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SUDAN STUDIES

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SOCIETY NEWS

By SIMON BUSH, Honorary Secretary SSSUK

I am sure that all members of the Society were grieved to learn of the untimely passing away of Mohammed Omer Beshir. On behalf of the Society I sent this brief telex to MOB'S family, friends and colleagues on 29th January 1992:

“On behalf of the Sudan Studies Society of the United Kingdom I wish to express our sincere condolences at the untimely passing away of MOB a much loved friend. SSSUK members will be distressed and shocked the bad news and our thoughts will be with you at this difficult time”

MOB's involvement with the Society was always welcomed and will be sincerely missed.

Firstly I would like to welcome all new members of the Society. I hope that you enjoy this issue of 'Sudan Studies' and will be willing and able to contribute to the Society. I would like to thank long-term members of the Society for their continued support.

With this issue of "Sudan Studies" you will find enclosed the programme for the One Day Symposium/Annual General Meeting on 26th September. Please note that the programme is provisional and alternative sessions may be timetabled.

I hope that you will be able to attend the meeting. I urge members to register for the meeting as soon as possible as space is limited. I have included all the usual administrative details for your information. The usual card version of the programme will be available on the day.

The Editor has printed the SSSUK constitution in this issue of "Sudan Studies" along with the minutes of the 1991 AGM for your information.

ISSUES FOR THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

A) Constitutional Changes

You will notice that the Chairman indicated that the Executive Committee of the Society wish to propose some slight modifications to the constitution.

In accordance with paragraph 7 of the constitution the Executive Committee proposes that:

- i) The words “ and be ineligible for re-election” in paragraph 4 should be deleted;
- ii) The words “ one of the executive officers” should be replaced by “one of the committee.



B) Nominations to the Executive Committee

In accordance with paragraph four of the constitution I am pleased to invite nominations for the Executive Committee. These should be in writing to be received at the following address at least twenty-eight days before the Annual General Meeting:

6 Ambrose Gardens
West Didsbury
Manchester
M20 8YF

For your information the current committee is made up of the following members:

(Chairman)	Miss Joan Hall CBE
(Deputy Chairman)	Dr Peter Woodward
(Honorary Secretary)	Mr Simon Bush
(Honorary Secretary)	Miss Lesley Forbes
(Editor "Sudan Studies")	Mr Paul Wilson
	Dr Anthony Trilsbach
	Mr John Wright
	Dr David Lindley
(Ex-officio)	Sudan Cultural Counsellor
Co-opted	Professor G.N. Sanderson
Co-opted	Dr Ahmed el-Bushra

I look forward to, see as many members as possible at the AGM. If there is anything I can help you with in the meantime please not hesitate to contact me.

Simon Bush
SSSUK Honorary Secretary



SUDAN STUDIES SOCIETY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM CONSTITUTION

1: Name of the Society:

The name of the Society shall be:

Sudan Studies Society of the United Kingdom

An abbreviation of **SSSUK** will be acceptable on all correspondence and minutes associated with the Society.

2: Object:

The object of the Society is to advance the education of the public in Sudanese Studies. In furtherance of this object, but not otherwise, the Society will:

- i) Provide a forum for discussion and cooperation between groups and individuals concerned with or interested in the Republic of the Sudan, henceforth referred to as the Sudan.
- ii) Hold at least annually a seminar open to the general public.
- iii) Establish and maintain contact with related bodies overseas.
- iv) Print, publish and distribute a newsletter under the title Sudan Studies.

The Society is a non-profit making body and has no power to make any distribution of profits, bonuses, gifts, etc to its members. Its assets will only be used to further its object.

3: Membership:

Membership shall be open to:

- i) Anyone with an interest in the Sudan, whether they have relevant expertise or not.
- ii) Institutions who have, or potentially have, an interest in the Sudan.
- iii) People and institutions of all nationalities.



4: Executive officers and committee:

The executive committee shall consist of the following officers:

- i) A Chairman
- ii) A Deputy Chairman
- iii) A Secretary
- iv) A Treasurer

Plus:

- i) Up to six other members
- ii) Ex-Officio The Sudan Cultural Counsellor

With the exception of the Sudan Cultural Counsellor, members of the committee shall be elected at an AGM by the system of a one ballot, 'first-past-the-post' system. They shall be elected for an initial term of three years after which one third of the committee shall resign in each of the next three years and be ineligible for immediate re-election. One of the executive officers should be appointed as Editor of **Sudan Studies**. The committee has the powers to co-opt members as appropriate.

The quorum exists when at least four members are present, including at least two officers and one non-officer.

Nominations for the executive committee must be received by the Secretary in writing at least twenty-eight days before the meeting at which elections are to be held.

In addition to the executive officers, other non-voting members may be appointed to the executive committee. These may include an Honorary President.

Honorary (Sudanese) Member., and Honorary Corresponding Overseas Members, all of whom must be approved by a majority of members at an AGM. They shall be elected for a period of three years and be eligible for re-election.

4: Subscriptions:

Subscription rates shall be based on whether the members is:

- i) An individual subscriber



- ii) A non-profit making* institution
- iii) A profit making* institution

* In the event of dispute, profit making institutions shall be defined as those paying Income and/or Corporation Tax.

Changes in subscription rates can be amended by a majority of members in attendance at an AGM. Subscription charges shall be due on the first day of June each year. Members joining during the Society's financial year may have their initial charges reduced at the discretion of the Treasurer.

6: Meetings and quorum:

There shall be one general meeting in each calendar year and other extraordinary meetings as called by the officers or twelve members of the Society. The Presence of fifteen members shall constitute a quorum

7: Amendment of the Constitution:

Amendment of the constitution shall be by two-thirds majority of members present at an AGM or at an extraordinary meeting called for the purpose of which twenty-eight days notice shall be given.

No amendment shall be made to the object clause, dissolution clause, or this clause without approval of the Charity Commission, and alteration shall be made which would cause Society to cease to be a charity at law.

8: Dissolution:

In the event of the dissolution of the Society for any reason whatsoever, any assets or property shall pass to a charitable organisation with an object similar to that of the Society.



SUDAN STUDIES SOCIETY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE SSSUK
HELD AT LONDON HOUSE ON 28th SEPTENIER 1991 AT 1:30pm.

1) Welcome

Miss Hall acting as Chairman of the Society welcomed all those present to the fifth Annual General Meeting of the Society. Miss Hall signed the minutes of the fourth Annual General Meeting as a correct

2) Constitution:

- 2.1. Miss Hall indicated that the constitution of the Society required some revisions - this would be looked into by the Executive Committee in October 1991 and March 1992 in view of proposing some slight modification to the next AGM.
- 2.2. Miss Hall apologised on behalf of the Executive Committee that this had not been done for the meeting, indicating that the of organisation the Second International Sudan Studies Conference had taken up most of the Executive Committee's time.
- 2.3. Miss Hall proposed that the Committee should be re-elected pending the revision of the constitution. This was accepted.

3) Secretary's Report

- 3.1. Mr Bush informed the meeting that Mrs Janet Starkey had resigned from the committee, noting that Mrs Starkey was .the Second Sudan Studies Conference organiser.
- 3.2. Mr Bush indicated that membership numbers were fairly healthy. A solid core of members were renewing their subscriptions yearly. Mr Bush urged all members present to renew their subscriptions promptly and noted that reminders were not sent.
- 3.3. Mr Bush urged members to introduce new members to the Society.
- 3.4. Mr Bush informed members of the new Society year (which is to start formally as from January 1993) and thanked members for their patience and co-operation during the transition period.

4) Treasurer's Report

- 4.1. Miss Forbes circulated copies of the preliminary accounts indicating that they were broadly accurate. Miss Forbes noted in particular that during the financial year 1990/91 there had been a slight fall in membership numbers.
- 4.2. Members raised the question of covenants. These would be investigated by the Honorary Treasurer.



5) Editor's Report

- 5.1 Mr Wilson suggested that it was a good time to look at "Sudan Studies" as ten issues have now been produced. It was noted that "Sudan Studies" has been quoted in various journals.
- 5.2 Mr Wilson repeated his request for members to contribute articles for publication. Camera-ready copy was requested.
- 5.3 It was suggested from the floor that the newsletter should be upgraded. Mr Wilson commented that he would like to see a bigger journal -perhaps on the line of "Sudan Notes and Records".
- 5.4 Miss Forbes reminded the meeting of postage costs and that any upgrading of the newsletter would result in an increased subscription charge to cover costs. It was suggested that two levels of subscription could be charged, one for the newsletter and another to subscribe to a journal similar to Sudan Notes and Records. Miss Hall indicated that the Executive Committee would investigate.
- 5.5 A request was made for a "clearer and larger" type-face. Mr Wilson informed the meeting that as the newsletter is printed from camera ready print at present this was not possible. It was considered that the newsletter should be properly typeset with a larger font.

5) Report on the 1991 International Sudan Studies Conference

- 6.1. Over 200 people attended the conference of 12 different nationalities. Durham proved to be a delightful location for the conference, particularly as the University is the home of the Sudan Archive. Dr Woodward commented that the society had proved it was interdisciplinary.
- 6.2. Miss Forbes informed the meeting that the conference accounts still have to be collated. A £1,000 surplus was predicted some of which would be used to produce a cassette tape of the concert given by Kably and to produce the Conference Proceedings Volume II and III.
- 6.3. Miss Hall thanked all those who had worked for such a successful conference and looked forward to the Third International Sudan Studies Conference in the United States of America in 1994.

5) Any Other Business

The question of funding for society events such as the symposium and newsletter was raised. The committee would investigate sources of funding.

Miss Hall closed the meeting at 2.05pm thanking all those present for their attendance and contributions.

Simon Bush

Honorary Secretary



The Sixth Annual General Meeting and One Day Symposium will be held at Friends House. 173/177 Euston Road. London. NW1. on Saturday. September 26th 1992

VENUE

Friends House is on the south side of Euston Road opposite Euston station (British Rail main line, Victoria and Northern Underground). It is a ten minutes walk from St Pancras and King's Cross main line stations, and five minutes from Euston Square station (Circle, Metropolitan and Hammersmith and City lines). Buses 10, 14, 14A, 18, 30 and 73 pass the door; 24, 29, 68, 77, 77A, 134, 168, 176, 188 and the 253 stop nearby.

Friends House is within the parking meter zone. Charges must be paid between 08.30 and 13.30 on Saturday.

ARRIVAL

Members are kindly asked to arrive between 10.00 and 10.45am. Refreshments will be available during this time. Please be sure to register with the Honorary Secretary or other members of the committee on arrival.

As space in the hall is limited members who have not pre-registered with the Honorary Secretary in advance cannot be guaranteed admission.

LUNCH

A sandwich lunch is provided and is included in the registration fee. Please be aware that only those who have paid the Symposium fee are entitled to partake of lunch and other refreshments.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Any member wishing to have an item included under Any Other Business should inform the Honorary Secretary before 10.45am on the day of the meeting. Only current members of the Society are allowed to speak or vote at the AGM. When speaking at the AGM members are kindly requested to identify themselves to the chair.

ONE DAY SYMPOSIUM

Speakers have been asked to speak for 20-25 minutes to allow for a brief question and answer session. Members are reminded that as speakers will remain at the meeting for the day there is ample time over lunch and tea to ask further questions.

When posing a question members are kindly requested to identify themselves by name and affiliation. PLEASE NOTE THAT FRIENDS HOUSE WILL CLOSE AT 16.30

REGISTRATION AND FEES

The total cost of attending the Symposium is £10.00. This includes morning coffee, a sandwich lunch and afternoon tea and covers the cost of the room and equipment hire.

If you wish to attend the enclosed form must be sent to the Honorary Secretary to arrive no later than 10th September 1991, enclosing a cheque made payable to "SSSUK" for £10.00 per person.

It is regretted that admission 'at the door' cannot be guaranteed. Any member wishing to attend the AGM ONLY will be, of course, admitted free of charge and should indicate their intention on the enclosed form. Guests of members are more than welcome. Guests, however, are not allowed to speak or vote at the AGM.

Simon Bush

Honorary Secretary



SUDAN STUDIES SOCIETY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME FOR THE SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND ONE DAY SYMPOSIUM

26th SEPTEMBER 1992

- 10.00-11.00 Arrival of members
Coffee will be served in the buffet
[PLEASE REGISTER ON ARRIVAL WITH SIMON BUSH OR ANY
SSSUK COMMITTEE MEMBER]
- 11.10 - 11.20 Welcome - SSSUK President, Sir Gawain Bell
FIRST SESSION: ARCHAEOLOGY.
- 11.20 - 11.50 The Sudan and Egypt: a review of recent archaeological evidence.
Dr John Alexander, St John's College, Cambridge
SECOND SESSION: AGRICULTURE.
- 11.50 - 12.20 The Impact of Mechanised Farming Systems on the Productivity of the
Blue Nile Region
Dr David Lindley, Institute of Terrestrial Ecology
- 12.20 - 13.30 LUNCH - Sandwich lunch provided in the buffet
A video by Mr John Parker, 'The Crisis in the Horn of Africa' will be
shown during the lunch break from 12:55pm.
THIRD SESSION: ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
Chaired by Miss Joan Hall
- 13.30 - 13.50 Chairman's Report Miss Joan Hall
Secretary's Report Mr Simon Bush
Treasurer's Report Miss Lesley Forbes
Editor's Report Mr Paul Wilson
Constitutional Changes
Executive Committee Nominations/Election
Any Other Business
FOURTH SESSION: WOMEN IN SUDAN
- 13.50 - 14.20 The Role of Women in Development in Southern Sudan. Dr Anise
Dani, University of Manchester.
- 14.20 - 14.50 Five Women of Sennar
Ms Susan Kenyon, Valparaiso University, USA
- 14.50 - 15.05 TEA - Served in the buffet
- 15.10 - 16.10 Fatma's Prayer - video and discussion
Ms Sarah Errington, Producer, Double E Productions.
- 16.10 - 16.15 Closing Remarks - Joan Hall



SUDAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

1.0. Introduction

Since the Islamic fundamentalist regime of President Omar Hassan al-Bashir came to power on June 30th 1989 the country's foreign policy has undergone a major change. Having previously been supported by the West and most of the conservative Arab states the regime has been left to get support from wherever possible and the fact that Libya, Iraq and Iran are now Khartoum's principal allies is a perfect illustration of its isolation.

Sudan has now been internationally isolated and shunned and is being punished with the suspension by most donors of all but emergency aid. This is mainly because of the regime's appalling human rights record, its aggressive espousal and championing of Islamic fundamentalism, its alleged support of terrorism, its support of Iraq in the Gulf war, and its vocal criticism of the West and the rich Gulf states which has effectively "bitten the hand that used to feed it".

This article analyses and explains Sudan's foreign relations with its neighbours, other regional countries and the rest of the world. It concentrates on four countries - Egypt which has long been Sudan's often over-bearing big-brother; Libya with which it may or may not integrate; the recent rapprochement with Ethiopia which has harmed the rebel Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) so much; and the growing ties with Iran which have alarmed the West so much.

2.0. Sudan's Neighbours

2.1. Egypt

With the inevitable creation of an independent Eritrean state Sudan now has nine neighbours of which Egypt remains by far the most important. Similarly, in many ways Egypt considers that its relationship with Sudan is more important than that with any other country. This is because the River Nile, which has often been described as the "lifeblood of Egypt" flows from Sudan and any disruption to its supply would be catastrophic for Egypt.

Although it was actually controlled by London rather than Cairo officially both countries ruled the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium of Sudan between 1898 and independence in 1956. For many years one of the two major political parties, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and its predecessor National Unionist Party, sought unity with Egypt before this aim was dropped in the 1960s. The bilateral relationship strengthened under President Nimeiri when numerous coup attempts were suppressed with Egyptian assistance. After Nimeiri's



overthrow in April 1985 there was a distinct cooling as Sadiq El Mahdi's government attempted to diversify its allies and end the somewhat patronising paternalistic attitude that Cairo had towards Khartoum. It has been widely rumoured, although not confirmed, that the reason for Sadiq El Mahdi's personal hostility towards President Hosni Mubarak is that the latter was the leader of an Egyptian air force bombing raid against the Mahdist spiritual capital at Aba Island in 1970 when Nimeiri's new government was being threatened.

Consequently Lt-Gen al-Bashir's June 1989 coup was initially welcomed by Egypt which was the first country to recognise the new regime. There are some reports that it pre-empted one which Cairo had been planning with other Sudanese officers. There is no doubt that Cairo welcomed the overthrow of Sadiq El Mahdi who, besides being personally hostile to President Mubarak, was seen as being both anti-Egyptian and pro-Libyan because Nimeiri's opponents had received sanctuary and assistance from Tripoli.

Cairo subsequently realised that it had backed the wrong horse and is now very alarmed by the Islamic fundamentalists regime in Khartoum. It desperately wants an end to Sudan's civil war so that the Jonglei Canal project, which will significantly increase the volume of water from the White Nile which reaches Egypt, can be completed. It is also vehemently opposed to the implementation of Islamic shari'a law in Sudan because it fears that this will incite its own fundamentalists to demand the same in Egypt. Despite Mubarak's long-running mediation efforts to end the Sudanese civil war bilateral relations have deteriorated so much that Cairo now openly supports the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) of northern Sudanese political opposition parties and the SPLA.

Relations with Egypt have see-sawed during the past six months with conflicting signals whereby Egyptian ministers have made inflammatory statements against Khartoum while President Mubarak officially tries to improve bilateral relations. It appears that Cairo is keeping all its options opening and is sending deliberately confusing signals to Khartoum.

Sudanese foreign minister Ali Sahlul denounced his Egyptian counterpart's allegation in January 1992 that Sudan threatens the security of the states in the area and said that the statement, which he alleged was intended to instigate the other states against Sudan, was totally untrue and baseless. Mubarak, however, emphasised the importance of improving bilateral relations with Sudanese ministers in the same month. In February the RCC's deputy-chairman Maj-Gen al-Zubair led another Sudanese delegation to Cairo which sought to improve bilateral relations.

In January it had been reported that Egypt had invited SPLA leader John Garang to visit Cairo in the near future to meet President Mubarak and Foreign Minister Amr Musa. This came at a time when Egyptian border guards had just foiled an attempt by five men to



smuggle 63 automatic rifles, 3 pistols, 165 rifle magazines and 5,654 rounds of ammunition into Egypt from Sudan.

Like the US Administration the Egyptian government is very concerned about the risk of Sudanese inspired terrorism. It believes that the man who in August 1990 accidentally assassinated the speaker of the Egyptian parliament Rifaat Mahgoub, and not the interior minister who was the intended target, was trained in Khartoum. It also objects very strongly to the fact that Omer Abdel Rahman, the leader of Egypt's Islamic Jihad, was given sanctuary in Sudan in 1990.

In early 1992 there was a major new dispute with Sudan over the disputed Halaib border region on the Red Sea coast after Cairo objected to the awarding of an offshore oil concession in the area to a Canadian company. The reason for the dispute is that, while the formal political boundary is a straight line along the 22nd parallel, Sudan has administered an area to the north of the border throughout most of this century. Despite the dispute, or perhaps because of it, the Egyptian General Petroleum Company (EGPC) went ahead and invited companies to bid for oil permits in four Red Sea zones including Halaib by September 1992.

Two Sudanese policemen were killed and four were wounded in April 1992 in a shooting incident on the border with Egypt when a police post reportedly came under fire from the occupants of two Egyptian military vehicles. Khartoum reported that President Mubarak had apologised for the incident which he described as "individual and unintentional". Dr Osama al-Baz, who is Egypt's first under-secretary for foreign affairs and chairman of the Egyptian delegation to the joint committee discussing the border issue, denied any Egyptian military presence or that it was settling Egyptian civilians in the Halaib area.

The fact that the Egyptian government recently allowed former President Nimeiri, who has been living in exile in Cairo, to speak publicly for the first time and call for a popular uprising to overthrow the Sudanese regime is an indication of Cairo's antipathy towards Sudan's Islamic fundamentalists.

2.2. Libya

Sudan's relations with Libya have blown hot and cold with amazing frequency during the past twenty years. Having saved Nimeiri's life by foiling a Communist coup attempt in July 1971, when a jet carrying two of the coup leaders from London to Khartoum was forced to land at Benghazi when they were arrested and subsequently returned to Sudan where they were executed, Col Qadhafi believed that the two countries would go ahead with the planned merger of Egypt, Libya and Sudan. However, when Nasser died and was replaced by Sadat, both Cairo and Khartoum pulled out of the merger as Nimeiri successfully concentrated on ending Sudan's first civil war. Qadhafi never forgave Nimeiri for this apparent betrayal and,



not only sheltered opposition groups, but also sponsored at least two serious coup attempts to overthrow him. In retaliation Nimeiri allowed the National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL) to set up bases and broadcast propaganda from Sudan which, in turn, led to the Libyan bombing of the radio station at Khartoum.

Bilateral relations improved significantly after Nimeiri was overthrown by a popular uprising in April 1985 and Sadig El Mahdi's government turned a blind eye to Libya's use of the western province of Darfur as a springboard for attacks against the Chadian forces in the long-running dispute over the Aouzou Strip. In return, having supported the rebel Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) since its formation in 1983 by supplying arms via Ethiopia the Qadhafi regime switched sides. It not only supplied weapons to Khartoum but also mounted long range bombing missions against SPLA positions from both southern Libya and western Sudan.

Showing his usual adaptability Qadhafi simply transferred Tripoli's allegiance to al-Bashir's regime after the June 1989 coup which overthrew Sadiq El Mahdi. This is despite the fact that, like Saddam Hussein who chose to support Islamic fundamentalists when it suited him, Qadhafi has ruthlessly suppressed the Libya's own fundamentalists who are amongst his most implacable and plausible opponents. The two principal reasons for this "volte face" are that the Khartoum regime is vocally anti-Western and, more importantly, has agreed to merge Sudan with Libya in 1994. This is another of Qadhafi's pipe-dreams and it is highly unlikely that this one will succeed any more than all of Libya's previous merger attempts since Qadhafi came to power in September 1969.

According to some analysts relations with Libya, which has been one of the regime's very few allies, are now deteriorating sharply. There are reports that relations have now hit an all time low for this regime and that Qadhafi has once again switched sides and is now trying to boost Libya's relations with the regime's opponents. It is believed that crude oil supplies from Libya have been cut following a row with Khartoum after National Islamic Front (NIF) leader Dr Hassan El-Turabi's public complaints about Libya's improving ties with Egypt which is now far more important to Libya than is Sudan.

In an effort to heal the growing rift President al-Bashir made a supposedly secret visit to Tripoli in November 1991 with a high-level delegation. Not only did Qadhafi refuse to see al-Bashir in person but some reports say that Libyan intelligence teams have now been sent to Khartoum to assess the influence of the NIF on the government and contacts have reportedly been made with Sadig El Mabdi.

In January 1992 Maj-Gen Zubair led another delegation on a three day visit to Tripoli where they met Qadhafi and the commander of the Libyan armed forces Col Abo Bakr Yunis. Amongst others Zubair was accompanied by finance minister Hamdi, energy and mining



minister al-Wahab and the secretary-general of integration Faruq al-Bushra who said that the visit came in the framework of consultations and integration between the two countries. As already noted, however, there is now considerable doubt about whether Tripoli is as committed to the regime in Khartoum as it had appeared and the suspension of crude oil supplies in November 1991 may have demonstrated this fact.

2.3. Chad

As already noted it is their respective relations with Libya which have dominated bilateral relations between Sudan and Chad during the past decade. Darfur has been used as both a springboard for Libyan attacks on Chad and as a refuge for different groups of Chadian rebels as regimes have come and gone in Ndjamena. The fact that, despite the continuing border dispute which is currently before the International Court of Justice in the Hague, the current Chadian regime is less anti-Libyan than that of the defeated Hissan Habre means that Darfur is no longer used as a battle ground by Libyan or Chadian forces.

However, the massive arms build-up during the past decade has resulted in chronic instability in the province which has been exacerbated by the Sudanese regime's aggressive campaign against the indigenous non-Arab tribes who are related to some of the Chadian border tribes. This has somewhat soured bilateral relations which had generally been better than for many years. Given the distances from both capitals and the porous nature of the border it is likely that Chadian and Sudanese refugees will continue to traverse the border as conflicts flare up on one or other side.

2.4. Ethiopia

Sudan's relationship with Ethiopia has been difficult for many years because of each others implicit and explicit support for each others rebel movements. During Sudan's first civil war the rebel Anya Nya movement was dominated by tribes from Ekuatoria in the far south and so they received most of their external cross-border support from Kenya and Uganda. By contrast the SPLA has been dominated by the Dinka and Nuer tribes of Bahr El Chazel and Upper Nile provinces, respectively. When the second civil war began in 1983 it was initially opposed by the Equatorian tribes and therefore had to rely on Ethiopia rather than Sudan's southern neighbours. The reason that Addis Ababa supported the SPLA was that successive Sudanese government's had given sanctuary and food aid to the Eritreans and Tigreans who were fighting for their own independence.

Although the Menguisto regime initially provided the SPLA with arms it soon captured most of its weapons from the Sudanese army. Aid was then largely confined to logistical support



with Ethiopia providing a radio station in Addis Ababa, refugee camps and rear bases near Gambella. In return the SPLA supported the Ethiopian army's campaign against rebel movements in western Ethiopia including the Omoro Liberation Front (OLF).

The collapse of the Mengistu regime in 1991 led to a significant improvement in bilateral relations as the new Tigrean-dominated EPRDF government of President Meles Zenawi repaid some of its debts to Khartoum. The SPLA was forcibly expelled from the country and Sudanese forces were allowed to operate inside Ethiopia in pursuit as the SPLA officials fled from Addis Ababa. Tens of thousands of southern civilian refugees fled across the border back into Sudan and many were killed when they were confronted by the Sudanese army or they starved to death. Later the border town of Pochala was recaptured from the SPLA when Sudanese forces mounted a surprise attack from Ethiopian territory.

The result of these major setbacks was that the SPLA split into two wings with the predominantly Nuer rebel faction, who are based at Nasir near the Ethiopian border, demanding that because of the suffering of the civilians in the Nuer areas the south should aim for independence rather than a united secular Sudan. Although the splits have severely weakened the SPLA, who are now fighting amongst themselves, an outright military victory by the government is still impossible.

There are now indications that bilateral relations are becoming cooler as Addis Ababa becomes increasingly angry about the violation of Ethiopian territory by the Sudanese army and Khartoum's support for the OLF and other Ethiopian militias. There are reports that the USA, which is increasingly concerned about Sudan's alliance with Iran, Libya and Iraq, recently warned Addis Ababa not to allow Khartoum to prosecute the war from its territory.

2.5. Eritrea

As already noted Sudan has long supported the independence of Eritrea and has given considerable material and political support to the various liberation movements fighting against Ethiopian colonialism. The overthrow of the Mengistu regime has finally brought the country to the verge of independence and bilateral relations have flourished in recent months. This is ironic because the aims and aspirations of the socialist and secular Christian-dominated Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF) who now dominate Eritrea are totally at odds with those of the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Khartoum.

Despite this on September 1, 1991 the RCC member Col Salah al-Din Mohammed Karrar addressed the celebrations in Asmara which marked the 30th anniversary of the start of the Eritrean armed struggle in 1961 which was also attended by an Ethiopian government representative. He pledged Sudan's support for Eritrean self-determination in all the international forum including the OAU and United Nations. Two Eritrean delegations, led by



the EPLF's interior and information ministers, respectively, subsequently visited Khartoum in September and October.

In December the president of the Eritrea's interim government and the secretary general of the EPLF, Isayas Afewerki, held talks in Khartoum with the RCC's deputy chairman Maj-Gen Zubair just before the Ethiopian prime minister's visit. The National Islamic Front (NIF) leader Dr Hassan Abdullah al-Turabi then went on a three day visit in January to Eritrea where he was officially received by Ramadan Muhammad Nor the secretary to the general secretariat of the Eritrean interim government. He also met representatives of Islamic affairs and the deputy to the head of the Ethiopian Church. A few days before his visit the Sudanese and Eritrean navies held joint military manoeuvres in the Red Sea which were attended by representatives of the Yemeni and Iranian navies. Meanwhile an agreement was signed by the Sudanese Civil Aviation Authority to provide both urgently needed equipment and training to its Eritrean counterpart.

Later President al-Bashir visited Asmara at the head of a delegation which included foreign minister Ali Sahloul and Head of National Security Nafi Ali Naf. This was further proof of Khartoum's preference for the dominant EPLF and not Jihad Islamiyya which is the Eritrean Islamic organisation. The latter had sent volunteers to help the Sudanese army fight the SPLA in Darfur but, as soon as they won the army turned on the Eritreans. They attacked their training camps in the Kassala region and forced their leaders to seek refuge in Saudi Arabia.

The Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement (EIJM) had accused the Sudanese government forces of participating in attacks on it by the ruling EPLF near the border area. The claim was rejected by Khartoum which said that some sections of the EIJM had been co-opted by some Gulf states in part of a campaign to embarrass the Sudanese regime.

2.5. Kenya

The collapse of the Menguisto regime has meant that the SPLA has now turned to Kenya to replace the support that Ethiopia had previously provided. The fact that Col John Garang's official wing of the SPLA has now been pushed back towards its headquarters around Torit and Kapoeta near the Kenyan border has made Nairobi an obvious source of support for the SPLA. The Kenyan government is naturally concerned about the Khartoum regime's aim to act as a bridgehead for the spread of Islam in black Africa. This has naturally soured bilateral relations which have deteriorated sharply during the past year.

The official spokesman of the Sudanese armed forces recently accused certain elements within senior circles of the Kenyan regime of supporting the SPLA. He accused them of bowing to pressures exerted "by the imperial forces of the world" to convince the SPLA's opposing wings to reunite and separate the south from the rest of the country.



However according to an announcement by President al-Bashir, following a meeting with President Daniel Arap Moi on March 20, Kenya had agreed to end its support for the SPLA and Moi had sacked the Kenyan foreign office's under-secretary who had coordinated the support. Al-Bashir claimed that a bi-lateral non-aggression pact was to be signed in April although this was not confirmed by the Kenyans. Khartoum later had to formally apologise to Nairobi for a remark which appeared as a veiled threat that Sudan would provide a sanctuary and launching pad for Kenyan opposition groups if Nairobi did not end its support for the SPLA.

The border dispute between Sudan and Kenya over the Ilemi triangle has become considerably tenser in recent months. Since 1942 Kenya has been responsible for the security of the triangle which it administered from its military post at Kibish. The pastoralist Toposa, who are based in the south-east tip of Equatoria, and the Nyangatom who live in the Ethiopia-Sudan border area, have rights of passage through the triangle and they oppose Kenya's plans to formally annex Ilemi from Sudan. In July 1988 the Kenyan forces bombed Nyangatom encampments on Ethiopian territory, then clashed with the Toposa in December 1991, and more recently prevented the Nyangatom from grazing their herds in the Ilemi Triangle.

The Kenyans are now building a small town at Kibish, which is in Sudanese territory, and houses are now being built for the troops from Kenya's elite General Service Unit (GSU) whose numbers are being increased from 400 to 1000. The civilian area which is being built nearby is eventually expected to house 3,000 people and traders, craftsmen and missionaries are reportedly flooding into the area and swelling the population every day. Schools have already been constructed and Turkana nomads from northern Kenya are being encouraged to camp around the new town and use the pastureland that had previously been grazed by the Sudanese and Ethiopian tribes. By having secured exclusive access to the riverbed, the only source of water in a 40-mile radius, the Kenyans are now able to force the non-Kenyan tribes out of the area.

Kenya has been able to effectively colonise the Ilemi Triangle because of the prevailing anarchy in southern Sudan and the indifference towards the area shown by the Sudanese and Ethiopian regimes but Nairobi maintains that it just wants to pacify the area. Its real aim appears to break up the Toposa-Nyangatom alliance which was at the hub of arms trading between Sudan and southern Ethiopia. The bottom has apparently dropped out of the arms market in the past ten years partly because of the widespread supply of weapons from Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia. The Nyangatoms have managed to keep the SPLA at bay and have made a strategic encampment on the slopes of Mount Naita on the Ethiopian border which the Kenyans have now threatened to bomb.



2.7. Uganda

Like the Kenyan government Uganda has long been concerned about its northern neighbour and relations have fluctuated sharply for many years. The Anya Nya received most of its support from Uganda during the first Sudanese civil war and then during the latter's own years of turmoil the border was crossed by both refugees and armed militias. Idi Amin's tribe on the West bank of the Nile have close relatives across the border in Equatoria who provided sanctuary for his defeated forces.

Like that with most of Sudan's other neighbours the bilateral relationship has been based on the actual or threatened support for each other's rebel movements. The fact that President Museveni is a personal friend of Col John Garang from their days in rebel training camps in Tanzania means that the SPLA has received, not only a sanctuary but also, considerable political and some material support.

2.8. Zaire

Sudan's relations with Zaire have been far less problematic than those with its other southern neighbours. This is mainly explained by the fact that the border is just about as far from both Khartoum and Kinshasa as it is possible to get. At the same time, until relatively recently, the war in western Equatoria has been relatively subdued and it has largely been confined to the control of Yei and Yambio. While the SPLA has occasionally passed through Ugandan and Zairian territory to get men and supplies into the area and defeated army units have sought sanctuary in Zaire there is little activity and even less that the two governments can do about it.

2.9. Central African Republic

If the border with Zaire is quiet then that with the Central African Republic (CAR) is positively soporific. This is because of its remoteness, strategic insignificance, and the fact that until relatively recently the indigenous Fertit tribe on the Sudanese side of the border were strongly opposed to the Dinka-dominated SPLA who they kept out of the area. Although there was a diplomatic incident some time ago when the CAR president was initially refused permission to over fly Sudan on his way to Saudi Arabia this was virtually the most interesting event in bilateral relations in recent years.



3.0. The Middle East

The fact that its post-independence governments have been dominated by its Arab and Muslim majority means that, besides its neighbours, its most important relations are with other Middle East countries. For a long time Sudan's most generous benefactors and staunchest allies against the perceived threat from Libya and Ethiopia were the Gulf states in general and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in particular. The June 1989 coup which brought Lt-Gen al-Bashir and his Islamic fundamentalist regime to power, however, changed all that. This is ironic because, although it is a monarchy, Saudi Arabia is dominated by some of the strictest fundamentalists in the Islamic world.

3.1. Saudi Arabia

Riyadh's foreign policy in the Middle East seems to have been based on backing all sides, buying its friends, buying off those groups who threaten its security and punishing its critics. Therefore, while it gave generous financial support to the Nimeiri and Sadiq El Mahdi governments, it also provided or at least allowed its own Islamic banks to provide financial assistance to Sudan's Islamic fundamentalist movement as it also did in Algeria, Tunisia and elsewhere. When al-Bashir came to power, however, and it was obvious that his regime was not go to toe the Saudi line the attitude changed. Bilateral relations deteriorated sharply and this was exacerbated both by NIF leader Turabi's vocal criticism of the Gulf states and, more importantly, Sudan's apparent support for Iraq in the 1990/91 Gulf crisis and war. Riyadh subsequently punished Khartoum by reducing financial aid still further and expelling large numbers of Sudanese expatriates. It has also begun to support the regime's opponents including, not only the former northern political parties in the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) but, reportedly John Garang's wing of the SPLA.

In March 1992 the regime accused the Saudi Arabian embassy of being uncooperative in the issuing of visas for Sudanese pilgrims to make the small "umrah" pilgrimage during Ramadan. It was only processing 150 visas a day while over 12,000 Sudanese were queuing up for days out of the embassy. A few days later it reported that King Fahd had agreed to increase the rate to 500 visas a day and renew some of the visas which had previously expired. There is little doubt, however, that bilateral relations will remained strained so long as the regime in Khartoum is such an uncontrollable "loose canon" and is so vocally hostile to the Saudi monarchy.



3.2. The Other Gulf States

Where Saudi Arabia has taken the lead the other Gulf states have followed and Sudan is also being punished, not only by Kuwait which was its second largest Arab aid donor but also, the other GCC members. They have significantly reduced aid and are also giving covert or overt support to Khartoum's domestic opponents. In January 1992 the UAE and Sudan announced the expulsion of each other's ambassadors and most of their diplomatic staff although they did not break off diplomatic relations. The UAE accused the seven expelled Sudanese diplomats of gathering information about the Sudanese community in the country and of trying to provoke it to expel its 100,000 strong Sudanese community back to Khartoum where the regime could deal with the dissidents. Khartoum retaliated by giving three UAE diplomats four days notice to leave Khartoum following the expulsion of their own diplomats. It claimed that its diplomats had frequently complained to the UAE authorities about the arrest and torture of Sudanese nationals since the Gulf war.

3.3. Iraq

Although, like the majority of other Arab countries, Sudan had sent some troops to fight for Iraq, bilateral relations remained relatively low-key until after the end of the Iraq-Iran war in July 1988. Baghdad then started bullying other Arab countries as Saddam Hussein tried to become the leader of the Arab world. At Egypt's request Iraq had supplied Khartoum with 1,300 tonnes of arms, which Cairo subsequently replaced, after the shock of the SPLA's capture of its first northern Sudanese town at Kurmuk.

Later, when the Gulf monarchies cut their financial aid because of Khartoum's increasingly vocal criticism, Baghdad supported the al-Bashir regime and tried to create an Iraqi-led regional alliance. If it had not been for the subsequent Gulf crisis Sudan would probably have been the next state to join the Arab Cooperation Council whose members were Iraq, Egypt, Jordan and North Yemen.

Unfortunately a combination of its own Islamic fundamentalism, opposition to the Gulf monarchies and to perceived Western imperialism, its own political naivety, and some genuine public pressure, albeit mostly whipped up by its own supporters, led Khartoum to support Iraq during the Gulf war. There was outrage over this support amongst most Sudanese and particularly the hundreds of thousands of expatriates working in the Gulf. They knew that, while Iraq had provided little more than rhetoric, for almost twenty years Kuwait had been one of Sudan's most generous benefactors. However, being such an unpleasant regime, it was not surprising that the West and the Gulf monarchies used this support for Iraq as another reason to punish Sudan. Aid was slashed and, although many have subsequently returned, Sudanese expatriates were expelled from the Gulf states along with the Palestinians,



Jordanians and Yemenis. Although they have continued to be good, bilateral relations with a defeated, if unbowed, Iraq are no substitute for the loss of support from the West and the Gulf monarchies.

3.4. Iran

President Rafsanjani paid a four day state visit to Khartoum in mid-December when he led a very large delegation of over 150 officials including six ministers and a reported 80 members of Iran's military and intelligence services. The visit culminated with the signing of three protocols on economic, political and intelligence matters. However Tehran vehemently denied the widespread reports that Rafsanjani was enlisting Sudan's help in providing new bases for the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corp (IRGC) if and when they move out of Lebanon. Less sympathetic US analysts argued that while Rafsanjani might be sincere other Iranian elements have their own agenda including the establishment of training camps for Islamic fundamentalists and the IRGC bases.

Ties with Iran are becoming particularly important as the al-Bashir regime tries to juggle what few friends it still has left. Having relied on and supported the virulently anti-Islamic Iraq during the Gulf war, which led even greater isolation from former Western and Arab allies, it then turned to the ever fickle Libya. However Qadhafi was angered by Khartoum's criticism of Egypt which is a far more important ally and Libya's suspension of all fuel supplies in November 1991 demonstrated this anger. This and Qadhafi's treatment of Libya's own Islamic fundamentalist opposition means that Iran is a far more natural ally than secular Libya for the fundamentalist regime in Khartoum.

The problem, however, is that there is really very little that the isolated and unpopular regime in Khartoum has to offer Tehran. There has already been a lot of hysteria and exaggeration in the West about the growing links between Sudan and Iran with claims about the revival of Ayatollah Khomeini's grand design to spread revolutionary Islam and thousands of Iranian Revolutionary Guards signing up to join hundreds of their comrades already in existing training camps in Sudan. This is the sort of publicity that Tehran can do without and better relations with the West are far more important for Iran but its ties with Sudan have only created very adverse publicity, albeit from Iranian royalists, Egypt's security services, the CIA, and Tehran's other enemies.

The reality is that for Khartoum the Islamic Republic of Iran is an example rather than a model of a future Islamic state. Unlike either Sudan or Algeria, where the vast majority of Muslims are Sunnis, Iran is a Shi's Islamic state and there are important differences between the two. It was Saudi Arabia and not Iran which financed the Islamic fundamentalists in both countries as well as in Egypt and Tunisia. In each case, however, they got out of hand and



“bite the hand that fed them”. Seeing the corruption and the inequalities in wealth in the Gulf states they have turned to Iran as a practical example of the way in which an Islamic revolution can be turned into a relatively stable and successful Islamic republic which shows little or no sign of returning to its former monarchist form. Large numbers of Sudanese students are now studying at Iranian religious schools at Qom, Mashad and Tehran while there are unsubstantiated rumours that others are undergoing military training by revolutionary guards to the north of Tehran.

Although Rafsanjani denied them there were also reports that Iran agreed to finance a US\$260 mn arms agreement with China whereby Sudan will obtain 18 F7 and F8 fighter aircraft, 140 Chinese T-54 and T-59 tanks and 20 T-70s and 270 armoured personnel carriers. It will also receive multiple rocket launchers and artillery while Iran will send groups of military experts to help in training and military industries. A radio and television station capable of being broadcast to neighbouring countries will also be built with Iranian help.

There have been increasingly exaggerated opposition claims that thousands of Iranian troops are now fighting alongside the Sudanese army in southern- Sudan. The reality is probably that there are perhaps a few hundred military advisors who are being kept as far away from the front-line as possible. The prospect of captured Iranian prisoners being presented to press conferences in Black Africa and the inevitable Western reaction is an unnecessary risk that Tehran is very unlikely to take.

4.0. The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution

Since the June 1989 coup and the effective creation of a virtual Sunni Muslim Islamic republic the National Islamic Front (NIF) dominated regime has sought to place Sudan in the Vanguard of the worldwide Islamic fundamentalist movement. The NIF leader Dr al-Turabi, who was a former attorney-general and justice minister and is now only described as presidential advisor on external affairs but who is really the most powerful man in the country, established and is secretary-general of the Khartoum-based multi-lateral Popular Arab Islamic Conference. It is intended to create mass public appeal throughout the Islamic world for the formation of other Islamic republics, although they have been denied there have been accusations that Khartoum is, however, now funding and training Islamic fundamentalist terrorists from Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt and elsewhere.

Khartoum was obviously delighted at the outcome of the first round of voting in the Algerian general election which left the Islamic fundamentalist FIS only needing an additional 28 seats in order to win an outright victory in the second round. Having hailed the outcome as Algiers’ honesty in fulfilling its pledge to hold free elections, which is something Khartoum is



obviously too scared to do itself, it expressed profound concern that the second phase of the elections were cancelled and that its allies had been robbed of the victory.

Khartoum admitted that it had issued a diplomatic passport to Rached Ghannouchi who is the leader of Tunisia's Nahda Islamic fundamentalists. This led to Tunisia recalling its ambassador because of Khartoum's "explicit assistance" to Nahda despite "the terrorist character of that movement and its criminal methods". Earlier this year, however, it eventually withdrew the passport in an effort to improve bilateral relations.

Saudi Arabia's semi-official Saudi newspaper *Asharq al-Awsat* (Middle East) had backed Tunisia's claims and also accused Khartoum of supporting the Algeria's FIS fundamentalists and of having ruined relations with Egypt because of its support for Shaikh Omar Abderrahman's Gihad and other Egyptian fundamentalist movements. It commented that Khartoum's foreign policy was now based on exporting its revolution by supporting like-minded groups in other countries. This had gone beyond "intellectual cooperation" and had "entered the stage of interference in the affairs of other states". It correctly pointed out that this interference in other countries' affairs was "alien to the tolerant Sudanese whose passion for politics has always been confined to their domestic problems".

5.0. The West

As already noted Sudan's relations with the west have deteriorated sharply since the June 1989 coup. This is because of a catalogue of quarrels including - the removal by force of a democratically elected government; the regime's appalling human rights record; its apparent support of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait; its close links with Iraq, Iran and Libya; its promotion of Islamic fundamentalism and the perceived threat to Egypt and other pro-Western states in the region.

According to some reports the United States has shown particular interest in one opposition group the so-called "Legitimate Command" of the Armed forces which is led by the former commander-in-chief of the Sudanese army General Fathi Ahmed Ali. Washington allegedly, and possibly unrealistically, believes that it is the most reliable and organised of the Sudanese opposition forces which has support within the country.

On March 19 the assistant secretary of state for African affairs Herman Cohen briefed the US Senate's Subcommittee on African Affairs about the Horn of Africa. He told them "unfortunately the regime in Khartoum appears bent on ignoring basic human rights and pursuing the military option in the south" and criticised it for its "uncaring attitude" displayed towards the estimated 500,000 people that it had forcibly evicted often at gunpoint from the capital region.



Relations with the UK which, because of its colonial past, has long had a special relationship with Sudan have deteriorated sharply in recent years. In September 1991 the British authorities released and deported Mohamed Mahjoub Haroun who had been arrested in July under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Haroun said that the British had been unable to prove the charges that he had been planning terrorist activities against Sudanese government opponents and students in Britain. It has been reported that 397 Sudanese nationals had applied for asylum in the UK in the first half of 1991 alone.

In December 1991 the new British ambassador Peter John Streams arrived to take up his post in Khartoum. Despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, when he presented his credentials, President al-Bashir reiterated Sudan's full respect for human rights and stressed his appreciation for Britain's concern to find a peaceful solution to the Sudanese civil war. While it is true, as Streams indicated, that the two countries have a special relationship, it is one that has markedly deteriorated since the current regime came to power in June 1989 when, as we are always being reminded, "Oxford-educated" Sadiq El Mahdi was removed.

Relations with other Western countries have also deteriorated for the same reasons. The reality is that, with the exception of its perceived threat to Egypt's "soft underbelly" and water supplies, Sudan is strategically insignificant and the collapse of its economy makes it only a very minor regional trading partner. Even its large and unmanageable external debts, which now total over US\$13,000 million, make it relatively unimportant because its creditors have known for many years that they are unlikely to be repaid.

6.0. The Rest of the World

As far as the rest of the world is concerned the combination of end of the cold war, Khartoum's hostility towards both Western and Gulf Arab states, and its promotion of radical Islamic fundamentalism means that, although its independent stand may be admired it will not be copied. Therefore, with the exception of Islamic countries, relations with Sudan are of little importance to the vast majority of countries.

One of the few exceptions is China, because of the 1989 massacres in Peking, needs every friend it can get but it is certainly scraping the barrel by befriending the Khartoum regime. Chinese military involvement dates back to the early 1970s when, following his expulsion of Soviet advisors after the attempted Communist coup in July 1971, former president Nimeiri went to China and obtained both military and economic aid. This continued until he did another about-turn and turned to the West in general and the US in particular. Former prime minister Sadiq El Mahdi signed a massive arms deal in 1988 but he lost power before he could take delivery of the weapons which were delivered to the current regime which has used them to arm its own Islamic militia the People's Defence Force (PDF).



There are now unconfirmed reports that Iran is financing Sudan's purchase of a large consignment of Chinese arms. Peking had already sent an air force training team to instruct Sudanese pilots and aircrews in the techniques of high altitude aerial bombardment. Since their arrival the bombings have increased in both frequency and intensity and some southern Sudanese fear that the instructors may even be accompanying their charges on the bombing raids over southern Sudan.

Note: This article was first written for the Japanese Institute of Middle Eastern Economies, which published it in the Summer 1992 edition of its JIME Review.

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NOTICE

David N. Edwards writes: I am trying to trace Mr. C.H. Moore of Middlesbrough, one time teacher and amateur archaeologist at Hantoub (1950's-early 1960's). If he is a reader, or if anyone knew any information on him whereabouts, please contact: David N. Edwards, St. John's College, Cambridge CR2 ITP.



MY FATHER'S VISIT

Paul Adams spent one year teaching English at the Sennar Higher Secondary School for Boys. At present he is a youth worker in Maine, USA. The visit he describes happened in early November 1987.

With my father due to arrive in Khartoum early in the morning, I travelled down from Sennar the day before so that I could meet him at the airport. The six hour bus ride from Sennar to Khartoum bus station went smoothly, but the bus going into Khartoum centre managed to run out of petrol and so I ended up walking the remaining few miles. For some reason the cheaper hotels all seemed to be full and I was beginning to get concerned when I did come across a place in my price range. As always Khartoum struck me as a depressing place. There were young children covered in dust asleep on the roadside, and despite the constant building work the city never seemed to improve. Even the people seemed less friendly than elsewhere. I spent the remainder of the afternoon in Khartoum University looking for books about Sudan and its development. There didn't seem to be any. I did note however that women in the university were less constrained by Sudanese dress customs than elsewhere in the country, and so felt able to wear Western style clothing that revealed their arms and lower legs. I also spotted a few women driving cars which was almost unheard of in Sennar. Later that evening as I sat reading in my hotel room I heard a huge uproar outside and cars began tooting their horns. I realized that this could be one of two things; a military coup that had been so long predicted or a football match. I wandered out to the local hot milk bar to find that Khartoum Hilal had just qualified for the final of the African Cup.

I woke early the following day and took a taxi to the airport. I waited in the plush concourse and admired the sparkling white tables with green chairs that matched the plants, and a drinks bar called 'Down Town'. In the centre of the waiting area was a small fountain that sparkled and changed colour. I wondered if this modern, spacious, air-conditioned building was one of those development projects that does so little for the poor in Sudan. I wandered over to the information desk to enquire about my father's flight and was told that the airport was in fact closed for repairs. I repeated my enquiry and got the same answer. I asked about flight SD113 and was told that the next flight from London was a British Airways flight due later in the week. "But what about Sudan Airways?" I asked. "Maybe two days, maybe one week" came the reply. I was stunned into silence and set off back to Sennar. I could not believe it. Anywhere else in Sudan and this could only be expected, but I had thought that the international airport was the exception. Clearly this was not the case. Back in Sennar, and after a two hour wait at the Post Office, I managed to telephone England and found that my father planned to get the next British Airways flight and would make his own way to Sennar.

A few days later a taxi arrived at the house that I shared with two other teachers from England and Younis our Sudanese landlord.



The driver was demanding an extortionate price for the short journey from the market place and was shouting excitedly in Arabic. It seemed that my father, not being familiar with the Sudanese ways, had allowed the man to drive all round Sennar calling at the houses of two different sets of East Europeans because he had claimed to know where he was going. Despite my protestations my father seemed happy to pay the man. I think that by this time he was in a state of shock and would have given the driver anything for finally getting him to his destination. Not having anywhere else for comparison my father didn't recognise the luxury of a brick-built house with an old refrigerator and ceiling fans, and when I mentioned that the water supply was off at this time he asked if I had reported this to the authorities. The letters, books and newspapers that he brought were well received, and the sponge cake lasted about twenty minutes. The rest of the day was spent with my father sitting in a chair outside bemoaning the heat and drinking endless bottles of Pepsi.

The following day began where the previous one had ended, with my father reminding me that it was hot and diving into the refrigerator for a Pepsi. We walked into the market place and while my housemates and I eagerly ate a plate of liver and lentils, my father would do no more than nibble a few peanuts. Neither could he bring himself to use the Sudanese style toilets, so it was probably fortunate that he had chosen not to eat. He continued to provide much amusement with his comments and questions that revealed his expectations to be wholly out of line with reality. When I left for my regular soccer practice he asked if I planned to use the shower facilities at the pitch. It was as if he couldn't accept that a place could really be that poor.

After a day or two he began to relax somewhat. He was forced to admit that it was in fact quite peaceful in our house, as he sat outside sipping lemon tea and reading a book. He also went out with Younis to visit the water purification centre and began to appreciate the warmth of Sudanese character. He took the opportunity to do some cooking - he was happy to eat the food he had prepared himself - which in turn forced him to get over his mental block regarding the toilet situation. As he got braver he agreed to take up the invitation of the school teachers and come in for breakfast.

School breakfast was an event in itself, largely because of the behaviour of Al Khair the geography teacher. All of the teachers ate together from two large communal trays in the centre of two separate tables. Etiquette was such that people were expected to eat at a reasonable pace and with consideration for the food needs of the others. Most of the teachers were more than courteous in this respect; Al Khair was the exception. Al Khair was a huge man with an appetite to match, and not only was he always hungry but he had a particularly effective eating style that allowed him to scoop up large portions of food with a piece of bread and a cupped hand. As he loaded the food into his mouth like some sort of excavating digger his eyes bulged with delight. When breakfast was announced the teachers would try to eat the other table from Al Khair. The only solace for those who didn't manage this was the fact that Al Khair - being the size that he was - took a few minutes to get from the bed that he



rested on to the table. For novices like myself who had pretty poor one-handed eating skills it was fortunate that I ate well at home.

While the teachers did mock Al Khair about his eating habits the geography teacher was less than interested. On the occasion of my father's visit the lentils were followed by a steaming plate of vermicelli, and since Al Khair didn't seem to feel heat, the rest of us were in a familiar dilemma. Either we could wait for the food to cool and risk Al Khair eating most of it, or burn our fingers and mouths in an attempt to get a fair share. Some of the teachers had taken to lifting the vermicelli onto the table and letting it cool there. Others resigned themselves to a small portion. In any case, with all this going on nobody seemed to notice that my father wasn't eating too enthusiastically.

On the final day of my father's stay we had two visits to make which served to highlight the difference between Sudanese and European standards of living. Our first stop was at the home of one of the teachers. Yahya was unmarried and lived with his sister. We sat in his room and sipped a lemon drink as he showed us photographs of his college days. His room was sparse; a bed, table and wardrobe, and a cardboard box containing books and photographs. My father was stunned at this level of poverty and found it hard to believe that Yahya had a relatively well paid position in Sudanese terms. By way of contrast our next visit was with our neighbours, a German couple who worked in the local Youth Training Centre. Their four-room house was superbly furnished, with air conditioning, a Western style oven, and electrical appliances such as food blenders and stereo equipment. My father seemed more comfortable in these surroundings, and secure in the knowledge that he was going home the following day, announced- that he could quite easily get used to the relaxed way of Sudanese life. He identified the need for a proper bathroom and a good local pub as the major problems. The Germans told us how they had attempted to overcome the latter by bringing in a number of home brew kits disguised as tins of European vegetables, and had found the Sudanese climate ideal for brewing beer. The former problem they had completely overcome with the installation of a European style flushing toilet on their arrival in the country.

When my father left for England the following morning he took with him an impression of the Sudanese as warm, friendly and generous people. He also took back images of a lifestyle that he hardly believed existed and a few good stories for his friends.



AN EARLIER TRAIN JOURNEY IN SUDAN

BY K.M. BARBOUR

I read with a mixture of amusement and dismay Paul Adams' account of a train journey that he and two friends tried to make from Singa to Damazin in September 1987 [*Sudan Studies* No. 11]. It has occurred to me that your readers might enjoy that tale of a very different journey that a young English lecturer made from Khartoum to Port Sudan almost 40 years earlier, when some aspects of public life were perhaps more efficient than today, but others were equally liable to human error.

I joined the Gordon Memorial College in January 1948, and in the ensuing long vacation I made a long trek in Kordofan and Darfur; then when back in Khartoum and with all my British colleagues still away, I found myself to be Acting Deputy Principal of the College, for the purpose of signing various cheques and papers that were put before me by clerks who knew much more about the College's business than I did. Towards the end of August Alan Theobald came back from leave and resumed his duties as Vice-Principal, while I made plans to take the train to Port Sudan to fetch my wife and daughter, who were coming out from England by sea. Shortly before I left a clerk came to ask me if I had removed a file from the Vice-Principal's desk, but I told him I had not, and thought no more about it.

Next day my train reached Shendi at about 11.30 a.m., and immediately a railway clerk came to summon me to the Station Master's office. Once there I learned that Mr Theobald had booked a call to coincide with my arrival, and straightaway I was asked very sternly what I had done with the missing file, which had not yet been found. Trembling I replied "Nothing", and resumed my journey to an altogether more enjoyable encounter. Incidentally I found I had arrived rather earlier than the ship from England, and went and ate a simply marvellous lunch at the Red Sea Hotel; the reason was easily explained, for the official in charge of catering in Sudan Railways' Hotels and Dining cars, Mr. Paul Taylor, was visiting on a tour of inspection, but as a newcomer I imagined that huge Red Sea prawns, cold chicken with real mayonnaise and mango ice-cream were standard Sudan Railways fare for a light meal in the middle of the day.

In due course the liner arrived, and we made a safe 24-hour journey back to Khartoum - they just put on a special sleeping car and dining car to cope with the sea passengers' needs. After a day or two I brought my wife to meet the Vice-Principal, and learnt that the missing file had turned up in the right filing cabinet and in the right pocket, but upside down (always the best place to hide a file, and the last to yield its secrets). Two years later I made a similar but rather shorter rail journey from Erkowit to Khartoum, which went via Kassala and Wad Medani and took 6 days in the rainy season, but that's another story.



VILLAGE LEADERS ADDRESS THE AID WORKERS (NEAR BOR, JANUARY 1992)

BY MICHAEL MEDLEY

Under a *laloub* tree a few chairs - old iron frames re-strung with tyre-rubber and cow-hide - are placed for the visitors. People of the village, wearing blankets knotted at the shoulder or the incongruous remains of second-hand clothes from overseas, sit on the ground before them. Naked children wander and stare. The aid workers ask to know the situation of the people: a leader stands up.

FIRST MAN: I greet you. When somebody visits in times of trouble, that is happiness. You have come from far away and you want to see our condition. We are now living like animals in the forest. Even before the Nuer attacked we were in a bad state. The floods destroyed our crops. Many of our cows became sick. We were sleeping in water. People and cattle died. When the Nuer came they took all our cattle. They herded them in the fields where we were trying to grow a second crop of sorghum, so that was destroyed too. They also took people away; young women and children. Now we are almost starving. we can only eat by boiling the nuts and leaves of the *laloub*. You see how weak we are; even a man does not feel like sleeping with his wife, or a woman with her husband. You can provide some food so that we will have strength to cultivate in the next season. seeds are also needed - sorghum, sesame, groundnuts, okra - and hoes to prepare the land. All have been taken. That is what I wanted to say.

SECOND MAN: I greet the visitors. What I say is this. If we go to the swamps we can find many fish. But we have nothing to catch them with. We need fishing line which we can make into nets. Also hooks to put on the nets. And when we go there, it is for several days and there are many mosquitoes. Women go as well, to dry the fish and carry it home. So mosquito nets are needed too. This is what I say.

THIRD MAN (EVANGELIST): Greetings in the name of Christ. The attackers set fire to our church. Now there is nothing but crumbling mud walls. They also locked a man inside the pastor's house and burned him to death. But now even more people are coming to worship than before. We are confident in God: He has sent you here. We thought that Christians in other countries had forgotten us. Now we are asking for your help. If you refuse us, you will be like the Apostle Peter who denied Jesus three times. That is what I had to say.

WOMAN: (sings) Jesus we thank you, we thank you,
 wholeheartedly, wholeheartedly,
 Because you redeemed us with blood
 which you have shed in Calvary



I greet the visitors. Our children are now suffering very much. The food we are eating is not nutritious. They used to drink the milk of the cows, but the cows are all gone. We ask you to bring powdered milk and biscuits, and sugar to help them bring the milk. Also we have nothing to cook with; we need cooking pots and spoons. The person who will give us food is the one we will consider as father and mother.

FOURTH MAN: Greetings. This is what I say. When the Nuer arrived, we had to escape into the wild land. They saw me with my cattle, and tried to shoot me. I ran into the trees and pushed my body through the thorn bushes, but they followed. I abandoned my clothes to stop them pursuing, and so that I could not be seen. Now I have nothing to wear. What you see me in are not clothes for a man; I borrowed them from my wife in order to meet you. And I am a chief in this village. Many people are now not here; they are staying in their huts because they have no clothes. Others are wearing sacks. That is what I wanted to say.

FIFTH MAN: Greetings. We are drinking the water of ponds which are drying up. One organisation made four bore-wells with hand pumps around this village, and trained me to maintain them. But later the spare parts ran out. The organisation left when the war started, and now none of the pumps is working.

SIXTH MAN (MEDICAL ATTENDANT): The attackers looted the dispensary and we have no medicines.

SEVENTH MAN (SCHOOLTEACHER): The school was burnt down. If you give us food it will help us to build it again - but we need books, pencils, blackboards, chalk and more food. Starving children cannot learn.

EIGHTH MAN: What I say is this. You are the third group of people to come and sit under this tree and ask us about our situation. I don't know if you are the same as the others. You come and you go away and do not bring any help. Or if you bring something it is very little, perhaps two cups of maize for a family. Now you have seen how we are living you will go. It is good if you tell the people in your country about the problems we are facing. Perhaps they will do something. This is what I say.

NOTES

The representation above is schematic and verbally condensed, but it is compiled from ten or twelve consultations which took place between 4th and 7th January 1992, and does not deviate far from the statements made at any one of them.



We asked the villagers for figures of their current population, and the numbers of people who had been killed in the fighting, or abducted. On this basis it appeared that we spoke to representatives of about 170,000 people, that roughly one percent of them had been killed by the attackers, and half that number taken away.

The main agents of the disaster were usually referred to in short as "the Nuer", but there was remarkably little evidence of tribal bitterness. In many ways this raid corresponded with an immemorial pattern of warring upon the Dinka (see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, pp. 125-132). But people said that nothing like so big an incursion had occurred since 1916, and preferred to emphasise modern political factors.

The division between commander Riak Machar and the "mainstream" of the SPLA had brought about fratricide from September 1991. It is thought that Riak's trained soldiers were joined in a loose coalition of interest with two other groups: the militia known as Anyanya 2, which was suspected of being in the pay of the Sudanese Government from Malakal; and the followers of the charismatic magician named Wurnyang. Ideology and the motive for plunder were doubtless mixed in various proportions. However, it is clear in retrospect that the invasion had no military thrust that could be sustained beyond the looting of the civilian population.

Ironically, Riak Machar had previously been thought of by many aid workers as providing greater support for humanitarian operations than existed in most other SPLA-administered areas. This is certainly not to endorse the view that many relief and development personnel were at all involved in his "theoretical coup". But Riak's marriage to one of them - Emma McCune - which had taken place shortly beforehand, adds some poignancy to this scene in the larger tragedy.



THE SUDAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

The genesis of this society is the urgent need to encourage an active interest in the cultures of Sudan, both past and present. The richness of the Nile Valley in remains of past civilisations is well known, the threat that these are undergoing in Sudan is less widely appreciated. The pressures and developments of the modern world are also threatening traditional ways of life throughout the area.

The function of the Society

To encourage and undertake research into, and to advance public knowledge of, the archaeology, the ancient and medieval history and the traditional cultures of the Republic of Sudan and related studies. The unrest in the Southern Sudan conveniently defines the southern limit of the Society's interests at present.

To assist with fund-raising for fieldwork and, where appropriate, act as a sponsor for such work.

To provide a forum for the exchange of news about relevant matters through a programme of lectures and seminars and through the circulation of a newsletter.

The Society is in no way intended to compete with any of the pre-existing international societies concerned with these topics in Sudan. There is plenty of work for everyone and the new society should increase our abilities to undertake the urgent and massive tasks of rescue archaeology and research.

Programme of Events

It is the intention that each year there will be a one day seminar in May when papers on recent work in Sudan will be delivered to the membership. There will be a popular lecture in the summer and an invited speaker will deliver a lecture to the AGM in the autumn. Two newsletters will be circulated each year containing summaries of the lectures and seminar papers along with details of forthcoming field-work and events. Project directors will also be able to use the newsletter to advertise their requirements for field staff.



The Society is committed to supporting fieldwork and is actively seeking funds to allow it to do so. Already a substantial grant has been received which has been used to purchase a landrover for the use of approved projects and this is permanently based in Khartoum.

In the winter of 1992-93 it is hoped that the Society will be running two archaeological surveys and will also be providing financial support to one excavation project.

New members are most welcome and anyone interested should contact The Secretary, Sudan Archaeological Research Society, c/o The British Museum, London WC1B 3DG. U.K. Tel. no. 071 323 8306.

OMDURMAN AHLIA COLLEGE

Hon. Representative

100 Highgate Hill

Anne Riddell

London, N6 5HE

MOHAMMED OMER BESEIR MEMORIAL FUND

As I expect you know MOB spent some time in London last January before returning to Khartoum where he died on 29 January. Each time I saw him he spoke about Omdurman Ahlia College and, in particular, how he hoped to establish a special collection in Sudan Studies for the Library at the College. On my last visit, he gave a list of friends and contacts who he hoped would contribute to a fund for the purchase of such a collection, and many more names have been added to this list since he died. After consultation with Professor Abu Zayd, the Vice-Chancellor of the College, therefore, I propose to open a special account at Lloyds Bank, called the Mohammed Omer Beshir Memorial Fund, and I am now writing to ask whether you would like to contribute to this Fund?

If you would like to contribute, would you send a cheque to me at the address given above, making the cheque out to the Mohammed Omer Beshir Memorial Fund. All cheques will be paid into the Fund straight away, and I will circulate all contributors as soon as possible to inform them how much money has been raised and what has been spent. If you need a personal receipt, would you let me know when you send the cheque?



EQUATORIA CIVIC FUND

serving the people of Southern Sudan

Equatoria Civic Fund is a non-political charity founded in 1992 by a group of Southern Sudanese in the United Kingdom. It aims to assist the following categories of Southern Sudanese who have been affected by the on-going civil war in the South of Sudan:

✓ Those displaced from their natural homes, but who have not crossed the international borders, and thus are still within Sudan.

✓ Those who have crossed the international borders and now live in refugee camps in the neighbouring African countries, e.g. Uganda, Kenya and Zaire.

✓ Those in the same category as in (b) but are designated as asylum seekers in the developed countries such as Britain, European countries and the U.S.A.

We are seeking funds for buying medicine, farming implements, construction and other materiel for those in the refugee and the "displaced person" camps so that they can become self-dependent.

We shall rely on organizations such as the Sudan Council of Churches or its equivalent (New Sudan Council of Churches) in the rebel-controlled areas, to oversee the distribution of these donations.

We need funds to mobilise Southern Sudanese volunteer medical doctors, school and university teachers, nurses and other professionals to go and assist in the field.

For a start, the Lancaster school children have generously donated clothes for Southern Sudanese children in the refugee camps in Kenya and Uganda. We need financial assistance for handling and transporting these gifts to their destination.

Please, clip the coupon below and send us your donation which will be gratefully received.

.....

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Please write cheques payable to "Equatoria Civic Fund" and send it to the following address: Dr. L. A. Onok, Equatoria Civic Fund, 2 Cheltenham Road, Lancaster, Lancashire LA1 4SZ, U.K. Tel: (0524) 382283



SMALL INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA LESSONS FROM SUDAN

by Dirk Hansohm

Lit Verlag (Münster/Hamburg), 1992, 263 pp., DM 29.80, ISBN 3-89473-223-7

(Direct orders: Sudan Economy Research Group, FB 7, University of Bremen, P. O. Box 330440, 2800 Bremen 33, Germany)

In the discussion on the development crisis in Sudan the promotion of small industries has been proposed from different sides. This has several important reasons. The employment crisis has worsened; the informal sector has obviously reached the limits of its absorption capacity; the structural adjustment policy has had grave consequences for the existing import substituting industry.

New theoretical approaches with respect to industrialisation, notably strategies of agricultural-demand-led industrialisation, also imply an increased interest in small industries. But also concepts of export-led industrialisation rely on labour-intensive small industries. Last not least, the discussion about adequate structural adjustment policies is characterised by ideas of the utilisation of the specific advantages of small industries.

In that context this important study has to be seen. Although its empirical basis is limited to the city of Nyala, important lessons can be drawn for Sudan - and for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole: These lessons are indeed drawn systematically. In order to analyse the dynamics of the small industry sector, the study combines macro-, sector-, and micro-level analysis. Each hypothesis is analysed theoretically by referring to relevant theories of economic development and the African situation and then confronted with the evidence on the Sudanese national and local conditions of small industries and their environment. The references on Sudan's industry and economy in general are extensive. The methodological approach, including different elements of quantitative and qualitative research, is explained in a separate chapter and can be taken as a guideline by anyone intending to do field research in Sudan. The next introductory chapter gives a short but comprehensive overview of Sudan's development history.

Starting point of the study are two hypotheses, which are discussed in its two main parts: firstly, because of its specific advantages, the small industry is suited to contribute to overcome the African crisis; secondly, there is a striking contradiction between this potential role of small industry and its real importance. With respect to the first hypothesis ten alleged



distinct advantages of small industries are analysed: creation of employment, income creation, capital saving and capital mobilization, efficiency, strong linkages to other sectors, utilization of local resources and low import intensity, production for low-income markets, wide geographical dispersion, training ground for entrepreneurs, ability to innovate and flexibility. The results show a differentiated picture. One has to distinguish clearly between traditional and modern small industries; some of the assumed distinct advantages are only true for the former group. However, this mixed picture reflects policy failures and past neglect - not immanent characteristics.

The second main part analyses growth constraints of small industry. It is shown that internal constraints as lack of entrepreneurship and management deficiencies are not immediate constraints. Traditional management training programmes as still recommended will fail if they are not combined with an elimination of external constraints to small industry development. In a discussion of the external constraints the hypothesis of an exploitation of the small industry sector by the large industry sector is disproved. However, the dependency of the former sector on the activity level of the national economy is illuminated.

Access to raw materials and machinery as well as access to markets are identified as the main constraints.

The final chapter analyses the role of the government and its policies and identifies this as the central constraint of small industry development. It is shown that a policy reform at several levels is necessary. Such a reform is possible and can fully mobilise the distinct advantages of small industries. However, a reform of small industry promotion cannot replace a development policy in the sense of a new agricultural, industrial, trade, and export promotion policy.

Unfortunately the study bases on research in the years 1987-1989, so that the policies of the present regime are not covered. On the other hand, many socioeconomic changes have taken place in the area of the field research since these years. Drought, civil war, the effects of Islamisation, of the Gulf crisis and of the policies of the new regime have left their mark on the economic situation and the small industries in particular.

In my view this work will be important for development policy for three reasons: firstly, because of the detailed inventory of the growth constraints for small industries in Africa; secondly, because of the evidence that policy reforms are crucial for small industry and that



they are to be designed on the basis of a consistent growth model: and thirdly, because of the substantiated warning against isolated programmes of small enterprise promotion.

Theoretically important is not only the testing of the two starting hypotheses, but also the method to identify and to test the specific advantages of small industries and the constraints to their growth.

One problem is the methodological deficiency and overall weakness of data on performance indicators in the research on small industry, development. The study tries to bridge the gap by a detailed questioning in 83 firms in 4 sectors, covering wood and metal products.

This outstanding study will set a standard for the research on Sudan and for the analysis of industrialisation processes in Africa. Industrial policy makers will have to examine this study carefully and development policy should take up this study so as to work out sustainable strategies for the promotion of small industries.

The study is one of the outcomes of the author's years of research undertaken in the context of projects of the Sudan Economy Research Group in Bremen. Related studies appeared in the discussion paper series No.2, 7, 11, 14, 22, 23.

Prof. Dr. Karl Wohlmuth

Department of Economics! Sudan Economy Research Group

University of Bremen, Germany



Windows on the Sudan

by the Rev. Timothy Biles

£4.99 from the author, The Rectory, Barnes Lane. Beaminster, Dorset.

Windows on the Sudan makes compelling reading. It is an account by the Rev Timothy Biles of his first journey to southern Sudan in 1990 and of his first friendships with people from that country. It is vivid and racily written: the dry facts of a journey portrayed through thumb nail sketches of individuals and the emotional reactions of the author.

Timothy Biles, a country parish priest in Dorset, was made Salisbury Diocese's Sudan Development Advisor in 1990. He therefore decided he had better find out about the country he was to advise on. Failing to get a visa to Khartoum, but getting to know displaced Sudanese people in Cairo while he was waiting, he travelled to Sudanese refugee camps in Ethiopia and then to Kapoeta via Kenya. History is made quickly during war, and one of the most valuable parts of this book is the picture of the refugee camps in Ethiopia, both in words and photographs.

His experiences obviously opened his heart to the southern Sudanese people and his account is very moving. He does not purport to analyse the country in depth, indeed, as with all first impressions, sometimes his understanding of a situation is superficial. However, these first impressions have a value of their own, being fresh, shocked by injustice and caught up by the love shown by people in dire circumstances.

For old South Sudan hands, there are cameos which will resonate and remind, but also will bring a picture of conditions brought about by the present fighting. For people new to the Sudan, this is a very accessible and memorable introduction, conveying above all respect for the people of southern Sudan and compassion for the plight of so many of them.



THE AGRICULTURE OF THE SUDAN

Edited by G M Craig

1991. Oxford University Press, Oxford. 468pp.

As someone who has not worked in Sudan for over 10 years, this reviewer found this book a more than pleasant read, in that it rekindled memories and thoughts. There is no doubt that this is a well-produced volume, in terms, of both scope and its physical layout. The maps and diagrams are generally very well-produced, regrettably not always the case in volumes of this type.

Inevitably, comparisons will be drawn between this book and Tothill's (1948)

Agriculture in the Sudan, something Craig, the editor of the present 1991 volume,

readily acknowledges in the Preface. Craig, indeed, suggests that the volume "may be

regarded as a successor to Tothill's Agriculture in the Sudan in that it continues the

picture of Sudanese agriculture into the early 1990s" (Preface). In some ways, this is a

little misleading, as the present volume is different in style and, to some extent,

approach. Tothill's volume, for example, places considerable emphasis on a Province-

by-Province description and analysis of agriculture in Sudan. This very much reflects

the kind of systematic regional approach prevalent in the 1920s and 1930s. Craig's

(1991) volume, on the other hand, adopts a more successful systems approach. The

equivalent chapters (if equivalent is really the appropriate word) carry titles such as:

Systems of pastoral and agricultural production in eastern Sudan; Systems of

agricultural production in southern Sudan; Development programmes in non-irrigated

rainland. There is still a strong geographical element to these analyses, and this is right

and proper within the context of Sudan, but the adoption of a strong system-orientation

provides these particular chapters with more power and focus than they otherwise

would have, if they were constrained within a functional region framework.



The present volume is also somewhat different in two other ways. There is no systematic description of the crops found in Sudan. As this information is well-documented in Tothill, it may well have been a deliberate decision by the 1991 editor to exclude this kind of information as being repetitive and unnecessary. On the other hand, it might well have been useful to know of recent developments in terms of new crop varieties etc. More positively, Craig's volume has some very useful material on the role of agriculture in national development in Sudan, a feature of which we are more conscious these days.

Inevitably in a volume of this type, the quality of the 23 chapters varies, although none disappoint. There are, of course, quibbles. Given the crucial role of soils, and especially soil potential, this reviewer feels that this aspect was given short shrift, especially in a book of this type. Similarly, irrigated production is so crucial to the national economy of Sudan that this element surely merits greater treatment than it receives. These are, however, quibbles. More disappointing was the fact that out of 22 authors, only 2 are Sudanese (which is in fact 2 more than in Tothill's volume). I would not suggest for a moment that this low number was the editor's choice, nor would I want to suggest that any of the selected authors were not qualified or experienced (very much the contrary), but I do think it disappointing, and I am sure that it would be disappointing to Tothill himself as a former Principal of Gordon Memorial College, that in the 40-plus years since the publication of, Tothill's book, not more Sudanese expertise has apparently been produced to contribute to the present volume.

This edition of *Sudan Studies* was originally distributed in hard copy to members of the Sudan Studies Society of the United Kingdom. SSSUK now makes it freely available subject to licence and cordially invites readers to join the Society (see www.sssuk.org).

SUDAN STUDIES: Number 12 (July 1992)

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Overall, this is a very worthy volume, and the editor and authors are to be thanked and congratulated.

Dr John Briggs

University of Glasgow

15 July 1992



FIVE WOMEN OF SENNAR: CULTURE AND CHANGE IN CENTRAL SUDAN

by Susan M Kenyon

Clarendon press. Oxford, 1991. vii+ 262pp. Hardback ISBN 0-19-827832-2.

Reviewed by SIMON BUSH.

In her introduction to an earlier book 'The Sudanese Woman' (University of Khartoum press/Ithaca Press, London. 1987) Susan Kenyon mentioned "If we wonder why it is necessary to consider women as a distinct social phenomenon, we only have to look at most of the existing literature on the Sudan, be it economics, sociology, history or anthropology. Though not tacitly acknowledging a sexual bias, they are basically accounts of Sudanese male society, past and present....to describe women's lives, activities and values then it is possible that we may reach a fuller understanding of Sudanese society as a whole."

'Five Women of Sennar' by a in-depth study of women's issues in the town of Sennar does provide information for a fuller understanding of Sudanese society in general and the position of women in that society. It is an attempt to describe the pattern of Sudanese culture and to understand the women's world and how they move in it and view it, how they perceive its continuities, and importantly at the moment, deal with change.

Susan Kenyon spent five years collecting data in Sennar. She clearly illustrates the strengths and stability of the local community and family life through interviews with Howa (a traditional hairdresser), Fatima (a market woman), Zachara (a midwife), Bitt al-Jamil (a faith healer) and Soreya (a leader of a spirit possession cult).

After a valuable introduction of the role of each woman and profession in the community, the women talk about their families, homes, work and social lives and their hopes and aspirations. The five women of Sennar inform us of the pattern of life in contemporary provincial Sudan. Despite change, often imposed, sense of traditional continuity pervades each chapter'.

The book is a study of the changing roles of women in Sudanese society. It is also a little more. It is a valid attempt to look at the well defined world of women and to suggest ways of approaching and understanding that world.

As Susan Kenyon indicates in 'Five Women of Sennar' she has looked at only one town with its own distinctive customs and environmental characteristics, although it shares many of the characteristics and problems of the northern regions of Sudan. Having met five women we are in a 'better position to go out and to talk to their sisters, aunts and daughters in other parts of the country'.

The book forms an important continuity in research into women's issues in the Sudan and is an excellent addition to that study. Its publication is timely and deserves to be widely read, not only by those with an interest in Sudan but also by those concerned in gender issues in the Middle East and Africa.



THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN, 1934-1956:

A REVIEW

Imperial Sudan: The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 1934-1956

by M.W. Daly

University Press, Cambridge, 1991, xvi + 471 pp. £ 50.00 or \$79.50, ISBN 0 251 39163 6

The book starts with the definition of the political status of the Sudan as an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, established by the Anglo-Egyptian conventions of 1899. According to the terms of these conventions a British Governor-General of the Sudan, appointed by a Khedival decree on the recommendation of a British government never fully ‘...wielded powers virtually unlimited by statute....’ In all he was subject to rigorous supervision by the British Residency in Egypt on behalf of the Foreign Office in London and Khartoum had to obey whatever instructions from Cairo and to keep the latter fully informed of all current affairs relating to the Sudan.

Below the office of the Governor-General was the main body of the Sudan Government - an entirely British dominated Central Government in Khartoum with provincial British *mudura* (governors) presiding over *mara’kez* (districts) administered by British *mufatishiin* (district commissioners) who maintained law and order, executed and managed the policy of the Indirect Rule and run routine bureaucratic functions. Only junior positions in the *mara’kez* were left to Egyptian *mamurs*. Yet the author has not revealed that the subordination of the Egyptian partnership to such bottom-ladder positions in the Condominium Administration in the Sudan, a country which Egypt had ruled, manned its re-conquest and financed its services, had continuously antagonized the Egyptian nationalists who authorized in 1910 the assassination of Butrous Ghali, the Egyptian foreign minister who had signed the Anglo-Egyptian conventions with Lord Cromer in 1899. From that point the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreements became a source of continuous embarrassment and friction in Anglo-Egyptian relations in Egypt and the Sudan. More importantly the author should have realized that it is almost impossible to separate recent history of Egypt from that of the Sudan or *vice versa* during the peak of the British imperial power in the Nile Valley. In that the Sudan question was an inseparable part and parcel of the whole Egyptian question in the course of a series of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations for an Anglo-Egyptian settlement which was to re-establish, among other outstanding Anglo-Egyptian issues, some form of a *de facto*



Anglo-Egyptian equality in what was predominantly a British dominated condominium administration in the Sudan.

But we have not even been told that the Anglo-Egyptian forces did not re-conquer the Sudan in 1898 with a view to develop it to become politically and economically a viable entity. But this fundamental British imperial concept had been constantly reflected in the administrative policies of the Sudan government since their foundation in 1899. In 1934 the Sudan Government, under the governor-generalship of Sir Stewart Symes from a Cromerian background, exposed the original convictions of proper administration and definite views on the need for reforms, ultimately to fulfil the requirements of the British imperial policy in the Sudan - the Nile waters, their defence and control with a view to dominate Egypt, an hydraulic state, in order to secure the Suez canal, the shortest possible sea route to the British empire in the east. With this in mind Governor-General Symes began his administrative reforms with the abolition of the secretaryships of economic development and health in the Central Government in Khartoum and transferred their functions to the office of the civil secretary who, by 1937, became the head of the political and civil services, controlling police, public security intelligence and personnel with supervision of aviation, foreign affairs, economic development and trade, education, medical and veterinary services, Native Affairs and public works. Yet with these many over-burdening functions in one office the Central Government Administration was seen to have been in order according to the British imperial policy, 'the Nile waters, their defence and control'.

At the provincial level, however, Symes undertook the reduction of a number of provinces in the Northern Sudan where in 1935 Dongola, Halfa and Berber were amalgamated to form the Northern Province with its headquarters in el-Damar, the Port Sudan-Suakin administration was transferred to Kassala and Funj province was annexed to the Blue Nile. In the Southern Sudan in 1936 Mongalla and Bahr el-Ghazal provinces were amalgamated and parts of the western Upper Nile Province were incorporated to form a massive Equatoria Province with its headquarters in Juba. Subsequently the Sudan was virtually reduced to eight extremely large provinces, each occupying an area which is even much more larger than the area of Switzerland. But given the shortage of personnel and absence of communications at that time, the administrative reforms had undermanned the Sudan to the level of 'maintenance and care' and this was practically in line with the British imperial policy in the Sudan.

On the other hand the period of the reforms marked the peak of the Condominium Administration in the Sudan. At this time limited educational services had been established to



train Sudanese national manpower only for low-paid positions in the Sudan government service, food crops were produced for local consumption and export crops and raw materials were reserves only for the British industrial requirements in England, tributes in cash or kind were collected regularly on political grounds rather than for economic reasons, resistance to the Anglo-Egyptian rule had been sufficiently suppressed with punitive military expeditions, including the deployment of the Royal Air Force on the Fur in 1916, the Jikany Nuer in 1920 and on the Gawar, Lak, Lou and Nyuon Nuer in 1930 and that as a direct results of these military operations the Indirect Rule had been firmly established. With these developments the Sudan was absolutely in order in the eyes of the doctrinaires of the British imperial policy in the Sudan.

But in 1936 the presence of large potentially hostile Italian forces in Abyssinia and Libya, on the frontiers of Egypt and the Sudan, disturbed the balance of power in the region and created a state of uncertainty which imperatively compelled Egypt and Great Britain to conclude an Anglo-Egyptian treaty of alliance which was largely a result of total elimination of the British 'reserved points' of 1922 and the restoration of the *status quo ante* 1924 in the Sudan. But this was the work of Mustafa el-Nahas Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister and Sir Miles Lampson, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, who was more willing than the Foreign Office to make concessions to Egypt.

Consequently the aftermath of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 was a period of active national political awakening and attainment of prominent Sudanese participation in the Condominium Administration in the Sudan. More strikingly the British imperial policy was quickly reversed, ultimately to meet the requirements of the new political developments in the Sudan where Egypt and Great Britain began to compete for sphere of influence on powerfully emerging Sudanese nationalist political movements. Soon the result was that there emerged Anglo-Sudanese and Egyptian-Sudanese political alliances behind the walls of the Condominium Administration, with each alliance working hard to undermine the policies of the other in the Sudan until 1956.

But that now the book has been written, mainly from the British viewpoint -British documentary and published sources. Massive Egyptian documentary and published sources on the subject of the Anglo-Egyptian conflict in the Condominium Administration have not been consulted. Moreover even opinions of many outstanding African and Middle Eastern authorities on the study of the Anglo-Egyptian conflict in the Nile Valley have not been incorporated or rejected on grounds of hard facts or discovery of new evidences, the usual



intellectual method of scientific investigation. Finally in conclusion with all available evidences there is every reason to suppose that *Imperial Sudan* has irreversible intellectual error. In that the author, highly obsessed with British Imperial Power and the operations of its institutions, should have also realized the especial 'impact of geo-physical configuration and hydrological conditions of the Nile Valley on the British imperial policy in the Sudan during the condominium period. Principally the Nile waters rather than the Sudan were the major factor in Anglo-Egyptian relations in the condominium.

Gabriel Giet Jal
University of Juba



New from Scarecrow Press—special 20% discount for members of the Sudan Studies Society (UK)

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF THE SUDAN

2nd ed.

(African Historical Dictionaries, 53)

Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban
Richard A. Lobban, Jr.
& John Obert Voll

526 pp. 1992 maps ISBN 0-8108-2547-3 ~~\$62.50~~ special discount price \$50.00

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