

## Chapter 2

### The Realized Disaster in the Sudanese Economy and the Options of Possible Development

#### Introduction:

Allah granted the Sudan and the Sudanese a land and a country the like of it is rarely found regarding the uniqueness in its population structure formed by a mixture of races and ancestries which all its languages, customs and cultures shape an inheritance of civilization which is envied. In the same degree, the Sudan enjoys many climates covering the country starting by the desert climate to the tropical and savanna while ending with the Mediterranean Sea climate. If these gifts were well-utilized, their advantages developed while their disadvantages reformed and a clear view and a scientific method adopted, the Sudan would be a paradise on the earth and the Sudanese would live in welfare upon which the farthest and the nearest would envy. What has prevented this? And who is responsible for? The cause of making the Sudan backward almost within six centuries is the state of its sons from the cultured and educated who are talking a lot in politics at their meeting and doing well in political know-how for each other through parties of no views or programs in which all fight each other for the sake of a cheap personal gain. In this stage, I do not exempt the successors of the dozens who ruled since independence up to now of civilians and militarists from accusation of negligence, the lack of seriousness in causing the positive change and short of concept and view wherefore they have the necessary and urgent national obligations. A group of the cultured and the educated of civilians and militarists made a mistake that it raised two dangerous political slogans. They were the reason for the current situation we are in now which no one would envy us upon it. The left wing raised the slogan "clearing up is national duty". The political

parties accepted to give self determination to Southerners. The first slogan was exploited badly by totalitarian regimes as it got rid of thousands in civil and military service under the umbrella of this slogan using the expression of: "The public interest ".Thus , the civil service was destroyed in the Sudan.It was the dynamic moving for labor and development . Under the umbrella of the other slogan the South separated from the mother country pave the way wider to other regions of the Sudan to follow. These two cases, the cultured and the educated had committed a severe crime and caused a damage that is not easy to be forgotten or overcome other than reforming it .Perhaps , what is more rough is that they insist to be in charge of the country and its people as well as they determine not to leave their positions , knowing that some of them spent- in his position- nearly five decades at the head of his party or his group without new conception or views of value presenting what participate in causing the change or reforming the situation to curb the degradation . From where did those come? To what extent do they laugh at themselves before they laugh at people? what value of parties without programs? How do people know the aims and the purposes of these parties? The latest program presented by a party like Umma party was renaissance method in the year 1986, that was four decades ago .

Passing of nearly six decades in the Sudan without visible view or certain renewal philosophy of the ruling system, played a clear role in making the Sudan subjected to political hazards and the crucial conflicts including all regions except of the farthest north . The country is tossed about by the fancies of totalitarian military regimes of no apparent political identity and the democratic regimes received by parties were without programs or view determining the suitable ruling model. Over and above, the country remains up to date without permanent constitution! Through these decades, the country was ruled by interim constitutions lacking complete acceptance from people's sectors. How

does development occur and the country is like a ship being tossed about by the waves in an open sea and each one who wants to guide it towards a different destination fights on board? In such situation , where there is no political view agreed to on ruling system and there are no political principles in its light the development samples which the specialists come to terms on are determined ,then, how can development be realized ? A country like USA with its magnitude and power is subject to the rule of institutions,therefore, no one interferes in other's mandate, then, how can a big country like Sudan with diverse inhabitants according to diversity being subjected to monocracy or company or party? In the Salvation regime reign mounting to three decades the militarists supported by their Islamic organization came raising the slogan of: "The civilized project " but the Sudan witnessed negative changes in their era exceeded all the previous regimes. Here we must assure that the Salvation is responsible for all what happened including international economic sanction and Sudanese economy infrastructure deterioration because of its complete negligence upon Sudanese public opinion on the one hand and non confession of the realities of an internal, regional and international fact imposing to use wisdom and political know-how on the other hand to achieve the required balance between what it wants itself and what the world around wants.

Nevertheless, there were some achievements that were realized by the Salvation in some fields that must be counted for. Being truthful, we have to mention its positive and negative aspects. The Salvation has the favor in solving the South issue through negotiation despite the delay in solving that led all to a negative result ended with the separation of the South although a part of the responsibility of this separation is due to reasons the Salvation is not responsible for at all .Also, the Salvation has the favor of extracting oil that has added achieved a new resource for Sudanese economy, whereas the crude oil exportation began since the

last quarter of the year 1999. Till the second half of the year 2008 the Sudanese economy has been flourishing in general level on the ground of increase in oil output, simultaneously with what happened in the light of the unprecedented rise in oil prices. The gross domestic product registered a growth more than 10% in the year. Furthermore, the work is done with International Monetary Fund in implementation of various reforms at the level of macro-economic. But, the Salvation trouble is that instead of exploiting oil revenues in developing agriculture and agricultural production in its two sections for being a living source of nearly 80% of the inhabitants, it neglected agriculture completely and devoted all revenues for military production and expenditure on security. By this, the participating sector with one third of the gross domestic product stayed behind and the expenditure was oriented to war in Darfour. Thus, the agricultural sector which is the lance head remained in state of continuous deterioration and Algeзира scheme was completely destroyed as well as what happened to Sudan railways and the national carrier the Sudan Airways. The individual living level declined, accordingly. Those who live under poverty line reached to nearly 90% of the inhabitants and instead of developing the rural areas, they were destroyed and the big towns became rural areas because of the inhabitants' migration and establishing scatter areas belts around big towns as Khartoum. The negligence of agriculture led to the loss of Sudan's position as one of the best three countries producing long staple cotton, the first exporting of cattle and gum Arabic and one of the biggest producers of sesame, hibiscus and groundnuts. By the year 2009, the Sudan position became as follow: No 48 in cattle product, No 19 in producing fruits, vegetables and groundnuts, the fourth in sesame production, No 19 in sunflower seed production. Its name was completely omitted from the map of cotton exporters and it lost all its traditional markets of selling cottons and seeds which it has been

dominating for decades. Perhaps, we do not wonder over this terrible deterioration which came with confession of some far-reachings of the Salvation leaders from parliamentarians and others due to their wrong policies. In rare press report, the journalist Siddig Ramadan summarized the incidents as follows: (We reached to a stage in which a kilo of tomatoes became more expensive than a kilo of meat). The above sentence was not mentioned by a leader within the opposing political power to the ruling regime, but deputy of the Mr. speaker of the parliament Hajo Gism-alseed, who seemed to face the mere fact far from hiding heads in sands policy and illegible justification for the faults of the government policies representing in denouncing the foreign allergy, declared it publicly two days ago. The speech of the far-reaching leader belonging to the Salvation touched an issue core that has been attracting the public opinion attention since the slogan “We eat from what we grow “lately modified to “The agricultural renaissance project “, but the national legislature deputy- chairman did not explain in his transparent confession in which he confessed with agriculture deterioration in the country of two hundred and fifty million feddans. Are the reasons which led to that because of the faults of the country policies or for the failure of the minister who entrusted to develop agriculture?

The answer of the question seems to be crucial because it the key to know why did the Sudan become an importer for the vegetables and fruits after it was representing the world’s food basket? The answer would go in different directions for the intersection and crossing of agriculture issue politically, economically and socially. If we passed the question and its answer and we came near the agriculture fact in the country by focusing on the total country policies towards the profession of 75% of the country population and the performance of the federal ministry of agriculture , the deterioration would obviously appear through exploitation rate of the available area for agriculture reaching

only 40 million feddans from a total of 250 million feddans good for agriculture and it would manifest ,also , through the Sudan importation to vegetables , fruits and wheat that equal to two billion dollars yearly. The reality that agriculture reached to with concern to the deterioration obviously appears in Gezira scheme and all the irrigated agricultural schemes in the country which their output drew back at the rate of 60%. The decrease in gum Arabic production was at the rate of 40% in comparison with previous years. Returning back to the reasons which led the agriculture to this drawback, many among them leaders in the government agree that the oriented support for agriculture from the exchequer is little and equals 1% of the public budget , considering that the government negligence to agriculture during the years following oil appearance and dependence of the country on as a main resource and the lack of expenditure from oil money for promotion of agriculture infrastructures isa grave fault the government committed , assuring that there was a weltering in the government policies towards the agriculture and instability on clear way map for its rising . Near to this opinion , the minister of agriculture Abdalhalim Almutaafi confessed before the parliament two days before , “There are no clear policies for agriculture in the country “ , and he confirmed that the financing for the farmers is used for other purposes because it is not completed except in July , the matter which makes the farmers unable to pay , and he said that the agriculture situation in the country would not mend save by increasing financing , indicating that its financing is not more than 400 dollars , from the required sum reaching 10 billion dollars . He asked to exempt farmers from duties and fees and impose taxes on sesame export and invest it for the benefit of agriculture financing. Almutaafi confessed that the product of durra feddan reach to 4 sacks and he stressed on the urgent need for financing the infrastructures for the rainy sector and transporting the agricultural inputs for farmers in a time deputy of

speaker Hajo Gism-alseed disclosed non-existence of clear policies for the government towards agriculture and its exports because of the large number in changing the ministers of agriculture and he regretted for not to apply producers' act although it was approved two years ago , and he added, "we reached a stage in which a kilo of tomato became more expensive than a kilo of meat ."

Thus, the minister of agriculture and deputy of speaker of parliament confessed towards the failure of the government policies upon agriculture. It is a confession of value because the confession of failure seems unfamiliar matter with the Salvation ruling , but there is some who confirm that the government does not bear the responsibility completely, and they burden the minister of agriculture Abdalhalim Almutaafi the deterioration reasons the agriculture reached to "according to his confession " , and they consider that the policy he assumes in agriculture file is one of the direct reasons for degradation that happened to it at all fields .

Those who rest on proofs with which they support their posing are referring to samples of tests that were applied in Almutaafi's period in which the public money is wasted. They set examples for this by the modified cotton, kenana experiment in Alrahad scheme, one of the companies in White Nile, spoiled seeds and other samples they consider it as evidents for failure of the policies of agricultural minister. Yet, the owners of this opinion appeared their amazement of the government that kept him and did not call to account for what he committed of mistakes regarding agriculture in his period close to four years.

The deputy president of Sudan's farmers Union Graque Kambal thinks that the manner with which Almutaafi was administering the agriculture file is the country base, indicating that, talking to press, the ministry of agriculture is managed by the mentality of trader aiming to harvest rapid

profits. He said, “The agriculture needs plans, long range programs and “long breath”. Almutaafi’s current way is wrong and it will not guide to agricultural development, but to deterioration. We must return to agriculture rising plans and its implementation, drawing the attention that the minister of agriculture is a main part of agriculture deterioration in the country.” Whereas, the speaker of Agricultural Committee in the parliament Babiker Mohammed Tom considers that the plans the country put for agricultural renaissance is not implemented and describes it, talking to press, as supranational and elite .He set the example of agriculture rising programsaying that the farmers along with the agriculture ministers in the states know nothing about and he said that the agricultural development will not be achieved with talkings inside the halls , but with the fieldwork that he confirmed its non-existence.

The speaker of the Agriculture Committee said that the measuring of countries successfulness represents in its ability to afford food security for its citizens through the internal production, yet he regrets that the Sudan depends on importing food to satisfy its need and he said that the ministry of agriculture complains financing weakness , but it did not exert an effort to present plans for solving this problems , considering the non-existence of fertilizers industries and tractors assembling is a proof for non-existence of clear plans for the agriculture renaissance.

The deputy speaker of the Sudan’s farmers Union Graque Kambal returns to indicate that the government concerns with agriculture is weak, considering the allocated support for it does not reach the required level. This is the same as what the speaker of Agriculture Committee in parliament referred to assure the necessity of affording the required facilities to ministry of agriculture so as to raise the fall of the first handicraft in the country. However, he considers that the non-existence



of clear plans from ministry of agriculture is a matter that may defeat the country policies and damage the farmer.

The political analyst, professor Altayeb Zeinalaabdin indicates that the state policy is the direct reason for agricultural deterioration in the country and he said , talking to press , that the agriculture does not find the required financing , even many fees are imposed on which made it backward , pointing out that the occurrence of problems in irrigation and other issues show that the agriculture is suffering , considering that the aim beyond the agricultural renaissance concept is political , and that the farmer did not benefit it and public money is wasted in.

Zeinalaabdin wonders of the agriculture deterioration in existence of a far-reaching Salvationist at the top of it and he sees that the minister of agriculture must resign because he did not practice a pressure on the government to finance the agriculture. This means his staying in the job will not benefit the agriculture while the government neglecting it. He added that Almutaafi should register a stand counted for him which represents in offering his resignation. I think the matter does not need more comment. What draws the attention is that although the revival and increase in the government revenues amount from 12 billion pounds in 2005 to 20.7 billion pounds in 2010. The government expenditure amount multiplied from 13.8 billions in 2005 to 28.3 billions in 2010, therefore, the situation has been aggravating from bad to worse, whereas, the public budget has been recording successive and increasing deficit. This did not reflect on promoting the general life of the Sudanese, the matter which indicates irrefutable failure in investing the financial resources,(All these information from the Sudanese Central Bank Data Centre). Also, the increasing in the Sudan's foreign debts volume reach to more than 43 billion dollars, in other words, to double during a century quarter. It is, also, another indicator for the bad

investment of resources and the disable even to decrease these debts rather than to eliminate or settle it. It is a dream out of reach in view of the dominant orientation for the international financing organizations by giving the matter a political stamp. In many situations, they stand as insurmountable obstacle whether to this current regime or other. This refers to instability conditions of these organizations and whenever a part of the receivables is paid, the ceiling of these organizations concerning the entirely insuperable receivables arises. From here, can you say the Sudan is a failure state or is about to fall? Does all this failure go back to the government performance or are there parts and foreign powers played a clear role in this matter?

**What are the constituents of the failure state? Are they applied to the Sudan?**

Many of the international organizations classified the less income countries as failure countries. In this connection, the World's Bank classified thirty countries as failure because they are the less income countries in the world. In the same way, the Britain administration for international development classified 46 weak countries as failure countries, whereas, the American Central Intelligence indicated that there were 20 failure countries at the level of the world. In this concern, the foreign tourism administration through its yearly magazine titled the foreign policies magazine in the American department of state issued indicators to measure and identify the failure countries. This issue became the international criterion which is taken in measuring and identifying the failure country according to the criteria the American foreign ministry defined according to this study prepared by a team of experts and scientists who were well-known with expertness and knowledge in this concern. These researchers and scientists determined a number of indicators. They classified it into social, economical and

political indicators in order to present a framework that is based on the previous study to become more comprehensive to the criteria that measure the stability degree in countries.

**These indicators can be summarized as follows:**

**Firstly, the social indicators:**

1. The escalation of demographic pressures (Inhabitants increase, their mal-distribution, age distribution for these inhabitants, the internal social conflicts--- etc).
2. The negative and haphazard movement of the refugees or irregular movement of individuals to the limit that creates a complicated emergency state (occurring diseases, lack in food and good water, competition on land and causing security problems for the state ).
3. The severe aggressive inheritance making the wronged groups look at revenge ( the lack of social justice , institutional and political exceptions , the domination of minority over the majority ) as effective mean.
4. The continuous and haphazard fleeing of people (the brain drain, the immigration of producing class from the country and the migration inside the community).
5. The weakness of feeling concerning the belongingness to the one identity for the country and the fall back on tribalism or racialism.

**Secondly: The economic indicators:-**

1. The absence of economic development at the contrast groups (inequality in education chances, positions and income, the rise in poverty levels and

Increasing of the ethnic conflicts for these reasons).

2.The sharp economic deliquescence (the fall of national income , the exchange rate fall of the national currency , drop or escape of investment , the fall of growth rate , inequality of distribution ,the absence of transparency and corruption spread , increasing in the financial obligations of the state).In this context and in an article which was written by Dr. Altayeb Zeinalaabdin who is one of the remarkable intellectuals of the party, he wrote it In 26/6/2013, in which he frankly refers to the corruption that is practiced in the country saying that : “why does the government not go to fill the financial deficit by handling the other paradoxes the budget is full of and the public auditor mentioned it in his report yearly like : the free customs exemption reaching 913 million in 2011 , customs infractions returns reaching SDG127 mn pounds and half of it goes to the individuals of customs police as untouchable acquired rights , the government investments returns recording only 12% from the estimated rating for it which is 200 millions and it did not achieve any collecting to finance ministry , then , why does it remain? The national government expenditure exceeded, during 2011, the approbated amount for it in the budget at the rate of 10%, that is to say, about 2.5 million pounds , the revenues of surplus removal increased at rate of 300% from the defined rating because the unit of surplus removal put super-tax without lawful support and those returns are not accrued to the finance ministry , the federal ministries keep apart to some of its revenues reaching about 472 million pounds in 2011, this in addition to the other finance infractions amounting millions of pounds and rise to the level of corruption crimes and only little of it is got back, and the government does not do anything towards it because all the infractors from close reliable people (Dams Implementation Unit and Students Support Fund as models).In this collecting of disorder, squandering and financial corruption, why does the government turn only for lifting the support from some main commodities that is

suddenly disclosed not going to the poor , but to the rich and where are the rich? They are all within the National Conference Party! One of the editors-in-chief who witnessed Eritrea independence day celebration said to me that Assays Aforgi came to the celebration with a car MW model 2000 in the time that eastern Sudan governors from Red Sea and Kassala states came with two or three beautiful cars from the splendid ones and of zero.” The text finished.

### **Thirdly: the political indicators:-**

1. The loss of state legacy “state criminality” (through the ruling elites corruption) , the absence of transparency and political calling to account , the confidence weakness in state institutions and the political ones, the spread of disobedience and rebellion against the state , the spread of crimes related to the ruling elite .
2. The sharp deterioration in public services (the state does not perform its essential tasks like: people protection,health, education and employment, resources centralization in presidency institutions, security forces, Central Bank and diplomatic work.
3. The deprivation from the equal application for law ruling and the spread of human rights violations (military ruling, emergency laws, political detention, civil violence, the restriction of press and freedom of expression, law absence and the people of policy).
4. Security dispersal may create a state inside the state (appearance of military elites inside army, the appearance of armed conflicts, appearance of security forces that is equal to regular ones and appearance of

political powers centers or dominion of one political party.

5. The increasing of splitting inside the elites in the state (the breaking up of the ruling elites and state institutions, using of a political national tone by political elites to cover their original goals).
6. The interference of other countries or foreign political actives (the military interference or the semi military from other countries and international organizations, the peace keeping forces interference).

The study gathered data including 60 countries and analyzed it as each indicator takes ten points so that the total of the points that are counted for the country becomes 120 points and the countries obtaining the highest points are the more exposing to danger and failure, and so on indescending way according to the countries order inside the guide. With regard to this guide order and in view to the Sudan position within these groups of countries, it became clear that the Sudan's order was No(1) in 2006, No(1) in 2007, No(2) in 2008, No(3) in 2009 and from 2010 to 2013 (has been swinging the No(3)). The countries preceded the Sudan in failure countries order were Somalia and Zimbabwe in periods from 2010 up to now. Is there any explanation to this position the Sudan keeps although its inheritance in terms of vast lands and good water for agriculture beside oil and gold extraction and other metals?

One of the significant members of the party answers our question in his article mentioned above saying the text "The president touched on with severefrankness the support issue for fuel, flour, wheat and electricity. He said that it costs the country 14 million pounds (the new currency), in other words, more than half the country budget. He, also, said that the first chapter (workers' compensations) takes half the budget, and we

heard from the previous finance minister that the regular forces (Security, Army and Police) take about 70% of the budget, then, how can we adapt among these confused percentages exceeding the total budget a time and half without adding to it the lofty presidential and political expenditure and states support, along with the little that is spent on education and health service. There is a great doubt that the electricity needs support. The head of electricity companies made study the past year or before the past about electricity tariff. They said that profits at rate of 54%, and they recommended to decrease the price at rate of 30%, but the minister of electricity and dams lifted the price at rate of 250%. The national assembly committees report about the public auditor report for the performance of 2011 budget said that both Ministry of Oil, Electricity and Dams and stumbled projects recorded a surplus in workers' compensations at rate of 100% without remitting the surplus to the Ministry of Finance that does not control these far-reaching units with its powerful ministers who are in relationship with the presidency. The president acknowledges that the salaries are weak, yet, he wants to lift support the matter which will increase goods and services prices that increased threefold in the past two years. The hot question is: till when the people suffer this exorbitant injustice in living at the time others swallow the military money to an unlimited extent? The report mentioned that the weak and failure countries report represents a challenge to the international community in today's world that enjoys international comprehensive economy and advanced data systems. The pressures on such countries may lead to consequences that do not only afflict the country itself, but it affects its neighbors and the other countries. Since the cold war end, many countries entered in rotation of violence resulting in internal disputes because of many crises regarding the conflict on grasslands and water. Also, some of these crises resulting from an ethnic conflict and lands possessions and the

Sudan has a great deal of this. The Sudan share represents in conflicts and tribal wars in western Darfour which became like civil wars. These wars led to complicated human situations and perhaps what is going on in Darfour concerning migration and escape to refugee camps in neighboring countries is not hidden to anybody in spite of all the exerted efforts internationally and regionally to contain what is going on. What came in the article of Altayeb Zeinalaabdin, one of the ruling party magnates, confirms the rightness of what we mentioned. He said, "The president moved to the problems core that spread in his period other than before. It is problem of tribal conflict that the government became fail to do what is needed. He said that it is of the greatest-issues that concerns them, disclosing that there are hands and individuals inside the tribes setting on fire among them. He provoked the national conference membership to deal with this shameful phenomenon because the government organs cannot solve the tribal conflicts alone, but most of the studies and university researches written about tribal conflicts In Darfour say that the government is responsible for stirring up these conflicts by unstudied and irresponsible acts seeking urgent political gains for the ruling party like: politicization of civil administration that was playing positive role in solving tribal problems before it becomes a conflict in which souls are crushed, giving administrative positions for tribes came to the possessed lands concerning other tribes in violation for dominant tradition, arming Arab tribal militias to fight tribes accused of harboring the black rebels. These Arab tribes, today, are holding government weapon and wearing the military uniform to fight each other in northern and southern Darfour states. The tribe became the only partisanship that the people join after the political parties, religious sectarianism, civil youth organizations and all community entities not member in the ruling party or the rival ones. The complain came too late after the die is cast and everything was ruined because of the Salvation.



Although the dynamic aspect to these movements vary from case to another, the final outcome that the wars and conflicts resulted from social, economic and political pressures the official institutions of legacy and professionalism did not succeed in solving it, the matter which made the damaged groups to use its special methods in handling the injustice that they face under the auspices of the country structure fragility, the weakness of its control and the decline of national identity because of these conflicts. This matter makes the country with its weak powers unable to impose its sovereignty and its force all over its lands as it is the situation now in the Sudan. Perhaps this leads us to ask the traditional question that in mind of every knower with Sudan issues, will the Sudan remain like this or is there a chance to go out of this degraded state and working to move from the square of failure countries to the square of successful ones?

### **Invention and creation indicators:-**

Some independent centers of studies and researches carry out separately or in collaboration with some universities annual classifications of countries with which they measure the developed extent happening in these countries. Surely, there are many Sudanese creators, innovators and inventors in different kinds of sciences and human knowledge. One of them is Alnazir Daafallah who discovered a treatment for one of the harmful diseases that infects animal resources and he patented the invention in his name. there are many inventors in different fields like Altayeb Salih in arts, professor Abdallah Altayeb in Arabic language, professor Mahjoub Ebeid in science whereas he was a member in NASA for launching spacecrafts when he participated in launching Apollo 6 as you read and more others whom I do not remember their names or the right information about them. In this year, one of the centers of measuring invention carried out his sixth international classification of

countries in terms of excellence and invention. We mention its result as advertised in the Emirate Alkhaleej newspaper the following:”The Emirate state came in the position 38<sup>th</sup> internationally and the first at the Arab level in respect of international invention indicator for the year 2013 in its sixth annual classification issued by INSIAD institute in cooperation with Kornel University and “WEBO” institute that covered 142 countries around the world. According to ALkhaleej Newspaper the countries were classified on the bases of criteria of talents developing, sustainable investment, seasonal support and innovative mentality. The Emirates won 41.9 points with variation less than 25 points from the first position winner which was Switzerland. The first Arab country came after Emirates was Saudi in the position 42<sup>nd</sup>, then Qatar in the position 43<sup>rd</sup>. Sweden came in the second position, Britain in the third, Holland in the fourth, USA in the fifth position, Germany in the 15<sup>th</sup>, Australia in 19<sup>th</sup>, Japan 22<sup>nd</sup> and Italy 29<sup>th</sup>, whereas Yemen came at the end of the list the 142<sup>nd</sup> preceded by the Sudan in the position 141<sup>st</sup>.

Instead of encouraging creation and discoveries, what is going on in the Sudan is the opposite. Not long ago, the sovereign scientists gave a legal opinion about the invention the Sudanese scientist Dr. Leila Zakaria Hajo reached to and they launched an attack on the plea of changing Allah creation as if she disbelieved. Knowing that Allah whom they take from His religion a pretext for injustice and launching attack against their people said, “Only of His servants who fear Him are the knowers.”, but they are the real knowers who exploit knowledge to promote humans life not their destruction. A Sudanese scientist who declared earlier that she discovered anti-oxidation substance that removes wrinkles and prolongs youth stage.

According to SUNA, Dr. Leila Zakaria Abdurrahman said that the discovered substance represents a natural substitute of Botuc substance

that is used in cosmetic industries. This substance is used in manufacturing pure natural substances that are antithetic to all old-age diseases and wrinkle and prolongs youth period.”

It is said that the Sudanese scientist has already obtained patents for other scientist discoveries of economic return from great countries like: USA, Japan, Canada, Australia, Russia, China and others. Since the outer world celebrates the Sudanese innovation and the innovators do not find from their country other than belittling of their value, launching an attack on their efforts and slighting of its importance, how can innovation develop in the Sudan and these are minds of whom the legal opinions are asked?!!! Isn't it alone a reason for classifying the Sudan as a failure country?

### **The mechanisms of quitting the failure square? And how?**

At first, we must work to diagnose the defect points, find out the reasons of failure and analyze it scientifically without any political tendency or other. This is done so as to grip the points of that defect and failure and put an integrated view for solutions through studying some countries experiments. The Sudan problems are diverse. They are political, economical and social; therefore, it couldn't treat a part without treating the other parts. If they are not handled as a major part, they won't be handled as a whole. From here, we must objectively analyze the entire defect that referred to to show the entire view so as the pose of handling mechanisms becomes practically, possibly and applicably. In this concern, we can seek the help of the study outcomes prepared by Alrasid center for strategic and political studies in form of a symposium in which a number of specialists spoke in. Every one of those experts brought out what he sees in one of those defects in such a manner that their posing field covered the Sudan's defects and problems. In this matter, Dr. Omer Awadallah Jieid touched on the constituents of

building the “Nation” and the “country”. When I present what I report I present it for my personal conviction that the Sudan’s issues essence exist in the main problem for the country or the Sudanese nation which is” the absence of one identity of clear features” which is agreed on by all the citizens of the plot of land known as “republic of the Sudan” I shall comment on his presentation lately. The writer referred to said that one of the country pillars that justify its existence is the people. They are usually referred to them that they are ”a nation” , therefore, there is no more than a nation in the one country that is called home country. In the nation it is supposed to have self-feeling with belongingness to the country. There are two kinds of the contemporary countries. It can be distinguished as for the self-feeling with belongingness. Firstly, those who actually have an existing feeling with belongingness. Hence, that preceded the country creation, for instance, Germany and Somalia. As for the second, they are those who developed the self-feeling with belongingness after establishing the country, as it is the situation in Switzerland and USA. The above mentioned writer talked at great length saying, “Building the national feeling towards the country is often called “the nation building.” The historical experiments for us register that if the feeling with belongingness precedes the country creation, it will be homogeneous community based on common reasons like culture, language history or religion. In this case, the country is hardly faced by problems such as integration and national identity. It may be, if the country creation preceded the feeling of belongingness, in this case, the community would be known that it is not homogeneous or multi-cultures, whereas, the self-feeling is more difficult to be achieved. In this case, the process of building the national identity is often characterized by conflicts. The multi-cultured countries such as Switzerland and USA successfully developed their self-feeling rightly, whereas, the others such as the Sudan failed in creating national temper in the country.”

With all respect to this writer's opinion, he based on a generalization in violation of history realities because Switzerland and USA did not reach to that they reached to of creating the American nation country except after entering destructive wars, its confrontation to separation of states such as California and declaring itself as an independent republic, but the insistence and the hardness of the American national elements at that time made them entering destructive wars that left millions of the American and red Indians dead till they reach to unify all the states under one centralized authority. Hence, they reached to one constitution formulation with which the country that is called "The United States of America" at the present time is ruled. Certainly, the Sudan has been suffering the same pains, but the will weakness and incapability of the centralized authority to unify people around bases and principles agreed on, besides the feeling with injustice and marginalization that led the people to fallback upon their tribal origins particularly during the years from 1985 to 2013. In this period, the differences between the regions in development, predominating the tribe sound to the nationality one for the weakness of information, curriculums lacking all that relate to the country, the others acceptance and dialogue spirit are all factors collaborated all at once as factors that deepened the feeling with belongingness fragility to the one country. Each became looking for himself through his tribal and regional origins the matter which created a retreat in building the one national identity for citizens within the framework of the one country based on the one equal citizenship. This failure the Salvation is not responsible for alone, but all the governments that came successively in ruling the Sudan. It was all busy with conflict around ruling and keeping it and neglected the side regarding the building of citizenship and spirit of nationality completely. I agree with what the above mentioned writer went to, whereas, he said, "With South separation, some thought that the "nation" became homogenous in terms

of “religion” for Christianity leaving and in terms of “language” for considering that the Southerners speak African languages and take the Christianity and the other African religions as a religion. Simplifying this description shows why the history of the Sudan characterized by conflicts. The lack of taking seriously the diversity the Sudanese community characterized by will lead to the country disunion that began with South separation.” This analysis is not a subjective one because those who think with this logic they do not know the roots of culture in the Sudan nor the Sudan’s history with deepened knowledge. If the speech about Christianity leaving is their pretext there are many thousands of Christians in Nubba mountains and there are Coptics, then what do we do with them? Do we drive them away to unify religiously what remains of the Sudanese? Moreover, the Nubians in northern Sudan speak their native languages other than Arabic and they are considered African languages. Neither the religion nor the language can be good as factors to unify the country inhabitants in form of “one nation”, but what unify them is the one equal citizenship in rights and duties. This is a part of speech for Dr. John Grang who said neither religion nor language can be good to unify us, but the one citizenship unifies us all on an equal level.

A country like India which exceeds us in number and diversity succeeded although there are many social differences between the nationalities that is found in it and the class diversities which make the unifying of these groups a matter nearer to impossible, but it succeeded by virtue of intellectual consciousness and the political maturity for its leaders who settled the first pillars to the country. The sensitivity of the national Indians towards the diversity in Indian subcontinent was very constructive in comparison with the Sudanese case. Harihar Batasharia, the famous Indian scientist, described how the Indian national leaders sagacity breaking through such as mahatma Gandhi and Jawahir Lal

Nehru enable them to establish sound and peaceful democratic national county, whereas, he mentioned in pages 68-85 in his book titled India as a multi-cultures federalism: Asian values, democracy and decentralization the text : “ At all levels, the Indian national elites was putting high weight to Indian community values and complete sensitivity for the importance of that to their rising nation, whereas, Mahatma Gandhi ,the nation father, was bound by sentimental manner to Indian community traditional values and he concerned in its recovery by the complete refusal to western civilization. Jawahir Lal Nehru the first Indian prime minister was a symbol for the sectors more supporting to the national elites. Nehru was respecting deeply the traditional values and institutions related to Indian community and its present diversity in assumption to India shape in future and with deepen view to future policies. In his book “ India Discovery, 1646” Nehru concentrated on the vital important principle saying, “In the constructive project that we establish we had to concentrate on human resources we should deal with, the background of its sought and its motives and the environment it will work in. It will be foolish to neglect all this and we design an ideal project in imagination or even that we believe a mere belief the sought of imitating what the others did in another place” From this keen view which is full of wisdom, those who came successively in ruling the Sudan from national regimes could benefit of this lesson, confess with the diversity fact in the Sudan and deal with it as a reality they seek to glorifying its advantages and get rid of its disadvantages instead of hiding heads in sands, neglecting the matter and occupying themselves by conflicts on power. It was appropriate for them to deal with the diversity reality of ethnics and cultures, particularly within the context of legal frameworks, the work to create cultural environment and a constitution that invites to mixing and identifying between these diverse ethnics and cultures considering that they are citizens and sons of one

country that equals between them in rights and duties and gives them equal chances of competition in the right of obtaining education, training, work and all services. The nation constructing key is based on creating the feeling with belongingness in all groups within itself and between one another and creating one national source for all which does not impose on them the fall back on their narrow belongingness like “ethnic”, tribal, religious or the “cultural” belongingness, but, it would always be a feeling with the country unity and their equality in chances of its building and its development as to the best of one’s abilities. This will not achieve except in a country of a constitution that observes all ethnic and cultural groups privacies and exploits it positively for the country service through creating the institutions country. This country which is founded on respecting human rights and maintaining its dignity in a country that broadens for all and gives the equivalent chances for all before the law in right of work, education, and training. The institutions of the country begin with spreading the culture of dialogue, the other acceptance through the confession with him and his rights, the tolerance, the mutual confidence between all the country constituents from the citizens and giving up the culture of imposing the majority trusteeship on the minorities. In this case, we must start from one equal citizenship realities in a country that is called the Sudan which does not deny the existence of crossbred from Arab and negro elements and cultures that indentify with Arabs and Africans without favoring to one party rather than the other, but it rises from the pride with its Sudanization which is connected with the two parties and in certain limits. Therefore, going to make a permanent Sudanese constitution rising the reality that this constitution will not be acceptable and will not acquire the continuity unless all the people’s individuals feel that the constitution express their opinions, morals, dreams and ambitions and that they participated in its making and existence and it protects all their rights equally in a multi-



ethnics and a multi-cultures country, but it deals with all equally, respects their heritage and experiments. This will not be achieved save by the self-criticism to all community factions and its constituents, agreeing to forget the past with its pains and wounds, opening a new page between all the country constituents that begins with tolerance and building confidence and hence by knowing one another and confessing that all are equal in one citizenship, rights and duties towards the country. What we demand is not impossible, but to become possible, it needs impartial leaders whom it does not need from them to cancel themselves, but they look for it through guiding these groups towards homogeneity and belief with one common destiny that will not be a good destiny as we wish except through hard work based on creation, innovation and good model with perfect transparency.

If the agreement to construct the nation on the bases we mentioned is achieved, it would be possible to talk about the country based on the one citizenship that equal in rights and duties that is based on a constitution all agreed about its making and they accepted it, at that time, it would be possible to talk about “a country” , hence, starting to talk about the machineries of going out of the severe failure state we have already mentioned its characteristics in this chapter and going to talk about choosing a new way for the sustainable development.

### **What kind of development we want? And what are its objectives? And how do we achieve them?**

In order to give an idea about the kind of development we want in the Sudan, searching in how to be achieved and what goals it aims to, we must present an analysis that gives some light on the background of the problems that made the Sudan backward to achieve the required development. No doubt, the Sudan is one of the less countries that

enjoys human and natural resources which are not found in many countries, but the policies failure, weakness and lack of seriousness of regimes that came successively in its ruling, unconsciousness in investing resources and even wasting it sometimes with the spread of administrative and financial corruption are the known factors that do not hide to the endowed with eyesight. Perhaps, it is useful here to touch on the constituents of this economy and the trend to which the country economy was directed to nearly six failure decades of ruling, planning and administration.

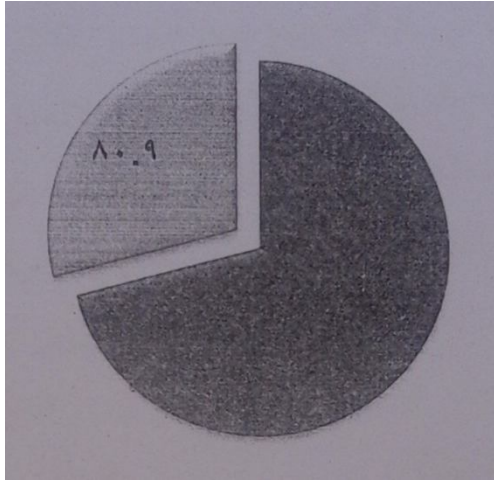
### **The constituents of the Sudanese Economy:**

No doubt the constituents of the Sudanese economy is known for every concerned, and we will not bring a new something here when we review it, but for the necessities of analysis consistency we will be obliged to review it. In this review, we depend on some numbers and statistics stated in reports of central bank of the Sudan along with personal efforts in sometimes to bring nearer the picture for the honorable reader under the lack of accurate information, and this effort will be correctable in the future.

The most remarkable constituents of the Sudanese economy, as many know, are the agricultural activity with its two sections the botanical and the animal. The agriculture and forests sector is the biggest one in terms of participating in the gross domestic product. It participate with a rate that ranges between 35% and 40% and contains about 68% of the Sudanese working hands in view of the majority of workers in this sector are in the rural sector and their economic activities which connect with this sector( The source: Sudan Bank reports). This sector has been the main source for revenues of the hard currency(before oil discovery) and the economy mainly depends on from the revenue of cotton, sesame, groundnuts and oil sales return.

This situation leading to singularity of agricultural economy strengthens as spear head in view of the expansion of lands areas which are good for agriculture and diversity of water resources of rivers, rains and underground water that has not yet been exploited. Also, the Sudan enjoys diversity in climates for the expansion of its area the matter which enable to produce many crops according to the variety of these climates in the different regions. This characteristic gave the Sudan the uniqueness in producing several crops that many of the surrounded countries do not produce, beside, the forest products without mentioning animal resources sector and fish resources that has not yet been exploited ideally along with animal resources which are estimated by 160 million heads. The Sudan capabilities according to the observed numbers for the agricultural sector are estimated about 200 million feddans of the lands that are good for agriculture (before South separation), of which the Sudan lost after the separation agricultural areas not less than 56 million feddans and forest areas about 112 million feddans. Also, the water loss for South interest is estimated not less than 7 billion cubic meters from total of 28 billion cubic meters which is the Sudan proportion from Nile water (18.5). From rains and underground water the Sudan lost about (15.2 billion cubic meters), knowing that the actually exploited from the Sudan areas that arable for agriculture did not exceed 16% and from water not more than 12.2 billion cubic meters only and the rest the northern neighbor (Egypt) makes use of it without payment for all the past decades up to now (the source: Dr. Salman Mohammed Salman, a strategic expert In the Nile water agreement, evaluate dear reader the water loss volume, that is to say, Egypt benefits about 45% of the Sudan's water proportion without payment before South separation and 22% after it! Do those who are in concern think of this continuous water wasting? The graph below shows the greatness of rich areas volume in the Sudan in comparison with the total of rich areas

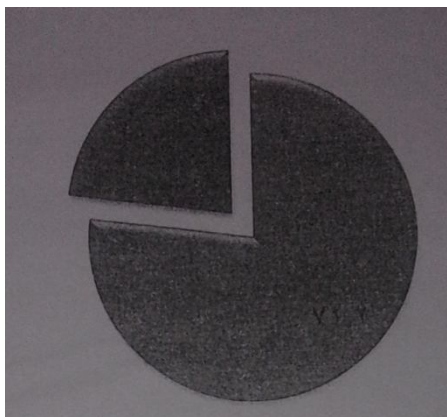
in the Arab world and the extent of negligence to make use of these areas of rich lands it could participate in satisfying the Arab world's food representing 42% of the rich areas in the Arab world.



- The total of arable Area for agriculture in the Arab world.
- The total of arable area for agriculture in the Sudan.

A graph prepared by the writer according to the information of unified Arab economic report 2012.

As for the graph below, it shows that the total of what is cultivated of these rich areas in the Arab world is (192) hectares. The cultivated of it is just 37%. The Sudan cultivates 29% of the total cultivated areas (71.2) million hectares. How larger it is what the Arab countries waste due to the lack of coordination and how larger it is what the Sudan wastes because of the littleness of what is invested of lands.



- The total of arable area for agriculture in the Arab world.
- The total of arable area for agriculture in the Sudan.

A graph prepared by the writer according to the information of unified Arab economic report 2012.

The second remarkable constituents of Sudanese economy is the industry, even it was of limit participation. The Sudanese economy according to its deformed structure and at the level of its weak containing for labor powers, the rate of industry sector participation did not exceed 9% of the gross domestic product at the best conditions. Moreover, most of the products of these sector were manufacturing industries for home consumption and did not participate in the Sudanese exports structure (before oil discovery) save by little rate of sugar sale.

The Sudan's industry role in exports did not witness a development that is mentioned except after the appearance of oil refining industry in refineries which are created lately and jumped with oil exports and lifted the industry sector participation in the gross domestic product to range from 21% to 35% from the beginning of the year 1999. The participation of this sector in the domestic product became about 90% with a noticeable withdrawal in the agricultural sector participation and oil curs afflicted the Sudan or what so called (the Holland disease).

It is known in all the countries that succeeded in a real development in their countries that the industry sector was always the spear head in achieving its economic rising save in the Sudan case, it was quite the opposite. After passing of nearly six decades to the Sudan independence and although of all plans and programs that were embellished in this sector, it is decisively failed in achieving its economic goals at the level of replacing imports, promoting exports situation and creating real and big work chances, and it did not happen in it any rise save after (oil industry). All plans should make use of the agricultural industry chances in a country of abundant products from agriculture. Perhaps, the infrastructure weakness regarding roads, ability of generating electricity

and the difficulty of affording revenues for importing production inputs played a great role in not operating the industries in full capacity along with the lag of the used techniques. We did not forget to refer to the essential role of monetary financial and taxation policies for the country in the collapse of many of these industries especially under the fluctuation of currency exchange prices and the clear role it played in lifting production cost and the lack of competition ability because of the fall of products quality.

Perhaps, of what is attributed to this current government is its tendency to concern with mining sector and working to extract gold, manganese and uranium as a positive addition to the industry sector, but the unorganized method with which the mining is carried out and the absence of regulations and laws organizing its work left negative effects on the movement of productive employment from one hand and allowed to trespass many areas of lands undeliberately. Also, this unorganized attack through the civil mining resulted in trespass many of the important archeological areas and monument theft. Moreover, it resulted in creating a kind of social instability in mining areas that led sometimes to armed confrontations between civilians and resulted in missing many souls either by diggings collapse or by cause of fighting on lands possessions in mining areas. Although the Sudan wealth of metals that many preliminary studies proved and although of the correct start to produce gold by Aryab Company, but the lack of control in the last time threatens with a real crisis in this sector unless to be controlled and the work be directed within severe legal adjustments. The ministry of mining asks about this disorder. The Sudan's production of gold according to the statistics of 2012 was estimated about 50 tons of gold that its return not less than 2 billion dollars (according to the statistics of the Sudan's Central Bank). The bank expected that these exports participate in building a good reserve of hard currency. Mining areas

spread in the states of River Nile, the Northern, Kordofan and Darfour. There are studies that are carried out about Jazira region and have not yet been declared. This sector is considered the third constituent of the Sudan's economic constituents.

As for the fourth constituent in the Sudanese economy, it is the economic services sector comprising transport, communication and banks. This sector is the only one that witnessed noticeable qualitative developments during the two past decades in comparison with the development quality of the other sectors that most of it obviously deteriorated. Although of what afflicted the railways that were the main transporter for goods and passengers, yet an observed improvement happened in the field of land transport in terms of establishing several of national roads and adding some improvements on the capital roads and widening it. Furthermore, many of the transport utensils concerning passengers and commodities like long-vehicles and buses were brought. Also, some airports were dated although the collapse of national transporter and waste of many of its assets though the return of several of the world aviation companies to work in the Sudan in field of foreign air transport.

The communication sector is considered as the only exceptional case in terms of modernization volume and the development happened in it by virtue of pumping big home and foreign investments in it since the mid of the nineties and its change from the public sector to private one. The services that Sudatel Company presents are counted one of the best companies working in Africa and the Arab region.

The fifth constituent of the Sudanese economy is the tourism sector, whereas, the Sudan possesses great tourism abilities that distribute between west (Marra mountain), north (Albajraweya and archeological areas), middle (Dinder Garden) and east (Aroos village, corals gardens

and red sea shores). All these and others form big touristic attraction areas if it is invested in good and suitable form. Then, this sector can play a great role in the Sudanese economy, opposite to what is happening on the ground now, whereas, the participation of tourism in the national economy is a slight ratio that is hardly mentioned although there is a specialized ministry. This goes back to the weakness of interest with this sector that has been suffering from the complete negligence under non-existence of plans, programs and new policies to develop and increase its participation in the domestic product. If those plans and programs are found, they will lack the political powerful will that turn it into a lived reality!

Finally, there is an important economic resource the Sudan enjoys. It forms a fundamental one of its economy constituents. It is the creative and innovative human powers, whereas, the Sudan is considered one of the countries that is inhabited with population in comparison with other African and Arab countries. Its population, according to some sources, reached to about 44 million people (before South separation). The labor power forms a great proportion of the inhabitants. It is truthful that illiteracy rate amid this great number of the inhabitants is rather high where it is estimated by (61% according to the census of the year 2003), the matter which affects the human resources quality and the possibility of benefiting from it economically for the interest of achieving the development and economic progress. However, a big effort is exerted - and still- to promote the quality of this resource through widening in public education with its different kinds and in high education of varied and multiple fields. Although of what is said about the quality outputs of the educational process in the Sudan with its two levels the public and high, it remains a process of effect with regard to promotion of human resources quality, lifting its abilities and developing its skills. Nevertheless, the fault that is found in this large number of the graduates



is the weak of level to the limit that made some gulf and European countries to subject those graduates to qualification tests it was not carried out with the Sudanese before, even some parts using employment began to refuse to look at the applicants' applications if they were the graduates of nineties and after. The crisis those graduates faced in Britain in the latest years is not far, the matter which drove the Sudanese doctors union to travel and meet the concerned parts in Britain to find a way out for them from this disgraceful situation. No doubt the Sudan has abroad base in field of human resources starting from the skillful employment and ending with experts in various professional fields. No two persons differ about the role the Sudanese working abroad played from the generations that graduated before the period of nineties in building the rising of many countries and much of them still participate with qualification in serving the communities of these countries.

What is mentioned was a short and general review of the main constituents the Sudanese economy includes and the extent of the limited benefit from it. The most insistent question posing itself is why did a country have all these constituents fail in achieving a degree of economic and social development that affords to its human an honorable living and puts the Sudan in the suitable place among the region's economies rather than the international economy? This will not be clear for us obviously unless we review the historical trend of the Sudanese economy, then, educing the influential factors in its stumble progress.

### **The historical trend for the Sudanese economy:**

The Sudanese economy passed by several stages since independence through which it developed, but it was a development that swings between the progress and degradation, then, why?

Different economic systems were applied through those stages the Sudan passed by. They had their clear effect in forming the features of that economy. Directly after independence the national elites that ruled the country preferred to follow the same economic method that was prevailing during colonialism period, where these fail elites did not cause any essential change in the economic system that inherited from the colonialism and that was a capitalism system which naturally works to consume the Sudan's resources for the interest of Britain economy. It is historically known that the colonialism administration that was ruling the Sudan before its independence worked to build mono-economic structure that fully depends on primitive production sector which is the agricultural one. It focused on it to produce cotton as a main currency crop that is exported to Britain to be used as production inputs for the Britain textile industries. Jazira scheme was established as a bigger economic scheme in the Sudan especially for achieving this goal. Instead of working to rehabilitate the Sudanese economy structure on the basis of multiplicity, diversity and balance so as to develop, prosper and grow stronger; the national governments adopted the existed economic structure since colonialism period and worked to develop it in the same direction. The most powerful proof for this is that the programs and development plans that were adopted after independence and during the sixties decade from the past century were founded on the western capitalism sample focusing on the investments that enlarge profits. The concern of these programs and plans was directed with high degree to the agricultural sector schemes and in certain areas by virtue of the availability of the required resources for the successfulness of those schemes in it, in form that is bigger than the other areas and sectors. That participated with high degree in devoting the economic system that is based on the mono-structure, but it was a binary deck structure between the traditional agricultural sector depending on irrigation by

rains and modern agricultural sector which is irrigated by Blue Nile water, hence, it participated in devoting the situation of economic backwardness the Sudan has been suffering from it for many decades. This tendency accompanied with carrying out many projects of manufacturing industry for the agricultural products like Aroma carton industry, dates industry in Karima and Babanosa dairy industry. All are failure projects because they are made for merely political reasons and did not stand on scientific studies the matter which resulted in wasting many of the country resources.

In the seventies period of the twentieth century, a great change in the nature of the economic system in the Sudan had happened when the new power that seized the country ruling in 25<sup>th</sup> May 1969 adopted the communistic system as economic method. It felt that it was the only way to rescue the national economy from a fall and direct it towards the development and progress of the economy. The first thing it started with within this framework is the confiscation and nationalization of many companies, institutions and projects the private sector was possessing in the year 1970, to devolve to the government sector. After that it adopted the method of central planning and government control in running the economy. Consequently, the range of public sector that expanded in all fields of economic activity at service and production levels widened. Then, as a result the government dominated the national economy activity in general. The private sector had no way than to move in narrow and limit range, especially, its moves was shameful in view of its persistence in profit only.

Although the plans and programs of social and economic development that was put and carried out during that time which aimed mainly at causing a radical change in the Sudanese economic structure, reoccupying and exploiting its varied resources with qualification, then,

distributing the fruits of this in justice, what happened is the increase of agricultural sector dominion on the Sudanese economy and this is a discount on the other economic sectors. This was not through developing the traditional agriculture that was spreading in wide areas of the Sudan and representing the majority of population activity, but it was through concentrating on modern agriculture or in a certain areas of the country the matter which led to the deterioration of agricultural activity volume, especially, in the traditional agricultural areas, and the migration of many of those who work in it to towns and urban areas. As result, the parasitical and marginal activity representing in prosperity of the unorganized sector in the Sudanese economy began to appear the matter which enlarged the volume of services sector without causing any increase in volume of the production and productivity. Also, this led to the appearance of scatter areas around the capital and the increasing of legions volume of unemployed persons who seek work of those who came from rural areas accompanied with the migrants who left their villages because of starvations and who were not obtaining scientific qualifications or having a certain handicrafts that were influential on the economic performance in general in the Sudan because of the increase of agricultural sector. Moreover, the industry sector that was being depended on a lot in causing the required structural change in the Sudanese economy, failed in achieving what is required of, especially, the agricultural industry projects the plans and development programs gave it special interest because of many factors the most remarkable of it is the government bureaucracy with which those projects were being directed and the economic services sector was not in good situation in that time, whereas, its different fields (transport, communication, energy, banks and others) did not witness other than a limited development.

The oriented economy system based on the government interference and decentralized planning entered the Sudan's economy in the tunnel of

rigidity and deflation during the period of seventies and eighties. This led to the appearance of many economic problems the Sudan suffered from a lot. The most noticeable of it is the foreign debts aggravating increasingly as result of depending on the foreign loans for financing developmental projects of low return. At the end, it failed to achieve any developmental progress that is made use of in repaying the value and profits of those loans the matter which confirms the extent of institutional disable in planning and implementing development programs and the absence of the sharp national view depending on the scientific studies in investing the large sums that entered the Sudan in form of high profits loans. This was a clear wasting for the country abilities that prescribes to call to account those who are responsible for.

On other hand, the production went back clearly and in a way that affected the development of the gross domestic product, where it has been registering negative growth rates in most years of seventies and eighties period of the past century and this because of the investments rigidity, high cost of production, the national capital exodus and the deterioration of the national currency value quickly under continuity of lowering its value according to the recommendations of the world's bank and International Monetary Fund under the soldiers control, their dominating the economic decision, remaining absent the specialists and experts, isolating them in stage of decision making or neglecting their opinions. This led to cause a state of economic recession which expanded to many years and came with another chronic problems like the rise of inflation rates and unemployment. That was an expression of internal and external unbalance state that had been a prevailing characteristic in the Sudanese economy in that period.

The third main stage in the historical trend for the Sudanese economy began in the year 1989 by applying the policy of economic liberation

and adopting the policy of market economy as an economic system. This required reducing the government role in the economy and restricting it only to interference through the policies to the limit the country abandoned its role completely, lifted its hand of its little responsibilities and left the people to be crushed by market mechanisms that have no mercy. Within this framework, a wide program for privatization including selling and clearance of most of the institutions, companies and profitable government economic corporations was carried out, where, this new economic trend aimed at moving the economic rigidity the Sudanese economy has been suffering for a long period of time by mean of diminishing the public sector dominion on the economic activity, breaking its monopolies in this field and liberating the economy from the different restrictions. The door was open wider in front of the private sector from the groups related to ruling party to dominate the economy sinews that is what is known as “Tamkeen” policy to ensure economy initiative and lead the economic activity towards achieving the goals of national economy that, unfortunately, did not achieve, but it entered the economy in a route that led to the verge of economic pit because of weltering in policies and antagonizing the countries the economic interests of the country connect with because of the persistence in imposing “the civilized project” representing the ruling regime philosophy essence.

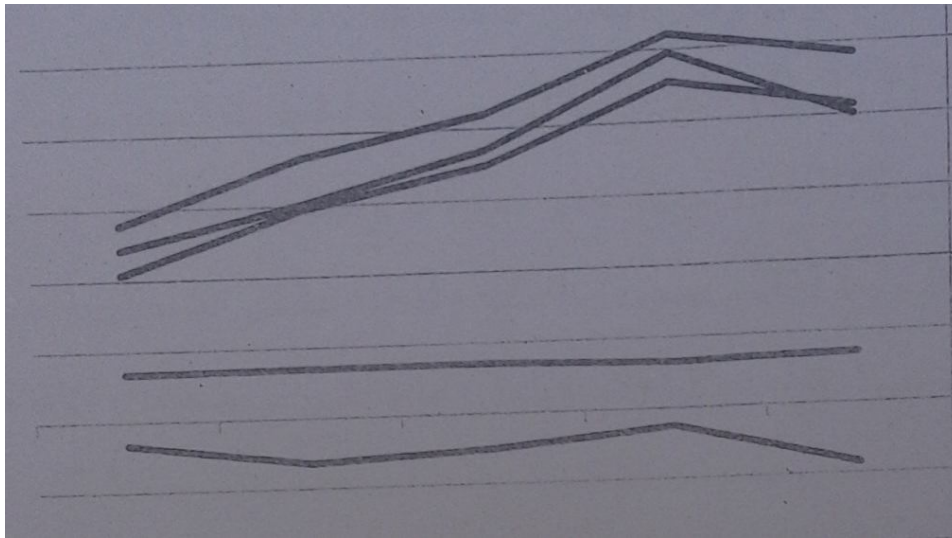
The Sudanese economy witnessed, during that stage, many positive and negative developments. In the first four years of implementing the economic liberating policy a clear disorder in the national economy performance happened, which many total indicators expressed of, the most remarkable of it is the increasing rise in inflation rates that reached to 11.66% in the year 1996, the great depreciation in the national currency, the clear distortions in exchange rate, the repeated oscillation that brought people to the purchase of strong boxes and keeping their

money in their houses instead of keeping it in its natural place which is the banks for the lack of confidence in the bank system. Also, the growth rate of gross domestic product went back to lower levels reached at 1,8% in the year 1991, whereas, the development credits in the general budget decreased to 50%, at the time the foreign debts aggravated till it reached, in 1996, about 17 billion dollars. However, a clear advantage arose in the Sudanese economy performance after that by virtue of reformatations that had been made in the total economic policies since 1996 within the framework of implementing the strategy of comprehensive economic structural reform during period from 1996 to 2002. One of the aspect of that improvement is the relative stability that happened in the Sudanese economy during that period and after, whereas, the indicators of the total performance appeared a noticeable development. The inflation rates decreased to very lower levels reached 8% in the year 2000 after it was 11.66% in 1996. Also, the exchange rate witnessed a great stability and for a period more than three years, whereas, the growth rate of the gross domestic product returned to rise, where, it reached, at average, about 6% during the years 1997 -2000. The entrance of oil since the year 1998 within the sector constituents for Sudanese economy helped that advantage, in addition to its entrance within the structure of Sudanese exports since the year 1999. This improved situation secured a kind of relative stability in the Sudanese economy up to the year 2008, although of the occurrence of home political crisis that brought to the Sudan bad consequences at the level of internal front and at the level of its foreign relations as Darfour crisis did. Unfortunately, the entrance of oil within the country budget was a plague on the Sudanese economy in terms of neglecting the agriculture instead of orienting the oil revenues to develop it. Furthermore, the country was drawn by its governors to high expenditure method on the constitutionalists and in purchasing ostentation goods, spread of financial and administrative corruption in

form that no longer disappear. Trespassing the public money and appearance of empires inside the public sector representing in many governmental parts and governmental institutions and departments for playing in budgets and not subjecting it to the auditor-general began. This became evident through mass media and newspapers and even through the parliament that its voice became harsh without to care for. The Sudanese economy began to retreat since the year 2009 under the influence of many factors, the most noticeable of it as we said is the great widening in the current governmental expenditure (the non-developmental) because of many of maturities the political circumstances have imposed since signing the comprehensive peace agreement in the year 2005, as well as requirements of confronting Darfour crisis and containing the eastern Sudan problem. Furthermore, the consequences of effects of global financial crisis that appeared in the year 2008 and extended to after that, whereas, the oil prices decrease in the world markets in the year 2009, because of that crisis, had its effects on the public budget in the Sudan, in addition to the affection of the Sudanese imports because of the effect of that crisis on the countries the Sudan imports of. Those effects formed a great pressure on the general revenues in the country the matter that compelled the government to increase the value added tax and imposing extra customs on the imports along with adding a new fees and collections at the state and federal level the matter which led to production costs increase and yet participated in causing state of economic recession, decrease of purchasing value for wages and deterioration of living level for the majority of the inhabitants. Perhaps, the graph below which the writer prepared from the available information of the Sudan Central Bank reflects the method of extravagant governmental expenditure that reflects the extent of wasting and squandering of the country resources.



## The Public Finance during the period 2005 - 2009



The governmental \_\_\_\_\_ the self governmental expenditures \_\_\_\_\_

The Capitalist \_\_\_\_\_ the current \_\_\_\_\_

The most remarkable features of the destructive changes in the economic system in the Sudan during the past twenty years, beside the change to the system of market economy is the tendency towards deepening the Islam of banking system, whereas, the Islamic banking system was completely adopted in the Sudanese banks transactions whether in relation to deposits admission or finance granting. In addition to the use of financial instruments that correspond with Islamic law as they assumed with concern to process of liquidity managing in the aggregate economy. In later development in this context, the double bank system based on working according to Islamic bank system in North and traditional bank system in South was adopted.

No doubt, those changes had its direct effect on the Sudanese economy performance, especially; it connects firmly with one of the important aggregate economic policies which is the monetary policy.

So, and through this historical review for the developments, the Sudanese economy passed by since the independence and through different stages, it is obviously observed that fluctuation with which its trends, its tendencies and its development movement characterized and in the light of it, its features and its characteristics shaped. Then, from an economy based on a mixture of market economy and indicative planning to latest contradictor to it that is based on governmental control and central planning, then to an opened and entirely liberated third one from the government control and that is based on inconsistent blend of free market economy method and Islam method in economy. The first depends on the principle of profits enlarging as incentive and essential motive to economic activity, and the second depends on achieving justice principle in economic transactions and distributing its gains.

This big fluctuation in the track of the Sudanese economy and the radical change from economic system to another that is completely contradictory of, beside, the political instability, conflicts and internal crisis that has been the prevailing characteristic in the Sudanese economy since the independence as result to the absence of social equity that is based on the distribution equity of development projects to different regions of the Sudan, also, the fair distribution to resources the matter which makes all feel equality between them. That was a guarantee to avoid the Sudan all war grieves that prevailed in all regions and some of it is still going on. This is what makes the Sudan backward economically and prevented it from obtaining any economic progress of big and decisive qualitative value although of its existence in abundance

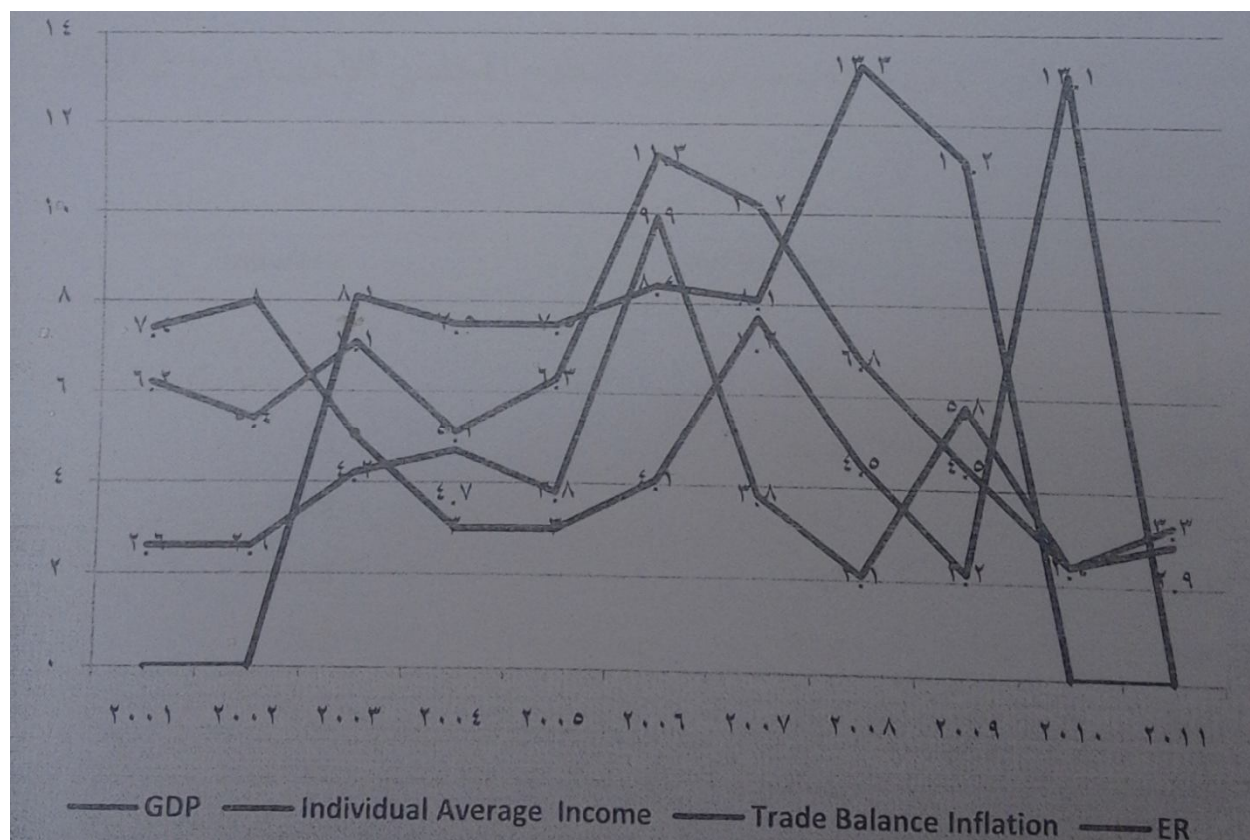
and in big resources diversity it did not exist to other many countries that exceeded it by far stages in economic field.

## **Secondly: the Sudanese economy performance before South separation**

In the first chapter of this book we had the Sudanese economy constituents and its historical trends, we referred to its performance, we talked about South separation reasons and the consequences of that through the economy and we referred to some performance features in it during the different periods of its history. In this axis we reviewed the Sudanese economy constituents and its historical progress and we will concentrate, in what follows, on the performance of the Sudanese economy before South separation, but in particular during the latest years that anticipated the change of the united country of the Sudan into two separate and independent countries. In this context, we will depend on the performance of total economic indicators in general which reflect the performance results of the Sudanese economy during the concerned period, at the head of it is the growth rate of gross domestic product, growth rate of individual average income, inflation situation, foreign sector performance and exchange rate situation.

We referred earlier in a previous part of this book to the felt improvement that occurred in the total economic performance as whole in the Sudan since the year 1997 and up to the year 2008, then, the going back that the performance witnessed since the year 2009. With a general look to the total economic indicators performance of that period, the picture seems more obvious and clear about what referred to in this respect and the following graph shows this.

The graph number(1) shows some total economic indicators of the Sudan (2011-2001) (by percentage), the growth rate of gross domestic product, individual average income, inflation rate, trade balance and exchange rate against dollar.



Source: from Sudan Bank reports data and the World's Bank reports on development in Africa 2001.

By reading data that was reported in the graph above on some total economic indicators reflecting the Sudanese economy performance during the ten past years, the following can be observed:

-as for the growth of gross domestic product, it has been achieving positive rates along the concerned period, whereas it reached the best of its situations in the year 2006 and the year 2007 at rate of 11.3% and

10.2% successively. But, it began to go back obviously since the year 2008, whereas it achieved low rates reached to a lower limit to it in 2010 and 2011 with rate of 2.3% and 3.3% successively, and the declining continued to the worst in 2012. This indicates the fall back of the total economy performance during the last five years after it registered a noticeable rising in the first six years from the period as results of the economic reformations that was made, particularly in the second half from the nineties of the past century. This going back is attributed to the effects of global finance crisis that is broken out in 2008 and its consequences that afflicted all the economies of the world's countries, as well as the effects of political situations the country was living and that required the widening in the current governmental expenditure at the expense of developmental and investment according to decisions that lack to economic rationality and the feature of political gratifications dominates it.

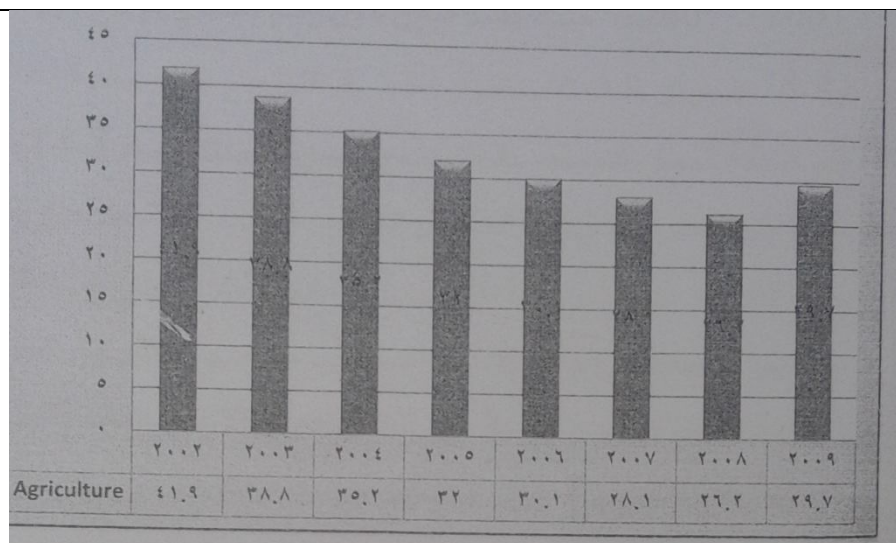
If there was a necessary notice that must be showed in this aspect, it would relate to the participation of productive sectors in the gross domestic product, whereas, the participation proportion of the agricultural sector went back greatly. That rate was about 38.8% in 2003, then, it decreased to 26.2% in 2008 and to 29.7% in 2009. As for the agricultural sector, its participation rate in the gross domestic product increased a lot by virtue of oil industry entrance within its elements since the year 1998, where it is observed the increasing of that rate an year after year during the past ten years. In the year 2002, it was about 21%, then, it began to increase from year to another till it reached 34% in the year 2009. The following table confirms what is mentioned.

The table below and the following graph (2) show the participation rate of the agricultural sector and industry sector in the gross domestic product (2002-2009).

Industry	Agriculture	
21	41.9	2002
22	38.8	2003
35.8	35.2	2004
28.3	32	2005
29.2	30.1	2006
31.2	28.1	2007
34	26.2	2008
26	29.7	2009

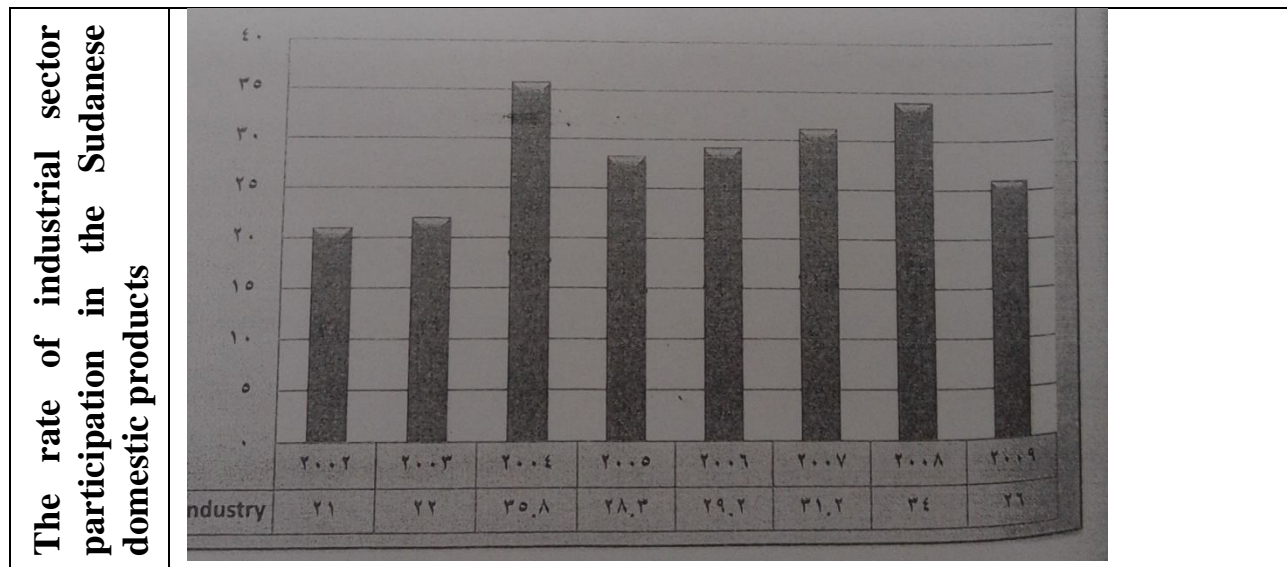
## Agriculture

The rate of agricultural sector participation in the Sudanese domestic products

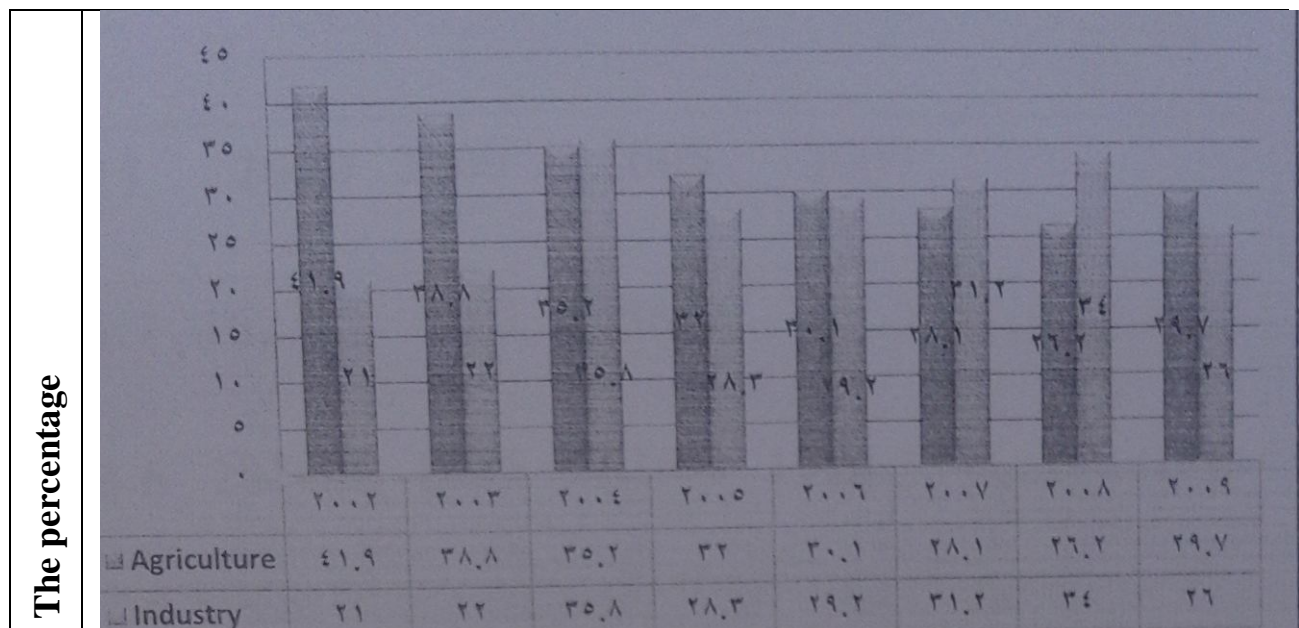




## Industry



## The reality of agricultural and industrial sector in the Sudanese domestic product



**The Source: Africa development indicators, 2011, the World Bank.**

Regarding the growth of individual average income, it is observed that its registered rates are fluctuated and instabled. After achieving a rate reached to 5% the year 2003, it went back in 2004 and 2005 to reach 3% and 4.1% successively, then, it jumped to 8.9% in 2006, then, started in the successive decrease during 2007, 2009 with rates of 7.2%, 4.5%, 2.2% successively. It is known that the individual average income growth is connected with the national income growth and population growth, therefore, the occurred fluctuation in individual average income growth rates in the Sudan during the concerned period may be described by inconsistency between the national income growth and population growth in the country. Furthermore, the bad exploitation of resources become obvious and clear and does not need more explanation.

As for inflation, its rates witnessed a stability during the years ranging between 2001 and 2007, where, it has been turning around single number fluctuated between 7.2% and 8.4%. Hence, that stability started to go back since 2008, whereas, the inflation rate started in rising to reach in that year 14.3%, then, decreased a little in the two following years to return in rising once again and sharply during 2011. Although of our reservation on the rightness of these numbers for they do not reflect the reality, we are compelled to review it for it is the only information that were available for us under the control of statistics and the tendency to amend it in many of the sources for mere political reasons.

Concerning the foreign sector performance, the trade balance situation reflects a continuous and increasing deficit in sometimes, in this sector performance. Whereas, a one surplus state was not registered during seven years (2003-2009). Even the trade balance deficit rate to gross domestic product reached in 2005 and 2006 to (10.9%). These rates reflect the gap amount in the trade balance, in other words, the imports



value is so larger than exports value which means the rise of dependence degree of the Sudanese economy on the foreign world and at the same time shows the general performance weakness of the national economy. It must not be seen to big decrease in the deficit rate of trade balance that happened in 2008 which was (0.8%) as indicator of economic performance promotion in the Sudan, because it is obvious that decrease refers back to oil imports return rise as result of rise of its prices in the world's markets in that year.

In consideration to the exchange rate, it registered a relative stability during the past ten years (2002-2011), whereas, it was stable in the first four years of that period at 2.6 pounds against the U.S dollar, then, it registered a noticeable decrease in the following three years till it was 2 pounds against the U.S dollar in 2007. Then, it started to rise from one year to another during the last four years from the concerned period till it was 2.9 pounds against the dollar in 2011. The exchange rate continued in fluctuation to reach the highest stages of its depreciation when the dollar price in money market was about 7 pounds as the published information in newspapers and circulated by meetings show. The relative stability in exchange rate during most years of that period refers to the Sudan ability of building a considerable money reserve by benefiting of oil exports revenue that represented 90% of the total of the Sudanese exports revenue.

So, from the previous analysis of the general performance for the important indicators of the total economy in the Sudan during the ten years preceded South separation, we can extract the following results:

1. The relative improvement that arose on the Sudanese economy refers essentially to oil entry within the Sudanese economic constituents and not for any radical change in economy structure, a qualitative improvement in its existed structures performance or

the followed policies, otherwise the deficit has not been existed and continued in the Sudan's trade balance and the Sudanese pound value has not been depreciated.

2. Although of the positive effects of economic reformations that carried out since the nineties of the past century on the performance of Sudanese economy, the global finance crisis assured the extent of rooted unbalance of structure therein. That is because the economic situations in the Sudan affected clearly by that crisis consequences although there is no a direct connection between the Sudanese economy and economic centers that the crisis burst out in.
3. The Sudan did not benefit from the big oil revenues that achieved during the past ten years in developing the other productive sectors such as agriculture the Sudan enjoys in it large and diverse resources and such as industry with its different fields the Sudan has many chances in it.
4. Although of the improvement of the Sudanese economy growth rates during the most years of the period the analysis included and despite of the great improvement in the government revenues by virtue of oil returns, there are misdistribution and unfair for the fruits of that improvement. The wide spread of poverty, the shortage of provided social services, the badness of its quality, citizens dependence on their own resources in satisfying their needs of education and health services express about that clearly.

### **Thirdly: the influence of separation on the Sudanese economy**

The south separation of the Sudan country (the mother) secreted many of the economic effects that formed in total a strong shock to the Sudanese economy that will suffer of long period of time no one can estimate its

extent decisively and definitely, but all the matter depends on the efficiency of the economic measures and policies that the Sudanese government undertook and will undertake to overcome those effects, and we mentioned this extensively in our book: *The Sudan Separation Shock and the Route to Economic Recovery*, also, we listed it in detail in the first chapter of this book. But for the requirements of analysis context we obliged to discuss it here once again.

**The economic effects resulting from that separation can be summed up in the following:**

At the economic resources level: the South area is estimated between 25% and 28% of the total area of the Sudan before separation, moreover, the Southerners were representing more than 23% of the united Sudan population. This is according to recent estimations which estimate the Sudan population before separation about 44.8 million persons; about 10.6 millions of them are Southerners. These facts mean that the Sudan lost, by South separation, considerable economic resources. No doubt that the South lands are rich with its resources that were forming a resource balance for the united Sudan, even if it was not exploited it completely. By south separation, the Sudan lost a considerable area of agricultural lands, natural pasture and forests. Furthermore, the Sudan lost numbers of animal resources, yet its rate is rather low in view of the animal resources amount the Sudan has. Moreover, the Sudan lost large numbers of wild animals that could form a balance to tourism activity in the country. The most important of all this is the Sudan's loss for oil resources, where most of the Sudanese oil fields are found in the South. We will show the impact of this in details in a later spot of this research.

From the important economic resources that may be affected with separation process is the water resources. The South Sudan country after its separation of the mother country became a path with regard to Nile

water. This matter would arrange a new status in this concern. Although the water issue was not raised frankly and sharply by South Sudan country within the current issues arising from separation for stage considerations concerning that country, this issue may be raised in the future under the conflict about water between Nile basin countries that the source countries raised since Kigali conference in Rwanda in April 2007 regarding the revision of Nile water agreements, wherein the South Sudan country is expected to stand beside the source countries attitude that call for cancellation of Nile water agreement and replace it with a new one based on the principle of ideal and equal use for Nile water. This may affect the Sudan quota of water Nile.

At the level of human resources, the Southerners separation with their country means the decrease of the Sudanese human resources volume with rate of nearly 23%. It is a considerable rate with regard to the importance of human resources for any economy although some were making little of the importance of this effect because of the South labor force quality and its productivity weakness. Yet, it cannot be seen to this matter by this simplified way, whatever was the quality of human resource, it is considered a balance for the country and it is not a discount at least from the economic aspect without mentioning the political one, especially, under the globalization trends inviting the different world's areas and regions to work hardly to construct economic blocs that seek to achieve the economic consolidation. In this context the human resource is seen with much consideration. This is for two essential reasons: it is an important, necessary and useful productive resource from one hand if it is developed and exploited for the development interest, and it is a main mover for the aggregate demand of goods and services from the other hand. This is an urgent matter for the sake of moving investments and exploiting the other economic resources as a necessary process that the development requirements and

the need to achieve observed progress in the economic field prescribe, and how needy is the Sudan for all that.

At the level of finance resources: it is mentioned previously in this book the Sudan loss of an important economic resource by South separation which is oil. Accordingly, many effects resulted from this; the most remarkable of it is the financial one. Particularly, the Sudan lost because of separation 75% of its oil revenues. The effect of this would be clear on the financial resources for the Sudan's government if we knew the oil returns represent more than 50% of the public treasury revenues.

The general budget for the Sudanese government during the last quarter of the year 2011, 2012 and this year 2013 faced great difficulties that compelled the government to take hard economic and financial measures which included making essential adjustments in public budget and financial policy that prescribed to lift great rate of fuels support and decrease some aspects of administrative expenditure. By this, it aims to face the great deficit that appeared in the public budget as result of loosing oil revenues because of separation. Accordingly, severe economic effects resulted from this. It will remain a suffering source for the Sudanese citizen a long period of time of unknown range with regard to unseriousness in decreasing expenditure on the constitutionalists and continuation of the political compensations that the futile way requires in handling the political problems of the country by retail method instead of handling all the problems as one package by more political courage and serious will in solving all the country problems all at once through a comprehensive constitutional conference before which all these problems are posed and handled with transparency and with the method that achieves social equity for all the Sudanese people and achieves belongingness spirit through the one equal citizenship in rights and development chances that keep away wars ghost and threats of

separation probability of many of other Sudanese regions under foreign plotting that faced the Sudan. We will discuss those effects in the following:

**-At the level of economic situations:** the separation effects appeared on the general economic situations in the Sudan through the following indicators:

-There is inflation because of the general budget deficit resulting from oil returns loss from one hand and because of industrial and agricultural production retreat under the great dependence on oil and the lack of investing its revenues for the interest of productive sectors from the other hand. The inflation rate started in continuous rising till it reached in August 2012, according to exports estimations, for more than 41.6%. This is assured through the horrible and continued increase for the general level of prices in a manner uneasy to be controlled. This led to disorder, instability in markets, spreading of speculations in it and play of many of weak souls with the country's economic abilities. Moreover, this led to depreciation of currency and its decrease at high rate reached to 45%, the matter which led to corrosion of banks capitals in manner that may affect, in the near future, on its financial centers. Furthermore, the withdrawal of private sector and its investments decrease because of fears from instability state and unbalance the Sudanese economy lives. From other hand, those inflationary effects led to decrease the real value of wages and salaries of the employees in public and private sectors and the earned revenues by free workers and their like. This participated directly in widening the poverty circle in a manner that is greater than it was. But, this participated in aggravating the migration rates from the countryside to the city and from the cities to outside the Sudan in way the Sudan did not witness except in the first oil surge time in seventies period. The migration rate became, especially in the professional sectors

of university graduates and postgraduates, threaten civil service stability in the country that originally suffers terrible and continued deterioration.

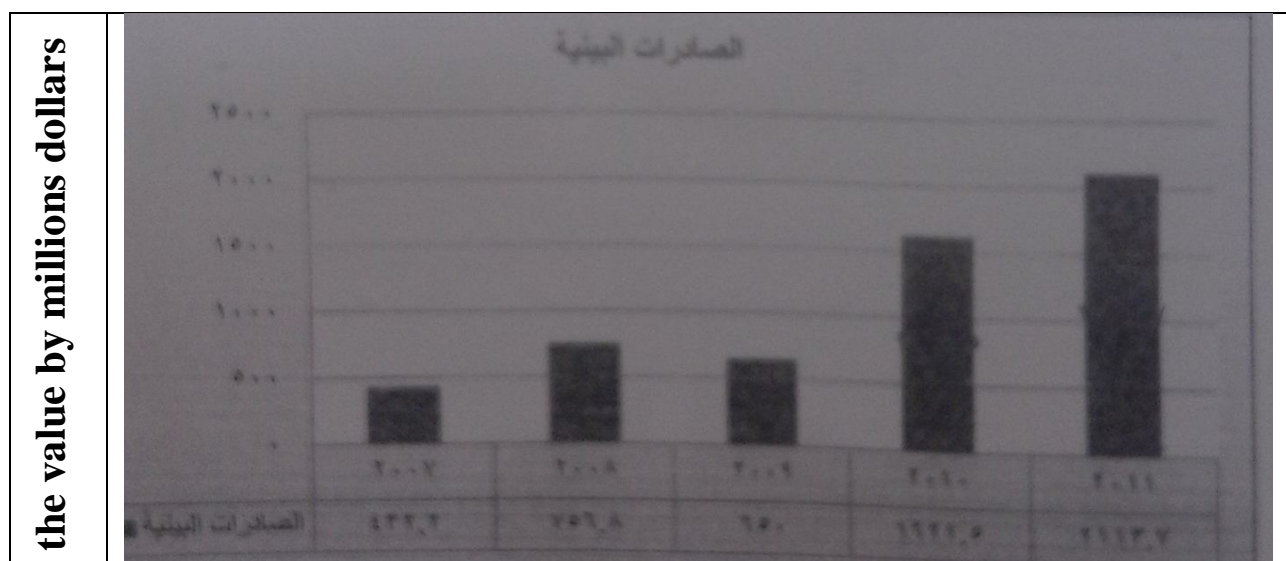
**-The going back of foreign currency reserve volume:** resulted from the Sudan loss of oil revenues that was forming the main source for foreign currencies flow, corrosion of its foreign currency reserve volume and hence shortage occurrence in it, the matter which had its direct and big effect on exchange rate under the rising of demand on foreign currencies and decrease of supply, whereas the Sudanese pound value depreciated in a horrible manner against the U.S dollar, EURO and other of the countries' currencies which having economic transactions with the Sudan. The dollar price, for example, reached to more than six pounds during this year 2002, whereas, the EURO price reached to more than seven pounds.

**- Increasing of deficit in trade balance:** The imports value rose under the rise of exchange rate and therefore, the deficit in trade balance increased, especially, under the going back of the Sudanese exports value because of oil going out from one hand and the decrease of non-oil exports volume from the other hand for many reasons of which the cost rise of internal goods production under the effect of exchange rate rise.

**Inter – exports and imports : The value in million dollars.**

2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	
2113.7	1621.5	650	756.8	432.2	Inter – exports
2522.6	2856.6	1865	2136.4	1924.5	Inter – imports

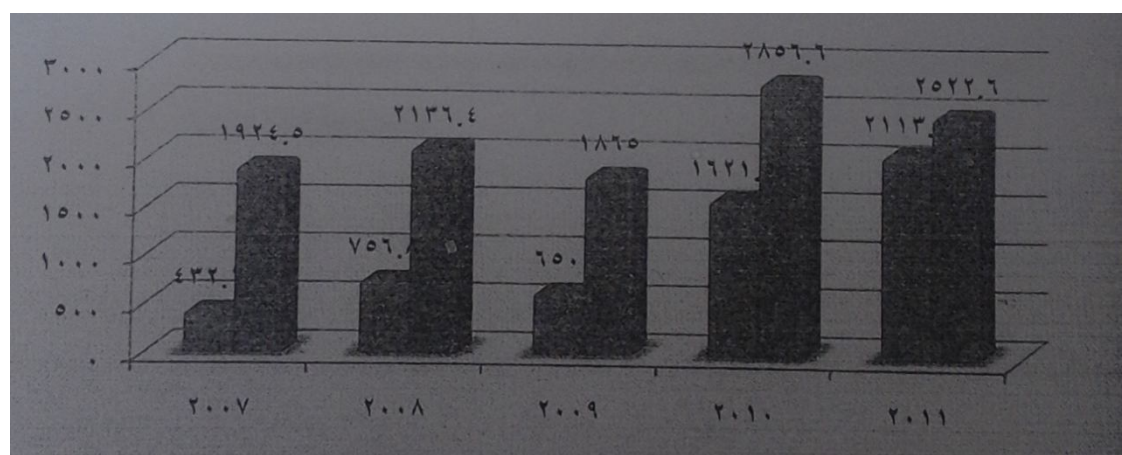
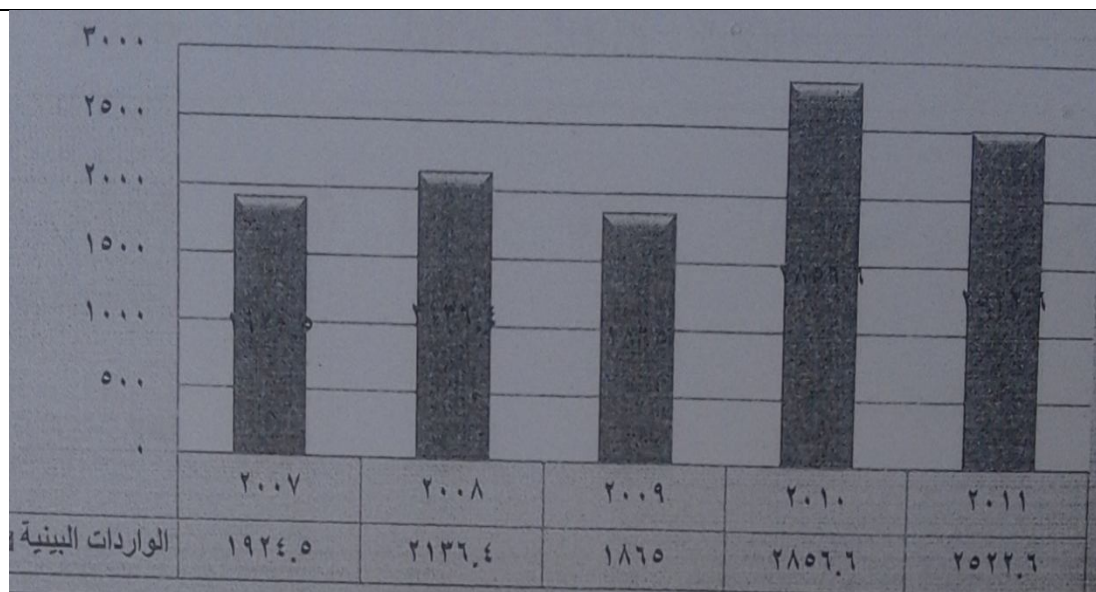
**Inter – exports**



**Inter – Imports**

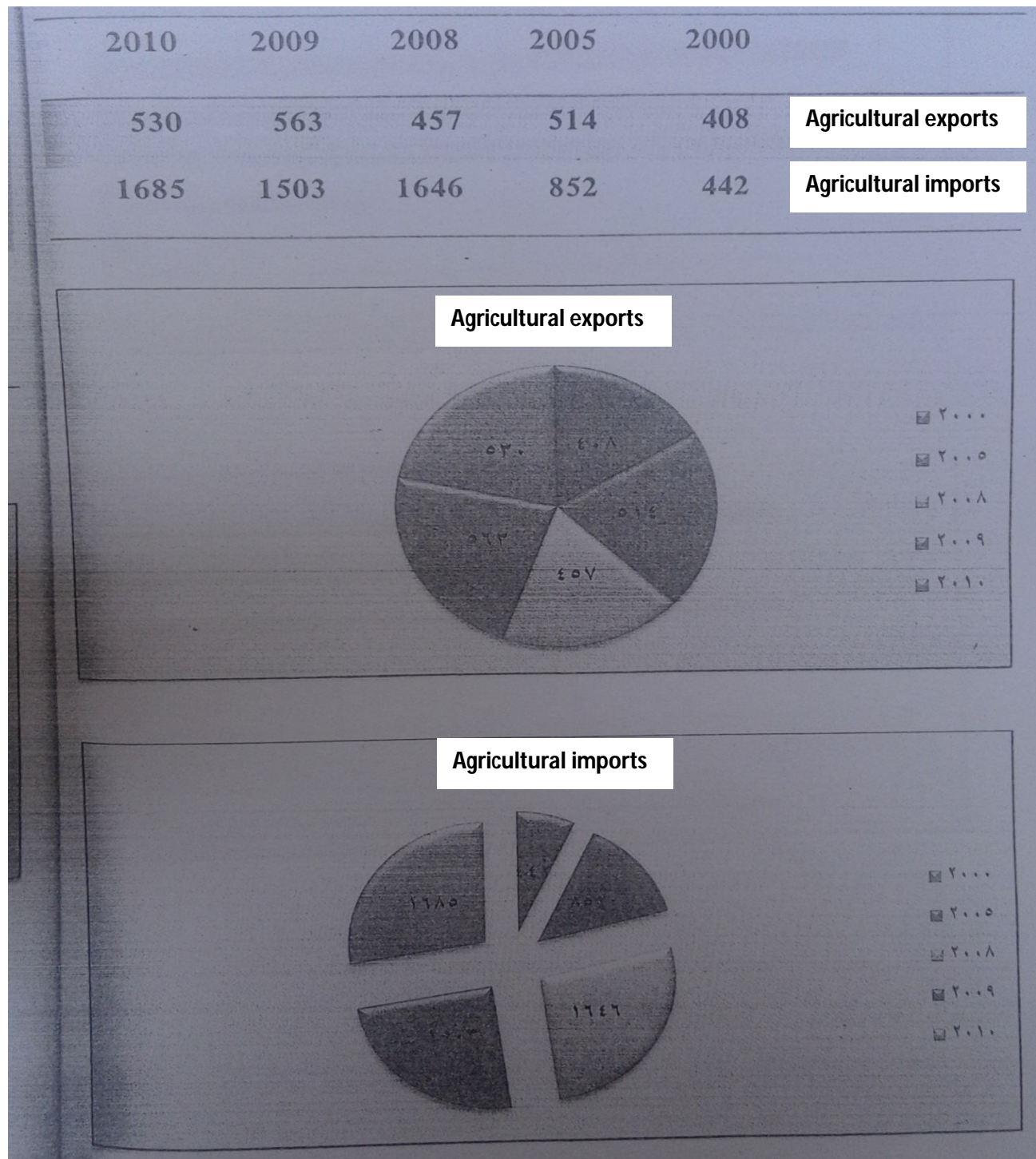


the value by millions dollars



- Inter – import
- Inter export

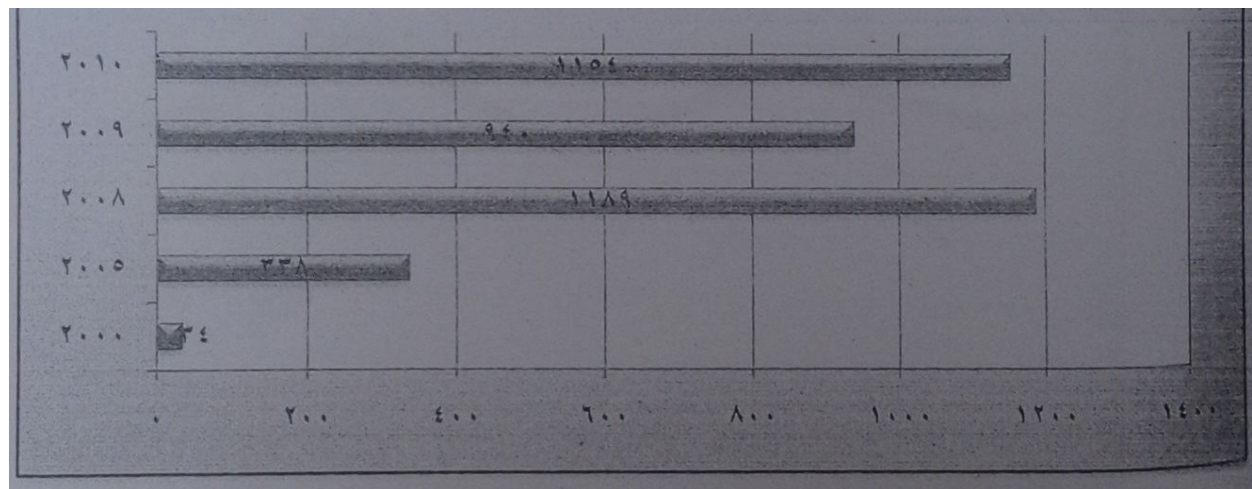
## The agricultural exports and imports: the value in million dollars



## The Net of agricultural imports and the average of individual share

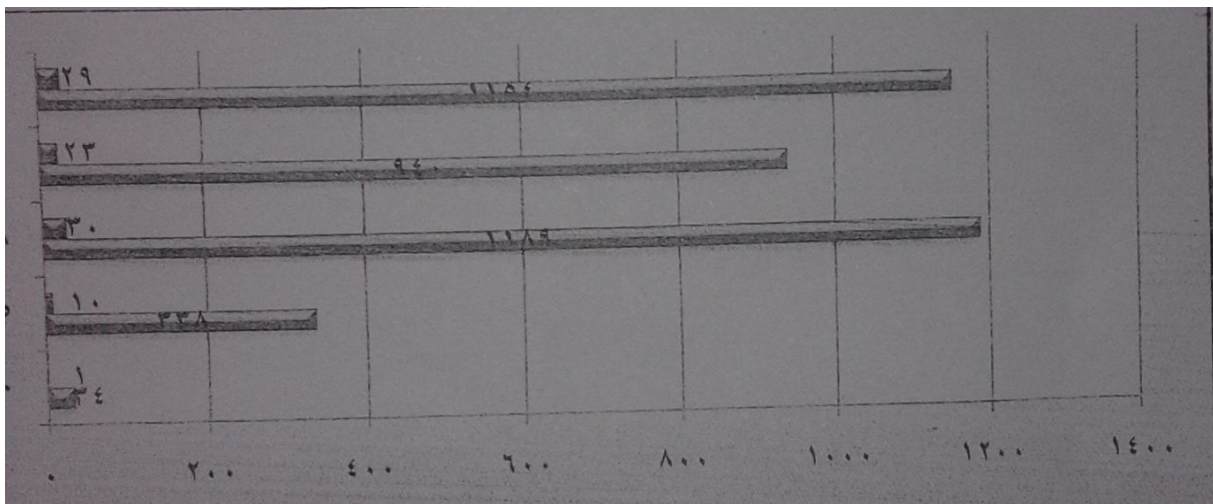
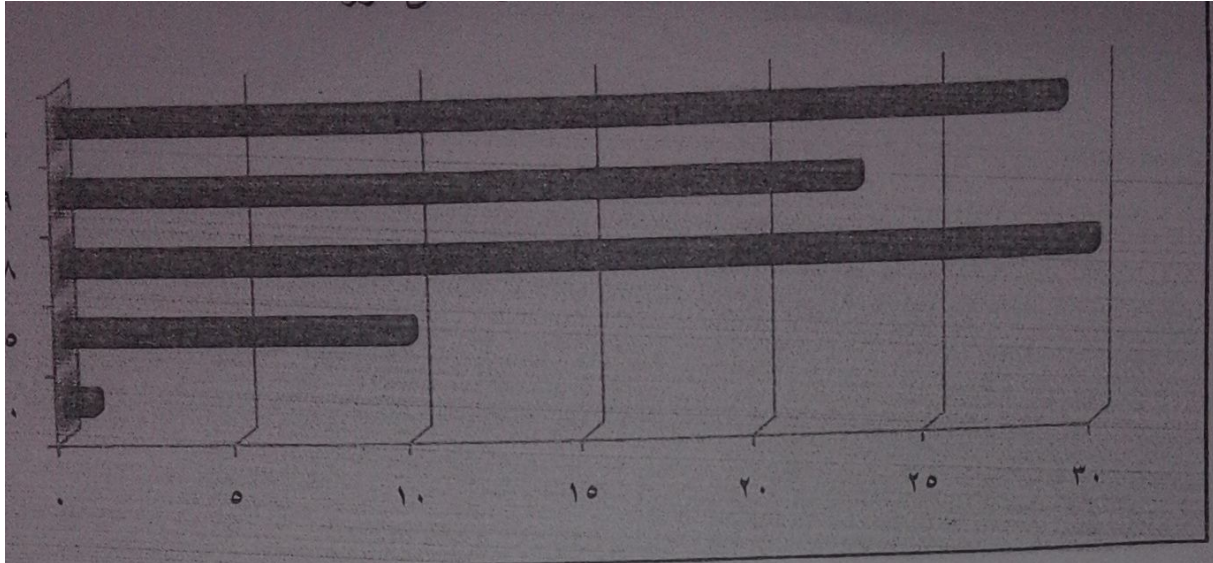
2010	2009	2008	2005	2000	
1154	940	1189	338	34	The Net of Agricultural imports
29	23	30	10	1	The average of individual Share from the net import

## The Net of agricultural imports



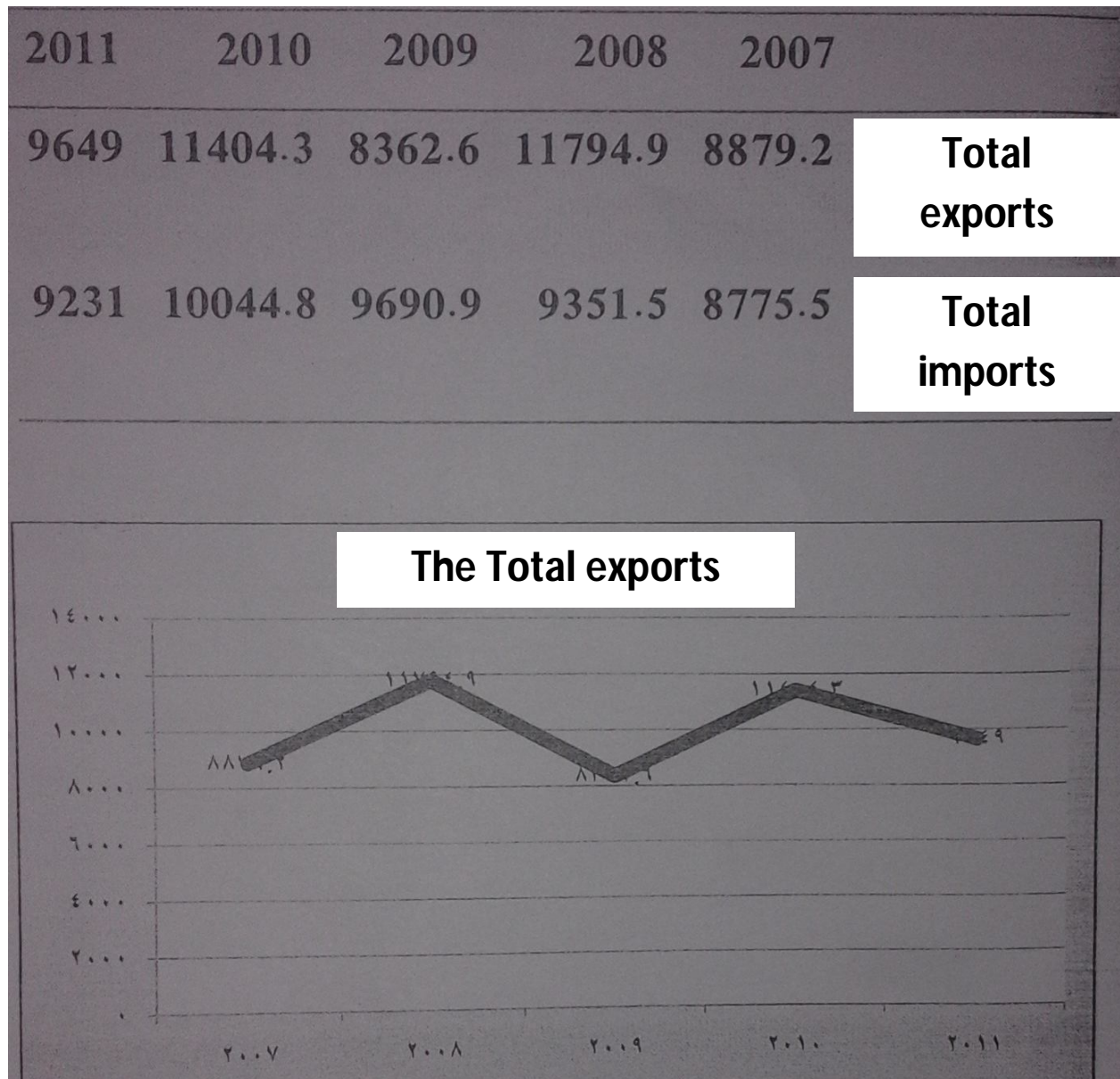


## The average of individual Share from the Net imports

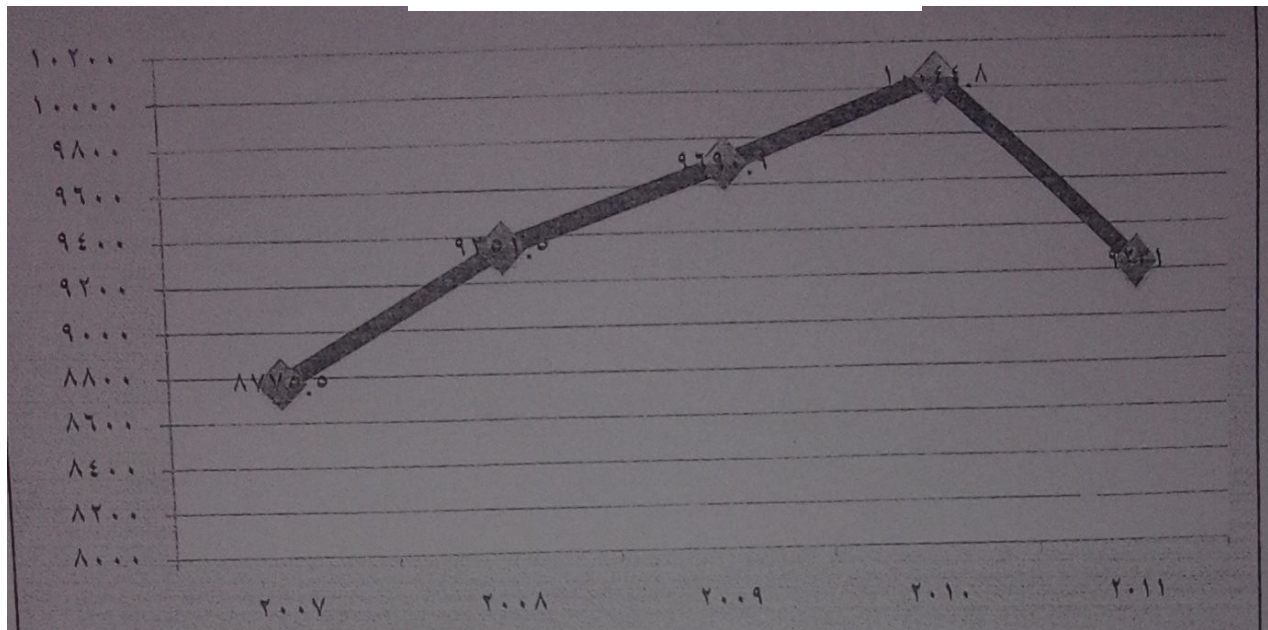


- The Net of agricultural imports
- The average of individual Share from the Net imports

## The total exports and imports: the value by million dollars



## The Total imports



All what was mentioned show clearly how the Sudanese economy affected by South separation and the going of many of the economic gains that achieved during the two past decades and led to relative stability situation before separation. Thus, the Sudanese economy strode backwards under the influence of separation shock, and may need a time so as to be able to release the consequences of that shock, absorb its effects and go back to the economic gains quarter newly. Perhaps, the report that is as stated in ALbayan newspaper which issued in Dubai in its number of 22/5/2013 that mentioned the International Monetary Fund report that makes real anxiety to every concerned one with the Sudan issue wherein the following text came, “The Sudanese economy registered a greater deflation in its history and went back 4.4% in 2012 because of political and security instability state and bad economic policies. All Arab countries registered growth rates more than 2% along with Arab spring countries that witnessed many problems, yet, the Sudanese economy appeared a clear weakness according to a report issued, yesterday, by International Monetary Fund. And according to Fund estimations, the reserves level of foreign currency in the Sudan is the least at the Arab level even in comparison with poor countries like

Mauritania and Djibouti, whereas, the reserve that the Sudanese Central Bank keeps went back to less than two billion dollars in the past month of April. The fund statistics appeared gloomy horizons for the Sudanese economy during the next year (2014), whereas the report expected to register less growth rates in Arab countries. The statistics showed that the public debt and public finance deficit exceeded the gross domestic product with mythical number, whereas, the public debt was more than 45 billion dollars, at the time that the deficit in public finance reached to more than 100% of the gross domestic product. As the report illustrated slight improvement in unemployment rates that has been over 10%, the experts related this to increasing of migration rates among youth during the two past years, particularly, to the Arab oil countries and others. But the same experts expected that the rate will rise in the next year with readiness of Saudi Arabia to drive away a large number of the Sudanese employees that in violation of guarantee regulations. The fund estimated the public finance balance with (5%) of the domestic product and this means there is a great degradation in public finance of the country the matter which requires to take urgent procedures to manipulate this concern and not to wait the unseen South oil export revenues up to now which is estimated at the best situation about 500 million dollars during the current year if everything go well without occurrence of political or security obstacles. The fund reported that the matter needs taking decisive procedures at the political levels this year, also, the finance adjustment and exchange rates elasticity must be increased so as to facilitate keeping the aggregate economic stability, spread confidence, improving the competition ability and mobilizing the foreign financing. It will be important to exert these efforts in a socially balanced way, in addition to support it with suitable procedures to protect the weak and poor section. The economic developments in the country will depend on the confidence level that has been sensitive to political and social

development, whereas, the country witnesses political complications of great seriousness under the frightening security deterioration, the increase of unemployment rates and the continued increase at living cost. The social tensions aggravate between inhabitants with high speed along with the setbacks the country confronts at political, security and economic levels.”

Thus, the Sudanese deteriorated economy image appeared which lack to the simplest planning constituents, objectives clarity and choices absence. The economy is run by minds that believe with the unseens and wait help of heaven. How Allah help those who do not exert less effort, The ever-exalted The ever-generous said in His holly book, “Say do work, then Allah, his messenger and his believers will see.” The ever-magnificent Allah was truthful. It does not rain gold or silver and Allah does not help the laggards who do not work and do not leave the powerful to work so as to change this miserable reality. The Sudan has all the constituents that help in developing it and affording the honorable life for its citizens, only it lacks the leadership that is capable of exploiting its citizens’ energies and unifying their efforts within deliberate and clear plans and that is applicable with completely transparency. Therefore, we are going to review in the third chapter following this chapter some of the successful experiments of many countries that strove and its sons worked too hard to change its reality to the best. Perhaps, we get from these experiments some lessons and examples that help us to draw the future in manner that is better than it was to access what it must be.