2015). For example, in regions like Darfur and South Kordofan, where terrorist groups and armed militias operate, attacks on markets, transportation routes, and agricultural areas have disrupted supply chains, hindered trade, and undermined food security, exacerbating poverty and economic hardship (Gebrekidan, 2021).

Moreover, the displacement of populations resulting from terrorist attacks and conflict has strained local economies and placed burdens on already fragile social and economic infrastructures (Cohen, 2012). Displaced communities often face limited access to basic services, including healthcare, education, and sanitation, further exacerbating socio-economic disparities and impeding opportunities for socio-economic recovery and resilience. For example, in conflict-affected regions like Darfur, displaced populations living in makeshift camps often lack access to adequate shelter, clean water, and livelihood opportunities, leading to heightened vulnerability and dependence on humanitarian assistance (Musa, 2018).

Furthermore, the destruction of critical infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, and schools, has long-term economic consequences for local communities, hindering mobility, access to markets, and the delivery of essential services (Suliman, 2012). Terrorist attacks targeting infrastructure not only disrupt economic activities but also impose additional costs on communities for reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts. For example, in the aftermath of conflicts in Darfur and South Kordofan, efforts to rebuild damaged infrastructure and restore basic services have been hampered by limited resources and capacity, prolonging the economic impact of terrorism on local communities (Adebajo, 2011).

Additionally, the psychological and social effects of terrorism on local communities can have long-lasting economic repercussions, as fear and trauma undermine confidence, social cohesion, and community resilience (Hastrup, 2012). The psychological toll of living in a state of insecurity and uncertainty can lead to increased stress, anxiety, and mental health issues, affecting individuals' ability to work, invest, and participate in economic activities. For example, in conflict-affected areas like Darfur, where communities have been traumatized by years of violence and displacement, the psychological scars of terrorism and conflict continue to impede efforts at recovery and reconciliation, perpetuating cycles of poverty and vulnerability (Madibbo, 2015).

The economic impact of terrorism on local communities in Sudan is multifaceted, encompassing disruptions to economic activities, displacement, destruction of infrastructure, and psychological trauma. Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive efforts to promote peace, stability, and socio-economic development, including investments in

infrastructure, livelihood opportunities, and social services, as well as initiatives to address the root causes of terrorism and conflict. By fostering resilience and promoting inclusive economic growth, Sudan can mitigate the economic impact of terrorism and build a more prosperous and resilient society.

V. Impact of Terrorism on Peacebuilding Efforts and Conflict Resolution

Challenges to peace negotiations

Challenges to peace negotiations in Sudan have been pervasive, reflecting deep-seated grievances, complex power dynamics, and entrenched interests that hinder progress toward sustainable peace and reconciliation (Jendia, 2002). One significant challenge is the fragmentation of armed groups and rebel factions, which often have divergent interests, objectives, and ideologies, making it difficult to achieve consensus and maintain cohesive negotiating fronts. For example, in Darfur, numerous rebel groups have emerged over the years, each with its grievances and demands, complicating efforts to broker peace agreements and ensure lasting stability (Phiri, 2016).

Moreover, the lack of trust and confidence between conflicting parties poses a formidable obstacle to peace negotiations in Sudan (Jawondo, 2013). Years of conflict, violence, and betrayal have eroded trust and heightened suspicion among warring factions, making it difficult to establish meaningful dialogue and build mutual understanding. For instance, in the aftermath of the Second Sudanese Civil War, deep-seated animosities and mistrust between the government in Khartoum and rebel groups in the south hindered efforts to implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and forge a durable peace (Smith, 2011).

Furthermore, external interference and regional rivalries have exacerbated tensions and hindered efforts at peace negotiations in Sudan (Plooy, 2005). Neighboring countries and international actors often have competing interests and agendas, leading to proxy wars, geopolitical rivalries, and interference in internal affairs. For example, in regions like Darfur and South Kordofan, external support for rebel groups and armed militias has prolonged conflict and undermined prospects for peace, as neighboring states vie for influence and strategic advantage (Ille, 2016).

Additionally, the absence of inclusive and participatory processes in peace negotiations has marginalized key stakeholders, particularly women, youth, and marginalized communities, whose voices and perspectives are often sidelined in decision-making processes. Exclusionary peace processes not only undermine the legitimacy and sustainability of peace agreements but also perpetuate social inequalities and deepen grievances, fueling resentment and mistrust among marginalized groups (Jendia, 2002). For example, in past peace negotiations in Sudan, women and youth have been underrepresented and marginalized, despite their crucial roles as agents of change and advocates for peace at the grassroots level (Carolan, 2020).

Challenges to peace negotiations in Sudan are multifaceted and require comprehensive approaches to address. Overcoming fragmentation among armed groups, building trust and confidence between conflicting parties, reducing external interference, and ensuring inclusivity in peace processes are essential for achieving lasting peace and reconciliation in Sudan. By addressing these challenges and fostering genuine dialogue and cooperation, Sudan can overcome the obstacles to peace negotiations and pave the way for a more stable and prosperous future.

Disruption of conflict resolution mechanisms

The disruption of conflict resolution mechanisms in Sudan has been a significant impediment to the achievement of lasting peace and stability, exacerbating tensions and prolonging cycles of violence and instability (Jok, 2013). One key factor contributing to this disruption is the breakdown of formal peace processes and agreements, which are often undermined by violations, non-compliance, and lack of enforcement mechanisms. For example, in regions like Darfur and South Kordofan, where multiple peace agreements have been brokered between the government and rebel groups, the failure to implement key provisions and address underlying grievances has led to a resurgence of conflict and undermined confidence in the peace process (Hastrup, 2012).

Moreover, the politicization of conflict resolution mechanisms and institutions has eroded their credibility and impartiality, leading to perceptions of bias and favoritism among conflicting parties (Madibbo, 2015). Political elites and power brokers often manipulate peace processes to advance their interests and agendas, sidelining genuine efforts at reconciliation and consensus-building. For instance, in Sudan's transition to democracy following the ousting of President Omar al-Bashir, the politicization of peace negotiations between the transitional government and rebel groups has hindered progress and deepened divisions, as conflicting parties prioritize short-term political gains over long-term peace and stability (Idris, 2005).

Furthermore, the proliferation of informal and non-state actors in conflict resolution efforts has complicated the landscape and fragmented efforts to achieve sustainable peace in Sudan (Idris, 2005). Non-governmental organizations, community-based initiatives, and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms play important roles in mediating local disputes and fostering reconciliation at the grassroots level. However, their effectiveness is often limited by resource constraints, capacity gaps, and lack of coordination with formal peace processes. For example, in conflict-affected regions like Darfur, traditional leaders and local elders have attempted to resolve disputes and promote reconciliation, but their efforts are often overshadowed by broader political dynamics and power struggles (Suliman, 2012).

Additionally, external interference and geopolitical rivalries have disrupted conflict resolution mechanisms in Sudan, as regional and international actors pursue competing agendas and vie for influence (Barltrop, 2011). Neighboring countries, such as Ethiopia,

Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, have vested interests in Sudan's stability and often seek to leverage their political and economic influence to shape peace processes and outcomes in their favor (Bassil, 2013). For example, external support for rival factions in Sudan's conflicts has fueled proxy wars and exacerbated tensions, undermining efforts at genuine reconciliation and peacebuilding.

The disruption of conflict resolution mechanisms in Sudan is a complex and multifaceted challenge that requires comprehensive approaches to address. Overcoming politicization, building trust and confidence, enhancing inclusivity, and mitigating external interference are essential for restoring credibility and effectiveness to peace processes and institutions in Sudan (Bhoke, 2005). By addressing these challenges and fostering genuine dialogue and cooperation among conflicting parties, Sudan can overcome the obstacles to conflict resolution and pave the way for a more stable and peaceful future.

Implications for sustainable peace in Sudan

The implications for sustainable peace in Sudan are profound and multifaceted, reflecting the complex interplay of historical grievances, socio-economic challenges, and political dynamics that have fueled conflict and instability in the country (Bassil, 2013). One significant implication is the need for inclusive and participatory peacebuilding processes that address the root causes of conflict and ensure the meaningful participation of all stakeholders, including women, youth, and marginalized communities. Genuine dialogue, reconciliation, and consensus-building are essential for fostering trust and social cohesion and laying the foundations for sustainable peace and stability (Phiri, 2016).

Moreover, sustainable peace in Sudan requires addressing the underlying socio-economic inequalities and grievances that have fueled violence and marginalization. Economic development, poverty alleviation, and equitable resource distribution are essential for addressing the root causes of conflict and building resilience against future instability. Investment in education, healthcare, infrastructure, and livelihood opportunities can empower communities, reduce vulnerability to exploitation by extremist groups, and promote social inclusion and cohesion (Jendia, 2002).

Furthermore, the promotion of good governance, the rule of law, and respect for human rights is crucial for sustaining peace in Sudan. Strengthening democratic institutions, promoting transparency and accountability, and combating corruption are essential for building trust between the government and citizens, fostering social cohesion, and addressing grievances. Upholding human rights, including the rights of minorities, women, and vulnerable groups, is fundamental for building an inclusive and equitable society where all citizens can participate fully in the political, economic, and social life of the country.

Additionally, regional and international cooperation is vital for achieving sustainable peace in Sudan. Neighboring countries, regional organizations, and the international community play important roles in supporting peacebuilding efforts, facilitating dialogue,

and providing resources and technical assistance (Bol, 2000). Concerted diplomatic efforts, mediation initiatives, and peacekeeping missions can help address regional rivalries, mitigate external interference, and create an enabling environment for peace and reconciliation in Sudan.

In summary, achieving sustainable peace in Sudan requires addressing the root causes of conflict, fostering inclusive governance and socio-economic development, upholding human rights, and promoting regional and international cooperation (Masabala, 2009). By addressing these challenges and building consensus among conflicting parties, Sudan can overcome the legacies of violence and instability and pave the way for a more peaceful and prosperous future for all its citizens.

VI. Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

Summary of findings

In summary, the research on terrorism and conflict management in Sudan has uncovered a complex web of interrelated factors that have contributed to the country's long history of violence and instability (Grawert, 2013). Historical narratives reveal the legacy of colonialism, ethnic divisions, and political manipulation that have shaped Sudan's socio-political landscape and fueled grievances among marginalized communities. The emergence of terrorist groups, including al-Qaeda and rebel factions, has further exacerbated tensions and prolonged conflicts, as external interference and regional rivalries complicate peace negotiations and undermine efforts at reconciliation (Youngs, 2004).

Moreover, governance challenges, including authoritarianism, corruption, and weak rule of law, have perpetuated social inequalities and marginalized certain ethnic and religious groups, fostering resentment and disenfranchisement (Masabala, 2009). Identity politics, ethnic tensions, and resource competition have deepened divisions and fueled violence, while economic grievances stemming from poverty, unemployment, and lack of opportunities have further destabilized communities and undermined prospects for peace (Plooy, 2005).

The economic impact of terrorism on local communities has been profound, disrupting livelihoods, infrastructure, and social cohesion, while challenges to peace negotiations, including fragmentation among armed groups, lack of trust, and external interference, have hindered progress toward sustainable peace. The disruption of conflict resolution mechanisms, politicization of peace processes, and marginalization of key stakeholders have further complicated efforts to achieve lasting peace in Sudan (Philip, 2011).

Despite these challenges, there are opportunities for progress towards sustainable peace in Sudan. Inclusive governance, participatory peacebuilding processes, and equitable socio-economic development can address the root causes of conflict and foster social cohesion and resilience (Pettersson, 2003). Upholding human rights, promoting regional cooperation,

and strengthening international support for peacebuilding efforts are essential for creating an enabling environment for peace and reconciliation in Sudan.

In conclusion, addressing the multifaceted challenges of terrorism and conflict management in Sudan requires comprehensive approaches that address the underlying grievances, promote inclusive governance and development, and foster dialogue and cooperation among conflicting parties (Jendia, 2002). By addressing these challenges and building consensus around shared goals, Sudan can overcome the legacies of violence and instability and pave the way for a more peaceful and prosperous future for all its citizens.

Implications for policy and practice

The implications of the research findings for policy and practice in Sudan are significant and multifaceted, highlighting the need for comprehensive and inclusive approaches to address the root causes of terrorism and conflict and promote sustainable peace and stability. One key implication is the importance of adopting a holistic approach to governance reform that prioritizes transparency, accountability, and respect for human rights (Plooy, 2005). Strengthening democratic institutions, promoting good governance, and addressing corruption are essential for building trust between the government and citizens, fostering social cohesion, and addressing grievances that fuel conflict.

Moreover, the findings underscore the importance of prioritizing inclusive and participatory peacebuilding processes that involve all stakeholders, including women, youth, and marginalized communities, in decision-making and implementation. Genuine dialogue, reconciliation, and consensus-building are essential for fostering trust and social cohesion and laying the foundations for sustainable peace and stability (Youngs, 2004). Policy efforts should focus on creating enabling environments for meaningful participation, promoting the representation of diverse voices, and ensuring that peace processes are inclusive and responsive to the needs and concerns of all citizens (Philip, 2011).

Furthermore, addressing the socio-economic drivers of terrorism and conflict requires targeted interventions aimed at promoting inclusive economic development, reducing poverty, and addressing socio-economic disparities (Cohen, 2012). Investing in education, healthcare, infrastructure, and livelihood opportunities can empower communities, reduce vulnerability to exploitation by extremist groups, and promote social inclusion and cohesion. Policy efforts should prioritize equitable resource distribution, job creation, and poverty alleviation measures to address the root causes of conflict and build resilience against future instability (Assal, 2006).

Additionally, efforts to address the security challenges posed by terrorism and conflict in Sudan require a comprehensive and integrated approach that combines military, law enforcement, and community-based strategies. Enhancing border security, combating illicit economies, and disrupting terrorist financing networks are essential for countering the spread of extremism and preventing further violence (Fabrice, 2012). Policy efforts should

also focus on strengthening community resilience, promoting interfaith dialogue, and addressing the root causes of radicalization to prevent the recruitment and radicalization of vulnerable populations.

The implications for policy and practice in Sudan underscore the importance of adopting a comprehensive and inclusive approach to address the root causes of terrorism and conflict and promote sustainable peace and stability (Gebrekidan, 2021). By prioritizing governance reform, inclusive peacebuilding processes, socio-economic development, and security sector reform, Sudan can overcome the challenges posed by terrorism and conflict and pave the way for a more peaceful and prosperous future for all its citizens.

Recommendations for mitigating terrorism and fostering peace in Sudan

Based on the research findings, several recommendations can be proposed to mitigate terrorism and foster peace in Sudan. Firstly, it is crucial to prioritize inclusive governance reforms aimed at strengthening democratic institutions and promoting transparency, accountability, and respect for human rights (Khan *et al.*, 2019). This includes efforts to combat corruption, enhance the rule of law, and ensure equitable representation of all ethnic and religious groups in decision-making processes. For example, establishing mechanisms for citizen participation, decentralizing power, and empowering local communities can help address grievances and build trust between the government and marginalized populations (Ille, 2016).

Secondly, there is a need to prioritize inclusive and participatory peacebuilding processes that involve all stakeholders, including women, youth, and marginalized communities, in decision-making and implementation (Moro, 2008). This can be achieved by fostering genuine dialogue, reconciliation, and consensus-building among conflicting parties, and ensuring that peace processes are inclusive, responsive, and representative of diverse perspectives and interests. For instance, creating platforms for dialogue and mediation at the community level, promoting interfaith dialogue, and empowering women and youth as agents of change can help build trust and social cohesion and lay the foundations for sustainable peace (Jawondo, 2013).

Thirdly, addressing the root causes of terrorism and conflict requires targeted interventions aimed at promoting inclusive economic development, reducing poverty, and addressing socio-economic disparities (Smith, 2011). This includes investing in education, healthcare, infrastructure, and livelihood opportunities in conflict-affected areas, and promoting equitable resource distribution, job creation, and poverty alleviation measures. For example, supporting small-scale agriculture, micro-enterprises, and vocational training programs can empower communities, reduce vulnerability to exploitation by extremist groups, and promote social inclusion and cohesion (Musa, 2018).

Fourthly, enhancing security measures to counter the spread of extremism and prevent further violence is essential for addressing the security challenges posed by terrorism and

conflict in Sudan (Zouhir, 2015). This includes strengthening border security, combating illicit economies, and disrupting terrorist financing networks through enhanced intelligence-sharing, law enforcement cooperation, and international collaboration (Warburg, 1993). Additionally, promoting community resilience, fostering interfaith dialogue, and addressing the root causes of radicalization through education, social services, and youth engagement programs can help prevent the recruitment and radicalization of vulnerable populations.

In summary, mitigating terrorism and fostering peace in Sudan requires a comprehensive and integrated approach that addresses the root causes of conflict, promotes inclusive governance and peacebuilding processes, prioritizes socio-economic development, and enhances security measures. By implementing these recommendations, Sudan can overcome the challenges posed by terrorism and conflict and pave the way for a more peaceful and prosperous future for all its citizens.

References

1. Adebajo, A. (2011). *UN peacekeeping in Africa: From the Suez crisis to the Sudan conflicts*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
2. Assal, M. A. M. (2006). Sudan: Identity and conflict over natural resources. *Development*, 49, 101–105. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.development.1100284>.
3. Bassil, N. R. (2013). *The post-colonial state and civil war in Sudan: The origins of conflict in Darfur*. I. B. Tauris.
4. Barltrop, R. (2011). *Darfur and the international community: The challenges of conflict resolution in Sudan*. I. B. Tauris.
5. Bessler, D. A., Kibriya, S., Chen, J., & Price, E. (2015). On forecasting conflict in the Sudan: 2009-2012. *Journal of Forecasting*, 35(2), 179–188. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/for.2382>.
6. Bhoke, C. (2005). *Genocide: A critical analysis of the Darfur conflict in Sudan*. University of Pretoria.
7. Bol, L. L.M. (2000). *Sudan: Events and present conflict*. L.L.M. Bol.
8. Carolan, G. (2020). Transition without transformation: The legacy of Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 14(2), 340–359. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijaa010>.
9. Cohen, H. J. (2012). Sudan: american policy toward the land of endless conflict. *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 34(6), 322–328. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10803920.2012.741894>.
10. Deng, F. M., & Deng, D. J. (2016). *Bound by conflict: Dilemmas of the Two Sudans*. Fordham University Press.
11. Fabrice, T. E. (2012). The efficacy of the United Nations in conflict resolution: A study of the response of the security council to the Darfur conflict in the Sudan. A Master Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Law in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Laws (LLM), Faculty of Law, University of Fort Hare, South Africa.

12. Gebrekidan, G. Z. (2021). Tribal conflict over natural resources on the Sudan – South Sudan border: The case of the Abyei Territory. *Acta Humana*, 9(1), 29–47. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.32566/ah.2021.1.2>.
13. Grawert, E. (2013). *Forging two nations: Insights on Sudan and South Sudan*. Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa.
14. Hastrup, A. (2012). *The war in Darfur: Reclaiming Sudanese history*. Routledge.
15. Idris, A. (2005). *Conflict and politics of identity in Sudan*. Palgrave Macmillan.
16. Ille, E. (2016). Complications in the classification of conflict areas and conflict actors for the identification of ‘conflict gold’ from Sudan. *Extractive Industries and Society*, 3(1), 193–203. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2015.12.005>.
17. Jawondo, I. A. (2013). Land, governance, conflict and the Nuba of Sudan. *African Historical Review*, 45(1), 89–91. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17532523.2013.796143>.
18. Jendia, C. (2002). *The Sudanese Civil Conflict, 1969–1985*. Peter Lang.
19. Jok, K. M. (2013). *Conflict of national identity in Sudan*. Lang Publishing.
20. Khan, A., Rahim, N., & Javed, M. (2019). Socio-political and socio-economic perspectives of Sudan with special reference to Darfur conflict. *Global Social Sciences Review*, IV, 451–459. DOI: 10.31703/gssr.2019(IV-IV).55.
21. Madibbo, A. I. (2012). Conflict and the conceptions of identities in the Sudan. *Current Sociology*, 60(3), 302–319. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011392111426194>.
22. Madibbo, A. I. (2015). *Canada in Sudan, Sudan in Canada: Immigration, conflict, and reconstruction*. McGill-Queen’s University Press.
23. Masabala, J. (2009). An investigation into the extent to which the socio-economic dimension is addressed in attempts to manage the North-South Sudanese Conflict: with a particular focus on the comprehensive peace agreement of 2005. MA Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Magister Philosophiae (Conflict Transformation and Management), Department of Governmental and Social Science, Faculty of Arts, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.
24. Moro, L. N. (2008). Oil, conflict, and displacement in Sudan. Unpublished PhD Thesis defended at the University of Oxford.
25. Musa, A. M. (2018). The tribal impact on political stability in Sudan. *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, II(1–2), 167–188. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/caa.2018.000010>.
26. Petterson, D. (2003). *Inside Sudan: Political Islam, conflict, and catastrophe*. Westview Press.
27. Phiri, P. V. (2016). *Trials of a comprehensive peace agreement: An investigation into the dilemmas faced by North and South Sudan*. University of Bradford.
28. Philip, S. (2011). *Sudan and peoples in conflict*. Wayland.
29. Plooy, D. D. (2005). *The nature of the conflict in Sudan: A brief overview of the causes and conduct of conflict in Sudan*. Africa Institute of South Africa.
30. Smith, S. W. (2011). Sudan: In a Procrustean bed with crisis. *International Negotiation*, 16(1), 169–189. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/157180611x553917>.
31. Suliman, O. (2012). *Darfur conflict: Geography or institutions?* Taylor & Francis Group.
32. Warburg, G. R. (1993). Sudan: Diversity and conflict in an unstable state. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 29(2), 339–354. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263209308700952>.

33. Youngs, T. (2004). *Sudan: Conflict in Darfur*. House of Commons Library.
34. Zouhir, A. (2015). Language policy and identity conflict in Sudan. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 24(2), 283–302. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/dome.12072>.