THE POLITICS OF TWO SUDANS
The South and the North 1821–1969

by

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To my cousin, Colonel Bona Ayom Wek Ateny, one of the brilliant and able commanders of Anya-Nya 1, who was assassinated in 1970.
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Preface

This book is mainly intended for the freedom fighters in the Sudan. They are entitled to know in unequivocal terms why they are fighting, who they are fighting and for what they are fighting. This is why the book is written in a straightforward manner and style. Those freedom fighters are the only hope in healing the ulcer on the body-politic of the two Sudan through their blood, injuries and sufferings. With determination and perseverance the victory will soon be right in their court.

The ideas expressed in this book are my own and do not in anyway implicate any associations, political or social, of which I am a member or affiliated; and in particular, they do not reflect the views of the SPLM/SPLA. As the book has been prepared under difficult conditions in exile, I apologize for any errors, shortcomings or omissions that it may carry.

The book covers in detail the period between 1821 and 1969 when President Nimeiri took the reins of power in the country. This is according to plan as the book is intended to convey a lucid account of historical events in South—North relations not from the point of view of a foreign scholar, or a "sophisticated" Northern Arab but specifically from that of an African Southerner, of which very little has been in print. Indeed, the Southern viewpoint has been unduly overshadowed by that of the North which widely constitutes the official or accepted version of the history of the Sudan. For this reason and for the purpose of emphasis, the period from 1969 until now has been put aside to make another book of its own which will, hopefully, come out in the near future.

A major part of this book was prepared several years back. For the sake of authenticity I have decided to leave the text as it was, rather than to incorporate more recent published materials: this decision does not materially affect my insights gained as a participant in the events, nor my narrative, nor the force of my conclusions.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to Ms. Helen Verney who edited and typed the early part. Her contributions and encouragement have been highly appreciated. Special thanks and gratitude are deserved by Rev. Joseph and Mrs. Karin Ayok for their contribution in the preparation, typing and processing, without which the book would not have seen the light of the day. I am also grateful to Mr. David Oduho who helped in the collection of some of the references.

The first chapters of this book were seen and vetted by Professor Robert Collins whose constructive advice greatly helped the formation of the book. I am grateful to all the friends who, in one way or the other, have helped in the production of the book.
Finally, special thanks and feelings are deserved by my wife, Mrs. Nyibol Kuac Wol who, for a long time, kept the original drafts of this book intact under a very difficult, mobile and uncertain refugee life in Kenya whilst I was at the war front in the Southern Sudan.
1. Land and People

LAND

The Republic of the Sudan derives its name from the Arabic expression, "Bilad es-Sudan", meaning the land of the Blacks, which the medieval Arab adventurers used to describe the great Negro belt stretching across Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. Its inhabitants who were predominantly of black race and origin were the first people to be confronted by the Arab intruders in their trek from the North towards the interior of the African continent. Bilad es-Sudan was bounded in the North by the Sahara Desert and in the South by the papyrus swampland lying close to the tenth parallel of latitude. Ostensibly it did not include the land presently known as the Southern Sudan which by the accident of colonial history has become an integral part of the Republic of the Sudan. Southern Sudan, therefore, has no historical claim to being a part of Bilad es-Sudan since it never belonged to it. Its swampiness and the untamedness of its environment effectively rendered the Southern Sudan inaccessible and unknown to medieval Arab travellers. Its climatic conditions were extremely unfavourable especially to foreigners. Even as late as in the 19th century, many of the foreigners entering Southern Sudan lost their lives due to inhospitable climatic conditions. They swatted mosquitoes by night and by day they suffered from the intense humidity.

The Republic of the Sudan lies immediately south of Egypt and extends over a distance of approximately 1,400 miles from north to south and 1,200 miles from east to west. With a total area of 967,500 square miles, it is the largest country in Africa. Indeed, on the map, the Sudan looks rather beautifully shaped like a human thigh, stretching from latitude 4 to latitude 22 degrees north of the equator. It is bordered by eight countries: Libya and Egypt in the north, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda in the east, Zaire in the south and Central Africa and Chad in the west. Its climatic conditions vary considerably. They range from arid desert in the north, through a semi-desert scrubland in the centre and west to rich tropical savannah in the south. Whereas the Northern Region of the Sudan suffers from a poor vegetation the Southern Region is conspicuously a swampy plain surrounded on all sides by higher ground and canopied with tall grass and evergreen forests. The South is a land divided by numerous rivers and streams. The White Nile rises from the East African Highlands and courses its way northwards through Southern Sudan. About 2/3 of the summer water supply comes from the White...
Nile but a great proportion of the actual volume of water is lost in the swamp region. This big loss of water in the sudd (swamp) has prompted Egypt, whose total existence depends on Nile waters, to retrieve the lost volume of water by digging the Jonglei Canal—a project which has been halted completely by the ongoing civil war in the Sudan.

In the political context, the Republic of the Sudan is made up of two distinct parts: the North which is Arabized and Islamicized and the South which is African and largely traditionalist. For this reason, the Sudan has been epitomized as the 'bridge' or cross roads between Arabs and Africans and as such a microcosm of Afro—Arab relations. It is the nature of these Afro—Arab relations in the Sudan that constitutes the subject-matter of this book. Of course there is already in existence, a plethora of print about this subject depicting the Northern Arab viewpoint. This book deals with the same subject within the focus of the South's African outlook.

Ethnically, Southern Sudan is much more a part of eastern and central Africa than it is a part of Northern Sudan. Owing to the lack of natural boundaries, its frontiers with the neighbouring countries in the East, South and West were settled by agreement. This has caused considerable inconvenience for, generally speaking, the lines traverse the territories occupied by individual tribes. On the eastern frontier with Ethiopia, the Anuak and the Nuer tribes have been divided between the Sudan and Ethiopia, a situation which compelled the Condominium administration in the Sudan to lease Gambella to Ethiopia in 1902. The Sudan—Uganda border passes through the Acholi land with the result that the tribe is divided as are Madi, Langi and Kakwa. Similarly, the Sudan—Zaire border was arbitrarily made to follow the Nile watershed thus dividing the Zande tribe between the two countries.

Economically, Southern Sudan is potentially among the richest areas in Africa. Its physical texture is divided into three main types of plain:

a) The broad alluvial plain known as the Southern Clay: is a huge triangular plain extending from Aweil in the west, to Lake Turkana in the east and Renk in the north. It enjoys great economic prospects. At present, it provides large pastoral ranges for cattle whose quality of beef may be better than that of the Baggara cattle if slaughtered in good condition. Agriculturally it is best suited for sugar cane plantation and rice, as shown by Mangalla and Aweil Projects respectively. Fish ponds and commercial fisheries could be introduced in a large scale, especially amongst the people who live in swamp areas and along the rivers. The papyrus, which in part is responsible for the impeded flow of water in the area, could be put to various uses including its conversion into power alcohol as recommended by the Southern Development Investigation Team set up in 1954. In terms of miner-
als, the Southern Clay is endowed with large, commercially viable quantities of petroleum as evidenced by Bentiu oil, and gold as evidenced by Kapoeta gold reserve.

b) The Ironstone Plateau embraces western Bahr el-Ghazal, the west bank of the Nile, the Nile—Congo watershed and the east bank comprising the area of Imatong, Dongotono and Didinga Mountains. This area is best suited for the plantation of such trees as rubber and cocoa on a large commercial scale. Different types of fruits could be grown in this area.

c) The Southern Hill-mass is usually regarded as part of the Plateau and is situated in the east. This area is suitable for the growth of different types of tropical crops such as cotton, cassava and millet. In terms of minerals, it is rich in iron, gold, diamond and uranium.

PEOPLES

Northerners

The Arabs officially appeared in the Sudan in the 16th century, although there is evidence that some of them did infiltrate into the country prior to this period. The word Arab is a derivative from the Greek word Arabia which was applied to the eastern desert. The people who lived in that desert became known as Arabs and the land became known as the Arabian Peninsula (Hassan:13). With the appearance of Islam in the 6th century the Arabs emerged to be a great power. Islam gave them the unity and impetus to search for Islamic dominions in the entire world, to broaden the base of their commercial activities and to indulge in scientific speculation. Thus, under the frenzied guidance of Islam the Arabs commenced their turbulent conquest for a global Islamic Empire.

The man entrusted with the conquest of the African continent was a certain Amr b. el-As who in 641 inflicted a sweeping defeat over the Byzantine forces in Egypt and proceeded to conquer the Nubian territories in the south, which were at that time under the governance of a feeble Christian monarchy. The Nubians continued to resist the Arab invasion until 1652 when they concluded a peace treaty with the Arabs, known as the Baqt Treaty. Under that treaty the Arabs gained the right to enter the Sudan unimpeded by the Nubian monarchy. The coming of the Arabs to the Sudan is regarded as a landmark in the history of the country, for not only did it set a stage for the total Islamicization of the people of Northern Sudan, it also Arabized and assimilated the non-Arab population in the country. To this effect numerous genealogical data were manipulated by learned and elderly members of various tribes in the north to make good their claim. All these pedigrees must, of course, be taken with great reserve because "an Arab of today may often be a
pure African without a trace of Arab descent" (MacMichael: II 83). Moreover, in his manuscript, Mohamed Walad Dolib (a native genealogist) writing in 1680 has this to say:

The original autochthonous people of the Sudan were the Nuba and the Abyssinians and Zing (blacks). Every (tribe) that is derived from the Hamag belongs to the Zing group and every (tribe) that is derived from the Funj belongs to the Nuba group. The tribes of the Arabs who are in the Sudan, other than these are foreigners and have merely mixed with the tribes mentioned above and multiplied with them. Some of them have retained the characteristics of the Arabs and the elements of the Nuba and Zing that are interspersed among them have adopted Arab characteristics, but in each case they know their origin (MacMichael: II 3).

The Arabs who successfully changed the face of Northern Sudan never came in big waves nor used force. They entered the Sudan mostly through Egypt in small groups, the most prominent being the Rabia, Banu Jad, Fazara and the Juhanna. All these names have disappeared through assimilation, except the Juhanna which merely came to mean Arab. The Arabs came into the Sudan and freely mixed with the native population. They never brought along their females and, therefore, intermarried with the native people. In the North the Arabs were absorbed into the Nubians, in the east into the nomadic Beja tribes and in the central and western Sudan into the black tribes. Conversely, the Arabs gained an upperhand in the whole process of racial and cultural assimilation owing to their superior culture and powerful Islamic religion. As the Arabs entered the country, which for the most part was done peacefully, the chief of an Arab tribe brought under his authority the indigenous tribes in the area and the whole became a composite tribe carrying the name of that chief. For instance, Dar Hamid in Kordofan was so named after chief Hamid who ruled those people in his time.

The Arabs of the Sudan can be divided into two main groups, real or claimed:

a) The Juhanna group embracing:
   Most of the camel-owning nomads of Kordofan (Kababish, Dar Hamid and Homer),
   The Butana and the Gezira nomadic tribes (Shukriya and Rufa'a); and
   The Baggara.

These groups have a legitimate claim to Arab descent but they have evolved Negro characteristics due to intermarriage. While the Kababish still retain their Arab characteristics in a modified form, the Baggara have largely lost their Arab physical and cultural heritages owing to their intermingling with the Black tribes. The Baggara acquired the art of cat-
tle breeding from the neighbouring Nilotic tribes. They mixed freely and intermarried with the Nilotes. The Baggara Arab of today has an ebony, dark complexion and is regarded as the most warlike of the Arabs, this being attributed to his "Negro" descent (Trimingham: 30-49).

b) The Jaliyin-Danagla group which comprises the riparian and Kordofan sedentaries (mainly the Jawabra, Badairya, Shayigia, Batahin etc.) is referred to as Arab because its people speak Arabic as their mother tongue. They belong to the 'rotana' speaking Danagla.

As a direct result of the Arab penetration of, and the spread of Islam in, the Sudan, the entire tribes and ethnic groups in the Northern Sudan became transformed into an Islamic, Arab nation. There is an exceptionally strong urge for Arabism amongst the Northern Sudanese people; everybody wants to be an Arab. Of course, there is no clear-cut pigmentational dichotomy among the various ethnic groups in the Sudan. The complexion ranges from brown to black. Even some people of African origin whose complexion is brown like the Azande are easily accepted as Arabs provided they are Muslims and speak fluent Arabic. With the Sudanese Arabs the element of pigmentation as a racial feature is deliberately ignored.

With the Arabs the idea of 'half caste' is relatively alien. If the father is Arab, the child will be Arab without reservations. If we visualise an Arab marrying a Nilotic woman in the fourteenth century and visualise a son being born, the son would be an Arab. If we imagined in turn that the son again married a Nilotic woman who bore a son, this son too would be an Arab. If we then assumed that the process is repeated, generation after generation, until a child is born in the second half of the twentieth century with only a drop of his blood still ostensibly of Arab derivation and the rest of his blood is indubitably Nilotic, the twentieth century child is still an Arab (Mazrui: 56).

The category of Arabs described above constitutes the real Sudanese Arabs. The other category comprises the "make believe" or claimed Arabs. Thus the word "Arab" in its racial context must be qualified by the word "claimed" when it is applied to Sudanese Arab. For, without such qualification, the population of Arabs become so negligible that it is absurd to refer to the Sudan as an Afro-Arab country. The general appearance of the Sudanese public today gives an immediate impression that the Sudan is an African country rather than an Afro-Arab country. The 1956 population census, which is still the only reliable census to-date, gives the population structure as follows:

- **58% Africans**
- **39% Arabs**—real or claimed
- **3% Other races**
The above percentage of Arab population in the Sudan constitutes the ruling class. Due to their political consciousness and cultural animation the Arabs have been able to wield superiority and dominance over the bulk of the Sudanese population since the 16th century. They are notorious for branding other non-Arab ethnic groups who have a fairer skin as "halabiyin" (gypsies) and for dubbing the dark-skin Africans "Abid" (slaves).

Southerners

The people of Southern Sudan have been categorized into Sudanics, Nilo-Hamites and Nilotes.

The Sudanic tribes occupy western Bahr el-Ghazal, western Equatoria and the Nimule area of eastern Equatoria. They are agriculturalists in terms of traditional occupation. The largest tribe in this ethnic category are the Azande. The Azande are a conglomerate of tribes who, though heterogenous in origin, have come to speak a common language and share in a common culture. The Azande were formed into a nation by the powerful Avongora rulers who trace their origin to Gura, a once powerful ruler who in the 18th century began the process of conquering and absorbing the neighbouring tribes. The Azande expansion posed a great threat to the neighbouring tribes which were being swallowed up by the former. Their expansion was halted only by the British conquest of Yambio in 1905 which was by then under the sovereign authority of Gbudwe (Seligmans: Ch 15).

The Nilo-Hamitic tribes, according to tradition, migrated from the east. The term Bari, which means "others" was a name applied to denote the main body of the Dongoda tribe which split during their advance toward the Nile basin. The Nilo-Hamites are divided into agriculturalists and pastoralists. The pastoralists are, among others, the Latuka, Mandari, Toposa, Murle, and Didinga; the agriculturalists are the Bari speaking tribes. The Nilo-Hamitic tribes are generally egalitarian. Fellow tribesmen are expected to defend their tribe, pay respect to the elders and accept the authority of the Rain Chief. Normally, the Rain Chief enjoyed the highest status in the community. He received traditional taxes and gifts in kind from his community and was among the richest. But if he failed to produce rain he might be killed or his property looted for hiding the rain. For instance, during the famine years of 1855–1859, Nyigilo, the Rain Maker of Billinyang Bari was hunted down and stabbed to death by hungry Bari youth on the grounds that he had failed to produce rain. His belly was ripped open and his corpse left to the vultures.

The Nilotes mainly occupy the swampland of Southern Sudan. They are cattle-owners and in terms of complexion they are amongst the blackest people in the world with shining and hairless bodies. Moreover, they
are amongst the tallest people and in Africa they are matched only by the Tutsi tribe of Rwanda and Burundi whose average height is almost 71 inches. The Nilotes may have come to their present homeland from the north following the White Nile. According to tradition, some of the Nilotes were pushed down the White Nile by a formidable alien foe. Other Nilotic tribes, especially the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk, strongly believe that they are natives of the Nile basin. This belief is vividly expressed in their legends, prayers and songs. Some Nilotic groups claim divine blood relationships with such reptiles as crocodiles, hippos and even pythons. However, the claim that they migrated from the north is supported at least by the following facts:

1. Archaeological evidence found on a site round Khartoum which dates back to Neolithic age establishes cultural links between the Nilotes of today and the Negroes who lived at the confluence of the Nile.

2. The Egyptian cultural traits and customs which are being practised by the Nilotic tribes in the Sudan clearly indicate direct contacts between them and Egyptians during the Dynastic Age. One such example of Egyptian cultural influence relates to the deformation of the horns of bullocks which was a common practice with the Egyptians of the Dynastic era. Some Nilotic tribes continue to deform the horns of their bullocks till this day.

3. The existence of obvious Nilotic names in the area round Khartoum and beyond, strongly suggests that the Nilotes might have lived in that area. The word Khartoum itself is a Dinka word meaning the confluence of tributaries. Similarly, the word Gederaf is a corruption of the Nuer words "Get Arab" meaning Arab Son. Of all the Sudanese tribes the biggest is the Nilotic Dinka. They are an amalgam of about 25 mutually independent sections and are scattered over the provinces of Bahr el-Ghazal and Upper Nile. The various sections speak the Dinka language with varying accents that almost amount to dialects. For example, a Dinka Bor in Upper Nile can hardly understand his Dinka Malual tribesman in Bahr el-Ghazal and vice versa. The word "Dinka" is not a proper name for the Dinka people. They call themselves Muony-Jang or Jieng meaning simply the man of Jieng. The word 'Jieng' itself means people or the public. Similarly, the word "Nuer" is not the proper name for the Nuer people who prefer to be called Naath, meaning people. The Dinka word "Mony" refers to a man and if the name of a tribe is added such as Mony-Bari, Mony-Zande, Mony-Shilluk etc., it means the man of that tribe.

Whatever ethnic categories and tribal differences are attributed to the people of Southern Sudan, the fact is that these people have attained a considerable level of socio-cultural homogeneity and ethnic miscegena-
tion across centuries of their co-existence. They are black Africans south of Sahara. For all intents and purposes they are united in one culture and racial origin. As Oliver Albino puts it (118):

...we have our history, our common enemy and our cultural similarities. We were enslaved together, we have fought together and we are suppressed indiscriminately as a single subject race.
2. Early External Contacts

SOUTHERN SOCIETY BEFORE FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Since time immemorial Southern Sudan had maintained very limited and peripheral contacts with the outside world until its traumatic conquest by the Turko-Egyptian forces in the 1840s. Such contacts occurred between some of the neighbouring Nilotic tribes and the people of Northern Sudan, who were profoundly influenced by waves of foreign civilizations through Egypt. For example, until the rise of the Funj kingdom in the 16th century, the Shilluk kingdom founded in 1490 was the sole master of the greatest part of the White Nile in the north. Its territory extended as far as Kawa and Dueim, and as late as mid-nineteenth century it took possession of Aba island, the cradle of the Mahdiya. James Bruce, the Scottish traveller who travelled through Sennar in 1772 on his way to Ethiopia, stated that the Funj dynasty known as the Black sultanate was founded by Shilluk warriors who beat their track down the White Nile.

However, the chief causes for the limited contacts between the South and the outside world may be summarised as follows:

1. Southern Sudan is completely landlocked from all directions except the White Nile which flows from the south to the north. But the waters of the White Nile were at the time too sluggish and full of water hyacinth to be navigable.

2. The natural conditions of the land constituted a formidable obstacle to the foreigners. The marshes, the sudd, the unpleasant weather and the many tropical diseases all acted in concert to close away the South from the outside world.

3. The temperament of many of the Southern tribes, who showed temerity and intolerance to foreign interference in their local affairs, made it practically impossible for foreigners to gain influence among the people. This rather rigid resistance to foreign presence on the part of Southerners led them to be described as savages, wretched beasts, primitives etc. J.S.R. Duncan, an experienced British administrator who served as commissioner of Fangak District, Upper Nile, from 1946–1950 quoted (as other have done) the Old Testament Prophet Isaiah:

   Ah, land of whirring wings
   which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia;
   which sends ambassadors by the Nile,
in vessels of papyrus upon the waters!
Go, you swift messengers, to a nation tall and
smooth, to a people feared near and far,
a nation mighty and conquering, whose land the rivers divide.

The Southern society which existed before the incursions of foreign influence could be depicted as a web of self contained tribal entities based on linguistic and traditional ties. Each tribal entity is further divided into sections which are in turn composed of clans. A clan is an association of several family heads who claim one patrilineal ancestry. Every individual person was first and foremost required to pay allegiance to his clan, his section and ultimately his tribe. The most cherished virtues in this tribal set up were chivalry, pride, toughness and straight-forwardness. These virtues were essential since the splitting of society into tribal entities meant perilous and tough existence. It precipitated internecine feuds among the people for each tribe endeavoured to defend its integrity, its independence and, as far as possible, its dominance and superiority over the rest of the tribes. The inevitable result was that a stronger and bigger tribe would assimilate the weaker ones and make them composite parts of its whole. Today, no single tribe in the Southern Sudanese society can claim purity in the sense that there are no elements from other tribes in their midst. But wars were not so frequent since neighbouring tribes always drew up treaties of peaceful co-existence between themselves.

In their tribal set up people practised subsistence economy. The idea of marketing being nonexistent, every family laboured to produce just enough for consumption until the next harvest. With the exception of the Shilluk and Zande who had their own kingdoms, the bulk of the Southern society practised egalitarian handling of public affairs. Public affairs were managed mainly by the elders and religious leaders. As well as being the custodian of religious rituals, the Divine Chief was the sole authority to predict whether a war was to be won or lost. The councils of elders, on their part, were responsible for the daily and routine administration of public welfare, including conclusion of peace agreements between the discordant parties and assessment of blood compensations for lives lost in the conflict.

Every individual was bound to observe the social norms of his tribal society, pay tribute to his divine chief and attend to the safety, welfare and dignity of his tribe, section or clan. It was quite a simple but happy and free way of life devoid of anxieties and unnecessary coercion that are found in "modernized" societies. A native Southerner wished nothing in life but to be left free to live in the way of his ancestors. Although most Southern Sudanese were vehemently opposed to any idea of change imposed upon them by external cultures, the Nilotics were unparalleled in their resistance for they are:
... essentially proud, aloof, tenacious of their old beliefs and ideas, intensely religious and by far the most introvert of the people of the Sudan, desiring nothing from the white man except to be left alone, and when this is not granted showing determined opposition and only yielding with extreme slowness to the overwhelming pressure brought to bear by government and missionary"...

As Professor Evans-Pritchard has fittingly put it, "... the Nuer, besides being extraordinarily proud, is good natured if approached without any suggestion of superiority, but very reticent and unlikely to show his feelings even to those whom he approves" (Seligmans:13–14).

In the way illustrated above, the Southerner was able to lead his daily life. Although surrounded by all sorts of hazards and perils, he was content to live within the circle of his tribe in an atmosphere free from indignities and oppression. He was expected to conserve his traditions, show courage at the moment of need, work hard to produce enough food for the family and to respect the counsel of his elders. Although the life was simple but cumbersome the Southerner never aspired for anything more than to be left free in his land. He never showed any sign of discontent with his own style of life even at the sight of the luxurious lifestyle exhibited by the civilized foreigners. He bore his hardships and misfortunes with relative calm while attributing his sufferings to the will of his God.

THE SLAVE-TRADE

Slavery in the Southern Sudan was introduced for the first time by Egyptian rulers. In 1820, Mohamed Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, assembled a vast army at Wadi Halfa for the invasion of the Sudan. The army was to advance in two directions: one to follow the Nile up to Sennar and the other to march through the wilderness of the Bayuda Desert to Kordofan. In September 1820, a force of 4,000 men under the command of Ismail, the third son of the Viceroy, left Wadi Halfa for Sennar. By the end of 1821, the Turko-Egyptian forces were in full control of the north and the centre of the Sudan. One of the main motives for Mohamed Ali's conquest of the Sudan was to obtain able-bodied slaves for the black army which he had long contemplated. In a letter to one of his commanders Mohamed Ali said: "You are aware that the end of all our efforts and this expense is to procure negroes. Please show zeal in carrying out our wishes in this capital matter" (Hill:13). By exhorting his men to push deep into Africa, Mohamed Ali hoped to "secure a vast reservoir of almost untapped slave-supply". For, not only did he need able-bodied slaves for recruitment into his army, he also required other types of slaves for servile labour in his many agricultural and industrial enterprises.

The principal sources of slaves were in the Funj mountains lying to the west of Ethiopia whose inhabitants were the infidel Ingassana, the Nuba
mountains and the almost untapped "pagan" Upper Nile. In 1830, Khurshid, the new Turko-Egyptian Governor-General, organized an expedition along the Nile which went as far as the mouth of river Sobat. On its return downstream, a band of Shilluk warriors attacked the boat and dispersed the slave-captives. Motivated by the desire both to discover the source of the Nile and to procure more slaves, Mohamed Ali issued instructions to his Governor-General in 1836 to champion a major expedition into Southern Sudan:

O Khurshid, the great are those who leave lasting traces of their sojourn upon the earth ... others leave no traces of their passage across the world; no one knows when they were born and when they die. Humanity charges us with the duty of following the example of the great. If you and your troops attain your goals, you will perpetuate among men the memory of your deeds till the end of the time. You will add a glorious page to the history of our Egypt ... and render a signal service to mankind (Hill:32).

The Viceroy, for reasons best known to himself, abandoned Khurshid rather abruptly and turned to Captain Salim Kapudan to command the expedition up the White Nile. Salim Kapudan made his expedition along the White Nile three times. On 16th November 1839, Salim Kapudan set out on his historic mission of exploring the White Nile and the exploitation of the resources along its valley. The expedition which consisted of ten boats sailed from Khartoum to unknown horizons along the untried, sluggish river. The expedition went as far as Bor from whence it had to return back as the river proved quite impassable. In November 1840, having replenished his supplies, Salim resumed his mission for the second time. This time the expedition managed to sail as far as Gondokoro near Juba. Salim's third and last expedition only improved on the second by a few miles.

In all those expeditions, the Turko-Egyptian troops at last saw for themselves what had hindered foreigners from entering deep into Southern Sudan. The further they went the more difficulties they faced, as the Sudd thickened and deepened making access to the shore a practical impossibility. Swarms of painful biting insects landed upon them in a bid to test their patience; the scorching sun tanned their skins; the stale air attempted suffocation; diseases threatened to take their lives; and the incidental bifurcation of the river almost caused deviations. Similarly, the hostile attitude of the natives necessitated vigilance on the part of the expeditionary forces.

Although Salim Kapudan's expeditions obviously fell short of their twin objectives, namely, the location of the source of the White Nile and the procurement of wealth along its valley, yet they are regarded as a landmark in the modern history of the Southern Sudan, for they succeeded in lifting forever, the formidable curtain that had closed off the
South from the outside world since time immemorial. From that time onwards, Southern Sudan became a highway for the advance of foreign influence into tropical Africa.

Salim's expeditions came back with news of vast economic potential in the area. From the Bari, they learned of the abundance of ivory, gold, copper and iron mines. This news aroused special interest from the Egyptian as well as the European traders. There was a rush for commercial activity in the White Nile by both the Egyptian government and the European traders. They were trading mainly in ivory which they bartered with beads and calico from the natives. The number of boats navigating the White Nile annually rose from a dozen boats in 1851 to about 80 boats in 1859.

By 1854, the ivory supplies became exhausted in both Bari and Shilluk territories to which the traders had hitherto restricted their activities. Although the ivory could still be found in abundance in the interior, the traders could no longer use the natives for the purpose of obtaining the ivory in the jungle because the latter had already been alienated by the traders' contemptuous attitude. In 1857, trade in slaves took the place of ivory. A Frenchman, de Malzac, was the first to lead an organized expedition into the interior by establishing his station (Zariba) near Rumbek. His treatment of the inhabitants was characterized by utter cruelty, mass massacre and armed robbery. He beheaded many native people and planted their heads round his settlement "in order to instill terror into the neighbourhood" (Gray:47).

By playing the tribes one against another and also by means of their powerful rifles, the traders were able to acquire slaves with relative ease. By means of sheer violence, the traders had infiltrated deep into the interior and had established their Zaribas everywhere. By 1861, the rate of slave-hunting had intensified to the extent that Gondokoro which had become the central supply base was continually congested with slaves. In Bahr el-Ghazal, groups of armed Danagla and Jaliyin slave traders had forced their way through Kordofan and Darfur and established their Zaribas there. The most powerful of these traders was Zubeir Rahma Mansur, a Jaali who came to Bahr el-Ghazal in 1856. He established a large powerful Zariba at Deim Zubeir (named after him) for the slave- raids. In 1866, he entered into alliance with the Baggara Arabs for safe passage of his slave-caravans through their territory to Kordofan. With an armed band of not less than a thousand men at his command, Zubeir created an empire whose raids in slaves reached probably as many as 1800 slaves in a single year. By 1860 the slave-trade reached its peak in Southern Sudan and the African population there was on the threshold of extinction. In the opinion of Joseph Natterer, an Austrian consul in Khartoum, "there are no longer merchants but only robbers and slavers on the White Nile".
In the provinces of Bahr el-Ghazal, Darfur and Kordofan at least 5,000 traders were involved in slave trade and it was estimated that more than 400,000 slaves were exported to Egypt and that, in addition, thousands of them died on the way. The share of Bahr el-Ghazal was 15,000 slaves per annum, and that of the White Nile was 2,000 slaves per annum. The method normally used to capture slaves and their subsequent treatment were utterly dreadful. They were secured:

... by placing a heavy forked pole known as sheba on their shoulders. The head was locked in by a crossbar, the hands were tied to the pole in front and the children were bound to their mothers by a chain passed around their necks. Everything the village contained would be looted—cattle, ivory, grain, even the crude jewellery that was cut off the dead victims—and then the whole cavalcade would be marched back to the river to await shipment to Khartoum (Moorehead:82).

However, it will be recalled that although the European traders were the forerunners of slave-trade on the White Nile, they effectively withdrew in 1865 only to be replaced by bands of armed Northern Sudanese and Arabs who pursued the same trade with equal vigour as the Europeans. As news of the horrors of the infernal trade in the White Nile reached the British Antislavery Society, it picked up the matter with stringent vigour. The severity and the terrific speed with which the slave-trade had developed on the White Nile, made it evident to the Society that unless something was done the African tribes there would be wiped out. The traditional tribal structure was in dissolution and every tribe everywhere was living in absolute anarchy, fear and bitterness. Crippled and disorganized as a fighting power, they relapsed into inter-tribal wars and disputes in which they harmed none but themselves. "Every one in Khartoum", declares Sir Samuel Baker, with the exception of a few Europeans, was in favour of the slave-trade and looked with jealous eyes upon a stranger venturing within the precincts of their holy land (i.e. the White Nile Valley), a land sacred to slavery and to every abomination and villainy that man can commit" (Baker: I 17).

It was during the reign of Khedive Ismail Pasha that slavery and slave trade were temporarily extirpated. On 4th August 1877 Britain and Egypt signed an agreement known as the "Convention between British and Egyptian governments for the Suppression of the Slave-Trade". The Convention provided that any person found engaged in slave traffic, directly or indirectly, should be regarded as guilty of "stealing with murder". To enforce the provisions of the Convention, the Khedive appointed Charles George Gordon as Governor-General for the Sudan. Gordon succeeded to stamp out slave-trade in the Sudan only for it to be resumed during the reign of Mahdiya when the Ansar displayed an attitude of contempt for the "infidel" Southerner. The Ansar never hesi-
Early External Contacts

The sophisticated Arab, Collins (1962) writes, "with a culture and tradition centuries old felt, not unnaturally, that he was superior to the simple African who was created by Allah to be a slave".

The slave-trade continued unabated in Southern Sudan throughout the Mahdiya. Slaves were of great importance to the Khalifa as they would swell the number of his armies. He prohibited private trade in slaves for fear that the slave merchants might create their own personal slave-armies which would undermine and threaten his authority in slave procurement areas. The Mahdists' wholesale acts of plunder and slave-hunt not only led to the further depopulation of the already devastated country, they also brought about the total impoverishment of the Southern people. Slavery and slave-trade were finally extirpated by the Condominium administration in 1898.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES (1846–1881)

The arrival of the Catholic missionaries in Southern Sudan dates back to 1846 when the Church decided to establish its mission in Central Africa. The decision was to forestall rampant rumours that a protestant bishop was planning to send missionaries to that region. On April 3, 1846, Pope Gregory XVI issued a decree establishing the Apostolic Vicariate of Central Africa. Its jurisdiction covered Egypt and Algeria in the north, the Red Sea and Ethiopia in the east and the "Mountains of the Moon" in the south.

The first missionary expedition was composed of Fr. Maximilan Ryllo (Provicar), Fr. Casolani, Fr. Pedemonte, Fr. Vinco and Dr. Knoblecher. This was another group of foreigners who entered the Southern Sudan but with a mission completely different from, and diametrically opposed to that of the others. The explorers came to Africa to discover its rivers, lakes and mountains for no nobler reason other than to be famous at home and to be wealthy at the same time; the traders came to exploit Africa's riches and to enslave the people; the colonialists in their scramble for the Continent sought wealth and political supremacy. The ideals of the missionaries, however, were somewhat different—they "sought for souls to bring them God and lead them to God, to offer them comfort, health, learning, self-respect and peace" (Baroni:8). However, the formal objectives of the Catholic Mission were: the conversion of Negroes to Christianity, the bringing of assistance to the Christian traders and the suppression of slave-trade.

The expedition arrived in Khartoum on February 11, 1848 where the head of the mission, Fr. Maximilan Ryllo, died after four months, leaving Dr. Knoblecher as his successor. Dr. Knoblecher was a man of delicate build and a gifted linguist with cultural and scientific interests. In 1849,
the missionaries left for the White Nile Valley. During the travel the missionaries realized that the unbridled atrocities committed by the "Turks" and traders against the natives had alienated them and made them hostile to foreigners. In fact most of the natives deserted their homes along the White Nile and went to settle in distant places. In their report of 1850 the missionaries said: "We sailed along deserted banks because the poor savages living near the river are in constant fear of the Turks, from whom they often receive cruel treatment."

On their arrival at Gondokoro the missionaries were accorded a warm welcome by Chief Nyigilo of Bilinyang. They reached Gondokoro on January 9th, 1850. Knoblecher made a brief visit to Rejaf where he climbed a small mountain to obtain a better view of the surrounding country. From the summit he saw the undulating plain occupied by isolated homes and villages. Knoblecher was greatly impressed "by so much natural beauty and by the good-natured Negroes" and consequently he decided to build a church there. Knoblecher and the rest of his missionaries then returned to Khartoum. He proceeded to Europe in order to seek financial help for his mission and also to appeal before the European powers for protection against the Turko-Egyptian government which was apparently opposed to the presence of the Christian missionaries in the White Nile region.

While Knoblecher was in Europe, Fr. Vinco made a private visit to the Bari country in January 1851. Having obtained two boats and a number of servants from the European trader Brun Rollet, Vinco stole away from the surveillance of the Turks and set out towards the Nile Valley. He was the first missionary to settle amongst the Bari. With the help of Nyigilo he surveyed the Bari villages and he also travelled as far as Torit. Eventually, he bought a piece of land at Libo on the Nile where he settled. After two years of hard missionary work among the Bari he died in January 1853, making him the first missionary to die in the White Nile Valley.

Knoblecher returned to Khartoum from Europe in December 1852 in the company of five new missionary priests and some laymen who were skilled craftsmen. In Egypt, Knoblecher bought an iron boat which he christened Stella Matutina. The boat was of great utility to the missionaries since it made them independent of the government and traders. On December 13th, 1852, Knoblecher left for Gondokoro together with three priests. On their arrival in Gondokoro in January 1853, they bought a piece of land, an occasion which was attended by several chiefs. In their speech the chiefs emphasized that "the stranger must buy a field for himself and his comrades; he can grow trees in it and instruct our children; and because the strangers have nothing in common with the robbers and murderers from the foreign lands the chiefs are bound to ensure that no one damages their possessions". Fr. Mosgan went to es-
establish a church among Kiec Dinka at Abukula between Shambe and Bor which is to this day known as Kanisa i.e. Church.

In spite of the high rate of death among the missionaries, more groups of missionaries were being supplied to the area. In 1856 a fresh force of missionaries arrived at Khartoum some of whom proceeded to the White Nile area. In that same year, a team of Verona priests arrived at the area, including Daniel Comboni, who later became a prominent personality among those who came to the Sudan. Dr. Knoblecher met them at Aswan on his way back to Europe and released the following statement:

I commend to you the Verona mission, of which you (Fr. Betrame) are in charge. Orders have already been given that you and your companions will be welcomed at Holy Cross. You will stay there for some time to explore the country, record the customs of the inhabitants and study their language. You will then choose a suitable site to form your mission ... I do not know whether we shall ever meet again. I am worn out. I feel that I shall die soon.

Dr. Knoblecher was in fact certain of his death, for when he left Khartoum he was already wasted by fever and completely worn out. He died at Naples on April 13, 1858 at the age of 38.

The Verona expedition reached Holy Cross on February 14, 1858 where they found that Fr. Mosgan, its founder, had died. With confidence and determination the Italian missionaries set about their task. They studied the Dinka language and were able to compile a Dinka Dictionary of about 300 pages. "We have explored the country of the Dinka," wrote Mgr. Comboni, "where we have ascertained the habits, customs and beliefs of the negroes. In a short time these negroes will give themselves up to Christianity, if the ministry can be continued. The foot of the trees are our pulpit, which is always surrounded by chiefs and naked blacks armed with spears. They listen to Cod's word with great eagerness".

A team of Franciscans arrived in the Sudan in furtherance of evangelism in Central Africa. In 1860 the missionaries established a mission at Kaka among the Shilluk. As the Roman Catholic missionaries purported to fulfil their mission with determination and zeal in Central Africa, they were at the same time racing with death and their numbers were being reduced at the rate of geometric progression. In the space of only seven years (1851–1858) 22 missionaries had died in the area. Even the Franciscan missionaries who joined at a later stage had a tragic start. Of the 35 missionaries sent in 1860 only seven priests were alive at the close of 1860 when they decided to pull out of the area. This tragic state of affairs frightened the sending agency, Propaganda Fide, and it decided to close down the Vicariate of Central Africa with the following sad statement: "After so many sacrifices we shall have to give up this mission".
The missionaries left the White Nile with "heaviness in their hearts", taking with them such of the black pupils as prudence would suggest. The Kiec Dinka who had lived under the superficial protection of the missionaries at the Holy Cross complained rather bitterly: "If you abandon us, who will defend us from the Danagla armed men, when they come to take our children? You have helped our poor and cured our sick; who will console and cure us?" (Toniolo: 136).

Besides the uncompromising climate, the commonest diseases which caused the death toll among missionaries were malaria, bilharzia, yellow fever and a host of other tropical diseases which were still unknown at the time.

It will be recalled that among the Verona missionaries who arrived in Central Africa in 1857 was a young priest called Daniel Comboni, who a few years afterwards rose to be the greatest Roman Catholic pioneer in Central Africa. At the closure of the Vicariate in 1860, Fr. Comboni withdrew but with the determination that one day he would return to resume the Catholic mission in Central Africa. Thus, on his arrival in his home country he started to draw up a plan for the resuscitation of the Apostolic Vicariate of Central Africa.

The gist of his plan was to regenerate Africa through Africans. He believed that since Europeans could not withstand the climate of Central Africa nor could Africans resist the European climate, the best way was to establish institutes possibly along the African coastal areas where the mild climate would suit Africans and Europeans alike. The purpose of these institutes was to train African boys and girls for missionary work in the interior of the continent. In other words, Comboni intended to introduce the principle of "indirect administration" in the missionary sphere. After gaining the interest of the Pope in his plan, he toured the whole of Europe to announce, explain and recommend the plan.

On December 20, 1871, Fr. Comboni arrived in Khartoum with a number of missionaries and commenced his mission. In May 1872, he was appointed Provicar Apostolic of Central Africa, a position which he held until 1877 when he was consecrated the first Bishop of the Sudan. Bishop Comboni established several stations in the Sudan, opening one at el-Obeid in 1873, at Berber 1874 and others at Wadi Halfa, Suakin and Omdurman. On April 12, 1878, he addressed his congregation in Khartoum saying:

I have come back to you who have been the first love of my youth ... From now onwards I’ll be wholly yours and always at your service. Day and night, in good and bad weather you will always find me ready to come to you and help you. Your happiness shall be mine too, and your suffering shall be mine as well. I begin today to live your life and one day I’ll be happy if I’ll be able to offer my life for you.
The bishop continued to work in the Sudan with relentless vigour until his death in Khartoum on October 10, 1881 at the age of 50. Bishop Comboni concentrated his missionary efforts in the north and western Sudan and never attempted to establish any missionary station in Southern Sudan. Nevertheless, Central Africa will always remember him as one of its foremost Roman Catholic pioneers who devoted their lives to the service of its people. Indeed, he was the founder of the Verona Fathers' Order.

At the time of bishop Comboni's death, an impending disaster was looming over the country. In 1881, Mohamed Ahmed Abdalla declared himself as the awaited Mahdi (the elect of God sent to fill the earth with justice and equality) and declared a revolution against the Turko-Egyptian rule. Defeating the Egyptian forces one after another, the Mahdists took over Khartoum in 1883. In the face of this imminent danger, the missionaries withdrew to Egypt. In 1885, the Roman Catholic missionaries and the Anglican "Gordon Memorial Mission" (later called Church Missionary Society) met and formed the Sudan Mission in Exile. After the defeat of the Mahdiya in September 1898 by the Anglo-Egyptian forces, the missionaries returned to the Sudan to resume their work.
3. Colonial Rule in Southern Sudan

THE RACE FOR THE NILE

The ferocious contest for control of the White Nile that ensued between Great Britain, France and King Leopold II of Belgium during the European scramble for Africa inevitably brought the primeval swampland of the Southern Sudan into focus. This rather desperate drive for the upper Nile Valley did not merely arise out of lust for colonial expansion nor was it aimed at exploiting its riches. Obviously all the three competing powers were aware that the Southern Sudan was a poor and inhospitable country inhabited by primitive tribes. Lord Cromer, the British Consular agent in Egypt, once remarked, that the land consisted of "large tracts of useless territory which it would be difficult and costly to administer properly". Lord Salisbury, the British Premier, later summed up Cromer's description in two words — "Wretched stuff" (Brown:23).

There were of course such imperialist ideals as the French concept of an African empire stretching from Dakar in the west to French Somaliland in the east, and the British dream of a south-north route from Cairo to the Cape of Good Hope. But these considerations were secondary to the primary objective of protecting Egyptian interests or upsetting them in the upper Nile Valley. Great Britain desired to maintain Egyptian interests but France wanted to undermine them.

Egypt was conquered by Great Britain in September 1882. From that time onwards Great Britain began to inherit Egyptian interests and problems as her own. One vital reason for British invasion of Egypt was to gain control of the Suez Canal and in doing so she would keep European rivals out of the Suez route to India and the Far East. The British invasion of Egypt greatly provoked France which persistently called upon Great Britain to withdraw. For France, Egypt was "the mysterious and romantic land Napoleon had invaded and in which French culture and scholars had found a warm reception and a fruitful harvest" (Collins 1968:7). Besides, the Suez Canal was dug since 1859 by a Frenchman using French money and technology and therefore it was natural that France, not Britain, should have the upperhand in Egypt. As Great Britain declined to be persuaded to evacuate Egypt by peaceful and diplomatic means, France decided to find other effective ways of compelling her to do so. This France found in the upper Nile Valley.

It has long been recognized that Egypt is the gift of the Nile without which it cannot survive. The Egyptian rulers have always been keen to study the regime of the Nile waters and to monitor the Nile Valley for any
serious development affecting the Nile. Hydrological studies have shown that the Blue Nile contributes 68 per cent, Atbara 22 per cent and White Nile 10 per cent during the flood season. But in the low season (from December to the end of May) the situation is reversed: the White Nile now contributes 83 per cent, the Blue Nile 17 per cent while Atbara contributes nothing at all. More recent hydraulic studies had revealed that the Blue Nile and Atbara floods could hardly be obstructed in view of their quite unmanageable volumes. As for the White Nile it was strongly believed that its flow was regulatable given modern hydraulic engineering techniques. In this way, a French engineer by name Victor Prompt lectured in 1893 about the practicability of obstructing the Nile waters. He argued that a dam could be built across the Upper Nile and used in such a manner as to put Egypt in danger of either drought or rampaging flood waters.

Prompt's lecture impressed the French government which had been probing ways and means of affecting the British position in Egypt. The French Colonial Office obtained a copy of Prompt's paper and after studying it carefully, it came to the conclusion that by occupying Fashoda in upper Nile, France would secure the head waters of the Nile. In November 1895 the French government issued an official endorsement of the expedition. The mission was to be commanded by Captain Marchand, a tough and able soldier whose earlier campaigns in Western Sudan had won him the reputation of being a bold and competent commander. His orders were: "Go to Fashoda. France is going to fire her pistol" (Collins 1968:50).

Making Fashoda the centre of colonial administration in the White Nile had been the aim of all the competing powers because Fashoda being the first station downstream where many tributaries combine to form the White Nile, it was the best place where the Nile waters could be controlled. In July 1896, captain Marchand left West Africa for Fashoda. In September 1897, the expedition reached the township of Tambura where it camped for about ten months to replenish its supplies from across the Congo—Nile divide. In June 1898, the expedition commenced its wearisome journey to Fashoda and finally arrived in deplorable condition on July, 10. On arrival at Fashoda the French expedition hurriedly hoisted the flag and signed a treaty with the Shilluk King making the country a colony of France. Had the contradictions of history not interfered with the course of events in the upper Nile Valley, Southern Sudan could have well cast its fate with French Africa.

Shortly after the final defeat of the Mahdists at the battle of Omdurman, Lord Kitchener received the news of the presence of French troops in upper Nile. In September 1898, a flotilla carrying Lord Kitchener and his troops laboured up the White Nile. It was the last of Kitchener's conquest missions in the Sudan. On September 10, 1898, Kitchener went to
meet Captain Marchand. In their meeting each side claimed ownership of the territory and protested the presence of the other. Neither side could agree to withdraw from Fashoda. The only compromise reached was for the two parties to refer the matter to their respective governments. The governments of both countries received the news with heated tempers and feelings of provocation. The British government threatened to declare war against France if Captain Marchand did not withdraw promptly. France on her part felt strongly that her prestige as a world power had been challenged and was preparing to go to war with Great Britain when she realised, at the nick of time, that her military capabilities were quite deficient. Thus with great disappointment and bitterness, France had to order the withdrawal of her forces from upper Nile on November 3, 1898; her pistol had misfired.

The third contender for the upper Nile was King Leopold II of Belgium and the sole sovereign of the Congo Free State. After King Leopold II (1835–1909) had founded the Congo Free State in 1885 with himself as the sole ruler, answerable to no one except himself, he purported to carry out his somewhat unrealistic plan of carving for himself an empire stretching from the Atlantic Ocean and embracing the Nile Basin up to the Mediterranean Sea. Although, he depicted himself as a philanthropist whose interest was to eradicate slavery in Africa, King Leopold was a grabbing imperialist. From Bakongo which was the original territory allocated to it, the Congo Free State rapidly expanded to the neighbouring areas of Baluba, Lulua, Luvale, Kwango and Kile. From there the King planned to get hold of Southern Sudan where he would become the master of the upper Nile. This was not a simple task since it brought him face to face with the more powerful Great Britain. But confident of himself as a great personality, he hoped to achieve his aim through legal claims and diplomatic skill rather than by the use of vast armies and navies. In April 1890, King Leopold concluded an agreement in Brussels with Sir William Mackinnon, the proprietor of the Imperial British East Africa Company. Under this agreement, known as the Mackinnon Treaty, the Congo Free State was given the right to annex the eastern bank of the Nile as far north as the Lado Enclave. Later on, when the King sought to enforce the terms of the treaty, he was surprised to discover that the British had nullified it. Determined not to give in to the British the King in 1896 organized a Nile expedition under Captain Chaltin. On February 18, 1897 the expedition defeated the Mahdists at Rejaf and captured the station. The lack of reinforcement impeded the expedition from advancing further north and when it became evident that no such reinforcement was forthcoming the expedition withdrew from Rejaf. King Leopold's plan to forestall the European powers in the area was thus frustrated. Similarly, King Leopold's moves to occupy Bahr-el Ghazal met with a definite rebuff from the British who main-
tained that "the streams and rivulets that rise on the Congo Nile Divide must remain British to protect the Imperial lifelines that passed through the Suez Canal to India and the East" (Collins 1968:61).

By annexing Bahr el-Ghazal the King had hoped to exploit available minerals in the area, especially at the famous Hufrat an Nahas on the western fringe of the region. He actually created two concessionaire companies for this purpose. All these attempts were foiled by Great Britain who did, however, make one small concession to the King: the lease of Lado Enclave for the duration of his life. This was embodied in the Anglo-Congolese Agreement of May 9, 1906. Soon after the death of King Leopold II in 1909, the Enclave was handed back to Southern Sudan.

CONDITIONS IN THE SUDAN UPON ITS CONQUEST

It is often assumed that Northern Sudan was more advanced than the South before and after the British conquest. This is simply not true. During the thirteen years of Khalifa Abdullahi’s rule, progress in the country as a whole was brought to a standstill. "Whole villages", we are told, "had been obliterated, cultivation was at a standstill, flocks and herds had been destroyed, date palms cut down, slave-raiding was rampant and there was no security for life and property" (MacMichael:73).

In the North, the Mahdists destroyed every trace of the old Egyptian administrative institutions and every system of tribal hegemony was either wiped out or greatly weakened. Trade was at its lowest ebb and poverty reigned supreme. It has been estimated that the population of the country during the period under review fell from 8.5 million to less than 3 million, as a result of famine, pestilence and internecine warfare. There were no proper schools (save the two small primary schools at Halfa and Swakin) besides a number of little Koranic centres where children were taught, parrot fashion, the rudimentary tenets of Islam. In the South, the situation was worse. The tribes, who had retreated into the almost inaccessible swamps or mountains for fear of the Mahdists, were busy fighting among themselves, each tribe looting the property of the other. Their lives were insecure and the shortest journey was fraught with danger. Cultivation was a virtual impossibility since the new areas of hiding were either swampy or mountainous. The Mahdists, on the other hand, who roamed the country in search of natives to be forcibly converted to Islam or made slaves, posed the greatest danger in their campaigns for captives and looting.

The state of things in the North and the South was in every way deplorable. If Southerners had suffered from slave-raids and tribal feuds, the Khalifa had drained the Northern population by his Jehad, nocturnal lynchings and starvation. If education had come to a standstill in the
North, then it had merely joined the South which never enjoyed any education. The only point of departure between the North and the South was the extent of their submission to Condominium rule, which brought about the real progress in Northern Sudan, that has formed the basis of disparity in development between the two parts of the country. Whereas the North readily recognized and accepted the Condominium government, and actually offered to co-operate, the South failed to recognize it and put up a protracted resistance against it. In the North, the period of pacification was much shorter with only a few sporadic outbursts here and there, the last uprisings of which were the Funj in 1919, the Galud in 1925 and Eliri in 1929.

As for the South, it was doubtful whether there was any real submission to the foreign rule. The rampant campaigns waged by the British against Southerners in the 1920s and 1930s did effectively quell open resistance, but passive resistance continued to prevail until the end of Condominium rule in 1956. They continued to regard the British rulers as enemies who had come to destroy them just like their predecessors did. The most recent case was that of Kuac Ngor, a Dinka chief in Aweil district, who had always told his people that one day the English rulers would leave the country; and although he accepted the money paid to him by government as remunerations, he never spent it. Instead, he accumulated the money for years and, when the last British District Commissioner was leaving Aweil in 1955, the chief went to him saying: "I have always believed that you will leave our land." The chief told the Commissioner to take back his money, informing him that if there was no adequate transport to carry his things, then he (the chief) would provide porters. The stiff resistance to the British rule by many Southerners was due partly to the method used in their pacification. It was known as the method of "punitive patrol and evacuation" i.e. to march in, quell the people forcibly and leave directly. This method was not commendable, for not only did it antagonize and therefore isolate the tribes, it also enabled them to reorganize retaliatory insurgences, as in the case of the Agar Dinka in 1902.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONDOMINIUM RULE IN THE NORTH AND ITS POLICIES

The word "Condominium" refers to the agreement between Great Britain and Egypt, called the "Agreement for the Administration of the Sudan" which was signed in Cairo on January 19, 1899. The Condominium rule was the architect of modern Sudan with its present international boundaries, and any attempt to deny it this credit would be not only unjust but also absurd. Before 1899 there was, strictly speaking, no Sudan in the shape we have it today; it was only after the conquest that the
definition of the Sudan as a territorial and political entity was incorpo-
rated under Article I of the Agreement for the Administration of the
Sudan, which put the northern frontier at 22nd parallel of latitude whilst
leaving the southern frontier undefined.

Administratively, the country was divided into the North which, ac-
cording to British administrators was "Middle-eastern and Arabicized"
and the South which was "African, and Negroid". The Sudan was treated
and administered on this basis. Devastated and poor as the Sudan was,
the British administrators commenced their work from scratch and what
they did in the field of development makes up the unbridgeable disparity
between the North and the South. It has been alleged that the British co-
lonial policy in Africa was to stress the desirability of change—a change
from poverty, ignorance, barbarism to prosperity, consciousness and
civilization. As "civilizing agents", the British rulers had to show the "in-
dolent and ignorant Africans" how to rationalize their agriculture, how
to improve their livestock and how to rise to their national duties. In
short, the Africans needed to be shown the way to progress through the
"guiding hand of benevolent White teachers".

In the Sudan this policy is both true and false. It is true of the North
and false when it comes to the South. In the North, the government took
the problems of development to heart right from the beginning and it
continued to do so throughout its life. This was a deliberate policy to im-
prove the lot of the Northern people for, in Cromer's view, "it would be
morally quite indefensible to leave the large Moslem population of the
Sudan in their present condition without making every effort to assist
them". As for the South, he felt quite strongly that the first requirement
of the "savages who inhabit this region" was law and order which could be
best administered by means of strong and direct military rule. "No ser-
vice could be provided in the South beyond what was necessary for the
maintenance of government personnel and hence law and order" (An-

Thus, in the North, the development projects which the government
drew up during the first two decades were breathtaking. On January 5,
1899, Lord Cromer laid the foundation stone of the Gordon Memorial
College which was intended to serve as the centre of higher education for
the Sudanese. The fund amounting to 100,000 sterling pounds was do-
nated directly by the British Public. The College remained true to its pur-
pose and in 1959 it was converted to a full University. In 1913 the British
Parliament passed "the Government of the Sudan Loan Act 1913", which
empowered the British Treasury to guarantee a loan not exceeding three
million sterling pounds. Subsequent amendments increased it to thirteen
million pounds. These sums were earmarked for establishing the Gezira
Cotton Irrigation Scheme. After its completion the Gezira Cotton Irriga-
tion Scheme became the backbone of the national economy. By 1925 the
Sennar Dam, which was built to supply a system of gravity irrigation in the Gezira plains, was completed. The dam made the Gezira Irrigation Project a great success. Education in the North formed part of government responsibilities and was aimed at the creation of artisans in various fields and personnel to occupy the lower places in the administrative hierarchy. From 1919 onwards this policy gathered momentum. Special courses were introduced to turn out local submamurs to replace the Egyptians. In 1924, the training of Sudanese medical assistants began and was greatly boosted by the opening of the Kitchener School of Medicine in the same year. Other important training courses opened to Sudanese included mechanics, agriculture and telegraphy.

The tangible results of these concerted efforts by the government were the emergence within two decades of a Northern elite class who joined the Government Service and became loosely known as the "Effendiya". They were a new element in the Sudanese society composed of those who had been educated along Western lines and thus absorbed a good deal of political consciousness and as we shall see later, the Effendiya successfully forged the Sudan as a whole to independence.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONDOMINIUM RULE IN THE SOUTH AND ITS POLICIES, (1900–1947)

Consolidation of Condominium Administration

The advent of the Anglo-Egyptian rule was a great relief to all the slavery stricken areas of the Sudan, for not only did the government abolish the slave trade, it also declared the institution of slavery illegal. Lord Kitchener, the first Governor-General of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, declared the policy of his government regarding slavery and slave trade as follows:

Slavery is not recognized in the Sudan, but as long as service is willingly rendered by servants to masters it is unnecessary to interfere in the conditions existing between them. Where, however, any individual is subjected to cruel treatment and his or her liberty interfered with, the accused can be tried on such charges which are offences against the Law, and in serious cases of cruelty the severest sentences should be imposed.

By the force of this policy the slave trade became penal and all slaves who wanted to leave their masters were allowed to do so while those who decided in favour of remaining with their masters were regarded in law as servants, not as slaves. In the years between 1905 and 1915, 394 persons were arrested under charges of slave practice and 242 of whom were actually found guilty and convicted. Despite these intensive campaigns there were, however, sporadic incidents of kidnapping which continued as late as 1929, especially on Sudanese-Ethiopian borders and in Western
Sudan. In the South, the British administrators were firm and uncompromising in their efforts to stamp out the slave trade. The result was that the numerous slave hunters that had long haunted the Southern people disappeared in a very short time.

The extirpation of slave trade in Southern Sudan was perhaps one of the few very important achievements of the Condominium administration. Beside this achievement it would seem that the British administrators in the South had nothing to offer to the Southern people. On the contrary, the way in which the British handled the affairs in the South was both embarrassing and disappointing, for here were the vagaries of a policy of neglect, of discrimination in development between the South and the North, and worst of all, of equipping the Northerners to lord it over Southerners especially after independence. Indeed the terrible suffering and disadvantages in which Southerners found themselves after independence had their origins only in the colonial era. The problem which faced British officers after securing their foothold in the South concerned what to do with the people, since their aim in occupying the South was to control the Nile Valley. Their attitude towards the Southern people was full of damaging stereotypes and insults. They seemed to believe that the people were too primitive and wild to be developed. Indeed, the general attitude of the British administrators towards the Southern people was graphically summarized by L.F Nalder, one of the British administrators in the South, when he wrote: "There is the difference of material culture between the sophisticated Arab and the primitive savage, naked and unashamed, so primitive in some cases that in him we can visualize the early ancestors of mankind." In another place he went on to prove that "recent researches—have shown that he (the Southerner) does not even know how to feed himself, that his diet is generally so unbalanced as to be prejudicial" (Nalder:100).

The period between 1900 and 1920 became known as the period of pacification. The administrators, who were soldiers by profession, were only too happy to engage continually in patrols among the local population in order to show the Africans their glittering military strength. Anything that the administrators had to do was connected with the security and consolidation of Condominium rule in the South. They surveyed and established administrative centres and they successfully engaged in the clearing of Sudd from the Bahr el-Jebel and Bahr el-Ghazal rivers so as to secure the transportation of supplies from the North without unnecessary delays. The work was accomplished in 1903. Another important undertaking was the formation of Equatorial Corps in 1911. Civilian Northerners were hindered from entering the South. They feared that their administration would be undermined and disturbed by fanatical Northern Muslims. The Equatorial Corps was formed basically in order to pose as an African counterweight to possible Muslim rebellion in the
Sudan. Since their conquest of the Sudan, British administrators had never discounted the likelihood of a Muslim revolt being wary of their fanaticism. They feared and distrusted every Muslim, including the soldiers whom they used during the conquest. They doubted the ability of Muslim troops to suppress rebellious "co-religionists". R.C. Owen, the Governor of Equatoria province, for instance, was careful not to observe Sunday in his province because: "the bigoted Moslems of which there are always some ... in every Sudanese battalion might and I think probably would cause trouble if made to work on Fridays. Unfortunately, the army is a great mission agent and all the Sudanese askari make a point of seeing that every recruit does become one and the Imams instruct them from the Koran". Owen then went on to suggest that: "an Equatoria battalion be formed for service in the South, composed entirely of southerners, and the commands of which would be in English, and the observances of which would be Christian".

However, after the Equatorial Corps had been formed and the last batch of the Northern troops had left Mongalla on December 7, 1917, the Governor reported, with an air of relief, that he had "quietly removed the more fanatical, super religious Muslim soldiers, jallaba (peddlers) and riff-raffs alike—hoping that the authorities in Khartoum will see that they don't return and also will keep any old soldiers in Omdurman and generally northern people from coming and settling anywhere in the province". He went on further to implore his successor, C.S. Northcote to keep out all Northern merchants because: "if a Jehad is ever started in the Sudan and Northern Africa, it would be a great thing if the countries south of the sudd were free from it and if we could link up with Uganda which is practically entirely Christian and so have an anti-Islam buffer or bulwark in this part of Africa" (Collins 1971:176–7).

Separation of the South from the North (1900–1949)
The policy of separate administration for the South was heavily influenced by the administrators' desire to block out Arabism and Islam from Black Africa. The idea of preventing the penetration of the Arab influence into the interior of Africa had existed long before the conquest of the Sudan. Some prominent British personalities had expressed fears regarding the integrity of East Africa where the imposition of British authority was under way. In a memorandum on Uganda made in 1892, General Kitchener warned that "unless the Christian powers held their own in Africa, the Mohammedan Arabs will I believe step in and in the centre of the continent will form a base from which they will be able to drive back all civilizing influences to the coast, and the country will then be given up to slavery and misrule as is the case in the Sudan at present" (Collins 1971:17).
Wingate, the Governor-General, himself believed that Pan-Islam was the worst education young Sudanese could have and was therefore concerned to keep it out of the Sudan as far as possible. "I am not at all keen", he wrote, "to propagate Mohammedanism in the countries in which that religion is not the religion of the inhabitants" (Collins 1971:17).

Moreover, Mr. V.R. Woodland, the Governor of Mongalla, declared as early as 1920, that "the time has come either to cut off this province from the rest of the Sudan or to institute a more incisive policy as regards its administration". In these circumstances, the policy of separate administration of the South evolved out of consensus of the Condominium officials. The first thing the government did was to cut off the South from the North through the promulgation in October 1922 of the Passports and Permits Ordinance which empowered the Governor-General to declare any part of the Sudan a "Closed District". Accordingly, Southern Sudan as a whole became an absolutely closed region which meant that no foreigners from other parts of the Sudan were allowed to enter it. The administrators in the South were no longer required to attend the meetings of the Governors held annually in Khartoum. Instead, they held their own annual meetings in the South while keeping in touch with their counterparts in Kenya and Uganda. Given this clear separateness of Southern administration from that in the North, British administrators working in the South became known as "Bog Barons".

The details of the policy, however, were as follows:

1. All administrative staff speaking Arabic, whether Arab or Black, were to be gradually eliminated in favour of the local recruits from the missionary schools.
2. Greek and Syrian traders to be encouraged rather than the Jallaba whose permits ought to be decreased 'unobtrusively but progressively', leaving only the best type whose interests were purely commercial.
3. British administrators should avoid speaking Arabic and try to use local languages and, if impossible to do so, must use English.

The application of this policy was aimed at eradicating everything Arab in the South. Northern Sudanese officials working in the South were quickly transferred to the North while the Jallaba were persuaded to leave the South and, if recalcitrant, virtually forced to retire. The Northern Arab dress was replaced by the European one, like shirts and shorts. To ensure that no contacts existed between the two peoples, arrangements were made to create a no-man's-land between them. In this way a number of villages on the western borderline were destroyed resulting in the displacement of some three thousand people. In Kafia Kingi, a town inhabited by Western Sudanese Muslims and Southerners, some were
forced to move westwards and Southerners southwards. In applying the policy of eliminating and blocking Arab culture in the South, the administrators did not generally tolerate complaints. Arabic language, names and dress were strictly forbidden and the traders were instructed to make clothing in the European fashion. The Muslim people, especially in the Western District of Bahr el-Ghazal, naturally did not welcome the new changes, regarding them as religious, linguistic and racial discrimination. Isa Ahmed Fartak, the chief of Forege tribe was exceptionally vocal in his protest. He made several contacts with the North which were intercepted and suppressed. But in 1936 he wrote to the editor of Omdurman Magazine complaining about the British policy in his district. The document was published and the issue was picked up by the Northern pressure group as a test case of the government's bad policies in the South. Chief Isa was finally deposed and exiled in Western Equatoria. The devolution of a separate, native-based administration was aimed largely at obliterating any traces of Arab culture and halting any further inflow of such culture to the South. This was done bearing in mind the possibility of Southern Sudan being eventually cut off from the Northern (Arab) area and linked up with some Central African System.

TRIBALISM AND TRIBAL ADMINISTRATION (1899–1930)

The policy of administration in the South was derived from Lugard's theory of Indirect Rule which appeared in his book "The Dual Mandate", published in 1922. Indirect rule involved ruling, as far as possible, through existing political and social structures and the use of tribal chiefs as agents of the colonial power. This policy was seen as the cheapest form of administration. This, coupled with the recommendation of the Milner Commission to decentralize the Sudan administration with a view to the separation of the Negroid from the Arab territories, offered a golden opportunity for the Sudan government to pursue the policy of eliminating Arab influence in the Southern Sudan. So, the government policy in the South since 1922 was one of decentralized control that left the administration, as far as possible, in the hands of native authorities. Native chiefs were encouraged to administer their own tribes in accordance with native customs in as far as these customs were not entirely repugnant to the ideals of justice and humanity. The British administrators set themselves about implementing the policy by bolstering existing tribal practices and usage and revitalizing the lost customs and traditions. Vast administrative as well as judicial powers were conferred upon the native chiefs subject to supervision by the British administrators who regarded the chief as "the patriarch sitting under the village fig tree dispensing tribal justice, the chieftain drumming his dependents to council in the shade of the tamarind" (Southern Governors Meeting).
The method applied in the selection of chiefs was contrary to the existing practice, according to which the chief must first be a spiritual leader and second, a strong and respectable personality. The British administrators chose common men of their choice. At the beginning these men who were handpicked by the administrators were rejected by the people who instead turned to their spiritual leaders. However, the government chiefs were later accepted by the people when it became evident that they could not be avoided. In 1930 the Condominium government came out with a clearly defined policy on the Southern Sudan, which confirmed the policy lines that had existed since its establishment. In a Memorandum issued on January 25th, 1930, Sir Harold MacMichael, the Civil Secretary, declared the Southern policy as follows:

The policy of the government in the Southern Sudan is to build up a series of self-contained racial or tribal units with structure and organization based to whatever extent the requirement of equity and good government permit, upon indigenous customs, traditional usage and beliefs.

The policy accentuated tribalism and every existing tribal institution was enhanced and others created where there had been none. The life of every Southerner was tied inextricably to these tribal institutions. In these circumstances the government was cautious not to be involved in anything having to do with direct dealing with the people. Everything was to be indirect. Native chiefs were installed quite arbitrarily to rule the people and the missionaries made to comply with government policies in their schools whilst the British administrators stood by as overseers. The chiefs applied customs, traditional usage and beliefs of which the British overlords had little knowledge if any at all. As far as social services and economic development were concerned, they never figured in the Government Programme. Poll tax was levied on the people in order to meet the basic needs of the administration such as the pay of the locally recruited officials and the maintenance of all-weather roads and public buildings. The use of money as a medium of exchange was minimal and as late as 1945 taxes were still being paid in kind. The salaries paid to the Southern officials were unusually low, so low indeed that it was absurd to think of comparing them with those paid to Northern officials doing the same job. The so-called Southern scales, laid down after the Mongalla Education Conference held in 1930, were so calculated as to fall within the range of eighteen to twenty-four pounds per annum, with an annual increase of between three and six pounds as the case might be. The cost of local labour was fixed at one or two piasters per day. Thus, for several decades, the administration was unable to do anything for the material benefit of the local population. There was no single government school, no hospital, no economic project etc. The administrators were preoc-
cupied with the resuscitation and efficacy of tribal organization upon which everything was based.

In interpreting the Southern policy of 1930, the British administrators in the South were unanimous in taking it to mean the upholding of the Southern culture which they saw in the revitalization of tribalism. "I take it", wrote a British administrator, "that the policy of the government is to get the administration of affairs which are purely native back onto a tribal basis and that the function of the government is to supervise, guide and mould tribal organization, rather than to destroy such systems of customary law, discipline and culture as the natives already possessed." But the question is; was tribalism the core of African culture in Southern Sudan? For the Africans, the answer is definitely "No". For tribalism in its divisive and parochial character had never been the essence of an African culture. It rather existed as one of the stages of human development—a phenomenon which was not peculiar to Africa alone but to every human society everywhere. As far as is known, human society developed from family, clan, tribe to nation. Hence, the view often put forward that the policy was intended to preserve African culture and values through the revitalization and entrenchment of tribalism in the South is hardly convincing. On the contrary, the policy worked to portray the backward aspects of the people. Perhaps, they intended to preserve the South as a museum piece; a "sort of human zoo for anthropologists, tourists, environmentalists and adventurers from developed economies of Europe to study us, our origin, our plight, the sizes of our skulls and shape and length of customary scars on our foreheads" (Alier). For the British administrators, tribalism was the cheapest method of running local affairs and also augured well for their colonial principle of divide and rule. The Southerners were denied a common platform for their involvement in public affairs since they were ruled apart in their respective areas. It was not until the 1947 Juba Conference that Southern delegates were able to meet for the first time to give views on the affairs of their country.

The adoption of tribalism as a system of administration is largely responsible for the legacy of backwardness in the South and for magnifying the superiority/inferiority syndrome which characterized relations between South and North. Moreover, they continued to heap insults on the African people of the South, describing them as very primitive, naked and savage. The fact that Southerners did not wear clothes, preferring to go naked was monotonously stressed, as if God created man naked in order to be ashamed of it. Nudity as such might be an unfashionable custom in the eyes of the twentieth century man, but in no way did it follow that a people who went naked were hopelessly primitive as the British administrators thought of the naked people of the South. Of course, there is no evidence that the Southerner was either of inferior intelligence or notoriously lazy. "He has simply not had the same opportunity as other
members of the (Northern) community" (Sudan Government 1964:15). A question may be posed, to what extent were the Africans of the Southern Sudan more primitive than their kith and kin in Kenya and Uganda? This is particularly so because Southern Sudanese by far lag behind those people, and one reason why the South could not be annexed to Uganda in 1947 was that Southerners "would be Cinderellas even more than they are now". "How different the situation might have been today," exclaims one Southern Sudanese writer, "if only one good secondary school such as King's College at Buda in Uganda had been producing students in the 1920s or 1930s". The first secondary school for the South was opened in 1949 in Rumbek.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THEIR EDUCATION (1899–1930)

As soon as the Anglo-Egyptian forces conquered the Sudan in 1899 the Christian missionaries had wanted to follow them forthwith. But the missionaries were surprised to learn that the Condominium administrators were not inclined to receive them either in the North or the South. They should not be allowed to proselytize in the Muslim North because the Northern Sudanese would believe that the conquest was made in order to convert the population to Christianity. This would create a "feeling of resentment culminating possibly in actual disturbance" which would be difficult for the government to tackle. The missionaries were not to be permitted to operate in the pagan South either because, according to Colonel Jackson, one of the senior British administrators, "a black when converted becomes a scamp, loafer, scoundrel and liar whereas they are now happy, contented, honest, and vice unknown ... from the time missionaries enter their country these tribes will disappear" (Beshir:25).

However, the missionaries were finally allowed to work in the South after an exchange of impassioned arguments between them and the government officials. The missionaries accepted to work in the South which they regarded as strategic for the advance of Christianity into the interior of black Africa to the exclusion of Islam. "This advance", writes Trimingham, "of Christianity into a region which might easily have become a sphere for the further penetration of Islamic influence into Central Africa is highly important from the strategical point of view since it vitally affects the influence and relative position of the two faiths".

The missionary societies which went to work in the South at that time were the Catholic Verona Fathers Mission (VFM), the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS), the American United Presbyterian Mission (UPM) and the Australian Inland Sudan United Mission (ISUM). To avoid overlapping, which might result in intermissionary competition and intolerance, the government divided the country into spheres of in-
fluence among the missionary societies. The original distribution of spheres allowed the UPM to work in eastern Upper Nile, the VFM in Bahr el-Ghazal and CMS in Upper Nile and Mongalla.

As it proved very difficult for the missionaries to cover adequately the vast areas that had been allotted to them, they hastened to select strategic centres "from which the influence of the Gospel would radiate". Thus, the Verona Fathers Mission established its first centres in Lul in 1899, Tonga and Dettwok in 1902 in Upper Nile province, at Gondokoro in 1904, in Equatoria province, and at Wau, Kayango and Mbili in 1905, Mboro in 1906 and Raffili in 1913 in Bahr el-Ghazal province. The American United Presbyterian Mission started work in the Sobat river area of Upper Nile province where it opened Doleib Hill in 1902. Whilst the Sudan United Mission worked amongst the Dinka in the same area in 1913 where it opened centres at Paloc and Melut. The CMS started work at Malek in 1906 in Upper Nile province, Yei in 1917, Juba and Lui in 1920, Maridi and Yambio in 1921 in Equatoria province.

The primary object of the missionaries was naturally to go ahead with preaching the Gospel of God to the heathens of Southern Sudan without delay. But the exceptionally difficult circumstances in the region made direct proselytism a practical impossibility. The missionaries could not communicate with the natives because neither knew the language of the other. So, with their meagre resources in finance and personnel, the missionaries strove to study the languages and customs of the native population. But the problem of winning the confidence of the natives was the most difficult, for some of the tribes had not forgotten the humiliations and sufferings which they faced at the hands of the Turks, traders, and Mahdists before the advent of the Condominium rule. It was only through patient and continuous display of friendliness and co-operation that the missionaries succeeded in attracting the attention of the tribes. At times the missionaries felt obliged to coax and induce the natives by means of gifts. Having realized the significance of educating Southerners before they could become Christians, the missionaries opted for involvement in education.

**Education**

Missionary education in Southern Sudan could be divided into three phases: the first phase (1900–1926) was when education was completely monopolized by the missionaries; the second phase (1926–1946) was when the government intervened as a co-partner; and the third phase (1946–1957) when education would become a main responsibility of the government with a firmly established Church playing its part in the spiritual life of the whole people. In this way education was a shared concern between the missionaries and the government with a dual purpose:
to meet the aspirations of the missionaries and to incorporate government educational policies. According to the missionaries:

... the Church is called on to face the impact of new and wider forces, to seek to understand them, to quicken the effectiveness of her witness (and) to equip the people so that they assimilate what is new without upsetting the basis of their lives. The primary aim of the mission is to build up a stable self-expanding Church which will be able to hold its own against Islamic penetration under changing political conditions (Trimingham 1941:21).

The government educational policy in the South was: "to fit the ordinary individual to fill a useful part in his environment, with happiness to himself. The tribes of the South are pagan and very primitive; but it is recognized that education varying from tribe to tribe with the degree of development reached is essential to every African social unit if it is to sustain the impact of advancing civilization."

This was a policy aimed at discouraging any form of liberal education which they feared would inevitably produce a detribalized type of Southern who would in his turn set up a chain of reaction to bring further changes. In other words, the government was by no means prepared to create through liberal education a frustrated class of unemployed who had lost their "primitive values" before they had ceased to play a useful part in their lives. Mr. Nalder, one of the British administrators who had a very low and derisive opinion of the black Africans, admitted that the best thing they could do in the South was to make progress very slow because:

Any educational or political progress must be proportionate to the economic development of the country. It is little use educating a boy to the capacity for enjoying and profiting by a higher and fuller life if outside government employment, there is no higher life for him to enjoy (Nalder:110).

The types of school provided by missionaries were village or bush, elementary, intermediate, and trade schools. Since there was no unified educational system governing mission schools, each mission was at liberty to introduce a system that was suitable to, and within, its capacity. Consequently, the standards, curriculum, syllabuses and teaching methods varied according to the administration of the mission concerned. Elementary schools cover a four-year course with English as the medium of instruction. The intermediate schools provided a six-year course and again the medium of instruction was English. The schools provided dormitories for boarding since the distances between the school and the students' homes were usually far. By 1926 there were 22 boys' elementary schools, 9 girls' elementary schools, 2 boys' intermediate and 1 boys' trade school in Southern Sudan as a whole. In addition there was a large number of village schools all over the South. In 1926 the government
began to be involved in education in the South by providing grants in aid to the mission schools. A resident inspector for the Southern provinces was appointed to co-ordinate the educational systems, work for educational expansion and to bring all the mission schools under his direct control. The grant of subsidies was subject to four conditions:

1. That a European must exercise uninterrupted supervision over the schools and to be withdrawn from the station only in cases of sickness and home leave;
2. That the syllabuses laid down must be followed;
3. That the resident inspector must be satisfied with the progress and efficiency of the school;
4. That if any of the conditions were not fulfilled the resident inspector might reduce or withdraw the grant for the following year (Sanderson:113).

The subsidies were available only to approved schools. There were, of course, several reasons for granting subsidies to mission schools of which three appear to be important:

1. The government application of the policy of separate administration for the South and the subsequent transfer of Northern officials from the South necessitated the need to recruit and train "local boys" to replace them. This would not have been possible without giving subsidies to the missionaries to enable them to expand the base of their education.
2. They were granted to induce the missionaries to accept government control of their schools. Thus, missionary schools became a valuable instrument in the hands of the administration for carrying out its policies.
3. They were granted to give an impression that the government was involved in educational development in the South. This point is sufficiently illustrated by the Education Department's so-called Annual Reports in which a good deal of nonsense has been written about educational achievements in Southern Sudan. The subsidies to mission schools were not much and therefore not worth the fuss by the Education Department. During a period of nine years (1926–1935), the total amount of subsidies paid to the mission schools was 7,720 pounds. Under the new policy schools were classified into subgrade, elementary, primary, or intermediate and technical, agricultural or industrial schools.
Reversal of 1930 Southern Policy

The **1930** Southern Policy was revised in **1945**, and in **1946** it was completely reversed. The revised policy reads:

> The approved policy is to act upon the fact that the peoples of the Southern Sudan are distinctively African and Negroid, and that our obvious duty is therefore to push ahead as fast as we can with their economic and educational development on African and Negroid lines and not upon the Middle Eastern and Arab lines of progress which are suitable for the Northern Sudan. It is only by economic and educational development that these people can be equipped to stand up for themselves in the future, whether their lot can be eventually cast with the Northern Sudan or with East Africa (or partly with each) (Despatch 1945).

The policy reversing the **1930** Southern policy reads:

> The policy of the Sudan Government regarding the Southern Sudan is to act upon the fact that the peoples of the Southern Sudan are distinctively African and Negroid but that geography and economics combine (so far as can be foreseen at the present time) to render them inextricably bound for future development to the Middle Eastern and Arabized Northern Sudan, and therefore to ensure that they shall, by educational and economic development, be equipped to stand up for themselves in the future, as socially and economically the equals of their partners of the Northern Sudan in the Sudan of the future (Memorandum: 1946).

The central forces behind the revision, and later on reversal, of the Southern policy of **1930** were twofold: The British administrators in the South and the rising political tempo in the North.

**British Administrators**

In the British official circles there were administrators who foresaw a quick end to the Condominium administration in the Sudan. They pointed out that the **1930** policy had resulted in the South being left further and further behind the North. A disappointed British administrator lamented in **1941** that:

> ... perhaps the most disappointing aspect of the working of Southern policy is the failure to produce in ten years any Southern staff trained for executive work... The highly paid foreigner is doing the job himself rather than supervising Africans learning to help themselves. He is not only the motive-power but the whole government machine; if he stops everything comes to a standstill (DC. Western District to Governor of Equatoria, 30, June, 1941).
This was a great confession of the actual situation obtaining in the South. During that period the government neither trained any Southerners nor gave them freedom to seek educational opportunities elsewhere. The criticism from some British officials as well as the growing agitation by the Northern politicians forced the government to revise the Southern policy. Thus in a memorandum by the Civil Secretary in 1944, it was stated that:

There is no need to stress ... the backwardness of the Southern Sudan. We have a moral obligation to redeem its inhabitants from ignorance, superstition, poverty, malnutrition etc., and although devoted efforts have been made for many years by the Administration and the Missions with some remarkable individual results, progress has been on the whole only spasmodic and sporadic compared with the Northern Sudan (Memorandum 1944).

The revision of the Southern policy was in essence a clear indication that the British administrators meant business at this point in time. They finally began to realize that they had an obligation to develop the South just as much as the North. With the new policy, the South saw for the first time genuine and vigorous efforts for its development. Various economic plans were made which later crystallized in the establishment of the Equatoria Projects Board in 1946. Annual subventions to the mission schools were increased to enable them to spread proper education. A new salary scale was introduced for those Southerners employed in the Government Service. Unfortunately, the government's new policy for rapid development of the South came too late; events were already beginning to overtake the government efforts.

Northern Politicians

The reversal of the Southern policy came as a result of pressure from the North where political tempo was rising persistently along the path of self-government. The Northern intelligentsia (Effendiya) organized itself into "Graduates General Congress" in February 1938. Although the congress was not officially recognized by the government as a political party its activities did not fail to draw government attention. From its inception the congress continued to attack and criticize any government plans which tended to retard progress toward the attainment of self-government. In 1943, the Advisory Council for the Northern Sudan was formed for the purpose of associating the Sudanese more closely with the government of their country. The tenure of office for the Advisory Council was left unspecified depending on how soon the Sudanese would learn the art of self-government. The road to self-government was, according to Sir Douglas Newbold, the Civil Secretary, a long and painful one. "Self-
government", he said, "is not a garment that you can suddenly put on like a pair of trousers ... Any man who says he can foresee the future of the Sudan must be either a prophet or a fool" (Broadcast by Civil Secretary, January 14th, 1944).

No sooner was the Advisory Council for the Northern Sudan established than the Graduates General Congress turned its full attention to government policies in the South. In a memorandum prepared in 1942 the Congress demanded, among other things, the repeal of Closed Districts Ordinance, the lifting of restrictions on trade and on the movement of Sudanese within the country, the cancellation of subventions to missionary schools and the unification of syllabuses in the Northern and Southern Sudan.

The Congress naturally regarded all these barriers as typical machiavellian devices aimed at prolonging the British rule and to separate the South from the North. In the North the transition towards self-government had reached such an advanced stage that Northern politicians were already calling for a joint Advisory Council for the North and South. Northerners were not prepared to leave the South behind in order to learn the art of self-government in a separate advisory council for the South. In these circumstances the government found itself forced to make a decision on the future of Southern Sudan. It had to make a choice out of three options as proposed by the Governor-General to the High Commissioner in Cairo:

1. Integration of the South into the North.
2. Integration of the South into East Africa.
3. Integration of parts of the South with the North and the other parts with East Africa.

The choice fell on eventual annexation of the whole South to the North. This decision was motivated by the government's fears of the reaction of both the North and Egypt if another alternative other than annexation of the South to the North was selected.

The Anglo-Egyptian conquest of the South was based on the need to secure the White Nile headwaters which were vital to both Egypt and Northern Sudan. Therefore, it would have been a practical stupidity on the part of Egypt to allow the Upper Nile to be occupied by another power. With Northern pressure on its heels, the government started to commit itself to a series of constitutional changes that left the backward areas without any safeguards. They were left at the mercy of the fortunate few. In response to Northern agitation for the formation of the Legislative Assembly, the Governor-General convened the Sudan Administration Conference on April 22, 1946. The conference consisted of eight British administrators and twenty-one Northern Sudanese repre-
representing the Advisory Council, the civil servants and the political parties. In this important conference no single Southerner was invited to represent the Southern people. The conference set up two subcommittees: one on central government and the other on local government. The central government subcommittee decided to pay a visit to the South in order to acquaint itself with the problems being faced there, probe the issue of closer association of the people with the central government and to explore the possibility of forming a Legislative Assembly. The subcommittee made a rather fleeting tour of the South and after a few days it hurried back to Khartoum with the recommendation to keep the South united with the North. This recommendation did not come as a surprise to anyone since the subcommittee was monopolized by Northerners who were all for the unity of the South with the North.

The Conference acted on the recommendation and passed a resolution for the fusion of the North and South. The resolution stressed that the future of the Sudan depended on welding together the people of the whole country and that necessary steps should be taken to abolish the Permit to Trade Order of 1928, to unify the educational system between the North and South, and to adopt the teaching of Arabic in all Southern schools. It was also decided that a legislative assembly be formed and that the Southerners should send their representatives to it forthwith.

The government, wary of antagonizing Northern opinion, fully endorsed the resolution of the Administration Conference which demanded total and unqualified unity for the whole of the Sudan. In succumbing to Northern pressure for unity between the North and South, the government contended that the new policy, though imperfect, was the "less imperfect of the two". Speaking for the government the Civil Secretary claimed that it was better to familiarize the Southern people with the North while they (the British) were still in power, "rather than to keep them comparatively untouched by outside influence until we can no longer prepare them for it and then inevitably leave them suddenly as a helpless prey to greater (Northern) sophistication". Later on, while announcing the new policy the Civil Secretary rhetorically went on to point out that the policy did not suggest that the future of the two million inhabitants of the South should be affected:

... by appeasement of the as yet immature and ill-informed politicians of Northern Sudan. But it is the Sudanese, Northern and Southern, who will live their lives and direct their affairs in future generations in this country, and our efforts must therefore now be concentrated on initiating a policy which is not only sound in itself, but which can be made acceptable to, and eventually workable by patriotic and reasonable Sudanese, Northern and Southern alike (Memorandum: 1946).
Juba Administrative Conference, 1947

The Resolution of the Sudan Administration Conference annexing the South to the North was greeted by a sharp reaction from several quarters and especially the British administrators in the South. As soon as the minutes of the Conference were published, fourteen British administrators met and despatched a protest letter to the Civil Secretary complaining that the future of the South had been discussed "by the wrong men in the wrong milieu" and that the government's decision was likely to be thereby directed into wrong channels. They pointed out that:

... no serious effort has yet been made to delve for and extract the opinion of the enlightened or leading Southern Sudanese themselves, and that their only representatives were the two Southern governors who were consulted in a Northern setting and in the face of a majority of members with almost exclusively Arab experience and inevitably preoccupied with the political ferment of the North (A letter).

The signatories then called for the convening of an Administrative Conference for the South to meet in the South and to be composed of British administrators, Northerners and at least ten Southerners. The proposed purpose of the Conference was to consider the best ways in which the Southern Sudanese could be prepared to take their place as equal partners with the North in the Sudan of the future. Ostensibly, the concern of British administrators in the South was not about the principle of unity between North and South but rather about safeguards to be incorporated into the forthcoming legislation setting up the new Assembly in order to protect the special political and social interests of the South within the united Sudan. Some went as far as suggesting that the South should be given a period of 'trusteeship' till it is vocal and knows its own mind (Letter from Marwood).

The demand of British administrators in the South for a Southern Administrative Conference was readily accepted by the government and the Conference was held accordingly in Juba on 12 and 13 June 1947. With the Civil Secretary as its chairman, the Conference was attended by the Governors of the Southern provinces, the Director of Establishment, the Assistant Civil Secretary, six Northerners and seventeen Southerners of whom seven were native chiefs and the rest being junior officials in the Government Service.

The main items of the agenda were:

a) To consider the recommendation of the Sudan Administration Conference on Southern Sudan;

b) To discuss the advisability of the South being represented in the proposed Legislative Assembly; and
To consider whether or not it was necessary to develop special safeguards for the South within a united Sudan.

During the two-day conference, there were divergent views between Southerners and Northerners on the first day, and on the second day the conference apparently emerged successful. What transpired during the two sessions is difficult to say. At the first session, the Southern delegates expressed deep fears of the North and rejected the idea of closer association with the North. They insisted that the South should have its own Advisory Council like the North before joining the proposed Legislative Assembly and that development should be accelerated in the South in order to narrow the big gap existing between the two parts. Although not stipulated in the agenda the question of unity between the South and the North was raised but heated arguments flared up in the meeting hall. This question was persistently raised by the chairman, threatening that "if nobody spoke on this subject then they would assume agreement on the principle of the unity of the Sudan" (Proceedings Juba Conference). Perhaps the Civil Secretary wanted to have the principle of unity endorsed rather mechanically for historical record. At this juncture, one member stood up and stated that the question of unity be put aside until Southerners were "grown up, by which time they would be in a position to decide whether to join the North or go to the Belgian Congo or Uganda". This statement displeased the chairman who retorted that "people cannot get up and go where they like just like that". Judge Shingiti, a prominent Northern member who dominated the discussion, stood up and objected to the question on the ground that it was outside the Conference's terms of reference. In this situation, the Conference adjourned for the second session with a thick cloud of doubt regarding its eventual success. But on the second session of June 13, there was a dramatic turn of events. Southern delegates suddenly abandoned their stand of the first day and accepted the position of the North. The Southern delegates, claiming to "see more clearly than the people," fundamentally changed their minds and opted for immediate representation of the South in the Legislative Assembly.

This rather puzzling fluctuation of the opinions of Southern delegates might be attributed to their inexperience, but some Southern intellectuals and politicians have charged that Southern delegates were threatened, bribed or blackmailed by the Northern delegates during the night before the second session. This allegation is substantiated by evidence supplied before the Commission of Inquiry into the 1955 Southern disturbances by one of the Southern delegates to the Juba Conference who testified that a Northern delegate was shouted down when "he inadvertently or intentionally" made mention of unity on the first day of the meeting. But during the night of 12 June, the "Arab politicians made in-
indivdual approaches to Southern members using all available means and arguments — bribery not excluded — to explain to them that the unity intended was unity of administration other than unity in the constitutional sense" (Commission of Equiry 1955). Sensing the defeat of the Southern stand which they picked up during the first session, chief Lolik Lado stood up, threw up his hands and made the following resounding statement:

The ancestors of the Northern Sudanese were not peace-loving and domesticated like cows. The younger generations claim that they mean no harm but time will show what they will in fact do. (ProceedingsJuba Conference).

The recommendations of both the Sudan Administration Conference and the Juba Conference were considered by the government and approved thus making the Legislative Assembly representative of the entire Sudan including the South, provided that "safeguards be introduced which will enable the healthy and the steady development of the Southern peoples" (Minutes of Governor-General Council).

The new policy completely reversed the policy of isolation of the South from the North, and all the barriers which hindered the social and economic cohesion between the two parts of the country were abolished.

It is often argued that the Southern delegates let the Southern people down during the Juba Conference and that had they rejected the principle of unity between the South and the North, then Southern Sudan would never have been a part of the North. This argument is not quite true. The principle of unity was decided prior to the Juba Conference. It was a fait accompli which had to be implemented regardless of the Southern views. The idea of convening the Juba Conference came about only at the insistence of the British administrators in the South. What is regrettable about the Juba Conference was the poor show cut by the Southern delegates during the Conference. They faltered and wavered in their stand, a matter which confirmed the allegation that they were cajoled and bribed. Perhaps, it is their experience from that Conference that had convinced the North that Southern leaders are susceptible to personal gain and therefore bribery after which it has become the habit of Northern politicians to bribe and cheat their counter-parts in the South.
4. The Process of Independence

SELF-GOVERNMENT

The process of independence started with the formation of a Legislative Assembly in 1948. It was based on the recommendations of the Sudan Administration Conference, 1946, which called for the progressive development of self-government in the Sudan. The Governor-General's Council, in its 559th meeting in July 1947, passed a resolution setting up a Legislative Assembly representative of the whole Sudan, provided that safeguards be included in the Legislative Assembly Ordinance to ensure the "cultural and social integrity of the South against domination and mismanagement by a government composed mainly of Northern Sudanese".¹

The need for safeguards for the South was clearly expressed and agreed upon during the Juba Conference in 1947. This position was reached after the Southern fears and suspicions of Northern domination and possible oppression had been, not without difficulty, allayed. Northerners took great pains to explain to Southerners that they had no desire to dominate the South and that the ignominious slave trade, which their ancestors practised on the Southern people half a century ago, was a long forgotten evil that would never arise again at any time in the future, because the contemporary Northerner had dismissed it from his mind as a "barbaric and harmful practice". Safeguards for the South were generally considered necessary, especially in view of the fact that the Southern genius was "distinctively African and Negroid as compared to the Middle Eastern and Arabicized" North. Therefore, the only desirable nexus between the two was to establish a firm ground of common interests and mutual tolerance. The scheme envisaged a sort of federal status for the South, which was to be expressed for the time being through the Governor-General's reserved powers, until Southerners "are politically conscious and equipped to stand up for themselves in the future as socially and economically the equals of their partners of the Northern Sudan".²

When the Council's resolutions were published, the Northern politicians were enraged because they "were never happy with the suggested safeguards" and they did everything in their power to destroy them. They started a campaign against the safeguards, describing them as "an

¹ Minutes of the 559th Meeting of the Governor-General's Council.
² D.C. Jur River District.
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imperialist plot", "a gross interference in the internal affairs of our self-government", "a hidden scheme for partition".

The issue as to whether safeguards should be incorporated into the Legislative Assembly Ordinance or not created division within the Sudan Government Service. There were two groups: one for upholding the safeguards and the other for dropping them. The first group, which stood for the inclusion of safeguards into the Ordinance, stated that cultural and social differences existed between the South and the North and that any pretence to ignore such real differences was "like covering up a crack in a tree-trunk with moss". "Without protection", the argument proceeds, "the Southerners will not be able to develop along indigenous lines, will be overwhelmed and swamped by the North and deteriorate into a servile community hewing wood and drawing water" (Duncan: 197) for the affluent Northern community. Some critics went as far as accusing the Civil Secretary of sacrificing his conscience to Northern opinion.

The second group, which in fact comprised the most senior officials in the Administration, claimed that the idea of special reference to the South must be dropped completely, since it "will only arouse old suspicion in the North and intensify a wound that is beginning to heal" (Duncan: 197–8). The Civil Secretary denied "sacrificing my conscience" to the North, and reiterated his belief that "we shall be long enough in the Sudan to see that they (Southerners) have a chance to speak and I have no doubt that they will then be able to make a choice". The shrewdest of all arguments produced against the maintenance of safeguards was that of the Legal Secretary. He emphasized that a clause of this kind was unnecessary, since all legislation was subject to the Governor-General's veto, and that the same result would be more easily achieved if the Governor-General were left to exercise this power in protecting the South's special interests. He added, further, that the provision of special safeguards would increase the feeling of inferiority possessed by many Southerners.

The stand of the second group, which called for the exclusion of safeguards for the South from the Legislative Assembly Ordinance, won the day and no special safeguards were ever embodied in the final draft of the Executive Council and Legislative Assembly Ordinance (1948). But, as time went by, the Condominium rule began to wane and the Governor-General's veto became more a question of theory and less a question of fact. Nor was the Civil Secretary long enough in the Sudan's arena to enable Southerners "to make a choice".

The omission of specific safeguards for the South from the Ordinance was greeted by a storm of protest from the Southern people, who regarded it as a sell-out of the South. Southern politicians reminded the British rulers that this step amounted to an unjustifiable breach of trusteeship, and called upon the government to revise the ordinance with a view to including the safeguards. To this demand the Civil Secretary re-
plied that the government was not going to include the safeguards because "all Northern opinion was firmly against any special treatment of the South". At this point Southerners were stunned and mystified. They understood very well and for the first time up to then, that the colonizer had deliberately thrown himself on the Northern side. It became too evident that the Southern Sudan had been "crucified by the Northern Arabs and Britain played the part of Judas" (Yangu:26). In all other British dominions in Africa it had almost always been a tradition with the rulers that people belonging to diverse social and cultural groups should be protected and guided in a manner that would enable them to determine eventually their own destiny by themselves. This principle was applied to protect the Northern Sudanese from being unduly engulfed and disadvantaged by the greater Egyptian sophistication and all Egyptian attempts to impose an undemocratic union with the North were firmly resisted by Great Britain through her administrators in the Sudan. Why did British administrators in the Sudan refuse to apply this very principle in South—North relations? Of course, the administration was very much aware that the Sudan was a "geographical expression created by our government. The South is totally different from the North" (Yangu:xvii).

The all Sudan Legislative Assembly was opened on December 15, 1948 with thirteen appointed members from the South, seventy-six from the North and six British administrators. The physical presence of the thirteen Southern members in the Legislative Assembly carried some historical significance, since it was the first time that both Northerners and Southerners were able to sit together and legislate for the country. Northern politicians hailed it whole-heartedly as a triumphant step towards a united Sudan. For the Southern representatives their presence meant something else; they came to inform the Northerners of their belief that the desired unity could not be achieved happily unless the South was accorded its legitimate demands epitomized in "safeguards for the South". To demonstrate their intention they moved a motion before the Legislative Assembly that "the Southern Sudan be raised to the same level of educational, social and economic development as the North before complete self-government is finally granted to the Sudan". The Northern representatives simply regarded the motion as ridiculous and, as a result, caused it to be defeated by seventy-two against twenty-three votes. The Southern members continued to voice their demands and called upon their "Northern brothers" to endorse the safeguards but, in the eyes of the sophisticated Northern politician, "these half-educated, naive mission boys were merely echoing imperialist ideas".

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3 Legislative Assembly Proceedings, 19 February 1949.
The establishment of the Executive Council and Legislative Assembly deprived the senile Anglo-Egyptian administration of any machinery through which it could carry out its policies. The Governor-General, with his theoretically extensive powers, had proved embarrassingly ineffective to the extent that he was becoming a mere figurehead. The real executive and legislative powers lay in the newly formed executive and legislative organs. In a frantic attempt to make Southerners catch up with the North, the administration started to jolt them into redoubling their speed along the road of educational and economic advancement. As one missionary put it: "The war, political pressure from the Moslem North, and the speeding up of the economic developments are forcing the Southern Sudanese to try to run before they can walk. The government as well as the mission are devolving responsibility onto their shoulders far in advance of their ability or desire to assume it" (Trimingham 1948:20).

However, the administration's efforts to improve conditions in the South did not go without tangible results, for the period after 1947 saw some changes: there was an increase of subventions to mission schools, and the opening of Rumbek secondary school in 1948 at Atar in Upper Nile. Economic projects included the Zande Scheme and Sawmills at Katire, Gilo and Loka. The most important of these projects was the Zande Scheme also known as the Nzara Scheme. The project started in 1946 with a capital of one million pounds and by 1948 the resettlement of the Azande as farmers was completed. Villages of 50 families were created and each family was allotted an area of thirty to forty acres for cultivation of cotton on a long term grass rotation system. Before the Anya-Nya One civil war the textile mills at Nzara were producing about three million yards of cloth annually. The management of the commercial and industrial activities of the scheme were the responsibility of the Equatoria Projects Board formed in 1946.

The immediate problem which faced the Executive Council and the Legislative Assembly was how to merge the administrative and educational systems between the South and North. Regarding administration, the government hastened to unify the Civil Service, abolish the permit to trade order, guarantee the freedom of movement between the South and North and to encourage the transfer of personnel. In the field of education the government adopted a policy which completely reversed the existing government policy. In a policy statement before the Legislative Assembly the first Sudanese Minister of Education declared that, since the Sudan had become one country with one set of political institutions, it was his Ministry's policy that there should be one language which was understood by all its citizens. He added:

*It is government policy, that Arabic should become the common language of the Sudan. It is, therefore, the duty of the Ministry of Education to do*
all in its power to implement this policy and to take such immediate steps as it thinks necessary to ensure that Arabic is taught as a main subject in the schools of the Southern provinces as soon as possible.\(^4\)

To ensure the effective implementation of the new educational policy, the following measures were enforced:

a) All missions which had intermediate schools must ensure that qualified teachers of Arabic were appointed to these schools by the beginning of 1951 but, if possible, should make a start before this time;

b) The use of spoken Arabic by teachers and pupils in all schools at all levels should be encouraged;

c) Missionaries and officials in charge of schools should learn the Arabic language.

Many Southern members of the Legislative Assembly were perturbed by the policy and they expressed their fears that Northern teachers would necessarily be preachers of Islam. But the Minister explained that the main purpose of the policy was to teach all Southerners to speak, read and write Arabic so that they were able to take their places anywhere in the country.

The Sudan acquired full self-government in February 1953. This process was accelerated not only by the strong pressure from the Northern politicians but also, and most importantly, by the differences between Egypt and the Sudan which surfaced over the issue of sovereignty of the Sudan. Great Britain maintained that the Sudan is for the Sudanese and that its sovereignty should be determined by the Sudanese themselves without any undue influence from external sources. Egypt, on the other hand, asserted its claim that the Sudan was an Egyptian province and as such its sovereignty must be vested in the Egyptian crown. Of course, there are many reasons for the Egyptian claim, three of which appear to be self-evident. Firstly, the Sudan is inevitably bound to Egypt by the Nile, secondly, Egypt had been the source of rulers and cultural inspiration for the Northern Sudan since time immemorial and, thirdly, Egyptians regarded the Sudan as the source of cheap servile labour, the loss of which would create economic inconvenience and anxiety. All these reasons were dexterously reduced into a single, magic-like slogan: "The Unity of the Nile Valley".

\(^4\) Legislative Assembly Proceedings, 12 November 1949.
THE RIFT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT OVER THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SUDAN

Since the Anglo-Egyptian invasion of the Sudan, Egypt had hoped to emerge eventually as the sole sovereign power over the Sudan. This would explain why Egypt, despite its crippling economic conditions, had willingly paid quite heavily for the Condominium administration in the Sudan since its inception. Indeed, the Anglo-Egyptian administration was initially built largely on Egyptian tax-payers' money. For instance, the charge to the Egyptian government for the year 1899 alone was calculated at 430,000, and from 1900 to 1913 it continued to pay large sums annually to the Sudan government in the form of subventions. This process was temporarily stopped as the Sudan was becoming self-sufficient, but in 1925 Egyptian aid to the Sudan was resumed under the "cost of the Sudan Defence Force". So, it was not surprising for Egypt to incur heavy expenditures on an administration in which it played a negligible role.

Egypt's interest in the Sudan remained unclear until it attained full independence from Great Britain in the early 1920's. From there the principle of the unity of the Nile Valley received unruffled publicity both in the Sudan and Egypt. The principle was based on the eternal fraternal and cultural bonds between the Egyptians and Northern Sudanese. Moreover, prior to the Anglo-Egyptian occupation in 1898, the Khedive had, as part of its titles, the phrase: "Lord of Nubia, the Sudan, Kordofan and Darfur". Egyptian propaganda created insecurity and unrest in the Sudan. Disturbances started when a group of young Sudanese officers led by Ali Abdel Latif mutinied in a daring attempt to overthrow the Condominium rule in the Sudan. The mutiny was echoed by the Sudanese masses, resulting in a widespread national uprising. The Sudanese officers who mutinied were proved to have been instigated by the Egyptian officers in the Sudan who promised to take part in the revolt. The incident broke out in the afternoon of November 27th, 1924 and continued to rage for two days until it was finally quelled by the British forces on the morning of 29th. Egyptian soldiers never participated in the revolt. This incident, in addition to the murder of Sir Lee Stack, the Governor-General of the Sudan, in Cairo on November 19, 1924, angered Great Britain to the point of deporting all Egyptian officers and purely Egyptian units back to Egypt.

In 1936 Egypt and Great Britain came together and concluded the Treaty of Alliance in respect of the Sudan. The treaty reaffirmed the 1899 Condominium agreement and it was reiterated that the primary aim of Condominium administration in the Sudan was the welfare of the Sudan. The contracting parties agreed further, that the question of sovereignty over the Sudan be put aside and that all troops in the country should be placed at the disposal of the Governor-General for the defence
of the Sudan. The treaty was neither satisfactory to the Egyptians, who greatly resented being made to play a nominal role in the administration of a country which they had long believed to be their province, nor was it acceptable to the Sudanese who were not permitted to take part in the treaty's deliberations. No sooner had the treaty been signed than the Egyptian government started, once more, to play with the idea of having King Farouk of Egypt crowned in Khartoum as King of the Sudan. "The unity of the Nile Valley" slogan was frequently chanted by the Sudanese youth in the streets of Khartoum, much to the grave disapproval of the British officials. "The Egyptians ... have seized every opportunity not only for entertaining, but for honouring and flattering the Sudanese in a manner which, in English eyes at least, must seem crudely fulsome." To counter Egyptian propaganda in the Sudan, British officials developed the rival slogan of "Sudan for the Sudanese". Commenting on the new slogan the Director of Intelligence said he had no doubt that the principle of "Sudan for the Sudanese would attract a force which if skilfully developed and canalized might exercise a powerful check on the hitherto unchallenged operation of Egyptian influence".

The Anglo-Egyptian rivalry dragged on uninterruptedly but ferociously for several years, drawing to its climax in the late 1940s when the rapid political developments in the country made the revision of the 1936 treaty imperative. During the discussion between the contracting parties Egypt threw off all pretences, and declared that any treaty revision must recognize the Sudan as an integral part of Egyptian territory and must admit Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan. Britain rejected the Egyptian demand in its entirety and made it abundantly clear that the future of the Sudan should be decided upon by the Sudanese themselves.

In a statement made on March 26 before the British House of Commons regarding the Sudan the Foreign Secretary declared, that the British government was looking forward to the day when "the Sudanese will be able finally to decide their political future for themselves". He added that the task of securing the welfare of the Sudanese would not be achieved unless a stable administration was maintained in the Sudan. "The objects of such administration must be to establish organs of self-government as the first step towards eventual independence, to accelerate the process of appointing Sudanese to higher government posts in consultation with Sudan representatives, and to raise the capacity of the mass of the people for effective citizenship." Regarding the treaty revision, the Foreign Secretary stressed that no change should be made in the status of the Sudan until the Sudanese had been consulted through the constitutional organs of self-government which were soon going to be

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formed. The Sudan government saw in the new policy a chance to undermine Egyptian claims over the Sudan and, in order not to let the initiative pass from its hands, it proceeded at once to lay the infrastructure of democratic government in the country. This turn of events naturally made the Egyptians furious. As expected, the Egyptian government would not tolerate seeing a wedge being driven between the two countries. In August 1947 Egypt opened a case against Britain before the United Nations but the effort failed since the United Nations, after weeks of lengthy but fruitless discussion, left the problem on the agenda unresolved. Egyptian endeavour did not end there. In November 1950, the Egyptian government caused it to be known that she was determined to achieve her interests and aspirations in the Sudan, and that unless these were accepted by Britain she would abrogate the 1936 treaty and the 1899 Condominium agreement.

The Egyptian threats to abrogate unilaterally the bases of Condominium rule alarmed both the Sudanese and the Condominium administration. So that Egypt did not catch them on the wrong foot, all of them collaborated to push through the self-government scheme. Thus, on December 9th, 1950, the Legislative Assembly passed a resolution in which it requested the Governor-General:

... to appoint a commission of whose members at least half should be Sudanese, to re-examine the Executive Council and Legislative Assembly Ordinance, 1948, and in respect of any of its provisions other than those dealing with the election of members of the Assembly and to make such recommendations to Your Excellency for its amendment as they may consider will increase the value, and enhance the efficiency of the Assembly and Council as a practical instrument of democratic government with a full measure of parliamentary control, within the framework of the existing constitutional agreements.\(^6\)

The government accepted this resolution, and in March 1951 the Governor-General formally announced the formation of what became known as the Constitution Amendment Commission. The commission was composed of three British officials, of whom one, Mr. Justice R.C. Stanley-Baker, became the commission’s chairman and seventeen Sudanese members of whom one, Mr. Buth Diu, was from the South.

The Egyptian government, which was watching all these political developments in the Sudan with utter dismay, started to intensify its propaganda in the Sudan and to oppose the formation of the Constitution Amendment Commission. On October 8th, 1951, Egypt decided to abrogate unilaterally the two agreements of 1899 and 1936 with Great Britain. The Egyptian government issued two decrees, one proclaiming King

\(^6\) Legislative Assembly Proceedings, 6 December 1950.
Farouk as King of Egypt and the Sudan, and the other providing a new constitution for the Sudan. Under the new constitution there was to be a Sudanese cabinet with ministers appointed by and responsible to the King of Egypt, who also had the power to dismiss them at will. The constitution also provided for the establishment of a Sudanese Constituent Assembly which would, with the consent of the King, pass laws and approve the budget. The King also had the power to dissolve it at will. Similarly, all matters relating to foreign affairs, defence, army and currency were to lie exclusively with the King. The Egyptian abrogation of the 1899 agreement and the 1936 treaty was an obvious embarrassment to His Majesty's government as far as the Sudan was concerned.

While refusing to recognize the Egyptian act of abrogation, the British government came forward, on October 13, and presented the Royal Egyptian government with proposals which called, among other things, for the formation of an International Commission to reside in the Sudan and watch over the constitutional development of the country, the making of a joint Anglo-Egyptian statement of common principles with regard to the Sudan and the fixing of a date for the attainment of self-government by the Sudanese. These proposals, however, were rejected in their entirety and in detail by the Egyptian government.

The Condominium administration on its part maintained that the Egyptian act was without effect, as the Egyptian government had no power to abrogate unilaterally the 1899 agreement and the 1936 treaty. On this basis, the Governor-General of the Sudan made a clearly threatening statement on October 13, 1951 saying: "My duty is to administer the Sudan in accordance with the Condominium agreement of 1899 and I shall continue to do so. Any attempts from outside to interfere with the administration as laid down in that agreement would be resisted and I shall take such steps as might be necessary to see that resistance is made ineffective."

As for the Sudanese political parties, the impact produced on them by the Egyptian act of abrogation was far-reaching and interesting. The pro-independence parties saw in it a chance to rid the country of the colonial Condominium rule. Regarding the proposed Egyptian constitution for the Sudan, they greeted it by a storm of dissent. All political parties in the Sudan (except the Ashigga whose leader, Ismail el-Azhari, had been consulted by the Egyptian government and had given his consent) poured telegrams on Cairo, deploring the Egyptian government's attempt to impose Egyptian sovereignty on the Sudanese people without their consent. Among the members of the Constitution Amendment Commission the effect was so great that they had to disperse before completing their business. Most of the Sudanese members of the commission argued that:
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... the abrogation of the agreement and treaty had left the Anglo-Egyptian regime without any legal basis; that the Governor-General, therefore, represented neither Egypt nor Britain, nor the two together, but was only the de facto ruler of the Sudan; that consequently, neither he nor the British government were legally entitled to say how or when the Sudanese were to have self-government or exercise their right of self-determination (Abdal-Rahim: 193).

Consequently, the members recommended the resignation of the Governor-General and the formation of an international commission whose function was to prepare the Sudanese as quickly as possible for the ultimate declaration of independence. They even sent a telegram to the United Nations in their capacity as individuals, asking it to appoint the commission "to reside in the Sudan, endorse the constitutional development of the country and supervise the implementation of self-government ... and to advise the Sudanese on the setting up of the Constituent Assembly to exercise self-determination".

Under these circumstances, the Governor-General decided, following the resignation of many members, to dissolve the commission on 26th November 1951. After the commission had been dissolved, its chairman undertook to prepare a final report based on the principles agreed upon by the members during the life-time of the commission. The report was later found to be an able work and it was adopted as the basis of the self-government statute.

The report of the chairman of the Constitution Amendment Commission was published on January 17th, 1952, and on 23rd of the same month it was tabled before the Legislative Assembly which discussed it at length. The resolutions of the Legislative Assembly were then put together by legal experts to constitute the Draft of the Self-Government Statute which was finally approved by the British government on 21st October 1952. The new constitution took away from the Governor-General all his powers, except on matters dealing with external affairs which were exclusively his responsibility. Similarly, he was to be referred to as the Supreme Constitutional Authority in the Sudan, a title which was in fact more apparent than real. The true authority lay with the all-Sudanese Council of Ministers and the all-Sudanese parliament of the two houses, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

The promulgation of Self-Government Statute in 1952, convinced Egypt beyond doubt of Britain's determination in transferring responsibility over the Sudan to the Sudanese, and, as a result of this, the Egyptian government considered it prudent to jump in and cast a last blow. The last blow was to try to come into an agreement with the Sudanese political parties over the Sudanese-Egyptian relations. In view of this the Egyptian government decided to invite all the Sudanese political parties to the negotiating table. After a series of contacts which commenced in
May 1952, the two sides initially had to give up any further contacts between them because they were unable to reach a compromise over the ever-boiling question of sovereignty over the Sudan.

However, it was not until General Naguib and his Free Officers had carried through a successful coup d'état on 23rd July 1952, and the resultant disappearance of the Egyptian monarchy, that the Sudanese were able to reach a satisfactory agreement with the Egyptians. Negotiations between the Egyptian revolutionary government and the Sudanese political parties were formally begun at the beginning of January 1953, and on the 10th of that month they concluded an agreement known afterwards as "the Political Parties Agreement". Under the agreement the Sudanese people were to be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination in a free and neutral atmosphere, and in doing so the choice was to be either complete independence from Egypt or to link the Sudan with Egypt in some form. Before self-determination there was to be a transitional period, which must not exceed three years, to enable the Sudanese to assume full authority in the country. In the meantime two committees were to be formed, one for sudanization and the other for elections. Finally, Egyptian and British military forces were to be withdrawn within a period not exceeding three months before the date of self-determination. Obviously, the text of the Egypto-Sudanese agreement conveyed the impression that Egypt had, at last, abandoned some of her basic claims over the Sudan — claims which had long been a focus of dissension between her and Great Britain. But, as the Egyptian government disclosed later, the arrangement was rather a diplomatic coup than an actual surrender of interests. Egyptian interests in the Sudan continued to be as overwhelming as they were deep. By conceding to Sudanese the right of self-determination, the new revolutionary government in Egypt had intended to bring a quick end to the British administration in the Sudan. General Naguib, the head of the Egyptian revolutionary government, summarized their new approach to the Sudan question as follows:

Our predecessors had always assumed that Great Britain's insistence on protecting Sudan's "right to self-determination" was merely an excuse for depriving Egypt of its right to a say in the determination of the Sudan's future. And, indeed, so long as Egypt was ruled by a king whose realm, in theory, included the Sudan as well as Egypt, it was impossible for them to play what they could not but regard as a British game. It seemed to me, however, that having rid ourselves of a king who had been as unpopular in the Sudan as he had been in Egypt, we could beat the British at their game simply by calling their bluff.?

In fact, this belief by Egyptian leaders did not lack justification for, upon the disappearance of the British influence in the Sudanese scene, Egypt,

7 Quoted by Abd ai-Rahim, 1969, p. 121.
with its powerful information media and efficient propaganda methods, tried to influence the Sudanese in favour of unity with Egypt at the time of self-determination.

The Egypto-Sudanese agreement came as a big surprise to the British officials in the Sudan, not so much because of the relatively short period within which self-determination was to be made, as because of the acceptance by Egypt of the right of self-determination for the Sudanese. Indeed British officials in the Sudan Political Service felt grimly that the ground had been "cut from under our feet," but at the same time they sensed that there was no "alternative but to stop resisting proposals which we could not agree were in the best interests of the Sudanese" (Duncan: 155).

The British government did not resist the Egypto-Sudanese agreement because, in it, Egypt had at last recognized the right of the Sudanese people to self-determination, contrary to the principle of the unity of the Nile Valley on which Egypt was insistent. Consequently, when the agreement came before the Condominium partners for ratification, neither side raised any objection against it; and on February 12th, 1953, it was adopted and signed as an Anglo-Egyptian agreement concerning self-government and self-determination for the Sudan.

It has to be emphasized, at this juncture, that the unilateral abrogation by Egypt of the 1899 agreement and the 1936 treaty of alliance with Great Britain constituted a significant land-mark in the Sudan's political advance towards independence, because the speed with which the country achieved self-government and self-determination was a direct result of that abrogation. From that time till independence, Great Britain, being fully aware of the absurd position in which the Condominium government was placed, applied no delaying tactics in the process of handing power to the Sudanese people. On the contrary, Great Britain started being very systematic in her approach, ready to resolve any barriers hampering progress and mindful of the time-limit set for every phase that had to be covered before reaching the ultimate goal.

The reason for all this may be Great Britain's fear that Egypt, which was vehemently opposed to the British backed programme of the Sudan for the Sudanese, might discover means of compelling the British to leave the country before the Sudanese had assumed full control of their country's affairs. One such foreseeable means was the British interest in the Suez Canal zone, which Great Britain would prefer keeping than forsaking on account of her policies in the Sudan. But in her resolve to protect Sudan from being unduly swallowed up by Egypt, Great Britain proved unable to protect the special interest of the weaker South within the framework of the united Sudan.

Since 1947 — the year when the principle of unity between the South and the North was forged in the famous but ill-fated Juba Conference—
Southerners had never faltered in their call for special safe-guards for the South. Thus, when the Constitution Amendment Commission commenced its business on 26th March, 1951, Mr. Buth Diu, the only Southerner on the commission, called for a federal constitution for the Sudan. Seeing that all his proposals were being persistently rejected by the Northern members, he pulled out of the commission leaving the Northerners and British officials to decide the fate of the South as they had done before. Special safe-guards for the South were, however, included in the Draft Constitution due to the insistence of the British members that gross disregard of Southern viewpoints would certainly endanger the progress of self-government as well as the welfare of the state.

The Draft provided for the creation of a special Minister for the Southern provinces and an advisory board for Southern affairs whose members were to be appointed not by the Prime Minister, but by the Southern special Minister in consultation with the Governors of the three Southern provinces.

Northern politicians were never happy with the "special Provision for the South as it stood in the Draft Constitution. They attacked the proposed Board on the ground that since the appointment of its members was outside the powers of the Prime Minister," it would, in effect, create two cabinets in the country and as such constitute a relapse to "Southern Policy which all members agreed was contrary to the wishes and interests of the Sudanese" (Abd al-Rahim: 180).

Accordingly, Northerners went all the way looking for an opportunity to nip the 'provision' in the bud. This they found during the conference held in Egypt in January 1953 between the Egyptian government and the so-called Sudanese Political Parties. In that conference neither the British officials in the Sudan nor the Southerners were represented. The reasons given for the exclusion of the British and the Southerners were that the British officials were an alien element whilst the Southerners had no registered political party. Having thus rid themselves of any dissenting opinion from either the British or the Southerners, Northern and Egyptian politicians, with a sigh of relief, quietly removed article 100 of the Draft of Self-Government Statute which contained the Southern provision and instead inserted a useless and vague provision purporting to confer upon the Governor-General a "special duty to ensure fair and equitable treatment to all the inhabitants of the various provinces of the Sudan". The removal of the Southern provision from the statute underlined the beginning of a direct political clash between the North and the South. Southerners in general regarded it as a Northern plot aimed at subjugating and oppressing them; and Southern politicians in particular argued that the act of Northern politicians in deleting the Southern provision was unconstitutional since these parties had no mandate whatsoever from the Sudanese people to act the way they did. The Southern
provision was entrenched in the Self-Government Statute with the approval of the Legislative Assembly, which was the sole organ commanding the mandate of the Sudanese people. Therefore, the political parties which were purely Northern had no constitutional right to go to Egypt, conspire with the Egyptian government over the future of Sudan and dismantle whatever had been made and passed by the Sudanese Legislative Assembly.

Whatever the intentions of Northern politicians in brushing aside the Southern interest in their meeting with the Egyptians in Cairo, it must be pointed out that their decision was rushed and irresponsible. What wisdom was there in ignoring the wishes and aspirations of people who constituted more or less one-third of the whole population and who inhabit approximately one third of the land? Indeed, the political instability, disturbances and the internecine civil wars which have paralysed the country since independence are a natural consequence of the blunders committed by Northern politicians. It was senseless for the political parties' leaders in the North to grab at a responsibility which did not properly belong to them. The task of determining the future of the Sudan—its sovereignty and constitutional structure—was exclusively the duty of the Sudanese people, exercisable either through a referendum or through a duly elected body.

Although Southern political consciousness sprang up with the holding of the Juba Conference in 1947, it was not until 1951 that it developed into an organized political movement having definite ideals and objectives. In that year, Stansilaus Paysama, Abdul Rahman Sule and Buth Diu formed what later became known as the Southern Party. Its chief objects were to work for the complete independence of the Sudan and for the special treatment of the South within the framework of one Sudan. In 1953 Southern Party was officially registered but only after Southerners had been excluded from the Political Parties agreement. It boasted the support of the overwhelming majority of Southern intelligentsia as well as the bulk of the Southern people who, inevitably turned to the elite for guidance and enlightenment. In 1954, however, the name of the Southern Party was changed to the Liberal Party in order to avoid the Northern suspicion that the word "Southern" implied the separation of the South from the North. The door was thrown open for the Northerners to join its membership. But none of them joined; instead Northerners continued to refer to the party as the Southern Liberal Party.

SUDANIZATION

The Elections

In order to put the Self-Government Statute into operation within the period specified in the Anglo-Egyptian agreement, elections for the first
Sudanese parliament were scheduled to take place in October 1953. Of the 97 seats in the House of Representatives 22 were given to three Southern Provinces. The elections were to be followed by the Sudanization of the Civil Service, about which every Sudanese intellectual was hopeful of the benefits to be realized under a "Sudanized administration". For this reason, every political party took up Sudanization as a valuable weapon for winning votes in the elections. The most outstanding parties at the time were the Umma Party, the National Unionist Party (NUP), the Socialist Republican Party, and the Southern Liberal Party. All of them took part in the elections, and all of them except the NUP were campaigning for the complete independence of the Sudan. The NUP stood for unity with Egypt. The independence parties received backing from the British administration, while the NUP hinged on the support of the Egyptian government. It will be remembered that a corollary to the Political Parties agreement was a "Gentlemen's agreement" signed by the Northern Political Parties and the Egyptian government, which emphasized the necessity of providing a free and neutral atmosphere for self-determination. This agreement was grossly and brazenly violated by Egypt. The Egyptian government, besides appointing a Special Minister for the Sudanese Affairs, set up a powerful new radio transmission beamed from Cairo close to the wave-band of Radio Omdurman. The central theme of the messages transmitted was the call on the Sudanese to support the NUP which stood for the unity of the Nile Valley.

Nor was that all:

The Egyptian government has also tried to influence the course of the elections by the expenditure of money on gifts for educational or religious purposes, by fetching to Egypt on sponsored visits large parties of Sudanese and by similar devices. Officials of the Egyptian Irrigation Department at their various stations in the Sudan, the Egyptian Army Headquarters, and the Egyptian Economic Experts' office in Khartoum have all been involved in these activities... Captain Mohammed Abu Nar, Head Staff Secretary to the Egyptian Minister of Propaganda, installed himself in Khartoum and has since been in constant touch with leaders of one particular political party. The Under-Secretary of the Sudan Affairs in the Egyptian government transferred the scene of his operation to Khartoum; from there he distributes financial grants to Sudanese private schools in Khartoum and the Gezira.8

In these circumstances, the NUP succeeded to win 51 out of the 97 seats in the House of Representatives and 22 out of the 30 electoral seats in the Senate.

8 I depend heavily on the Commission of Enquiry Report on the Southern Disturbances, 1955. Unless otherwise stated all the quotations in the rest of this chapter are taken from it.
Amidst the tense electioneering by the rival political parties, Southerners found themselves exposed to a situation which they had never experienced before. It was a situation of political wrangling, coaxing, excitement and all forms of flattery, bribery not excluded. Big but rash and irresponsible promises were blabbed out to the Southerners. The NUP and the Egyptians unreasonably and exaggeratedly played about with the feelings of the Southerners. Among the many empty promises, were that Southerners would be able to occupy all the senior posts in the government that were occupied by the British in the South and that, in general, they would have a quarter of the jobs in the Sudan. The section regarding Southern Sudan in the NUP election manifesto which was signed by its president, Sayed Ismail el-Azhari, stated:

Our approach to the question of Sudanization shall always be just and democratic. Not only shall priority be always given to southerners in the South but also shall the employment of the Southerners be greatly fostered in the North especially in the higher ranks of the central Government Service. Not only government jobs, but also membership of the different local government institutions, development committees etc., shall be as far as possible in the hands of competent Southerners in the Southern provinces.

During his tour of the Southern provinces, Major Salah Salim, the Egyptian Special Minister for Sudan Affairs, further emphasized the great benefits which would accrue to the Southerners if the latter let the British go and accepted unity with Egypt. Major Salah Salim's campaign was quite desperate. At one time, while in Rumbek, he took off his shirt and joined a Dinka dance, thus earning him the name of the "Dancing Major". What he intended by doing so was to prove that Egyptians and Southerners were one people united by blood ties and the great Nile. In almost all the meetings he called he promised the Southerners the forty jobs of Governors, District Commissioners, and Assistant District Commissioners which were held by the British in the South. Even technical posts which required high qualifications and long experience were promised to the Southerners. The impact of all these promises on the Southerners was nothing short of extreme feeling of satisfaction, happiness and the desire to kick out the British from the country as quickly as possible. In this state of affairs an excited young medical dresser in Juba stood up in one of the meetings and asked Major Salim:

Q: "Do you mean that when the British leave I will become the PMOH?"  
A: (Major Salim not understanding what the letters stand for), "Yes, yes, certainly".

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9 PMOH stands for a Province Medical Officer of Health, a very important post in the Ministry of Health occupied by a doctor of long experience in service. Self-Government Statute 1953, Article 90.
A: (Major Salim not understanding what the letters stand for), "Yes, yes, certainly".

Such was the extent and nature of the NUP and Egyptian election campaign in the South.

Later on the Southerners were surprised to discover that a person in high authority could knowingly lie, deceive or confuse simple people. This was particularly so because throughout the fifty years of British rule in the South, Southerners had always learned to take the British administrators at their words. There had not been any noticeable occasion in which people of the South had been brazenly lied to, deceived or confused by the British rulers. However, the results of elections in the Southern constituencies were quite unrewarding for the NUP inspite of all the fuss. Of the 22 Southern seats in the House of Representatives, the NUP won only 6, the remaining 12 and 4 seats being won by the Southern Party and Independents respectively. Nevertheless, the NUP having won a majority of votes in other areas was able to form a government under Sayed Ismail el-Azhari, the party leader, who became the first Prime Minister of Sudan.

Distribution of Jobs

In order to bring the phase of self-government into full swing, Article 8 of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement provided for the creation of a Sudanization Committee whose functions were to complete the distribution of jobs in the administration, police, Sudan Defence Force, and any other government posts that might affect the freedom of the Sudanese at the time of self-government. Furthermore, Article 89 of the Self-Government Statute created a Public Service Commission whose general function was the recruitment, promotion, transfer and retirement of government servants. The commission was to work under the direction of the Council of Ministers, and "shall make recommendations to the Council of Ministers in respect of principles to be observed in the above matters".

The Sudanization Committee was appointed on the 20th of February 1954, and on the 20th of June it announced that there were some 800 senior posts to be Sudanized. The Public Service Commission then took up the task of recruiting qualified Sudanese to fill up these vacancies and by October the names of those promoted to occupy the posts were published. Southerners were marginally and negligibly affected by the Sudanization: only four junior posts of Assistant District Commissioners and two of Mamur were given to them.

The main reason advanced for denying Southerners any access to senior positions in the government service was that they lacked seniority, experience and qualifications which were the sole criteria applied in the
Sudanization. It was further maintained that any diversion from those three criteria, or interference of a political nature, would have set a precedent which would go a long way to undermine and destroy the civil service, the efficiency and independence of which were essential for the maintenance of good government.

If the reason for applying such harsh and strict criteria was only to ensure efficiency and independence of the Civil Service, then the Public Service Commission had erred in allowing itself to be carried away by considerations which were purely technical, and hence lost sight of the central motive governing the Sudanization. Basically, Sudanization was a political necessity of the first order before being administrative. It was intended to guarantee the free and neutral atmosphere necessary for the smooth and proper exercise of self-determination. It was also a means of getting rid of colonial administrators by transferring responsibilities to the Sudanese citizens equitably, democratically and fairly. Hence, the overriding consideration for the commission should necessarily have been political rather than just being concerned with the efficiency of the civil service. The very fact that Sudanization was to be completed within three years invariably entailed some lowering of technical standards in the Civil Service, at least for the time being until a competent cadre was developed. This was, in fact, the case in the North where a number of head clerks were lifted up to the high rank of Deputy Governors.

It is true that the positions which Southerners held in the government prior to Sudanization were far inferior compared to those held by their counterparts in the North. But this was largely due to the system of administration in the South rather than the inexperience of Southerners themselves. The system of administration in the South was basically different from that of the North. Whereas the government had been keen in developing a highly complex and standardized administrative machinery in the North, it opted to rule the South through a very cheap and unprogressive system of administration. In the South the salary scales and methods of promotion of locally recruited personnel were kept at the lowest level. Under this system experiences and qualifications were immaterial for the promotion of Southerners since they were not allowed to exceed the so-called Southern scales. The salary paid to a Southern clerk, for instance, was far less than that paid to a Northern clerk doing the same job. In these circumstances, it was quite ridiculous and inequitable for the commission to have chosen salaries and scales as the basis of Sudanization for the whole Sudan.

The deprivation of the Southerners from taking their rightful place in

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10 Albino, O., in his book, *The Sudan, a Southern View Point* (p. 33) cites an instance of a pro-Egyptian clerk at Juba Provincial Headquarters, who was promoted and transferred to the North as a Deputy Governor and later as Governor Designate.
the government of their country did a great damage and disservice to the progress and welfare of the Sudan. It frustrated and pained them to see Northerners coming to the South and filling the bulk of positions in the Civil Service which had been occupied by the colonial officials. In the eyes of Southerners self-government was simply a change of masters.

The results of Sudanization sent shock waves throughout the South. Discontent spread like bushfire in the South, and fears of Northern domination were openly held and echoed by townsmen and villagers alike, whether educated or illiterate, old or young. Feelings of bitterness ran high and idle thinkers began to play with the idea of the imminence of another era of slavery at the hands of Arabs. Conditions in the South became so appalling as to threaten the security of the state. Every Southerner was ready for a direct physical and political confrontation with the North. The generality of discontent among Southern people was described by the Commission of Inquiry as follows: "It is a mistake to think that this feeling of frustration and disappointment was confined to a handful of disgruntled government officials. The feeling was general even to an absolutely ignorant man in the bush who is gradually but surely coming under their influence".

THE 1955-SOUTHERN DISTURBANCES

Prelude to the Clash

Troubles were mounting in the South and the Southern politicians, who very well knew the mentality and temperament of their fellow citizens, were alarmed. They begged the government to save the situation before it was too late. NUP Southern members in particular went as far as producing a list of Southern demands to the government. It included the giving of the Southerners an additional ministerial post, the acceleration of promotions and appointments of Southerners to higher posts including at least six permanent under-secretaries. The members, in their memorandum, reminded the Prime Minister that: "considering the difficulties both you and ourselves are facing at this critical moment, we feel that we have demanded the absolute minimum, and unless those are met with, there can be no other alternative to solve the Southern problem except more chaos and more intrigues by the opposition and communists".

The Liberal Party, on the other hand, hastened to convene a meeting of its members of parliament in October 1954 in Juba. The injustices of the Public Service Commission were discussed at length and the meeting unanimously passed a resolution to the effect that there was no better solution to the Southern cause than federation. The meeting then called upon all Southerners to be ready for sacrifices.

These vigorous efforts by the Southern leaders to save the situation in
The Process of Independence

the South received a cold shoulder from the government, which had already issued a warning that they were fully aware of the "conspiracies that are being worked out in the South, and that, therefore, they "shall use the force of iron in dealing with any Southerner who will dare attempt to divide the nation". The attitude of the government towards the South was afterwards made crystal clear by the Prime Minister when he reminded his Southern NUP member, Mr. Siricio Iro:

We are a transitional government and we have the Self-Government Statute and the Anglo-Egyptian agreement to execute and we shall be very careful not to contravene their provisions. The government must use all its force and strength to execute the agreement in letter and in spirit; the government shall not be lenient in this respect, it has its army, its police and its might.

Faced with the government's, arrogant hostility towards the South, all the Southern members of parliament, whether in the NUP, Umma or the Liberal Party, were frustrated and dismayed. The Southern NUP members in particular, were very bitter with their own government, accusing it of "down-right cheating" of the Southerners. Consequently, most of the Southern NUP members resigned from the party and joined the Liberal Party, including even Mr. Dak Dai and Mr. Bullen Alier, the only Southerners in the cabinet, who gave up their ministerial positions and quit the party. The troubled state of affairs in the South provided a fertile ground for the opposition to discredit the government. In August 1954, the Umma Party and the Liberal Party made a joint tour of the South and held several meetings where most disparaging remarks were made against the government. To counteract the Umma—Liberal parties campaign in Equatoria province, the NUP members, who were Jallaba, hurled charges against the Umma Party and reminded Southerners that the leader of the Umma Party and his followers were the descendants of their bitter enemies, the slave traders, and that the time of oppression would be forthcoming if Southerners supported them into power.

In order to try and restore confidence in his government, which had been greatly tarnished in the South following Sudanization, the Prime Minister, Sayed Ismail el-Azhari and some prominent members of his party, made a tour of the Southern provinces. They were booed and ill-received everywhere. In Juba nobody turned up to receive them except the government officials and the Jallaba who made a warm welcome at Juba Airport. During a meeting held in the Town Hall, the few Southerners who attended it withdrew while the Prime Minister was delivering a speech. Quite alarmed at such reception, the Prime Minister announced a rise in the salaries of chiefs, police, prison wardens and clerks, without even consulting the Minister of Finance. Southerners' response was negative regarding the decision as a bribe. At any rate, it added more fuel
to the flames since the increase excluded Article III clerks who formed the majority in the administration.

The Prime Minister, greatly embarrassed by the attitude of Southerners, returned to Khartoum more determined than ever to quieten the Southerners with the force of iron. Stern measures were issued to the administrators in the South to tighten their control of Southerners. "A series of blunders followed in the administrative, political and industrial fields; a Governor who seems to have to a little extent gained the confidence of the Southerners was transferred."

Instructions to the administrators to get tough with the Southerners were repeatedly broadcast from Radio Omdurman. This policy of the government was deplored by the Commission of Inquiry as showing "an amazing lack of foresight on the part of the government".

The categories of Northerners who went to the South during the period of self-government were the government officials and the traders (commonly referred to as Jallaba). The Jallaba poured to the South in great numbers, some of them with small capital and others with merely donkeys which they used as means of transport to the South. None of the two groups was able to win the acceptance and confidence of the Southerners. The newly appointed administrator who went to replace the British proved incapable of fitting into the shoes of their predecessors. He was unable to understand and handle the "wretched, uncivilized, infidel" Southerner. The appearance before him of a Southerner naked and with artistically designed tribal marks on his forehead, made him more scared than surprised. To him, that black figure was more of a beast than a human being. In short, a Northern administrator was simply a misfit in the Southern society. The best thing the administrator had to do was to resort to and join hands with, the Jallaba and form a class of their own. It was a better alternative, because with the Jallaba the administrators shared many things in common—one culture, one religion, one language and, above all, a shared contempt for the Southerners as an inferior race Allah created only to be slaves. The extent of the Jallaba contribution to the growing rift between the South and the North should not be underestimated. It was awfully great. The Jallaba were a real danger to the peaceful coexistence between the Arabs of the North and the Africans of the South.\(^\text{11}\)

They rated the Southerners as Abid (slaves), a term which became al-

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\(^{11}\) For fear of unjustifiable generalization, let us not, however, include the bush Jallaba (those itinerant traders in their shops in the villages) and those traders who had been resident in the South immediately after the cancellation of the Closed District Order in 1947. These traders, though few in number, were able to get on well with their Southern neighbours, married from them and maintained cordial relations.
most synonymous with the word “Junubi” (Southerner). It was a situation bearing closely on racial segregation as the Jallaba created for themselves a super-class composed exclusively of Northerners or of Northern origin. Any Northerner who associated or sympathized with Southerners was curtly isolated and, if he was an official, he soon found himself transferred back to the North. The position had been clearly explained by a Northern Sudanese who gave evidence before the Commission of Inquiry in 1955. He said: "The Northern Sudanese pretend to be far superior in race than the Southern Sudanese, I am black in skin but I am a Furawi (i.e an Arab from Darfur). My mother, however, is from Baria. I feel that when I declare that I am a Furawi, I am treated with more respect." Politically, the Jallaba were notorious not only in their use of highly vituperative words against the Southerners but also in their boasts and arrogant claims of the country's achievements. Undesirable remarks such as "we shall put you under our boots, we shall make you our slaves, had it not been for us, the British would have ruled you for 400 years etc. ..." were commonly and frequently said to Southerners.

In the field of administration, the Jallaba did interfere. They behaved as if they were there to supervise the administrators and to report on their performances to Khartoum:

It is idle to pretend that they (the Jallaba) have no political powers there. If there is some administrator whom they do not like, or if there is a political movement against their interest they start rumours which by mere repetition assume almost national proportions, and telegrams to various ministers begin to flow in great numbers to Khartoum which in some quarters find credulity.

It has been suggested that one of the reasons why the administrators gave the Jallaba more cooperation and better treatment than were normally afforded to other citizens, was because the former feared the latter. This was not always the case. In fact the administrators did trust the Jallaba more than the Southerners. It was a matter of mutual understanding between them emanating from the fact that both groups were Northerners. How many times had the Jallaba acted as informants to the administrators and how many times had they been allowed to subscribe their views in matters that were purely of administrative nature?

Generally, the Jallaba's conduct was such as would cause disgust and protest from the ordinary citizens. A Jallaba, for instance, would normally appear before the administrator's office without appointment, ignore the queue and walk straight into the office with the result that he and the administrator would spend long hours chatting over a cup of tea or coffee, whilst the ordinary citizens including the chiefs, were kept patiently waiting for their turn. The practice was so common that any Southerner wishing to see the administrator would withdraw instantly
whenever he saw a Jallaba marching unconcernedly into the administrator's presence.

The new situation created by the operation of self-government swooped down on Southerners like an electric shock. The political threats, the social subjugation and the administrative blunders which accompanied the advent of the national rule, left no slightest doubt in the minds of many a Southerner that independence was going to be merely a change of masters.

In April 1955, the Liberal Party called upon all Southern members of parliament, regardless of party allegiance, to form one southern bloc so as to pursue the political demands of the Southern people and to support in parliament any Northern party which was prepared to grant them. The idea received a warm welcome from all the members and it was agreed that a conference of Southern MPs be held in June at Juba. The government, in its resolve to frustrate the conference, issued instructions to some politically minded administrators in the South to arrange for telegrams deprecating the aims of the conference and supporting the government. The District Commissioner of Yambio and his assistant then toured the district to obtain from chiefs signatures supporting the government. "All forms of pressure were used to obtain their consent, trickery not excluded".12

Having secured the signatures of 13 Zande chiefs, the Assistant District Commissioner sent a telegram in his name and on their behalf supporting the government against the Juba Conference. The telegram was given much publicity by Radio Omdurman. The purpose of this wide publicity was to show that Southerners were generally behind the government and that the Conferences in the forthcoming Juba Conference represented nobody but themselves. But the ADC of Yambio and Zande chiefs in sending the telegram had involved themselves in politics, contrary to the established Civil Service regulation which prohibited civil servants from interfering in politics. Chapter IV, section 2 (a) of the Sudan Government Administrative Regulations, stipulated that "a public servant should not take any prominent or public part in politics unless it be expressly authorized by these rules".

12 In a letter addressed to the Governor-General, Chief Basia Ruzi of Tambura declared that he was threatened and cajoled into signing the telegram despite his refusal to do so before consulting his people. "The DC and his colleagues" says the letter, "refused and frightened me that they have the power to take me away from being a chief and take my car and all my guns including whatsoever I have got and make me a poor man in the sense of the word poor. The DC then asked me whether I could write. I admitted to him that I was able to write. Then he gave me a piece of paper to write my name to prove that I can. As a proof to him I wrote my name. He immediately took the piece of paper and put it in his pocket, taking for granted that I have signed for the political idea he has in his mind which I cannot undermine for the moment. (See Report of the Commission of Inquiry p. 87).
The chiefs, being appointed and salaried under the aforesaid regulations, their participation in politics was illegal and inexcusable. Strangely enough, the same rules were effectively applied by the same administrators to prevent other government officials who supported the Liberal Party from taking active part in politics. This conduct on the part of the administrators had been strongly criticized by the Commission of Inquiry:

The fact that the Assistant District Commissioner himself interfered with politics in such a way, while preaching to his subject people not to do so is deplorable both in a moral sense and in an administrative sense. When an administrator is appointed, his primary duty is the welfare of the community that he serves. In Southern Sudan he has got the additional duty of nursing primitive people to maturity. It is manifestly wrong for an administrator to allow his loyalty to carry him beyond his duty to his people and to the Public Service. It certainly led into his public losing confidence in his impartiality.

When the news of the telegram reached Mr. Elia Kuze, the parliamentary representative of Yambio, he became furious and at a public meeting held at Yambio town on July 7, 1955, it was decided that the chiefs that had signed the telegram should be dismissed from chieftainship. The meeting further declared that Mr. Elia Kuze, being the MP duly elected by the people to represent them, was the only person to act on their behalf. The decision of the meeting gravely disappointed the ADC and the chiefs who signed the telegram and they demanded the DC to have Elia Kuze arrested and brought before them for trial. On July 25th, he was arrested and brought before the chiefs who tried and sentenced him to 20 years imprisonment on the offence of criminal intimidation. The maximum sentence for this offence under section 441 of the Sudan Penal Code is two years only. So when the DC informed the court of this fact, it was with great disappointment that the chiefs reduced the sentence accordingly. The aim of the trial was to restore the authority and the prestige of the chiefs "which suffered considerably in consequence of the resolution passed in the meeting of July".

Obviously the trial was a farce and an abuse of due process of law, since the MP was covered by parliamentary immunity which ought to have been lifted before trial. Moreover, the chiefs court had no justification to try a member of parliament or even to apply the Penal Code. Worse still the chiefs, who were the complainants in the case, were sitting as judges in their own cause! This incident is typical of the Northern Sudanese scornful attitude towards Southerners in general, and the high-handed manner in which the Northern administration conducted the affairs of the South in particular. The people of the district did not appreciate their MP being dragged before a native court for trial, and immediately after
the sentence was announced a crowd of about 700 who had assembled in the court yard staged a demonstration demanding the release of their leader. The police were called in to disperse the demonstrators using tear-gas. The crowd dispersed but later formed into small groups which filled the market, where they raided one shop belonging to a Northerner and beat up a few Northerners, including a pregnant woman who later had a miscarriage.

The Clash

The demonstrations at Yambio marked the beginning of a bloody chapter in the history of Southern Sudan which soon brought the country to the brink of a full-scale civil war. Events were falling in rapid succession. The endless blunders by the administrators and the Jallaba in the South, and the threats of use of force from Khartoum, had made the Southerners high-strung and violence prone. Any slight incident was enough to explode the situation anywhere any time.

At Nzara Cotton Scheme, the management of the Equatoria Projects Board decided, rather abruptly, to dismiss 300 Southern workers on grounds of redundancy. These mass dismissals occurred early in July 1955. For the Southerners, the dismissals, coming at the time when the number of Northern employees on the scheme had significantly increased, were not necessitated by financial difficulty, but a deliberate act to deprive them of livelihood. They looked upon it as another sinister plan for Northern colonialism in the South. The dismissals were indeed a major blunder because the decision did not take into consideration the repercussions it might involve in the political situation prevailing at the time.

On the morning of the 26th July (one day after the Yambio incident) 60 Southern workers signed a petition demanding higher wages and threatening to strike if their demands were not met. While the demands were being considered, a crowd of 250 workers from the Weaving and Spinning Mills left the factory and staged a demonstration outside the General Manager's office. Armed with sticks and tools, they started smashing the windows of the offices, and calling upon the Northerners to "go back home to their country". "They were joined by hooligans and unemployed and other civilian natives, armed with spears, bows and arrows". The crowd swelled to a thousand men. When the DC learned of the incident he at once despatched to Nzara the Assistant DC at the head of a joint police and military force to disperse the demonstrators. When the ADC arrived at Nzara the mob had already looted two shops belonging to the Jallaba. As demonstrators appeared to defy both his warnings and the explosion of several tear-gas bombs, the ADC ordered his men to open fire at the mob. The crowd "ran away into the bush and disap-
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peared almost within seconds". Eight persons in the crowd fell dead and a number of them were injured. The weapons used to shoot at the mob included one bren gun, one sten gun and the rest were (abu ashra) rifles. Two Jallaba also joined in the shooting, one with an elephant gun and the other with a .22 rifle. No inquiry into the causes of the incident was made. Instead, an ultimatum from Khartoum was being circulated and broadcast.

"If there was some confidence left in the administration it then disappeared completely". Southerners regarded both the Yambio and Nzara incident as the beginning of the war between the South and the North. The incident of Nzara sent vibrations into the Southern Corps in Torit. On 7th August 1955, a conspiracy to mutiny in the Southern Corps was uncovered, but the authorities were too weak to make any arrests in the army immediately. They only arrested two civilians who appeared to have knowledge of, and a hand in the mutiny. A demonstration flared up in Juba demanding the immediate release of the accused. The demonstrators proceeded to assault the District Commissioner and they were dispersed by the use of tear-gas. When the administrators realized that they had lost the confidence of every shade of opinion in the South, they started to send frantic calls to Khartoum to send in Northern troops. The first batch of Northern troops arrived in Juba by air on 10th August 1955. On their arrival many Southern civilians fled Juba with their families as they thought that Northern soldiers were coming to kill them.

The Sudan Defence Force was formed on a corps basis, i.e. the men were drawn and normally served in the same part of the country from where they were recruited. In the Southern Corps, at this time, there were nine officers with the rank of second lieutenant who were Southerners and twenty-four Northern officers, the majority of whom were of higher ranks. There were a total of 1,737 soldiers excluding the officers.

The Southern Corps was never an idle by-stander in the events that shook the Southern Sudan. Like their civilian population, the men in the Southern Corps were bewildered by fear of Northern domination. Both the civilian and army men reacted to the situation in the same manner, thought in the same way and spread rumours together. One of the incidents which sparked off the mutiny in the Southern Corps was a telegram alleged to have been written by the Prime Minister, Ismail el Azhari. It ran as follows:

To all my administrators in the three Southern provinces: I have just signed a document for self-determination. Do not listen to the childish complaints of the Southerners. Persecute them, oppress them, ill-treat them according to my orders. Any administrator who fails to comply with my orders will be liable to peraecution. In three months time all of you will come round and enjoy the work you have done.
The telegram appeared on or about the beginning of July 1955 and had been in circulation since then. The telegram was refuted by the government describing it as "slanderous forgery", but the Southerners continued to insist on its authenticity. The fact that the language and style of the telegram was strikingly in line with those issued in the previous ultimatums from Khartoum, in addition to its coincidence with the Nzara incident, made it difficult for anyone, especially the Southerners, to believe otherwise.

On 16th August 1955, the officer commanding the Southern Corps gave written orders for No. 2 company to leave Torit, the Corps H.Q., for Khartoum to take part in the celebrations for the evacuation of foreign troops from the Sudan. Second lieutenant Taffeng cautioned the company against the move to Khartoum on the ground that it was "a trap in order that the Northern troops might have a free hand to do what they like with your wives and children, and you will be killed in Khartoum yourselves". The men of No. 2 company believed Taffeng and decided to disobey the orders. The refusal of No. 2 company to obey the orders was known even to the ordinary men in the street, but for reasons regarding prestige and dignity of the army, the officer in command persisted in his orders for the company to leave for Khartoum.

On the morning of 18th August 1955, the day when No. 2 company was supposed to leave for Khartoum, one Captain Salah (who was aware of No. 2 company's refusal to leave) addressed the soldiers in the following words:

Do not let bad elements influence you; if you do then the company becomes like wood eaten by ants, it will be easily broken to pieces; if you kill the twenty-four Northern officers here, you must remember that there are twelve thousand Northern troops in Khartoum who will come and kill you all. In addition, if you mutiny there are five hundred Northern troops in Juba who would come to kill you.

The soldiers naturally ignored the warning, broke into arms and ammunition stores and started shooting at the Northern officers. Shooting and looting then spread from the army garrison to the town. The victims of shooting and looting were the Northerners. But many Southern civilians left Torit town in panic and an estimated 55 of them, including many children, got drowned while attempting to cross Kinyetti Stream.

In Juba there was a company of Northern soldiers from the Camel Corps, but this was crippled by the lack of equipment, transport and mortar support which were left behind to be ferried by steamer. Some of the Southern soldiers who fled from Juba to Torit spread the news that the Arab soldiers had fired at them and had massacred many Southern civilians. The mutineers were further bewildered by the news and they began killing every Northerner in revenge. The news of the mutiny at
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The massacre of Northerners in the South shocked everyone in the
North and feelings of resentment and bitterness against the South were at their peak. The horrors and severity of the disturbances became a subject of everyday conversation among Northerners for a long time afterwards. Many highly exaggerated stories about the Southern disturbances were told and circulated even by persons who never witnessed them. Perhaps, such stories were created in order to inculcate into the Northerners a spirit of revenge against the Southerners and to illustrate the dangerous nature of the Southern people generally. The stories had adverse effects in social relations between the two peoples. Social contacts and peaceful co-existence are an essential element because they offer opportunities for the two peoples to learn from each other, know each other and work together.

The biggest problem which confronted the Khartoum government regarding the Southern popular uprising and mutiny was how to quell it. The Prime Minister had tried to despatch several messages to the rebels urging them to surrender to the government, with the assurances that no harm would come their way if they did as ordered. But the rebels simply ignored those assurances on the ground that it was dangerous "to trust an Arab". The government was in such difficulty when Sir Knox Helm, the outgoing Governor-General of Sudan, cut short his leave in Scotland and rushed back to the Sudan in order to quell the revolt in the South. Determined to crush the revolt by all means, the Governor-General brought with him RAF planes for airlifting Northern troops to the South. Upon his arrival in Khartoum he immediately sent a message to the rebels, ordering them to lay down their arms and assuring them of their treatment as military prisoners and of a full and fair investigation into the grievances of the Southerners. As proof of his sincerity, Sir Helm announced the appointment of Mr. Luce, who was one-time Deputy Governor of Equatoria, as his personal representative to Torit. As soon as the rebels received the Governor-General's message, they replied:

There are as a matter of fact, many of these fabulous tales about 1955-disturbances which until now are being circulated among Northerners. I personally have been hearing some of the stories related by people whom I suspect have never visited the South—I have in mind a number of Sudanese friends of mine (and in particular Ahmed Fadalla) in Khartoum who, in one evening of August 1975, narrated the events of 1955 in Torit to a group of young Northern Sudanese in my presence. The topic was about Ahmed's experiences in those disturbances (Hawadith el-Junub). After describing how Northerners were tortured before they were killed, and how the people who the mutineers suspected were forced to speak their mother tongues and perform their tribal dances as proof of their being Southerners, he went on to describe further how he was personally caught by the mutineers in Torit and how he eventually managed to escape with his life. At this point my interest was aroused and I had to interfere hoping to extract more reliable information from him about the incidents. When I asked him about the province in the South to which Torit was a part, he replied that it belonged to Upper Nile!
We all heartily thank you most sincerely and we now are glad for your return from England to end our trouble. Grateful order Northern troops in Juba to evacuate Juba to North or to far off district before we surrender arms. Otherwise, please send British troops immediately to safeguard Southern troops.\footnote{From Troops, Torit to Hakim AMM, Khartoum, 26 August 1955. Quoted in the Sudan Government, 1964, \textit{The Basic Facts about the Southern Provinces of the Sudan.}}

The rebels then agreed to lay down their arms according to the Governor-General's order. Whilst arrangements for the surrender of rebels were going on, RAF planes were speedily airlifting some 8,000 Northern troops to the South, a force whose size was about five times that of the Southern Corps. The whole truth was that the Governor-General's assurances were nothing short of a blatant trick, thereby exploiting the blind trust and the tremendous respect in which the Southerners held the British. Southern rebels were never aware that the essence of the plan was to crush them by joint action between the British and the Northerners if necessity required doing so. As Sir Helm embarked upon implementing the wish of the Northerners, the Northern government disappeared into the background to enable the Governor-General to utilize fully the confidence which the rebels had in him. The plan did work.

Southern rebels broke up. Those of the rebels who were frightened by the presence of Northern army in Juba crossed the borders into the neighbouring countries and those who, despite everything, hoped to be saved by the Governor-General's assurances remained to surrender.

As the mutiny subsided, and Northerners were once more in full control of the South, Sir Knox Helm left the country never to return. None of his assurances was observed when the government dealt with those involved in the revolt. Not even the promises of the personal safe conduct made to Lieutenant Renaldo, the leader of the uprising, was fulfilled. He was summarily executed by a firing squad in early 1956. The trials of the mutineers were never free from revengeful spirit. Some of the Northern survivors, like the District Commissioners of Yambio and East Bank and the ADC of Yambio, sat as judges in these trials. Only in few cases was justice maintained, perhaps to impress foreign observers. Life became very cheap in those trials: "About 300 (mutineers) were executed; ... tortures of every kind were inflicted daily on prisoners throughout the South in an attempt to extract false evidence; and about 2,000 Southerners were transported to the Northern prisons for hard labour, with prison terms ranging from a few years to life imprisonment" (Oduho and Deng:33).

These were the circumstances in which the Southern rebels found themselves after their surrender. Had they trusted and relied on nobody but themselves, the situation, perhaps, might have been different. The
main grievances against the Governor-General, were his intervention without taking appropriate steps to protect the mutineers after their surrender from revengeful and ultrajudicial measures and, the transportation of the Northern troops to the South using British military planes. Southerners looked upon the Northern troops in the South as an army of occupation.

It seems difficult to explain what the aims of the Southern uprising were in 1955. It is certainly true that the revolt sprang up inevitably as a result of a series of political and administrative blunders which Northerners committed in the South. But in all the messages that came to Khartoum from the rebel leaders there was no single specific demand of a political or administrative nature. The messages dealt mainly with the necessity of evacuating Northern troops from Juba and their replacement by British troops before the Southern soldiers could surrender. In the other messages that were received in Kenya and Uganda, the leaders merely asked to be reinforced by British troops. So it would seem improper to infer that the purpose of the revolt was to separate the South from the North, for there was nothing in the circumstances to justify such an inference. After all, the rebels were virtually in full control of the entire Southern Sudan for a period of more than fourteen days and nothing would have prevented them from declaring publicly the secession of the South from the North if they really intended it. Therefore, the only sensible interpretation of the revolt appears to be that it was in the first place, an expression of protest by the Southern people against the Northern monopoly of affairs in the South and, in the second place, an attempt to get rid of injustices and maladministration which the Northerners brought to bear upon the South. In other words, Southerners were only pleading their case, the seriousness and urgency of which the Northern dominated government was too slow to understand or appreciate.

Whilst a reign of terror by torture and firing squads characterized the order of life in the South, a vigorous clamour for the proclamation of independence prevailed in the North. As early as 16th March 1955, the Prime Minister abandoned rather abruptly his previous stand for unity with Egypt and embraced the demand for the complete independence of the Sudan. "Those who govern you today", he declared, "will not surrender you either to the Egyptians or to the British". On December 19th, he tabled a motion before the Parliament calling for the declaration of independence with effect from 1st January 1956.

The Southern leaders rejected the declaration of independence before the Southern demands had been looked into and guaranteed. They went as far as demanding from the government the holding of plebiscite in the South under the supervision of the United Nations; some section of the Southern politicians declared themselves in favour of unity with Egypt. All this somewhat unsavoury behaviour of Southern politicians was done
with a view to frustrating or delaying the date of the declaration of independence.

The Northern leaders, in order to silence the "naive" Southern politicians, caused the Parliament to adopt a resolution on December 22, that the demand for federation by the South should "be given full consideration by the Constituency Assembly". The resolution was universally greeted by great joy from the Southern people who were satisfied that at last Northerners had accepted their demand. Southern bitterness cooled down dramatically and the Southern members of the Parliament hastened to endorse the declaration of independence for the Sudan. The Sudan became formally independent on 1st January 1956.
THE FIRST YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

The Sudan's Independence was officially and popularly inaugurated on 1st January 1956 when Condominium rule was declared totally liquidated and the British and Egyptian flags finally lowered. The Self-Government Statute ceased to operate and the transitional constitution came into force. The office of the Governor-General was dissolved and its functions transferred to a five-man Supreme Council of State, appointed by parliament and presided over by a monthly rotating chairmanship. Leadership of government was vested in a Prime Minister chosen by Parliament and responsible for his cabinet. Indeed, the institutions of state so formed were a miniature of the classic British parliamentary system.

The dawn of independence was applauded by a great majority of people in the Sudan. On the morning of Independence Day, multitudes of people rushed into the streets of every town and village in the Sudan to celebrate the occasion. The feeling of great joy and excitement which engulfed the people was unfathomable. A foreigner who witnessed the ceremony in Khartoum described the scene as follows:

... very slowly, the British and Egyptian flags were lowered and the blue, green and yellow flag of the new Sudan was hoisted in their stead. As it unfurled in the fresh north wind, the cheers of the multitude broke out in Kitchener Square outside the Palace wall...The band of Sudan Defence Force struck up a lilting march. The ceremony was over.

With tears streaming from his eyes Sayed Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi rose from his chair in the grip of emotion, and collapsed in a heap on the ground, his flowing rob around him. The thought flashed through my mind that he had died in the moment that he had always longed to see. ... It was not so. He had fainted.

There were many other Sudanese friends in tears there; the more able they were, the more deeply they felt the significance of this historic moment (Duncan:206–7).

The question is: Why did the Sudanese people attach such great importance to the independence of their country? There may be, of course, many reasons for it, but they certainly had aspirations of a national character which the colonial administration had failed to meet and which they hoped to realize after independence. Some of these aspirations may have been unreal, some may have been genuine, although difficult to materialize at that time. But it would not have been too much for the Sudanese people to want a stable government capable of rising to the task.
of building a strong, self-supporting nation. The people wanted a change for the better in the socio-economic structure of their society. They wanted the Sudan to take her proper place among developing nations. They expected the national government to draw up a comprehensive programme aimed at industrialization, educational expansion, standardized cost of living, and possibly the settlement of desert nomads. More importantly, the Sudanese people themselves are a medley of diverse ethnic groups with a culture which is both African and Arab, and in order to protect their legitimate interests and ensure harmonious co-existence among them, it was of vital importance that a constitution capable of commanding the respect and acceptance of all should be adopted.

Unfortunately, all these dreams were, under the prevailing circumstances, impossible to materialize. Independence was born in an atmosphere characterized by a malaise of political opportunism and unpatriotic outlook. Factionalism rather than party politics was the order of the day. The rise and fall of governments depended not on the strength or the weakness of government policy, but on the slim majority votes in Parliament which a Prime Minister had succeeded or failed to win to his side, using all material means, bribery and enticement not excluded.

From 1st January 1954 to 5th July 1956 Ismael el-Azhari was the Prime Minister of the Sudan. Throughout Azhari’s government, his party had been suffering from a series of internal upheavals which greatly undermined his position not only as party leader but also as Prime Minister. NUP had been an ardent promoter of the unity of the Nile Valley, and Azhari himself had played a vital role in this direction. But when it became evident that the country was destined for complete independence, some party members saw the need to stop clamouring for the unity with Egypt and follow the direction of the wind. Azhari was adamant in his stand and the dissenting members had to break away from NUP. The breakaway members included three prominent personalities, Mirghani Hamza, Khalafalla Khalid and Ahmed Jali, all of whom were members of the cabinet. They immediately formed the Republican Independence Party, whose basic aim was the establishment of an independent Sudanese republic maintaining close ties with Egypt.

As time went by Azhari became convinced that he was bound to lose popular support if he continued to press for unity with Egypt; and in May 1955, he decided to capitalize on the direction of the movement towards independence. Although the decision rendered his party without ideological content, it won him the prestigious title of being the champion of independence. His influence increased considerably, everywhere he went he was received tremendously by the citizens as a hero. Beneath this victory there was the crack of the NUP from within. The hard core of the unity of the Nile Valley became alienated and sought to oust Azhari from the party chairmanship. But Azhari proved too strong to be shaken.
Thus, on 19th June 1955, he was able to dismiss Sayed Mohamed Nur el-Din, his main opponent, from the cabinet, who protested that he and his followers were the only people who remained loyal to union with Egypt. Nur el-Din's protest did not go, however, beyond rhetoric and the unity of the Nile Valley principle quietly went to its grave.

The dramatic rise of Azhari's popularity and the secular character of his programme alarmed all the sectarian religious leaders, including the head of the Khatimiya sect, Sayed Ali el-Mirghani, who instigated some former NUP members to form the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) in June 1956. Having lost the support of the Khatimiya, it was now only a matter of time before Azhari was finally edged out of the premiership. In the same month the Ansar and the Khatimiya leaders reached an agreement to form a coalition government between the PDP and the Umma Party, and on 5th July Abdallah Khalil, the leader of the Umma Party, was elected Prime Minister against Azhari.

The parliament was dissolved on 30th June 1957 and a general election was scheduled to take place from 27th February to 9th March 1958. After the elections the Umma Party won 63 seats in the house of Representatives and the PDP gained 27 out of a total of 173 seats. These two parties formed another coalition government, headed again by Abdallah Khalil, whilst the NUP which won only 45 seats sat in the opposition.

The coalition of the Umma Party and PDP had never been a smooth and healthy one; it was artificial and opportunistic in character. The Umma Party, which was traditionally pro-West and opposed to Egypt, differed on every vital point of policy with PDP which favoured greater association with Egypt and opposed to any ties with the West. The Umma Party aspired to make Sayed Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi, the Imam of the Ansar Sect, the life president of the Republic, a fact which Sayed Ali el-Marghani could not accept since it appeared to him to be a derogation of his own status.

In this state of unrelaxed tension in the cabinet due to divergent views, the government was unable to do anything constructive. The government policy statement contained a useful programme of development but this could not be implemented because there was little money. A budget deficit of about £3 million was forecast for 1959. Reserves had dwindled from £62 million to £8 million. The Prime Minister desired to accept American aid but the PDP opposed it and, in order for it to be ratified by Parliament, he had to turn to Southern MPs for support. A World Bank Loan of $39 million was offered but the interest rate was 5 3/4 per cent. A sum of £137 million was needed for the next five years but the sources of finance were extremely difficult to find. An offer by USSR for Soviet trade was categorically rejected. In view of the seemingly unending political parties squabbles, chaos and factionalism, public opin-
ion lost taste for parliamentary government. Those politicians who "benefited from the powers and patronage it conferred ... were ... isolated from the mass of their countrymen, who regarded their manoeuvres with impatience, cynicism or indifference (Holt:183). It was therefore natural, that when the parliamentary government was overthrown by a military coup in November \textbf{1958}, it found no defenders and, paradoxically, some of the politicians who played a decisive part in it welcomed its downfall.

Although the intrinsic weakness of parliamentary democracy in the Sudan prepared the grounds for its demise, the final blow came from the so-called Southern problem. On 8th September \textbf{1955}, just a few weeks after the uprising in the South, the government appointed a three-man commission "to inquire into, and report upon, the recent disturbances in the Southern Sudan and their underlying causes".

The commission was under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Tawfik Cotran (Indian born), with a Northerner, Sayed Khalifa \textbf{Mahjoub} and a Southern chief, Mr. Lolik Lado, as members. The commission produced a comprehensive report whose impartiality won the admiration and approval of Northerners and Southerners alike. The commission did not concern itself only with the exposition of the causes and effects of the disturbances, but also went on to make recommendations which, in its opinion, could alleviate the gravity of the South—North conflict.

The government quickly picked up the commission's recommendations regarding the administration in the belief that they would remedy the Southern grievances. Able and trusted administrators were promptly transferred to the South and some qualified Southern officials were promoted to Deputy Governor status. These steps, including the appointment of one Southerner in the Supreme Council of State, were all that the government would concede to the South. The concessions, however, failed to achieve their end, i.e. reorientation and softening of the Southern sentiments. Southerners disregarded them believing them, perhaps, as another attempt by the government to evade "the issue of federation which had then become the only demand of the Southern people. If the government had had any hope of winning the confidence of the Southerners who were the spearhead of discontent and insecurity in the Sudan, it disappeared at this juncture". The only choice left open to the government was to proceed with the implementation of a policy that could realize its aims, whether the Southerners opposed it or not. The policy lay in "taking a leaf from the book of the old Government and putting Southern policy into reverse, as it were. The influence of the existing intelligentsia could be weakened by cutting away its feeder-system, the mission schools from which it was recruited. Substitute a system of Islamic education uniform with that of the North and within a decade you will
have built up a new pro-Northern Arabicized student body to replace the now discredited leaders of the nineteen fifties" (Wenderson:183).

The policy was one of assimilation by means of Arabization and Islamicization. It had been in process since 1949 but in 1957 new radical measures were introduced with a view to entrenching it. In 1957 a decision was made by the government to take over all missionary-run schools in the South except seminary schools, whose teaching was confined to theological studies. The programme of transfer started in April and by the end of the year it was over. Some missionaries, especially the Roman Catholics, protested against the nationalization of their schools. They contended that their schools had been founded at the cost of great sacrifice for the purpose of giving the Southern children a good Christian education which would not be possible under the government-controlled schools. Observing that the government could not be moved by their protests, the missionaries went on to produce proposals which the government should keep in mind during the takeover of the schools. This attempt also failed and the missionaries were outraged, declaring the government "guilty of grave offence against the Church and the three million Africans in the South of the Sudan" (Beshir:77).

Meanwhile, in September 1956, a national constitutional committee was appointed to prepare a draft constitution for submission to the new parliament which was also intended to function as a constituent assembly. Of its 43 members only three were Southerners. They were Fr. Saturnino Lohure, Stanslaos Abdalla Paysama and Bullen Alier. The problem which faced the committee from the outset was what the nature of the constitution would be. Northern political parties concurred on the view that the Sudan would be a socialist, Islamic republic in which Islam would be its official religion and Sharia its source of legislation. They also agreed that the state should be a unitary one and a cognate part of the Arab world without prejudice to the establishment of strong ties with Black Africa. At this stage the concurrence ended, and was followed by sharp differences of opinion on every other aspect of the constitution. The political parties disagreed on whether the president should be elected by parliament or by a referendum and on whether he should be a titular or an executive head of the State. The Umma Party, desirous to make a leader of the Ansar the life-president, and confident of its ability to make him so, maintained that the constitution should provide for a non-executive president elected by parliament. This idea of bestowing presidency on the Ansar leader was a matter which Sayed Ali el-Mirghani, the leader of the rival Khatimiya had always abhored. The PDP, therefore, resisted the stand of the Umma Party in every way. Sensing that the stand of the Umma Party predominated in the committee, the PDP members began to absent themselves more and more frequently from the committee's meetings.
The other powerful force, though always ignored, which begged to be heard on the issue of the constitution, was the Southern Bloc.\(^1\) It contended that a federal constitution was the most appropriate for the Sudan and called for the recognition of Christianity as a state religion on a par with Islam, and English to be a state language on a par with Arabic. It also called for the transfer of the Sudan from the Arab world to the African.

The committee, however, divided itself into subcommittees, the number of which corresponded with the eight chapters of the constitution which it envisaged. The Southern demand for federation, which in 1955 the Parliament pledged to be given full consideration by the Constituent Assembly, was relegated to a subcommittee composed of seven Northerners and three Southerners. The Northern members of the subcommittee tried to convince their Southern colleagues to give up the demand for federation on the grounds that it was not suitable for the Sudan. Southern members, on the other hand, thought that the Northerners were wrong in their view, and tried to persuade the latter to believe otherwise. All was in vain; neither side was able to persuade the other. Both sides held tenaciously to their respective views; they had come to a deadlock. The subcommittee dragged on in this state for more than a year until December 1957, when the Northern side lost patience and announced that they had given the demand of the Southerners their utmost consideration but found that the disadvantages of regional government outweighed the benefits. The Southern case was rejected, and the Southern members walked out and finally withdrew from the constitutional committee.

By this time a political group known as the Federal Party was formed, composed of those young radicals from the South who were dissatisfied with the strength and tactics of the Liberal Party. The party manifesto which was signed by Ezbon Mundiri Gwanza called, inter alia, for the granting of the regional government to the South, establishment of a separate civil service and an educational system, a Southern university and a new development programme.

In the 1958 parliamentary elections, the Southern provinces were given 46 constituencies, a figure which roughly corresponded with the Southern population under the 1956 census. Of the 46 seats only 2 were won by candidates of Northern origin at Renk and Kapoeta, whilst the rest were divided among the Southern parties and independents. The Southern members of parliament formed, as usual, the Southern bloc.

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\(^1\) The Southern Bloc was a body of Southern parliamentary members formed in 1954 to fight for the demands of the Southern people. Later on, it was used to refer to those Southern leaders who called for autonomy for the South.
and in May 1958 the constitution committee which the Southerners had boycotted tabled a unitary draft constitution in the Constituent Assembly intending it to be accepted as the basis of Sudan's Constitution. The Southern members' reaction was instantaneous: they all walked out. Southern members refused to take part in the deliberation and passage of the constitution and this clearly presented a grave difficulty to the Parliament as a Constituent Assembly. Northern political parties, therefore, tried informally to persuade the Southern MPs to attend a constitutional discussion. The MPs had to come back, not because they accepted the advice of the Northern political parties but only to put across the floor, the Southern viewpoint. Fr. Saturnino Lohure, the spokesman of the Southern bloc, stood up and summarized their stand in the following words:

...The South has no ill-intention whatsoever towards the North, the South simply claims to run its local affairs in a united Sudan. The South has no intention of separating from the North, for had that been the case nothing on earth would have prevented the demand for separation. The South claims to federate with the North, a right that the South undoubtedly possesses as a consequence of the principle of free self-determination which reason and democracy granted to a free people. The South will at any moment separate from the North if and when the North so decides directly or indirectly, through political, social and economic subjection of the South.

After the speech, the Southern bloc finally boycotted the Constituent Assembly. Southern MPs then occupied their time trying to convince MPs from other backward areas in the country to develop a common stand with them. Their success in this direction was astonishing. On 13th August 1958, the Beja tribal chiefs and their MPs invited the Prime Minister to Port Sudan and demanded to be allowed to run their own local affairs. Similarly, in Kordofan and Darfur provinces the Prime Minister received an invitation to attend a tribal gathering, of those provinces to be held in el-Obeid. While there, he was presented with a petition which demanded, among other things, a form of regional government for Western Sudan. In these circumstances, it is worth noting that the majority of people in the Western Sudan have more African blood than Arab. Some of the tribes there, like the Fur in Darfur province and Nuba in Kordofan province, have strikingly strong racial and cultural affinities with the Southern tribes. For this reason, Southerners have always felt at home with these people and vice versa. It was, therefore, natural that Khalil's government and the Northern politicians were worried by the danger of Western Sudan allying with the South. After all, only religious differences had kept the two people from coming together. Once these were overcome, Westerners and Southerners would always stand together. For this reason and many others (of an economic and strategic na-
tute) Abdallah Khalil and his party were forced to consider handing over the reigns of government to the military.

Thus on 13th November 1958 Khalil spoke of retiring from politics and two days later three ministers resigned, including the minister for foreign affairs. The PDP–Umma disagreements in the coalition government had reached a point of no return. The obvious way out from this deadlock was a coalition between the Umma Party and the NUP, but neither party was enthusiastic.

On 17th November 1958, the Army took over, claiming that it had come to protect the integrity and sovereignty of the country and to save the economy. General Ibrahim Aboud, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces became the President of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces, the highest constitutional authority in the Sudan. Three days after the coup, Abdallah Khalil invited three Southern ex-MPS to his house during which he allegedly addressed them in the following words:

My experience has shown me that this country is not yet ready for democracy; I have therefore decided at the suggestion of my advisers, to hand the reign of this country to the army; though political parties have now been banned, I still believe that the Umma people and the people of the South will work in close co-operation.

MILITARY RULE

The Coup

The Army took power on 17th November 1958. On the morning of that day the inhabitants of the capital city, Khartoum, were surprised by the sight of armoured vehicles and tanks placed at every strategic area of the Three Towns. Bands of soldiers, in full uniform and bristling with machine guns, were busily patrolling the City. After having made sure that the plans for the takeover had been duly carried out, General Ibrahim Aboud, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, addressed the nation from Radio Omdurman, announcing the success of the 'Revolution'. He declared that the whole body politic was threatened with degeneration, instability and chaos owing to the bitter strife between parties interested only in their own gain and prepared to use all means and ways of securing it, from corruption of the press to trafficking with foreign powers. He added that the country was at the brink of disaster and that the objective of the Army in seizing power was to restore order in the interests of the people, stabilize the administration and stamp out all forms of corruption.

The General then went on to declare the dissolution of all political parties, the prohibition of assemblies and demonstrations and the temporary
suspension of all newspapers. The Transitional Constitution was suspended and a series of decrees styled as the ‘Constitutional Orders’ were issued to replace it. Constitutional Order No.1 made the Sudan a democratic republic with the sovereignty vested in the people. It created a body known as the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces which was to be the highest legislative, executive and judicial organ in the state. The Council was also to be the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces. Constitutional Order No. 2 named the members of the Supreme Council, and created a Council of Ministers. There were twelve members of the Supreme Council recruited from the rank of senior army officers. The Council of Ministers consisted of seven officers who were also members of the Supreme Council and five civilians. With the military in full control of the country’s affairs, power-politics shifted from the traditional political parties to the army. For an entire year, the military junta was paralysed by attempted coups and counter coups which made it unable to fulfil the promises it had made to the people.

The direct source of the squabbles concerned the composition of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces. The first council was composed of senior officers who were commissioned between 1937 and 1942. General Ibrahim Aboud, who was commissioned as early as 1918 and was comparatively advanced in age, became the President of the Supreme Council of State as well as the Prime Minister. Other officers who, together with those comprising the Council, were contemporaries in terms of seniority, resented their exclusion from the Council and strove to be included. At first the strong men of the Junta appeared to be: General Ibrahim Aboud, 58 years of age, the head of the Armed Forces, a Khatimiya member and from Suakin in the East; Brigadier Hassan Bashir Nasr, 40 years of age and the closest to the NUP; and Major-General Ahmed Abdel Wahab, 43 years of age, son in law of Abdallah Bey Khalil and an Ansar who became well-known for his tough operations against the Southern revolt in 1955. General Aboud became the head of both the State and the Government, Hassan Bashir, Minister for Presidential Affairs and Deputy Commander-in-Chief, and Abdel Wahab, Minister of the Interior and Local Government. Abdel Wahab was, in fact, a prominent personality respected by those who knew him both from within the army circles and from without. Being ambitious and ostensibly encouraged by the Ansar leaders, he was suspected to have aspired to all the positions held by General Aboud. This suspicion was taken up by some senior officers as pretext for claiming their inclusion on the Supreme Council. Thus, on March 2, 1959, Brigadier Mohy el-Din Ahmed Abdallah, the Commander of the Eastern Area and Brigadier Abdel Rahim Shannan, Commander of the Northern Area, conspired to bring troops to Khartoum. Abdel Wahab was arrested together with two of his supporters who were members of the Supreme Council. They were
later set free following the intervention of Abdallah Bey Khalil, Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi and Ali el-Mirghani. However, the intervention was short-lived for, two days later, the two Commanders were back again with even more troops and demanded the resignation of the Supreme Council. Accordingly, the Council had to resign and on 5th March a new Supreme Council was formed including the two Commanders and Brigadier Magboul el-Amin el-Haj, the Commander of the Central Area. General Abdel Wahab became disgusted with the whole arrangement and refused to take an oath of loyalty until all the troops had returned to their bases. The troops never withdrew and Abdel Wahab had to resign, relinquishing all his posts in the military junta. With the fall of Abdel Wahab from power, all hopes by the Umma Party leaders for an Ansar-dominated military regime disappeared and they began to intensify their opposition against the regime.

The inclusion of Mohy el-Din and Abdel Rahman Shannan on the Supreme Council gave rise to another crisis. The two new members found themselves unable to co-operate with Brigadier Hassan Bashir Nasr, and each side sought to oust the other from the Council. The struggle reached a climax on 22nd May 1959, when the Acting Commander of the Eastern Area arrested the newly appointed commander of the Area and marched to Khartoum with a force of two battalions. Other pronouncements would have been imminent, were it not for the timely action by Hassan Bashir Nasr who arrested the instigators and ordered the troops to go to their base in Gedarif. On 1st June, Mohy el-Din and Shannan were arrested and tried before a court-martial on the charge of inciting a mutiny by launching an armed attack on Khartoum with the object of overthrowing the regime.

Another abortive coup took place in November 1959. This time it was not the senior officers who staged the coup but the young officers who also disapproved of their exclusion from the government. On the 9th November, a group of young officers in the infantry school at Omdurman came out in force to overthrow the regime. The revolt was suppressed without difficulty and its leaders were arrested and brought for trial before a military tribunal. Within a week five of them were condemned to death and the execution took place on 2nd December. This was the last of the coups made against the regime. The result of these abortive coups was that all power came to lie squarely in the hands of General Aboud. On 21st March 1959, the Supreme Council passed constitutional orders Nos. 4 and 5 making General Ibrahim Aboud, in his official capacity as President of the Supreme Council, the Supreme Constitutional Authority in the Sudan, enjoying all legislative, executive and judicial powers, including the Supreme Commander of Armed Forces.

He was also given the power to appoint and dismiss any member of the Supreme Council and Council of Ministers. With the cessation of the
power struggle within the army, the junta was able to focus attention on socio-economic development. The year 1960 saw some real signs of progress throughout the country. Industrialization and diversification of the agricultural economy were notably emphasized as a means of economic development. Thus, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the regime, General Aboud reaffirmed the policy of encouraging foreign investment in order to promote industrialization. Some 88 factories were announced to be operating and development of several promising industries such as livestock, sugar, paper and fisheries was to be explored in the near future. In the meantime, the development budget announced in June 1960 amounted to £S 25.4 million. Projects receiving appropriation under the development budget included the Roseires Dam, the Managil Extension to the Gezira irrigation scheme, the Khashim el-Girba irrigation project, the Sennar hydro-electric and thermal power project and the Guneid sugar factory. Concerning financial development, the Bank of Sudan opened in February 1960 and assumed all currency and Central Bank functions which were formerly exercised by the Currency Board, the Ministry of Finance and the Khartoum Branch of the National Bank of Egypt. A new mint was built with equipment supplied by the Federal Republic of Germany. In the field of transport and communications, the regime was able to construct bridges, roads and railroads. Railway expansion included an extension from Babanousa to Wau. There was also a considerable expansion in schools throughout the country. Even more important was the rise in the Sudan's foreign reserves in 1960. This was primarily due to the sale of the reserved cotton harvest for 1959. The backlog and the new crop were sold at even lower rates than had previously been obtained. American aid, which had been a subject of dispute during the parliamentary era, was sought to speed up the development programmes and by 1960 it amounted to £S 15,475,261.

Although the regime's development policies were sound, its other policies relating to public liberties and security were not. Highly repressive measures were employed to silence anyone who dared raise his voice against the regime. There was a general clampdown on the press, resulting in the banning of all newspapers except those which were established by, and placed under strict control of, the government. The state of emergency which was declared in 1958 was never relaxed, and as a result all public gatherings and demonstrations continued to be illegal. All this made the government unpopular with the general public and it was only a matter of time before its downfall. Again, it was the Southern question which provided the last straw. The Southern problem, as has been stated, was one of the chief causes which brought the army into power. It had been the intention of all the Northern dominated governments that came into power after independence, to impose upon the South the policy of national integration by Arabization and Islamicization, but since the par-
liamentary governments were too weak to undertake such a sensitive task, it was expected that the military junta would do so even if it meant the application of brutal force. This was so particularly because most Northern politicians believed that the existing cultural differences between the two parts of one country were the root causes of the problem. Cultural assimilation of the South was, therefore, sought to end the Southern trouble and open the doors for the further advance of Islam and Arabism into the heart of Black Africa.

Nationalization of Mission Schools and the Expulsion of Missionaries from the South

The first step taken by the military junta was to harass the missionaries, restrict their activities and finally expel them from the South. The government offensive against the missionaries started with a wave of criticisms regarding their schools of which the following were emphasized:

1. That manual work and religious lessons took greater part of the students' time.
2. That students' conditions of health and their feeding were ostensibly miserable and symptoms of malnourishment could be observed in not a few of them. This criticism infuriated the Catholic missionaries who reacted in the following words: "Feeding arrangements at our schools may sometimes fall short of the Grand Hotel or even other standards, but to call the food 'horrible' is an accusation that proves the bad intention of the accuser. How could our pupils possibly keep healthy and even put on weight (and most of them are healthier than in their own homes) if the critics' claims were true" (sic).  
3. The disciplinary measures applied to the pupils were unnecessarily harsh and also they were required to observe many burdensome religious roll-calls which often greatly distracted them from their other assignments. Moreover, the school administration allowed adult pupils to bully and subdue the adolescent ones making the latter usually submissive and servile.
4. That the missionaries were unqualified to be entrusted with the education in the South, since their main business was the propaganda of their Faith. For this reason, they "have, with very few but notable exceptions, failed to produce Southern staff able or trained to assume executive or administrative positions".

But this criticism is rather misplaced; it is government policy to blame rather than the missions education as such. The aim of the British admin-

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administration's policy was to arrest the mental and cultural development of Southern girls and boys in their formative years.

However, the strategy of eliminating the presence and activities of the Christian missionaries in the Sudan was visualised during the process of independence. Under this strategy, the missionaries in Southern Sudan became the immediate targets. As early as 1957, the District Commissioner of Eastern Equatoria, in a letter to the Governor of Equatoria, expressed the view of the administrators in the South in the following words: "We have suffered a lot from the missionaries in the South, and so it may be time to limit their expansion and powers until the time we have a better control and grip on the present existing situation".

In the light of the above facts, the policy restricting the activities of the missionaries in the South was adopted and circulated in December 1959. The policy was to be kept secret, and to this effect, the permanent under-secretary of the Ministry of Interior, Sayed Hassan Ali Abdallah, wrote the following letter, dated 27th July 1960, to the Governors of the three Southern provinces:

The policy of restricting the activity of the missions in the religious sphere in order to protect the country from the danger of their success is now entering upon a decisive phase, after full inquiries on various matters and an exchange of opinions. I ask the governors to keep this policy secret, so that the missionaries do not learn anything of our intentions, and will thus be able to find any counter measures to our policy or to mobilize the world press and thus try to make an impression on us. Our officials should be very careful not to take an open stand in favour of the victory of a particular religion and they should give the appearance of supporting all in equal measure. The aim of these precautions is to create the right atmosphere for those responsible, so that the unanimously adopted policy can be laid down calmly and without attracting attention. Thus, it will become a fait accompli without possibility of retraction or amendment.

The policy consisted of a series of restrictions and persecution of the missionaries. Thus in 1957, a year after independence, the government undertook to nationalize all the mission schools in the South on the grounds that one of its fundamental responsibilities was to assume the task of education all over the country. In nationalizing the schools the missionaries were led to understand that after the takeover, they would, if they so wished, be allowed to open new schools with their own money according to the Non-Government Schools Ordinance of 1957. This, however,

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3 A letter from the DC of the Eastern District to the Governor of Equatoria, secret-file No.Ed/4 A.I.1, 14th December 1957, cited in Yangu.

never materialized. Instead more restrictions were imposed culminating in the 1962 Missionary Societies Act. Under the Act the missionaries were not allowed to increase their personnel, preach, proselytize, train seminarians or perform any missionary work including all religious gatherings for prayer outside the church premises, the maintenance of church buildings, orphan care, and the distribution of religious publications, without first obtaining permission from the Council of Ministers. Sunday was also abolished as the official rest-day in the South and Friday was to take its place. Those missionaries who were residing in the country were encouraged to leave and those who were on home-leave were not allowed to return.

The direct consequence of the Act was the prosecution of missionaries. For example, during the period between 1962 and 1964, 30 Roman Catholics, 2 CMS and 3 American missionaries were taken to court and tried under one or more of the following charges: Contravention of the Missionary Societies Act; indulgence in suspicious activities threatening the unity and security of the country; urging the citizens to rebellion; helping outlaws by transporting them from one place to another and giving supplies to mutineers.

However, when these measures appeared to be ineffective, the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces ordered the expulsion of the missionaries in March 1964 under incredibly humiliating conditions—humiliating because the missionaries were given only two weeks to leave the country and as a result most of them left their personal belongings behind. The Ministry of the Interior then issued a pamphlet explaining the reasons for the expulsion of the missionaries from the South. The pamphlet accused the missionaries of implanting the Christian faith in the South, of making English the language of the letter and communication, of striving to make the Southerners develop attitudes and sentiments based on fear, hate and distrust of the Northerners, and of magnifying the differences between the South and North with a view to creating a separate political character for the South.

The missionaries categorically denied the charges levelled against them by the government, particularly those concerning their involvement in national politics. They insisted that they had been misunderstood by the government: "We do not take interest in politics. We just remind our lay Catholics that they are citizens who must exercise their powers in the political sphere, but even then they shall have to do it in their capacity of individual citizens and not as members of the church".5

The missionaries did receive strong support from the Southern public in portraying their innocence. They sympathized with and abhorred the

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high-handed treatment of, the missionaries. This support stemmed from a psycho-historical background of their experience with the missionaries. Historically, the Southerners believed that the missionaries played no significant role in intensifying the Southern problem after independence, though they might have certainly contributed to it during the colonial era. Psychologically, the Southerners felt that by expelling the missionaries, they had been deprived of their real and only friend. For, since the invasion of Southern Sudan by the foreign elements, the missionaries had always steadfastly identified themselves with the Southern people. From them Southerners learned that not all foreigners were devils. Some tribes did obtain a degree of protection against the blood-thirsty slave-traders and they gained the little education they had at the time which proved of great value during their struggle against injustices and unnecessary subjugation.

However, the friendship which existed between Southerners and missionaries should not be confused with respect. The missionaries had no respect for the Southerners. On the contrary they despised and disdained the Southerners, for being black and primitive Negroes. Surprisingly, the missionaries did have a great respect for the Northerners despite the latter's negative and hostile tendency towards them. This may be due partly to the fact that Northerners constituted a conscious or so-called "civilized" section of the society. But, as far as Southerners were concerned, the missionaries looked down upon them, regarding them as savages and primitives. This can be gathered from their writings before and after the Anglo-Egyptian conquest in 1898. Their attitude towards Southerners was one of unfailing arrogance and undisguised superiority which they expressed even to the fellow native priests who lived with them and did the same church work. In brief, their behaviour and approaches towards the Southerners seemed to reflect their belief that a Southerner, though he be highly educated, remained a Southerner and could be no match to them either in talent or in understanding. An example of this occurred in 1956 when a group of students from various parts of Bahr el-Ghazal province convened a conference in Wau in which the nationalization of mission schools in the South was discussed. The conference came out with specific resolutions supporting the government decision to take over the schools. To counteract this initiative, the Catholic mission in Wau made a press release which not only opposed the idea but also went ahead to argue quite pejoratively, that the students were ignorant of the inevitable consequences of their act. The release described the resolutions of the students' conference as follows:

The story which was issued reminds one of the story of a visitor to a foreign country. The gentleman was travelling in a horse-drawn carriage along a very bad road. The driver was rather sleepy and the horse was moving
The visitor being in a hurry, looked up the word 'quickly' in his book of native language, which word he immediately learned and repeated to the driver; whereupon the good old man set his horse in a full gallop. The road was so bad that the poor visitor got badly shaken all over, but could not alter the speed of the carriage because he had not learned the word 'slowly' which alone might have saved him. The traveller concluded his story of the misadventure: *A little knowledge, badly used, may prove more dangerous than none at all; dangerous even to the person who is using it.*

The poverty-stricken condition and the low standard of living of the Southerners at the time might have influenced the relationship between the Southerners and the missionaries. For many years since the appearance of the missionaries in their midst, Southerners had been always on the receiving end. They never hesitated to seek the help of the missionaries in whom they had unfailing trust and the latter, on their part, never failed to respond positively or sympathetically. This led to a kind of relationship in which the Southerner was invariably the supplicant and the missionary was the benefactor.

The stark oppression of the Christian missionaries together with the Southern Christians by the Northern-dominated governments serves to refute the shameless assertion that freedom of religion was a basic principle of the official policy of the Sudan; and that all creeds were being accorded equal opportunities and encouragement. Indeed, the barbaric and senseless persecution of the Church and the ultimate expulsion of the missionaries were intended firstly, to cripple the hand of the missionaries in order that Islam would predominate in the South. The presence of the missionaries was seen as a threat to the Islamicization of the South since the junta regarded them as a bulwark against the penetration of Arab culture in the region. In implementing the government policy in the South, large sums of money were drawn from the public treasury to establish six Islamic intermediate institutes in Juba, Kodok, Wau, Maridi, Yei, and Raga. A secondary Islamic institute was opened in Juba. These were in addition to numerous Koranic schools and centres set up throughout the South for the religious teaching of children and adults. "The military governors and administrators devoted much of their time and energies to spreading Arabic and Islam and to suppressing the opposition" *(Beshir:81).* The 1963–4 budget earmarked £S 11,000 for building a centre for religious guidance at Malakal in addition to other centres elsewhere in the South. Several mosques were hurriedly erected and every Southern convert was persuaded to worship there. The

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methods of conversion to Islam which were applied by the administrators ranged from persuasion, threat, to enticement. One method for converting a chief had been described as follows:

A District Commissioner calls in ... a Southern chief to his office, and addresses him by a Muslim name, congratulates him for now being a live part of the government whose religion is Islam, raises his salary as a token of the step taken in embracing Islam and tells him finally that his name and conversion will be announced by Radio Omdurman. Into the hands of the new convert are thrust £5 10 for the purpose of purchasing the required religious outfits and the chief leaves the office more confused than amused (Oduho and Deng:56).

As for the Christian children, their foreheads were rubbed with sand, washed with soap and then told that the sign of the Cross having been erased they should now embrace Islam. Regarding the Southern petty traders, they were told by the Jallaba and the administrators alike that unless they became Muslims they would never make good business and become rich. This idea easily gained roots and to the simple illiterate Southerners wishing to become traders, becoming a Muslim was almost identifiable with success in business and therefore wealth.

Secondly, to seal off the South from the outside world in order that the effects of the junta's tough military operations should not leak to the free world. This was particularly so because political and military events in the South were taking such ugly turns as to render the government fearful of the presence of any foreign elements in the area, especially the missionaries who were not likely to turn away their vigilant eyes from acts of terror being committed against Southern people. By drawing an iron curtain over the South, the junta hoped by all means to stop the echoes of the reign of terror from being heard abroad. It was not, therefore, that the missionaries had defied the laws of the land as the government so often stated, for even if the missionaries were willing to do so, they practically could not, since they were all the time surrounded by an array of security men. Those of the missionaries who were suspected of contravening the missionary Societies Act were arrested and tried in the courts of law. The missionary Societies Act has never been repealed until this day.

The effects of the military dictatorship were felt more profoundly in the South than in any other place in the Sudan, the chief reason being not so much because of government's general intolerance to opposition as because of the harsh measures applied in implementing the Southern policy. As it had already lost the confidence of the Southern elite, it decided to further alienate them through ill-treatment instead of trying to win them or neutralize them. It might be that the regime hoped that its policies of creating an Islamicized and Arabized Southern elite to replace
the old one would soon come to fruition. Southern politicians, intellectuals and students were therefore arrested and placed under custody without hesitation. Some Southern ex-parliamentarians who went to Juba were, upon their arrival, summoned to the Governor's office and strictly warned never again to utter such evil words as federation. Ali Baldo, the ruthless Governor of Equatoria province, addressed the citizens in the following words:

We thank God that by virtue of the marvellous efforts of the Revolutionary Government the country will remain forever united.

You should turn a deaf ear to any evil talk which comes from politicians, as you well know what has become of them in the past few years and you certainly don't want bloodshed again in the South. You are aware that anybody who interferes with public peace and tranquillity will be dealt with severely and at once. During the days of Parliament, the Southern Parliamentary Members advocated a federal government for the South. Such ideas are gone with politicians.7

The existence of missionary educated Southerners was regarded by the government as a potential threat to the unity of the country. In the words of Sayed Kamal Bedri, a senior government official, the missionaries had "left behind bad seeds and it had become the government's function to get rid of these seeds to ensure peace in the South".8 Under these circumstances, Southern politicians, much to their chagrin, realized that they had not only lost their political forum but that their lives were even in danger. Fleeing the country with a view to organizing Southern political movement in exile was the only alternative left to the Southerners. Hence in 1962, there was a general drift of the Southerners across the borders into Zaire, Uganda and the Central African Republic.

The Development of the Southern Political Movement in Exile and the Birth of Anya-Nya

In the spring of 1960, something in the nature of mass exodus of Southerners into the neighbouring countries was beginning to be noticed by the outside world. The government, in full awareness of this fact, put her embassies to the task of informing the outside world that the "so-called refugees in Uganda and Ethiopia are in fact run-aways from the devastating floods of the River Nile". This was completely false and one leading

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8 Debate on the statement of the Minister of Interior on security in the Southern provinces, Weekly Digest of the Central Council 2nd session, sitting No. 8, 12 March 1964.
Southerner had no hesitation in dismissing it as part of the Arab “policy of falsification”. The truth was that the utter indiscriminate persecution of Southerners by the military dictatorship, had set numerous men, women and children fleeing across the borders into the territories of Uganda, Zaire and the Central African Republic.

Among the refugees were some leading Southern intellectuals, distinguished politicians and ex-parliamentarians. These personalities assumed the leadership of the exiles and as a result two organizations emerged: The Sudan Christian Association based in Uganda and the Sudan African Closed District National Union (SACDNU) based in Zaire. SACDNU, which was formed in February 1962, proved to be the most outstanding of the two. Its leadership included: Joseph H. Oduho (President), Marko Rume (Vice President), William Deng Nhial (Secretary General), Aggrey Jaden (Deputy Secretary General), Pancrasio Ocheng (Treasurer), Valerio Oregat (Deputy Treasurer), Fr. Saturinino Lohure, Ferdinand Adiang, James Wek Athian, Akuot Atem de Mayen, Alexis Mbali Yangu, Philip Padok Leith, Chief Basia Renzi and Nathaniel Oyet as members. The main political aim of SACDNU was a call for self-determination for the South, so that Southerners could decide freely what relationship they should have with the Northern Sudan. The main activities of the organization were to supply information on events in the Southern Sudan to journalists and organizations; to help the refugees, and to petition the UNO and OAU with a view to drawing their attention to the Southern Sudan problem. In December 1962, for example, William Deng Nhial went to Switzerland where, with the assistance of Lawrence Wol Wol and others, he prepared the famous SACDNU petition to the United Nations which, after making a fairly comprehensive expose of the root causes of the Southern problem, went on to request the Organizations to help in finding a just solution for it.

In another memorandum to the OAU, the exiled leaders called for the formation of an international or semi-international body to look into the problems of the South. Although the appeals by SACDNU were barely noticed by those international and regional bodies, they did help to expound and propagate the problem to the world at large. By 1963, SACDNU changed its name to Sudan African National Union (SANU) and its head-office was transferred from Kinshasa to Kampala in Uganda.

Since the rise of Southern political movement in exile, the activities of its leaders were confined to exploring all possible means and ways of a peaceful solution to the problem. But in 1963, a new, more determined,

9 Lomoro, G.M. Evidence.
10 SACDU, to UN on Southern Sudan, 29 April 1963.
11 SANU petition to OAU, 16 December 1963.
more militant element known as the Anya-Nya appeared on the scene. When the Equatoria Corps surrendered its arms in 1955, not all of the soldiers did so. A handful of them, together with some policemen and prison wardens, escaped with their rifles to the bush where they continued to launch sporadic attacks on government posts in Eastern Equatoria. On August 15th 1956, for example, the mutineers attacked the military garrison at Yei, killing two soldiers and wounding several others. The government soldiers, instead of following the mutineers, turned on the innocent villagers in reprisal and burned down about one hundred huts. The reason advanced following the incident was that the villagers harboured and assisted the mutineers. The incident, however, fanned terror into the local population in the area who, from that time onwards, began to sympathize with the rebels. This was the first intimation of the involvement of the rural population in the resistance movement. By 1960, when the excesses of the government were at their height and Southerners were deserting to the bush in great numbers, the size of the rebel forces swelled. In 1962, the groups of rebels in Equatoria organized themselves into the Azania Secret Army (ASA) and operated under that name for sometime. In the same year the instability in all the levels of schools in the south, sparked off as a result of the change of Sunday for Friday as a weekly holiday, had developed into direct resistance against the regime. The uprisings in schools underscored the students' revolution, as many Southerners came to regard it afterwards.

The reaction of the government against the students was harsh beyond description. It unleashed the security forces to deal with the students in any fashion they wished. Many students were, in consequence, arrested, stripped naked and flogged to unconsciousness. Several of them died in the process and many of those who survived were maimed. Others who were accused of being ringleaders in the strikes were taken to law-courts and sentenced to up to ten years imprisonment. All in all, the measures taken were way out of proportion with the established and recognized procedures of dealing with a troublesome school-child. In the North, such a school-child was punished either by lashing, suspension or, in serious cases, dismissal. Why the authorities decided to abandon the usual methods of punishing school-children was quite tragic. Those of the students who were old enough, especially in Rumbek Academic and Juba Commercial secondary schools, took flight into the bush and the neighbouring countries.

The involvement of the students in the flight was quite a bonus for the armed resistance groups. For, after being in the bush or crossing the borders, the students discovered that there were neither schools for them

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12 Letter from Ring, B.M.M.
nor were they of any use to the political front, so most of them decided to
go to the battlefield. Thus, all refugee camps were turned into more or
less military training garrisons. All except the elderly, the women and the
children, were regarded as potential soldiers. Besides the participation of
students in the armed struggle there was the release of over a thousand
political prisoners who were serving their terms in the North. Most of
them were ex-soldiers in the now disbanded Equatoria Corps and were
"more accustomed to handle a rifle than a hoe". Finding that the govern-
ment was not prepared to find them jobs on their arrival in the South,
they proceeded to the bush and joined the rebels.

The students and the ex-soldiers acting jointly formed the nucleus of
the rebel leadership, and despite overriding difficulties (such as lack of
arms and ammunition, transport and communications obstacles, finan-
cial shortages and tribal animosities) they succeeded in co-ordinating
the various groups operating in different parts of the South.

It seems that the name ASA was abandoned early in 1962 in favour of
the simpler and clearer "Southern Sudan Freedom Fighters". By 1963,
the organizational aspect of the movement was completed and the name
Anya-Nya was unanimously adopted. The appearance of the Anya-Nya
as a living reality gave momentum to the Southern Sudan political devel-
opment. Determined to find a solution to the problem by the use of force,
it declared that: "Our patience has now come to an end and we are con-
vinced that only the use of force will bring a decision. From today on-
wards, we shall take action ... We do not want mercy and we are not pre-
pared to give it".13

Anya-Nya is a Madi term meaning "snake poison" and the Freedom
Fighters used it as a symbol of their determination to destroy Northern
administration in the Southern Sudan. Their emblem was a charging
buffalo surrounded by two cobras and split by an arrow. 'Buffalo' was the
symbol of the Equatoria Corps and it had been adopted by Anya-Nya in
its honour. Anya-Nya's first baptism of fire started with the attack on
Pachalla on September 9th 1963; Pachalla is an administrative post in the
Pibor district of Upper Nile. After three days of fierce fighting, it fell in
the hands of the Anya-Nya who held it for a week. The second attack oc-
curred in Equatoria on the 19th of the same month, where Kajo-Kaji, a
police post near the Ugandan border, was overrun and several Northern
policemen and civilians lost their lives. The third and the most daring at-
tempt took place on January 1st 1964 in Bahr el-Ghazal. A large force of
Anya-Nya soldiers led by Bernardino Mou, an ex-prison warden, planned
to capture Wau, the provincial capital of Bahr el-Ghazal. The plan
would have succeeded if the signal gun had not fired a little earlier than

13 The Voice of the Southern Sudan.
the agreed time. The attempt became a complete fiasco and sixty Anya-Nya soldiers, including Bernandino who was himself injured, were captured by the government forces. They were later condemned to death before a military tribunal. The victims were then taken to an open square and shot before a large gathering of citizens who were called in to watch the firing squad.

At the beginning, the Anya-Nya suffered considerably from lack of fire arms. They had to depend on their traditional weapons—spears, bows and arrows, machetes and swords. But in 1964–5,

... the bad wind which blew over Congo blew good over the Southern Sudan. Arms belonging to the Congolese rebels passed into the hands of the Anya-Nya and our operations against the Arab enemy soon became more numerous and more effective. Enemy units ambushed by the Anya-Nya provided us with more weapons and ammunition. We got stronger and grew quicker (Lagu:5).

The emergence of the Anya-Nya army added to the list of burdens borne by the local population in the South. The methods employed by the Anya-Nya for imposing their authority over, and obtaining the loyalty of, the people were sometimes as harsh as those applied by the Northern Arabs. Any person refusing to co-operate with the Anya-Nya would, in nine cases out of ten, have his or her property confiscated, and any person co-operating with the government forces was made to dig his own grave and was then buried alive. There were also various methods of torture applied by the Anya-Nya. The commonest and most terrible of these was to twist a person by tying his legs and hands together onto his back while lying on the stomach, after which he was kicked and rolled about like a sack of flour. It was most painful and some of those who experienced it swore that it was the worst. If a person remained tied in this way for more than fifteen minutes such a person would certainly die. However, the Anya-Nya's involvement in torture of local people ceased as early as 1966 when the latter began to regard the former as the rightful authority in the region. By 1964, the Anya-Nya were in control of the country-side of the South. Many government posts in the villages were abandoned and every Northern bush shop was burned down. Taxes ceased to be collected from the local population by the government agents. The situation was precarious and the security forces were becoming increasingly intolerant of the Southerners.

**THE FALL OF THE MILITARY REGIME**

Although most of the partisan leaders gave their blessing to the military government at the outset, it was not long before they mounted an active resistance against it. On 29th November 1960, some twenty politicians
led by Abdallah Bey Khalil, Azhari and Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub, with the blessing of Imam Sidig Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi, petitioned General Aboud to end the military rule and to elect a new parliament which would pass a permanent constitution. General Aboud reacted by depriving Khalil and Azhari of their pensions and went on to make it clear that the government would not abdicate nor be deflected from its programme. In January 1961, the leaders of the petition and some former ministers in the parliamentary government were finally arrested and detained in military custody in Juba. Meanwhile, in November 1959, the junta set up a commission under the chairmanship of Justice Mohamed Ahmed Abu Rannat to study and recommend a suitable system of democratic rule in the Sudan. The commission recommended the creation of a central council "in a pyramid with the local councils as a base" (Henderson:143).

Each Province Council was to consist of elected and appointed members. The powers of the Province Council extended over education, cultural affairs, social welfare, agriculture, public health, animal resources and public works. The Central Council, on the other hand, was to be a body representative of the whole Sudan and which, together with the Supreme Council, would constitute the "legislature of the Sudan". The council would have a term of two years but could be dissolved by the President.

The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces approved these recommendations, and in 1960 the Province Councils were formed. In November 1962, the Central Council Act was promulgated. The junta's attempt to create its own philosophy of democratic rule was viewed with "amused contempt" by most Sudanese intelligentsia, and when the council's elections were called in 1963 very few of them were enthusiastic. The council met for the first time in November 1963. The establishment of the Central Council might be said to have been an error on the part of the junta, for in doing so, it had created a platform through which its opponents could conspire. Many explosive issues, ranging from the economic collapse to the deteriorating situation in the South, were openly discussed in the Central Council and at the same time echoed throughout the country. Criticism of the government policies in the country in general and in the South in particular, was made even by the common man in the street. In an attempt to acquiesce to public opinion the government, at the suggestion of the Central Council, appointed a Commission of Enquiry in September 1964; "to study the factors which hinder harmony between the Southern and Northern parts of the Sudan with a view to consolidate confidence and achieve internal stability without infringing the constitutional structure or the principle of a unitary government" (Beshir:86).

The Commission was composed of thirteen Northerners and nineteen Southerners, the latter of whom half were "illiterate and semi-illiterate chiefs". The Commission of Enquiry commenced its work by inviting the
citizens to subscribe their views on the problem. The invitation was seized by the enemies of the regime as a golden opportunity to undermine and if possible to overthrow the regime. Khartoum University student's leadership was exceptional in its utilization of the opportunity. A series of debates were held in the campus which culminated in the unanimous acceptance of the view that no solution to the Southern problem was possible until the government resigned. The decision alarmed the government and the Minister of Interior issued an order forbidding further discussion on the subject. The students, on their part, decided to defy the order and distributed invitations to the general public to be present when the debate resumed on Thursday 22nd October 1964. The police were ordered to prevent the debate and a clash ensued which resulted in the death of a University student. The students staged demonstrations in the streets of Khartoum, protesting the "murder" of their colleague. They were joined by the general public and soon Khartoum was overwhelmed by thousands of demonstrators whom the police were unable to control.

On Friday 23rd October, the state of security all over the country was hopeless. Doctors on duty in public hospitals refused to treat wounded policemen; all the workers' trade unions declared a general strike; and the high court judges closed the courts and withheld magisterial authority on anti-riot actions by the police. By Sunday the state machinery had virtually collapsed. The junta's strong men tried the intervention of the army but the young army officers, notable among them the so-called "free officers", refrained from taking action after having occupied sensitive areas. With no support left for his regime, General Aboud had no choice but to dissolve the military regime. Thus, through a determined popular uprising, the once powerful military dictatorship faded away with the minimum of bloodshed.

The 21st October Revolution (as the uprising has become known) was leaderless to the extent of the conspicuous non-involvement of the traditional political parties who later were to reap its benefits. The true leaders of the revolution were the students who touched it off, the masses of people who joined in it, and the various professional groups who incapacitated the military regime by refusing to obey its orders and organizing strikes. The politicians decided to hide in safety and soon after the success of the revolution they stepped in with astonishing speed and diverted it to their own advantage. A body known as the National Front was formed comprising political parties and the various professional groups that had caused the regime to fall. The front, which was dominated by the partisan leaders, hurriedly drew up a programme of action known as the National Charter which focused attention on relatively secondary issues.
THE CARE-TAKER GOVERNMENT

Formation of Government

The sudden fall of the military regime and the automatic dissolution of all its institutions created a vacuum. There was an immediate need for a successor government. But it was not easy to form such a government since there was no constitution to back it. The only thing to be done in the circumstances was for the National Front to restore and amend the 1956 Transitional Constitution and use it as a basis for the establishment of the government. This was done. The Transitional Constitution (amended 1964) provided for a single-house Constituent Assembly whose main task, besides legislating for the country, was to make and pass a permanent constitution. The Assembly was to last for two years and was not to be subject to dissolution. Furthermore, the presidency of the Supreme Council of State no longer rotated monthly; instead, the Constituent Assembly elected one of the members of the Supreme Council as its president. The main task of the care-taker or the Transitional Government, as it was called, was to prepare the way for the rise of a representative government. According to the National Charter general elections for the Constituent Assembly, which would be responsible for the appointment of a representative government, were to be conducted not later than the end of March 1965.

It was agreed by all the members of National Front that the care-taker government should be formed and headed by a man un-influenced by partisan politics. A measure of neutrality was needed to ensure a smooth and unbiased transition to multi-party democracy. The choice of premiership fell on Sayed Sirr el-Khatim el-Khalifa, an educationalist of long experience and a man renowned for his sincerity, strong will and personal integrity. He was able to form a government in which the political parties were greatly under-represented—a fact which enabled his government to make and execute its policies without undue pressure from the political parties. Out of the 15 ministers, only 5 represented the political parties, while 8 represented the various professional groups which united to overthrow the military junta. The other two ministers came from the South.

It is worth noting that the Transitional Government, despite its very short time in power, had succeeded in earning for itself a patriotic chapter in the history of the Sudan. It attempted a radical departure from the past: a departure from the narrow, chauvinistic and fanatical conception of nationhood to a more flexible and progressive perspective of national unity and national consciousness. It was progressive in the sense that it was non-sectarian and patriotic to a great extent. It was flexible in the sense that it not only had a clear vision of the major problems facing the
country as a united sovereign state, but also it attempted to solve those problems. The main reason behind all this new outlook was that the government was dominated by an intelligentsia whose understanding of things had been emancipated from the old sectarian and traditional conservatism. They were a group who had come to realize, far in advance of the bulk of their fellow-countrymen, that the policies of coercion, rigidity and wars as a means of achieving national unity, were not only a disservice to the very cause of unity but a real recipe for the disintegration of the country. The Prime Minister, Sirr el-Khatim el-Khalifa who had served in many parts of the country, especially in the South where he spent not less than a decade as an education officer, was fully aware of these complexities. While in the South, the heart of troubles, he was able through close association and long dealing with the Southerners, to understand the dimensions and intricacies of the problem. He, therefore, had his own impressions about the Southern problem when he assumed the position of Prime Minister in 1964.

The Transitional Government upon its assumption of power hastened to recognize for the first time since independence, the existence of the Southern problem and declared its intention to have it solved. To assure the South of its seriousness, the government permitted the South, for the first time, to select their own men for the ministerial posts reserved for them; not only that, it even gave to Southerners the sensitive and important ministries of the Interior and Labour and later the Ministry of Transport and Communications as well.

The reaction of the Southerners to the government's show of goodwill was immediate: SANU, the Southern political party in exile, declared its support of the government. In a letter to the Prime Minister in November 1964, SANU declared that they were willing to return to the motherland only if the government could announce a general amnesty for all the Southern refugees; recognize SANU as a political party and deposit a "written guarantee" with the OAU to the effect that "none of the refugees and SANU leaders will be victimized".  

Finally, it suggested that a Round Table Conference between all Sudanese political parties with representatives from the Judiciary, the University of Khartoum and the Trade Union leaders be convened to discuss the general lines of a working constitutional relationship between North and South. In their capacity as observers and advisors, the Secretariat-General of the OAU and the neighbouring African countries including United Arab Republic (UAR) should be represented at the conference.

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14 SANU, letter to Prime Minister of the Sudan on Political Relations Between North and South, November 1964.
The Round Table Conference

The idea was warmly accepted by the government and preparations were made to hold the Round Table Conference. The Prime Minister approached the six Northern political parties and persuaded them to accept the holding of the Conference which they agreed to attend. Issues mainly connected with the place in which the Conference should be held and who should preside over it, tended to delay the holding of the Conference. But they were soon overcome and the date for it was finally fixed for March 16th 1965. The Conference was to be held in Khartoum and the Vice Chancellor of the University of Khartoum was to become its chairman. The Round Table Conference was attended by 27 Southern delegates selected from within the country and from amongst the exile leaders in East and Central Africa, 18 Northerners representing the six Northern political parties; and observers from Algeria, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, UAR and Uganda. The Conference was fortunate to have been presided over by a man whose ability and impartiality captured the admiration of all the conferees. It was, perhaps, the secret behind the continuation of the Conference which was, from the outset, doomed to failure. This man was Professor Nazir Daffalla, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Khartoum. From the beginning until the end, he kept the spirit of the Conference high, bringing hope where there was despair, and reducing tension when it was rising.

The Conference opened with inaugural speeches. On the opening day, the government and all leaders of the delegation and political parties were invited to address the Conference. The purpose of the head of government address was to outline the aims of the Conference while the delegations' addresses were intended to elaborate on the problem as regards its root causes, its effects and magnitude. In another sense, it was an opportunity for the delegates to express their feelings about the problem and possibly say who was to blame. Some of the speeches, therefore, were as expected, inflammatory and emotional, some were contemptuous, some were merely rhetorical and boastful, and of course, some were moderate, illuminating and placatory. The Prime Minister in his speech informed the Conference that there was a problem in the South, that it was political and that the government felt it should be solved by peaceful means. He declared that the aim of the Conference was "to discuss the Southern Question with a view to reaching an agreement which shall satisfy the regional interests of the South as well as the national interests of the Sudan". Emphasizing the historical significance of the Conference, the Prime Minister said:

... the manner in which we have chosen to tackle this problem, that is to say, openly, with goodwill and by means of peaceful democratic negotiations
will be, however modest we may feel about it—an example for the whole world irrespective of the results which this Conference may achieve and the measures which may afterwards prove necessary for the solution of the present problem.\textsuperscript{\textdagger}

The delegations' speeches form, perhaps, the most interesting part of the Conference's deliberations. Southern delegates who claimed to be the aggrieved party disclaimed any relationship between the South and the North "except our mother, the Nile, and the accident of common colonial masters". They charged the North with colonizing the South, with perpetuating the reign of terror and with subjugating it economically, socially, and religiously. The speech of Mr. Aggrey Jaden, one of the leaders of SANU, was very blunt in its denial of any links between the North and the South:

Sudan falls sharply into two distinct areas, both in geographical area, ethnic group and cultural systems. The Northern Sudan is occupied by a hybrid Arab race who are united by their common language, common culture and common religion, and they look to the Arab world for their cultural and political inspirations. For this reason, the Sudan became a member of the Arab league soon after independence. The people of the Southern Sudan, on the other hand, belong to the African ethnic group of East Africa. They do not only differ from the hybrid race in origin, arrangements and basic systems but in all conceivable purposes. ... With this real division, there are in fact two Sudans and the most important thing is that there can never be a basis of unity between the two. There is nothing in common between the various sections of the community: no body of shared beliefs, no identity of interests, no local signs of unity and, above all, the Sudan has failed to compose a single community.\textsuperscript{\textdaggerdbl}

Northern delegates, on the other hand, warded off these charges as false and accused the Southern intelligentsia of being imperialist stooges. According to them, imperialism had influenced Southerners to such an extent that they saw things in a way different from the North. "Facts are mixed up in their minds and history was taught to them in such a way that made them stand for a certain point of view" (sic).\textsuperscript{\textsection} Northern delegates claimed that the development which had taken place in the South after independence was unprecedented in the history of that region. The other aspect which occupied the greater part of the Northern delegates speeches, was their usual claim of Arab identity and the glory of Arab civilization. Sayed Ismail el-Azhari was vividly artistic on this point:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{\textdagger} Inaugural address by the Prime Minister, Sayed Sirr el-Khatim el-Khalifa to the Round Table Conference on the South, Khartoum, 16–25 March 1965.
  \item \textsuperscript{\textdaggerdbl} Vigilant, issue No. 1, 23 March 1965.
  \item \textsuperscript{\textsection} Speech by Islamic Charter Front before the Round Table Conference, March 1965.
\end{itemize}
I feel at this juncture obliged to declare that we are proud of our Arab origin, of our Arabism and of being Moslems. The Arabs came to this continent, as pioneers, to disseminate a genuine culture, and promote sound principles which have shed enlightenment and civilization throughout Africa at a time when Europe was plunged into the abyss of darkness, ignorance, and doctrinal and scholarly backwardness. It is our ancestors who held the torch high and led the caravan of liberation and advancement; and it is they who provided a superior melting pot for Greek, Persian and Indian culture, giving them the chance to react with all that was noble in Arab culture, and handing them back to the rest of the world as a guide to those who wished to extend the frontiers of learning.¹⁸

The second day of the conference was dedicated to the closer and more realistic examination of the problem. Each side was requested to present its scheme of proposals. The schemes presented proved to be no nearer to the resolution of the problem. All were too extreme or too remote to be considered as the basis of discussion. Southerners demanded the right of self-determination for the South which they styled as plebiscite, and the Northerners produced a scheme which for all practical purposes was tantamount to the existing system of government. Judging from the schemes so far presented and the atmosphere prevailing over the session it became too evident that the conference was failing. The moods and the morale of the conferees were far from refined and the confidence between them seemed to be wanting. Worst of all, bad faith in the Conference which at first appeared to be absent, began to unfold itself. The Conference dragged on in this state for over a week until finally it had to wind up in failure on March 22nd, 1965.

Although the Round Table Conference had thus failed in all its main objectives, nonetheless, certain important resolutions were taken with the intention of normalizing the volatile situation in the South. Administration, police, prisons and information service in the Southern Sudan were to be manned by Southern personnel and, consequently, all Southern administrators, police, prison officers and information personnel if any, were to be transferred to the South immediately. Where no such qualified Southerners were available, steps should be taken to accelerate their training and promotion. A National Economic Council for development was to be established with a 'subsidiary agency' for the South. The Nzara cotton scheme was to be revived, a university was to be established in one of the Southern provinces; a girls' secondary school and an agricultural school were to be opened at Malakal. Furthermore, the Conference, in order to keep the door open for further study of the problem, resolved that a 12-man committee be appointed to follow up the spirit of the Conference and to make recommendations for the next round of talks to resume after three months.

¹⁸ Azhari's speech before the Round Table Conference, March 1965.
It may be asked: Why did the Conference fail? or more specifically, Who caused the Conference to collapse? Northerners or Southerners? Many observers suggested that the Round Table Conference failed because the time in which it was convened was too early for it to yield any fruits. In other words, neither the Southerners nor the Northerners were genuinely serious about the holding of such a conference as they were not exhausted enough by the war. Each side still wanted to flex its muscles in the battlefield. This view seems to be honest and credible. But one Northerner, Sayed Mohamed Omer Beshir, himself a distinguished Sudanese personality and writer who was a member of the Conference's secretariat, came up with an accusation that Southern delegates to the Conference were the cause of its failure. One of the reasons why this Northerner believed that Southerners were the cause was in his own words: "... the majority of the Southern delegates proved to be uncompromising and bad negotiators. They lacked experience and tended to suspect the motives of the Northern leaders, seeing the pitfall in any move by the North" (Beshir:96).

This accusation is neither borne out by the minutes of the Round Table Conference nor by any of the reports and comments supplied by the disinterested journalists and observers who attended the Conference. In franker terms, the position is that the accusation does not only lack cogent evidence but that, on the contrary, the opposite is the truth. Never before, in the history of the South–North conflict, had Southerners been able to approach and negotiate the Southern problem with remarkable maturity and foresight than in the Round Table Conference Hall. Several factors would have crippled the ability of the Southern delegates to enter the Conference as a bloc. One of these was the mounting discrepancy and contradiction within SANU, partly as a result of power struggle within the party and partly in consequence of the disagreement over whether SANU should operate in exile or in the Sudan. SANU was, therefore, sharply divided between two factions; the one led by Mr. William Deng Nhial favoured the establishment of SANU in the Sudan and the other, led by Mr. Joseph Oduho, wanted it to operate in exile. At the time of the Conference two delegations arrived in Khartoum representing the two factions. Each faction wanted to enter the Conference with its own scheme of proposals. Another problem was the insistence by the Northern politicians that Southerners must not have one shade of opinion regarding the Southern problem in the Conference Hall. They wanted the representation of Southern points of view different from those of SANU and the Southern Front. Northern politicians then turned to the Sudan Unity Party which reputedly advocated unity between the North and the South, but they discovered that there was, as a matter of fact, no such party in existence except in name—an anomaly which owed its origin to a prominent Southern politician, Mr. Santino
Deng Teng. Mr. Teng, the only Southerner who became Minister of Animal Resources in the military regime, had entertained and spoken of the idea of forming a Unity Party, but up to the time of the Conference he had not formed and registered one. Finding to their disappointment that no single Southern party was willing to give a dissenting opinion in the Conference, Northern politicians demanded from the government to appoint Southern individuals for that purpose. This was accepted and nine Southerners were selected by the government in consultation with the Northern leaders. "The selection was made from lists and names suggested by the Ministry of Local Government" (Beshir:92). It is strange why Northern politicians were interested in seeing the Southerners differ in the Conference Hall. It has been suggested that the idea was to bring the Southerners into a squabble during which time the Northern side would stand up and say they would not do anything in the way of solving the Southern problem since Southerners were divided over a solution. This would seem an archaic, colonial tactic of "divide and rule" inconsistent with humanity and dictates of patriotism.

All these barriers were, however, overcome. Southern delegates were able to swallow their petty differences and faced the Northern side as a bloc. Even the nine government appointees declared, when asked to speak, that they had no points of view different from those of SANU and Southern Front. This came as a shock to the Northern politicians and they persisted once again that the nine appointees be dismissed and, instead, appoint other Southerners who should necessarily hold different points of view. This time their demand was ignored and the matter was left to lie there.

Before entering the Conference Hall the Southern delegates concurred on the opinion that, as a matter of tactic, the question of federation which was in fact their actual demand be left as the meeting point between them and the Northern delegates. The reason for adopting this style was quite understandable. Southern delegates believed, if they demanded federation straight away or something below it, Northerners would naturally offer something far less than they would have conceded. This was common-sense and in no way was it incompatible with the normally accepted rules of bargaining. However, what was required here was not the skill or experience to negotiate but good faith and willingness on both sides to solve the problem—especially the North which had the upper hand in deciding what should or should not be conceded to the South.

Now that the problem had been acknowledged, what remained was how to solve it. The Southern delegates in their first scheme of proposals, maintained that the best way to solve the Southern problem was to give the Southern people a chance to say what they wanted through a plebiscite:
SANU and the Southern Front propose a plebiscite in the Southern Sudan to ascertain what the majority of people of the Southern Sudan want. It has been the view of SANU and the Southern Front that the people of the Southern Sudan must decide their future. They have three possible choices:

1. Federation;
2. Unity with the North; or
3. Separation (to become an independent state).

Our proposed plebiscite should satisfy the wishes of everybody—Unionists, Separatists and Federalists. 19

In order for the plebiscite to achieve satisfactory results, the scheme suggested the fulfillment of certain conditions in the South, including the appointment of an "independent supervision corps"; the lifting of the state of emergency and the return of the army to its barracks; the transfer of security powers from the army to civil authorities; and an order by the Southern leaders to the Anya-Nya to cease hostilities.

Plebiscite which covered all possible solutions to the problem—from complete unity to complete separation—was the maximum demand put forward by the Southern delegates. Some points in the scheme, separation and complete unity, for example, were obviously outside the Conference's terms of reference but they were all overshadowed by the very wide range which the scheme covered. Be it as it may, what seemed crucial under the circumstances, was not whether the North would accept Southern proposals as such but rather whether there was anything at all in the Southern proposals which could be considered as a basis of discussion. There were four proposals—Separation, Federation, Unity and Regional Government, (the latter was added by Northern delegates).

Northern delegates, on the other hand, came up with their scheme of proposals for the solution of the Southern problem. Having rejected both federation and a "centralized unitary form of government" as unsuitable in the Sudan, they proposed what they termed as the "Regional Government" for the South. It consisted of a regional democratic council whose members may be the same members representing the South in the Parliament and an executive council elected from among the members of the Regional Council. The Regional Council was to have no legislative powers, but it "shall exercise its powers, subject to National Legislation. These powers were to regulate inter alia, the establishment and administration of elementary schools, public health, commerce and industry, agriculture and animal resources." 20

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19 SANU, and Southern Front: First scheme of proposals to the Round Table Conference, March 1965.
20 For details of Northern Scheme of Proposals, see Beshir, Appendix 16 p. 174.
As for the Executive Council it was to be headed by a governor who must be a Southerner but must be appointed by the Central Government. Its function was to exercise all the regional executive powers—powers not defined by the scheme. The Northern scheme never departed an inch from the unitary form of the government which it claimed to have "no place in the Sudan". The changes which the scheme claimed to have introduced were merely cosmetic in form rather than in substance. The use of big labels such as "Regional Government, Regional Democratic Council and Regional Executive Council" were perhaps intended to charm and inveigle the simple-minded Southerner that his problem had been solved. In substance, the scheme was unitary and therefore outside the Conference terms of reference. The powers which it stipulated were exactly the same powers which the local government authorities were at the time exercising all over the Sudan. Nevertheless, the Northern proposals did not create any anxiety to the conferees, since it was hoped that Northern delegates would finally produce their actual programme containing their true solution to the Southern problem.

After the presentation of the Northern and Southern schemes, a brief deadlock ensued. The chairman and the observers corps were prompting the two sides to take heart and move on. It was the Southern delegates who attempted to break the ice hoping that the Northern delegates would do likewise. They, in the best tradition of bargaining, produced a second scheme of proposals. The scheme suggested that the South should assume full control of finance and economic planning, foreign affairs, armed forces and the internal security (police and prisons). Emphasizing the need for interdependence between the North and the South, the scheme proposed what it called common services consisting among others of a common external tariff system, free movement of goods without customs duties between the two parts of the country, currency, coinage, higher education, transport and telecommunications. The scheme also proposed the establishment of a council of ministers composed of 24 members, half of whom should come from each of the two regions. Its function was to exercise the powers common between the two regions.\(^{21}\)

The Southern final scheme undoubtedly contained certain features which, if accepted by the North, could have made the South a confederal state with the North. But, were these features such as a separate army and separate foreign affairs to be struck off, it would have established a strong federal system of government in the country; and this was probably what Southern delegates aspired for. But, contrary to the expecta-

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\(^{21}\) For details of the final Southern Scheme of Proposals, see Beshir, Appendix 18, p. 174.
tions of the conferees, Northern delegates refused to follow the example of the Southerners and did not produce their second proposals. They maintained that they had nothing to offer to the South more than they had already done. The chairmanship and the observers team tried to persuade the Northern delegates to move ahead but in vain. The observers were particularly embarrassed by the uncompromising attitude put up by the Northern delegates and did not know what to tell them to make the Conference a success. What made the observers' position more absurd was the fact that it was now the host who had begun to show a negative response to the Conference. The observers, therefore, had to frame their opinions in a polite but witty manner. One such opinion was given by a Nigerian observer, Mr. Alhaji Yusuf M. Sule:

> It is not the problems that face a nation that matter much; what really matters is how the leaders of the nation face those problems. We in Nigeria are quite familiar with such problems, problems that almost inevitably confront any country of your size and diversity. With God's help and the determination of our leaders we reached an acceptable solution based on a series of compromises which preserved both the general interests of the whole and the peculiar interests of the parts.

> ... I firmly believe that you too can do the same and remember too that the Sudan has a duty to Africa, a duty to humanity and that this duty to Africa and the world is both vital and urgent.  

When it became glaringly evident that no effort could save the Conference from failing in all of its objectives it was allowed to collapse.

Therefore to assert that the Southern delegates were responsible for the failure of the Conference is only to be unfair. If, at all, there was any reason to find fault with anybody for the failure, then it was the attitude of the Northern delegates to the Conference that might be blamed. Their attitude strongly showed reluctance to co-operate and find an equitable solution to the problem. Moreover, it appears that the Northern leaders were not agreeable to the idea of holding the Conference at all. Sayed Beshir himself, on page 95 of his book *The Southern Sudan; A Backround to the Conflict*, has hinted that the Northern politicians accepted the idea of the Conference only because it was proposed by SANU. "If it had been rejected, it would have been presented as proof that the Northerners were not keen to reach a political solution."

It is true that the speeches delivered by the Southern delegates to the Conference were bitter and vituperative to a large extent. But Northerners should have expected it, for what sweet words and friendliness could

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22 Speech delivered by the Nigerian Observer Delegate before the Round Table Conference, *Vigilant*, 3 April 1965.
flow out from representatives of a people who had been oppressed, tortured, banished and subjected to impoverishment, arson and massacre. Admittedly, there were certain attitudes and feelings which Southerners held towards Northerners and which, though they had become quite popular in the South and neighbouring Black African countries, were unknown to most Northerners. Some of these were mentioned by some Southern delegates in the Conference. The fact that the Southerners despised and regarded the Northerners as a hybrid race, for example, was not known to many in the North. Another fact that Southern politicians belittled their counterparts in the North and considered them as puppets of leadership in the Arab World, was also outside Northerners' knowledge. All this, combined with the intractable stand and approach put up by the Southern delegates during the Conference, may have shocked the Northern delegates and made them feel discomposed and irritated in the Conference room. The attacks may have also made the Northern leaders believe that the Southern delegates were not interested in finding the solution to the Southern problem. In any case, whatever interpretation that might be attached to the feelings of Northern leaders as they left the Conference, one thing was that they were rendered furious by the Southern delegates' description of them. It was not, therefore, far-fetched to say that they were determined to give the Southerners a hard and memorable lesson.

The Twelve-Man Committee

The terms of reference of the Twelve-man committee were as follows:

To dwell on the issue of the constitutional and administrative set-up which will protect the special interests of the South as well as the general interests of the Sudan. The committee shall in addition have the following terms of reference: a) To act as a watch committee on the implementation of the steps and policies agreed upon; b) To plan the normalization of conditions in the South and consider steps for the lifting of the state of emergency and the establishment of law and order.

The findings of the committee shall be presented to the conference which shall be called by the government within three months.

The Twelve-man committee, which at first comprised the six Northern political parties that participated in the Conference and the two Southern parties, commenced its business on May 27th 1965, and tendered its final report on June 26th 1966. It held a total of 48 meetings and heard expert witnesses on some subjects. Stretched over a year, the work was indeed a tiresome one and the committee's Final Report, though incomplete in many respects owing partly to the difficulty of the task itself, would re-
main an important document in the history of Southern Sudan. The committee's chairman was Yousif Mohamed Ali, a distinguished judge in the Sudan's Judiciary. His patience, his fair determination of controversial issues arising out of the committee's deliberations, and his perseverance to continue with the work under extremely unfavourable conditions, contributed more than anything to the partial success of the Twelve-man committee in its work.

The Twelve-man committee appears to have encountered no serious difficulties under the government of Sirr el-Khatim el-Khalifa. The Prime Minister, who was interested in the work of the Committee, gave it his full co-operation and concern. On 9th June 1965 he attended the Committee's meeting and informed the members that a ministerial committee had been set up to plan and supervise the implementation of the Round Table Conference Resolutions. Many Southern officials in the Civil Service were despatched to serve in the South. Regarding the selection of more Southerners for training as police and prison officers, a sum of £350,000 was allocated for the purpose. The total number of Southerners selected for training in the military college as officers since 1954 was 33 and by 1965 only 23 were still serving in the army. The Prime Minister promised to rectify this grievance by sending more Southerners for training as officers in the military college. As regards security, no measures were taken to lift the state of emergency, but orders had been issued to restrain the army from pursuing the Southern guerrilla fighters as well as killing the civilians and burning houses. It appears that the government orders had not been observed strictly by either the security forces or the Anya-Nya, for the incidents of killing the civilians, looting and burning of houses continued to be committed by both the security forces and the Anya-Nya.

There were other unusual cases of the secret murder of a number of important Southern officials. Joel Akec, a Southern chief inspector of police at Bentiu in Upper Nile Province was, for instance, found dead at his home on the morning of March 7, 1965. He died of a bullet wound and his home-mates alleged that it was the work of the security forces. Despite all this, however, the security situation was steadily, though slowly improving and the number of incidents (i.e. attacks, exchange of shooting, ambush, arson, looting and disturbances) between 17th February to 18th June, 1965, for example, was 125 compared to 166 in the period between 21st October 1964 and 16th February 1965.

The Prime Minister's report on the state of security in the South received the appreciation of the majority of the committee members who regarded the marked decrease in the number of incidents as a step forward. The satisfaction with the report derived from the understanding that it was not possible to bring under immediate control a situation that had been worsened by the excesses of the military regime during its six
years in power. The other minority members felt that the situation had deteriorated and it was their opinion that the committee should not continue with its work. The Communist member, Sayed Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud, was exceptional on this view and he went as far as proposing the condemnation by the committee of the Anya-Nya. "We cannot", he declared, "go ahead and do any serious work while acts of violence are continuing in the South". His proposal was, however, accepted by the Northern members, and a protracted dialogue ensued between the two sides. Southern members alleged that it was the security forces that were responsible for the acts of violence. As Mr. Gordon Abiei, a Southern member, put it: "Army men have followed Southerners right into the woods where they have taken refuge and there they have been eliminated". Southern members concluded, therefore, that any condemnation of the Freedom Fighters should also include the security forces. This, Northern members could not stomach. "The Army cannot and should not be condemned" declared Dr. Hassan el-Turabi, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. "The outlaws might know our condemnation of the army and this would certainly lead to the increase of acts of violence!" he concluded. A deadlock which could not be broken occurred between the two sides and the matter was left in abeyance. This annoyed both the Communist Party and the People's Democratic Party (PDP). On June 21st 1965, the Communist Party issued a release announcing its withdrawal from the committee and calling on the other Northern parties to freeze the resolutions of the Round Table Conference "until peace has been maintained in the South". A month later the PDP, which had always stood for the application of force to the Southern problem, withdrew from the committee. The PDP withdrawal was necessitated by the coming into power of Mahjoub's regime with whom it shared in common the policy regarding the South. In its memorandum of withdrawal PDP revealed that:

Vital circumstances have arisen which are of great importance in changing the balance of political power in the South and which demanded the reconsideration of all the Resolutions of the Round Table Conference on new principles that aim at realizing the aspirations of the honest Southern citizens and depriving the separatists and pro-colonialists of all the opportunities they used to have.

These were some of the problems that bedeviled and hindered the progress of the Twelve-man committee in its task. But the greatest obstacle came with the resignation of the Care-taker Government and the emergence of a new government headed by Sayed Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub.

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23 Minutes of the Twelve-man committee, chairman's copy, 27 May 1965, South 1/60/395, p. 2 (Government Archives).
This government with its policies of war in the South was hostile to anything having to do with peace in the South. All the work done by the previous government to restore peace and stability in the South was dismantled and the Twelve-man committee was itself in danger of being fragmented.

On 22nd July 1965, the Committee invited the Prime Minister, Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub, to report on the implementation of the Round Table Conference Resolutions, and the state of security in the South. His statements were direct and straightforward. Concerning his government's policy in the South, he said:

I have given instructions to the Army to use force and disarm the mutineers.... The Army cannot just keep stationary at a time when some of the Southern leaders have issued their instructions to the mutineers to hold on to their arms for the coming five years.24

As for the implementation of the Round Table Conference Resolutions, he said that Southern officials had been transferred to the South and that these officials regretfully "began to instigate policemen and prison warders against the government and to assist the mutineers and law breakers". (sic) Asked whether steps had been taken for training the Southerners as a practical step towards "Southernization", he replied: "Can I say to people, 'come and apply for the jobs that suit you?'" "It is the responsibility of Southerners to submit their applications and they will be taken if they pass both the examination and the interview.25

The Prime Minister's outline of his government policy left no slightest doubt in the minds of the committee members that the task of normalizing the conditions of security in the South was no longer possible. The committee, therefore, abandoned the issue of security and implementation of the conference resolutions and then turned to its other terms of reference (i.e. the constitutional and administrative set-up). The ground on which the committee dispensed with the question of security in the South on its agenda seems to suggest that it had approved of the government's new policy, contrary to the line of approach laid down by the Round Table Conference and on the basis of which this same committee was set up. It ran as follows:

However different the approaches may be, security which was the real basis for the normalization of the situation in the South was primarily the responsibility of the government and it was now evident that unless the

24 The Prime Minister alleged that a letter had been written to the Anya-Nya by Mr. William Deng Nhial, exhorting them to "hold on for the next five years". See Minutes of the Twelve-man committee 22 July 1965, chairman's copy, p. 4.
25 Minutes of the Twelve-man committee, chairman's copy, p. 4.
government adopted an attitude of utmost co-operation it was unlikely that any efforts by the Committee in this respect could bear fruit. And the circumstances were not the most favourable for such an attitude.  

Faced with circumstances of neglect by both the government and the press, the activities of the Twelve-man committee dwindled into oblivion and when the committee's report was finally published, people scratched their heads trying to recall what this Twelve-man committee was all about.

The report of the Twelve-man committee claimed to have provided a constitutional and administrative structure for the Sudan. It established a regional government system purporting to apply to all the provinces of the Sudan. That is, each province was to have a regional government. The government was to comprise a legislative assembly and an executive council. The assembly, whose members were to be obtained by free regional elections, was to be vested with the power of "enacting regional laws and supervising the local executive machinery as well as laying down the policy for it". The regional powers included regional and local government administration, regional public information, development of local culture and languages, and local commerce and industry. There were also certain powers which should be shared between the region and the centre. These consist of, inter alia, the region's right to recruit and use local police force without prejudice to the central government's power to assume direct command over it "in certain circumstances", and in the field of education, both the centre and the region would have the right to establish and administer secondary schools concurrently. The executive council on the other hand, was to be appointed by and responsible to the regional assembly. A governor who must be a citizen of the region was to be the head of the executive council, but whether such a governor should be appointed by the region or the centre was not agreed upon.

It may occasion a surprise for one to realize that the committee, in working out its constitutional and administrative arrangements, did not make any specific references to the South. This should have been so because the committee's terms of reference were specifically to protect the special interests of the South as well as the general interests of the Sudan. Instead of endeavouring to protect the Southern interests, the committee created another grievance for the South by splitting it into three separate regions, each with its own regional government. Southerners naturally disliked it since they had always regarded Southern Sudan as an integral whole within the Sudan. Southerners feared that the move to divide the South was another sinister device by the North to weaken the South with a view to suppressing it for ever. Therefore, although the Twelve-man

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26 Report of the Twelve-man committee.
committee had, to some extent, succeeded in making an administrative arrangement for the Sudan in general, it failed to find a workable solution to the Southern question in particular.

THE PARTISAN GOVERNMENTS

The General Elections

The sudden toppling of the military regime and the dawn of the 21 October Revolution found the country unprepared for the institution of a representative government. All the political parties which had been dissolved by the military regime had to be reorganized and all the affected areas stabilized before general elections could be run. The Southern Sudan in particular, whose security conditions had been badly aggravated by the army ravages, presented the biggest difficulty. It was found that elections could not take their proper course in the South without first lifting the state of emergency. It was partly due to the security situation in the South that the time for holding elections was shifted from the end of March to April 1966 to allow for the convention of the Round Table Conference. When this conference failed, disagreement over the running of the elections prevailed among the political parties. One group led by the Umma Party and NUP wanted elections as scheduled at least in the Northern provinces and later on in the South whenever conditions improved there. The other group, led by the PDP and the Communist Party, wanted the elections to be postponed till they could be held at one time in the whole country. They argued emphatically that the holding of elections in the North alone would mean a de facto recognition of the separate entity of the South which they opposed. In an attempt to force the acceptance of their views by the other parties the PDP and Communist Party called for a general strike, which turned out to be a fiasco. The third group which opposed the holding of the elections on rather different grounds was the Southern parties. These parties desired a political solution of the Southern problem before any elections. “They feared that since the new Assembly was going to be a constitution making body as well, they might be outvoted as happened in 1958” (Sharma:442). They wanted the Northern parties to commit themselves to an agreement in advance. However, the Southern Front later agreed to the holding of elections in the North and this was only after the NUP and Umma members of the Supreme Council of State had satisfied firstly that the Assembly should not pass any law affecting the destiny of the South, and secondly, that the Southern Front would retain her ministerial posts in the new cabinet.

The disagreement between the Umma Party and NUP on the one hand, and the PDP and the Communist Party on the other, was finally re-
solved by the Supreme Council's ruling that elections in the North would take place on April 21, as decided earlier, and that elections in the South would take place when conditions permitted. When the decision was announced on April 6, the PDP decided to boycott the elections altogether.

In accordance with the decision of the Supreme Council elections were held on 21st April 1965. There were 218 territorial constituencies (of which 60 belonged to the South) and 15 graduates constituencies. Women were given the right to vote for the first time, and the age-limit of voters was reduced from 21 to 18 years. The results of the elections, however, gave Umma Party 75 seats, NUP 52, and Islamic Charter Front 15.

In the meantime, election results brought to the surface for the first time, a new element in the Northern political arena. This was the emergence of two ethnic groupings: the Beja Congress in Kassala Province and the General Union of Nuba in Kordofan Province. The two ethnic groups have no legitimate claim to Arab blood or descent and they use Arabic only as a second language. The Beja Congress was a socio-political organization formed by the educated class of the Red Sea Hills region for advancing the demands of the backward Beja tribes of the Eastern Sudan. It won 10 out of 14 seats of the Red Sea Hills region. The General Union of the Nuba (GUN), on the other hand, had similar aims and objectives as the Beja Congress. Its candidates contested the elections as independents and won 15 seats in Southern Kordofan. The majority of educated men in both the Beja and the Nuba aspired for and sought an understanding with their counterparts in the South. One reason might be that the three groupings came from the most backward areas in the Sudan, and their desire for a common stand stemmed from a need to deepen their pressure on the government with a view to doubling the speed of development in those areas. The other reason seemed to be that the Nuba and the Southerners share the feeling of being Black Africans as opposed to being Arabs, and in order to foster their common identity they felt it advantageous and necessary to form a single bloc.

Another unexpected event carried by the election results occurred in the South. When the Supreme Council decided that no elections were to be held in the South, Southern political parties saw no need to nominate their candidates for the Southern constituencies until the time when elections were possible there, as decreed by the Supreme Council of State. However, 21 persons appeared after the elections and demanded to be seated in the Constituent Assembly as unopposed members from some of the Southern constituencies. Fourteen of these persons were Northern merchants in the South. With the backing of the High Court, they were finally seated in the Assembly in November 1965 amidst a storm of protest from the Southern political parties.

Soon after the election was over, attempts were made to form a na-
tional government in which all parties were to be represented. Unfortunately, it was discovered that the struggle for power was so strong among the parties that no compromise was likely to be reached. Each party strove to get as much representation on the cabinet as possible. So the idea was dropped altogether. The next option was for the Umma Party and the NUP which had more members in the Constituent Assembly to ally and form a coalition government. But this was in turn arrived at as a result of some bargaining. Sayed Ismail el-Azhari, the leader of NUP, was given permanent presidency of the Supreme Council and the premiership went to the Umma Party.

Umma Party represented the political face of the Ansar Sect. When Sidiq Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi, the head of the Sect (Imam) died on October 2, 1961, he handed the Imamship to his brother, el-Hadi Abdel Rahman and his political mantle to his son, Sadig Sidig Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi. Therefore, if it was the question of who should enjoy the political spoils in the Umma Party, then it was Sadig el-Mahdi. Sadig’s fortunes turned up in June 1965, but unfortunately for him, they came at a time, when he was not qualified. By that time, Sadig was hardly 30 years old, and the minimum age required for the post of Prime Minister was full 30 years. However, an agreement was contrived to allow Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub, a strong member of the Ansar Sect and the Umma Party, to assume premiership until Sadig was competent to take over from him. Consequently, Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub was elected by parliament as the Prime Minister on June 9, 1965.

**Mahjoub’s Southern Policy**

The biggest problem which faced the new government upon its accession to power was as yet the same problem that had frustrated and toppled the parliamentary government in 1958. This was the Southern problem. The military government to which its solution was relegated had not succeeded in solving it "once and for all". Instead, it tampered with the problem and handed it back in worse state. Nonetheless, the new government, doubtful of the strength and determination of all the previous governments, was confident of its ability to find a lasting solution to the Southern problem.

The emergence of two prominent Northern Sudanese figures—Azhari and Mahjoub—at the helm of authority in the Sudan was, in itself, enough to forebode a tragic turn of events in the South. These two leaders had always been at one in their attitude towards the South, and for them to occupy simultaneously the highest positions of political authority in the state, meant that they would only conspire to deal with the South as they pleased. Azhari believed that the Southern problem was nothing but "a storm in a teacup". Mahjoub, on the other hand, was of the opinion
that Southerners could "only understand the language of force". The application of force, therefore, was the basic policy of Mahjoub government in the South. It has been indicated that Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub was a typical example of "Northern Arab conservatism". To this, it should be added that he was every inch a personification of acquired Oriental statesmanship. As a politician he had all necessary skills of charm and agitation in his hand, ranging from conscious self-dignity to oratory. He was a distinguished poet and whenever he rose to address a political rally he could move even an idle cynic. Born in 1908, into an ostensibly poor family, Mahjoub had to earn his school fees by working in one of the farms on the White Nile villages. In 1929 he graduated from the Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum with a Diploma in Engineering. After working for three years in the Department of Public Works, he joined the School of Law in the same college in 1932, and was appointed a judge upon graduation. It was during his career as a judge that Mahjoub got immersed in politics. By this time too he commenced his "intellectual fret" by extensive reading and writing. All his articles which were published by Al-Fajr Magazine in the 1930s had been described as "revealing". In 1949, he became an elected member of the Sudan's first Legislative Assembly. Again in 1953, he successfully fought the parliamentary elections and was the leader of the opposition in Parliament when the Sudan attained its independence in January 1956.

Both Azhari and Mahjoub were instrumental in the development of the Northern Sudanese "Nationalism". They never created the nationalism for the Sudan as such, but they helped immensely in entrenching it, shaping it and guiding it. More important was their tough and concerted resistance to the Anglo-Egyptian colonialism in the Sudan. For, although the two leaders held parallel views over the status and political future of the Sudan, they were by no means at variance over the vital necessity of terminating the Condominium rule. In the eyes of Northern Sudanese public, Azhari and Mahjoub were men who were prepared to sacrifice their lives as ransom for the independence of the Sudan. It is not surprising, therefore, that the two were exalted as national heroes after the British and Egyptians had gone.

However, underneath Mahjoub's reputation as a national hero, lay his poverty of the ideals of national welfare and security. His ideas regarding national integrity, for instance, were hopelessly unpatriotic. His position was understandable, Mahjoub, like his contemporaries, was the student of colonial administration and could not but learn the colonial tactics of governance. The British applied the principle of "divide and rule", and Mahjoub as Prime Minister applied the tactic of setting one section of the community against the other. The British applied the method of "pacification by military patrols", and Mahjoub used the national army as a means of solving political problems and maintaining the country's unity.
Last, but by no means the least, the British administrators believed in the racial and cultural superiority of the British people or their like, and Mahjoub, who claimed to be an Arab, believed in the racial, religious and cultural superiority of the Arabs. Physically Mahjoub was dark-brown, a complexion which could in places other than the Sudan, normally go for a Negro. But, despite all this, he cherished severe contempt for the blacks generally and the Southern Sudanese blacks particularly. His antipathy against Southerners was equally insurmountable and to borrow the remark made by one Southern intellectual: "We are like goats in the eyes of Mahjoub." It is mainly against this background that one could understand the policies of Mahjoub towards the South. He applied terror and destruction of life and property as a means of solving the problem of the South. He had no sympathy for the suffering of the Southern people as a result of the operation of his policies because, it seems, he was only interested in the land and not its people who were racially and culturally different from his own.

The first task which the government tackled upon its coming to power was the declaration of the Southern policy and installation of anti-Southerners' propaganda with a view to rallying the Northern public opinion behind it. The propaganda took the form of branding the Southerners as "mutamaridiyin" (mutineers), Kufar (infidels), "imperialist stooges" and "enemies of Islam and Arab civilization". Northerners were, therefore, exhorted to carry high the banner of Islam and Arab civilization into the jungles of the South. According to Al-Nil Newspaper, Northerners had every right to carry out missionary work into the interior of Africa:

> We know that the (Christian) missionaries half a century ago, waged a campaign against the Arabs and the Moslems in Africa. Those missionaries who were backed by the imperialist powers, considered the Southern Sudan as a fertile land for their activities in order to stop the Arab civilization from spreading inside the continent. For this reason, our struggle against the mutiny is to determine the future of Arab civilization in this part of our country. The restoration of the Arab, Islamic civilization in the South does not mean Arab colonization but it means the sharing of one civilization which is the natural access for the Southerners to civilization.\(^\text{27}\)

The government in its policy statement issued and broadcast on July 4, 1965, declared that the situation in the Southern Sudan had deteriorated as a result of the activities of the "outlaws" and that the unity of the country was at stake:

> The government cannot face this situation with all these dangers which threaten the South with their hands tied. It is our belief, that the main reason which led to this situation is the lack of security and the prevalence

\(^{27}\) Al-Nil editorial of issue 14 July 1965.
of chaos and the government is determined to put an end to this chaotic situation and to punish whoever tries to break the law, endangers the citizens or cause harm to their lives and property. There will be no mercy for the outlaws and the security forces will be asked to perform their duties so that all will be in peace until the suitable atmosphere for finding a right solution is found. And as my government performs its constitutional duties for carrying out the laws, it requests all the citizens in the South—those who were the victims of chaos, lack of security and who suffered a lot—to work hand in hand with the security forces and go after those criminals and outlaws and put an end to their harmful malice from which they suffered more than anybody else. The government also requests those citizens in the North who have left their work and places in the South—whether they are employees, workers or businessmen—to return to the South and perform their duties and functions with courage, patience and national devotion, their aim being a unified Sudan and their goal a prosperous future.28

The steps that were taken to enforce the government policy were strikingly elaborate. To ensure against any leakage of the effects of the policy to the outside world, Southern Sudan was absolutely sealed off. No visitors whatsoever except those from the Arab countries were allowed to enter it. All foreigners having business interests in the South, mainly the Greeks and Christian Syrians, were encouraged to leave the region. Those who were recalcitrant were harried by security forces, and some of them were even persecuted in the courts of law on the charge of secret cooperation with the outlaws and the laying out of "aggressive plans". In the words of Ahmed el-Mahdi, the Minister of the Interior, "the government will never be lenient with any persons, organization or institution if it is proved that they co-operate with the outlaws".29 The press was instructed to step up propaganda against the said foreigners, and many nasty and libellous things were published against them. Perhaps the most daring example of the campaign against foreigners was that carried in the editorial of Al-Alam Newspaper, issue of July 15, 1965. It says:

The Minister of the Interior stated that some foreigners in the South co-operate with the outlaws. The foreigners are the Greeks and the British. The Greeks are the most dangerous community. Those boring guests have a deeply rooted story which goes back to the mutiny of 1955 in the South. The Greeks took part in the mutiny against the Northerners. Some of them stood trial. But some of them slipped away from justice owing to their influence on our administrators in the South. The government must now take strong measures against them. They must be expelled and their property confiscated. They must stand trial for their offences against the unity of this country.

29 Khartoum News Agency (KNA), 14 July 1965.
The press was enlisted to report favourably on the policy, and the Minister of the Interior issued directives "to the effect that no reports concerning the security (in the South) should be published before approaching the competent authorities in this respect".30 The result of the Minister's directives was that even Sudanese journalists who found their way to the South, were not permitted to publish their own findings without censor; they had to put them aside and depend on the government reports which were all shamelessly concocted. Some moderate newspapers, like Al-Ayam, which protested against the brutal government policy in the South, were challenged by the Minister of the Interior for lack of nationalist fervor.31 Regarding the type of administrators who should carry out the government policy in the South, it was as proposed by Al-Rai al-Amm in its editorial, issue of July 6, 1965:

...We do not think that this policy can be carried out unless the government officials now serving in the South are relieved. We have nothing against those officials who lived in the South and discharged their duties under hard circumstances. They should now be allowed to return to the North as they worked there during a period in which the government was lenient. But things have changed now and the government is going to tackle the situation seriously. To achieve the objectives of the newly declared policy towards the South, the officials there should be relieved by others capable of pursuing this policy. The officials who work in the South, should be of a strong calibre to create the life in the South anew. The officials who served in the South should be wisely selected. They must understand that our policy towards the South is a policy of peace and not a policy of surrender or weakness. If the government does not do this, her policy towards the South will fail.

This line of action was exactly what the government took. Men of proved brutality and mercilessness were hurriedly despatched to serve in the South. Army officers as daring and ruthless as Major Ismail, and administrators as nervous and aggressive as Salah el-Din, were the ideal men to serve in the South.32 All Southern members of the security forces were either dismissed, transferred to the North or disarmed, save of course, the few Southerners who decided to cast their lot with the North-

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30 KNA, 14 July 1965, p. 6.
31 Al-Ayam (daily) in its editorial of 13 July 1965 castigated the government for killing innocent Southerners: "The most important factor behind the Southern Question is the policy of blind oppression which is baseless and unjustified, and harms the cause of the Unity of the Country" — concluded the newspaper.
32 Major Ismail was the officer commanding Aweil military garrison in 1966 and Salah el-Din was the acting inspector of local government Aweil District in 1968. Major Ismail was nicknamed as 'The Mad Ismail' for his ruthlessness against the people.
erners. Some of these Southern "quislings" were extreme in their ill-treatment of their own people. A militia force, recruited exclusively from the riff-raffs and hooligans of the Southern society, was created, trained and armed with rifles. It was known as "Haras el Watani" (national guards). Its main duties were to inform the security forces about who was and who was not an outlaw; to lead the soldiers through the jungle to the outlaws' camps; and to fan terror into the villagers and townsfolk alike.

The creation and appearance of the national guards resulted in the turning of the Southern society upside down. Very quickly, riches and poverty changed hands. The national guards who originally were the poorest rose to positions of wealth, and the wealthy men took their places as the poorest! With their acquired arms, the national guards raided the local population and looted their cattle. Some caused their tribal chiefs to be killed or to take flight in order to take their places as chiefs. The townsfolk were left with two difficult choices, either they paid the Haras el-Watani handsomely in order to be safe, or they ran the risk of being reported to the security forces as outlaws. There were recurrent instances in which a national guard had to cause the death of his victim who refused to buy him a bottle or more of "araki" (a locally brewed alcohol).

The task of executing the Southern policy was indeed an expensive one, and Mahjoub himself openly admitted this fact:

> It was a costly exercise. The prestige expenditure of the ousted military regime had depleted our foreign exchange, yet the provision of more and better equipment for the army and an increase in salary for troops sent to the South were regarded as of top priority. Some Arab countries, notably the UAR, Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, helped us with arms, ammunition and funds (Mahjoub:212).

Having finalised the necessary arrangements for his Southern policy on the internal front, Mahjoub undertook a diplomatic mission to East African countries. "I flew to Addis Ababa, Dares Salaam and Nairobi in July–August 1965 to obtain support for our efforts to stop any flow of material, political and military help which the mutineers were able to raise in neighbouring African states" (Mahjoub: 213).

One morning in the first week of July 1965, a group (the author was with the group) sitting at a local café in the centre of Aweil Town, were shocked at the sight of people being herded like cattle across the town to the military garrison. All were badly tortured and their faces and clothes which they wore, were smeared with blood. The soldiers who were herding them walked behind whilst a group of national guards lashed and prompted the victims with their belts. The victims were claimed to be mutineers.

This was the beginning of the working of Mahjoub's Southern policy. The hour of terror and death toll had struck in the Southern Sudan. The
entire National Army in the South with all its subsidiary security forces (police and prison warders) had been led loose on the defenceless civilian population of the South. Southerners were once more on the threshold of a genocidal and retaliatory onslaught by the Northerners. **Mahjoub's** method of destroying Southern lives and property were similar to those applied by de Malzac, a European slave-raider on the White Nile in 1856; but, given modern weapons, modern means of transport and a highly disciplined army, the degree of suffering faced by the Southern people under the **Mahjoub** era was unprecedented in the history of the South. No life of a single Southerner, except a handful of the quislings known as Haras el-Watani, was safe in the hands of Northern soldiers. Every Southerner was either a mutamarid (a mutineer) or mutaawin (accomplice).

Open violence in the Southern Sudan during **Mahjoub's** premiership began in earnest in July 1965 and events were falling in rapid succession. Incidents of shocking mass massacres, arson and humiliations were widespread in the South. These incidents could not be heard outside the Southern Sudan for the press was strictly censored, and even if the press were free, it would not have covered all the events for they happened every day, thereby forming part and parcel of the daily life of the people. There were, however, some incidents which were reported abroad and this was either because they occurred in the main towns of the South or in areas lying near to the territories of the neighbouring countries. The most notorious of these occurred in Juba on July 8th 1965. Reports on the cause or causes of the Juba incident differ. The official statement given by the Minister of Interior about the incident was that the outlaws opened fire with their automatic guns on the military headquarters in Juba and that the military patrol had to open fire in reply. "As the incident took place near the native lodging area (Hilat Malakiya) fire broke out in some cottages and it spread because of the winds and burnt down many lodgings". "This being the case", the statement continued, "the Armed Forces are of the opinion that the outlaws are armed to the teeth and they are now planning to attack the Armed Forces in the towns and headquarters".33

The Minister's version of the incident, was declared as false by **Al-Ayam** Newspaper which gave the following account:

Reports reaching here from Juba ... indicated that the mutineers killed a soldier there and fled to the natives lodging area in the town. The Armed Forces moved to the area and demanded the surrender of the offenders but their request was not met. The Armed Forces, thereby, surrounded the

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33 KNA, 15 July 1965.
Deng D. Akol Ruay

area and opened fire killing hundreds of people. Up to now we do not know the actual death tolls. Many peoples got drowned in the river and some of them fled.\footnote{Al-Ayam, editorial.}

One Southern source claimed that the incident was sparked off by a quarrel which developed between a Southern nurse in one of the local hospitals and a Northern military sergeant, over a transistor radio. "The sergeant received injuries, and when news of this reached the Arab soldiers ... they took their weapons from the armoury and started systematically to burn and to kill" (Albino:60). Whatever the causes of the incident were, the savage massacre and arson committed by the Army in the town of Juba added to the ugliest chapters of the history of Southern Sudan. The entire Malakiya was brought to mere ashes by the soldiers' house-to-house searching, killing and burning. The death toll was difficult to ascertain but something in the area of 1,019 to 3,000 persons were killed (Eprile:61).

Another notorious massacre occurred in Wau, Bahr el-Ghazal Province, on the night of July 11 1965. This was the killing of seventy-six persons at a wedding party, the overwhelming majority of whom were high-ranking officials in the civil service—medical and veterinary doctors, inspectors of local government, civil engineers, agriculturalists etc. Messrs Cypriano Cier and Ottavio Deng were cousins. In the morning of the day of the incident they were married to two sisters (daughters of chief Benjamin Lang Juk) in Wau Cathedral, and in the evening, they organized a double wedding-party. After all the invitees had taken their seats and the reception was in full swing, the soldiers quietly surrounded the reception's premises and one of them crept in to inform all the Northerners present and to make sure that they had left. There and then, the soldiers opened fire at the congregation. The shooting was followed by a thorough inspection of the house; anyone screaming was slaughtered, anyone feigning death or in the hiding was found out and butchered.

The Wau incident, like the Juba and many other incidents, formed part of the government plans in the South but the Northern authorities tried, as they had always done, to justify the actions of the army by sheer fabrication. Commenting on the Wau incident, the Minister of Interior, Sayed Ahmed el-Mahdi who seemed to excel in the art of twisting facts, stated that the soldiers had to shoot at the reception because "some of the outlaws planned to attack the Armed Forces and that they used the wedding-party as a screen to fire on the Armed Forces". "The Security Forces", he continued, "searched the place of the wedding party and found some arms and ammunition" (sic).\footnote{KNA, (2) 22 July 1965.}

Ahmed el-Mahdi's story of the incident was categorically challenged by
Al-Ayam Newspaper on the ground that there was neither a plan by the outlaws to capture the town or attack the Armed Forces, nor were the people present at the wedding-party outlaws.36 Mr. Jervas Yak Ubanyo, the acting Governor of the province (who might well have been among the dead had he not to leave the party a little earlier before the incident) was influenced by the government to make a public statement denying the occurrence of the incident. The government, in return offered him a ministerial post which he turned down. However, he was offered another post as the Governor of Khartoum Province which he accepted. Mr. Ubanyo was a personality widely respected by those Southerners who knew him for his long experience and efficiency in the field of public administration. His denial of the notorious Wau massacre, instead of exposing and condemning it, shocked most Southerners who reacted by associating him with the Unionists.37

The above incidents were the most notorious among many. Violence in fact was everywhere in the Southern region and the actual people who faced the bitterest part of the war were never the outlaws on whom the government had allegedly declared war but the unarmed and, therefore, defenceless civilian population in the countryside and in the towns. The Northern soldiers seemed to have depended on the reasoning that: "If you, the outlaws, can attack us and disappear in the jungle, then what about your people? We shall kill them and destroy their property in revenge". This must have been the case for, if it were not, then what explanation could be given to the desperate and wanton onslaught by the government soldiers on the otherwise innocent and peaceful civilian population of the South? Thus on July 20, 1965 the soldiers shot up the town of Rumbek killing hundreds of civilians and on August 5, 1965 the village of Warajwok in Upper Nile, was cordoned off by the soldiers and pillaged. In this incident 187 persons (all males) were discovered dead.

At first the government soldiers used to attack the villagers and burn down the village only after they had been provoked by the Anya-Nya. The incident of Warajwok, for instance, took place after the Anya-Nya had launched an attack on a steamer at Tawfikia. But as the war intensified, the army had to destroy villages and massacre people without any apparent provocation by the Anya-Nya. A quisling (known as national guard) who had some axe to grind against a given village would, for instance, inform the government soldiers that he had found the outlaws there, whereupon the soldiers would go and simply molest that village-re-

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36 KNA, (7) 20 July 1965 op.cit.
37 The word "Unionist" was applied by the Southerners to denote any fellow-Southerner who either co-operated in the implementation of government policy or called for unity between South and North. In either case such a Southerner was a traitor of the Southern cause and, therefore, he was as dangerous as the Arab.
gardless of whether or not the Anya-Nya had ever been there at all. Another cause for the destruction of a village was whenever the Anya-Nya came, slaughtered a bull, ate it and left the village. The soldiers on learning of this fact, had found a good reason for destroying that village. It was certainly a case for pity because the villagers, before the Anya-Nya, were as defenceless as they were before the government soldiers; and, if at all, they gave any food to the Anya-Nya, it was as if it had been taken from them by force. The truth was that the villagers used to offer food to both the Anya-Nya and the government soldiers whenever they appeared in a given village, not so much because they desired to do so but because it was the only way of averting troubles. As for those Southerners residing in towns, their lives were no less threatened than those in the villages. It was a life characterized by nocturnal lynching in the hands of the Security Forces. Any time the soldiers had a reason for killing a person, the victim's house was surrounded by night and after putting him in chains, he was carried off forever.

The reason for the killing of a person never required proof beyond any reasonable doubt because the life of a Southerner was, at this time, very cheap. A soldier who came to the Hilla (civilian residential quarters) looking for a free woman or liquor would shoot to death any Southerner who happened to have come into misunderstanding with him. His reason would be that the victim was a mutamarid and had wanted to rob my gun. Such an explanation was sufficient to exonerate the soldier from criminal offence. There were numerous cases of this kind. There were also recurring instances of married men who got killed because the soldiers were interested in their wives. Indeed, life in the town seemed worthwhile during the day but as the sun set uncertainty of seeing the next sunrise tormented every Southern town dweller. It became a common practice that every morning each person would go and inquire of his immediate neighbour whether everything was well. Needless to say, the number of national guards multiplied to an extent that each person began to be suspicious of another. It was a moment of great confusion and anxiety; and Southern elders who had survived the era of slave raids concurred that the present "spoiling of the world" was the worst ever to occur in the land. Added to all this, was the deadly threat posed by the Anya-Nya. Anya-Nya spies were everywhere; and any person suspected of collaborating with the Arabs was quietly dragged into the bush and put to death. All in all, it was a question of irretrievable dilemma for the ordinary Southerner. Wherever he turned he was insecure. This situation has been summarized in beautiful language by one of the Southern intellectuals:

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38 If a disaster of the greatest kind has befallen the country, our people always say: "The world is spoilt".
To say the very least, he (the Southerner) substitutes the grass in the East African adage, 'when two elephants fight it is the grass that suffers'. It is he that had been exposed to hunger, weather and disease in the bushland in the Southern Sudan. It is he who has been deprived of the benefits of social and economic development; it is he who has felt the absence of health and educational facilities. And what is more, it is on his son, the youth of the South, that the suspicion falls, for he must prove himself innocent to each side. To the Security Forces he may be an Anya-Nya disguised; and to the Anya-Nya he may be 'an Arab spy', or 'a traitor who refuses to fight for his land'. He must prove himself innocent, while his sister who has remained with him in the village, without her consciousness, whets the passion of the gunbearer (Dak:7).

However incredible or fantastic these stories may appear to an outsider, they did happen and must, therefore, form part of the sad history of Southern Sudan.

Although it was the illiterate people who died in by far greater numbers, it would seem that the government policy gave top priority to the elimination of the educated class in the South. One evidence of this was when the acting Governor of Equatoria, Sayed Ahmed Hassan, inspected the hospitals and the cemeteries with a list of names, and at each place, inquired whether the dead included some Southern officials and members of the Southern Front. Such inquiries and pursuits were universal in the Southern Sudan.

What took place in the Southern Sudan during the seventeen years ending in 1972, was, to say the most obvious, an open war though it was an unbalanced war by a fully instituted government commanding a huge regular army with deep-rooted traditions, against an irregular force, loosely organized, ill-trained, poorly equipped and using guerrilla tactics. In short, the Anya-Nya guerilla cohorts were no match to the government armed forces in any way. Nevertheless, war is war regardless of types and variations, and it would be ridiculous for anyone to expect leniency on the part of the government army in its combat operations against the Anya-Nya guerillas. The army was supposed to kill as many enemies as it could afford to get hold of. It was supposed to destroy as many enemy camps and properties as it could find. No Southerner ever complained openly regarding the government soldiers' tough operations against the Anya-Nya, not even against the wanton killing of Anya-Nya captives who should, in the normal circumstances of modern warfare, have been treated as prisoners of war. The grievances of Southerners against the Security Forces and which actually provoked vehement protests from the Southern people, stemmed mainly from two sources.

Firstly, the Security Forces' inability to pursue and fight the Anya-Nya and the resultant mowing down of innocent civilians in revenge. This act was deplorable not only because it contradicted the government claim
that it was a main duty of the Security Forces to protect the lives of such innocent citizens, but also because it was out of keeping with the trends of modern warfare. Our planet would certainly have been devoid of human life if wars between nations were to include the deliberate wiping out of the entire harmless population caught up in the war. Secondly, the methods applied in killing or torturing victims were utterly inhumane.

These methods were so horrifying and bestial that a true nationalist in this country, in the North or South, would hardly approve of their application. It was shameful and so strange for the Northern Sudanese who claim to be Muslims to apply them. The commonest method of killing consisted in, at first, maiming the victim and making him suffer the pain at length before he was finally finished off. Cases such as the cutting off of all or some of the victims' limbs and the plucking out of victims' eyeballs before they were finally slaughtered were not uncommon. For example, in February 1964, the Security Forces arrested Mr. Albino Banballa, a teacher of Elementary School at Deim Zubeir in Bahr el-Ghazal and he was killed shortly afterwards. When his body was found the eyes were completely destroyed by red chilli. Another teacher in the same school was found dead with his skin flayed from the back, his one leg and one arm cut off and his throat slit. There were many other cases of men whose sexual organs were dismembered and women whose breasts were torn. In 1962, during the students unrest in the South, some school boys were tortured by the soldiers by having "their teeth pulled out by pliers". Another method which the soldiers applied, not infrequently, was to tie the victims' hands together after which their legs were tied to a big stone and thrown into a river. The victims would ultimately die not of torture but of drowning. The methods of torture and flogging were equally shocking. One of these was to force the head of a victim into a bag full of chilli (shatta in Arabic) and the victim's head pulled out from the bag only after he had fallen unconscious and his eyes inflamed. Sorghum flour was also applied to the victim in the same manner as the chilli powder. There were other instances of torture in which the victim had his flesh sliced off his body, or roasted with a hot iron. One amusing form of public torture was for the Northern soldier to spit into the face of the victim, pull off a pair of his shoes and start beating the victim with it. In the end he said: "Ya abid inta taht jasmati, fahim! (you slave, you are under my boots, understand!)".

These were roughly some of the hard realities which confronted the Southern Sudanese in their homeland. It might not be easy for an out-

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39 For more details and examples of these methods, see the valuable work of Cecil Eprile, 1974, especially Chapter IV.
40 Grass Curtain, issue of January 1971, reported that some women had their breasts cut off by the army men in central Equatoria in October 1970.
sider from a more humane and civilized world to believe in the truth of these things, but it would be helpful for him to imagine a situation where a savage had taken advantage of another savage. Maybe, Northerners applied these methods to reciprocate the way their fellow Northerners were treated by the Southern rebels during the 1955 disturbances. In these circumstances, Southern Sudan became like hell for the Southerners. All hopes for a decent peaceful life in a prosperous homeland disappeared with all the human rights, liberties and personal dignity trampled underfoot by the North; Southerners felt subjected to the worst form of degradation. Their pride of being black Africans was scornfully smashed by the North. All this in addition, of course, to the mass killings, looting of property and burning of houses, set many Southerners adrift beyond the Sudan's borders into the neighbouring countries. Thus, the total number of Southern refugees in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire and the Central African Republic was estimated at over 100,000 in 1965. While in exile the Southern youth was surprised to see his fellow black African free and living happily in an atmosphere of vigorous nation-building. This aroused his nationalistic sentiment to the pitch and he had to return homewards determined more than ever to liberate his country from Northern Arab domination and colonialism. Hence the intensification of Anya-Nya activities in the South.

Many Southerners have concurred on the view that Mahjoub's first term of premiership was the bloodiest era ever witnessed by the South in its seventeen years old civil war with the North. The total number of Southerners killed between 1963 and 1966 alone was estimated at more than 500,000 and of this figure Mahjoub's era normally claimed the lion's share. One particular thing which was too ridiculous to be heeded was the repeated allegation by Premier Mahjoub that the outlaws had so terrorized the Southern civilian population that many of them were forced to escape to the bush for fear of their lives. "I'm calling upon the Southern leaders", he said,

... to co-operate in putting an end to the loathed terrorism which is directed by some Southerners against their countrymen and which put them in constant state of fear for their own lives and therefore deserted their home, ignored their interests and took to the jungle in search of peace and in order to run away from the terror of those criminal gangsters whose aim is to do away with the innocent southerners... 41

No doubt this allegation was just a sheer face-saving device and was certainly not intended to be believed. For, if Premier Mahjoub really meant it, then how possible was it that the Southern civilian population deserted

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the towns and villages which were under the control of Security Forces and ran to the bush which was under the control of Anya-Nya? The statement was a naiveté which shocked rather than amused the Southern people.

Although war was the basic policy of Premier Mahjoub in the South, yet he never hesitated to declare that the Southern problem was political and that consequently its solution should be found through a peaceful, political approach. Thus in an address to the Nation from Radio Omdurman on 4 July 1965, he said:

The Government knows very well that it is a political problem the solution of which calls for understanding its different aspects so as to find a peaceful solution. As a result of that endeavour for an understanding the Round Table Conference was held and my Government respects its resolutions and abides by them and which she is determined to carry out. Moreover, we are out for concluding more agreements which will result in more confidence between the North and the South.

The policy statement taken contextually as a whole gives the impression that the government was really interested in the political solution of the problem but that it could not do so until the security situation in the South had been maintained. Admitting that it was one of its obligations to seek a peaceful solution to the Southern problem, the government declared that such a solution should not be undertaken as yet "until peace dominates that part of our country and an end is put to the chaos and lack of stability". In other words, the maintenance of security should come first and the political solution second. It may be asked: Was the government really interested in the peaceful solution of the Southern problem?

Nothing in the circumstances prevailing at the time could support the view that the government was really serious in finding a solution to the Southern problem either politically or by peaceful means. Indeed, it could be emphasized in fairness that it was not only Premier Mahjoub who lacked any peaceful answer to the Southern question, but also all the contemporary Northern political parties' leadership. For long since the inception of the conflict, federation of the South from the North had been the sole demand persistently put forward by the Southerners. At first the Northern leaders adopted the attitude of being evasive and slippery in meeting the Southern demand, and it was not until the holding of the Round Table Conference in 1965 that their actual viewpoint on the issue was sufficiently ascertained. During the conference, Northerners did not only reject federation, which in their view was a clear step to the separation of the South from the North; they even refused to meet the Southern demand half way. Instead, they produced what in effect amounted to nothing more than the status quo at the time of the conference. Southerners, as was shown, rejected the Northern scheme and a
protracted deadlock ensued until the conference wound up in complete failure.

Therefore, how Premier Mahjoub came up afterwards and claimed to have found a peaceful as well as a just solution to the problem was quite a mystery. However, the myth soon exploded when some Southern leaders called upon the Premier to divulge to the public the details of his alleged peaceful solution, and he refused flatly to comply. The truth of the matter was that not only did the Government lack a peaceful, political programme for the South, but also it stood as a stumbling block on the way to any peaceful solution of the problem. One of the most important recommendations of the Round Table Conference, for instance, was that the region’s administration, police, prisons and information department be manned by the Southerners, whenever qualified Southerners were available. "Where they are not available steps should be taken to accelerate their training and promotion".42

The government refused to Southernize the administration on the ground that Southern officials had proved to be outlaws; and regarding the training of more Southerners it pointed out that it was not its duty to invite Southerners for work. Similarly, the government obstructed the work of the Twelve-man committee by its open hostility to its existence until it died out.

Therefore, Premier Mahjoub's talk of peaceful solution for the Southern problem was merely a paying of lip-service to the Southerners and the outside world. Such a course was deemed necessary at the time in order to cover up the language of war which the government applied in the South. Regarding the motives behind the government statement, they were unmistakeably twofold: first, to impress the outside world, especially the neighbouring black African states and the seven OAU member states which attended the Round Table Conference as observers, that the government was genuinely trying to solve the Southern problem by peaceful means. Thus, in a vigorous attempt to explain the government's peaceful policy towards the South, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reserved no effort in trying to convince the neighbouring states into whose territories the Southerners flocked en masse as refugees, that the government was seriously engaged in a peaceful solution to the Southern problem; and that the only barrier was the subversive activity of the Southern rebels. The observer states, on the other hand, were informed that the government was keen on keeping the door open for further agreements between the North and the South, but that the Southern rebels and politicians were uninterested and, therefore, failed to co-operate with government efforts. Secondly, to convince the Southern leaders to co-operate in bringing an end to rebellion in the South on the understanding that the

42 Round Table Conference on the South.
government would thereafter meet Southern legitimate demands. The statement reminded the Southern leaders not to expect a peaceful solution to the problem of the South "unless we are all in both the North and the South up to the big responsibilities that fall on our shoulders".

However, the only significance that might be attached to the government statement, from the point of view of the Northerners, was that it set the precedent which all the succeeding parliamentary governments had to follow. In other words, Premier Mahjoub, by his policy of waging a brutal war in the South while at the same time paying lip service to the peaceful solution of the problem, had set the tune to which all the successive governments danced. It was a policy designed to misinform the outside world about the state of affairs in the South. Naturally, the Southern leaders, dismissing the peace aspect of the government policy as "shallow politics", refused to co-operate with the government. The two main Southern parties—the Southern Front and SANU—began to dissociate themselves from the blood-thirsty government one after another. The Southern Front quietly withdrew its candidates for the Supreme Council and the Cabinet on the ground that its previous agreement with the Supreme Council that the party would be the sole representative of the Southern people in the Council of Ministers had been violated. SANU, on the other hand, which was represented in the cabinet by Alfred Wol Akoc and Andrew Wieu, pulled out from the government in protest against the appointment of Mr. Buth Diu into the cabinet. According to SANU, Buth Diu should not have been appointed to occupy one of the three Southern seats in the cabinet since he lacked popular support in the South. Southern Sudan, upon the withdrawal of the Southern Front and SANU, was represented only by Philimon Majok on the Supreme Council of the State and Buth Diu on the Council of Ministers both of whom the local press praised and described as "unity adherents".

The adoption by the Southern political parties of the stand of non-co-operation with the government triggered off Mahjoub's anger who riposted by withholding the passports of Mr. Clement Mboro and Mr. William Deng Nhial, the presidents of Southern Front and SANU respectively. "Vigilant", an English newspaper and the only mouthpiece of the Southern opinion, was suspended and tried in the court of law for arousing illegal opposition or hatred against the government. The case was,

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43 *Sudan El-Gedid* (daily) editorial quoted by KNS, 2 July, p. 6. The paper while praising the government for appointing Buth Diu on the cabinet, abhorred the separatist parties' tendencies to resist the representation of the "unity adherents" in the government. Accusing what it called the separatist leaders of being self-conceited, the paper concluded: "We are now on the move and no threats will stop us. We will not be weak or meek if anyone stands against us and the government should go-ahead supported by Almighty and the people".
however, won by the Vigilant newspaper and six months later its licence was formally released. Furthermore, although there was no official ban placed upon the two Southern political parties—SANU and Southern Front—the government tried, not without some success, to frustrate and discredit their activities and popularity. In the South, the parties’ local officials were harried and prosecuted by the security forces under the pretext of collaborating with the outlaws, and in the North they were constantly resisted and referred to as "Separatist Parties". The practical outcome of these government actions against the Southern Front and SANU was that in the South, the two parties ceased to operate openly, and in the North, they virtually lost all Northern membership. This was particularly so because the Northern public opinion, having been influenced by the government propaganda, became hostile, regarding the Southern Front and SANU as an embodiment of the country’s disunity as well as the enemies of Islam and Arab civilization. In the meantime, the far-reaching echoes of the cut-throat war in the South and the resultant influx of Southerners into the neighbouring countries had eroded the government image. By the beginning of 1966 the free world began to show signs of concern about the state of affairs in the South and the plight of the very large numbers of the Southern refugees in the East and Central African states. Faced with this situation the government decided to step up once more its diplomatic activity in those parts of the world which had increasingly shown interest in the affairs of the South, especially the neighbouring Black African Countries from whose territories the Southern guerilla fighters operated.

A god-sent opportunity came for Mahjoub to lead a diplomatic mission to East Africa by himself during the Conference of the Heads of East and Central African States held in Nairobi on 31st March 1966. The main agenda of the conference, which was attended by eleven countries including the Sudan was, "to discuss good neighbourliness". At first the atmosphere in East Africa proved, if apparently, unfavourable for the Sudan’s Prime Minister. He came under fire from both the press and the Conference Hall for the disastrous policies of his government in the Sudan. The Prime Minister, while blaming this attitude of the East Africans on the Southern refugees and rebel leaders, strove to have the conference pass a resolution denying the refugees all form of assistance besides "humanitarian help". The refugees, according to Mahjoub, should not be afforded by the host countries any facilities to publicize in the local press, radio or any other medium, engage in military training, or reside in areas bordering their homeland. Failure on the part of the refugees to abide by these restrictions would empower the host country to apply punishments ranging from imprisonment to expulsion.\(^{44}\) The confer-

\(^{44}\) *Vigilant*, No.107, 8 April 1966.
ence, however, endorsed these proposals only in return for the Prime Minister's promise to find a just solution to the Southern problem as well as creating a conducive atmosphere for the voluntary repatriation and resettlement of the refugees. To prove his seriousness in carrying out his promise Mahjoub, while in Kampala, approached the Uganda President, Dr. Milton Obote, and proposed the formation of a joint committee for the repatriation of Southern refugees. The latter accepted the idea and a committee composed of Sudanese and Ugandan officials was appointed. The Joint Refugee Committee, as it became known, held its first meeting in Kampala on 11th April 1966. On April 7th 1966, soon after his return from East Africa, Mahjoub announced that the conference was a great success for the individual countries represented as well as for the whole of Africa. Asked about whether the host countries would genuinely help in curtailing the activities of the Southern rebels, he replied that they would and proceeded to point out as proof, that the President of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, gave orders for the arrest of "all Sudanese outlaws, while in the Conference Hall".\(^{45}\)

The attitude of the government shortly after the Prime Minister's return from the visit to East Africa was such as could lead one to the belief that the government had had a change of heart regarding the South—a change from a vigorous application of brute force to one of attempting a peaceful solution to the problem. "The nation", declared Mahjoub, "has a great task to perform in trying to find a solution to the Southern problem which is the biggest problem that could confront any nation in the world". The Prime Minister went further to disclose his plan that the solution to the problem was to undergo three important stages: first, the maintenance of law and order in the South; second, concentration on the diplomatic aspect of the problem with the neighbouring countries; and third, the application of the peaceful solution. He believed that the first and the second stages had been accomplished: law and order had been restored and the diplomatic victory had been achieved, in as much as the neighbouring Black African countries had assured him of their resolve to deny assistance to the refugees. As for the third stage, he stated that he and his cabinet had drawn up a plan for an administrative system for the whole country. He further reiterated his confidence that the programme would be accepted by all the groups, Northern and Southern, "except those whose intentions will clearly be the division of this country. Those who will reject this will have no mercy", he threatened.

To acquaint the Southern masses with his new solution, the Prime Minister paid, for the first time since he came to power, a five-day visit to the capitals of the three Southern provinces. He left for the South on

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\(^{45}\) *Vigilant*, No. 114, 19 April 1966.
19th and returned to Khartoum on 24th April 1966. On arrival in Juba on 20th, he declared a general amnesty for all the refugees and made some hints as to the nature of his programme for a peaceful, political solution to the problem of the South. There were to be regional administrations for the nine provinces of the Sudan whose powers were to be health services "below the hospital level", agriculture, education up to intermediate level, local administration and local trade. The central government on its part, was to be established to be responsible for defence, foreign affairs, economic planning, secondary and higher education, hospitals and supervision of the provincial councils.

A week after his tour of the South, Premier Mahjoub announced what he called a "Month of the South". In a statement broadcast over Radio Omdurman on May 2, 1966, he appealed to "everyone to contribute what he can for a relief programme in the South". Two national committees were formed: one for the Month of the South under the chairmanship of the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Sayed Daud Abdel Latif, and the other for the Resettlement of Refugees under the chairmanship of Sayed Salah Mohamed Tahir. The Month of the South was launched on May 15 and ended on June 15, 1966. The propaganda which followed the call for donations for the South could at best be described as damaging to the Southern personality and dignity. It was by and large, one in which a well-fed, neatly-dressed Northern child was featured as holding out a helping hand to a malnourished, ragged Southern child. For this reason, many Southerners who were well-to-do responded indifferently to the appeal. The Vigilant in its editorial of 12th May 1966 graphically summarized the general feelings of the Southerners towards the Month of the South in the following words:

... The help that is being campaigned for now will fit in as one side of a 'hit hard and pose benevolent'-policy calculated to reduce the Southern masses to pauperism and keep them permanently at a subsistence level.47

The government's new deal in the South was received with a sigh of relief by the ordinary Southern people, many of whom hoped that it was going to open a new page in the South–North relations. Reality defies deceit and, therefore, it was not long before the whole drama came to a dead end. The government was never serious about its peace initiative in the South. Some Southern leaders volunteered to co-operate with the government in its effort for a peaceful solution to the problem but the latter gave a cold shoulder. The case in point was that of Mr. Philip Pedak Leith and Mr. Jermeah Reath Luong, two exile politicians, who flew to Khart-
toum from Addis Ababa on April 13, 1966 in response to the government new policy in the South. On their arrival they made it plain that the purpose of their return to the Sudan was to assist the government in its endeavour to find a just solution to the problem. They were ill-received and ignored by the government. They had to return to exile in utter disappointment for not only did the government reject any co-operation with them, it even refused to disclose the nature and details of its proposed programme. It was just a programme of tantalization.

The Month of the South, despite the resistance and the adverse campaign staged by the Southerners against it, was a great success financially. Many Northern Sudanese and foreign donors were able to contribute generously to it. But how this money was spent was difficult to trace. The main reasons were, firstly, that the Southerners, the supposed beneficiaries, were not interested in the whole affair and secondly, the government which was expected to furnish full account of expenditure after the completion of the task was reluctant to do so. In any case, what seems to be clear was that the money never reached the "returnees" in whose name it was raised. The Central Committee for the "Returning Sudanese Refugees", responsible for administering the donated funds, opted to establish its offices and a resthouse in Khartoum instead of the capital of one of the Southern provinces where the refugees were to be received and resettled. Needless to say, the premises hired by the committee for offices and rest house lay in the most sophisticated and expensive residential areas of Khartoum—an indication of the committees' extravagance. If the premises were really meant for "receiving and accommodating the Southern Refugees", as the committee claimed, it was hard to see why a simple refugee who was more accustomed to hardships than luxuries could be made to put up in such places.

Subsequent events, however, showed that the funds obtained from the Month of the South were used to buttress military activities in the South. They were used especially to support the military backed peace campaigns in the South. Peace campaign was in those days a joint operation between the Security Forces and the much feared National Guards as well as the so-called Southern Unionist Parties. Some ministers were known to have sent numerous notes to the committee instructing it to supply Southern Unionist Parties' leaders and their followers with railway or steamer warrants and money for peace campaign in the South.

The government attempts to convince the Southern refugees to return to their homeland met with a dismal failure. All the persuasive prop-

* In an interview with the author in March 1976, Mr. Jermeah Reath pointed out that they were taken aback by the "wealth of arrogance" displayed by the Prime Minister during their meeting: "He considered us the lowest".
aganda conducted by the Joint Refugees Committee in East Africa and the numerous government leaflets dropped by military aircrafts to the Southern jungles, urging the people to return home, were to no avail. The main reason for lack of response to the government appeal to Southern people to return home was the grotesque intolerance of the Security Forces towards the mutineers. The few refugees who responded to the government appeal were callously handled by the Security Forces. Many of them actually lost their lives and the survivors returned to exile to tell their tales. Perhaps, the following passage from a letter written by a returnee, Mr. Bwana V.B. Osita, to the Editor of the Vigilant may give a good example of the way returnees were treated by the Security Forces:

I wish to record the incident which occurred on 15th June 1966, in the Juba Dancing Hall at night, to four of my colleagues who responded to the call of the ... government of Mahjoub to the Southern refugees to come home on the ground that security was restored. As we went into the Dancing Hall, trusting that Juba was regaining its position, a certain CID policeman by the name of Hassan, a Kakua by tribe, pointed at us, the five refugees who happened to sit in one place. Then the army sergeant by the name of Hassan Taha plus his soldiers who were directed to us immediately marched to us and began dragging us outside the Hall ... But one of the Northern friends, Sayed Mustafa, acting Divisional Engineer, Ministry of Works, Juba, who was aware of the movement came out of the Dancing Hall and began following us. He then began calling on the Army Sergeant to stop. Sayed Mustafa explained to him about me whereupon the sergeant handed me to Mustafa. The following colleagues were taken to military quarters where they got killed:

1. Alfonse Bior, a Dinka from Agago Refugee Camp.
2. Agapito Wani, a Bari from Agago Refugee Camp.
3. Alindo Samuel, a Kakua from Agago Refugee Camp.
4. Solomon Lokudu, an Acholi, from Agago Refugee Camp.

The following morning their bodies were found floating on the surface of the Nile water near Kator. I can still mention some examples of similar incidents. In Torit, Arone Okwaha who came back to town on the appeal was killed. At Lirya, 40 villagers were killed by the Armed Forces.

In the face of these events Premier Mahjoub's last effort to end the refugee problem by diplomatic means flopped. The refugees in view of the calamities which faced those who responded to the appeal, refused to re-

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49 Vigilant, issue No.154, 2 September 1966. When this letter was published Sayed-Mustafa and the government protested bitterly asserting that the contents of the letter were entirely false. Mr. Osita and Vigilant threw out a challenge to the government to set up a commission of inquiry to investigate the alleged incidents. No investigation was ever carried out on the incidents.
turn to the country. Hence the superfluity of the Joint Refugee Committee's activities and its inevitable demise. Similarly, Mahjoub's hope for a peaceful settlement to the Southern problem floundered and disappeared as the southern leaders refused to co-operate accusing the government of a scuttle policy towards the South.

While wrestling with the Southern problem, Mahjoub's government was facing an imminent collapse on account of the growing tension within the Umma Party. Mahjoub's handling of the crisis within his party was equally hopeless. Sensing that things were not running in his favour, especially in the upper echelon of the party, Mahjoub resorted to threats against his opponents. In a meeting held on 19 June 1966 between some Umma MPs and Imam el-Hadi Abdel Rahman, the leader of the Ansar Sect, a certain important member of the government intruded and threatened to use force against any parliamentarians who opposed the government. The MPs did not say expressly who that government member was, though it was taken for granted that the member was none other than Premier Mahjoub himself. It would seem that the issuing of threats against the dissenting MPs did not improve the position of Mahjoub in the Umma Party. Instead, it resulted in more members deserting him under the pretext of defending 'democracy in the country and declaring their readiness to sacrifice their lives "if some people try to impose their will on the representatives of the people". In this situation, events were running too fast for Mahjoub. On 21st June, some 16,000 Ansars swelled the streets of Khartoum calling for an end to the crisis in the party. On 24 June three "distinguished" members of the Umma Party were dismissed from the government on the grounds that they were hostile to the government and to the leadership of Imam el-Hadi to the Party. By 28 June, sixty five MPs had declared their support for Sadig el-Mahdi.

The crisis in the Umma Party was sparked off by the bitter power struggle between el-Hadi Abdel Rahman and Mahjoub on the one hand, and Sadig Sidig el-Mahdi and Abdalla Abdel Rahman Nugdalla, on the other. When Sidig el-Mahdi died in 1961, he bequeathed the leadership of the Umma Party to his son, Sadig and the Imamship of the Ansar Sect to his brother, el-Hadi. Sadig, being legally too young for the post of Prime Minister in 1965, forsook his fortunes, if temporarily, to Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub.

When Sadig became fit for the job, a year later, his supporters persuaded him to take over the premiership from Mahjoub. Mahjoub did not appreciate the idea and, therefore, tried all in his power to resist it. But Sadig's lust for power should not be underestimated. Sadig had

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hoped to contest for the presidency of the state after the passing of the permanent constitution and he made no secret of it in his private meetings with his closest party colleagues. Imam el-Hadi, who was also an aspirant for the post of President of State, got wind of his cousin's intentions. Hence the eruption of crisis and disagreement between the two, with the Imam trying to disinherit Sadig from the party leadership. Sadig resisted the plan of his uncle against him. He would want the Umma Party to be completely separated from religious affairs of the Ansar. The separation of the party from the Ansar Sect and the extension of party membership to every citizen, including even the non-Muslims, were what Sadig stood for. This, the Imam would not stomach. So the party had to split into two factions: the Imam's wing and Sadig's wing. Mahjoub, in a somewhat opportunistic fashion, decided to cling to the side of the Imam and stood there as a hardliner just to make sure that the crisis did not end in Sadig's favour. In the meantime, Mahjoub's influence among the party MPs had disappeared to a frustrating degree, with the majority of MPs demanding his immediate resignation from the government. Mahjoub refused to resign; he was determined not to step down even at a time when he was left with only 12 MPs from the Umma Party. His hope was that he could be backed up by the NUP parliamentarians who were in fact the majority in the Assembly. This last hope vanished when on 21 July 1966, the President of NUP, Sayed Ismail el-Azhari, advised Mahjoub to step down honourably for lack of support from his own party. Standing alone as he was, Mahjoub still refused to resign. On 26 July 1966, he was finally edged out through a vote of censure in the Constituent Assembly by only three votes for him and 126 votes against.

Sadig's Premiership

On 27th July 1966 Sadig el-Mahdi was swept into premiership in a vote in the Constituent Assembly by a majority of 138 votes. Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub, his competitor, got only 29 votes. The change of government was at its inception received with great relief in the South because first, and foremost it had ousted the bloodiest and most ruthless government ever to rule in the South, and second the Southern people thought that the new Prime Minister was, at least outwardly, a progressive as well as a supporter of the peaceful solution to the Southern problem. But outward appearances tend more often than not to be illusive and misleading. Sadig el-Mahdi was neither a progressive nor a sympathizer of the Southern grievances. He was, to all intents and purposes, a devout promoter of Islamic, Arab supremacy and an ardent believer in the use of force to the Southern problem. If there was any difference in policy between him and his predecessor, Mahjoub, it might have been of style rather than of substance. It might be that whereas Mahjoub was ex-
ceedingly plain and direct about his policies in the South, Sadig disguised his policies in a flowery approach and language underlined by promises and flexibility. Whereas Mahjoub was open about his contempt and hatred of the Southerners Sadig was secretive and cautious.

It was Sadig's policy and belief that the destiny of the Sudan must be tied to Islamic, Arab civilization for, in his own words: "The dominant feature of our nation is an Islamic one and its overpowering expression is Arab, and this nation will not have its entity identified and its prestige and pride perceived except under an Islamic revival".51

In line with the above policy, he made it a duty of his government to set up a committee to revise all the laws of the Sudan "with a view to putting their origin into Arabic language and discarding all that contradicts with the principles of Islam".52 It would seem that top priority was given to Arabic language as an effective means of Arabization. Thus in July 1966 a circular was issued by the Minister of Interior, addressed to all the Ministries and Departments, to the effect that all the clerical officials of the Civil Service should know how to read and write Arabic language within one year. "If by July 1967, they will not have learned Arabic they would be deprived of promotions to scale 'H' posts and upwards".53 According to the circular, it should be made clear to all the officials in question that Arabic was the official language in the country and that those who hoped to advance in the civil service must know how to read and write it. To facilitate these officials to learn Arabic, the circular directed that evening classes should be opened for them and, at the end, reports showing the language ability of each official must be made. As expected the only Civil Servants affected by the circular were from the South.

Sadig el-Mahdi's rule as Prime Minister lasted only for nine months. During this period Sadig grappled with economic problems facing the country as well as the Southern question. He planned to nationalize many of the private irrigation schemes, especially the unprofitable ones controlled by his kinsmen. Much of the cash which owners of these schemes received in compensation was subsequently invested in urban real estate. He sought to organize economic development in such a way that regional disparities would be lessened and to use the Prime Minister's personal rapport with Southern leaders as a stepping stone toward the conference table where an agreement could be reached with the insurgents.

Regarding the South, the government attitude and activity did not differ much from that of the previous government. Premier Sadig believed

51 Proceedings of the Sudan Constituent Assembly, October 1966.
53 Vigilant, issue No.156, 5 September 1966. The circular was published by Vigilant in its issue No.163, 13 September 1966.
that the basic problem in the South was one of extreme backwardness and that one of the first duties of his government was to involve itself in special economic development for the South. He believed that because of backwardness and tribalism the South could not make an autonomous state. Southerners could not run their own affairs because they "are divided over antagonistic tribal groupings" (Sagid el-Mahdi:5). From his point of view, Southerners would only do well when they were permanently united with the North so that they could benefit from the enlightened experience and mature supervision of the Northerners. In the field of security nothing changed. Sadig continued to preach peace while practising war. Southerners were still being massacred en masse by the Security Forces. Sadig was, indeed, a mercurial statesman who was prone to saying one thing and doing another. During one of his visits to Bor town, he passionately talked in a rally about the need for peace and security and then he went and wept over the graves of Northern officers and soldiers killed during the war. Within twenty four hours after his departure from Bor more than 24 chiefs of Bor District were assembled and murdered in cold blood. Disaster was widespread in the South as a result of the unrestrained activities of the Security Forces who killed innocent citizens in broad daylight as well as at night.

The Fall of Sadig and the Return of Mahjoub as Prime Minister

While Premier Sadig was struggling to entrench the roots of his government both internally and externally, factional bickering within his divided Umma Party quickly led to the collapse of the government. The traditionalist wing of the Umma Party, resented Sadig's ambitions in the party and in the State which directly impinged upon the main interests of the Imam, el-Hadi el-Mahdi. In these circumstances, many of the Umma Party MPs deserted Sadig and joined forces with the traditionalist wing of el-Hadi. The NUP also withdrew its support from Sadig resulting in the fall of his government. In May 1967, Mahjoub was appointed Prime Minister for the second time heading a coalition government comprising the traditionalist Umma Party, NUP and DUP. Mahjoub's policy in the South remained the same, although, at this time, the programme embraced the reorganization of government, strengthening of ties with the Arab world and major economic development efforts, especially in the Southern provinces. Sadig's wing of the Umma Party, constituted a small parliamentary opposition which in the course of time gained momentum in attracting MPs into its fold. His faction held a balance of votes in Parliament and was able to effectively control and frustrate government's initiatives and actions. It, for example, declined to take part in the efforts to complete the draft constitution and the government reacted sternly by closing down the opposition newspaper and censuring its public activ-
Afraid that Sadig was going to overthrow his government, Premier Mahjoub decided to dissolve the parliament quite unexpectedly. The opposition immediately transformed itself into the Congress of New Forces and refused to recognize the legitimacy of the government action which was fully endorsed by the President of the Supreme Council of State. Having been denied access to the Parliament premises, the Congress of the New Forces sat under a tree in the Parliament compound and formed a new government. The matter was finally resolved by the Supreme Court's decision backing the dissolution of the Parliament and denying legality for the opposition to form a government under the tree. Elections were then called for April 1968.

Election results gave DUP (an amalgamation of PDP and NUP) 101 seats, Umma Party: el-Hadi faction 36; Sadig faction 30; Southern Front and SANU 26 and the Sudan Communist Party, one seat. Sadig himself lost his seat to a candidate of el-Hadi faction.

During the election campaign a great catastrophe befell the Southern Sudan in the brutal and savage assassination of Mr. William Deng Nhial, one of the greatest sons and statesmen of that part of the country. He was ambushed and murdered together with several of his colleagues by the Security Forces between Tonj and Rumbek. Mr. William Deng Nhial, the President of SANU, was a man of unique charisma and patriotism. He had a tremendous impact on the political life of not only the South but also the whole Sudan. With his death the clock had been turned back. His political activities in, and message to the people of, the backward areas were such as could greatly alarm the sectarian parties in the North. His message was well received especially in Western Sudan, the stronghold of the Ansar and the Umma Party. The situation was exacerbated in Western Sudan by the General Union of Nubas’ (GUN) call for full co-operation with her counterparts in the South. In 1965, the leadership of GUN issued a statement in which it demanded separation of Nuba Mountains region from the unitary Sudan, its representation in the government, the withdrawal of all Arabs and Jallaba from the area and the abolition of "Dignia" (a tax) paid by every individual to the government. The Union planned to carry out the following steps:

1. To change the union into a political party immediately in order to carry out the heavy burden entrusted upon it by the people.
2. The Union approached the Southern Front with a view to co-ordinating their policy for unity and to build a solid front for the following reasons:
   a) No difference exists between the region of the Nuba Mountains and the three Southern provinces. Their habits, customs are very close and the way of living is also similar. The difference is so small that one could hardly notice it.
b) Characteristics in race are similar. They have the same Negroid blood—their appearance is one and both have the real African outlook. What is more important is that they are the real owners of this land.

c) The Nubas, like the Southerners, have suffered a great deal—both have been discriminated due to their racial appearance because they are in fact the true Africans. It is important that Blacks should consider that this country is their homeland and must work together to unite all the Black power and have one say.\(^5^4\)

In Darfur, the separatist tendency was growing since they had always considered themselves as a state and were only joined forcibly to the rest of the Sudan as recently as 1916 by the Anglo-Egyptian invasion. The situation in the Western Sudan was too much for both factions of the Umma Party. Therefore, to curtail any future links between the South and the West, they had to kill William Deng Nhial in the process. The untimely and regretful death of William Deng Nhial was the work of the Umma Party leaders. Mahjoub directed it and Sadiq conspired in its accomplishment. Later, Sadiq el-Mahdi went and shed crocodile tears and made half-hearted eulogies at the funeral of late William Deng Nhial. His pretentious attitude regarding William’s death paid Sadiq el-Mahdi the benefit of close co-operation between the Umma Party and SANU during his parliamentary life.

The coalition between DUP and el-Hadi’s faction of the Umma Party brought back Mahjoub as the Prime Minister and he continued to rule the country until his government was overthrown by a military coup in May 1969. At the time of the military takeover the country was at the brink of economic stranglehold. Cotton prices, the main source of foreign revenue, plummeted and foreign aid was severely curtailed. By 1969, the foreign debt had doubled to $260 million. In the South, the civil war was raging and was consuming nearly 30 per cent of the annual budget.

After the fall of Aboud’s militaryjunta, civil war in the South escalated rather than scaling down. The Anya-Nya having improved their fighting capabilities through arms acquired from the civil strife in Zaire, were fighting the Northern army more fiercely than before. But the Anya-Nya and political movement in the jungle and in exile were having their own internal problems. After SANU wing of William Deng Nhial had returned to work in the government controlled areas, the SANU wing in exile reorganized itself and changed its name to Azania Liberation Front in 1965. But within a year, the new organization was torn apart by fac-

\(^5^4\) KNS, 9 April 1965.
tional and personal rivalries. Another attempt to form a united political front was made in early 1966. Mr. Aggrey Jaden formed the South Sudan Provisional government in which "efforts were made to ensure that representation from all parts of the South was carefully balanced". But these efforts proved less effective since Eastern Equatorians, Upper Nilians and Bahr el-Ghazalians were reluctant to join the Provisional government. It then collapsed. Again in March 1969, Gordon Muortat Mayen tried to establish the Nile Provisional government with himself as its president. This attempt also failed since the Equatorians refused to cooperate with it and instead formed a rival Anyi-d Revolutionary Government under the leadership of General Taffeng.

The failure of Southern political leaders to set up a single, united political movement, alienated the Anya-Nya which decided to operate quite independently of the politicians and their factions. Due to problems related to lack of communications network, co-ordination and tribal tendencies Anya-Nya was unable to form a united front under one command. "Inevitably, small units of Anya-Nya tended to be clustered along ethnic lines, and local inter-ethnic conflicts took precedence over fighting the common enemy".

During the trial of Mr. Rolf Steiner in Khattoom (in 1969–70) for involvement in mercenary activity among the Anya-Nya, he testified that the Anya-Nya were a fierce and capable force when fighting among themselves but before the enemy, they proved incompetent and cowardly. Rolf Steiner, a German, was widely respected by the Anya-Nya groups whom he trained for bravery, unique military experience and efficiency. However, although there were a number of mercenaries (mainly from South Africa, France and Germany) involved in the training and orientation of the Anya-Nya forces, their efforts did not help to bring unity among the Anya-Nya. Signs of unity within the Anya-Nya army began to be apparent with the involvement of the Israelis in training and arming of the Anya-Nya in 1969. Israelis involvement with the Anya-Nya was further facilitated by the coming into power of General Idi Amin in Uganda, who allowed Israel to increase its activities and expand its influence in the area. In order to help the Anya-Nya, the Israelis hand-picked Mr. Joseph Lagu and facilitated him to the position of the Commander-in-Chief of the Anya-Nya. The lure for better military training for Anya-Nya officers and men and for better military equipment from the Israelis brought the various discordant Anya-Nya groups under the command of Joseph Lagu, a former captain in the Sudan army, who upon becoming the Commander-in-Chief of Anya-Nya promoted him-

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55 Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), Survey inside Sudan, undertaken 2–17 May 1987, p. 10–11, and the three following quotations.
self to the rank of Major-General. The new situation "galvanized the Anya-Nya units into closer co-operation and helped to unify the fragmented guerrilla movement". With newly acquired weapons and training the Anya-Nya proved a combat force capable of deterring the government army from patrolling the countryside and thus confining them to main towns and other strategic centres.

With the coming of General Nimeiri as head of the state and General Lagu as the Commander-in-Chief of the Anya-Nya in 1969, the Southern Problem entered a new phase and acquired new dimensions. What had happened from that time onwards is of dramatic historical significance but it is beyond the scope of this book. I hope to take that subject up in another book.
THE ADVENT OF ISLAM

One of the greatest events in the history of mankind has been the emergence of Islam among the discordant tribes of the Arabian Peninsula. In the pre-Islamic era the Arabs, though they were one people speaking the same language and leading the same way of life, were far from being united; they were divided into hostile tribal groups of nomads who kept moving from one place to another in search of pastures and water supply for their beloved camels. Any slight disagreement between two or more tribes would spark off a continuous state of war which cost them immense losses in human life and property. The Arabs yearned to excel in chivalry, generosity and prestige, and were prepared to defend those virtues at any cost. Nevertheless, despite all the disunity and continual tribal feuds, the pre-Islamic Arabs were able to produce an Arabic literature second only to the Koran. This achievement culminated in the famous seven odes or "malaqat" engraved in golden letters on the "kaba" which are often quoted as models of classical Arabic poetry.

With the coming of Islam in the 6th century A.D., which introduced a new socio-political order, the Arabs quickly managed to unify. The Koran brought the development of Arabic language to its zenith. Islam transformed the Arabs into an invincible world power. Their conquests, under Jehad were quite dramatic and swift. "Within a generation Arab armies had carried Islam north and east from Arabia in the wake of their rapid conquests and westwards into North Africa". (All the quotations in this chapter which are not given another attribution are from Nelson:1983).

Islam became dominant in the Northern Sudan following the defeat of the Nubian Christian monarch by the Arabs in 1652. From then onwards Islam infiltrated into the Sudan unimpeded, converting existing churches into mosques and islamicizing the people as it advanced further into the Central Sudan. By the time the Arabs drifted into the Sudan in the 16th century they were already not only an Islamic imperial power in the North-East, but also they were a civilizing force. During the period between the 8th and 12th centuries the Arabs had expanded across the Middle East into Europe, carrying the banner of Greek philosophical thought whilst adding their own manifold contributions. Spain and Sicily were the two main European countries where Muslim learning through translation gained momentum, and from there it expanded to cover
Southern France and Italy. Hence, the Arabs who came to Sudan had, at least, advantages over the indigenous population — the art of governing and, above all, the **powerful** Koran which they used effectively to attract the indigenous communities from near and far. Naturally, the Arabs became the custodians and interpreters of Islamic faith. In receiving the Koran as a faith and a way of life the indigenous population had invari-
ably also accepted the leadership of the Arabs. However, the **Islamiciza-
tion** and Arabization of Northern Sudan "took place very gradually over a period of nearly 1,000 years, and it was accomplished by intermarriage and assimilation rather than by armed conquest and forcible imposition of Arab culture and religion".

**SUNNI ISLAM**

The brand of Islam embraced and practised by the people of Northern Sudan is known as Sunni. Sunni, the larger of the two great branches of Islam, (the other being the Shia) contends that its followers are the true adherents of Sunna and el-hadith (the examples, words and deeds of Prophet Mohamed). Sunni Islam in the Sudan incorporated local cus-
toms and practices which were not quite acceptable to pure Koranic teachings. These customs and practices either modified or were contrary to Islamic law. "The Sudanese were more attracted to the personal reve-
lations of mystics and the ardent celebration of rites of passage than they were to the bookish Islam preached by the ulama (religious teachers) in the mosque or taught in its school". Although Islam does not recognize any intercession between the faithful and Allah, the Sudanese Muslims believe in the cult of feki (holyman) and saint (wali) as intercessors be-

tween them and Allah. Fekis are seers and miracle makers who are espe-
cially endowed by Allah with charisma and spiritual powers. The feki prays for the sick, makes amulets for protection of persons wearing them and interprets the Koranic verses. After his death, the feki "would be venerated and enlisted in the local cult of saints whose domed tombs dotted the country-side and were the most conspicuous buildings in any town of size". The most important of the saints were those who founded or led the religious orders or sects. In fact, Sunni Islam in the Sudan is characterized by religious sects, the major ones of which being the Khatimiya and Ansar. The tombs of the leaders of religious sects are usu-
ally regarded as holy, implying an indwelling spiritual power and baraka (blessedness). The followers of a sect normally seek the intercession from the spirit of their leader for cures and blessings.

**Sunni Islam demands of its members the strict observation and prac-
tice of the five fundamental tenets of Islam, namely:**
a) The Shahada (profession of the faith): "there are no gods but Allah and Mohamed is his prophet". Shahada is the first step of conversion into Islam and it is to be cited in absolute conviction and concentration.

b) Prayer at five specific times daily—at dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sun-set and evening. Regular prayer is considered as an attribute of a true Muslim.

c) Almsgiving which is expected of rich Muslims as a special tax for the benefit of the poor. They may be given at any time "but there are specific occasions in the ceremonial calender of the Islamic year or in the life of the donor when they are more commonly dispersed". Alms are given on such occasions as at Ramadan Bairam, on a return from pilgrimage to Mecca, gifts to the mosques etc.

d) Fasting during the month of Ramadan. This includes abstinence from sexual intercourse during daylight, but it is permissible during the night hours.

e) Pilgrimage to Mecca depending on the availability of means for its undertaking. In the Sudan, there exist pilgrimage societies to which members contribute regularly. The societies select annually persons who should go for pilgrimage according to the means available to them. The person who has performed pilgrimage to Mecca is called el-haj and usually wears a green hat as a distinguishing symbol.

Sudanese Muslims are widely known for their generosity and this stems from the Islamic teaching of kindness, fairness and honesty. The rich are expected to help their vulnerable fellow-Muslims and not to give a cold shoulder to the hungry who ask for food.

**ISLAMIC THEOCRACIES**

*The Mahdiya, 1881–1898*

The history of attempts by Northern Sudanese Muslims to impose the Islamic theocracy in the Sudan begins with the Mahdist state in the late nineteenth century. The Mahdist State or Mahdiya was established by a certain Mohamed Ahmed Ibn Abdallah who styled himself as the Mahdi.

A Dongolawi by tribe, Mohamed Ahmed Ibn Abdallah was born into a family of boat-builders on August **12, 1844** at Lebab Island near Dongola. Shortly after his birth, the family emigrated southwards, probably in search of an abundant supply of timber and settled at Kerreri about 12 miles north of Omdurman. From early childhood, the future Mahdi ignored the traditional family business and instead showed a marked interest in Islamic affairs. He joined outstanding Koranic schools including that of Sheikh Mohamed el-Kheir at Berber and that of the Samaniya sect
headed by the famous Sheikh Mohamed el-Sharif Nur el-Daim. In all these schools, Mohamed was exceptional in his theoretical study of the Koran and strict observance of the Muslim way of life. He came to find solace only in continuous meditation, prayer and fasting. Denying his weary body rest and sustenance, "he would feel his spirit soaring beyond the limits of this world" (Theobald:28). He could see strange faces and hear strange voices.

Mohamed Ahmed then retired to Gezira Aba further South, probably seeking a more secluded life devoid of the annoyances of the ungodly world. It was in this place that he declared himself the Mahdi of Allah and called the people to arms to rid themselves of the infidel Turkish regime in the Sudan. "Mahdi", means the "guided one", sent by Allah to redeem the faithful and prepare the way for the second coming of the Prophet Isa (Jesus).

The Mahdiya revolution, despite its purely Islamic character, was supported even by non-Muslim Sudanese. The various motives for joining the Mahdiya were often far from religious fervor: it was generally an attempt to shake off the yoke of the oppressive and unpopular Turko-Egyptian regime that had held sway for over 60 years. The devout Muslims joined the Mahdiya to purify Islam and establish an Islamic theocracy in the country. The slave-dealers wanted to resume the slave-trade and the non-Muslim groups sought to regain their freedom and independence from the Turks. These motives transformed the Mahdiya from a religious into a national political uprising that raged throughout the country. Defeating the Turkish forces, one after another, the Mahdists crowned their victories with the fall of Khartoum, the seat of the Turko-Egyptian government, in the early morning of 26th January 1885, and virtually the whole country passed over to the Mahdiya.

The man appointed to conquer and rule the Southern Sudan was Karam Allah Mohamed Kurqusawi who, with a force of 1,500 Ansars (the Mahdi followers), invaded Bahr el-Ghazal in April 1884 and in the following year advanced on Equatoria. But Equatoria never fell totally to the Ansars, they only succeeded in controlling a part of it. The relations between the Ansars and the non-Muslim Southerners were relatively peaceful during the years of campaign against the Turko-Egyptian regime in the South (1884–1888), since the Ansars were in dire need of the co-operation and assistance of the latter in order to crush the last vestiges of the Turko-Egyptian presence in the Sudan. Many tribes actually fought side by side with the Ansars and they were the ones which often constituted a significant threat to the government forces. Aware of this fact, the Mahdists cautiously refrained from provoking the Southerners. But, after the disappearance of the common enemy, the Ansars' contempt for the Southern people began to show itself. Conscious of this change of attitude, Southerners started to defy the Mahdists which often
resulted in violent clashes between them. The Ansar never hesitated to show the Southerner that he was nothing but a slave. "The sophisticated Arab", Collins (1962) writes, "with a culture and tradition centuries old felt, not unnaturally, that he was superior to the simple African who was created by Allah to be a slave".

Slave-raiding continued unabated in South Sudan throughout the reign of Mahdiya. The Mahdists' wholesale acts of plunder and slave-hunts not only led to further depopulation of the already devastated country, it also brought about the utter deprivation of the Southern people. In Equatoria, for instance, the Bari, Moru and Baka tribes, who in Baker’s time had owned enormous herds of cattle, completely lost them during the Mahdiya. However, although the Southerners co-operated with the Ansar in the fight against Turko-Egyptian regime, there was certainly no intention on the part of the former to retain the latter in the place of Turko-Egyptians. Southerners had simply intended to free themselves of foreign domination. But the Mahdists not only stepped into the enemy's shoes, but they proved even worse in their treatment of the Southern people. Slave-raids and indiscriminate looting of property were revived and carried to extremes. Islamic religion was imposed on the Southerners with an iron hand.

After the Mahdi had eliminated the vestiges of the Turko-Egyptian colonialism, he purported to establish an Islamic state in its place. The Mahdiya was essentially an autocratic Islamic state which imposed the laws derived from primitive Islamic practice. "It was egalitarian and communist in theory, evangelical, and puritanical". The Mahdi amended the first tenet of Islam, el-Shahada, to read. "There are no gods but Allah and Mohamed is His Prophet and Mohamed Ahmed is the Mahdi of Allah and the Representative of His Prophet". It became important among the Ansars that loyalty to the Mahdi was essential to true belief in Islam. "The Mahdi maintained that his movement was not a religious order that could be accepted or rejected at will, but that it was a universal regime, which challenged every man either to join or to be destroyed". The Mahdi’s reform package included the substitution of pilgrimage to Mecca for conscription into Jehadiya (holy war in the name of Islam). The practice of Zakat (almsgiving) became the tax that was paid to the state.

The Mahdi claimed that these reforms were direct instructions conveyed to him in vision by Allah. In the field of the administration of justice, the Mahdi applied Sharia law in all matters according to which inter alia:

Blasphemers of God or the religion were punished with instant death, as well as all those who disbelieved in the Mahdi. A murderer was at once beheaded. No extenuating circumstances were ever admitted. A thief was deprived of a hand and a foot; adultery between married persons was
punished by beheading the man and stoning the woman, but in the latter case a necessary proof was that the woman should be with a child. Illicit intercourse between unmarried persons was punished with eighty lashes; those laws regarding the immorality were, however, in the case of slaves relaxed to some extent, and they were as a rule punished by flogging only. Persons found concerned in making of eunuchs were beheaded, though curiously enough the Khalifa and emirs all retained eunuchs for their harems. Slaves freed by the Egyptian government were not recognized as such, and were again forced to become slaves. A slave’s witness was not accepted in a trial. All important cases were judged before the Mahdi, who sentenced persons as he thought fit. The Mosaic law—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—was generally practised. The relatives of murdered persons generally carried out the sentence on the criminal, provided that the judge approved. Punishment could be modified or cancelled altogether by the payment of money. In addition to the Mahdi, his relatives and the Khalifa were permitted to judge cases—a proceeding which resulted in great confusion and miscarriage of justice. The market place was the chief centre of activity; here the judge held his court, and a profitable business he made of it by substituting money for punishment."

The Mahdi, however, did not live long. He died six months after his capture of Khartoum. There is no uniform account as to the cause of his death; one version claimed that he died of typhus and the other alleged he died by poisoning. The Mahdi was succeeded by Abdullahi Ibn Mohamed, not without bitter struggle for power between himself and two other rivals. He was called the Khalifa (the successor). In his life-time the Mahdi appointed three Khalifas in emulation of Prophet Mohamed. After his death, rivalry "among the three, each supported by the people of his native region, continued until 1891, when Abdullahi with the support primarily of the Baggara Arabs overcame the opposition of the others and emerged as unchallenged leader of the Mahdiya". Khalifa Abdullahi then hastened to purge the members of the Mahdi family as well as many of his early religious disciples. Having got rid of his rivals Khalifa Abdullahi emerged as the absolute ruler of the Mahdiya. The Mahdiya itself became a tribal hegemony of the Baggara from where Khalifa Abdullahi hailed. "Once he had consolidated power the Khalifa instituted regular administration, appointing Ansars (who were usually Baggara) as emirs over each of several provinces, but his authority in the Mahdiya remained absolute."

Khalifa Abdullahi at first followed the Islamic system laid down by the Mahdiya in meting out justice according to the strict rules of the Koran and Sunna, but in the course of time, especially during the height of des-

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potism, "judges became pliable instruments in the hands of the Khalifa which he used in carrying out his own wishes". Slatin (1898), in his book, Fire and Sword in the Sudan described the administration of justice during the Khalifa's rule as follows:

The Khadis or judges are ready tools in the hands of their astute master. They are only permitted to act independently in trivial cases, such as family disputes, questions of property, and the like, but in all matters of importance they must inevitably refer to the Khalifa for final decision in giving which the latter invariably consults his own immediate interests; but at the same time his earnest endeavour is to appear before the public to be within the bounds of justice.

The judges therefore, have a somewhat difficult task to perform; that is to say, they must invariably carry out the Khalifa's wishes, and give them the appearance of being legally correct; whereas in nine cases out of ten, they are entirely contrary to the first element of justice and right (page 332).

In a situation where power was personalized like that of the Khalifa, justice was seen to be done only when the Khalifa's personal interests were not affected. "Thus the Khalifa secured in his own person, the right to pardon or to convict, and thus he became absolute master of life and death. As for the law, he only appealed to it when it suited his own convenience; on every other occasion he absolutely ignored it" (Chrawald:233). In this way the Mahdiya was nothing short of a barbaric anarchy; it was a system built round one tribe, the Baggara of Western Sudan. After the death of Khalifa Abdullahi in November 1898 during the battle of Um Diwaykarat in Kordofan, the "country's economy was in chaos and the population had declined possibly as much as one half from death by famine, disease, persecution and warfare".

The collapse of Mahdiya was universally welcomed by the Sudanese population. It was destroyed by the invading Anglo-Egyptian forces in 1898. The ruling Baggara retreated to their own homeland in Western Sudan. Khalifa Abdullahi himself belonged to Rezigat section of the Baggara tribe in Southern Darfur.

Post Independence Islamic Fundamentalist Revival

After their reconquest of the Sudan, the Condominium authorities fully recognized the importance of Islam in the Northern Sudanese society and the need for its utmost respect. Addressing an audience of Sudanese Sheikhs and notables in Omdurman on January the 5, 1899, Lord Cromer said:

The Queen and her Christian subjects are devoutly attached to their own religion, but they also know how to respect the religion of others. The Queen rules over a larger number of Muslim subjects than any sovereign
in the world and these live contented under her beneficent rule. Their religion and religious customs are strictly respected. You may feel sure that the same principle will be adopted in the Sudan. There will be no interference whatever in your religion. (I depend here very much on Lutfi and, unless otherwise stated, all the quotations from this point to the end of the chapter are from his article.)

Acting on Lord Cromer's policy outline, the Sudan's Governor-General directed his staff "to be careful to see that religious feelings are not in any way interfered with and that Mohammedan religion is respected". The Condominium administration then proceeded to establish two separate divisions within its judiciary: the Civil Division which administered English law and customary law in both civil and criminal matters, and the Sharia Division which administered only Islamic law to Muslims in personal matters. But any Muslim who wished to be governed by Islamic law in all matters was free to do so. Under this arrangement, the Sudanese Muslims appeared to be contented and there were no complaints and disturbances until independence in 1956.

Soon after independence voices were heard demanding the strict application of Sharia law in all matters. One of these voices was that of Sheikh Hassan Mudathir, formerly the Grand Kadi of the Sudan, who in his "Memorandum for the enactment of Sudan Constitution devised from the principles of Islam", argued:

It is regretted that some of the present laws are, in most cases, inappropriate and contrary to Islamic legislation and even to the general principles of Islam. These laws, instead of protecting the people's beliefs and customs have intended to defeat the same. In fact they were laid down by the colonists with a view to defeating the people's inherited creeds and sentiments.

The majority of Sudanese are Muslims and should, therefore, repeal the said repugnant laws, lay down an Islamic constitution and enact the requisite laws which protect their creed and inborn Arab customs. Islam is not merely a creed or worship absorbed or exercised by habit or imitation. But it is a creed and a regulation at the same time, i.e. a religion and a state which can never be severed.

The writer cited drinking of wine which is prohibited by Sharia, and sexual intercourse between a man and a consenting woman of over sixteen years which is punishable under Sharia but both of which are not offences in the existing "foreign laws", as examples of the English law being contrary to Islamic law.

The major political forces which advocate the application of an Islamic, Arab state in the Sudan are the Khatimiya, the Ansar (Mahadiya) and the Muslim Brothers Movement. The Khatimiya disseminated its political ideas and activity through its political wing, the Democratic Unionist
Party. Basically it stood for an Islamic state and union with Egypt. The Ansar, on the other hand, espoused its political activity through the Umma Party. The Ansar advocated an Islamic state and it was pro-Western. It totally rejected any union with Egypt. The Muslim Brothers, later known as the National Islamic Front (NIF), have been a newcomer in the Sudanese politics. They are the most radical of all the political forces that support the establishment of an Islamic, Arab state in the Sudan. The NIF surfaced in the Sudan in the early 1950s and it was seen as an overspill of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in Egypt. In 1964 it formed itself into a political party by the name of Islamic Charter Front. Its political programme called for the application of an Islamic state in the whole Sudan. It made its ideas known to the people mainly through public speeches in rallies, press and in the mosques. Its ideas for a radical Islamic state derived from general propaganda of Muslim fundamentalists in the Arab world and other Muslim countries. The Muslim Brothers are of the opinion that the Islamic law should be considered as a third system of law after the Roman or civil law and the Common law which are the two main legal systems in the world. They blame the subordination of the Sharia law on the Western influence in the Muslim world. "Where the power of the Western colonial nations i.e. England, France, Holland and Italy had brought Eastern Islamic countries within its hegemony and control, the policy has been, as far as possible, to eliminate Islamic law and to put in its place European codes of law".

According to Muslim fundamentalists, all laws applied in the Sudan "must be derived from the Sharia, otherwise, those who are responsible for the administration of justice will be considered as disbelievers in religion under the Koranic verse: 'Who judgeth not according to what God hath revealed, they are infidels'". Regarding minorities in a country where the Muslims are in the majority, the Muslim Brothers argue something like this:

Minorities are entitled to demand safeguards for their legitimate rights and interest and we are bound to concede this demand as Islam itself enjoins us to do so. But it is not fair for the minorities to ask us to throw our ideology overboard and introduce laws which are against our convictions merely for the sake of appeasing them. When we were helpless because of foreign domination, we tolerated the supremacy of un-Islamic laws. But now when we are masters of our destiny, we cannot replace Islamic laws by those of any other type without conscious apostasy and betrayal of Islam. Are the minorities really entitled to ask the majority to give up its religion and its way of life? Or, is it reasonable that in a multi-religious country all the communities should become irreligious? If the answers to all these questions are in the negative, I find no reason why 'Islamic laws' should not become the 'law of the land' in a country where Muslims are in a predominant majority.
The proponents of the institution of an Islamic system of rule in the Sudan vigorously claim that it is the best system in the world. In it, minority rights and freedoms are guaranteed and the Muslim populations are enabled to live in accordance with Allah's behests, inspiration and blessing as revealed by the Holy Koran and under the guidance of the Sunna of Prophet Mohamed. They want a state where there should be no distinction between religion and state. According to them, Prophet Mohamed himself at his time "negotiated and conducted political treaties, led armies and governed. So too after him the Caliphs established governments of wide influence and great power and founded them on justice on every detail". They often cited the era of Caliphs, Abu Bakar, Omer Ibn el-Khattab and Omer Ibn Abdel Aziz as an ideal example of proper Islamic state. But these Caliphs ruled for a very short period and the Caliphs after them indulged in all sorts of worldly pleasures which resulted in injustice and abuse of power. The success of the Islamic state during the era of the aforesaid great rulers was due to their own honesty, integrity and strong character. Muslims in the know were not surprised to observe the deplorable change which has taken place because it really proved the Prophet's prophecy when he said: "The Caliphate after me will continue for thirty years and then it will change into a despotic monarchy".

During that era, the Sharia law was quite adaptable and its jurists encountered no problems in modifying it to suit the needs of a fast-developing society. The Islamic system of government became increasingly autocratic, dictating the terms of conduct upon its subjects through brute coercion and imposing strict unitary systems of rule. It was indeed a "police state" where divergent opinions were not tolerated especially when they are deemed to fall outside the purview of Islamic principles.

The idea of an Islamic state in the Sudan in its present international boundaries is not feasible and any attempt to impose it by force will always fail for the reasons enlarged here below.

**Presence & Sizeable Minorities**

In an Islamic system of state the rights and duties of non-Muslim minorities are strictly circumscribed. The status of non-Muslims is known as Dhimmi. A Dhimmi is guaranteed the right to his life, his religious practice and to abide by his customs but he is strictly forbidden to exercise these rights (except the right to live) in public lest he would offend his fellow Muslim countrymen. His home or the precincts of his religion are the places allowed for the exercise of his rights. A Dhimmi is not allowed to occupy a public or constitutional position which would entail supervision over Muslims. In other words, he is automatically excluded from the government, army and security organizations. He only pays for services re-
ndered by his Muslim masters for his wellbeing and protection. As a rule, a Dhimmi must accord deference to a Muslim citizen. He must not give testimony in a case involving Muslims. In the heyday of the Islamic empire from the 12th century onwards the value of taxes imposed on the Dhmimis were so exorbitant that most of them were forced to succumb to Islamic faith. Moreover, a wealthy Dhimmi was never allowed to build a house taller than those of his Muslim neighbours. A Muslim is not allowed to eat from the meat of an animal slaughtered by a Dhimmi. In these circumstances, the status of a Dhimmi was more or less equivalent to that of a slave. Invariably the Muslim has every right to marry a Dhimmi girl whereas it is forbidden for a Dhimmi to marry a Muslim girl unless he embraces Islam. This is the status of a non-Muslim in an Islamic society, the rights and freedom of which Muslim fanatics today are so vocal about. The relations between a non-Muslim and a Muslim are inevitably based and established on the parameters of superiority/inferiority—the Muslim being the superior and the Dhimmi being the inferior. As if to add insult to a deep injury, a Dhimmi is stereotyped as an infidel and in the Sudan he is dubbed a slave especially when he is a black person.

The main spiritual beliefs in the Sudan are, in the descending order of importance, Traditional Religion, Christianity and Islam. Traditional religion is widely practised by the peoples of the South, the Nubas in the West and the Ingassanna tribes in the East. It is recognized neither by Christianity which regards it as idolatrous, nor by Islam which categorically scoffs at its adherents as infidels. The degradation of Traditional Religions came about as a result of the overwhelming Christian and Islamic influence in Africa but its teachings are as noble as those of the two world religions. In the Sudan, "Paganism" was tolerated rather than accepted. Article 16(c) of Nimeiri's repealed permanent constitution of the Sudan, referred to it as "noble spiritual beliefs", which "shall not be insulted or held in contempt". This provision was completely annulled, first by Nimeiri himself, and by the successive governments of Sadig el-Mahdi and the military juntas.

As for Christianity, it was first received in the extreme Northern part of the Sudan during the first century A.D., but it disappeared completely in the 16th century as a result of the ruthless Islamic ascendancy. It was not until the late 19th century that it appeared again. This time the cradle of Christianity became the South instead of the North.

There has not been an official population census based on religion in the Sudan. But, if being born into a Muslim family or having an Arab name means that such a person is prima facie a Muslim, then the population of the Muslims in the Sudan is clearly in the majority. However, there is a large number of persons of Muslim origin, especially among the educated, which is atheist or renegade, if secretly now, because Islam beheads atheists or renegades. Similarly, people living in the more back-
ward areas have tended to practise their faith in a manner more akin to "paganism" than to Islam.

The non-Muslim population in the Sudan constitutes about thirty per cent of the total population. Most of them "live in the Southern region ... but a number of small groups reside in the hilly areas west of the Blue Nile on or near the border with Ethiopia. Another cluster of peoples commonly called the Nuba, but socially and culturally diverse, live in the Nuba Mountains of Southern Kordofan Province". In the South, the Muslim community is negligible; the majority are traditionalists, followed by Christians. The non-Muslims in the Sudan live in distinctively identifiable areas (the Ingassanna Hills in Southern Blue Nile, the Nuba Mountains in the West and, of course, the Southern Sudan) as compared to non-Muslims in other countries of the Muslim world who are usually dispersed amongst the Muslim populations. The non-Muslim Southern Sudanese occupy a territory as large as Nigeria with a terrain of lush jungles and swamps. In these circumstances, it is very difficult to visualize the imposition of an Islamic state without dismantling the unity of the country.

Unpreparedness of Muslims to be Ruled by an Islamic Theocracy

The abrupt application of Sharia laws in September 1983 by President Nimeiri caught the entire Sudanese Muslim population by surprise, let alone the non-Muslim communities who were shocked. This was particularly so because the bulk of the Sudanese Muslims never yearned for an Islamic state; they were quite content with existing secular laws and the system of government. The Muslim fundamentalists were brushed aside as mere fanatics and dervishes. The Muslim Brothers, just like their opposite number, the communists, used to derive support from intellectuals and academic centres — schools, colleges, universities etc. In a normal democratic atmosphere the Muslim fundamentalists would never have controlled the top apparatus of state. As proof of their respect for Islam, the Condominium authorities opened the door wide for those Muslims who wished to be governed fully by Sharia law. Thus in May 1902, the Condominium government promulgated what is called the Sudan Mohammedan Law Courts Ordinance which empowered the Sharia courts to entertain all personal and religious matters of the Sudanese Muslims — marriage, divorce, guardianship of minors, wakf, gift, succession, wills, interdiction etc. But, under the same section, it was provided that any person who desired to have all his matters determined in accordance with the Sharia law was free to do so; "provided that all the parties, whether being Muslims or not, make a formal demand signed by them asking the court to entertain the question and stating that they agree to be bound by the ruling of Mohammedan Law". There is no evidence that
the Sudanese Muslims opted to be bound by Sharia law on all matters under this Ordinance. According to Sayed G.A. Lutfi a prominent lawyer, writing in 1967:

If this establishes anything it establishes the fact that the Muslims themselves, except in matters where personal law is applied—do not want to resort to the Sharia courts to determine their other disputes. Sixty-five years experience shows clearly what kind of law the people want. It is therefore inappropriate to impose upon them that which they had the option to choose for so long a time and did not do so. It cannot be argued that their choice was impaired by the foreign influence during the foreign rule, because even after they were granted full freedom and complete independence the status quo continued as it was before.

As testified by the former Chief Justice, M.A. Abu Ranat, some Muslims preferred their disputes to be settled according to customary law, rather than the Sharia law:

Generally speaking, in personal matters, cases where all the parties are Mohammedans are governed by Sharia. But Islam came to some of the Northern tribes after they had developed their own customs, and although in matters of which the Sharia is not silent it had prevailed in most cases, there are instances where customs still prevail which conflict with or modify the Sharia. Further, there are certain spheres of customary law on which the Sharia is silent, for instance, rights regarding the ownership and cultivation of date-trees, and here too customary rules prevail. Of course, the Hanafi School recognizes custom as a source of law that can supplement the rules of Sharia. So it is wrong to say that there is no customary law which concerns Mohammedans in the Sudan.

Furthermore, many Sudanese Muslims are increasingly becoming disenchanted with the way Islam is being misused and disgraced by the Muslim fundamentalists in their quest for power. Using Islam as a trump card, the Muslim fundamentalists have unduly exploited the religious sentiment of the people for their own political ends, driving them into an ascetic life when at the same time the same fundamentalists are booming in an opulent lifestyle. They have been tapping the huge, almost unlimited, Arab petro-resources in the name of Arabism and Islam. Many Islamic banks and big Islamic commercial enterprises sprang up and are now common place in the Sudan. Given poor accountability requirements by the donors, these resources have been mismanaged and misappropriated by the recipients. This particular fact accounts for the setting on fire of the premises belonging to Faisal Islamic Bank in Omdurman by an angry Northern Sudanese mob during the popular uprising against President Nimeiri’s regime in March 1985. People have become bored and fed up with empty slogans in the name of Islam. Islam, they know, is their religion; heaven for their souls in the hereafter, is also acknowledged but
people also want the things of this world for their survival. Human body is the temple of the soul which should be cared for. The Muslim fundamentalists are already aware of and worried by this tendency. They used to blame Communism for spoiling the people with its philosophy of dialectical materialism, and capitalism for its loose lifestyle, unlimited freedom and corruption of morals.

**Decadence of Sharia Law**

In the early days of the rise of Islam Sharia law was quite a progressive legal system. Its schools had the freedom required for its development by interpretation, deduction and juristic preference, which gave rise to various schools of jurisprudence. One of these schools was that of Hanafia which was adopted in the Sudan in 1915. Section 15 of the Sudan Mohammedan Law Courts Organization and Procedure Regulation stipulates:

> Decisions of the Mohammedan law courts shall be in accordance with the authoritative doctrines of the Hanafia jurists except in matters in which the Grand Kadi otherwise directs in a judicial circular or memorandum in which case the decisions shall be in accordance with such other doctrines of the Hanafia or other Mohammedan jurists as are set forth in such circular or memorandum.

In the course of its development, however, the Sharia law became sacrosanct and therefore immutable. This was largely due to the rigid attitude of the successive Islamic rulers towards its nature as well as the disappearance of scholarly and competent Sharia law jurists. As a result of its stagnant state for many centuries Sharia law has become totally irrelevant to the conditions of the modern age and is fit only as a museum piece. The first Grand Kadi of the Sudan, Sheikh Mohamed Shakir has this to say in his report in 1902:

> What consoles me with regard to the stagnant state of the Mohammedan law in this country is the fact—deplorable though that fact be—that this state of stagnation is general throughout the Mohammedan world. And although for many centuries it has been the only law applied to the people, time has, on account of the failure of those in charge to administer it properly, necessitated the introduction of other codes. What renders this condition of things the more regrettable is the fact that some of the causes which have for long been undermining the stability of this law have become a part of its traditions, any digression from which would be regarded as a deviation from the Sharia law. Hence it is impossible for me to exaggerate the difficulties which obstruct the way of the reformer. Yet I hope that we may have a good opportunity in this country to improve this state of things and bring about an unprecedented epoch of advance in the history of reform.
The Sharia law is, indeed, an untenable legal system in the modern world and because of its rejection of change, it has remained a law for a primitive society, a relic of barbarism. It is a species of law that crucifies, amputates hands and legs, beheads with a sword and stones its victims to death at public gaze. It is a law that spurns the sanctity and dignity of the human body.

The Sharia law's penalties are hinged on the Mosaic law of retribution or “lex talionis” which espouses the principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth", and also the principle of "as ye sow so shall ye reap". The criminal, in this context, is seen as violating the natural order and this can only be restored by inflicting upon him the same degree of harm as he has done to another. "Retribution constitutes a classic case of the belief that, at least on occasions, two 'wrongs' make a 'right'." The advocates of the law of retribution argue that:

Although there exists a present tendency to criticize this view as being 'unscientific', and as appealing to the baser human motives such as vengeance, nevertheless, in its concern with a sense of balance and with letting 'the punishment fit the crime' it comes very close to many people's avowed or implicit notion of justice (Sudanow 8:1:8).

Sharia law's penal laws consist largely of Hadds which are defined as "specific penalties fixed with reference to the right of God or in other words, to public justice". The Hadds deal with such crimes as theft, adultery and alcohol. Some Muslim scholars think that: "Hadds cannot be enforced because of the difficulty or rather the impossibility of finding sufficient evidence to establish the commission of an offence as in the case of adultery, or because it was suspended as in the case of theft, or because it was not meant to be punitive as in the case of drinking alcohol". But under President Nimeiri's Sharia laws, imposed in 1983, the Hadd sanctions for theft were the amputation of a hand, while for armed robbery or repeated theft the victim's hand and foot were cut off (cross-limb amputation). In both cases the value of things stolen should not be less than £S 100! Under these laws theft meant stealing or robbing an individual's property. It did not include the theft, robbery or misappropriation of public property as the doer was deemed to have a share in such property (sharika). So the Hadd never applied to him. The penalty for possessing or drinking alcohol was flogging with 40 strokes of a whip and that of adultery was 80 lashes where the adulterer was unmarried. Should the adulterer be married the punishment was death by stoning. In all cases of adultery or fornication (zina), the evidence required four "reliable and respectable" eye-witnesses in order to secure a conviction. Of course, in Sharia law the crime of Zina is extremely difficult to prove as it requires that if two persons "were lying in bed together, they may be punished
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with thirty stripes; but actual Zina could be proved only by four honourable witnesses who not merely saw the guilty persons under the same coverlet but actually saw them in the act".

Defending the introduction of Hadd from a political and religious perspective, Sayed Hassan Ali Ahmed, a Supreme Court Judge and head of the Judiciary's Technical Office said:

No matter how harsh Hadd sanctions are, they are not comparable to the crimes of murder or robbery that breach the security of the people. The establishment of Hadd sanctions is equivalent to holy war and worship, and the Imam who establishes such sanctions should be supported by the people (Sudanow 8:11:8).

Since the introduction of Sharia laws and Islamic system of government, it has been the claim of the successive regimes in Khartoum that the South which is mainly Christian and "Pagan", is excluded from their application. As proof of this they point out the fact that the possession of and trade in alcoholic beverages are not prohibited in the South and that non-Muslim Southerners are allowed to hold public and constitutional posts in both the regional and central governments. But their claim is more apparent than real. Import licences for liquors have been cautiously curtailed and since there are no breweries in the whole Sudan, trade in liquors is calculated to die a quiet, natural death. Regarding public and constitutional posts, the fundamentalist regime is at present grooming certain Southern Muslims to take over those positions in the near future. In the Southern schools, the medium of instruction is now Arabic, and the teaching of Islamic religion has become compulsory. Many Islamic schools have sprung up all over the South and the Islamic missionaries are busy (with money) converting the Southerners to Islam. The codified Sharia law principles are being applied in the South as general laws of the country. If the South were excluded from the application of Sharia laws, then why should Islamic codes be applicable in its law courts?

Because of the decadence and incompatibility of Sharia law and Islamic theocracy in the present epoch many conscious Muslims plead that they should not be applied. They desire their religion to concentrate on the matters of faith rather than indulging in politics. They maintain that Islam did not have, "a special form of government which is the first pillar and essence of religion. Every government that satisfies the purpose for which it is founded — namely, public welfare — will be not only recognized but also blessed by religion".

According to these Muslims, Islam has the ability to achieve its objectives without being a system of government. In his book, "From Here We Start", Sheikh Khalid Mohammed Khalid wrote: "Religion alone without
a state is the force capable of awakening our conscience, of changing our hearts and fulfilling our spiritual needs. It is such a guidance to virtue through advice and conviction that is the message of Religion".

The above argument is not only sound but also it is true in every respect. As a matter of fact, Islam is such a powerful religion with such inherent virtues that if it is accorded a neutral and normal atmosphere to proselytize in the non-Muslim areas of the Sudan it would be difficult to exaggerate its success. During the normalization of politico-military tension in the South following the implementation of the Addis Ababa Accord (1972–1983), Islam started to gain roots slowly but firmly. But today it is looked upon by the Southerners as an instrument of Arab oppression because of the resumption of armed hostilities between the two parts of the country. Many of those who were converted to Islam reverted back to either Christianity or traditional religion.

Sharia law itself never claimed to have a ready made solution for every legal problem of the people. "... With the exception of the personal law and a few other matters (e.g. the prohibitions), the Islamic teachings contained only general principles, which are not specific detailed laws for a modern state to administer". Hence, Sharia law cannot be the general and sole source of laws in the Sudan. Nor is it necessary to apply it in a multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-religious state like the Sudan. Muslim fanatics in the Sudan, having lost all sense of patriotism, insist that it would be preferable for the Sudan to disintegrate than to abandon Islamic rule. So, let it be.
7. Conclusion

In his introduction to the book entitled, "Sudan, A Country Study", Harold D. Nelson cited an Arab proverb which says that "Allah laughed when he created Sudan. Another version insists that he wept". This is true as far as the horrid climatic conditions of the Sudan are concerned, but at any rate it was the colonizer who either laughed or wept when he created the Sudan in 1898 as a single polity comprising an unusually large territory and inhabited by discordant ethnic groupings with different cultural traits, creeds and outlooks. Politically, the Sudan's South and North are antipodes. The South is African, and Christian and looks to Black Africa for cultural inspiration and to the developed world for scientific and technological progress. The North is Arabized and Islamicized and looks to the Middle and Far East for cultural animation and to the developed world for scientific and technological progress. The North claims to be the majority and intends to swallow the South forcibly. Total Arabization and Islamicization of the Sudan are of cardinal importance to the Sudanese Arabs for the purpose of perpetuating Arab dominance and control. Islam would then be used to silence any dissenting voice against Arabism and Arab hegemony in the country. But this claim of being the majority is quite fluid as evidenced by events. After the popular uprising of April 6, 1985 which toppled Nimeiri and brought about the wind of freedom and democracy in the Sudan, the peoples of African origin in the North started to mobilize their ranks and files and declared, "we are not arabs but Africans". African, which previously was a shy-word in the Sudan, became a "pride-word".

Democracy has never been given a sufficient chance in the Sudan to prove who in fact is in the majority regarding the system of government, the Arabs or the Africans. Out of 36 years of Sudan's independence, the military have ruled for 25 years and the civilians for 11 scattered years. Aware of being in the minority the Muslim fundamentalists never dared to call for a referendum in respect of an Islamic state in the Sudan. They resorted to machiavellian means and ways of infiltrating and capturing the sovereign power in the country. Thus, in 1977, they infiltrated President Nimeiri's junta which culminated in their imposition of Sharia law upon the country in 1983; and in 1989 the Muslim fundamentalist elements in the armed forces staged a successful coup d'état and instituted an Islamic regime dominated and monopolized by the National Islamic Front.

We have seen from the preceding pages of this book that the suffering
of the Southern Sudanese people began in the 1840s when the first foreign intruder set foot on the soil of the South. The Turko-Egyptians pillaged them, enslaved them and oppressed them for nearly 40 years. Then in 1885 the Mahdiya stepped into the shoes of the Turko-Egyptians and the saga of the suffering of the Southern people continued unabated for another period of 13 years. During this period there was no country called the Sudan. When the Anglo-Egyptians came there was a relative thaw as they stamped out slavery and established an organized system of government which ruled according to law. During this period of about 68 years the battered population of the South began to grow once more. But at the end of their rule the Condominium government handed the South on a silver platter to their oppressors, the Arab North. This happened on January 1, 1956.

Properly speaking the Sudan, as a country, was the creation of the colonizing Condominium powers who ruled since 1898. Even today the Sudanese are not sure whether they have got the right name for their country. The Arabs in the North have questioned why they are called Sudanese when they are not in fact black. The Africans in the South challenged why they are called Sudanese when their part of the country has never been part of the geographical Sudan — a belt which stretches across Africa from Cape Verde on the Atlantic coast to the Red Sea between 10 degrees and 16 degrees North. During Nimeiri’s era an attempt was made to change the name from Sudan to something else. Sennar, the name of the capital of the Funj Black Sultanate came up but was later dropped. Instead the name Sudan was retained while deleting the definite article in order to differentiate between Sudan the Country and the Sudan the geographical region. This happened in 1975 but from that time until now the definite article is still being used by various writers and in official records. The main reason is that whereas it has been possible to delete the definite article of the English or other languages, it is not easy or possible to delete the Arabic definite article, "el" from the name Sudan.

The central, or perhaps the only, natural link between the South and the North is the White Nile which springs from Lake Victoria in East Africa, cuts across Southern Sudan leaving behind numerous rivulets, and joins the main Nile at Khartoum. This river has contributed a great deal to the present oppression and subjugation of the Southern people. Desperate for its water supply, the North and Egypt are determined to keep the Upper Nile Valley close to them. It was largely in order to appease Egypt that the Condominium powers conquered the South and kept it as part of the North and later surrendered it all together to the domain of the Arab world.

In 1970s Egypt in collaboration with the North commenced the digging of the Jonglei Canal in order to drain the vast swamp plain in the
South and channel the water to the North and Egypt. The Egyptian government is determined not to allow a hostile sovereign state to be established in the Upper Nile Valley. The Egyptians are contented with the power being exercised by the subservient, Arabized and Islamicized North whom they know how to manipulate and control. Perhaps the Egyptians are right; perhaps they are wrong in distrusting the Southern people. Perhaps they are not aware of the great respect which Southerners have for the historic and overbearing civilizations in Egypt considering them with pride as African and therefore their own. About one third of Southern intellectuals and other technical cadres were sponsored and trained by the Egyptian government in the Egyptian educational institutions during the period between 1972 and 1985. Perhaps they are afraid of having alienated the Southern people and rendered them hostile for their continual support of the North, militarily, economically and morally in its confrontation with South. But the world today is one of inter-communal interests which calls for mutual sharing, understanding and cooperation. Therefore, it would be indefensible for any sovereign power in the Upper Nile Valley to deny Egypt of its vital water supply just as much as the Egyptians are not entitled to exploit the resources in the region without consideration or return for the benefit of the local population.

The presence of the Nile in the Southern Sudan has posed a real danger to its people and indeed they have already paid dearly for it. This is why many Southerners nowadays propose that in the event of a free independent South the country would be named Nilia, and its citizens Nilians, in an eternal commemoration of their prolonged suffering while defending it and the entire land. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of the Southern population is either Nilotic or Nilo-Hamitic. Hence the suitability of the name. During Anya-Nya One, there was a government called the Nile Provisional Government headed by the veteran politician, Mr. Cordon Muortat Mayen.

Since independence the relations between the South and North have been founded on falsehood and deception. The mature and "sophisticated Northern politicians" have been in the habit of continually deceiving their immature, naive Southern colleagues. When the Southern politicians called for the federation between the South and the North as a means of securing special safeguards for the former, the Northern politicians assured them that the issue of federation would be given serious consideration immediately after the country had attained complete independence. This assurance never saw the light of day after independence as the Northern politicians told the Southerners pointblank that they had given the demand their serious consideration and found it not feasible. In 1972 President Nimeiri incorporated the Southern Provinces Self-government Act into the constitution as an organic law which was
not subject to amendment except under the amendment clause contained therein. But in 1982, he unilaterally scrapped the so-called organic law, saying that it was not a Bible or Holy Koran. At present, the military junta has come up with its system of federal state in the Sudan, but a casual glance at those states can show that the system is all garbage, worth nothing beyond big names and labels. The system is intended to hoodwink the Southerners that the federal system for which they stood for a long time has been accepted and granted to nationalities and regions in the country including the divided Southern Sudan.

However, when President Nimeiri annulled the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1982, Southerners took to arms to wage once more guerilla warfare. The people who took arms recognized that they were deceived most of the time in the past but now they have vowed never to be deceived again by their oppressors. They were joined by other oppressed peoples in the West and East as well as some of the leftist group in the North. They organized themselves in 1983 into the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement, Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA). These peoples represent the most powerful and determined indigenous ethnic groups in the Sudan. Their sole objective, according to the Movement's programme, was to fight for a new Sudan, a Sudan of every Sudanese and for every Sudanese where equality and progress would be guaranteed. Today, the tide seems to be moving away from the stance of a united Sudan towards self-determination for the now expanded South which includes the Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile which have rebelled alongside the South.

The Sudan, as it stands today, has clearly and definitely failed to form a united country. The proof of its failure as tested against historical events is beyond reasonable doubt. Since the eve of independence in 1955 until now it has been involved in an internecine civil war with itself. The brief period of relative normalcy which ensued between 1972 when the Addis Ababa Agreement was implemented and 1982 when it was scrapped could be seen as a lull in the process of the protracted state of war between the South and the North. Today the country is bleeding profusely as a result of the raging war between the South and the bloody Muslim fundamentalist regime in Khartoum. The fundamentalist regime has vowed to wage a Jehad against the South. But, at the end of the day, the Southerners are destined to win for no power under the sun can wipe out the will of a determined people, although it will be a very costly victory. The South will barely lose anything else except human lives and scarce property. There are no economic and development edifices in the South to be destroyed. Its fighters are not paid. The North, on the other hand, will lose human lives and its economy. It is using very expensive war materials — planes, tanks, heavy pieces of artillery and armoured vehicles which are very expensive to run. Furthermore, it is paying its sol-
diers very highly. Its economy is in a complete shambles. The money badly needed for development and social services in the North is being diverted to boost the war efforts in the South.

The unity of the country requires the union of the hearts of the bulk of its citizens. There must be an identification and balancing of communal interests and their protection by the state machinery. The enforcement of law alone, without subject people accepting it and abiding by it, is unworkable and can never bring about the unity of a country. Similarly, the sheer exercise of military muscles in order to maintain the unity of a country is the best and quickest way of disintegrating that country. The use of the disputed Sharia law and Jehad as the means of maintaining unity is what the fundamentalist junta is doing at present in the Sudan. The Muslim fundamentalists are convinced that unless they destroy and subdue the South completely, there shall be no Arabs and therefore no Arab influence in the Sudan. So it is either the Arabs destroy the South or quit the Sudan. They have no ideas of alternative solutions to the conflict. The propaganda that Southerners are waging a racial war against the Arabs in the Sudan is utterly false, groundless and malicious. Southerners never hated the Arabs as a people, what they are vehemently opposed to is their being oppressed in the name of Arabism and Islam. Arab and African cultures should be allowed to co-exist on equal footing in the Sudan.

Throughout the long years of civil strife in the Sudan, the ruling class had been recruiting persons of African origin to fight against the South saying, "let us fight the slaves using slaves". Thus, during Anya-Nya One the Nubas of Western Sudan were enlisted in the army in large numbers and sent to fight in the South. Moreover, it will be remembered that under the terms of the Addis Ababa Agreement 6,000 Anya-Nya officers and men were absorbed into the Armed Forces to be based in the South together with 6,000 officers and men from the North. When the civil war erupted again in 1982 the absorbed Anya-Nya forces remained intact, except for the garrisons of Bor and Ayod which mutinied in May and June 1983 respectively. This was largely due to poor co-ordination and orientation of those forces on the part of the rebel leaders who planned the resumption of hostilities between the North and South at that time. The Anya-Nya absorbed forces together with the Northern troops have been engaged in combat operations against the SPLA since 1982, and the ruling class in Khartoum has not hesitated in reminding the Southerners that it was a war involving the Southerners themselves. But now the military junta, distrustful of the capability and willingness of the regular army to crush the rebellion in the South, has formed the People's Defence Force recruited mainly from the Arab North. Towards the end of 1989, the junta announced that the size of the People's Defence Force was to be 1.5 million soldiers. This force is being carefully prepared and
groomed to replace the Sudan Armed Forces. It will be a Jihad Army to permanently maintain an Islamic State in the Sudan.

The threat to the New World Order and peace after the demise of the Soviet Communist Super Power is Islamic fundamentalism. Unless steps are taken promptly to curtail its spread, it will soon overthrow the conservative rulers in most of the Muslim countries in the East and install a system that will terrorize and destabilize the whole world using petro-resources and technology. Generally, Muslim fundamentalists have no respect for other people’s lifestyles and cultures except their own. Therefore, for the sake of peace and prosperity in the world, there is an urgent need to cut their size and level of activity to a normal capacity. The African people in the South while in the process of self-defence against the Islamic fundamentalists’ onslaught, are contributing towards curtailling this imminent threat to world peace and order. In the first days of their struggle many Southerners felt and believed that Northerners were invincible in their tenacity to hold to power, but at present this feeling has changed following the realization that the North is not as united and solid as it was thought to be. Its solidarity is cracking as many people of African origin are returning to where they naturally belong.

The current conflict in the Sudan can be construed within the context of a tug of war between the Arab Muslim fundamentalists and Africans. This does not mean that it is exactly a racial conflict, it is rather a conflict of cultural and political interests. Whereas the Arabs would want the Sudan to be an integral part of the Middle Eastern Arab world with only a lip service paid to Africa, the Africans would want it to be part of Africa South of the Sahara. Article I of the Constitution of Nimeiri’s defunct regime declared that the Sudan was "part of both the Arab and African entities". But Nimeiri’s public speeches often referred to Africa as "Our African Continent" and to the Arab world as "Our Arab Nation". Of course, these were not mere utterances; they were deeply reflected in government policies. It is worth noting that after the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of the Sudan the role of Egypt in the administration of the Sudan was rendered nominal. The real executive and functional colonial power in the Sudan was Great Britain. Egypt was totally unable to challenge her grip on the Sudan. So Great Britain, in annexing the South to the North against the will of its people, had committed a grievous mistake of dire consequences. Nevertheless, what matters most is not that a mistake has been made but rather the ability and willingness to correct it. This is particularly so because all human institutions everywhere and at any time are susceptible to making mistakes.

In British colonial Africa there are at least two places where mistakes occurred which have been or are being corrected. One of them is Zimbabwe where Great Britain surreptitiously provided a leeway for a small group of white people to make a unilateral declaration of independence.
Conclusion

But this was later corrected with the full intervention of Great Britain herself. The other place is South Africa where the colonial power withdrew in order to avoid the further escalation of the so-called Boer war, leaving the white minority South Africans to wield power to the total exclusion of the Black South African majority. But this mistake is also being corrected at present by means of tremendous pressures from the world community, Great Britain not being an exception. Therefore, in a similar way, it is hoped that Great Britain will spearhead the move to correct the mistake which occurred on the Sudan political arena and which has led to the long suffering of people in Southern Sudan. Something ought to be done to bring to a permanent end blood-letting and destruction in Southern Sudan. After all, the phenomenon of coercion, oppression and subjugation of man by man has gone with the collapse of socialist dictatorships in the Eastern world. The air of freedom and democracy has filled the world. Let the South benefit from its breezes in this epoch of the New World Order.

There is an impression permeating internal and foreign circles that Southern Sudan cannot constitute a viable state because of rampant tribalism. This is just malicious propaganda which the North has generated with a view to distorting world opinion so that the demand of the Southern people is not given serious attention. In the 1960s Sayed Sadig el-Mahdi endeavoured to explain to the world that it was in the best interests of the South to remain united with the North because its people are divided into mutually hostile tribes that could not form a nation-state. He added that Southerners were too backward to be left alone. This is not at all true. The Southern people are capable of forming a state which is as viable as any of the stable African states. In Southern Sudan there is less tribalism than in most black African countries. A quick glance at the development of Southern politics since independence can prove this point. When the political parties emerged after the collapse of the military regime in 1964 the President of the largest Southern party, The Southern Front, was Mr. Clement Mboro who hailed from the very small Ndogo tribe in Western Bahr el-Ghazal. His electoral constituency was Wau, the capital of the province, and he used to obtain landslide victories in the elections. He was appointed Minister of Interior in the Interim Civilian Government of Sirr el-Khatim el-Khalifa. In exile there were several prominent leaders like Mr. Aggrey Jaden, William Deng Nhial, Joseph Oduho and Gordon Muortat who belonged to different tribes. In 1972, General Joseph Lagu became the supreme commander of the Anya-Nya forces and president of the political wing, Southern Sudan Liberation Movement. General Lagu comes from the very small Madi tribe in Eastern Equatoria. After the Addis Ababa Agreement, Mr. Abel Alier, a Dinka by tribe, was installed to head the first interim High Executive Council with the full backing of the North. After the regional elec-
tions Mr. Abel Alier was elected as the President of the High Executive Council. When power slipped from Abel's hands it went to General Joseph Lagu. He was elected by representatives from all the tribes and areas of the South. The Madi tribe in the Sudan is so small that it could not make up a constituency by itself. After General Lagu, the next President of the Executive Council was Mr. Joseph Tambura, a Zande from Western Equatoria. He was opposed by Mr. Clement Mboro. Now where is tribalism in the South? Of course, the struggle for power between Abel Alier and Joseph Lagu was not without bitterness between them. There was talk of tribalism being involved.

On the contrary, it is the North which fans tribalism amongst the Southern people in order to divide them and to rule them without difficulty. The North used Lagu effectively to divide the Southerners in order to divide their part of the country into three weak regions in a blatant violation of the Addis Ababa Agreement. A Bari word, "Kokora" was coined and introduced into Southern politics in 1980. Then the phrase "Dinka Domination" appeared for the first time. Under the political agitation of Lagu, Equatoria tribes were made to rally behind Kokora, which means division of the South. Dinkas were the main targets in the Kokora campaign. Dinka is the largest single tribe in the whole Sudan but the majority of its members are never tribal minded. The North had wanted to impose redivision of the South in order to be able to implement Sharia law and introduce an Islamic state in the Sudan. But the redivision plan was made to look as if it was necessitated by tribalism. In a commentary which appeared in Sudanow, Vol. 8, No. 11 of November 1983, it was said:

The first steps towards Southern autonomy came with a form of government based on parliamentary practices and democratic elections. Although this was conceived as a way of genuinely bringing power to the people, yet the particular format implemented was found to contain inherent imbalances. The principal defect was that power was concentrated almost entirely in the hands of the majority, mainly pastoral tribes. This situation was especially galling to many of the minority peoples who were not only, on the whole, better educated, but also had been the first to become involved in the civil war. In the event their rewards fell short of their expectations by a large measure. After the experiences attendant upon decentralization in the North, it was natural to seek to apply the lessons learnt there to the South. Consequently, the recent policy of redivision has been aimed at giving a greater say in their own affairs to the minority tribes, and at the same time a fairer and more even distribution of the vast resources of the South has been sought.

The point above that Equatorian tribes are "better educated", is quite true. After the dismantling of the institutions of the regional government there was discovered to be a big surplus of qualified personnel from Equatoria who were left in the cold and jobless by redivision. The other
regions, Bahr el-Ghazal and Upper Nile, were found lacking in such skilled manpower. It was also found that developmental efforts were concentrated in the Equatoria region to the neglect of the other regions. Today, if one tries to find the vestiges of the Southern regional government in terms of infrastructure, one would find them in Equatoria and nowhere else in Southern Sudan.

The Southern people are one people in culture, way of life and in everything except the various languages that they speak. They are Black African people and they occupy a territory endowed with rich and varied resources. The largeness of their country contrasts conspicuously with their thin and scarce population. Once they shake off the yoke of foreign domination, they will not need anyone to tell them how they have to manage their affairs. African tradition of communal co-existence teaches us that the system of administration or government should be cradled on the cardinal principle of unity in diversity; i.e. every community is to have an inviolable right to manage its local affairs in accordance with its distinctive values, traditions and outlook. In the like manner, a sovereign power in Southern Sudan, would govern its people in a way that would enhance everything that unites the people and exclude everything that divides them. The universally recognized principle of the majority versus minority should not be used as an instrument of oppression and tyranny of minority groups. Love, fraternity, peace and unity would be the pillars of tolerance, co-existence and progress. Tribalists, whether in Bahr el-Ghazal, Equatoria or Upper Nile, would have no voice in this system of the union of hearts and will of people in the future independent Southern Sudan.
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*The Voice of the Southern Sudan*. Official Publication of SANU.
This book gives a vivid account of the political history of Sudan from 1821 to 1969. It clearly testifies to why Sudan is in reality two Sudans: the North and the South. The two differ in every substantive aspect: geographical, ethnic, cultural and religious. However, the two Sudans became one sovereign state by colonial default.

Since 1821 the Turko-Egyptian rule in Sudan has marked the particular historical events and developments that have sealed the fate of the Southern people until this day. From that time onwards Southern Sudan was laid bare to foreign intervention and influence. The Southern Sudanese experienced all kinds of exploitation including the slave-trade, subjection to alien cultures and religions, colonialism and finally outright annexation to the Arab North.

This foreign interference was, and still is, fiercely resisted by the Southerners. It is their protracted struggle the book purports to trace, analyse and evaluate. The analysis leads to the logical conclusion that, never having been one entity, the two Sudans will inevitably in the near future become separate, sovereign states.

Deng D.A. Ruay, born in 1949, graduated from the University of Khartoum with a Bachelor of Law degree in 1976, becoming an advocate in 1978. Through close association with the Sudan Council of Churches he became deeply involved in refugee work, both within Africa and internationally. Since 1986 he has been a member of The Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement/Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Army. Having lived in Sudan continuously until he fled the country in 1985, the author observed and experienced many of the political events unfolding in his country and therefore became motivated to write this book.

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