



**UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA**

**ROLE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN  
SUDAN AND MALAYSIA IN SUDAN'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

**NADIR AHMED MOHAMED ELFAKI**

**FEM 2012 29**

**ROLE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BILATERAL RELATIONS  
BETWEEN SUDAN AND MALAYSIA IN SUDAN'S ECONOMIC  
DEVELOPMENT**

By

**NADIR AHMED MOHAMED ELFAKI**

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,  
in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**December 2012**

## DEDICATIONS

*There are a number of people without whom this thesis might not have been written, and to whom I am greatly indebted.*

*To:*

*The Soul of my beloved Mother Altayhiah Mohamed AbdelAllah*

*My Father Ahmed Mohamed Elfaki,*

*Who taught me that the best kind of knowledge to have is that which is learned for its own sake*

*My Brother Dr. Faiz Elfaki,*

*Your unlimited support is treasured for always.*

*My future wife Nahid for everything that done and will always be,  
I am appreciative*

Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfillment  
of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**ROLE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BILATERAL RELATIONS  
BETWEEN SUDAN AND MALAYSIA IN SUDAN'S ECONOMIC  
DEVELOPMENT**

By

**NADIR AHMED MOHAMED ELFAKI**

**December 2012**

**Chairman: Jayum Anak Jawan, PhD**

**Faculty: Human Ecology**

This thesis examines the role of politics and social bilateral relations between Sudan and Malaysia in the context of Sudan's economic development within the framework of international relations based on the cooperation between the two countries from 1996-2010. The research thus looks at the political, social and economic ties that have been developed and further examine how the political and social matters between the two countries can influence development of Sudan's economy.

The importance of this bilateral relation between Malaysia and the Government of Sudan (GOS) is probably one of the most significant factors to consider when investigating the economic collaboration between the two countries in terms of trade, development of the oil sector, infrastructural projects and financial assistance. It is very much a symbiotic relationship, where Malaysia is in need of a secure source of oil over the long term, while Sudan needs the external credit, investment and market

for its oil. Despite their connection in the Islamic religion and common membership of both countries in organizations such as the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and others, there is no strong trade and economic cooperation between the two countries through these organizations. This study attempts to explore the fundamental changes and challenges faced by the two countries and how they can be addressed through economic relations.

The basic purpose of this study was three: (a) to investigate the aspects of relationship between Sudan and Malaysia such as cultural and political, (b) to examine how these aspects can strengthen economic relations between the two countries, and (c) to evaluate how Sudan can benefit from Malaysia in terms of economic development based on the bilateral relations between the two countries. Since the subject matter concerns an in-depth study of bilateral relations between the two countries, therefore a qualitative method was deemed more appropriate to undertake such a study using unstructured interview technique and documents to collect the primary and other secondary data. This research was conducted within the framework of Africa-Asia relations and South-South cooperation.

The significance of Malaysia's involvement in facilitating to jump-start Sudan's economy can be realized through the presence, since 1997, of PETRONAS, Malaysia's national petroleum company in Sudan's oil sector. Politically and diplomatically, Sudan and Malaysia have supported each other on issues like human rights in the international arena and Malaysia has been largely instrumental in helping to extend Sudan's presence internationally, especially within the political grouping of ASEAN. The Sudan-Malaysia bilateral relation over the years has

developed to become an outstanding example of a successful South-South cooperation.



Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**PERANAN HUBUNGAN POLITIK DUA HALA DAN HUBUNGAN SOSIAL  
ANTARA SUDAN DAN MALAYSIA DALAM PEMBANGUNAN EKONOMI  
SUDAN**

Oleh

**NADIR AHMED MOHAMED ELFAKI**

**Disember 2012**

**Pengerusi: Jayum Anak Jawan, PhD**

**Fakulti: Ekologi Manusia**

Tesis ini mengkaji peranan hubungan dua hala politik dan sosial antara Sudan dan Malaysia dalam perkembangan ekonomi Sudan dalam kerangka hubungan antarabangsa berdasarkan kerjasama antara kedua negara dari tahun 1996 sehingga 2010. Kajian ini melihat hubungan politik, sosial, dan ekonomi yang dijalinkan dan bagaimana hal-hal politik dan sosial antara kedua buah negara mempengaruhi perkembangan ekonomi Sudan.

Kepentingan hubungan dua hala antara Malaysia dan Kerajaan Sudan adalah antara faktor signifikan dalam mengkaji kerjasama ekonomi antara kedua buah negara dari segi perdagangan, pembangunan sektor minyak, projek infrastruktur, dan bantuan kewangan. Ianya merupakan hubungan simbiotik, di mana Malaysia memerlukan sumber minyak yang tetap dalam jangka masa yang panjang, manakala Sudan memerlukan kredit luaran, pelaburan dan pasaran untuk sumber minyaknya.

Walaupun terdapat kesatuan dari segi agama Islam dan keahlian kedua buah negara dalam organisasi seperti Pertubuhan Persidangan Islam (OIC) dan Pergerakan Negara-Negara Berkecuali (NAM) dan lain-lain lagi, tidak terdapat perdagangan utuh dan kerjasama ekonomi antara kedua Negara melalui organisasi-organisasi tersebut. Kajian ini meneroka perubahan-perubahan penting dan cabaran-cabaran yang dihadapi oleh kedua buah negara dan bagaimana ianya ditangani melalui hubungan ekonomi.

Tiga tujuan asas penyelidikan ini adalah: (a) untuk menyiasat aspek-aspek hubungan antara Sudan dan Malaysia seperti budaya dan politik, (b) untuk mengkaji bagaimana aspek-aspek hubungan ini memperkukuhkan jalinan ekonomi antara kedua negara, (c) untuk menilai bagaimana Sudan boleh mendapat faedah daripada Malaysia dari segi pembangunan ekonomi berdasarkan hubungan dua hala antara kedua buah negara, Oleh kerana tesis mengkaji hubungan dua hala antara kedua buah negara secara mendalam, kaedah kualitatif adalah lebih bersesuaian melalui teknik wawancara tidak berstruktur dan dokumen untuk dapatan data kajian utama dan tambahan. Penyelidikan ini dijalankan dengan kerangka kerjasama Afrika-Asia dan Selatan-Selatan.

Signifikan pembabitan Malaysia dalam ekonomi Sudan boleh dilihat semenjak 1997, melalui PETRONAS, sebuah syarikat petroleum nasional dalam sektor minyak Sudan. Dari segi politik dan diplomatik, Sudan dan Malaysia telahpun memberi sokongan terhadap satu sama lain dalam isu seperti hak asasi manusia di arena antarabangsa, dan Malaysia memainkan peranan yang penting dalam menyerlahkan kehadiran Sudan di peringkat antarabangsa, terutamanya dalam kalangan kumpulan

politik ASEAN. Hubungan dua hala Sudan-Malaysia telah berkembang menjadi satu contoh kejayaan kerjasama Selatan-Selatan.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Praise be to ALLAH for giving me the strength and patience to complete this work. I would like to single out the particular and tremendous contribution of Prof. Dr. Jayum Anak Jawan, the chairman of supervisory committee, for his efforts and persistent motivation, constant guidance, wise counsel, encouragement, kindness and various logistic supports during all the stages of my study and critical comments have not only contributed to the completion of this study but have also enhanced my confidence. He's command on the subject matter, together with his research experiences, have been highly valuable to my study. He's enthusiasm and patience have left a feeling of indebtedness which cannot be fully expressed.

My deepest appreciation and sincere gratitude also to Dr. Ku Hasnita Binti Ku Samsu, the committee member, for her kind cooperation and thoughtful suggestions.

I owe a great deal of gratitude and appreciation to Associate Prof Dr. Zaid B Ahmad, member of the supervisory committee, for his supervision and helpful comments.

I also would like expand my thanks to all of the members of the department of Government and civilisation studies particularly Dr Amini Amir Abdullah .and the staff of our main library "*Perpustakaan Sultan Abdul Samad*", University Putra Malaysia, for their kind assistance during my studies, and making my stay a memorable one.

Last not least, my heartfelt thanks should go to my father Ahmed who supported encouraged me in my education stage from primary school till current stage of my education, my elder brother Associate Prof. Dr. Faiz who had supported me by his

own money and his time to reach this stage of my study. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my dear future wife inshallah, Nahid, for her love and more supporting emotionally during my long study journey from the master degree till end of this study. Moreover I would like to thanks, the second Mother Samirah, my brothers, Abdul Gadir, Mohamed who also assistant me during the period of my study, Mustafa and sisters, Shaza, Sarah, Eltayah, Faridah, for their sacrifices, devotion and understanding, which have always been a source of inspiration and strength throughout my life up to current moment.

A lot of thanks to all of my big family relatives of my father's and mother's in Sudan, also all of my Sudanese friends in Malaysia. This thesis would not have been possible without these people's kind willingness to give up their time to talk to me. May ALLAH Subhanahu Wata'ala give allot of rewards to those I say thanks.

Nadir Ahmed,  
December 2012

I certify that a Thesis Examination Committee has met on 20 December 2012 to conduct the final examination of Nadir Ahmed Mohamed Elfaki on his thesis entitled “Role of Bilateral Relations Between Sudan and Malaysia in the Development of Sudan’s Political, Social and Economy” in accordance with the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 and the Constitution of the Universiti Putra Malaysia [P.U. (A) 106] 15 March 1998. The Committee recommends that the student be awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

**Nobaya binti Ahmed, PhD**

Professor

Faculty of Human Ecology

Universiti Putra Malaysia

(Chairman)

**Adlina binti Ab Halim, PhD**

Senior Lecturer

Faculty of Human Ecology

Universiti Putra Malaysia

(Internal Examiner)

**Sarjit Singh a/l Darshan Singh, PhD**

Associate Professor

Faculty of Human Ecology

Universiti Putra Malaysia

(Internal Examiner)

**Ijaz Khan, PhD**

Professor

Faculty of International Relations

University of Peshawar

(External Examiner)

---

**SEOW HENG FONG, PhD**

Professor and Deputy Dean

School of Graduate Studies

Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

This thesis was submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

**Jayum Anak Jawan, PhD**

Professor  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Chairman)

**Ku Hasnita Binti Ku Samsu, PhD**

Senior Lecturer  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Member)

**Zaid B Ahmad, PhD**

Associate Professor  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Member)

---

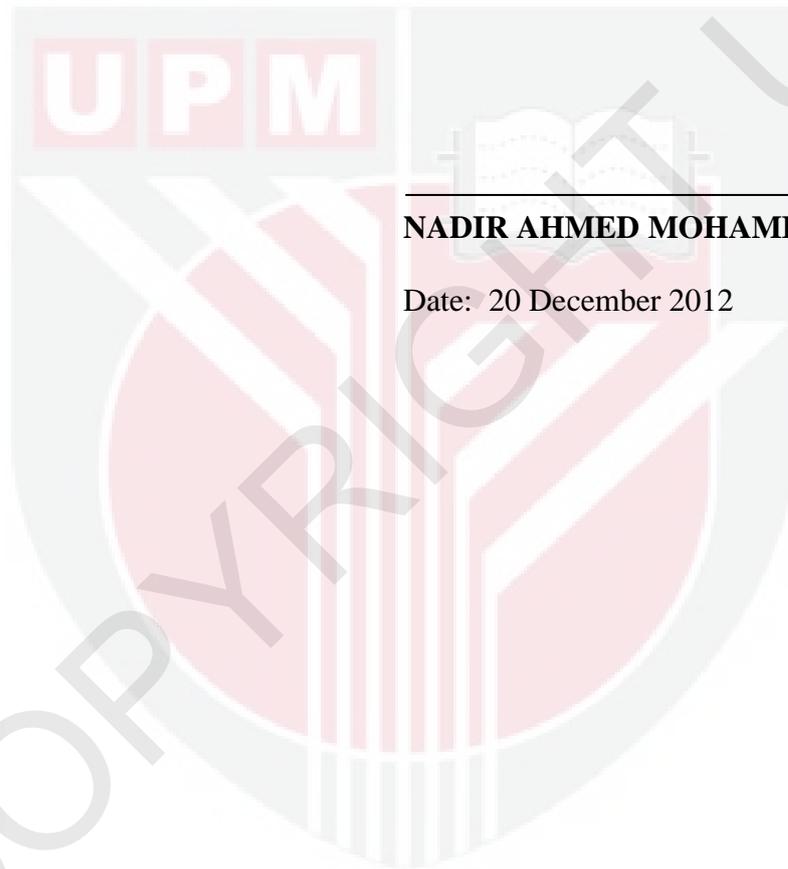
**BUJANG BIN KIM HUAT, PhD**

Professor and Dean  
School of Graduate Studies  
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

## DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis is my original work except for quotations and citations that have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that it has not been previously, and is not concurrently, submitted for any other degree at Universiti Putra Malaysia or at any other institution.



---

**NADIR AHMED MOHAMED ELFAKI**

Date: 20 December 2012

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
<b>DEDICATIONS</b>	ii
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	iii
<b>ABSTRAK</b>	vi
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</b>	ix
<b>APPROVAL</b>	xi
<b>DECLARATION</b>	xiii
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	xvii
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	xviii
<b>LIST OF APPENDICES</b>	xix
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b>	xx
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Operational Definitions	1
1.3 Background of the Research	2
1.3.1 Brief Background of Sudan	4
1.3.1.1 Location	4
1.3.1.2 Society	4
1.3.1.3 Government and Politics	6
1.3.2 Brief Background of Malaysia	9
1.3.2.1 Location	9
1.3.2.2 Society	10
1.3.2.3 The System of Government	11
1.3.2.4 Economic	12
1.3.3 Sudan-Malaysia Relations	13
1.4 Statement of the Problem	17
1.5 Research Questions	19
1.5.1 Main Question	19
1.5.2 Sub Question	19
1.6 Research Objectives	20
1.6.1 Main Objective	20
1.6.2 Sub Objectives	20
1.7 Significance of the Research	21
1.8 Scope of the Research	22
1.9 Organization of Thesis	23
<b>2. LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>26</b>
2.1 Introduction	26
2.2 Strong Economic Cooperation and Diplomatic Relations	27
2.3 North African Oil and Foreign Investment in Marketing	29
2.4 Foreign Policy	33
2.5 African Asian Relations	35
2.5.1 Asian -African Cooperation for Development	38

2.6	Sudan Foreign Policy	44
2.6.1	Sudan's Foreign Relations with Asia	49
2.6.2	Sudan's Foreign Policy towards Malaysia	51
2.7	Malaysia Foreign Policy	55
2.7.1	Malaysia Foreign Relations	56
2.7.2	Malaysia-Africa Relations	63
2.7.3	Malaysia in the Context of Afro-Asia and the United Nations	68
2.7.4	Malaysia's Foreign Policy towards Middle East	71
2.8	Conceptual Framework	76
2.8.1	International Relations	77
2.8.2	Concept of Cooperation	82
2.8.2.1	South-South Cooperation	86
2.8.3	Regionalism	87
2.9	Summary	92
<b>3.</b>	<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>95</b>
3.1	Introduction	95
3.2	Research Technique	95
3.3	Type of Data Collection	97
3.3.1	Primary Data Collection	97
3.3.1.1	Interview	97
3.3.1.1.1	Location of Interview	98
3.3.1.1.2	Type of Interview	98
3.3.2	Secondary Data Collection	102
3.4	Method of Data Analysis	103
3.4.1	Content Analysis	104
3.5	Limitations of the Research	106
3.6	Summary	104
<b>4.</b>	<b>SUDAN-MALAYSIA POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS</b>	<b>108</b>
4.1	Introduction	108
4.2	Political Relations	109
4.2.1	High Level State Visits	115
4.3	Cultural Relations	122
4.3.1	Parliamentary Institutions, Political Parties and Civil Society Organization	123
4.3.2	Sudanese Malaysian Friendship Association (SMFA)	123
4.3.3	Social Activities Exchange	126
4.4	Summary	129
<b>5.</b>	<b>SUDAN - MALAYSIA ECONOMIC RELATION</b>	<b>132</b>
5.1	Introduction	132
5.2	Background of the Economic Relations	132
5.3	The Trade relations	137
5.3.1	The Mutual Trade	141
5.3.2	Obstacles to Trade between the Two Countries	146
5.4	Investment	147
5.4.1	Why Invest in Sudan?	147
5.4.2	Background of Sudanese Oil Project	148
5.4.3	PETRONAS Investment in Sudan	154

5.4.3.1 PETRONAS Increasing Investment in Sudan	157
5.4.3.2 PETRONAS and Maritime Transport Industry in Sudan	159
5.4.3.3 Sudan shipping Line Company and Malaysia International Shipping Cooperation Berhad (SL-MISC)	160
5.4.3.4 Corporate of Social Responsibility (CSR) of PETRONAS in Sudan	161
5.4.3.5 Education and Human Capital Development	162
5.4.3.6 PETRONAS Mobile Library	164
5.5 Summary	165
<b>6. CONCLUSION</b>	<b>167</b>
6.1 Introduction	167
6.2 Summary of Major Findings	170
6.3 Recommendations	172
6.4 Summary	175
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>178</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>BIODATA OF STUDENT</b>	<b>220</b>
<b>LIST OF PUBLICATIONS</b>	<b>221</b>