Under the threat of Partition: A Proposed Geographical Strategy for Sudan to Remain a cohesive state

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Abstract: **Sudan is characterized by a complex colonial history, distinct geographical characteristics, and a diverse tribal and ethnic composition. This has resulted in many central problems related to spatial and human development or to tribal conflicts of an ethnic nature and armed conflict, such that they threaten its survival as a cohesive state, especially in light of the growing international ambitions for its rich natural resources. There are many provisions in the documents of the various political agreements for peace with the rebel groups that address Sudan's central issues, and such situations constitute topics for scientific research with the aim of achieving economic and political stability for Sudan and thus its geographical cohesion as a state. This research worked on that line and proposed a geographical strategy composed of a vision, a mission, five strategic objectives, thirteen strategies, and forty-one projects to keep Sudan a cohesive State. The proposed strategy strengthens/weakens the positive/negative Sudan's central issues outlined in the text. However, it is necessary for the Sudanese, the politicians, and those in charge in particular, to become familiar with Sudan's geography, as it will enable them to lay solid foundations for how to manage their country politically, economically, and socially**

Keywords: **negative geography, positive geography, geographic cohesion, central issues, threats to survival, peaceful efforts, geographical strategy.**

1. INTRODUCTION

Sudan suffers from many central problems that threaten its survival as a single cohesive state. The geographical composition of Sudan has been linked to colonial thought and history and to the differences in political thought of the national regimes that succeeded it. The historical policies of British colonialism affected Sudan's geographical, political, and social future after its departure. Since Sudan is distinguished by its strategic geographical location and the diversity of its natural resources, it gave it regional and global importance and made it coveted by colonial powers. These natural resources also worked, along with regional development policies, in determining the spatial signature of patterns of economic and social development that were characterized by regional imbalance. All of this helped in the emergence of tribal conflicts, regional rebellions, and political-social conflict therein. The rebel movements have created challenges to the legitimacy of the independent Sudanese state, in addition to elaborate external plans to weaken it, so that Sudan is heading towards increasing fragmentation and division despite all efforts. From local, regional, and global efforts, agreements were signed to achieve peace since it gained its independence in 1956 AD.

This research proposes a geographical strategy composed of a vision, a mission, five strategic objectives, thirteen strategies, and forty-one projects to help keep Sudan a cohesive State.

2. THE GENERAL OVERVIEW OF SUDAN'S CENTRAL ISSUES

The geographical formation of Sudan is linked to the global history of colonialism. The map of Sudan took its internationally known form until 2011 AD, when South Sudan separated from it, and Sudan lost a third of its area. State-making in Sudan in its current form, from its rule until it gained independence, is considered the effort and work of rulers from abroad, with some limited Sudanese side entrances. In the beginning, there was Turkish-Egyptian rule, and secondly, there was British-Egyptian rule, separated by thirteen years, which was the Mahdist period. The state imposed by the Turks and then the British was not built only by foreigners, but it reflects the external orientation and economic ambitions of Muhammad Ali Pasha and his followers on one side, and the strategic necessities of the British Empire on the other side (Woodward, 1987). The people they cooped under their foreign rule were different rather than homogeneous. The ruling Sudanese political elite faced two overlapping processes: the formation of the Sudanese nation and the building of state institutions that could be influential in delivering the benefits of development.

The geographical location of Sudan, its large latitudinal extension, its wide area, and its long maritime borders gave its geo-political situation great importance, and the natural and human components of Sudan (Davies, 1986) provided the infrastructure for the implementation of socio-economic development projects according to plans drawn up in the colonial period and after its exit, which were affected Much of the philosophy of development in its schools and theories, which brought about immediate and future results for Sudan. The pattern of development during the colonial period and beyond focused on the mudflats of central Sudan for the production of cash crops, which formed the economic heart of Sudan. These cumulative development efforts resulted in disparities in regional development and the emergence of two main agricultural patterns (sectors), namely the traditional pattern (sector) and the modern irrigated pattern (sector), or irrigated from tanks, pumps, or rain in the Gedarief region. This has resulted in the unequal distribution of wealth in Sudan and the emergence of migration and civil and armed conflicts. Unbalanced regional development (Johnson 2014; Yagoob et al. 2016) is the main cause of internal migration in Sudan. Sudan is also considered one of the African countries most vulnerable to the effects of climate change as a result of the interplay of endemic poverty, environmental systems deterioration, complex disasters, conflicts, and the limited availability of capital, markets, infrastructure, and technology, which weakened the ability of its population to adapt to climate changes (Magnusson, 1969).

Sudanese politics was shaped under the influence of different intellectual currents coming from outside Sudan. The continuing dynamic demand for Islam, the growth of modern nationalist movements, and the emergence of some ideologies such as communism have played an important role in the contemporary history of Sudan since it took the form of a unified state with extensive and continuous parties. Sudanese politics today is considered a product of internal tensions and political differences at the regional level. After the end of colonialism, Sudan inherited a country divided and shackled by false borders that forcefully brought together many races with different identities, origins, and beliefs. Ethnic and religious differences in Sudan have become one of the causes of conflict and political instability. Especially since identity is defined in ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious frameworks (Idris, 2012). Tribalism has usually been reproduced in Sudan by virtue of the expansion of the "tribal" logic through political practice since the Turkish invasion in 1821 AD when the difficulty of practicing political action without the influence of the tribal factor was confirmed. The situation has been exacerbated by the occurrence of conflicts over natural resources at the local community level, which are exacerbated by various state policies. Thus, the tribal conflict is linked to the social-political conflict in Sudan and extends to reflect environmental problems, conflict over natural resources, rural poverty, and problems of urban growth.

Land ownership issues have played a role in creating poverty and in driving and sustaining conflict, creating complexities not only in the dynamics of local conflict as a mere manifestation of larger political divisions but in its nature driven by top-down and bottom-up agendas (Woodward, 1987, Alredaisy, 2012). It also found major problems related to the many and rapid changes in the country's administrative system. The local demand for revolutionary change was met after May 1969 by implementing the popular local government system of 1971, moving towards democracy and socialism. The Darfur administrative referendum, the deliberations of the National Dialogue on the administrative situation in the country, and the results of the National Conference to Evaluate and Evaluate Federal Governance once again brought to mind the administrative transformations and administrative division of Sudan since the beginning of Turkish rule and then the dual rule (Collins et al. 1961), and the formation of Sudan's administrative map for economic and political reasons. The effects of this administrative division are continuing (Abushouk, 2010). The scarcity of human and financial resources in the country, the effort to maintain tight political control over the members of the states and the increase in their numbers are considered obstacles for these states to deal with their development problems well. Given that the Bedouin groups in Sudan

face complex marginalization processes that the land laws and undirected development plans established by the state have accelerated, this situation has been further exacerbated by an administrative situation resulting from the abandonment of local traditional mechanisms that were used to govern the relationship between individuals and groups in rural areas and regulate their exploitation of resources.

Since its independence in 1956 AD, Sudan has witnessed the emergence of armed ethnic and regional protest movements that have led to great human suffering and huge numbers of displaced people and refugees (Ylonen, 2005). These protest movements have created challenges to the legitimacy of the independent Sudanese state led by the Arabized elite in positions of power that enable them to determine citizenship rights. The reasons for the secession of South Sudan were the North's oppression of the South, the imposition of Arab-Islamic culture on Christian and pagan Africans, the neglect of development in the South and limiting them to the people of the North and Center, and others. The superpowers were inspired by the idea of secession mainly from the geographical background associated with religion and ethnic groups in South Sudan.

The secession of South Sudan in 2011 AD constituted a turning point in the history of the Sudanese state, as it is considered a way out of the failed transition following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005 AD, which left the rest of the regions involved in forms of old and new conflicts. The secession of South Sudan did not end the internal conflicts in Sudan, as Khartoum began fighting rebels in Darfur, and war broke out in South Kordofan and the Blue Nile. Since Sudan's independence, governments and rebels have worked to stir up conflict conditions with the aim of advancing their political and economic agenda. The issues of re-signing resources and political marginalization create a framework for the perpetuation of internal wars in Sudan, making the success of current and future peace programs unlikely, if not impossible (Machar, 1995).

Israel made Sudan part of its broader strategy (Oded, 2006). This is due to its belief that the existence of a unified Sudan, given that it is an Arab people, will support the Palestinian and Arab issue and help support the balance of power in favor of the Arabs in their struggle with it. The United States is considered the main force behind the separatist movement in South Sudan to grant independence to the Darfur region, and to divide Sudan into five countries as part of its plan to redivide the Arab and Islamic countries into tribal and sectarian units. Therefore, over the past decades, Sudan has been facing elaborate and integrated strategies to prepare the stage and weaken Sudan in preparation for the passing of foreign agendas and interests, within colonial control in the so-called "post-colonial" period, and its efforts to achieve peace in Sudan.

3. EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN SUDAN

For decades, Sudan has witnessed negotiations between the central government and rebel parties in some regions, some of which ended with success and others with failure. The Round Table Conference was held in March 1965 to discuss constitutional relations between the North and the South. The southerners disagreed and divided into three groups: a group demanding unity, a group calling for secession, and a group demanding self-rule within the framework of a federal Sudan. The Addis Ababa Agreement in March 1972 focused on respecting religions, recognizing the cultural characteristics of the people of South Sudan, and recognizing the right of the South to self-government without the domination of the center. In the Kokadam Agreement in March 1986, between the leaders of the National Rally and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, a ceasefire was requested, the laws of September 1983 were abolished, and the military agreements with Egypt and Libya were canceled, provided that a constitutional conference would be held in June 1986 that would include the problem of nationalities, basic human rights, and a political system. Governance, debt problems, unbalanced development, cultural problems, education, and foreign policy (Khaled, 2000).

The Sudanese peace agreement between Al-Mirghani and John Garang in November 1988 stipulated the principles of unity, upholding the bond of citizenship, freezing laws attributed to Islam, and canceling military agreements with the countries with which Sudan was a signatory (Khalid, 2000). The Palace Agreement in April 1989, sponsored by Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi, and all Sudanese parties, with the exception of the National Islamic Front, resulted in the renunciation of war, the confirmation of previous peace agreements with the SPLM, the abolition of the laws of September 1983, and the establishment of the Constitutional Conference. The Sudanese government agreed in Abuja 1 in May 1992 with the southern factions (Garang and the Nasser group) to distribute public income, rebuild areas destroyed by the war, and address the problems of migrants and refugees. The Abuja 2 conference was held in April 1993 between the Sudanese government and a number of officials from the southern and western states, and it was agreed to commit to the unity of Sudan, to form a committee to distribute national income, and to continue dialogue on the issues of religion and state.

The IGAD Initiative in May 1994 stressed the unity of Sudan, the recognition of democratic pluralism, the decentralization of governance, and the equitable distribution of wealth. The National Salvation Government did not sign this initiative, as it reserved reservations about the separation of religion from the state, but it signed it again in July 1997. It laid the foundations for resolving the conflict in Sudan, which included a peaceful solution, the right to self-determination for the citizens of South Sudan through a referendum, and the priority of preserving the unity of Sudan, and realizing and absorbing All types of racial, ethnic, religious and cultural diversity in Sudan, ensuring full social and political equality among all Sudanese citizens, establishing a secular democratic state, achieving an appropriate division of wealth, human rights, independence of the judiciary, and the right to self-determination, including independence by referendum in the event that agreeing on some of the provisions contained in the agreement (Khaled, 2000) and on the historical structure of colonialism to achieve this (Fattah, 2018; Al-Bawaba, 2011; Albdel-Alatif, 1996; Al-Tanaib, 2019; El Shair, 2015).

IGAD adopted a two-dimensional approach, which is to support the military situation of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army and the northern opposition movements to put pressure on the Islamic Front government, which will not be able to win the war and to develop a framework that follows a policy to reduce the conflict and build a more harmonious system with the region. Efforts to unify the opposition succeeded in forming the National Democratic Alliance in June 1994, and it remains difficult to predict Sudan's future. The entry of the new regional leadership means that the power equation in Sudan will not continue for long, with the Arab/Muslim north prevailing (Deng, 1998). After the agreement between John Garang and the northern government, Mansour Khaled identified new points in the conflict, which are the recognition of the cultural and religious diversity of the country, the separation of religion and state, the recognition of citizenship as a main determinant of political rights and duties, and the radical reconstruction of the state as a quasi-confederal state, as he believes that these things represent Sudan's last chance to remain united (Khalid, 2003).

The National Rally held a conference on fateful issues in accordance with the decisions of Asmara in June 1995, which included all Sudanese forces from the north and south, with the exception of the ruling National Islamic Front. The National Rally discussed the issues of marginalized regions and the possibility of discussing a political-economic agenda that would reduce Khartoum's administrative hegemony over these regions and end the problem of distributing national wealth between them and the Nile North. He also raised the relationship between religion, state, and politics. The National Rally signed decisions including the right to self-determination for South Sudan, the restructuring of governance, and the distribution of powers between the center and the regions. The Egyptian-Libyan initiative - the Tripoli Declaration in July 1999, was at the invitation of the Sudanese National Democratic Rally, which was adopted by Egypt and Libya and became the basis for the joint initiative to resolve Sudanese conflicts and conclude a comprehensive political agreement.

The Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army Movement agreed in Machakos in November 2002 to abolish the application of Islamic law in areas inhabited by non-Muslims and to hold a referendum in the south on secession or unity after a six-year transitional period. As for the Nakura memorandum in July 2003, which was presented by IGAD mediators and rejected by the Sudanese government while the SPLM accepted it, it included determining the fate of the Abyei region and the Nuba Mountains, which would have its own state legislative body authorized (exclusively) and to enact laws on all the issues mentioned in the tables prepared in In the final draft of the protocol, the southern Blue Nile region will be subject to various arrangements in addition to including topics related to oil. The 2003 Naivasha Agreement between the government and John Garang stipulated a ceasefire and many security and other arrangements.

In addition to all these efforts, other efforts were made to achieve peace in Sudan, including the Nuba Conference Resolution - Towards a Bright Future for the Nuba Mountains - Kauda, December 2002, and the Ndjamena Agreement for a humanitarian ceasefire regarding the conflict in Darfur between the government, the Sudan Liberation Army/Movement, and the Justice and Equality Movement on April 8. 2004, and another on April 25, 2004, a protocol between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement on resolving the conflict in the Kordofan Mountains/Nuba and Blue Nile states, a protocol between the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement on the conflict in Abyei - May 26, 2004, and a protocol for improving the situation in Darfur between the government, the Sudan Liberation Army/Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement; Abuja - on November 9, 2004, and a draft framework protocol for resolving the conflict in Darfur between the Sudan Liberation Army/Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement in April 2005, and a declaration of principles for resolving the Sudanese conflict in Darfur between the government The Sudan Liberation Army/Movement and the Justice; and Equality Movement in Abuja, July 5, 2005, the Darfur Peace Agreement between the government and the Sudan Liberation Army/Movement - Abuja, May 5, 2006; the Declaration of Principles for Resolving the Conflict in Eastern Sudan between the Government and the Eastern Front, June 19, 2006, and

the Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement between the Government and the Eastern Front, October 14, 2006 (https://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sudan). The Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North also signed a framework agreement in Juba that included a number of provisions, the most important of which were security arrangements and the governance system (Al-Sharq Al-Awsat Newspaper, 2020).

Solutions were proposed that focused on adopting federalism and confederation to maintain Sudan's geographical control. The Leadership Council of the Beja Conference believes that the optimal governance system for running the country is the decentralized system, where Sudan is divided into autonomous regions within the framework of a single state, and the establishment of a pluralistic state that respects political, cultural, and religious diversity (Sputnik Arabic, 2017). Solutions were also proposed regarding the possibility of self-determination and the establishment of independent states in the event of the failure of the agreements signed between the government and the armed movements in some areas (peace agreements). The signing of the peace agreement between the transitional government and the armed movements in Juba in 2020 AD resulted in the emergence of other secessionist movements in the regions of northern and central Sudan, such as the Northern Entity and the Kush Movement, which did not exist before as a result of the unfairness of some of its provisions.

A peace building approach that enables the sources of conflict to be identified and offers multiple opportunities that are more integrated and comprehensive than what has been presented so far is important (Gunnar, 2010). This approach is "taking into account the fundamental changes that have occurred in a society that has been exposed to the risks of war and conflict, including rural-to-urban migration during periods of war, since Sudan gained independence in 1956 AD, it has not succeeded in maintaining a stable modern state" (Elnur, 2009). The idea of the United States of Sudan also emerged through a careful evaluation of the world's experiences in federal systems, taking into account the positives they demonstrated and avoiding the failures they highlighted. Conducting an objective evaluation of Sudan's experience in regional and federal governance and all that has befallen them over the years of their implementation, and ending the center-periphery conflict, is not excluded. Paving the way for the development of local cultures and languages, achieving balanced development locally in accordance with the local visions of the people of the states, opening areas of direct cooperation globally and regionally within an agreed-upon protocol, and encouraging reverse migration to the states to develop them and benefit from their resources and capabilities, and for Sudan to have a unified flag, currency, diplomatic representation, and others (El-Toam, 2020).

There are those who have pointed out that "Sudan's failure to build a unitary concept of self-definition formed the basis of the civil war that lasted for four decades. While geographical and demographic realities made the internationalization of the war inevitable in some respects, this occurred largely as a result of the schism between the Arabized North and The Muslim, South African and Christian are increasingly marginalized such that the cycle of violence can be summed up in the dynamics of recognition, confrontation, and alienation" (Deng et al. 1996). This may require "serious thinking about saving Sudan from the tampering of its people and placing it under international guardianship for a period of ten years, during which it will be under the direct umbrella of the Security Council, to secure the country from those who are fighting with it externally, and those who seek to tear it apart internally" (El-Toam 2017).

4. THE PROPOSED GEOGRAPHICAL STRATEGY TO KEEP SUDAN A COHESIVE STATE

Sudan's central issues have created a geographical reality that prospects for its survival as a unified country has become uncertain. The proposed geographical strategy here, could help Sudan to overcome these central issues and achieve spatial integration, political-social stability, and economic development.

1- The general framework of the strategic plan to weaken/strengthen the negative/positive Sudan's central issues (Table 1)

Table 1: The general framework of the strategic plan to weaken/strengthen the negative/positive Sudan's central issues

The general framework of the strategic plan to weaken/strengthen the negative/positive Sudan's central issues		
What do we want to achieve?	**Vision**	**Vision**: The ambitious future situation that Sudan aspires to is to weaken the negative geography factors to strengthen the positive geography factors
	Mission	**Mission**: The main goal that Sudan wants to achieve is to weaken the negative factors of geography
	Strategic objectives (5)	**Strategic objectives**: goals, desired results, and long-term measures for Sudan to weaken negative geography factors

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| How do we achieve what we want? | Strategies (13) | **Strategies**: Direction and how to move towards achieving Sudan's strategic goals to weaken negative geographical factors |
| | Projects (41) | **Projects**: A specific system of objectives, detailed activities, procedures, and performance indicators to implement a specific strategy to weaken the negative factors of geography. |

2- Pivotal strategic data and directions and their implications for the strategic plan to weaken/strengthen the negative/positive Sudan's central issues (Table 2)

Table 2: Pivotal strategic data and directions and their implications for the strategic plan to weaken/strengthen the negative/positive Sudan's central issues

Strategic data and directions	Its implications for the strategic plan
The trend is towards overcoming the negative aspects of Sudan's geographical formation process	Spreading the culture associated with clarifying the positive aspects of Sudan's large area and the multiplicity of its tribal and ethnic formations are factors of strength in building the modern state.
The trend towards eliminating disparities in economic and social development.	Formulating socio-economic development plans to reflect the state's plans to exploit its lands in a balanced manner between the various regions, taking into account geographical differences.
The trend towards weakening the fragility of the cultural, tribal, and ethnic formation in Sudan.	Increasing attention to awareness of the importance of true assimilation and peaceful coexistence and the repercussions of political conflict, civil wars, and forced migration on different societies.
The trend is towards linking scientific research at the state level and educational institutions with the requirements for the development of spatial development and linguistic and cultural overlap.	Paying attention to applied research and studies by developing a short-term research plan at the level of every entity relevant to this matter, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministries of Education, General and Higher Education, Information, and Social Welfare.
The trend is towards creating systems of cooperation and development partnerships to exploit Sudan's various resources between the regions of Sudan and with internal and external capitalist entities.	The state and regional governors communicate with internal and external parties from global economic institutions and voluntary, civil, and community associations.
Orientation towards developing the administrative system and improving its performance.	Implementing the federal system, evaluating global experiences related to it, and benefiting from Sudan's experiences in regional and local governance.

3- The themes and indicators of the strategic plan to weaken/strengthen the negative/positive Sudan's central issues (Table 3)

Table 3: Axes and indicators of the strategic plan to weaken/strengthen the negative/positive Sudan's central issues

Main topics	Main topics
The first main axis: is establishing a spatial database of Sudan's natural and human resources.	1Explaining the natural and spatial privileges of the various regions of Sudan. 2- Clarifying the population numbers, their geographical distribution, and their professional and skill characteristics. 3- Providing realistic visions of how to benefit from spatial data in achieving balanced regional development. 4-Working to end the center-periphery conflict through various national projects.
The second main axis: is supporting the federal system of government	1- Objective evaluation of Sudan's experience in regional and local governance. 2- Involving civil administrations in local administrations. 3- Involving qualified cadres from the people of the specified region in administrative work and in making administrative decisions within and across the region. 4- Formulating effective and effective legislation for local administrations and regional and central supervisory bodies.

	5- Maintaining the geographical unity of Sudan as a general umbrella that brings together the peoples of the Sudanese nation.
The third main axis: supporting balanced spatial development efforts	1- Developing national economic and social development plans that take into account ending the concept of center and margin. 2- Adopting national projects that encourage reverse migration to the states to develop them and determining the percentages of contribution to national projects between the states. 3- Determine state (regional) visions for balanced local development. 4- Working on freedom of development integration between and across states.
The fourth main axis: is the tendency to benefit from the cultural composition of Sudan.	1- Legislation guaranteeing the privacy of ethnic and cultural differences. 2- Spreading the culture of peaceful coexistence. 3- Building the basis of individual differentiation based on the values of the Islamic religion and sound human custom in general education curricula. 4-Weakening the concepts of preference through tribal and ethnic distinction. 5-Pave the way for the development of local cultures and languages.
The fifth main axis is strengthening the efforts made to keep Sudan geographically unified.	1- Benefiting from the positives of the peace agreements concluded in the various historical periods of Sudan. 2- Implementing some of the positive aspects of these agreements at the local community level. 3- Benefiting from the positive aspects of these agreements to solve current and emerging problems. 4- Taking lessons from the experiences of partition that occurred at the regional and global levels.
The sixth main axis: is supporting balanced international relations	1- Supporting economic relations between Sudan and foreign countries on the basis of mutual and common interests 2- Taking advantage of Sudan's distinguished geographical location to support its regional and international position. 3-Supporting global and regional economic cooperation within agreed-upon protocols.

4- Data collection and environmental analysis

Through my work in the field of geography for nearly four decades at the University of Khartoum and outside it, which included teaching various courses on the geography of Sudan, in addition to training field trips for students to different parts of Sudan, writing a number of books and published scientific research on the geography of Sudan, and listening to the opinions of many senior professors, and some political and community leaders, and review scientific journals related to Sudanese affairs and follow the course of political and other events through various media outlets with the available documented information and data, I can conduct an environmental analysis (SWOT ANALYSIS) of the strategic axes of weakening/strengthening the negative/positive of the proposed geographical strategy. By identifying the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats through analyzing the internal environment and the external environment of Sudan, according to each axis of the proposed strategy in order to meet its immediate needs and future aspirations. Below we will review the data for each axis individually in detail: -

5- Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats in the main axes of the strategy to weaken/strengthen the negative/positive Sudan's central issues

5-1: The first main axis: Establishing a spatial database for Sudan's natural and human resources (Table 4)

Table 4: Spatial database of Sudan's natural and human resources

Strength point	Weakness points
1- The state's trend towards computerization of natural and human resources. 2- The presence of government agencies specialized in the field of databases, such as the Ministry of Communications.	1- The ineffectiveness of traditional methods used in preserving and analyzing spatial data for Sudan's natural and human resources. 2- Inaccurate methods for actually evaluating the value of Sudan's various resources.

3- The presence of departments specialized in databases in all ministries and government departments. 4- The existence of bodies specialized in Sudanese lands, such as the Land Authority, advisory bodies, investment departments, and asset departments. 5- The large number of local and international investment companies that possess data on Sudan's natural and human resources.	3- Not taking advantage of the digital technologies available in many entities related to various black resources. 4- Failure to link the types of spatial data related to Sudan's resources to actual and future needs. 5- The absence of a comprehensive geographical view of the locations of natural resources, as they are viewed separately from each other.
Opportunities	Threats
1- Availability of the Internet, geographic information systems programs, and spatial browsers such as Google Earth. 2- There is a lot of spatial data on Sudan's various resources available to government agencies (central and state), such as maps of minerals, water, soil, agricultural lands, population, and others. 3-The presence of an estimated number of qualified cadres working in the ministries related to Sudan's resources, such as geologists, engineers, and others. 4- The state's tendency to expand field exploration of natural resources, which enables increased opportunities for exploiting them.	1- Availability of the Internet, geographic information systems programs, and spatial browsers such as Google Earth. 2- There is a lot of spatial data on Sudan's various resources available to government agencies (central and state), such as maps of minerals, water, soil, agricultural lands, population, and others. 3-The presence of an estimated number of qualified cadres working in the ministries related to Sudan's resources, such as geologists, engineers, and others. 4- The state's tendency to expand field exploration of natural resources, which enables increased opportunities for exploiting them.

5.2: The second main axis: Supporting the federal system of government (Table 5)

Table 5: Support for the federal system of government

Strength points	Weakness points
1- The many experiences of regional and local governance and the many positives. 2- There are many contributions and visions from Sudanese thinkers. 3- Providing the political environment for adopting the federal government. 4- The large area of Sudan confirms the difficulty of central rule. 5- The success of the federal government experience in many African countries similar to Sudan. 6- Providing political awareness that the secession of South Sudan would not have been possible if federal rule had been implemented.	1- Lack of sufficient budgets to meet administrative requirements. 2- Lack of agreement on administrative borders between states for historical and geographical reasons. 3- Tribal interference and internal migration movement between states. 4- Weak relationship between senior administrations and local and civil administrations. 5- Internal regional conflicts as a result of the large number of ethnicities in some regions. 6-Foreign interventions, especially from regional poles.
Opportunities	Threats
1- The desire of many of the ongoing movements for Sudan to remain united and for there to be an opportunity to take over the rule of their regions. 2- Beginning to implement the signed peace agreements. 3- Awareness of the consequences of wars on local communities and the natural environment among local officials. 4- Increase awareness of the necessity of regional integration and its economic-social benefits.	1- The presence of separatist tendencies in some regions and the demand for the right to self-determination. 2-The historical legacy of slavery and slavery among some regional components. 3- The difficulty of implementing reverse migration for people from different regions who were born and lived in regions other than their home regions. 4- The large number of intellectual affiliations among politicians and their different views on the intellectual structure of federalism and ways to implement it.

5-3: The third main axis: Supporting balanced spatial development efforts (Table 6)

Table 6: Supporting Balanced Spatial Development Efforts

Strength points	Weakness points
1- The existence of previous development plans that have clear positive aspects towards regional development. 2- Sudan's abundance of natural resources. 3- Availability of qualified university human cadres in the fields of development. 4- The possibility of integrating regional development projects with national projects. 5-The historical legacy of local agricultural expertise in the traditional agricultural and industrial sectors. 6- Providing the components of regionally specialized local industries.	1- The control of central development thought. 2- Some designs and objectives of national projects conflict with the goals of balanced spatial development. 3- The infrastructure of development projects requires huge financial resources. 4- Spatial divergence between regions. 5- Regional acquisition of financial returns. 6- The dominance of traditional concepts of land ownership among traditional groups. 7-Problems of environmental degradation.
Opportunities	Threats
1-High level of awareness of the importance of overcoming the negatives of previous development programs. 2- The global and regional trend of investment in Sudan. 3- Providing a network of land roads and railways linking the various regions of Sudan. 4- Availability of regional data for natural resources.	1- Weak programs to combat environmental degradation. 2- Tribal ownership of Sudanese lands and tribal disputes over them. 3- Investment preference for areas with high environmental security. 4-The variation in climatic and ecological characteristics of Sudan. 5- Rooting the concepts of regionalism among learners from marginal regions.

5-4: The fourth main axis: The trend to benefit from the cultural composition of Sudan (Table 7)

Table 7: Orientation to benefit from the cultural composition of Sudan

Strength points	Weakness points
1-The common Islamic faith. 2-The positive richness of the cultural component of the Sudanese tribes. 2- Sudan's cultural diversity. 3- Cultural overlap of neighboring regions. 4- The spread of public and higher education. 5-The common origins of many tribes.	1- Incompleteness of the stages of formation of a single Sudanese culture. 2- The tyranny of tribal and ethnic loyalty and the intolerance of cultural fusion. 3-Weak concept of national education. 4- The weakness of the media supporting cultural fusion and the difficulty of accepting it among many tribal and ethnic societies. 5-The difficulty of getting rid of the concepts of the sovereignty of Arab culture.
Opportunities	Threats
1- The long coexistence of Sudanese cultural components in national agricultural projects such as the Al-Jazeera project and the Gedarief region. 2- The emergence of a common cultural component among residents of large and medium cities. 3- Weak ethnic tendencies among Sudanese abroad. 4- The existence of legislation guaranteeing the preservation of the privacy of cultural heritage.	1- The large number of tribal and ethnic components. 2- Regional separatist tendencies. 3- The distorted image associated with the imposition of Arab culture. 4 - Regional tendencies opposed to cultural fusion. 5-The abundance of local cultures within the administrative regions. 6-The high rate of illiteracy among the population. 7-The historical legacy of colonialism in the closed areas during the British colonization of Sudan.

5-5: The fifth main axis: Benefiting from the efforts made to keep Sudan geographically unified (Table 8)

Table 8: Benefiting from the efforts made to keep Sudan geographically unified

Strength points	Weakness points
1- Many peace agreements over a long period of time. 2- The diversity of ideological affiliations participating in the peace agreements. 3- The richness of the political space with the concepts of identity, citizenship, belonging, and cultural pluralism. 4- Achieving success in solving many of the problems of areas of historical conflict.	1- The large number of political parties and their intellectual differences. 2- Internal conflicts between the rebel parties. 3- The concepts of identity and national unity are not firmly established. 4- The entrenchment of racist tendencies linked to the historical legacy of slavery and enslavement. 5-The change of governments in the First World and its connection to economic interests in Sudan.
Opportunities	Threats
1- The understanding of the value of political stability has developed among many rebel parties. 2- A change in the trend towards secession among some rebel movements. 3- Some competing regional powers seek to stabilize Sudan by investing in its rich resources. 4- Growing awareness of the negative consequences of the secession of South Sudan.	1- The increasing regional ambitions for Sudan's wealth. 2- Competition between international poles and the repercussions of normalization with Israel in creating a political-societal division. 4- Armed conflicts in some neighboring countries, especially the existence of common ethnic ties. 5-The early stage in the formation of the "Sudanese people".

5-6: The sixth main axis: Supporting balanced international relations (Table 9)

Table 9: Supporting Balanced International Relations

Strength points	Weakness points
1- Establish diplomatic relations with Sudan. 2-Sudan's participation in international and regional organizations such as the United Nations and the Arab League. 3-The importance of Sudan's geographical location to global poles. 4- Sudan's neutrality in its international relations. 5-Sudan's strong relations with China and Russia.	1- Sudan's dual status between Arabism and Africanism. 2- The weakness of Sudan's political and economic position. 3-The impact of foreign influence on Sudanese political positions. 4- Unilateral relations of the main political parties with some international parties. 5-The ambitions of some leaders of the rebel fronts.
Opportunities 1-The end of the era of international poles. 2-The emergence of concepts of exchanging benefits between countries. 3-The possibility of using the elements of the richness of natural resources and the geographical location of Sudan. 4- Internal consensus on democracy is a basis for governance. 5- Benefiting from the open globalized economy.	**Threats** 1- Internal political tensions. 2-The international polarization of some rebel groups. 3-The regional and international conflict over Sudan's resources in light of economic weakness. 4- Political instability in some neighboring countries. 5-The economic and ideological effects of globalization. 6- Renewing the old concepts of imperial colonialism.

5-7: A general summary of the most prominent strengths and weaknesses, and the most prominent opportunities and threats for all axes

SWOT ANALYSIS

Strengths and Opportunities	Weakness and Threats
1-The country's trend towards computerization of natural and human resources. 2- The presence of government agencies specialized in the field of databases, such as the Ministry of Communications.	1- The ineffectiveness of traditional methods used in preserving and analyzing spatial data for Sudan's natural and human resources. 2- Inaccurate methods for actually evaluating the value of Sudan's various resources.

3- The many experiences of regional and local governance and their many positive aspects.	3- Lack of sufficient budgets to meet administrative requirements.
4- There are many contributions and visions from Sudanese thinkers.	4- Lack of agreement on administrative borders between states for historical and geographical reasons.
5- The existence of previous development plans that have clear positive aspects towards regional development.	5- The control of central development thought.
6- Sudan's abundance of natural resources.	6- Some designs and objectives of national projects conflict with the goals of balanced spatial development.
7- The common Islamic faith.	7- Incomplete stages of formation of a single Sudanese culture.
8- The positive richness of the cultural component of the Sudanese tribes.	8- The tyranny of tribal and ethnic loyalty and the unacceptability of cultural fusion.
9- Many peace agreements over a long period of time.	9- The large number of political parties and their intellectual differences.
10- Diversity of ideological affiliation participating in peace agreements	10- Internal conflicts between the rebel parties.
11- He established diplomatic relations with Sudan.	11- Sudan's dual status between Arabism and Africanism.
12- Sudan's participation in international and regional organizations such as the United Nations and the Arab League.	12- The weakness of Sudan's political and economic position.
13- Availability of the Internet, geographic information systems programs, and spatial browsers such as Google Earth.	13- The imbalance between the outputs of departments related to natural resources and the aspirations of the beneficiaries, whether governmental or private, local and foreign.
14- There is a lot of spatial data on Sudan's various resources available to government agencies (central and state), such as maps of minerals, water, soil, agricultural lands, population, and others.	14- Weakness or absence of communication between government agencies responsible for resources and internal and external institutions specialized in spatial data for natural and human resources.
15- The desire of many of the emerging movements for Sudan to remain united and for there to be an opportunity to take over the rule of their regions.	15- The presence of separatist tendencies in some regions and the demand for the right to self-determination.
16- Beginning to implement the signed peace agreements.	16- The historical legacy of slavery and slavery among some regional components.
17- Increased level of awareness of the importance of overcoming the negatives of previous development programs.	17- The large number of tribal and ethnic formations.
18- The global and regional trend of investment in Sudan.	18- Regional separatist tendencies.
19- The long coexistence of Sudanese cultural components in national agricultural projects such as the Al-Jazeera project and the Gedaref region.	19- Armed conflicts in some neighboring countries, especially in the presence of common ethnic ties.
20- The emergence of a common cultural component among residents of large and medium cities.	20- The early stage in the formation of the "Sudanese people"
21- The understanding of the value of political stability has developed among many rebel parties.	21- Internal political tensions
22- A change in the trend towards secession among some rebel movements	22- International polarization of some rebel groups.
23- The end of the era of international poles.	23- Regional and international conflict over Sudan's resources in light of economic weakness.
24- The emergence of concepts of exchange of benefits between countries.	24- The effects of economic and ideological globalization.

6- Vision, mission, strategic objectives, strategies, and projects to weaken/strengthen the negative/positive Sudan's central issues

6-1: The vision: Building a nationally and globally distinguished state that possesses the capabilities to enable it to remain cohesive in the present and future.

6-2: The mission: Using various methods to keep Sudan a cohesive country capable of progress and development.

6-3: Objectives:

1- Helping keep Sudan geographically cohesive.

2- Working to benefit from Sudan's natural and human resources.

3- Helping achieve balanced development commensurate with the nature of the regions geographically.

4- Sudan becomes a country with regional and international standing.

6-4: Strategic objectives, strategies, and projects: This strategy includes a number of strategic objectives, strategies, and projects as follows:

6-4-1: Objective 1: Strengthening the elements of Sudanese state administration.

• Strategy 1.1: Developing national development guidelines.

• Strategy 1.2: Building the institutions of the federal system

• Strategy 1.3: Strengthen means of cultural integration, taking into account the specificity of population groups

• Strategy 1.1: Developing national development guidelines	
Projects	Equal geographic expansion in national development projects.
	Developing mechanisms for implementing balanced regional development.
	Developing means of exploiting Sudan's natural and human resources.
• Strategy 1.2: Building the institutions of the federal system	
Projects	1.2.1. Raise the efficiency of the performance of regional and local administrations.
	1.2.2. Developing the civil administration system.
	1.2.3. Supporting the integration of regional and local administration units.
• Strategy 1.3: Strengthen means of cultural integration, taking into account the specificity of population groups	
Projects	1.3.1. Determine cultural fusion requirements.
	1.3.2. Supporting the positive cultural heritage of population groups.
	13.3. Developing educational curricula to support cultural fusion.

• Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats to the strategies for Objective 1: Strengthening the elements of Sudanese state administration.

strength point	Weaknesses
1- Abundance of natural resources at the regional level.	Weak infrastructure necessary for development projects.
2- Many experiences in regional and local governance.	2- Continuity of sovereignty of tribal borders.
3- The richness of the positive cultural component.	3- Difficulty overcoming ethnic and tribal affiliation.
4- Ethnic and linguistic overlap in many regions.	4- The spread of illiteracy among rural communities.
	5-Difficulties in managing the natural environment
Opportunities	Threats
1- The desire of regional and global economic powers in the state's national projects.	4- The great regional variation in natural and human resources.
2-The emergence of indicators of overlap and peaceful coexistence between components of urban Sudanese society.	2- The large area of the regions and their different geographical characteristics.
3- The emergence of internal indicators among the various political forces to adopt the federal system.	3- Local communities' weak awareness of regional and local government authorities.
	4-The strength of ethnic and tribal affiliation.

6-4-2: Objective 2: Expansion of rural development projects

• Strategy 2.1: Developing the traditional agricultural sector

• Strategy 2.2: Developing programs and plans to preserve components of the natural environment

• Strategy 2.1: Developing the traditional agricultural sector	
Projects	2.1.1. Developing various resource utilization programs throughout the year
	2.1.2. Reducing disparities within the modern agricultural sector
	2.1.3. Developing water management and sustainability projects
	2.1.4. Reconciling traditional agricultural and pastoral activities
Strategy 2.2: Developing programs and plans to preserve components of the natural environment	

Projects	2.2.1. Developing plans to preserve natural pastures and forests
	2.2. 2. Developing traditional agriculture and pastoralism according to the components of the natural environment
	2.2.3. Activating environmental protection laws
	2.2.4. Developing an interactive management system between local and official components.

• Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats to strategies Objective 2: Develop programs and plans to conserve components of the natural environment

Points of strength	Points of weakness
Spreading awareness among rural communities of the consequences of the deterioration of the natural environment	1-The various difficulties associated with working mechanisms to return degraded natural environments to their original state
2- The presence of a scientific and applied legacy and human competencies to manage the natural environment	2- Difficulty implementing environmental laws.
3- The state's tendency to implement environmental standards for development.	3- The dependence of the population of the traditional sector on traditional means of livelihood.
4- The global trend to implement international agreements to protect the environment and reduce the effects of climate change.	4- Lack of environmental standards for investment.
	5-Smuggling operations of forest products and others to neighboring countries
Opportunities	**Threats**
A change in traditional nomadic patterns.	4- The increasing negative effects of climate change.
2- An increase in the monetary value of agricultural and animal products.	2- Competition from some investment entities to exploit the resources of the traditional sector.
3- Providing opportunities to benefit from the programs of the United Nations and various environmental protection organizations to preserve the environment.	3- The rapid population increase of the rural population and the difficulty of implementing family planning programs.
4- Development of applications for sustainable development programs.	4- Weak programs to replace energy sources and traditional building materials to keep pace with their modern, environmentally friendly alternatives.

6-4-3: Objective 3: Spread and strengthen technical and technological education at the general and higher education levels.

• Strategy 3.1: Expansion of technical education at the general education level

• Strategy 3.2: Expanding technological education at the higher education level

Strategy 3.1: Expansion of technical education at the general education level	
Projects	3.1.1. Increase/decrease the number of technical/academic secondary schools
	3.1.2. Increasing vocational and vocational training institutes in basic education.
	3.1.2. Providing qualified cadres of teachers and technical administrators
Strategy 3.2: Expanding technological education at the higher education level	
Projects	3.2.1. Establishment of specialized technical universities (agricultural, engineering, medical)
	32.2. Linking technological education to labor market requirements
	3.2.3. Establishing partnerships and cooperation with universities and international research bodies

• Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of strategies for Goal 3: Spread and strengthen technical and technical education at the general and higher education levels

Points of Strength	Points of Weakness
1- The richness of Sudan's experience in this field of education.	1- High financial and administrative cost
2- Community awareness of the importance of technical and technological education.	2- Difficulty keeping up with rapid technical change
3- The existence of specialized councils to develop it.	3- The prevalence of notions of the superiority of academic education
4- Providing more job opportunities for graduates	

5- Provides the possibility of supporting small self-projects	4- The inferiority view of manual professions in society 5- Difficulty receiving international and foreign aid
Opportunities	Weakness
1- Increased value of technical and technical education in society. 2- The large number of graduates of university theoretical specializations and the difficulty of employing them in the government and private sectors. 3-The presence of job opportunities for technicians in the private sector. 4- Regional demand for technical and technical labor 5- The willingness of many international bodies to support technical and technological education.	-The weakness of the Sudanese economy and the deterioration of the national currency. 2- Relying on external parties and some local institutions to provide the required support. 3- Society continues to view this type of education as inferior to academic education.

6-4-4: Objective 4: Developing regional urban development

• Strategy 4.1: Raising the level of medium and small cities

• Strategy 4.2: Raising the level of regional urban service institutions

• Strategy 4.3: Strengthen the positive influence of regional urban development on the rural neighborhood

• Strategy 4.1: Raising the level of medium and small cities	
Projects	4.1.1. Establishing the economic criterion instead of population in classifying cities 4.1.2. Applying modern urban planning and development standards 4.1.3. Linking urban development to the central urban development network
Strategy 4.2: Raising the level of regional urban service institutions	
Projects	4.2.1. Developing educational, health, security, and other services 4.2.2. Localization of high-return economic projects 4.2.3. Allocating most of the investment returns to urban development
Strategy 4.3: Strengthen the positive influence of regional urban development on the rural neighborhood	
Projects	4.3.1. Transferring some urban tasks and services to important rural centers 4.3.2. Balance urban and rural regional development plans 4.3.3. Directing revenues from the rural economy to specialized "localized" development

• Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of strategies for Goal 4: Develop regional urban development

Points of strength	Points of weakness
1-The large number of intermediate and major cities in Sudan 2-The existence of a national land road network 3- The wide geographical spread of basic services 4- Weakness of the migration trend from the countryside to the cities 5- Providing the elements for regional urban development	1-Geographic disparity in the components of urban development 2- The prevalence of the concept of the national capital being superior to others. 3- Availability of basic services in major cities 4- Weak regional urban infrastructure network 5- The attractiveness of the "marginal" urban economy for rural people
Opportunities	Threats
The move towards adopting federal rule 2- High cost of living in major cities 3- Signs of adverse migration from cities to the countryside begin 4- The emergence of some urban centers competing with some major cities	The urban disparity between levels of Sudanese cities 2- Administrative difficulties in implementing urban development plans 3- The effects of globalization and the trend toward city-dwelling 4- Lack of clarity in the vision related to the inevitability of urban disparity among some regional authorities

6-4-5: Objective 5: Encouraging reverse migration that attracts rural areas

• **Strategy 5.1. Supporting small rural development projects**

• **Strategy 5.2. Providing the necessary elements for rural survival**

• **Strategy 5.3. Develop practical plans to support the rural economy**

Strategy 5.1. Supporting small rural development projects	
Projects	5.1.1. Supporting microfinance projects for productive rural families
	5.1.2. Developing family agriculture projects, especially those related to rural women
	5.1.3 Developing Rural Agricultural Associations
Strategy 5.2. Providing the necessary elements for rural survival	
Projects	5.2.1. Providing various basic services
	5.2.2. Keeping pace with changes in the requirements of rural life
	5.2.3. Developing traditional rural livelihoods
Strategy 5.3. Develop practical plans to support the rural economy	
Projects	5.3.1. Raising the differential value of rural products
	5.3.2. Direct link between rural product and global crop markets
	5.3.3. Develop plans for rural development independent of national development plans

• Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of strategies for Objective 5: Promoting attractive reverse migration to rural areas

Points of strength	Points of weakness
Availability of rural production components	Traditional means of production for the rural economy
2- Availability of cheap labor	2-The difficulty of introducing modernization among rural people
3- The predominance of the rural population over the urban population	3- High financial cost
	4- Environmental degradation and fragility of ecosystems
4- Availability of a national and regional road network	5- Tribal disputes and conflicts
5- Opening up the local and international market for special rural products such as gum Arabic	6- Overlapping boundaries of tribal and administrative ownership
Opportunities	Threats
1- Investment trends in rural areas	1- Tribal and ethnic conflicts
2- The state's adoption of development thought based on balanced development	2- The deterioration of the Sudanese economy
	3- Weak budgets allocated to rural development
3- Provides many basic rural services	4- The wide gap between urban and rural areas
4- Restoring the natural environment of much of what was lost	5- The many and overlapping concepts of rural development and the different schools

5. CONCLUSION

This research reviewed some of Sudan's central issues and various peace efforts to achieve its political stability and thus the possibility of maintaining it as a cohesive state. The research mainly proposed a geographical strategy that may help achieve the objective of remaining Sudan one cohesive state. Here, it is necessary for the Sudanese, the politicians, and those in charge in particular, to become familiar with Sudan's geography, as it will enable them to lay solid foundations for how to manage their country politically, economically, and socially

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