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Notes

Introduction

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Chapter 1

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Chapter 2

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- 8 Gresh, 396.
- 9 Gresh, 396.
- 10 Daly and Holt, 195.
- 11 Daly and Holt, 195.
- 12 Gresh, 394.
- 13 Mansour Khalid, *Nimeiri and the Revolution of Dis-May* (London: KPI, 1985), 12.
- 14 Khalid, Nimeiri, 12. Daly and Holt, 196. Farouk Abu Eissa, one of the Front's two secretaries, was a minister between 1969 and 1971. He stayed with the government after its initial rift with the Sudan Communist Party, but left in protest against the arbitrary nature of the trials that led to the deaths of Abd al-Khaliq Mahgub and Shafi' Ahmad al-Shaikh in 1971. See comments by Taj al-Sirr Abdullah on *Sudaneseonline*, 'Bi-munasiba dhikra thawra al-Oktober: al-Munadil Farouk Abu Eissa bi-la Hudud', 14 November 2005, <http://www.sudaneseonline.com/cgi-bin/sdb/2bb.cgi?seq=msg&board=13&msg=1189109816&func=previous> (accessed 3 November 2012)
- 15 Daly and Holt, 198.
- 16 Johnson, 39.
- 17 Justin Willis and Atta el-Battahani, 'We changed the laws: electoral practice and malpractice in Sudan since 1953'. *African Affairs* 109 (2010): 208.
- 18 For a discussion of corporatism, see Nazih J. Ayubi, *Over-stating the Arab State* (London: Tauris, 1995), 183–95.
- 19 Daly and Holt, 198.
- 20 Gresh, 405.
- 21 Gresh, 405.
- 22 Gresh, 405.
- 23 Amin Hasan Abbas Interview, *Akhir Lahza*, 31 July 2010.
- 24 Daly and Holt, 197.
- 25 Muhammad, 'Abd al-Aziz and Hashim Abu Rannat, *Asrar Jihaz al-Asrar* (Khartoum: Dar al-Izza li'l Nushr wa'l-Tawzia, 2nd edn, 2008), 254–5. Abdullahi A. Gallab, *First Islamist Republic* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). Daly and Holt, 207.
- 26 Daly and Holt, 210.
- 27 Tim Niblock, 'The background to the change of government in 1985', in Woodward (ed.), *Sudan after Nimeiri* (London: Routledge, 1991), 40.
- 28 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 71–3.
- 29 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 93–4, 134–5, 162–3.
- 30 Daly and Holt, 213.

- 31 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 250. Daly and Holt, 212.
- 32 Daly and Holt, 212.
- 33 Daly and Holt, 212.
- 34 Ann Mosley Lesch, *The Sudan* (Oxford: James Currey 1998), 52–3.
- 35 Lesch, 52–3.
- 36 Lesch, 62.
- 37 Interview 25.
- 38 Lesch, 62.
- 39 Interview 12.
- 40 Tijani al-Hussain, *al-Faidan* (Khartoum: s.n., 1985), 5–6.
- 41 *Al-Ayyam*, 12 April 1985.
- 42 Ayubi, 411.
- 43 *Al-Sahafa*, 25 March 1985.
- 44 Abu Rannat and Abd al-Aziz, 307. Ali Shummo's links to the ICF/NIF are noted in J. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins, *Revolutionary Sudan* (Brill: Leiden, 2003), 11.
- 45 Daly and Holt, 195–208.
- 46 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 212.
- 47 Gayle Smith, 'George Bush in Khartoum', MERIP Reports No. 135: 25–6.
- 48 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 212. Muhammad Sa'id Qalandar, *Sanawat al-Numayri* (Khartoum: 'Abd al-Karim al-Mirghani al-Thaqafi, 2005), 404–5.
- 49 'Visit of the Lord Privy Seal to the Sudan: 8–10 December 1980', FCO 93/2533, TNA.
- 50 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 213. Qalandar, *Sanawat*, 404–5.
- 51 Interview 8.
- 52 Abu Rannat and Abd al-Aziz, 80.
- 53 Abu Rannat and Abd al-Aziz, 80.
- 54 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 195.
- 55 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 197.
- 56 CD Powell to HEDC Carden, 13 December 1978, FCO 93/1633, TNA.
- 57 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 227.
- 58 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 227–9.
- 59 Zein al-Abdin 'Abd al-Qadir, *Mayo: Sanawat al-Khasb wa'l Jafaf* (Khartoum: Markaz Muhammad Umar Bashir li'l-Dirasat al-Sudaniyya, 2011).
- 60 Mr William A Pierce Interview, 29 January 2001, available online at the Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection (FOAHC) for the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?mfddip:2:/temp/~ammem_xk2z (accessed on Wednesday 11 April 2012).
- 61 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 193.
- 62 See Chapter 5.
- 63 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 241.
- 64 For more details, see Chapter 5.
- 65 Abu Rannat and Abd al-Aziz, 80. Another senior May Regime official, Muzammil Ghandur, makes a similar claim – see Muzammil Sulayman Ghandur, *Ma Ba'ad Ayyam Zaman* (Khartoum: Dar al-'Izza li'l-Nushr wa'l-Tawzi, 2010), 74.
- 66 Johnson, 53–4.
- 67 Johnson, 53–4.
- 68 Abdelwahab el-Affendi, *Turabi's Revolution* (London: Grey Seal, 1991), 115.
- 69 El-Affendi, 126. Qalandar, *Sanawat*, 432.
- 70 Interview 16.
- 71 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 277–9. Abd al-Qadir, 121.

- 72 Aharon Layish and Gabriel Warburg, *The Re-Instatement of Islamic Law under Numayri* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 214–5, 235–43.
- 73 Lesch, 54–6. Layish and Warburg, *Re-Instatement*, 77–8.
- 74 Ibrahim, *Delirium*, 221–2.
- 75 Daly and Holt, 216. Abd al-Qadir, 171–2. Ibrahim bases his argument concerning Nimeiri's knack for populism on a citation from Mansur Khalid, which is in fact more relevant to the earlier period of Nimeiri's presidency – see Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 12. However, with regard to Nimeiri's application of the September Laws, Khalid writes 'For Islam the 1984 measures were counter-productive. They did not galvanize the pious Muslims behind Nimeiri; on the contrary, Sudanese Muslims believe that these decisions defiled Islam'. Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 271.
- 76 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 257.
- 77 Even Abdullahi Ali Ibrahim admits this – see Ibrahim, *Delirium*, 222.
- 78 C. William Kontos interview with Thomas Stern, 12 February 1992, FAOHC.
- 79 Fatih Osman, 'Sudan: much promise, some problems', *Arabia*, November 1984, 18–22, copy found in Allison Papers, SAD /15/36. For the establishment of these groups, see Layish and Warburg, *Re-Instatement*.
- 80 El-Affendi, 125. Ibrahim, *Delirium*, 222. These measures led Umar al-Tayyib to admit his discontent openly to a senior Umma Party member whom Nimeiri had imprisoned for his opposition to *shari'a*. *Sawt al-Umma*, 22 December 1985.
- 81 Abu Rannat and Abd al-Aziz, 83.
- 82 El-Affendi, 125.
- 83 Qalandar, *Sanawat*, 453.
- 84 An English language copy of the pamphlet can be found on the Republican Brothers' website, *Alfikra.org*, http://www.alfikra.org/article_page_view_e.php?article_id=1001&page_id=1 (accessed on 12 March 2012).
- 85 Daly and Holt, 216.
- 86 Abu Rannat and Abd al-Aziz, 111. Musa, Isma'il al-Hag Musa, *Fi Dahaliz al-Sulta: Mudhakirat lam taktamal* (Khartoum: Beit Khartoum li'l-tiba'a wa'l-nushr, 2000), 138. It could, of course, be argued that the former SSU and SSO men who penned these texts were trying to justify the role played by their respective institutions after the event. However, both of these books were penned after the Umar Bashir coup of 1989 brought the anti-Republican Brother NIF party into power, and as such there would be little political motive for this.
- 87 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 392.
- 88 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 393.
- 89 Interview 9.
- 90 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 394.
- 91 See Chapter 3.
- 92 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 393. Woodward, *Unstable State*, 170.
- 93 Johnson, 57. Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 393. Woodward, *Unstable State*, 170.
- 94 Johnson, 57.
- 95 Smith, 'George Bush'.
- 96 Johnson, 58.
- 97 *The New Scientist*, 5 September 1985.
- 98 al-Hussain, *al-Faidan* (Khartoum, 1985), 28.
- 99 Smith, 'George Bush'. *al-Sahafa*, 10 October 1985.
- 100 Charles Kennedy interview with David Shinn, 5 July 2002, FOAHC.
- 101 *Al-Sahafa*, 29 October 1985.

- 102 Smith, 'George Bush' *al-Sahafa*, 29 October 1985.
- 103 El-Affendi, 128. Interview 16. Adlan Hardallo, group interview in al-Ashiqqa, 7 April 1987, cited Muhammad Hussein, *Marfa' al-Dhaakira al-Sudaniyya* (Khartoum: s.n., 2008), 178.
- 104 El-Affendi, 128.
- 105 Qalandar, *Sanawat*, 445–6.
- 106 Qalandar, *Sanawat*, 446–7.
- 107 Al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 6.
- 108 Al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 7.
- 109 Uthman Abdullah, Interview, *al-Sudani*, 10 April 2007 (2-2).
- 110 Pierce Interview, FOAHC.
- 111 *Al-Ra'i al-'Aam*, 6 April 2008.
- 112 Al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 35.
- 113 'One Party Rule Overthrown: At Last!', *Sudanow*, April 1985, 9–11. Even Zein al-Abdin Abd al-Qadir, a former senior SSU official, admits that it was a 'comedy' (*hazila*). Abd al-Qadir, 176.
- 114 Isma'il al-Haj Musa, Interview, *al-Sahafa*, 27–29 April 2008, cited in Muhammad Hussein, *Marfa' al-Dhaakira al-Sudaniyya* (Khartoum: s.n., 2008), 144.
- 115 Muhammad Jadein, *Safahat min Tarikh al-Tayyar al-Qawmi wa Hizb al-Ba'ath fi al-Sudan* (Khartoum: Dar al-Izza li'l-Nushr wa'l-Tawzia, 2011), 311.
- 116 Eric Rouleau, Diane James, Jim Paul, 'Sudan's Revolutionary Spring', MERIP Reports No. 135, 19–24.
- 117 Taha, 106–10.
- 118 Rouleau et al., 19–24.
- 119 See Chapter 5.
- 120 *Al-Sahafa*, 7 April 2012. Muhammad al-Hasan, *Haqa'iq wa'l Khafaya al-Intifada al-Sha'abiyya* (Khartoum: Matabi'a 'al-Farah' li-tiba'a wa'l Nushr, 1986), 17.
- 121 Interview 39. Siwar al-Dahab observes that he heard rumours that Umar al-Tayyib was about to take over, but did not think such an eventuality would be likely because of his lack of support within the country. Interview 30.
- 122 See Chapter 5.
- 123 Badreldin Mudathir, Interview, *al-Destour*, 4 April 1985, cited in Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 47.
- 124 Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 45.
- 125 'Bayyan min al-Hizb al-Ittihad al-Dimurati', 1 April 1985, cited in al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 28.
- 126 *Al-Ayyam*, 7 April 1986.
- 127 Abbas Abdelkarim, Abdallah el-Hasan and David Seddon, 'The Generals Step in', MERIP Reports No. 135, 19–24.
- 128 Jadein, *Safahat*, 320.
- 129 Woodward, *Unstable State*, 202. Gallab, *Republic*, 57–8.
- 130 Gallab, *Republic*, 57–8.
- 131 Al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 22–3.
- 132 'Sard Mukhtasar li-Intifada Madina BuurtSudan', 20 April 1985, found in *Nushrat al-Tajammu al-Watani (NTW)*, Sudan Library, University of Khartoum.
- 133 Mirghani al-Nasri, Interview, *Al-Sudani*, 7 April 2009.
- 134 *Al-Ayyam*, 12 April 1985.
- 135 Youssef Choueri, 'The political discourse of contemporary Islamist movements', in Sidahmed and Ehtesami (eds), *Islamic Fundamentalism*, 26–7.

- 136 See Chapter 3.
- 137 El-Affendi, 124.
- 138 'Either this or the flood', *Alfikra.org*, http://www.alfikra.org/article_page_view_e.php?article_id=1001&page_id=1 (accessed on 12 March 2012).
- 139 Khalid, *Nimeiri*, 393.
- 140 *Al-Midan*, August/September 1983.
- 141 *Al-Midan*, April 1980.
- 142 See Barbara Zollner, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Hasan al-Hudaybi and Ideology* (London: Routledge, 2009), for the importance of this concept in Egypt.
- 143 'Bayyan min al-Hizb al-Ittihad al-Dimurati', 1 April 1985, cited in al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 28.
- 144 Eisa Jadid interview with Fadlallah Burma Nasir, *Akhir Lahza*, 6 April 2013, <http://www.akhirlahza.sd/akhir/index.php/2011-04-10-12-18-39/27557-2-2.html> (accessed on 14 April 2013).
- 145 *Al-Ayyam*, 11 April 1985.
- 146 *Al-Sahafa*, 17 April 1985.
- 147 Munzoul Assal, 'Urbanization and the future of Sudan', *Making Sense of Sudan*, posted 29 January 2008. Also see attached responses, especially the debate between Assal and Asif Faiz. <http://blogs.ssrc.org/sudan/2008/01/29/urbanization-and-the-future/>, visited 16 March 2011.
- 148 Ibrahim Elnur, *Contested Sudan: The Political Economy of War and Reconstruction* (London: Routledge, 2008), 94–7.
- 149 Meredith, *State of Africa*, 280–1.
- 150 Elnur, *Contested*, 53.
- 151 Woodward, *Unstable State*, 130.
- 152 Ahmad Fadil al-Fadaylabi, 'al-Shamasa fasil tha'ir ... wa lahum qadiyya' *al-Ayyam*, 15 April 1985.
- 153 Berridge, 'Nests of Criminals', 246.
- 154 Berridge, 'Nests of Criminals', 246.
- 155 Interview 19.
- 156 Interview 22.
- 157 Al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 9.
- 158 Interview 8.
- 159 Interview 6.
- 160 *Al-Midan*, December 1980. 'Min Milaff al-Intifada: Taqir Sayr al-Ahdath fi Kurdufan', undated circa April 1985, *NTW*.
- 161 M. W. Daly, *Darfur's Sorrow* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 225.
- 162 Jadein, *Safahat*, 256.
- 163 *Al-Hadaf*, 3 April 1987.
- 164 Al-Hussein, *Faidan*, 67–8. 'Liqa'a ma' wafd madina Atbara', 9 April 1985, *NTW*.
- 165 Al-Hussein, *Faidan*, 67–8. *al-Hadaf*, 3 April 1987.
- 166 Interview 17. Al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 25.
- 167 *Al-Sahafa*, 13 April 1985. Al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 77–8. 'Taqir min sayr al-ahadith fi madina Kassala', 9 April 1985, found in *NTW*.
- 168 Al-Hussein, *Faidan*, 73.
- 169 Abdelkarim et al., 'Generals'. Al-Hussein, *Faidan*, 7–23.
- 170 Al-Hussein, *Faidan*, 23. Interview 47, Interview 28.
- 171 Interview 57.
- 172 Al-Hussein, *Faidan*, 77–8.

- 173 *Al-Sahafa*, 13 April 1985. *Al-Tajammu*, 14 April 1985. 'al-Ahdath fi Kurdufan', *NTW*. 'Wafd madina Atbara', *NTW*.
- 174 *Al-Tajammu*, 14 May 1985.
- 175 *Al-Tajammu*, 14 April 1985.
- 176 *Al-Midan*, 12 October 1985.
- 177 John Morton, 'Ethnicity and Politics in Red Sea Province, Sudan'. *African Affairs* 88 (1989): 69.
- 178 Charles Tripp, 'Egypt 1945-1952: The uses of disorder', in Michael J. Cohen and Martin Kolinsky (eds), *Demise of the British Empire in the Middle East* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 112.
- 179 Al-Fadaylbi, 'al-Shamaasa'.
- 180 *Al-Midan*, 4 April 1986.
- 181 Interview 7.
- 182 See Chapter 3.
- 183 Tariq Ismael, *The Sudanese Communist Party* (London: Routledge, 2012), 62–3.
- 184 *Al-Midan*, July 1983.
- 185 See Chapter 5.
- 186 Humada Abd al-Azim Humada, Interview (2/2), *Al-Ahram*, 7 April 2012.
- 187 Abd al-Aziz Dafa'allah, Interview, *al-Sahafa*, 7 April 2012.
- 187 Al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 6.
- 188 Al-Hussein, *al-Faidan*, 6.
- 189 Abd al-Majid Aleish, *Yawmiyyat al-Dawla al-Islamiyya* (Khartoum: Dar al-Izza li'l-Nushr wa'l Tawzia, 2005), 68.
- 190 Abdelkarim, 'Generals', 19–24.
- 191 'BuurtSudan', *NTW*.
- 192 'BuurtSudan', *NTW*.
- 193 *al-Sahafa*, 7 April 2002.
- 194 Taj al-Din Abdallah Fadl, Interview, *al-Siyasa*, 6 April 1986. *al-Sahafa*, 17 April 1985.

Chapter 3

- 1 Raymond Hinnebusch, 'Political Parties and Trade Unions', in Youssef Choueiri (ed.), *A Companion to the History of the Middle East* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 334–54 at 334. Ayubi, 399.
- 2 Alexander Thomson, *An Introduction to African Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- 3 Interview 11.
- 4 Abdelwahab el-Affendi, *Turabi's Revolution* (London: Grey Seal, 1991), 89.
- 5 El-Affendi, 53–4.
- 6 Abdullahi A. Gallab, *First Islamist Republic* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 61.
- 7 M. W. Daly and P. M. Holt, *A History of the Sudan* (London: Longman, 2000), 177.
- 8 Daly and Holt, 177.
- 9 Loav Alon, 'Tribes and state formation in Mandatory Transjordan'. *IJMES* 37 (2005): 216.
- 10 Al-Amin Abd al-Rahman Ahmad Eisa, *Al-Fariq Ibrahim Abboud* (Khartoum: Sharika al-mataabi' al-Sudaniyya li'l-umla al-mahduda, 2005), 179.
- 11 *Al-Sahafa*, 22 October 2011.
- 12 Muhammad Khair Haggani, 'Thawra October 1964 ... bayna ihtifa' wa'l tashkiik', 19 October 2011, <http://www.sudaneseonline.com/arabic/index.php/html>.

- 13 R. Scott Appleby (ed.), *Spokesmen for the Despised* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 8.
- 14 El-Affendi, 63.
- 15 John Voll, 'The Evolution of Islamic Fundamentalism in Twentieth-Century Sudan', in Gabriel Warburg and Uri M. Kupferschmidt (eds), *Islam, Nationalism and Radicalism in Egypt and Sudan* (New York: Praeger, 1983), 131.
- 16 Abdel Salam Sidahmed, 'Sudan: Ideology and Pragmatism', in Sidahmed and Ehteshami (eds), *Islamic Fundamentalism* (Oxford: Westview, 1996), 179–98.
- 17 Interview 16.
- 18 Interview 16.
- 19 Ahmad Muhammad Shamouq, *Oktober al-Thawra al-Zafira* (Khartoum: Ha'ai al-Khartoum li'l-Sahafa wa Nushr, 3rd edn, 2008), 179. A similar account is rendered by Abdullah Alaqam, 'Hawamish ala daftar thawra Oktober', who identifies both al-Turabi and Ali Muhammad Khair as the men who incited the students in this way.
- 20 Interview 16.
- 21 Shamouq, 179.
- 22 Interview 32.
- 23 Interview 8.
- 24 Abdullah Alaqam, 'Hawamish ala daftar thawra Oktober'.
- 25 Interview 8.
- 26 When the author made reference to these claims in his interview with al-Turabi, the latter responded by simply changing the subject and re-iterating standard Islamist claims about the reaction of the SCP to the Revolution. Interview 43. The fact that al-Turabi encouraged the crowds to disperse peacefully is acknowledged by El-Affendi, who at the time he published his book was one of his sympathizers. See el-Affendi, 71.
- 27 Shamouq, 180.
- 28 Yahya Muhammad Mahmoud al-Malik, 'Nadwa al-Arba'a 21 October 1964: Khawatir Musharik wa Shahid Ayyan', *Ray al-Sha'ab*, 25 October 2011. Interview 21.
- 29 See post by al-Taj al-Sirr Abdullah, 'Bi-Munasiba dhikra Thawra al-Oktober: al-Munadil Faruq Abu Issa bi-la hudud', <http://www.sudaneseonline.com/cgi-bin/sdb/2bb.cgi?seq=msg&board=13&msg=1189109816&func=previous>, 29 October 2012.
- 30 Interview 29.
- 31 Interview 35.
- 32 El-Affendi, 70.
- 33 El-Affendi, 71. See Shamouq, 79–80 for details of the attendance of Muhammad Salih Umar and Ali Abdalla Yaqub at this particular seminar.
- 34 El-Affendi, 71.
- 35 Ahmad Ali Baggadi, 'Ajhadat thawra October wa ba'a al-Sudan bi-Khasran Azim', *al-Ra'i al-'Aam*, 27 October 2011.
- 36 El-Affendi, 62.
- 37 El-Affendi, 64.
- 38 El-Affendi, 63.
- 39 Gallab, *Republic*, 53.
- 40 Rabie Hasan Ahmad, Interview, *al-Mithaq*, 20 October 1965. Shamouq, 149, 170. There were, of course, a number of non-Islamists involved in this protest – see Chapter 4.
- 41 Hamdi stayed with al-Bashir during Turabi's famous break with the latter in 1999, while Muhammad Salih Umar and Turabi became engaged in a particularly acrimonious dispute within the Muslim Brotherhood between 1966 and 1968. El-Affendi, 87, 106.

- 42 Shamouq, 178.
- 43 Interview 16.
- 44 Shamouq, 178.
- 45 Rabie Hasan Ahmad interview with al-Tahir al-Tom, 19 October 2012, *tahertom.net*, http://www.tahertom.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=211:-21-1964-1964-12-2012-&catid=3:2010-07-07-12-05-53&Itemid=7 (viewed 28 October 2012).
- 46 Interview 48.
- 47 El-Affendi, 64.
- 48 See Chapter 6.
- 49 Interview 43.
- 50 Interview 43.
- 51 Interview 46.
- 52 *Al-Sahafa*, 23 October 2011.
- 53 Ismael, 31.
- 54 Muhammad Abu al-Qasim Hajj Hamad, *al-Sudan: al-Ma'zaq al-Tarikhi wa Afaq al-Mustaqbal*, Vol. 2, (Beirut: Dar Ibn al-Hazm, 1996), 273. Interview 7, Interview 16.
- 55 Hamad, 273.
- 56 Hamad, 273.
- 57 Muhammad Ahmad Mahgub, *Democracy on Trial* (London: Deutsch, 1974), 191. El-Affendi, who is a pro-ICF source, refers to this as only 'apparent collusion' and cites the SCP statement that its participation would work to 'deepen the crisis of the regime' without particularly criticizing it. El-Affendi, 70. Abdullahi Ali Ibrahim, 'Rabi' thawra October 1964: Abd al-Khaliq Mahgub Maestro al-Taktik', *SudaneseOnline*, 10 October 2009, <http://www.sudaneseonline.com/cgi-bin/sdb/2bb.cgi?seq=msg&board=350&msg=1318008576> (accessed 29 June 2012). al-Tayyib Zain al-Abdin, 'Thawra 1964m man sana'aha?', *al-Intibaha*, 21 October 2011, http://alintibaha.net/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4269:-1964-&Itemid=507 (accessed 4 July 2012).
- 58 Interview 42, Interview 48.
- 59 Ahmad Sulayman, *Siyasa Fikr wa Jawlat* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1984), 269–70.
- 60 Sulayman, *Siyasa Fikr wa Jawlat*, 269–70.
- 61 Interview 48.
- 62 Hizb al-Shiyu'i al-Sudani, *Thawrat al-Sha'ab* (Riyadh: Sharika al-Tiba'a al-Arabiyya al-Sa'udia, 1964), 442–8.
- 63 Ali Kinein, '21 October wa lahzatha tarikhiyya', *al-Midan*, 21 October 2011.
- 64 Ali Kinein, *al-Midan*, 21 October 2011.
- 65 'Hawla al-Mawqif al-Siyasi wa'l Idrab al-Siyasi al-'Aam', *Al-Shiyu'i*, 29 August 1961, cited in *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 420.
- 66 'Hawla al-Mawqif al-Siyasi wa'l Idrab al-Siyasi al-'Aam', *Al-Shiyu'i*, 29 August 1961, cited in *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 420.
- 67 'Hawla al-Mawqif al-Siyasi wa'l Idrab al-Siyasi al-'Aam', *Al-Shiyu'i*, 29 August 1961, cited in *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 420.
- 68 'Hawla al-Mawqif al-Siyasi wa'l Idrab al-Siyasi al-'Aam', *Al-Shiyu'i*, 29 August 1961, cited in *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 420.
- 69 *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 438.
- 70 *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 434.
- 71 Fadl Hasan, 501.
- 72 *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 436.

- 73 *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 436.
- 74 *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 436.
- 75 *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 436.
- 76 *Thawrat al-Sha'ab*, 436.
- 77 Reproduction of a speech made by Abd al-Khaliq Mahgub on 21 October 1965, cited in *Al-Midan*, 24 October 1986.
- 78 Shamouq, 178.
- 79 Warburg, *Islam*, 114.
- 80 Interview 32.
- 81 Warburg, *Islam*, 114.
- 82 Abd al-Rahman, *Ashwaq*, 83.
- 83 *Al-Midan*, 24 October 1986.
- 84 Interview 48.
- 85 Sir I Scott to Gordon Walker, 4 November 1964, FO371/178810.
- 86 Mustafa Mubarak, 'Al-idrab siyasi al-aam wa kaifa bada', *Al-Ra'i al-'Aam*, 10 November 2011. Shawgi Mallasi, *Awraq Sudaniyya* (Dar al-Izza li'l-Nushr wa'l-Tawzi', Khartoum: s.n., 2004), 70.
- 87 Farouk Abu Eissa states that he was involved in negotiations with the parties on 28 October, and appears not to have known much about it until after the event. Interview 48.
- 88 Abdullahi Ali Ibrahim, 'Thawra October 1964 Sudaniyya ... lamma yatill fi fajrna zaalim', *al-Ra'i al-Sha'ab*, 25 October 2011.
- 89 Interview 6.
- 90 Nugd interview, *al-Sahafa*.
- 91 Interview 6.
- 92 For Farouk Abu Eissa's decision to stay in the Nimeiri government as foreign minister following the crisis of 1970, see post by al-Tijani al-Tayyib Babikir, 'Bi-Munasiba dhikra Thawra al-Oktober: al-Munadil Faruq Abu Issa bi-la hudud', <http://www.sudaneseonline.com/cgi-bin/sdb/2bb.cgi?seq=msg&board=13&msg=1189109816&func=previous>, 24 October 2012. See also Tariq Y Ismael, *Sudanese Communist Party* (London: Routledge, 2012), 50.
- 93 See Chapter 4.
- 94 Muhammad Ali Jadein, *Safahat min Tarikh al-Tayyar al-Qawmi wa Hizb al-Ba'ath fi al-Sudan* (Khartoum: Dar al-Izza li'l-Nushr wa'l-Tawzia, 2011), 14–17.
- 95 Jadein, *Safahat*, 20–37.
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Chapter 5

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- 32 M. W. Daly and P. M. Holt, *A History of the Sudan* (London: Longman, 2000), 182.
- 33 Ahmad Sulayman, *Siyasa Fikr wa Jawlat* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1984), 267-70, reproducing an article from *al-Ayyam* dated 11 November 1981.
- 34 Mallasi, 82. Interview 15. Mansour Khalid also mentions that al-Baghir Muhammad Ahmad was the man who led the tanks that surrounded the Republican palace and forced Abboud to abdicate. Mansour Khalid, *Nimeiri and the Revolution of Dis-May* (London: KPI, 1985), 9.
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- 43 Bireir, 538-9.
- 44 Mahmoud Qalandar, *Al-Sudan wa Nizam al-Fariq Abboud* (Khartoum: Dar al-Izza li'l-Nushr wa'l Tawzia, 2011), 199, 206. Qalandar relies on Bireir's book for his account, but he has also completed interviews with a number of senior military figures.
- 45 Mamoun Biheiri, *Lamhat fi Tajarib Rajul Khidma 'Aama min jil al-Ruwwad al-Sudaniyya* (Khartoum, Muhammad Umar Bashir Centre for Sudanese Studies, 1980), 107.

- 46 Interview 10. For a full list of members of the movement and the years in which they joined, see Al-Shaikh Mustafa, 'Tanzim Dubbat al-Ahrar wa Dawrahu fi Thawra Mayo', *al-Intibaha*, 30 May 2012.
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- 48 Qalandar, *Abboud*, 204.
- 49 Mustafa, 'Tanzim'.
- 50 Qalandar, *Abboud*, 204.
- 51 Bireir, 546.
- 52 Ghandur, 126.
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- 54 Bireir, 524–5.
- 55 Bireir, 527.
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- 57 Qalandar, *Abboud*, 201–2.
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- 59 Bireir, 547.
- 60 Mallasi, 76.
- 61 Interview 18.
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- 63 Mallasi, 81.
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- 65 Interview 10.
- 66 Zein al-Abdin Muhammad Ahmad 'Abd al-Qadir, *Mayo: Sanawat al-Khasb wa'l Jafaf* (Khartoum: Markaz Muhammad Umar Bashir li'l-Dirasat al-Sudaniyya, 2011), 3.
- 67 For Muhammad Irwa's Khatmi background, see Interview 22. For the rest, Holt and Daly, 75.
- 68 Interview 22. While the author is relying on Mahjub Irwa – who no doubt wishes to present his relative in a positive light and to disassociate him from the acts of a regime now discredited for this account – it would explain why the KUSU executive committee were, to their own surprise, detained one day after submitting the memorandum rather than immediately – Interview 41. Moreover, it is well known that during the early days of the Revolution, Irwa was in Kassala (see Thomson, 16), which, given the intensity of the political situation at the time, would seem strange were it not for the fact that, as Mahjub Irwa claims, he had fallen out with his SCAF comrades and resigned his post.
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- 72 *Al-Ra'i al-Aam*, 23 October 2011.
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- 76 Qalandar, *Abboud*, 203.
- 77 Interview 29. Rabie Hasan Ahmad, Interview (3/3), *Akhir Lahza*, 23 October 2011. Thomson, 20.
- 78 Bireir, 554.
- 79 Thomson, 17.

- 80 'Shakhsiyyat Askariyya', RSMNDW.Gallab, *Republic*, 70.
- 81 See Qalandar, 134 for details of the expulsions.
- 82 See Chapter 6.
- 83 Abd al-Rahman, *Ashwaq*. Jafa'ar Karrar Interview, *al-Sahafa*, 21 October 1999.
- 84 Karrar Interview, *al-Sahafa*.
- 85 Interview 22. Bireir, 556. Muzammil Ghandur admits that he, at one stage, approached Hasan Bashir Nasr and suggested that he take over from Abboud, although he also claims that Muhammad Al-Baghir Ahmad, Muhammad Idris Abdullah and al-Tayyib al-Mardi supported him in this. Ghandur, 126.
- 86 Interview 48.
- 87 Bireir, 558. Hasan al-Turabi, Interview, *al-Sahafa*, 5 December 1964.
- 88 Al-Turabi Interview, *al-Sahafa*.
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- 90 Bireir, 270.
- 91 Interview 10. Bireir, 560.
- 92 Bireir, 560.
- 93 Bireir, 560. Qalandar, *Abboud*, 207.
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- 95 'Shakhsiyyat Askariyya', RSMNDW. See Shamouq, 31 for details of Khawwad's departure from the November Regime.
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- 97 Mustafa, 'Tanzim'.
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- 99 *Al-Midan* February 1979.
- 100 Ibrahim, *Awraq*, 57.
- 101 Ibrahim, Abu Humayd Ahmad, *Qissat Kifah wa Najah* (Khartoum: Dar al-Izza li-Nushr wa'l Tawzia, 2007), 230.
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- 103 Qalandar, *Sanawat*, 399.
- 104 Interview with Hussein al-Hindi, *al-Destour*, 8–14 November 1980.
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- 110 Unsigned correspondence dated 18 December 1980, 'Visit of the Lord Privy Seal to the Sudan: 8–10 December 1980', FCO 93/2533.
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- 114 Sa'id, *al-Saif*, 99. Interview 22.
- 115 Mustafa al-Bakri, *Qissat al-Thawra fi Sudan* (Cairo: Dar al-Imad, 1985), 23.
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- 132 Al-Mirghani, 238.
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- 165 Amin Hasan Umar, Interview with Muhammad al-Shaikh Hussain, *al-Sahafa*, 6 April 2011.
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Chapter 6

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