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for South Sudan and Sudan

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Front cover photograph: The Corinthia Hotel, Khartoum (originally called the Burg el-Fateh) (Copyright: Derek A. Welsby).

Contents

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Editorial

Welcome to Issue 67 of *Sudan Studies*. We begin with a letter from our chairperson, Gill Lusk, followed by a brief synopsis of the contents. In editing this issue, I was fortunate to have the help of long standing SSSUK member Heywood Hadfield, who took on the task of book review editor in response to my request for help at the recent Symposium. I am very pleased to welcome him on to the editorial team.

Letter from the Chairperson

Happy New Year to you all! Let us hope for a happier and more peaceful year in Sudan and South Sudan in 2023.

After our successful Symposium and Annual General Meeting in October, we hope for more face-to-face events this year. We are delighted to be able to launch Leila Aboulela's latest novel, at SOAS on 6th March at 5pm. The SSSUK President will be present in person to discuss her beautiful new book, which has a distinctly historical flavour. We shall hold the meeting jointly with our long-term partner, the SOAS Centre of African Studies, and we'll circulate more details nearer the date.

We hope for other events this year, as well, whether virtual or "real". During the Symposium, and especially the AGM, a good deal of enthusiasm emerged for SSSUK to hold meetings on various topics, including education and film. We already have a long-term idea to hold seminars/webinars on water in both Sudans. The Committee is fully open to new ideas but we need people to help carry them out! We simply haven't got the person-power to do much more than we already do.

On that note, we are again seeking a Treasurer. Veteran SSSUK member and former Secretary Simon Bush, who was elected to the Committee at the AGM and accepted to be Treasurer, is unfortunately unable to take the post at this time after all, though he will remain on the Committee. We are therefore again asking members if they, or someone they recommend, would be interested. The Committee has decided that it would help to separate the posts of Treasurer and Membership Secretary, for which we already have a volunteer. This would lighten the Treasurer's load and earlier candidates who were deterred by the tasks involved may wish to reapply and are most welcome to.

On a related note, I intend (as already announced over several years!) to step down as Chairperson as soon as feasible. We are therefore seeking candidates for this extremely rewarding post. We shall soon circulate a "job description" by email and I will be happy if anyone wishes to consult me about this. In the

meantime, if anyone feels this is for them, would they please make their interest known to the Committee.

We look forward to your continuing involvement in the Society in the coming year.

Gill Lusk

Issue 67

The issue begins with the obituary of **John Oliver Udal** who died in September 2022 at the age of 96. Many will remember when he was on our Committee, where he was an active member. He was a strong supporter of SSSUK, and had a long personal and family history of work in Sudan dating back to the final days of the Condominium.

We have four articles in this issue. Firstly, **Gill Lusk** presents a lively report of our 2022 Symposium, beautifully illustrated by the photos of **Frédérique Cifuentes Morgan**. The next article is by **Husam El-Mugamar**, a doctor and one of our speakers at the Symposium, who presents his talk for journal readers, 'Patterns and trends in human rights violations in Sudan following the October 2021 Coup'. It is illustrated by some harrowing photographs and charts. The second part of **Douglas H. Johnson**'s 'Border Research 2007 Field Diary' follows (the first part was in the previous issue of the journal). Then **Garth Glentworth** completes his series of articles about his personal experience of delivering development aid in southern Sudan in the 1970's, just after the 1972 peace agreement, 'Training Southern Administrators to Implement the Addis Ababa Agreement'.

We have five book reviews in this issue. The first is a review essay by **Prof. Peter Woodward** of **Berridge** *et al*'s *Sudan's unfinished Democracy: The promise and betrayal of a people's revolution*. His fellow SSSUK committee member **Aly Verjee** reviews **Nyambura Wambugu**'s *Post-Conflict Security in South Sudan: From liberal peacebuilding to demilitarization*. This is followed by **Matthew Benson**'s review of another book about peace and conflict in South Sudan, **Sharath Srinivasan**'s**,** *When Peace Kills Politics: International intervention and unending wars in the Sudans*. **Andrew Wheeler**, another SSSUK committee member, reviews **Christopher Tounsel**'s important work about Christianity in South Sudan, *Chosen Peoples. Christianity and political imagination in South* Sudan, and finally, **Joanna Oyediran**, a first-time reviewer for *Sudan Studies* but long-time SSSUK member, presents a review of **Elizabeth Hodgkin**'s *Letters from Isohe. Life on the edge in a school in South Sudan*. All our reviewers are specialists in their fields and we would like to thank them for their hard work and support for the journal.

Obituary

John Oliver Udal
1926 – 2022

John Udal, devoted servant and student of Sudan and South Sudan, died in September 2022. He was 96. His funeral at Chelsea Old Church was attended by a great throng of family and friends, many of whom, in one way or another, were also linked with Sudan. A number of Sudanese were present. They were of a later generation, but appreciatively aware of his years amongst the Shilluk. It was indeed the end of an era with the passing of one of the very last of that generation whose experience bridged the end of Condominium rule with Sudan's subsequent anguished journey through civil war and separation. All this John felt keenly.

He was at the heart of a family engagement with Sudan and South Sudan that has spanned more than a century. His father, Nicholas Robin Udal, worked in the Sudan Political Service as an educationalist from 1906 until 1930, eventually becoming Warden of Gordon Memorial College (later Khartoum University). John's daughter, Joanna, an Anglican priest, served in Sudan and South Sudan as a mission partner with the Episcopal Church of Sudan from 2001-2009, as Assistant to Archbishop Joseph Marona.

John himself was educated at Winchester College. His education was interrupted by military service at the end of the Second World War, with service in the Irish Guards in Germany and Palestine. After studying Modern History at Oxford, he joined the Sudan Political Service in 1950, serving first in Khartoum, and then until 1954 as Assistant District Commissioner at Kodok amongst the Shilluk.

Joanna summarises those brief but very important years amongst the Shilluk, and their impact upon him:

> His committed service in Upper Nile, as Assistant District Commissioner with responsibility for the Shilluk kingdom, involved

trekking around the villages and court centres, ensuring that justice was administered and the communities' problems addressed. He worked in close cooperation with the Shilluk king (Reth) who became a trusted friend and colleague. He observed at first hand and reflected with concern upon developments which were to lead to the granting of independence to Sudan, prematurely in my father's opinion in view of the absence of safeguards for the South which had earlier been promised. He researched and reflected further on this in his last book, *Munich on the Nile* (2016) in which he considered how different the outcome could have been had Churchill, who knew Sudan, not been away in the US at a critical time in the political discussions. There is a great poignancy as my father describes taking final leave of his Shilluk companions in late 1954. He was well aware of the vulnerable situation in which they were being left. The near 50 years of conflict following independence only confirm his concerns.

His most substantial writing project was his two-volume historical work on the Nile Valley, *The Nile in Darkness: Conquest and Exploration 1504-1862*, published in 1998; and *A Flawed Unity 1863-1899*, which followed in 2005. Both were well received by both the academic community and the Sudanese political community. Professor Robert Collins called these volumes "history in the great tradition of English letters" and Professor Peter Woodward called them "truly a labour of love."

Fittingly John dedicated his second volume "To the Peoples of the Sudan with whom, to our great fortune, the lives of my family became linked."

This warmth was reciprocated by a Sudanese present at this funeral, "His valuable contribution to the Shilluk (Chollo) king will be remembered for ever."

Upon his return from Sudan he was active in a number of charities and in politics, serving as a JP as well as on the London County Council and the Greater London Council. He contested the Leeds South constituency in a parliamentary by-election in 1963. He had a fruitful business career, much of it in the shipping industry. But he remained deeply committed to Sudan and was particularly moved and impacted by the life and witness of the Sudanese Church, especially during the long years of war. He served for many years on the committee of the Sudan Church Association (now CASSS, the Church Association for Sudan and South Sudan) and on the Gordon Memorial Foundation and also on the committee of SSSUK.

His collection of books on Sudan and the region were given to the Fellows' Library at Winchester College, while his Sudan letters, like those of his father, are in the Sudan Archive at Durham University.

He retained his keen interest in Sudan until the end of his life. His wide circle of friends in UK, Sudan and South Sudan, and across the world will remember him for his commitment to long-standing friendship, his warmth and hospitality, his willingness at any time to discuss the details of Sudanese history, his vitality, and his Christian faith.

Joanna Udal & Andrew Wheeler

Joy and Sorrow at the Symposium

Gill Lusk

The most striking thing as people arrived at our Annual Symposium on 8th October 2022 was unbridled joy. Smiles and laughter abounded as old friends and acquaintances found each other. Masks and Covid-19 advice fell by the wayside as people hugged and kissed. Many were meeting for the first time since our last in-person conference, in 2019, long before the Great Lockdown.

All this would not have been possible without the support of the Centre of African Studies at SOAS and its indefatigable head, Angelica Baschiera.

Merriment resounded through the foyer. The long journeys accomplished by many were no mean feat, given that there was a national rail strike that day, part of a series of strikes that caused disruption on surrounding days, too. This inevitably depleted the numbers attending but the Committee is grateful to those who nevertheless travelled from distant places, including not only Birmingham and Manchester but also Madrid, Paris and even Accra. It was a joy and a privilege to be able to facilitate and experience such collective happiness and solidarity.

All this excitement did not however detract from the seriousness of the

Robyn and Adrian Thomas, SSSUK Treasurer, and our former Secretary Jane Hogan (r) welcome guests at registration. (Credit: All photos, Frédérique Cifuentes Morgan).

presentations and discussion at the Symposium programme. We heard first-class talks, and thought-provoking memories and analysis from a range of speakers. Sadly, we were unable to record the sessions, due to a shortage of people with the requisite know-how. We hope that people will step forward to help in this – and other – ways with this year's Symposium.

Some speakers have put their thoughts down on paper, which can be found in this issue of *Sudan Studies*. We hope that others may contribute to future issues.

The meeting started on an intense note, with the challenge of documenting human rights abuses against protesters in the continuing demonstrations against the October 2021 military coup. The session was organised in collaboration with Sudan's Doctors for Human Rights (SDFHR) whose founder, Dr Husam El-Mugamar, detailed with clinical but accessible precision some of the horrors inflicted on the peaceful and unarmed demonstrators. He also explained how many victims, as well as the medics attending them, were afraid to speak out because armed security militia would attack even within hospitals.

Husam El-Mugamar, Azim El-Hassan and Emma DiNapoli discuss human rights.

That is contrary to international law and Emma DiNapoli gave us chapter and verse on the "excessive use of force which could rise to the level of torture" as legally defined. There was no time limit on prosecution, said the human rights lawyer from the Redress Trust, a London-based charity work-

ing on justice and reparation. A lively question-and-answer session benefitted from contributions from the floor from a constitutional lawyer and a Sudanese psychiatrist. Those wishing to learn more should consult the SDFHR and Redress websites.[1]

Committee member Azim El-Hassan chairs the human rights panel, pictured here with speaker Emma DiNapoli.

The serious mood was maintained in the second panel, organised in cooperation with the non-governmental organisation (NGO) Waging Peace.[2] It focussed on Darfur, where attacks on civilians and the destruction of villages have persisted. The media often present these as tribal conflicts but several speakers and questioners made it clear that the attacks were mostly by armed men who were officially controlled or incited. That is the story of the Darfur war since it was launched in the late 1980s.

The impact of such attacks emerged movingly from a short video of the story of one panellist, El Sadiq Mahmoud "Debay", whose Darfur village was destroyed by *Janjaweed* attackers. Economist Abaker Abuelbashar, also from Darfur, summarised the history of the region and the politics that have produced this war over 30 years long. Lastly, Susanne Jaspars, a SOAS research associate and long-standing SSSUK member, described the challenges endured

[1] https://redress.org; https://sdsfhr.com/

[2] https://wagingpeace.info

Committee member Andy Wheeler chairs Darfur panel, with speakers (l-r) Abaker Abuelbasher, El Sadiq "Debay" and Susanne Jaspars.

by those fleeing the war as they struggle with the ever more difficult task of seeking sanctuary in the UK. You will find more details on the Waging Peace website*, including Debay's film.

With the afternoon arrived a different kind of seriousness, but one still swathed in the challenges borne by war and poverty: providing education in South Sudan. The head of Yei Teacher Training College in Equatoria, James Kepo, offered us his long experience on how pupils can gain education in situations of conflict. There are no easy answers, that was clear. Then it was John Benington, Emeritus Professor of Public Policy at Warwick University and the recently retired head of the Friends of Ibba Girls' School, also in Equatoria, who showed us some of what can be done to make progress in education. Another website [3] where readers may follow up their interest.

We ended the gathering with a film, the award-winning "Spider-Man of Sudan". [4] This gripping documentary recounts some of the stories of the mainly young and always courageous people who continue to demonstrate in favour of peace and democracy in Sudan. These protests (documented in "*Sudan Studies*") began with the Revolution in late 2018 and have continued since, albeit on an inevitably lower scale. A member of the film production

[3] https://friendsofibba.org

[4] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I29nMmIm4xM

Susanne Jaspars on the challenges for refugees in Calais.

team, Nareeman Dosa, then responded to a host of questions from a very involved audience. It was a fitting end to a memorable day.

Patterns and Trends of Human Rights Violations in Sudan Following the October 2021 Coup[1]

Husam El-Mugamar*

The healthcare system of Sudan was fragile prior to the coup which interrupted the transition to democracy. Health indicators were already consistently low and enormous disparities existed between urban and rural areas of the country, and between rich and poor citizens. In addition, access to health services remains a big challenge for many Sudanese families. For example, approximately 70% of the population has no access to a health facility within 30 minutes' travel from their home and 80% within one-hour's travel, where travel in rural areas is mostly through rudimentary means of transport.

About 14% of the general population have no access to healthcare at all. Only half of the health facilities themselves are fully staffed by skilled healthcare professionals. In a recent survey, a quarter of children requiring treatment for diarrhoea were provided with potentially life-saving oral rehydration solution.

Women often die in childbirth. Maternal mortality, which refers to deaths due to complications from pregnancy or childbirth, is high, at 295 per 100,000 in 2017 (the UK figure is 7/100,000). The under-five mortality rate in 2020 was 56.6/1,000 live births compared to 4.2/1,000 in the UK. Sudan has always struggled with frequent outbreaks of infectious diseases, including food-borne diarrhoeal disease and tuberculosis, as well as diseases transmitted by mosquitoes, such as malaria and the viral disease chikungunya.

People are hungry. Food insecurity has accelerated enormously in recent years, with almost one-third of the population facing a serious shortage of food. Approximately a third consume contaminated water. Only a quarter of children requiring treatment for diarrhoea were provided with oral rehydration solution. Prior to the coup in October 2021, the situation was further compounded by a health system emerging from the effects of COVID-19, which severely affected the infrastructure and further reduced the number of skilled healthcare staff.

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[1] This article is based on the talk which Dr Husam El-Mugamar gave at the SSSUK Symposium on 8th October 2022. He wishes to thank members of Sudan's Doctors for Human Rights and doctors from the organisation *Hadhreen* for providing information for his talk and article. The accompanying charts are reproduced with permission from *Hadhreen*'s report *The Real Culprit*, October 2022, Khartoum; Arabic and English versions. "*Hadhreen*" means "(We are) Present" or "Ready".

Before the coup, healthcare was improving

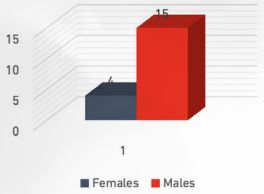
Following the removal from power in 2019 of Sudan's longest-serving dictator, Omar Hassan Ahmed al Bashir, by a popular movement headed by the Freedom and Change alliance, the country was looking forward to a bright future of peace, freedom, and justice. Despite the unprecedented challenges, the new coalition government, which held power along with the military, began to make improvements in all areas of government. Sudan was welcomed back into the international community with open arms and warm promises of debt relief and substantial financial assistance, which was desperately needed.

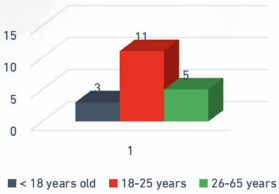
The health budget was significantly increased to meet an ambitious healthcare system recovery plan. In November 2020, the Federal Minister of Health declared that the budget for the year 2020 had tripled compared to the previous year. The civilian-led Ministry showed greater willingness to listen and be accountable to the public it served. Many Sudanese medical experts in the diaspora offered their help to improve training and the provision of services.

Unfortunately, the head of the army, General Abdel Fattah al Burhan, declared martial law and a state of emergency on 21st October 2021. He announced several major changes to the transitional constitutional agreement and these changes have effectively put on hold all aspects of Sudan's unfulfilled dream of democracy and a peaceful existence.

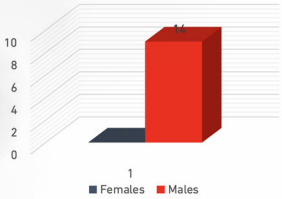
Immediately after the declaration of the *coup d'état*, the towns and cities of Sudan were flooded by people peacefully demonstrating against this unconstitutional move by Burhan and his associates. They were met with an outrageous use of force by the security forces. The number of deaths and injuries peaked immediately after the coup in November 2021, then again in January and in June 2022. The deliberate targeting of peaceful protestors continues unabated till now. Many of those killed and injured are activists individually targeted, while others have been hit amid the indiscriminate use of lethal weapons. By October 2022, an estimated 125 peaceful protestors had been killed and around 6,000 injured, many very seriously. The ages of those who died were: 16% under 18 years; 50% between 18 and 25; another 19% were 25 to 35. The age of some 5% of the victims is unknown. In other words, although older people also demonstrated, most of those who died were young, Sudan's next generation.

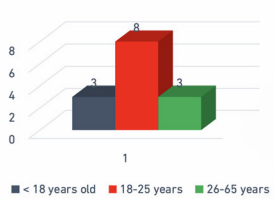
Shockingly, most of the dead – themselves unarmed – were killed by gunfire. According to the statistics compiled by doctors, 81% of the protestors who died had been hit by live ammunition. In 7% of deaths, the use of buckshot was recorded by various organisations and doctors working in the hospitals in Khartoum. Another 5% died when they were directly targeted with



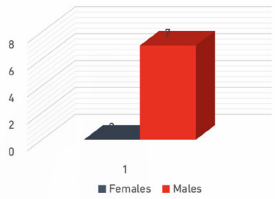


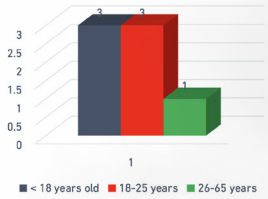
Injuries resulting in amputation of a limb:
14 cases resulted in partial or complete loss/amputation of a limb (3 were under the age of 18 years).
11 cases resulted in amputation of part of an upper limb.
3 cases resulted in above knee amputation.





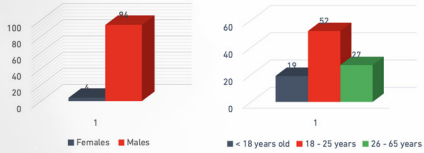
Injuries resulting in the removal of an internal organ:
A total of 7 cases were recorded (3 were under the age of 18 years).
7 cases resulted in removal of the spleen/kidney.

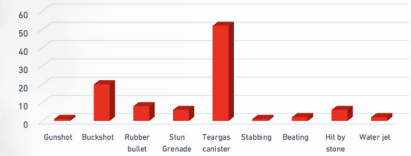




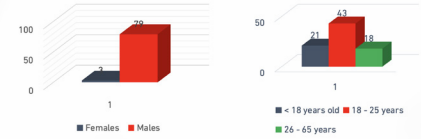
Page 6 of a 'Summary of injuries requiring significant medical or surgical intervention'. (Credit: Reproduced with permission from Hadhreen's 2022 report The Real Culprit. Documentary report on the violations against peaceful protestors in the period between the 25th of October 2021 and the 4th of August 2022, October 2022, *Khartoum. Arabic and English versions).*

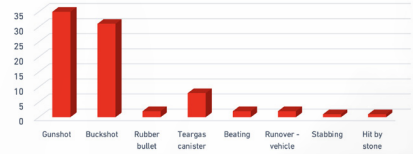
Injuries to the eyes:
98 injuries in total.
12 injuries requiring surgical removal of the injured eye.
7 injuries resulted in loss of vision in the injured eye.
5 injuries resulted in partial loss of vision requiring correction using glasses.
All cases require regular ongoing follow up.





Injuries to the abdomen:
90 injuries in total.
6 injuries required admission to an intensive care unit (ICU).
7 injuries resulted in complete or partial removal of the spleen or kidney.
6 martyrs sadly passed away.





Page 10 of a 'Summary of injuries requiring significant medical or surgical intervention' (Credit: as above).

tear-gas cannisters. Several more, 3%, were run over by the security forces' vehicles and 1% were stabbed.

The wounds were meticulously documented, which is no easy task in such circumstances, and 9% of peaceful protestors killed had been hit in multiple areas of their bodies. Many victims were injured by a direct hit to a vital body part, mostly the head and neck. No fewer than 38% of the deaths of protestors were caused by injuries to the head; 8% to the neck; 36%, chest, 9% by gunshot wounds in several parts of the body. The types of fatal injury indicated the deliberate targeting of peaceful demonstrators, targeted while exercising their right to protest. In international law, this constitutes a grave human rights violation.

Security forces also committed sexual violence. Thirteen females and two males were reported to have been sexually assaulted. Many protestors suffered the loss of limbs, eyes and vital organs. Eleven peaceful protestors have been left paralysed, with life-long disabilities. Many were also mentally traumatised and require professional help. However, mental health services in Sudan were unprepared and ill-equipped to deal with such a situation.

Attacks on healthcare facilities, ambulances and patients increased significantly after the coup. The pressure on healthcare services and healthcare workers was enormous. The United Nations World Health Organisation (WHO) distributed around 800 emergency kits in Khartoum to help with treating injured demonstrators. The COVID-19 vaccination programme was disrupted. Instead of firing into the air, security forces bombarded protestors directly with tear gas cannisters and raided health facilities with complete disregard to both national and international laws that protect healthcare facilities during conflict, let alone in civilian situations. Hospitals were searched and injured protestors were abducted. This meant that many injured demonstrators were afraid to go for vital treatment. Healthcare facilities were surrounded, blocking both staff and patients from access. Lethal fire was deployed in the vicinity of hospitals. Physical and psychological assaults, intimidation and threats to staff were common. Within the first six months after the coup, some 30 attacks on healthcare systems were recorded using the WHO surveillance system.

Morgues overflowing

More recently, in January 2023, a group of forensic medical doctors expressed their deep concern about "the *de facto*" government of Sudan's handling of accumulated bodies in the morgues of Khartoum and Wad Medani since 2019. They said this was the result of the decision to ban autopsies and burials, issued by the committee tasked to investigate people's disappearance, which had been appointed by the Attorney General. This had left thousands of corpses for

This man was shot in the back and neck; an X ray of his injuries. (unknown photographer).

several years in morgues with inadequate infrastructure and capacity, and that constituted a gross violation of their dignity and of the rights of the families of the victims. They condemned the decision to prevent post-mortems and burials, which goes against ethical, medical and legal standards. Additionally, they emphasised that no institution should be given power solely to decide on such a sensitive matter without consulting the Ministry of Health, the Forensic Medicine Authority and the key stakeholders. They recommended that all unidentified bodies be dealt with in well-equipped morgues, in accordance with the generally accepted professional standards. They added that the technical

The security forces on the streets during the protests. (unknown photographer).

and legal standards that guarantee the identification of bodies and that determine the causes of death must prevail, thereby ensuring that the perpetrators can be tracked down and held accountable. They concluded that what had

happened in the morgues of Khartoum and Gezira states showed negligence, a lack of professionalism and a lack of transparency.

We who are concerned with the deteriorating human rights situation in Sudan call for an immediate halt to all violations against peaceful protestors. We wish to end impunity, defend the human rights defenders, support Sudanese and international organisations that are working in the prevention and monitoring of human rights violations, and provide secure access to victims, families and communities to enable support from national and international aid agencies. It is also important to support training for members of human rights organisations in Sudan.

We seek immediate access for independent teams of investigators into the current human rights violations all over the country. Such investigators must be provided with adequate logistical support. All obstacles to investigation should be removed and attempts to hide evidence of human rights violations ended. Support is needed to develop a clear and transparent action plan for the above, with clear lines of accountability and civilian oversight. Transitional justice needs to be at the heart of everything and in the minds of all stakeholders. Sudanese need access to healthcare and the victims of these atrocities and their families need support. The leading goals of the revolution are freedom, peace and justice. One young martyr, Adul Alzim, had posted in his social media account: "We are exhausted my friend but we can't rest in the middle of the battle."

*Husam El-Mugamar, LRCP & LRCS Edinburgh, FRCPath., is a Consultant Microbiologist and Infection Control Doctor at Barnet Hospital-Royal Free, London. His main expertise is the control of multidrug-resistant micro-organisms. He founded the organisation Sudan's Doctors for Human Rights.

Border Research 2007 Field Diary
Part Two

Douglas H. Johnson*

Preface

This is the second part of the author's field diary of his trip to South Sudan in 2007; the first part was published in the last issue of *Sudan Studies*.[1]

In 2007 Douglas was hired by the Government of South Sudan (GOSS) to assist Southern members of the North-South Boundary Technical Committee (NSBC) researching what would become the new international boundary between Sudan and South Sudan, running along the northern borders of the old Bahr el-Ghazal and Upper Nile provinces.

22nd February 2007, Malakal-Bentiu

Riek had arranged for Abd al-Azim to drive back to Khartoum in convoy with another government car, and they were set to leave at 9am. Joseph, the United Nations Mission to Sudan (UNMIS) transport manager had told us to show up at the airport at 10:15am, but as we couldn't be sure of getting a lift from town, we showed up at 9 (the airport was as good a place to wait as any). So Abd al-Azim dropped us there and went on. Driving up to the airport by day I was able to recognize some old landmarks. I couldn't find Buth Diu's old house by the main road (with 'Buth Diu' spelled out in metal work on the gate), perhaps it has disappeared. The old *laconda* is now being used by one of the many army units in town. The pre-fab A-frame house that a German veterinarian brought in from Kenya and put up on the airport road in 1976 is still there, I think, though the veranda and louvered windows all seem to have been bricked up. Tang Ginya's men are stationed close to the airport. Riek did not think they would move north.

The airport building does seem to be new, but I couldn't tell whether it is completely new, or just that the inside has been renovated and modernised. Instead of the old concrete benches where people used to lay out their luggage for inspection, the ground floor is fully tiled, top and bottom, with glass topped tables and padded chairs. There are air conditioning vents in the ceiling, but a sign on the air conditioner reads 'Warning: Please do not turn on the air conditioner.' There are also two gates behind glass walls and sliding doors, numbered 6 and 7. There was a small cafeteria counter selling tea only. *Moya* was *mafi*, and Pepsi was *sukhn (kullu)*. There were a number of flights of

[1] *Sudan Studies* 66, July 2022, 39-66

different sizes going in different directions (including our jet of Sunday going on to Juba and Entebbe). Various Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) personnel, some Sudanese individuals and families, a contingent of Sikhs in UNMIS blue turbans.

I felt that we were likely to get on the flight to Bentiu when Joseph asked me whether we were coming back today as well (he wouldn't ask if we weren't leaving). In the end room had been made for us: I don't know who had been bumped off, but fellow passengers included three Indian soldiers (with extravagant 19th century mustachios), a Kenyan policeman, two or three other *khawajat*, and four other Sudanese. It was a Ukrainian helicopter: rather more advanced than the ones that flew us around Abyei. It had a video monitor, with a camera mounted underneath the nose, and one of the flight engineers worked it, scanning the ground beneath us, sometimes focusing closing on a village or section of road or river as we flew along. We had a better view through the video screen than through our windows.

Arrived at Rubkona. No one to meet us as they had been told we were not on the flight (which was true, in so far as we were put on the flight at the last minute and our names did not appear on the flight manifest). But we got a lift from a UN driver to the Rubkona County Commissioner's office, and a lift from there to Bentiu (about 7 km away). The roads here are broad, but not particularly smooth (the shortest route into Bentiu was being regraded, so we couldn't use that). There is an older section of Bentiu town (brick buildings), but the rest of the area looks as if it is only just being built from the ground up. I suspect some of the new government offices (raised a couple of feet above the ground on cement supports) were built either by Talisman, Petronas, or one of the other oil companies. A number of *shai beits* and eating places dotted around. On the road from Rubkona there is a large sign outside a small *shai beit* announcing 'Lake No Cazino', and in Bentiu one straw *rakuba* advertises itself as the 'Touristy Cafeteria'.

Had a pleasant reception from Taban Deng Gai. He had sent someone to Malakal awhile back, and he had managed to bring back a couple of files. I showed him the pictures of the Malakal storeroom, and he chuckled. "You know the Nuer way", he explained, "We laugh when we see something surprising." Taban then sent us off for lunch (at his brother's tent hotel/restaurant/bar – by this time I was quite thirsty, having absent-mindedly packed my water bottle in my rucksack before we left Malakal), and then we went to the Land Commission office. One of the people there was Angelo Tiger, whom I had last met in Nairobi when I was working with Department of International Development (DfID)'s SSAJ (Safety, Security and Access to Justice) project. He and Cuol Deng, the head of the Land Commission had only that day found

some files tossed out of one of the older government buildings that has been gutted to be renovated. One of the files brought from Malakal was the Upper Nile Province Handbook for 1939. A copy was sent to Khartoum in 1939, but I don't remember offhand whether it is in the National Record Office (NRO) or not. I don't recall seeing it: it is quite detailed, especially for the Northern District (then Shilluk, Dinka, Uduk and Mabaan). I managed to successfully scan the whole thing in the evening – though the descriptions of the district boundaries are not as helpful as we had hoped.

Tiger and Cuol Deng took us to where this unexpected treasure was, and we started sorting out the files from the large cardboard box where they were stored. I pointed out which were the old 'Sudan Government' files on which we should concentrate (clearly identifiable for having stiffer covers, and 'Sudan Government' emblazoned on them). We recovered a dozen or so – none particularly useful for the boundaries project, but it is heartening to be able to rescue **something**.

Saw John Young in town (we last saw each other in Brussels in 2002). He had come into the Land Commission office briefly while we were there. "I thought it must be you", he said, "You are the only one who could be asking questions no one else can understand" [meaning **he** didn't understand]. A slightly back-handed compliment. He is studying improvements in security. He says that it **has** improved, and that ironically the shootout in Malakal has acted as a catalyst to improving it. Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) saw that the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) under Paulino could have wiped them out if they wanted. This has sobered them up. The focus of attention on the implementation of the CPA is now shifting out of the South and into the North, where borders, census, elections are now seen as the main stumbling blocks to implementation.

We've been placed in the Rubkona base camp next to the airport. This was originally for White Nile Petroleum Company (WNPOC) oil workers, but I think it is now used by the road building team. Air conditioned containers with electricity and working plumbing. The air conditioning is too cold, but it gets shut off at midnight. Meal times are early and short, so we will have to get up quickly if we want breakfast.

Riek went into Bentiu after dinner, leaving me to my scanning. He came back and said there was a curfew on in town, which means some 'difficulty' among the people of the State. He didn't enquire further.

23rd February 2007, Bentiu

Went first to find Sultan Jau of the Awet Dinka in his homestead. He appeared in his hut still dressed in his nightgown *jallabiya*, talking on a cell phone. We sat

and talked a short time. More people knocked on his gate and he sent his son – who was also talking on a cell phone – to let them in. Claimed not to know anything about the boundaries.

Then went to the Land Commission where Cuol Deng had arranged for us to talk to some Awet chiefs. This was held in a *rakuba* within the Land Commission's *hosh* (more and more people kept on coming into the *rakuba* during our conversation: it reminded me of a scene from the Marx Brothers' 'A Night at the Opera'). Riek began by asking them questions in English, then translating the questions in to Nuer, and waiting for Cuol Deng to translate into Dinka. I asked if the chiefs could speak Nuer. Riek said no. I suggested, then, that perhaps he could dispense with the Nuer and just ask his questions in English. The interview went a little smoother then.

Tor Abot Kuol (Kuok section of Pariang) and Wuor Thonyjok (also of Kuok) were both wearing hats that looked more like cowboy hats than the standard old-style Sudanese bush hats that chiefs used to be issued with. Tor Abot said he remembered the English District Commissioner (DC)s who had been here when he was a young man. I asked him to name them. The first one was 'Tongpiny' – [J. H. T.] Wilson. "Was this the Wilson who was stabbed with a spear here?" I asked, patting my backside. They laughed. "Yes, and the woman who stabbed him was the wife of the brother of one of those present".

After that we went to the office of the Secretary General of the State, Wang Mut (a Bul from Mayom), who was there with his wife, a very large woman named Nyantier Chatip, as well as another Bul Nuer, William Tip, who is adviser to the governor on border relations with Bahr el-Ghazal. When he heard I had written about the Nuer, he asked if I had written a *Manual of Nuer Law*. No, that was P. P. Howell. Did I know the book by the lady, *Nuer Dilemmas*?[2] Yes, I did. He had met Sharon (Hutchinson) at Wunlit and she had given him a copy but he lost it before he could read it. Did I agree with it? Agree with which part of it? The title. He didn't like the word dilemmas. That implied indecisiveness, and the Nuer were not indecisive.

Then went to John Juan Duong's office in the Western Upper Nile Development Corporation. He gave us more information about the notes he had taken (he kept on saying Sudan Notes and Records, but he really meant the National Records Office). He began reading out a section from Coriat. I rec-

[2] P. P. Howell 1954. *A Manual of Nuer Law: Being an account of customary law, its evolution and development in the courts established by the Sudan Government.* Re-published by Routledge in 2020;
Sharon E. Hutchinson 1996. *Nuer Dilemmas. Coping with money, war, and the state.* University of California Press.

ognised the passage, because it is in both *Governing the Nuer* and the *Upper Nile Province Handbook*.[3] He was surprised (and amused) that I had edited *Governing the Nuer*. He had found it for sale in the outdoor market in Khartoum and thought it looked like a very old book!

John was reading out to others some notes he made from the NRO about Bilkwei, how the Jikany were afraid of him ('this is us', he laughed), and how Bilkwei had made himself feared using a mirror and matches he brought back after the Mahdiyya. They all laughed at this.

Lunch of grilled chicken, rice, and bread brought to John's office in styrofoam boxes.

In Bentiu and Malakal, as well as Juba, one is automatically served with plastic bottles of cold water and even of soda, before being offered tea or coffee. Most of the bottled water comes from Khartoum. It is advertised as 'natural' but 'purified' (by ozone) rather than spring water.

I tried to find out if there was a place I could get internet access. The only place is the UNICEF office in Rubkona, but I won't get there this evening. The telephone network in Rubkona is unreliable.

Riek says we are booked on the 9am flight from Tharjiath airport one hour's drive from Bentiu. So it will be an early start tomorrow, if the driver shows up. But the driver abandoned Riek in town and he had to get a taxi back to Rubkona. It looks like it will be another cliff-hanger.

24th February 2007, Bentiu–Khartoum

No driver in the morning, so we got a lift to Bentiu from the camp security, and eventually set off in the Secretary General's pick up. The road to Tharjiath is broad, but not paved. Power lines stretch to the oil fields along the road and beyond, but don't go to Bentiu. Passed the camp of the Great Wall Drilling Company. The WNPOC airport is just murram. The plane landed about ten minutes after we arrived. Chinese, Malaysian, and Sudanese workers got off and got on. Plane flown by Bluebird Airlines (with Concord as their logo), a twin engine Beech 1900c Airliner very like (if not exactly like) the planes that fly between Denver and Santa Fe.

Abd al-Azim was waiting for us at the airport. We went first to the Palace to get our MOPs (Memorandum of Passage) while Abd al-Azim and I waited

[3] Percy Coriat 1993. *Governing the Nuer. Documents in Nuer History and Ethnography, 1922-31*, Douglas H. Johnson ed., JASO Occasional Papers No. 9, Oxford, JASO, now available from Africa World Press.
C. A. Willis *et al.* 1995. *The Upper Nile Province Handbook: A Report on Peoples and Government in the Southern Sudan, 1931*, Oriental and African Archives 3, Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy.

in the car outside. Then went to UNMIS to try to confirm our booking for tomorrow, but told to come back after 4. Came back after 4 and found the booking office closed. We'll just have to go to the airport early tomorrow morning and hope we can squeeze on. But I don't have much hope.

Managed to get to a cyber-*café* to check emails: it took me a half an hour just to clear spam and trash.

In the evening went to see John Wicjaal in his house in Khartoum North. It is full of his children and grandchildren. He was limping from his operation but otherwise was very much like he was when we last saw each other in 1982. Gave him a copy of *Governing the Nuer* and promised him a copy of *Nuer Prophets*.[4]

25th February 2007, Khartoum

Went to the main departure lounge at the airport before 7. Told to go to UNMIS. Went to UNMIS. Told to go back to the airport where there is a separate UN terminal. Found out we were not on the flight manifest. Went back to UNMIS after 9 to try to get on the flight manifest for tomorrow. This time reception would not even let us through to the office. Would not accept our MOPs. I pulled out the copy of Luka's letter to UNMIS in Juba. That was better, but told to come back tomorrow. Took the letter and the MOPs back, as this wouldn't help.

Went to the airport and found that Badr Airlines have a flight to Wau tomorrow. Made a booking. Came back in the afternoon and paid and were given tickets, but weren't told when to check in as they weren't sure . They later rang Riek and told us to show up for check in at 4am! Another short night.

Muhammad (Wada'allah) has made it to Wau on his own and rang Riek. We told him we should be there tomorrow. Garang [Diing] also made it to Aweil and rang Riek. He seems to think that we should be able to get to Aweil overland if UNMIS will not help over the flight. It is the getting out of Aweil and back to Juba that bothers me. I don't want to go back via Khartoum and get stuck here (UNMIS won't help, and we have yet to have any assistance from GOSS either).

Managed to get to the Sudan Library at the University of Khartoum and went through some of the *Gazettes* Durham didn't have. Found nothing new.

Tried calling Luka on his Gemtel number, but it seems to be turned off.

26th February 2007, Khartoum–Wau

Got up at 3:45, got to airport by 4:30, was told the plane for Wau was not

[4] *Governing the Nuer* (ibid); Douglas H. Johnson 1994. *Nuer Prophets*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

checking in yet. Checked in by 5am. Large number of people waiting to go to Juba in departure area. A number of children, all dressed in their best clothes (especially the little girls, who looked as if they were going to a party).

Saw Peter Adwok Nyaba. He was just arriving from a conference in Djibouti.

Before boarding a security man insisted on seeing my passport. This is the first time anyone has checked. He complained that it hadn't been stamped. Explained that I had come in through Juba on official business (the visa does at least say 'official business' on it) – in fact, I believe it was stamped in Juba, just that the stamp is very faint.

Plane to Wau was a chunky Russian twin-engine propeller plane (I don't know what make). The corridor was so narrow and low it was more like getting into a submarine than an airplane. Only two windows in the passenger cabin. Felt like a flying coffin.

Arrived Wau about 9am. Buildings around landing strip dilapidated, some in ruins. Three crashed civilian cargo planes on the side of the landing strip. Got a ride into the State Headquarters (Hq).

Have vague memory of old Province Hq. The main building was built in 1909, three others added later to form an inner court yard. Taken to the Secretary General's office first. TV on to CNN – mainly news about the Oscars.

Then went to see the Governor, Mark Nyipuoch Ubong. He was very hospitable. Also very incensed about the occupation of Kafia Kingi by South Darfur (now occupied by *janjaweed*). He confirmed that files were burned by George Kongor in 1991, but when various clerks were brought in they reported that only the damaged files (rats, water) were disposed of. A number were rescued, these were the ones Severino Matti tried to make into an archive. They were not put in a separate building, and the government didn't support him, so the project ended.

We found the files in a store room next to the media office. Brought out to the veranda. Mainly recent (1980s+) files, but some old ones. Found a Rizeigat-Dinka file from the 1940s, a Kafia Kingi file from the 1940s, and Chatterton's 1949 Handing Over Notes for Raga. Took these to be scanned. The problem was that the files towards the bottom were the ones that had continued to deteriorate and were badly eaten by termites.

Many are beyond salvaging. When the governor saw this he said, "Oh, I am sorry. If I had been told a year ago these were here, I could have saved them."

Later went to the Wau County Hq and looked at the stored files there. These were in better condition, but also too recent. Introduced to the County Commissioner, Lt. Col. Anthony Charles. He looked at me and asked, "Douglas from Ayod?" He had been in Ayod when I visited there in 1990!

Wau Archives: Governor Mark Nyipuoch Ubong (in patterned shirt) between DHJ and Riek Degoal (in black suit). (Credit: All photos copyright Douglas H. Johnson).

The Wau rest house we are put in, next to the State Hq, is quite splendid. It is situated on the Jur river bank (in fact, right next to the Jur River Bridge and the army camp there). There is one central building that contains the restaurant, bar, and small lounge. They've taken pains to decorate it in a '*safari*' style, with a stuffed crocodile on the wall, some water pipes decorating the area, and benches, table and bookshelf made out of dugout canoes in the lounge. There is also an IT room and WiFi internet connection. The main bedrooms are in brick houses with their own enclosed *verandas* and large bathrooms. There are also some tents. Quite luxurious. Riek and I put in one of the brick rooms – very spacious compared to the container we shared in Rubkona.

The management of the rest house ('Wau River Lodge') seems to be English-Kenyan and French, while the staff are Kenyan. Bar has beer and wine (and spirits). Had one beer before dinner.

Went to UNMIS to find out about the flight to Aweil tomorrow. They are able to put us on it. But if we want to get on a flight from Wau to Juba we need to get the Juba office to book us but notify Khartoum. Have tried to contact UNMIS in Juba by email, but not much success (Pascal is 'out of office', some delay in delivering my message to Diane, and no response from Luka and Deng Deng to follow up).

Able to scan part of the Rizeigat-Malwal file on our *veranda* before going to bed.

27th February 2007, Wau-Aweil

Another slight cliff-hanger in the morning. We had told Muhammad's driver to pick us up at 8, so that we could check in at the UN terminal at 8:20. He arrived at 8:10, minus Muhammad, who had decided not to come. But when we got to UNMIS there was plenty of waiting after we produced our MOPs. Aircraft was a Pakistani helicopter, and fellow passengers were Kenyan, Canadian, Chinese and Indian soldiers. Flight to Aweil took about 45 minutes.

Aweil is a very pleasant looking place. Like Wau it has a lot of mango trees. Although the roads are not paved in either town, they are in better condition than in Juba. Lots of dust in both places, and the sky has been permanently overcast.

We were picked up by a car sent by the Executive Secretary (Ibrahim Khalifa Bilal, a Jur from Rumbek who has been here since 1993). We have been placed in the Ministry of Education's Teachers Guest House – which after Wau looked decidedly unpleasant, especially the latrine. There were six teachers from the Sudan Open University already in residence, but they were leaving for Dilling today. As it turned out, the place wasn't so bad. Garang Diing showed up (he had been visiting family outside Wau), and we three shared one room. Paid extra for them to buy fuel for the generator so that it could go to 11pm in order for me to continue scanning documents (in fact, they turned it off at 10).

The governor is Madut Biar Yol, who used to live in London and bought books from me at the SSSUK conferences. Like Deng Deng Yai in Juba, he wears Nigerian dress (Nigerian fashions for men seem to be getting popular, as I've seen a number of persons here similarly attired). Madut had a wooden plaque on his desk in the shape of the Sudan with the legend: 'Churche of the Nazarene for Gid did not send his son into the world to condemn the world but to save the world through him. John 3.17 God's way of Salvation.'

We had lunch at the governor's house (and dinner there later in the evening). The deputy governor is Salva Chol Ayat. When I found out that both he and Madut came from Nyamlell, I asked if this was Nyamlell domination. Salva laughed, and repeated the question to Madut, and they both laughed.

Spoke to a very knowledgeable retired *bash katib* here (Lino Uchalla Nyibango). Went through some filing cabinets and established that the files of the numbers we want (and especially for the years we want) do not exist.

Another ex-Londoner here is Macham Macham, a former librarian at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and friend of Bona's.

Lots of bicycles in Aweil, as in Wau.

Walked through the suk in the evening. Past a well-kept brick Catholic church. The 7th Day Adventists are also in Aweil. The *suk* was very busy, lots of women in brightly coloured *tobs*, but also a number with *louas* worn over their dresses (though doubt these called *loua* in Aweil), or just wearing dresses. Saw a sign for the SANU (Sudan African National Union) office (Aweil its original home) – the Arabic was just Sanu as a word, not initials. Saw a sign over a little grass shack offering office rental space and took a picture.

Tito's Rental Office: Tito, Riek Degoal, Garang Diing Akong.

The owner turned out to be a man named Tito whom Garang knew. We sat down and had tea. Tito is a Canadian citizen, having moved to Ottawa, where his family is: wife, three children, mother-in-law, three sisters-in-law, a brother-in-law and his wife and children.

Anders Hastrup [son of a Danish anthropologist friend of Wendy's] managed to find us (I had left an email message while using the IT room in the State Hq). He explained what the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) was trying to do in Aweil. Riek asked, "Are we getting all these services here because you were kicked out of Darfur?" Anders laughed and said that the NRC had planned to do this anyway, they had just got more staff as a result of being kicked out of Darfur.

After dinner with the governor I set up the scanner on my bed and scanned files we brought from Wau until the generator was shut off.

28th February 2007, Aweil-Wau

Went to another office in the County Council, but found it contained no files. Had another talk with Madut Biar, who then provided a car for us to drive back to Wau.

Had breakfast at Macham Macham's house. Heard there that the Misseriya from Kordofan had showed up on the border heavily armed (they said including with artillery) demanding to be allowed to graze in Bahr el-Ghazal. Hereika Izz ed-Din (who had testified (to the ABC (Abyei Boundaries Commission) in Muglad in 2005 and is now the S. Kordofan rep. on the N-S Boundary Commission) had called Khartoum demanding that they be allowed to cross into Bahr el-Ghazal. Riek commented that in the 1990s when the Misseriya used to come into WUNP (Western Upper Nile Province) through Rupnyagai, they used to first insist that they leave their weapons stored behind. They would get them back if they behaved, but if they attacked any civilians, they would lose their weapons and be attacked, too. This seemed to keep them quiet when they were in the District.

We had planned to leave by 10am. But first a small problem with the car had to be fixed. Then the driver explained that as he had only just driven the governor back from Khartoum, he was too tired to go to Wau, and another driver had to be found. Then the car had to be fuelled. After that we had to find a security person to go with us, and then wait for a medical person who was coming as a passenger to Wau. All bags had to be taken out of the back and tied on to the roof rack to make room for the extra passenger. We set off for the *suk* to get some bottled water and biscuits. Once there we were then hemmed in by a pick-up bringing two more passengers – both medics. As one was a lady, the security man offered to sit in the back while she sat in front. So we were pretty packed, with one passenger in front, Riek and myself in the middle, and two other passengers and the security man crammed in the back. Riek wore his SPLA uniform.

The road was ok, but bumpy, and I felt a bit queasy. The Aweil to Wau road is all on the ironstone plateau and runs through woodland and teak forests. A number of roadside markets and villages being rebuilt along the way.

Got to Wau in about 4 hours. The French manageress (Samira) had managed to forget that we had booked our return and gave our room to someone else. So we were shifted to a block that is still under renovation, but the shower, toilet and electricity worked, so that was all right. Other guests included a de-mining team (who are not too happy with their SPLA counterparts who,

so they claim, sit under trees with their AKs waiting for the mines to come to them), some English teachers teaching English to the JIT (Joint Integrated Team) unit (having been only to Khartoum, Soba and Wau, they seemed a bit clueless about the rest of Sudan). Various other UN/NGO workers from Kenya and Uganda, and a couple of middle-aged white South Africans who seemed firmly planted at the bar.

After dinner spent most of the night scanning the remaining Wau files so that we could return them to the governor before we left.

1st March 2007, Wau-Rumbek

As it is clear from emails received we will get no help from UNMIS in Juba about a flight out of Wau, we have decided to drive to Rumbek and hope we can get a flight from there. If not, then push on to Juba.

Had another meeting with Paul Hassan Dimo who informed us they had been in RT (Radio Telephone) contact with Raga, who told them that all files had been destroyed in 'the Raga Incident' (when the SPLA briefly took Raga). Paul also handed over to us some individual reports that had been salvaged and kept by a former Bash Katib, Fabio Yukwai.

We went to see Fabio, who lived in a small brick house near the Catholic church compound. When I got out of the car the children in the neighbourhood greeted me with shouts of "Buna! 'Buna!" ('*abuna*': priest). This was (prompted by) either my beard or my perpetual air of sanctity.

Fabio Yukwai is from Kangi, 44 miles from Wau on the Aweil Road (it was the first big settlement we passed on our way here yesterday). His birth is registered as 1932, but he thinks he was born in 1937, as this was the same year his brothers went to school. He is currently suffering from a pain from his hips on down, which means he can't stand up straight. No medicines seem to help. He served as a clerk in Aweil, Raga and Wau, until 1964 when he was arrested on suspicion of supporting the Anyanya and sent North. He had a very clear memory of the filing system, and even of where the files used to be kept (I know **exactly** how he feels). He has several children by about three or four wives. One of his daughters greeted us by kneeling on both knees to shake our hands. One son is in the SPLA, another is a tank driver for the army in Khartoum, yet another is a police driver in Khartoum, and one daughter lives in the US with her husband. Riek suggested that he was entitled to join his daughter in the US and get treatment for his medical complaint. He didn't seem to take that seriously.

I scanned Fabio's papers, so that they could be returned to him.

The governor gave us the use of a car, with a driver, Umberto Gregory (pronounced Gu-re-GORY), assistant driver, Robert Peter, and a Police Bash

Shawish named Simon Taban. The *bash shawish* sat in front with his AK47. He has a very mild manner, very easy to get on with, very un-police like. As yesterday Riek wore his SPLA uniform. He explained that it was rather tedious to have to wear it, as it came with obligations (such as saluting the governor, which he did before we left Aweil, but had not done so when he was dressed in civies). But it was a precaution for the road.

Set off for Rumbek via Tonj. The going is still on the ironstone plateau, through some woodland. After Tonj the road descended into a slight depression and wide grass plain – much more like those I am used to in Upper Nile and Jonglei. It took us about 6 hours to get to Rumbek. It was after six, but still light. All the airline offices were closed. We decided to take a room at the Palms camp – a much more swish affair than Afex, in that the rooms are all air conditioned *ensuite* containers, plus a double-decker central bar constructed around a large doleib palm and other trees (thus the name). Delta Connection has moved their office from Afex to Palms, so we hoped we might get onto a flight if we tried early enough.

I was greeted by Mustapha Biong, a former Radio Juba man when I was in the Regional Ministry of Culture and Information, now in the Ministry of Information, who had attended my lecture on Abyei. He is here with a committee to investigate a currency scandal (Riek explained that the governor, Daniel Awet, had collected up *dinars* prior to their being withdrawn next July, and had burned them. There had been a riot in town as people were left confused whether the dinar could still be used in Rumbek or not: our experience is that it can. (In fact the newspaper report in Juba was that he had confiscated old Sudanese pounds on the grounds that they might be counterfeit).

2nd March 2007, Rumbek-Juba

Two flights took off while we were having breakfast: the Marsland flight to Juba (they fly in at the late afternoon and stay the night before returning to Juba – something we did not know), and another company flying to Yei and Kurmuk. We then found out the Delta Connection flight was full. No other flights to Juba until Monday, so we decided to push on at least as far as Yei today. Umberto's and Simon's faces were a study in respectful disbelief when Riek told them where we were going: they had been told that they were needed only to go to Rumbek and back. But they made no objection, and we loaded up and got off by about 9am. Riek was not in uniform (having expected to fly). Filled up the tank with two jerry cans of benzine bought in the market (for 20,000 *dinars*) before setting off.

Like the road from Aweil to Rumbek, this is new territory to me. The road was quite reasonable most of the way to Yei. Very similar countryside up to

Douglas on the road at Mvolo.

Mvolo. Mvolo is a biggish town (from what I saw of it from the roadside). A large road sign announcing distances (75 miles to Rumbek, 237 miles to Yei). We stopped to get something to drink. The *duka* we stopped at had a large freezer inside, from which the boy (named Mur Atak) tending the store produced reasonably cold drinks. I asked for tea, but because Riek was so insistent that I be given tea with only one spoonful of sugar, somehow the tea was never brought by the time we left.

There is a 'Mvolo River Lodge' somewhere in town (so a sign painted on a rock told us). All along the way we saw rather extravagantly named *shai beits* and *dukas*, such as the 'Royal Guest Entertainment Club and Bar', or the 'Executive Hotel' and 'Havana Club' (both restaurants) in Yei.

Somewhere along the line we entered a new currency zone. We stopped at another *shai beit* at the junction of the Juba and Yei roads. While Simon Taban and Umberto enquired about the condition of the Juba road, Riek and I had some tea. There were two large (empty) Ugandan lorries parked nearby. When Riek asked for the cost of the tea, the tea lady asked, "Uganda?" "La, Sudani. Dinar." After a bit she calculated a suitable exchange rate and we paid in *dinars*.

As we got closer to Yei the countryside got hillier and there were a number of small streams to cross, some spanned by newly repaired bridges, some by not so new bridges. There were a number of derelict vehicles littering the

roadside (including one long-abandoned bulldozer). At one place there was a recently overturned lorry, with the assistant driver patiently gathering up spilled packets of sugar (we noticed that the crates of beer had already been neatly stacked on the road, and it didn't look as if a single bottle had been broken). At another stream the old bridge had been blown and was just in the process of being repaired, while a temporary embankment led down into and across the stream. There a trailer lorry had overturned, with the front half falling onto one side and the trailer onto the other side of the embankment. The cargo of this lorry also included crates of beer, and these, too, had been stacked up neatly on the road.

Overturned lorry near Yei with salvaged beer crates.

I guessed that the last time I went along this road was in 1972 when we went from Yei up to Maridi and Yambio.

We got into Yei about 7, just as it was getting dark. We looked for some place to eat and found one that advertised 'chips & beef'. It had electricity and a TV tuned to CNN. When the bill came, this, too, was quoted in Uganda shillings. The waitress didn't know what it would be in *dinars*. Riek tried to ask her what it would be in dollars, so that he could make the conversion from dollars to *dinars*. Finally the cashier was brought, and after a while came up with a figure for *dinars*.

There is also a stratification of bottled water. In Renk, Malakal, Bentiu, Aweil and even Wau it comes mostly from Khartoum. Rumbek has its own bottling plant, 'Nile Springs', which advertises 'natural mineral water', except the water is purified and then has minerals added to it. At the Palms Mustapha Biong was eager to buy bottled water from the bar, "because it is so much cheaper here than in Juba". But in Yei and Juba, Ugandan Rwenzori 'pure natural mineral water' predominates.

(The only source for beer, however, is East Africa, with Kenya and Uganda supplying, but no more coming in from the DRC. Whereas a bottle in Juba might cost 500 *dinars*, in Wau it cost 600 the first night I was there, and had jumped to 900 two days later).

Umberto was willing to push on to Juba, so we set off at about 8pm. There were a number of police check points (just a pole across the road) along the way, which our *bash shawish* was able to negotiate (even the final checkpoint into Juba where a number of other lorries and cars were backed up, not allowed to enter the town). At Lainya we stopped for another jerry can of benzine (having topped up with another one earlier along the way. The difference between the two was that further up the road a jerry can was 8000 *dinars,* while at Lainya it was 8500). There was a shop with its own generator showing African pop videos on a TV.

Arrived in Juba about midnight. I had earlier expressed a doubt to Riek that there would be anyone up at either our camps to let us in. "This is the beginning of the weekend" he replied, "they'll be up." I did manage to rouse someone at the Sunflower camp (the Executive Joint next door was in full swing with a live band, which went on until after 3). Got a room, a quick shower, and went to sleep fairly easily.

3rd March 2007, Juba

"What I learned from this trip", Riek later announced, "is peace and development. We couldn't have made it without either one." In all we travelled overland over 1000 miles, the journeys from Khartoum to Malakal and Aweil to Juba being each over 500 miles.

We put in a request for fuel and 'incentives' to give the drivers and the *bash shawish* to get them back to Wau. Luka approved it, but the finance clerk was not in (it being Saturday). Not wanting to delay them we delved into my remaining *dinars*, and finished the brick of bills given to me in reimbursement for my expenses last October. Riek also accompanied them to the market and filled up a carton with pineapples and other fruit to be sent back to Wau to be given to the governor and shared with Fabio.

Luka was amazed we had come by road all the way from Aweil. "Anyway",

he remarked, "you must have enjoyed it." Well, yes, I did.

Riek and I dropped in on Makila [the US Consul General] on spec in the afternoon. She is preparing for Natsios's visit on Mon and Tues, and we have arranged to have dinner Tues night.

3rd-5th March, Juba

Deng Deng Yai did not pass on my request for certain files to John Luk until last Thursday. Then Matti found that he was locked out of the archive storeroom, by the order of the Central Equatoria State Ministry of Information Secretary General, who had given instructions that no one should have access to the archives (Matti had me locked out of the same storeroom in the last few weeks of my employment in 1983). We found this out on Saturday. John Luk arranged that we should go see the CES (Central Equatoria State) Minister of Information on Monday.

On Monday (5th) John Luk, Matti, Riek, myself and Valentino Modi went to see Joseph Lasu, CES Minister of Information and Culture in his office in the old Juba Town Council Building. When he greeted me he said, "I know you. You brought all those archives to Juba, but then you left them here to rot." "How could I have left them to rot?" I replied, "I was told to go home to my home region, it was the ones who were here who left them to rot."

John Luk explained the project and the need for Riek and me to have access to the archives. There then followed a heated argument between Joseph Lasu and Matti about who was responsible for the current state of the archives, Lasu pointing out that Matti was Director and then even a Director General at the time, so it was his responsibility. Lasu was also concerned that Matti and John Luk were trying to annex the library. The archives they could have, "They have been a big headache for us", but the library books had been collected by University students and were intended for the people of Juba, and the library building (next to the one allocated to the archives) was being renovated by CES. (When I told Luka about this argument he just laughed, and said, "Ok, let them have the library").

We went to the *Mudiriya*, Valentino opened the basement room, and we began sorting through the piles on the floor, the files stuffed in the wooden shelves, and the files in boxes. I am reassured by how much has survived: from Malakal, Bor, Akobo, Fangak, Yambio, Maridi, Tembura, not to mention the Equatoria Province headquarters. Evans-Pritchard's wartime description of the Anuak is still here. I even found some of my original hand lists for files brought to Juba in 1981, plus closed files left behind in the offices for later collection (sigh, now no longer there). I even found the transcript of one of my (1981) interviews with (Gaawar Nuer elder) Kolang Majiok. But no 8.A,

8.B, or 16.A files for the right areas and period. We'll have to hope that some of these will emerge from the rubbish tips in Juba Girls School.

Luka was amused when I showed up in the Secretariat covered in sweat and dust. We did take away some files for scanning: nothing of direct relevance, but some interesting background on Rueng-Homr problems along the Ngol, and the lead up to the decision to transfer the Uduk and Koma back to Blue Nile [in 1953].

Met Cdr Oyai Deng (Chief of Staff) in Luka's office. He said he was disappointed not to have heard my Abyei talk.

Driving through Juba and the Southern Sudan I've noticed that a lot of 'patriotic' place names are used for businesses and restaurants: Machakos Supermarket, Cush Restaurant, Naivasha Pharmacy, New Site Restaurant and Bar. I heard on the radio an ad for Bilpam Telecommunications.

A German-South Sudanese Business Friendship conference at the Sunflower was having its end of conference dinner, taking up the main cafeteria building (the rest of us were shunted into a smaller room). Riek, Luka and Malik Agar were there (I managed to hand on to Malik a list of Wendy's questions about Blue Nile during the war, which he answered, in writing, the next day). Angelina Teny was also there, dressed to the nines (I did not recognise her at first), with her now grown son. She is now tasked with doing environmental impact surveys in the oil areas and wanted to know if I would be willing to carry them out. I said that I was already working on a project for GOSS that was taking me away from my normal job, but that the Rift Valley Institute would be the best people to approach, as they were set up to do consultancies such as this.

Stayed up to about quarter past one going through the files we had retrieved from the archives and scanning useful bits.

6th March 2007, Juba

Got to the Secretariat shortly after 9. Ayom Wol (Ambrose Wol's daughter, then working for the Ministry of Information) showed up before 9:30 looking for journalists (they are often late for press conferences, she told me). Eventually they showed up and, when the man with the key was located, we were put in the Council Chamber for my interview. Gave my spiel about the ABC, what lessons can be learned, and how the N-S Boundary should be different. They did press me on what I thought should be done next on Abyei, and what are the anticipated trouble spots along the N-S border, but I evaded those.

Saw Makila in the court yard on the fringe of Natsios and his entourage.

Got to John Luk's office and we were introduced to Angelina, the University of Juba Archaeology Graduate who is going to act as our liaison with the

archives. We gave her a short interview and then took her to the storeroom, where there were three persons sorting through files, this time wearing the protective clothing (donated by the British Institute in East Africa) Justin (Willis) had brought. So that has got through. I showed Angelina some of the types of files we were going through, and Angelina took notes (which impressed me). I would have liked a few more days to be able to work with her to make sure that the instructions are clear and understood, but Riek will have to follow up.

Riek and I also mentioned to John Luk the impressive performance of the two *bash katibs* we met in Wau and Aweil. He seemed quite receptive to the idea of hiring a retired *bash katib* for the archives.

Missed lunch again, but Luka invited Riek and me to join him for lunch in his office (*ful*, tomato salad, roast chicken). He was worried about how to build up the research facilities at Juba University (which is to re-open in Juba this year, bringing in the first years, and being fully transferred by the end of 3 years). I mentioned Richard Gray's bequest of his library to Juba, should a suitable repository be found. He hadn't heard of that and was very interested in the news.

Had a long wait trying to get my reimbursement. At first I was told it would be ready tomorrow. I had a mini-tantrum, saying that if I was not reimbursed today, I would resign from the project and not write the report. Stephen Abraham Yar, who had wandered into the office, tried to persuade me that this was my 'contribution' to the reconstruction of the South, but I said I wasn't going to be paid on the *bad' bukra* principle (I am still owed money by the defunct Southern Regional Government). Eventually they came up with a solution: rather than pay me in dollars, they handed over more bricks of Sudanese pounds in a brown paper envelope, and Riek took me off to 'Customs' to get it exchanged.

'Customs' turns out to be a market area, not far from Juba University, where the lorries from Zaire and Uganda used to stop to pay their customs duties. It became a money changing area as well as a row of small shops and stalls, stacked furniture, *shai beits* and eateries. (A news item in the paper reported that there have been systematic robberies of Northern Sudanese-owned stalls there.) Music pounding out from huge speakers, lots of people, animals and rubbish, and rows of young men sitting behind tea tables with currencies laid out in front of them: I saw Sudanese *dinars*/pounds, Ugandan shillings and US dollars. Riek had the name of one particular money changer who had been recommended to him, but we couldn't find him. So we sat down with two who were sitting side by side and converted a couple of bricks into hundred dollar bills. This all out in the open, in full view of the general public. I converted about half of my Sudanese pounds. I should have converted more, but I was a

little uneasy handing over and receiving so much money in such a public place. But I will only have to exchange the rest when I return in May.

Makila came to pick me up. She was fed up with having to receive visitors and their entourages, all of whom had to be put up in her compound, fed and entertained, not to mention long meetings. Since I've been here she has had to receive Franklin Graham, Senator Frist, Jimmy Carter, and now Natsios and co. But she is still as energetic and sparky as ever: I don't think Juba is getting her down, it is the fact that Juba has now become a must go to stop on several American itineraries that she finds oppressive.

7th March 2007, Juba–Nairobi

Riek picked me up and delivered me at the airport (delay in paying my bill at Sunflower, as the electricity had gone off. I persuaded Nuvila to give me a handwritten, non-itemised receipt. We then had to convert dollars into *dinars*, and recalculate in new pounds).

Long wait for the Delta Connection check in to show up, only to be told that there weren't enough passengers for the 737 so it had been cancelled. Delta arranged to put us on the Jetlink flight to Nairobi.

While sitting in the waiting lounge I was approached by a very large man in what looked like a cross between a cowboy hat and a safari hat (Salva seems to have set the style in this). He recognised me and said we had last met in Ayod 18 years ago. He turned out to be Brigadier Ajak Deng Reng of the Prisons Dept, and I think we had met in1982 when Philip Diu Deng and I were travelling around doing interviews. His father was a pharmacist in Kongor. We might also have met in 1990 when I was with the Operation Lifeline Sudan – OLS-SRRA (Operation Lifeline Sudan—Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association) assessment team. He told me that Atem Garang (one of the SRRA team members) had been killed in Kapoeta in 1993. This was the first news of Atem I had had since I last saw him in Loki in 1991 shortly after the split, but just before the Bor massacre (one of his children had been killed in the shoot-out between Nasir and SPLA forces in Akobo). It seems strange to be shocked by what is, after all by now, 'historic' news, but it did hit me. I liked Atem. He was an avid listener of radio news each morning, and always urging us to bring in 'spare parts' to repair stranded steamers and other heavy equipment.

Ajak Deng really wanted copies of the *Upper Nile Province Handbook 1931*,[5] so I have taken his numbers and address and will try to send some to him.

Plane slightly late as Jetlink had to charter an aircraft from Zan Air, but we took off, and landed, ok. When we got to JKIA I noticed that both the Delta

[5] (ibid).

Connection and Jetlink jetliners were parked next to each other. The flight to Nairobi was not quite full – perhaps Delta Connection have been too optimistic in trying to add yet another jet flight to Juba.

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Glossary

bad' bukra	day after tomorrow
bash katib	head clerk
bash Shawish	Sergeant-major
dinars	currency of Sudan until replaced by the pound in 2007
ful	fava bean stew
imma	headgear or turban traditionally worn by men in Sudan
hosh	fence surrounding house, an enclosed space
loua	cloth knotted over one shoulder worn by men and women in South Sudan
jebel	mountain or large hill
jellaba	itinerant trader, term now applied generally to northern Sudanese in South Sudan
jallabiya	men's long white shirt traditionally worn in Sudan
janjaweed	Arab militia active in Sudan, particularly Darfur
khawaja / khawajat	white person (people)
kisra	pancake made from red sorghum
laconda	rest house/hotel
ma fi	not here
malakiya	originally the civilian quarter in a government town
merkaz	government offices
Mudiriya	province/state headquarters
muftah / muftah fi	key / there is a key
Muhafiz	Commissioner
mulukhiya	stew or sauce made with okra and green leaves
muezzin	singer who calls the faithful to prayer
rakuba	a small open-sided roofed structure providing shade

reth	Shilluk king
shai beits	tea houses
sukhn (kullu)	hot (all)
suk	market
thuraya	satellite phone
tob	women's traditional outer garment in Sudan
tukl	thatched round hut

Training Southern Administrators to Implement the Addis Ababa Agreement

Garth Glentworth*

Introduction

In the immediate aftermath of the Addis Ababa Agreement, the turnover of officials at local and regional levels in the embryonic Southern Government was nearly total. Northerners went back to the North and very few Southerners stayed on. The challenge that had to be met was of finding replacements- it was really a matter of starting afresh.[1]

Training had to be the immediate response, as so few experienced Southerners were available. Even these that were had worked in the Northern Sudanese System, implemented in both North and South Sudan, using Arabic (or at least Juba Arabic), in a system suited to Northern needs. The new Regional Government was determined to have an Administration adapted to Southern needs and above all working in English.

This article focuses on the objectives, contents and impact created by that training programme.

Response

The training design was based on a rough and ready needs analysis that was completed during a tour of the South by a team from Birmingham University in the UK. Their immediate purpose was to assess the availability of health and education facilities, but this required meeting a cross-section of administrators in post. These were struggling to carry out their duties at Regional and District levels in an environment which was almost impossibly difficult.[2]

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[1] This account builds on the summaries of the training programme mentioned in two previous articles in *Sudan Studies*: 'Cross-country Travel in Sudan in 1974: - The challenges of delivering development aid' *Sudan Studies* 59, January 2019 and 'State building at Southern Regional Provincial and District Levels*' Sudan Studies* 65, February 2022.

[2] The training programme, including the survey, received external funding from the British Aid Programme through the Southern Ministry of Regional Administration and Legal Affairs. The Ministry was the Government's organiser and provider of local funds as well as local trainers. I was a member of the joint Sudanese /British training team for the annual courses in 1975, 76 and 77. The expatriate training team was drawn from the Institute of Local Government Studies in Birmingham University.

The realities facing administrators

The situation could not have been more difficult and challenging. Although the Addis Agreement had brought peace at political levels, it was far from complete in the districts. The list of problems was long and intimidating:

- Frequent outbursts of hostilities: between tribes; between returning refugees and incumbents who had taken their land and sometimes cattle, women and children.
- A Regional Government that hardly functioned outside Juba and the three Provincial Capitals in existence at that time.
- All round shortages of resources due to nearly 20 years of war and destruction.
- Poor physical communications – not yet land mines but roads that had not been maintained since the mid 1950s and made worse by the heavy rains of the Southern climate.
- Buildings that had been broken down or severely damaged during the war.
- Communications systems that were ineffective. There were no telephone systems outside Juba. Contacts depended on police short wave radios that were hardly reliable and presented access problems for administrators.
- An administrative system not just deficient in skills and experience, but numbers filling posts. Not only had Northerners departed, but Southerners with experience were not recruited even when they were available. This seemed to be due to inadequacies in the rapidly created recruitment system rather than active discrimination.
- Transport and office resources. Vehicles, fuel and maintenance – Public Works Departments that rapidly became vehicle graveyards in large part because of cannibalisation. There were shortages of typewriters and Gestetner copying machines, plus office furniture, paper supplies and pens. The absence of electricity meant that only manually operated office equipment could be used.

Sources of recruitment for training

Fortunately, at that time tribal considerations did not seem to feature in recruitment, which might have been expected given the emerging political environment in the South. However, recruitment broadly reflected the tribal composition of the South. There were good numbers of Dinka and Nuer, as was to be expected from the two major tribes in the South, who dominated in Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile Province. Smaller numbers were recruited from the

Equatorial tribes such as the Bari, Lugbara and Azande.

Educational qualifications were a factor but not a decisive one. The main criterion at that time was to be a Southerner. There were a few graduates from Khartoum University and the Cairo University in Khartoum, plus a handful of Southerners who had studied in East Africa. School leavers with certificates made up the majority and there were small numbers of recruits from the Anyanya.

The age range – in so far as it could be measured – was late twenties to late forties, this wide range reflected the very different experience and educational achievements of participants. Battle hardened Anyanya leaders from the bush trained alongside young graduates from universities in Khartoum and East Africa.

Contents and objectives of training

In an effort to turn participants into functioning administrators, it soon became clear that the curriculum had to start from basic principles and be comprehensive. The subjects that had to be covered:

- Knowledge required to be effective members of the Administration: relationships in administrative hierarchies; accountability; record-keeping (filing systems); letter writing; minute taking and time keeping.
- Rule of Law: why laws and procedures have to be observed – written down and filed.
- Relationships between politicians and officials (different but hopefully complementary roles in policy and decision making.
- Relationships between different tiers of Government: Regional-Provincial-District-Traditional (keys to success).
- Relationships with the public: informing the public and securing their acceptance and support; being receptive to their views and petitions; being accessible; forming relationships with key individuals and interest groups (civil society, traditional authorities and the churches in particular).
- Responsibilities for public property: buildings; vehicles; equipment and supplies.
- Relationships with aid agencies (only beginning to be important in the 1970's).

Written down, these subjects may seem impossibly over-ambitious in what were six week courses but in practice they merged into one another in lectures and discussion groups. Many had to be dealt with very briefly given the time available.

Training methods

These had to be a mixture. The core was 'chalk and talk' – lectures, questions and discussions. Lecturers were asked to prepare short notes summarising their presentations. Role-playing exercises were introduced wherever possible. Discussion groups were the most valuable activity of all, because they brought out the views of participants and their prior experience.

When transport allowed, a residential field trip was included. This was to an Agricultural Research Station in Yei run by the World Bank. The objective was to inform participants of the agricultural potential in the South. It was also to try to build morale and relationships among very disparate groups of participants. The combination of these tools ultimately shaped the participant's performance on the courses.

Impact and Effectiveness

Assessing the impact on performance of training has always been problematic, whatever the environment in which trainees have to operate. As already discussed, the situation in which Southern administrators found themselves was particularly difficult and problematic in applying the lessons from training.

In the circumstances in the mid-seventies, there was no possibility of formal or informal evaluations of impact. Participants were scattered over the vast area of the South with poor communications and duties that filled all the time they had available. It was also impossible for the Training Team to get round and visit trainees.

The most that could be said on impact were the following:

- Participants had an understanding of the bureaucracy in which they were employed – why 'things' happened and why they had to be documented in accordance with the law and administrative procedures.
- To a varying extent, they left the courses with an increase in morale and commitment and the knowledge that they were members of a disciplined service, with a structure and objectives against which they would be assessed and – if necessary – disciplined.
- Their ability to deal with the public, other officials and politicians was enhanced.

Though I am biased as a member of the initial Training Team, my conclusion was that these benefits made the experience worthwhile and cost-effective.

Building on the in-country training, a small number of administrative officers were taken each year to the Institute of Local Government Studies based in Birmingham university for further training. At long distance and

bearing in mind the radically different environment in the British Midlands in which this advanced training took place, evaluation of impact was even more difficult.

Conclusion and Postscript

These cannot be very positive.

This training programme lasted for five years in the seventies but was not really followed up or effectively localised. The Southern government became even more impoverished and had more urgent tasks. As so often in aid funded programmes in Sudan, aid agency attention moved on to other priorities without really giving administrative training a chance to make its impact felt.

In recent decades given the deterioration in governance and security in the South, both before and after Independence in 2011, training for the civil service at national and local levels has not been a priority. The concept of a civil service serving politically elected rulers gave way in practice to an administration controlled by fiercely antagonistic military leaders at national level in a presidential system. Tribalism came much more to the fore after Independence, especially with the creation of ever larger numbers of states and the appearance of military based warlords.

It is not clear how the situation will develop, nor whether South Sudan will ever replicate the optimism and capacity building of the seventies.

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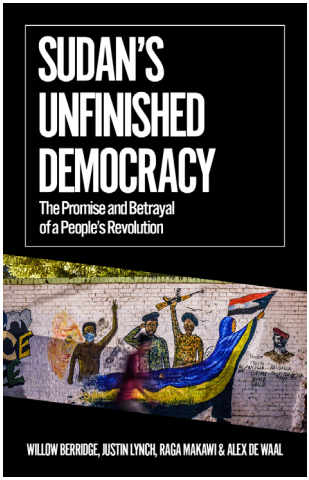
Book Reviews

Willow Berridge, Justin Lynch, Raga Makawi, Alex de Waal, **Sudan's Unfinished Democracy: The Promise and Betrayal of a People's Revolution**, Hurst and Co., London, part of the African Arguments Series, 2022 ISBN: 9781787385351 paperback, £22.



The core of this book is the struggle waged by millions of the people of Sudan since early 2019 against the military regime which had ruled since 1989. In doing this, it illuminates a succession of events that have taken place, many of which have been confusing in their complexity (a timeline might have helped); and as the title indicates, the situation remains unresolved at the time of writing. Yet this is much more than just an update, for as the chapters unfold, they provide a broad context covering many aspects of post-independence Sudan since 1956, including the earlier years of struggle for democracy. The co-authors are all well-established figures from academia, the media and activism. They bring different perspectives on the core subject but this is a collaborative work that clarifies the challenges to all involved in seeking change.

The opening chapter, "Freedom and Change", begins with the peaceful demonstrations of 2019 which kicked off the chain of events. They were organised and triggered by a widespread conviction, long built up with the help of social media, mainly in the hands of a tech-savvy younger generation. The majority of them had known nothing but the rule of a military-Islamist regime under the presidency of Omer al-Bashir since 1989. "They wanted that regime swept away, after which – they dreamed – anything would be possible."

After the dramatic opening comes an outline of the dimensions and complexity involved. The task of ousting Al-Bashir himself loomed large. He had been in power for longer than any other ruler of Sudan since the first outline of a state was established in 1820 by the Turco-Egyptian invasion. Al-Bashir is well described here as something of a chameleon, working first with Hassan Al-Turabi and his Islamist movement, before he discarded the latter and became increasingly reliant on his "cabal of soldiers and security men". Facing him in the civilian opposition were a variety of elements. Many young people, including many brave women, had been increasingly prominent and confrontational since 2013, when the deterioration in the economy really began to bite. They were to form the backbone of the Forces of Freedom and Change (FFC). This chapter is revealing about the various communities and their

committees that emerged as distinct but linked formations in mainly urban areas in and around the capital, together with counterparts in other cities and towns. But there were also older forces who sought to influence events. The Sudan Professional Association (SPA) are descendants of an elite that went back to early nationalism in World War II; and the 'traditional" political parties with their roots in and support for the leaders of major Islamic sects, at that time speaking as the National Consensus Forces (NCF). Keeping these forces together in the face of not only Al-Bashir but the civilian Islamists he had cultivated was to be a major challenge. The authors suggest that when taken together with numerous other groups, it meant that in all,

> "A mapping of the revolutionary associations would be like a tangled yarn ball… These are the dimensions along which Sudanese nationalism has been contested: a vision for the future, an inheritance from the past, and a geography of belonging or exclusion."

Whatever the complexity of the opposition to Al-Bashir, it continued to demonstrate, including a lengthy peaceful sit-in around the large military complex in the centre of Khartoum. An apparent major turning point came on 10 April 2019, when the military finally decided to remove Al-Bashir from power.

Chapter Two goes into the character of politics, not just of Al-Bashir's rule but stretching back much further to the rule of the previous military ruler, Ja'afar al-Nimeiri. Though under Al-Nimeiri and Al-Bashir there had been a charade of institutional government, the reality had long been the emergence of what is labelled here as the 'marketisation' of politics, involving not just the armed forces but the crony businessmen who became ever more connected in a two-way embrace that amounted over time to a military-commercial kleptocracy. The 'market' deals that formed the essence of politics operated in turbulent economic times. The long dreams of an externally-oriented economic transformation proved largely illusory but did provide peaks as well as troughs. Oil, mainly in the south, had been dreamt of since the late 1970s and finally materialised with Chinese support in 1999, only to decline after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005 with the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), which was to lead to the south's vote for independence in 2011. Oil had been a factor in rebellion in the south for decades but a different and unexpected empowerment of a comparable region occurred in Darfur in the west. In a region noted for famine in the 1980s and again in the early 2000s, the discovery of a significant amount of gold in 2012 produced a gold rush of almost Californian scale. It contributed to new developments in Darfur that proved challenging to the centre.

The Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) were central to the regime, but so increas-

ingly had become the National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) under the wily Salah Abdullah 'Gosh'. From the west came a new force seeking its own stake in power. Its origins go back to the *Janjaweed* militia that had terrorised Darfur in the 2000s but it was now led by a beneficiary of gold as well as a fighter, Mohammed 'Hemedti' Hamdan Dagalo, whose rise is well chronicled here. His militia, with men from the Sahel as well as Darfur, became known as the Rapid Support Force (RSF). It was embraced by Al-Bashir, who later marginalised Gosh and the NISS. When the SAF finally removed Al-Bashir, it formally made General Abdel Fatah Al-Burhan the president but with Hemedti as a powerful and tricky number two. A new force and a new leader were very much in the mix.

At the start of Chapter Three, Al-Burhan seems to be on the retreat. Hitherto a loyal officer in the 'Islamised' SAF, he was little known to the wider public and appeared ready to concede, apparently accepting the predictable demands of the revolutionaries. He even suggested that the removal of Al-Bashir by the army showed that he (Burhan) was really on the side of the civilians. But it was soon clear that offering concessions was a tactic rather the acceptance of retreat. Instead, Al-Burhan and his now effective 'partner' Hemedti played for time. As seen, the opposition had three main broad groups, with the SPA thinking it was the natural interlocutor in negotiations with the security forces but it lacked a centralised leadership. The FFC provided the core of the young people who were still camped around the security HQ but while they had prominent figures on the barricades, they too lacked a clear political leadership. Also hovering around were the NCF with their echoes of the old parties and the influence of their ageing sectarian leaders. All had their internal factions and differences but the major disagreement lay in the question of whether to proceed to a compromise interim council of military and civilian figures or demand a complete handover of power to the latter. The military exploited the divisions amongst the civilians to achieve the agreement that their man, General Al-Burhan, would be the next head of state. Then Hemedti's RSF was mobilised for a dawn attack on the mainly FFC still camped around the military HQ: on 3 June the RSF, Popular Security and NISS militia carried out a massacre in which thousands of people were attacked and hundreds died. Until that time, even Al-Bashir had felt constrained in the use of force, partly due to uncertainties about the army and its social links to the wider population in the central Sudan in particular. However, the militias involved were not so constrained in their approach to attacking the protestors.

The massacre not only appalled the Sudanese but stirred the international community – particularly the USA, UK, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, as well as the African Union (AU), the regional Intergovernmental Authority on Devel-

opment (IGAD) – which had been somewhat slow to react since the removal of Al-Bashir. The book credits the international actors for the success of the negotiations between mainly the newly formed Transitional Military Council (TMC) and the FFC for the agreement in 2019 of a Constitutional Declaration intended to lead to an eventual return to democracy.

"Political Business as Usual", the title of the following chapter, sounds somewhat ambiguous; but then so were the circumstances in which the newly formed TMC and the FFC co-habited. The pathway to democracy was to be that of a government of "technocrats", a well-known term for apolitical experts acceptable to both sides. In this case, they were led by Abdullah Hamdok, an economist with wide experience of international institutions. Hamdok had no lack of ideas, especially for economic reform of the corrupt military-commercial nexus, peace-making with the armed groups in outlying areas and reforming the security sector. But did he have the power to succeed in the face of vested interests, particularly in the security forces and their commercial partners? The chapter gives a detailed and eye-opening (but not unexpected) account of the problems on all fronts, described as "crisis after crisis". In the end, in Hamdok's own words, "This is civilian-military partnership. It will always reflect the balance of power". That balance was to be severely tested once more with the coup of October 2021, in which Hamdok's government was removed by Al-Burhan.

But Al-Burhan knew that simply seizing power would not bring victory and true to form, civilian demonstrations grew again, as did attempts at repression. By mid-2022, Al-Burhan was talking of keeping only certain powers for the military while allowing a new civilian government to be established, mainly for long neglected social policies. But the coup and its aftermath had only reduced confidence in Al-Burhan and company, in spite of some international efforts to support peace-making once more.

The penultimate chapter discusses Sudan's proclivity for non-violent revolutions – 1964, 1985 and then the unfinished revolution of 2019: how far do they repeat each other? Given the sheer timespan, it is to be expected that 2019-22 is not simply a repetition (and the chapter is indeed headed "More Than History Repeating Itself"), largely because circumstances have changed on all sides, and because it has been so protracted and tortuous. But perhaps they are all three reflective of a legend. As the late Bob Collins put it:

> "'Remember the October Revolution' [1964] became the rallying cry during the bloodless fall of Numayri's military regime in 1985 and has remained so in Sudanese anti-government demonstrations ever since."

The chapter ends with a wider discussion as to where, if anywhere, Sudan

fits into theories of revolution. The Sudan Communist Party (SCP) was historically the proponent of a broadly Marxist interpretation of a modern revolutionary transformation but this book says that it "foreclosed the space for any form of non-violent civic republicanism in their country", hardly in accord with the approach to revolution of the FFC. In the 20th century, Theda Skocpol gained attention by linking revolution in France, Russia and China to predominantly agrarian societies, again out of character with Sudan's largely urban militants. The 1989 coup had been run by Islamists seeking to impose from above their variant of the faith, only to be balked when "an eclectic range of actors revolted against an Islamist regime". Once again, the "urban revolutionaries… were desperate to break the cycle of transition, conflict, failed democracy and military authoritarianism". Yet for many centuries before the French Revolution of 1789, a socio-political 'circular cycle' of some kind was the very definition of the word 'revolution' (including by the medieval writer Ibn Khaldun): what goes around comes around, as one might say.

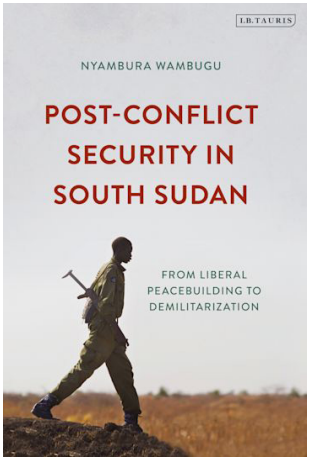
The book ends with a chapter entitled, appropriately, "Not the Last Chapter", which surveys the field of struggle after three years. The transitions after the 1964 and 1985 uprisings both moved fairly quickly to recognise that the military would draw back and allow the return to civilian democratic government: not so the struggle since 2019. The military wish to retain a role in government that effectively protects the privileges built up since 1989. They have support from the remnants of their former Islamist partners in the National Congress Party (NCP), and this chapter also adds efforts to mobilise "traditional rural chiefs" – along the lines of previous beleaguered rulers in Sudan. The civilian opposition ranges from "the urban street", seeking nothing less than the complete removal of the military from power, to a more technocratic elite which recognises a need to negotiate and if necessary compromise: as the then British ambassador, Irfan Siddiq, tweeted, "You can't wish away the military".

There are also mentions throughout the book of various international pressures. The military has its supporters, most notably its autocratic Arab neighbours, with memories of 2011 and the dangers of the democratic aspirations of the street. On the other side, clear calls for continuing the transition to democratic rule have come from the international organisations, IGAD, the AU and the UN. Western powers speak in the same terms, but recognise the problems. The USA has potentially a significant influence on Sudan's economy, including through threats on debt relief, and through the World Bank; it also has influence with the Arab autocrats. The two major examples of successful negotiations between parties in conflict in Sudan, the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 and the CPA of 2005, both had significant international involvement.

Sudan has yet to achieve an outcome to the present complex deadlock; and, if it is resolved, will it turn out to be another 'cyclical' revolution or a 'transformative' revolution to a more stable democratic future? This collective work shows the depth and complexity of the challenges to achieving that goal.

Peter Woodward

Nyambura Wambugu, **Post-Conflict Security in South Sudan: From Liberal Peacebuilding to Demilitarization**, I.B. Tauris, London, 2021, ISBN **9780755635986** paperback, £28.99.



Nyambura Wambugu's book, based on her work in South Sudan from 2009 to 2013 and her doctoral studies, reminds readers of the follies and failures of the liberal state and peace building project in South Sudan. Wambugu argues that the rigid confines of the liberal peacebuilding prescription were largely inappropriate – or often poorly dispensed – throughout the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) era, contributing to South Sudan's return to large-scale conflict. As she puts it, most of the country's recent challenges "can arguably be traced back to the generic one-size-fits-all international neoliberal approach to post-conflict reconstruction," (p. 40); the liberal peace approach has "overlook[ed] the country's empirical complexities," (p. 12).

Instead, Wambugu argues, the concept of demilitarization offers a better alternative to the liberal paradigm. This intellectual shift to demilitarisation, emphasised by the book's title, is thus the focus of the book. But it is also where, conceptually, the book runs into some difficulties. After a lengthy historical prelude in the first two chapters, Wambugu turns to the subject of militarisation in chapter three.

Reasonably, she argues that to understand demilitarisation one must first parse the concept of militarisation. While acknowledging that there are numerous definitions of militarisation (and thus, logically, demilitarisation), she cites the conceptualisations of scholars Maya Eichler and Eboe Hutchful favourably and as key to her work. For Eichler, militarisation is "any process that helps establish and reinforce a central role for the military in state and society," (p. 43). For Hutchful, demilitarisation is, similarly, not only the product of actions, but also a process (p. 16-17).

However, Wambugu then expands the concept she has just tried to narrow. She tells readers: "this book uses militarisation to include both ideas and processes…. more by default than design, because after two civil wars spanning nearly four decades, ideas and processes [of] militarism and militarisation have been amalgamated," (p. 43). In the chapters that follow, we then see a variety of conceptualisations, ranging from discussions of military norms (p. 152) and their dominance (p. 161), to militarised livelihoods (p. 171-172), to a militarised

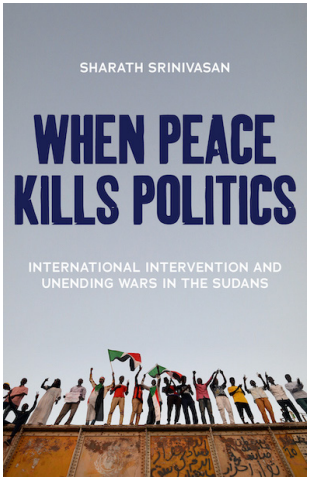
culture of governance (p. 196). At one point, Wambugu asserts that "new militarisation is nothing more than a regrouping of existing rebellions and armed groups," (p. 63). This breadth of understanding – and then partial repudiation – of the term makes the concept almost analytically unhelpful. In such a view, what does not constitute militarisation in South Sudan?

Even the questions that Eichler's definition raises in the case of South Sudan (foremost, what is the South Sudanese state?) are only partially returned to. Consequently, what demilitarisation means is thus equally fragmented: is it the normative aim of "removing the gun from the centre of everyday life," (p. 172), and if so, is it really that different from a (reformed) liberal approach if the means to achieve this is to improve livelihoods, or to better involve local institutions in, for example security sector reform (p. 75)?

The interviews and focus groups that Wambugu conducted are testament to the thorough research that the author undertook, a valuable snapshot of views of that period in South Sudan. Parts of the book are also insightful for the detailed critique they bring of interventions in South Sudan after 2005. Wambugu strongly makes the point that (il)literacy has considerable influence on any project of post-conflict intervention, including those related to governance and security. While she uses internationals' inadequate understanding of South Sudan's social context to critique the liberal peace building project, I am not convinced that illiteracy necessarily accounts for why rebellions occur in South Sudan (p. 121), nor that it must fatally impair understandings of (admittedly) flawed liberal conceptions of peace. Recent public opinion work in South Sudan shows nuanced and multi-layered understandings of peace, even among poorly educated communities. Overall, I agree with Wambugu's critique of the liberal peacebuilding paradigm and its frequent failures; however, I am unconvinced that the militarisation/demilitarisation lens is necessarily more appropriate as an approach to analysis.

Aly Verjee

Sharath Srinivasan **When Peace Kills Politics: International Intervention and unending wars in the Sudans,** Hurst, London; OUP, New York, 2021, ISBN 9781849048316 paperback, £25.



Like many parts of the world that European powers colonised in the 20th century, the territories that are now South Sudan and Sudan have long been sites where murky ideas about peace and violence have endured. As a high-level Report of the Special Mission to Egypt in 1920 recalled, "[t]he present [colonial] administration is popular in the Sudan, and with few exceptions, peaceful and progressive conditions prevail throughout the country".[1] This kind of illusory statement was common throughout British-led rule and erroneously suggests that peace was notionally coupled to a benign conception of government that was inherently vested in the public good of the host population.

Instead, where an individual or community was in relation to the government's coercive grip on power most likely shaped one's view. Although colonial administrators deployed the language of peace, such as 'pacification campaigns' to describe the military patrols used to forcibly ensure people had ceded to government, the state was often far from 'peaceful'. There were several violent uprisings throughout British occupation, often over a community's refusal to performatively pay fealty to the colonial administration through tax payments that were almost exclusively a tool colonial administrators used to assert imperial rule rather than pay for government. By the early 1960s, which was just a few short years after the end of British-led occupation in 1956, community insurrections against the then self-ruled government re-emerged. War has frequently been a feature of the politics and economics of the Sudans, and while communities have found innovative ways to forge islands of peace or otherwise limit conflict's disruption, violence has had devastating consequences for the region's peoples.

So, after decades of colonial rule, civil wars, and peace operations and peace-making efforts in both Sudan and South Sudan, what constitutes peace in these now separated countries today? In *When Peace Kills Politics: International Intervention and Unending Wars in the Sudans*, Sharath Srinivasan explores these and other thorny questions on the nature of peace, peace-making, and war in

[1] Report of the Special Mission to Egypt, 1920, British Library B.S. 14/115.pp.33-34.

Sudan and South Sudan. What emerges is a portrait of 21st century's peace- and war-making discourse in the Sudans that is strikingly Orwellian; in practice, never-ending 'peace' has often meant some version of similarly endless 'war' for many of the region. Akin to colonial rule before it, the experience of war or peace is likely to differ in relation to one's proximity to whomever can hold onto state power.

At its best, this text is a well observed commentary on the limitations of peace processes in the first quarter of this century. *When Peace Kills Politics* will consequently remain useful for the foreseeable future both as a theoretical milestone in understanding lapidary war and peace processes that continue to patch together a political and economic settlement or 'unsettlement' that many hope will contribute to 'peace'.[2] For instance, Srinivasan meaningfully grapples with fundamental questions, such as the inexorably pesky topic of what even constitutes 'peace'. Hannah Arendt's seminal work serves as the text's lodestar for parsing the complex relations among violence and politics in civil war. With the political philosopher's concepts in mind, Srinivasan argues that "[c]ivil war is not brute force or sheer violence; it has a political dimension which people give meaning to, justify and judge violent struggle".

Srinivasan assiduously advances his core argument that politics has been neglected in peace-making efforts, or the complex series of processes that have been pursued by a range of elites within the Sudans and from global and regional powers to reach 'peace'. The end consequence of this failure is that "making peace during civil wars risks debilitating, rather than fostering, non-violent civil politics because it frequently relies upon means and instrumental logics that are in essence violent". Or to adapt Orwell's infamous quote from *1984*, often in the Sudans 'peace' still is some version of 'war' or at least 'violence'. This is an open secret for those familiar with Sudan or even the broader peace and conflict studies literature and Srinivasan's text compellingly traces competing visions of 'peace' and 'politics' with this messy reality in mind.

However, the book falls short in two areas. First, it neglects the economic considerations that are at the heart of Sudan and South Sudan's politics, conflicts, and by proxy its peace processes. Second, the text demands patience of all but the most specialists of readers. On the former, from at least British-led colonial rule onwards South Sudan and Sudan have adhered to the historian Frederick Cooper's notion of the 'gatekeeper state'.[3] Governments in both

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[2] Pospisil, J. 2019. *Peace in Political Unsettlement: Beyond Solving Conflict*. Palgrave Macmillan.
[3] Cooper, F. 2002. *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

countries have historically been heavily reliant on exports, which are often natural resource-based and have been relatively easy for a cadre of individuals within government to maintain privileged access to. Additionally, as the political ethnographer Alex de Waal's work illustrates, this has contributed to violent contestation over the state, which has infrequently worked in anything but a small elite's interest as opposed to notions of the 'public good'.[4] Despite how rich Srinivasan's adaptations of Arendt's theoretical insights are, they nevertheless neglect the most fundamental challenge within both Sudans: how to forge a government that strikes a political-economic bargain that consistently works for the many rather than the violently exclusionary few.

As for those theoretical insights, while centring the text on the German philosopher's monumental work was perhaps a robust organising principle for the author, peacebuilding practitioners and likely a few scholars are at times likely to get lost. The text might have benefitted from a different approach that started with the more fundamental question of how to better understand the nature of violent conflict in the Sudans and locally contextualise 'peace'. For example, how might civic actors, including those within government, civil society, and religious communities, play a more meaningful role in peace processes rather than the often-elite bargains that typically constitute peace processes in the region? While the text touches upon these kinds of questions, it frequently favours a close adherence to Arendt and a critical review of the different attempts at peace-making in these countries.

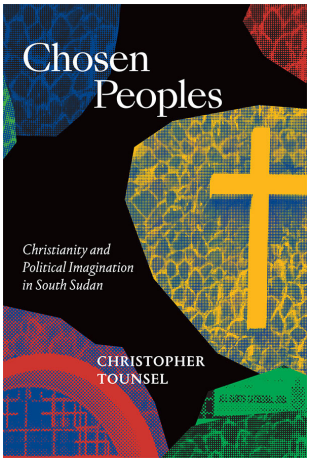
And yet, even with these faults, this reviewer still hopes that it becomes essential reading material for civic actors, international negotiators, Sudanists, and the Sudanese and South Sudanese elites within peace agreements. Members of the Sudanese and South Sudanese ruling elites might also benefit from the text if they have not read it already. Following December 2013's wrenching violence and South Sudan's return to largescale civil war, reports of Riek Machar pictured near a copy of Daren Acemoglu and James Robinson's *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty* remain memorable. Perhaps present and future South Sudanese and Sudanese elites might similarly embrace *When Peace Kills Politics*. Stranger things have happened in the Sudans and even stranger things are needed if a lasting peace that benefits most South Sudanese and Sudanese is ever to emerge.

Dr Matthew Benson is the Sudans Research Director within the Conflict and Civicness Research Group at the London School of Economics and the

[4] de Waal, A. 2015. *The Real Politics of the Horn of Africa: Money, War and the Business of Power*. Cambridge: Polity.

Research Manager for LSE's contribution to the Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform (PeaceRep). Dr Benson's research is at the intersection of social and economic history and political economy with a focus on how marginalised communities might be able to disrupt historic patterns of state predation.

Christopher Tounsel, **Chosen Peoples. Christianity and Political Imagination in South Sudan,** Duke University Press, Durham, 2021, ISBN 9781478091707 paperback, $25.95. Also available as a pdf (Open Access) on the publishers website https://www.dukeupress.edu/



The drama of South Sudan's modern history has been told through two compelling but distinct narratives. The first, more widely known, is the political, military, and humanitarian story of many decades of savage civil war, between North and South, as well as between different factions and communities in the South. The other narrative, deeply embedded in the awareness of Southern people but less widely known in international scholarly circles, is the dramatic expansion of a Christian identity and of the Church in almost all areas of the South, characterised by a deep engagement with the Bible and a flourishing in indigenous languages of a new communal identity expressed in church life, evangelism, hymnody and prayer.[1]

Little has been done to explore how these two narratives, these two fundamental experiences of Southern people, relate to each other and illuminate each other. The importance of Christopher Tounsel's book is that it endeavours to do just that. Drawing on a wide canvas of writings in the field of political science – outlined in the Introduction – Tounsel tells the story with an illuminating wholeness, showing how Biblical thought and images enabled Southern Sudanese people to interpret and shape the traumatic events through which they were living. His striking achievement suggests a way forward for a richer understanding of the interplay of religion and politics in Africa more generally.

The landscape that Tounsel addresses is vast, in time, geography, and complexity. He manages this complexity, not by broad stroke and generalisation but by a series of five detailed studies. These might be termed "case studies" but they perhaps could more accurately be described as five detailed "deep drillings" into history across the long stretch of Sudan's political and spiritual journey. Together these drillings into the strata that underlie the historical landscape tell the wider story, spiritual, political and military, in a remarkable and

[1] The literature concerning the political and military story of Sudan and South Sudan is widely known. The narrative of Church Growth and spiritual transformation in South Sudan can be found in the *Faith in Sudan* series (Paulines Press, Nairobi) and especially No. 10 in the series *Day of Devastation, Day of Contentment. The `History of the Sudanese Church Across 2000 Years*. Nairobi 2000. See especially Chapters 12-16.

coherent way, enabling a convincing final chapter that draws threads together for a story that is still unfolding.

Tounsel's five studies or drillings are:

1. An account of missionary teaching at the Nugent School, between Juba and Yei (later known as Loka School) which had the intention of shaping a community that would restrain the advance of Islam up the Nile Valley.
2. An exploration of the development of the non-Muslim Equatorial Corps in the Sudanese Army and the 1955 Torit Mutiny.
3. "Liberation War". In this chapter Tounsel explores the role of the Bible in forming a "Liberation Theology" for the Anyanya in the First Civil War.
4. "Khartoum Goliath" "This chapter engages with the lengthy and complex story of the Second Civil War (1983- 2005) – the so-called SPLA War – by a close examination of the publicity and communications of the SPLA, in particular the "SPLM/SPLA Update".
5. "The Troubled Promised Land" examines how the experience of independence, and the subsequent bitter disappointments have been reflected in the political theology of the state and nation.

Each of these drillings is developed with an abundance of contemporary resources – letters, publications, official records and Tounsel's own interviews. He concedes that he has opted for English language sources, rather than Arabic, recognising that South Sudanese and their expatriate interlocutors primarily expressed themselves in English. The result is a compelling, deeply engaging account that adds humanity, empathy, understanding and texture to the wider contours of the story.

Each of these chapters invites discussion and debate. Perhaps the most unusual, certainly the one that caught my attention first, was the opening one on Nugent (Loka) School. This is perhaps because I know the site well and have visited it both when a flourishing institution and when an overgrown ruin. I know of no other account of a missionary school ideology, in Sudan or elsewhere, which reveals so clearly the underlying religious and political agenda of its teachers. Of course, the strategic position of South Sudan on the frontier between the world of Islam and a potentially Christian Africa south of the Sahara had long been recognised by mission agencies. The Catholic Bishop Comboni had seen his "Christian" villages in El Obeid and the Nuba Mountains in this way. He did not live long enough to see them swept away by the Mahdiyya in 1883. Similarly Karl Kumm, founder of the Protestant Sudan United Mission, had the dream of a chain of mission stations across the Sahel

as a "bulwark" against the spread of Islam. He walked the width of the Sahara as a physical demonstration of his dream. The Anglican Church Missionary Society, founder and resourcer of Nugent School, was fully in this tradition.

Tounsel helpfully uncovers the tension within CMS ideology between the goal of a united new humanity in Christ, and the validation of ethnicity and "tribe", both proclaimed in the Gospel. Both identities were seen as a defence against Arabic and Islam, but the inherent tension between them was not so clearly perceived.

Each of Tounsel's chapters stimulates engagement and invites discussion as he brings together two narratives not previously in dialogue to this degree. The final chapter is entitled "Conclusion: Inheriting the Wind." However, Tounsel is well aware that his book does not lead to a conclusion in the sense of finalising an argument or completing a story.

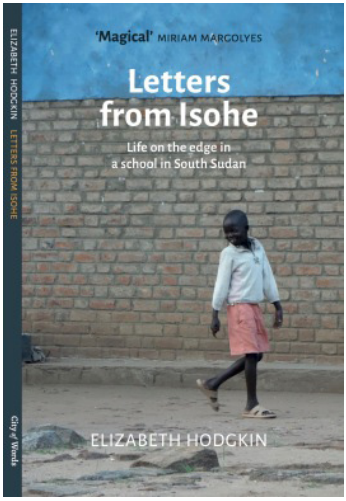
> . . . South Sudanese did not stop using the Bible and Christian theology for political purposes after the end of the war in 2005 or the attainment of independence in 2011; on the contrary, such thinking has continued during the post-CPA era. . . . The fact that political theology has continued in South Sudan testifies to the more compelling reality that southerners have not forsaken the idea that the spiritual is intimately connected with the material, or that scripture is a useful political resource with a pertinent word for every situation. (p. 137)

Tounsel correctly points out several times that Southern political theology did not customarily demonize Islam as such. Even so, he is well aware that the Bible and theology can be used to stoke conflict and to serve partisan purposes – and here, as well as including African examples, he cites American experience. Thus his concluding sections move beyond South Sudan to suggest how his work might stimulate a deeper and more integrated understanding of politics and conflict across Africa, and more widely.

Chosen Peoples is essential reading for all those seeking to understand Sudan's and South Sudan's traumatic journey over the last 100 years in its social, political, and spiritual dimensions. The book integrates narratives commonly well-boundaried against each other.

Andrew Wheeler worked with the Sudanese Church for more than 20 years in Sudan, South Sudan and neighbouring countries. He was involved in leadership development, especially through adult distance learning. He also, with Bill Anderson, headed the "Faith in Sudan" research project which resulted in extensive and comprehensive publications on the history of the Sudanese Church. He now lives in UK.

Elizabeth Hodgkin, **Letters from Isohe. Life on the edge in a school in South Sudan,** City of Words, London, 2022, ISBN: 978-1-9160783-2-1 paperback, £7.99, Kindle Edition £4.99.



This insightful and entertaining book is drawn from letters sent by Elizabeth Hodgkin, historian and former human rights researcher, to her acquaintances while she was teaching in South Sudan in 2012 and 2013. It gives a perspicacious account of people's lives in the isolated village of Isohe in Imatong State, Eastern Equatoria, shortly after South Sudan's 2011 independence. Hodgkin taught at St. Augustine's, a mixed Roman Catholic secondary school. Isohe is cut-off and lacks television (unless you're a nun) or mobile phones, so social activity revolves around conversation, as well as joyful parties to celebrate "feasts of the State, or of the Church".

Clearly an attentive observer, Hodgkin's letters give prominence to the accounts of her many, varied interlocutors, spiced with her own commentary - and her interlocutors are more diverse than you might expect for a remote village. Secondary school pupils come from all over the country, as well as Sudan's Nuba Mountains. There are nuns to talk to from South Sudan and Uganda, as well as teachers and development workers from as far away as Kenya, Uganda and Italy.

Hodgkin's account highlights the critical role religious institutions, in this case the Roman Catholic Church, play in keeping the few public services, particularly health, education and agricultural extension, running in many parts of South Sudan. Government, whether national or state, feels very far away. Hodgkin's letters explore what it means to live in an "ecclesiocracy". The village owes almost everything, even its existence, to Roman Catholics. An Isohe parish priest is sufficiently confident in his power that he threatens to expel any primary school student who fails to attend Sunday service. I was curious as to how neighbouring villages with less Catholic presence fare in terms of services and how their village dynamics differ. Hodgkin's visit to the nearby village of Loyei offers a clue. The school has no help from either the State or the Church, makes do with one classroom and sets its own exams.

Hodgkin helps us understand the heroic effort to keep a secondary school just about functioning in a country where "it is a headache to get anything

done". Isohe may be physically isolated, but it is extremely vulnerable to broader regional dynamics. Hodgkin shows the impact on the schools of a plummet in value of the South Sudan Pound following shutdown in oil production. The schools are severely disrupted due to a hike in food prices; drop-outs; and the threatened departure of teachers whose meagre salaries can suddenly buy even less for their families. The school administrators, teachers and students adapt remarkably to running a school with barely any resources, apart from buildings and a limited number of educators. Together they just about keep the school up and running whilst offering a useful, if narrow, education, which is appreciated by the students.

Hodgkin has privileged access, as a teacher, to young people's thoughts about their society. In their debates, plays, and written work there is heavy focus on community violence and the authoritarian tendencies of their elders: "When people refuse to come to the meeting … the Chief of Isohe send police to collect people within the village to come for meeting by Force," writes one student in his diary.

Hodgkin devotes much attention to the subjugated status of women and girls in Eastern Equatoria and the consequent impact on school enrolement and drop-out rates for girls. Domestic violence, forced marriages, sexual exploitation of female students, even girl-child compensation (unusual in South Sudan), are prevalent. Family members, especially fathers, question whether sponsoring girls to attend school, is worthwhile, when they could be married off for bride wealth. Hodgkin's accounts of the disasters that befall girl students in Isohe's primary and secondary schools make for difficult reading. One girl is kidnapped and married; two others fall pregnant after sexual relationships with drivers. Hodgkin balances these setbacks with equal attention to the significant community activism in Isohe to improve the status of women and girls. She recounts the efforts of a local woman leader, Mama Magdalene, and an energetic Catholic priest, Father Ben, in this regard.

Elizabeth Hodgkin does not overromanticize life in this beautiful village set in the mountains. Time and again, she returns to the violence. Corporal punishment, is practised in the school. There are occasional fights between students, even an incident involving a student and a teacher. Fighting breaks out from time to time between members of different ethnic groups. Armed robbery and cattle-raiding are regularly reported. In the background, there are ongoing conflicts elsewhere in South Sudan, even before a full-blown civil war breaks out in 2017. But by the standards of the country, Isohe and its two schools constitute a place of refuge and hope for young people. When Liz Hodgkin returns, six years later, she discovers that the secondary school is

three times the size because, she says, when civil war came to Equatoria, some young people chose education at St. Augustine's over joining the militias.

Joanna Oyediran is an independent consultant with expertise in human rights and philanthropy.

News from the Sudan Archive, Durham

The range of material in the Sudan Archive provides an exceptionally rich research resource for scholars in all disciplines of studies relating to Sudan and South Sudan and to the wider region, with records dating from the 19th century to the present day. Please get in touch, whether to pursue your own research, to suggest additional records we should try to collect, or to make a donation to the collections yourself. The Archive's homepage is: https://libguides.durham.ac.uk/asc-sudan-archive and includes a blog. More digitised material from the collections is added most weeks; digital images are linked from the catalogues and can also be browsed here: http://iiif.durham.ac.uk/jalava/.

Dr Katie Hickerson's 2022 Sir William Luce Fellow lecture "Portraits, Postcards and Protest: mobilizing Sudanese visual culture" is now available online at https://bit.ly/3G2nIUg. This year's Sir William Luce fellow will be Dr Azza Mustafa Mohamed Ahmed who will deliver her lecture on "The Sudan Movement: how to create an alternative structure for elite political action" on Wednesday 14th June 2023 at Trevelyan College, Durham University (and online).

The application period for the 2024 fellowship will run from June to September.

Recent accessions to the Sudan Archive

Acquisitions of recent publications are not generally noted – but are nevertheless received with deep thanks. Large accessions generally remain uncatalogued for a period of time, but can usually be accessed on request. This is a summary of accessions since July 2022.

Anthony Ainslie 1954 audio recording of "Sudanisation Blues", a song about British administrators' experience of the transition to independence in Sudan. Lyrics by J. W. Haig and J. P. S. Daniell, sung to the tune of Offenbach's "Gendarmes' Duet"

*__Brendan Tuttle__, archaeologist and anthropologist: additional photographs of Juba taken by Vonda Adorno, 1973-1975

Western Sudan Community Museums project 53 films edited by Mark

Whatmore; some films include cinefilm footage from the Sudan Archive. The films are all available online at www.sudanmemory.org.

William Twining, legal scholar, papers relating to his legal work and time living in Sudan in the 1950s and 1960s, and continuing engagement with Sudanese affairs to 2022 (1 box)

Andrew and Janet Persson, missionaries and linguists active in Ghana and Sudan, 1970s-2011: linguistic research papers relating to South Sudan and Ghana, chiefly Jur Mödö people in Mvolo area of W. Equatoria (6 boxes)

Mark Reid, historian: 9 digital photographs of Egyptian Army personnel, 1890s-1920s

Carolyn Murray, teacher and missionary active in South Sudan since 1976: papers concerning the history of the Mothers' Union, Episcopal Church of Sudan (f. 1944); history of Immanuel Nursery School, Yei (f. 1986); biography of Esther Pone Seme Solomona 1942- (2017); photographs of 1983 Boma hostages and the negotiation team

*__J. W. G. Wyld__ (1896-1968), Sudan Political Service 1926-1950: 8 photographs

Philip Ingleson (1892-1985), Sudan Political Service 1919-1944, including Governor of Halfa, Berber, Bahr-el-Ghazal and Darfur: letters, poems, photograph albums, printed material, including First World War service (France 1914-1918) and some papers of his wife Gwen (Fulton) and her family, 1909-1985 (6 boxes)

* accruals to existing collections

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SSSUK Notices

Society for the Study of the Sudans (UK)
36th Annual General Meeting, 8th October 2022

MINUTES

1. Welcome from the Chairperson

Gill Lusk welcomed everyone to the 36th Annual General Meeting of the SSSUK and thanked everybody for attending in person, after a hiatus caused by the Covid-19 pandemic and with the challenges of a rail strike.

2. Apologies for absence

Apologies were received from: Leila Aboulela, Sara Abdel Galil, Hashim Ahmed, James Dickens, Mark Duffield, Douglas Johnson, Nicki Kindersley, Cherry Leonardi, Amira Osman, David Wolton, Peter Woodward.

3. Minutes of the AGM of 23rd October 2021, and matters arising

There were no matters arising from the minutes, which had been previously circulated, and they were accepted as an accurate record of the meeting.

4. Chairperson's report

Gill Lusk sadly reported the deaths of three members of the Society since the last, online, AGM.

Professor Jack Davies (1931-2022): geographer; he was a former editor of *Sudan Studies*, the SSSUK journal and published widely on the Sudans, most recently *Contributions to an understanding of the geography of drylands* (2004).
Suleiman Musa Rahhal (1942-2022): Director of Nuba Survival Foundation; he was author of *The Right to be Nuba: the story of a Sudanese people's struggle for survival* (2001).
John Udal (1926-2022): Sudan Political Service, 1950-1955 (Khartoum and Kodok, Upper Nile province); he was a former member of the SSSUK Committee and published several books about Sudan, most recently *Munich on the Nile: the road to Sudanese independence* (2016).

The Society's activities have been disrupted by the pandemic, but two recent webinars have been well attended. Members were invited to contribute ideas for future seminars.
Gill Lusk ended with an appeal for more active participation in the Society by its members, which will be essential if the Society is to continue to develop and flourish. Two members of the Committee stepped down this year, and the Chairperson role will become vacant in 2023 and Gill Lusk hopes then to retire as Chairperson.

5. Treasurer's report

Adrian Thomas reported for the last time, as he now proposes to hand over his role to Simon Bush.

The 2021 accounts were circulated. The Society's financial position is healthy. On the income side of the accounts for 2021 subscription revenue grew by 10%; the overall fall in income in comparison to 2020 is due to some very generous donations recorded in that year. On the expenditure side, by far the largest item was the production and despatch of the journal. However, a significant reduction in costs was achieved this year by moving to a new printer; Jane Hogan and the Committee members who organised this transfer were particularly thanked.

Due to the pandemic there were no symposiums in 2020 or 2021, but AGMs took place online. Consequently total figures in the accounts have been quite modest, but that has had little effect on the Society's overall finances as the AGM/Symposium has usually been more or less revenue neutral. Total income in 2021 was £3,721 and expenditure £2,710, so the Society had a surplus of just over £1,000. The Society's bank balance therefore rose from £4,840 at the beginning of 2020 to £8,212 at the end of 2021. The Society should confidently be able to meet any contingencies that arise, but also it can consider investing for the future, particularly as a surplus in 2022 is also projected.

There are currently 212 members in the Society. The figure was 190 when Adrian Thomas took over the Treasurer's role in 2007. It is a relief that numbers have held up during the Covid period, but a greater increase overall would have been preferred. Adrian appealed again to members to recruit friends and colleagues so that the Society can become stronger and more influential.

Adrian concluded by saying how much he had enjoyed the Treasurer's role over the past fifteen years, noting "much Sudanese graciousness", and he also noted his appreciation for the support of colleagues on the Committee, particularly Chairperson Gill Lusk and Vice-Chairs Mawan Muortat and Fidaa Mahmoud, the Secretary Jane Hogan, and the Editor of "the Society's most important product", *Sudan Studies*, Charlotte Martin, and finally the examiner of the accounts, Heywood Hadfield.

6. Editor's report

Two issues have as usual been published this year. Special issues of the journal have proved difficult to organise due to insufficient articles in one topic being sent in at the same time. The Editor regretted the absence of meetings of the Society as these are valuable for exchanging ideas for arti-

cles and themes for special issues. Rather than a single special issue on the 50th anniversary of the Addis Ababa Agreement, articles on the Agreement will be spread over two issues, with one further article to be published in January 2023. Further contributions were invited.

The Editor proposed the appointment of one person or a small group to take over the management of book reviews in the journal. In response to a question from Aziz el Nur, it was agreed that reviews of important non-recent publications would also be accepted.

7. Elections to the SSSUK Committee

Gill Lusk (re-election) (Proposer Sara Abdel Galil, Seconder Abdel Azim El Hassan)

Adrian Thomas (re-election) (Proposer Peter Woodward, Seconder Aly Verjee)

Dr Rebecca Bradshaw (re-election) (Proposer Francis Gotto, Seconder Jane Hogan)

Rev. Andrew Wheeler (re-election) (Proposer Cherry Leonardi, Seconder Gill Lusk)

Simon Bush (Treasurer) (Proposer Adrian Thomas, Seconder Mawan Muortat)

All candidates were elected by a majority of the members attending the meeting.

8. Any other business

Farouk Abdel Rahman Eisa asked for an update on the organisation of an international conference in Khartoum in 2024. Gill Lusk noted that the disturbed political context would inhibit planning, but that the Committee would consider it again at the next meeting.

Aziz el Nur asked if there might be more hybrid seminars offered in conjunction with SOAS. Gill Lusk agreed these are useful and valued events, but reiterated the constraints on the time volunteered by committee members. Professor Lutz Oette (SOAS) stated he would be happy to facilitate more such seminars at SOAS, with sufficient advance notice. Angelica Baschiera, our SOAS liaison person, was also thanked for all her support.

Abdel Azim El Hassan offered the Society's thanks to out-going officers Jane Hogan and Adrian Thomas, which participants roundly applauded.

Francis Gotto
Secretary
December 2022

Society for the Study of the Sudans (UK)

The Society for the Study of the Sudans (UK), (founded in 1986 as the Sudan Studies Society of the UK) encourages and promotes Sudanese studies in the United Kingdom and abroad, at all levels and in all disciplines. SSSUK is a registered charity (No. 328272).

Enquiries about Society matters and membership should be addressed to:

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Membership

Anyone with an interest in South Sudan and Sudan, general or specialised, is welcome to join the SSSUK. Membership is by annual subscription payable in January each year; new members can join at any time. Current annual subscription rates are:

	UK	**Europe**	**Elsewhere**
Individuals standard rate (standing order / Pay Pal)	£18	€28/£25	US$30/£25
Individuals (cheque or cash)	£20	€31/£28	US$34/£28
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Institutions	£28	€35/£32	US$40/£32

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Members receive two issues each year of *Sudan Studies* and the right to vote at the Annual General Meeting.

Sudan Studies

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Notes for Contributors
SSSUK welcomes notes and articles intended for publication, to be assessed by the Editorial Board. The maximum length is 5,000 words including footnotes; longer articles may be accepted for publication in two or more parts. Short pieces are also welcome. Notes and articles should be typed in Times New Roman and single spaced and should normally be submitted as Microsoft Word files and sent to the editor as an e-mail attachment. Maps, diagrams and photographs should be of high definition and sent as separate files, with a file name corresponding directly to the figure or plate number in the text. Any bibliographies should be in Harvard style. SSSUK retains the right to edit articles for reasons of space or clarity, and consistency of style and spelling.

It is helpful to have some relevant details about the author (2-3 lines), e.g. any post held or time spent in the Sudan and interest in the topic being discussed.

Single copies and back numbers may be obtained from the Secretary (secretary@sssuk.org) at a cost of £8 per copy plus postage.