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SUDAN SCHOLAR HONOURED DURHAM D. LITT. FOR RICHARD HILL



Richard Hill immediately after the degree ceremony in Durham Castle courtyard on 2 July 1992

Richard Leslie Hill, internationally acclaimed historian of the Sudan, received an honorary D. Litt. degree from the Chancellor of Durham University, Sir Peter Ustinov, on 2 July 1992. By happy coincidence, his grand daughter, Katherine McManus, received her Durham BSc. in Geography on the same day. After working in the Sudan on the railways and as a lecturer in Khartoum, Richard Hill taught Near Eastern history at Durham between 1949-66. In 1957 he was one of those responsible for setting up the Sudan Archive which is housed in the University Library and maintained and developed it virtually single-handed until he retired in 1966. It is now the major collection for the study of the Condominium outside the Sudan. After retirement, he held visiting professorships at Santa Barbara, Vancouver and Kano.

From the time of his first appointment in the Sudan in 1927 until the present, Richard Hill has been actively engaged in research in Sudanese studies. This has resulted in a steady series of books of major importance starting with the Bibliography of the Anglo Egyptian Sudan published in 1939 and the Biographical Dictionary published in 1951 (2nd ed. 1967), ranging through seven further monographs, numerous articles - even now there is a book in the press. These publications and the Sudan Archive at Durham University are Richard Hill's lasting legacy to Sudanese studies.

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

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THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF SUDAN STUDIES

THEME: THE SUDAN: HISTORY, POLITY, AND IDENTITY, IN A TIME OF CRISIS.

Sudan Studies Association, with the Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum, and Sudan Studies Society of the United Kingdom.

The Third International Meeting of Sudan Studies will be held Thursday 21 April to Sunday 24 April 1994.

CALL FOR PAPERS:

Papers, Plenary Sessions, and Panels on this theme are particularly welcome but papers on other topics will also be considered, especially including literature, sciences, development, archaeology, human rights, agriculture, and other related topics. Regional specialists of bordering nations such as Ethiopia and the Horn are also welcome. Proposals are now being received.

The Conference will be centred at *The Mid-Town Hotel*, 220 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02115. Inside MASS. Phone: 617-262-1000, or outside MASS., 1-800-343-1177. \$82/room either single or double. Free parking. All participants should make their own reservations. The hotel will be the Conference information and meeting centre, but with additional events scheduled at the Museum of Fine Arts, Northeastern University, and Boston University.

Paper and Panel Abstracts Accepted Now, but are due: *30 November 1993*.

Camera-Ready Papers for Publication of Proceedings due: *31 December 1993*.

Sponsors: Sudan Studies Association; Sudan Studies Society of the UK, Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum

Local Arrangements: Boston University, African Studies Centre; Northeastern University, Program of African and Afro-American Studies; Rhode Island College, Program of African and Afro-American Studies; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Studies.

For information and suggestions for papers and panels contact:

SSA 1994 PROGRAM

c/o Program of African and Afro-American Studies

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FIRST ASAR CONFERENCE

90 YEARS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SUDAN

AFRICA CENTRE, LONDON
7 NOVEMBER 1992

The Association of Sudanese Academics and Researchers (ASAR - UK), which was formed in July 1992, held its first one-day conference on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the Gordon Memorial College (The University of Khartoum). The main hall of the Africa Centre, 38 King Street, Covent Garden, London, witnessed well researched papers and lively discussions from 10.30 a.m. to 6p.m.

The opening speech was delivered by Dr Khalid Al Mubarak, Secretary of ASAR-UK, followed by messages and greetings, the highlight of which was a short speech by Mr David Gordon-head of the Gordon family.

The keynote speech was delivered by Dr Peter Woadward of Reading University who taught in the Sudan in the 1960's (and was recently turned back from Khartoum airport despite the fact that he was given an entry visa by the Sudanese embassy in London).

The first session was chaired by Dr Zaki El Hassan of the University of Khartoum (Engineering). Two papers were presented. The first by Professor O.M. Osman -ex Vice-Chancellor of the University of Khartoum - on the influence of private education on the democratisation of Higher Education. The paper was written in Arabic and presented in Arabic by Dr B. Badri on behalf of Professor Osman who couldn't attend the conference. The chairman provided a summary in English. The second paper was by Mr S. Kaballu (National Council for Social and Economic Research - Sudan). It discussed the relationship of the professional labour market and the development of Higher Education.

Following a lunch break, the conference resumed its deliberations. The second session was chaired by Mr A.I. Diraige - Ex-MP and Ex-Governor of Darfur. Two papers were presented. The first by Dr P.N. Kok (University of Khartoum and Max Planck Institute in Hamburg) who flew from Germany for the conference. He discussed the concept of affirmation action in Higher Education in the Sudan.



He was followed by Dr Khalid Hussein Al Kid of the Ahlia University (who was imprisoned by the junta and released after an international solidarity campaign). His title was: Military Education in Sudan.

After a short tea break the third and last session started, chaired by Dr Alex de Waal - Associate Director of Africa Watch-UK. The first of three papers was presented by Dr A. Sid Ahmed (Middle East Centre - Cambridge University) who discussed forced Arabicisation. The same theme was addressed by Dr. W. Kuwawrang (University of Khartoum and Ex-Minister of Labour) who widened it to include Islamisation. The third paper was presented by Dr. M Mahmoud (Ex- Head of he Department of English, University of Khartoum). His title was: Islamisation of Knowledge.

Dr Ahmed El Bushra (University of Khartoum and Ex-Cultural Attaché - Sudan Embassy) rounded off the comments and discussion. In the end, the convenor of the Conference, Dr Khalid Al Mubarak, read out the suggested points for recommendations. They were complemented from the floor and adopted.

CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The overall standard of education in the Sudan has steadily declined. The country now lags behind most of the neighbouring states according to UN statistics. This is a reversal of the previous situation. Education now needs urgent attention.
2. The policy of compulsory Arabicization and Islamisation which is implemented by the military junta condemns those whose mother-tongue is not Arabic and those who are not Muslims to an inferior second-class status in their own country. This is not acceptable.
3. Academic freedom, freedom of research and publication are part of the common human heritage. They cannot be written off and discredited as “vestiges of colonialism” as the official media in Khartoum does.
4. It is appropriate - on the 90th anniversary of the Gordon Memorial College - to promote and uphold the principles of liberal democratic education. Such an education welcomes the formation of teaching staff and students’ organisations, preserves the autonomy of the university and rejects any ideologically motivated governmental indoctrination or meddling with the syllabuses and protects human rights within the universities and research centres.



5. The policy of dismissal, detention, and killing of students and teachers (which has become the order of the day since 30 June 1989) is designed to shake the very foundations of higher education and research.
6. The fundamentalist military government cannot spend lavishly on its senseless war in the South and have enough funds for education and research. Peace is a prerequisite for the development of the educational system in the whole country.
7. There is a discrepancy in the percentages of students enrolled in Higher Educational institutions in the Sudan. Students from the South and from the less developed regions of the North are not represented in any numbers which might reflect the weight of the population in the areas from which they come. This unfair state of affairs should be put right.
8. Stability and the development of higher education in the Sudan can only be guaranteed by giving due consideration and equal respect to all the country's languages, religions and cultures.
9. Upon the restoration of democracy, more attention should be given to the content of education - in order to encourage open-mindedness, tolerance and democratic worldviews.
10. More emphasis should be put on measures to emancipate women and ensure their full participation in Higher Education and Research as equals to men.
11. The protection of the environment is a top priority. The widespread use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides in the Sudan is harmful to the soil and to human beings. Researches should address this problem and seek alternatives.
12. Those who call for the 'return to the roots' should face the question "Which roots?". The Sudan has many roots. All are valid and indispensable.
13. The struggle for the restoration of democracy should not deteriorate into an effort to replace an ideologically motivated rule with another. Tolerance should be displayed after overthrowing of the Nazi-styled NIF fundamentalists. Over reaction can lead to a vicious circle.
14. Appropriate lessons should be drawn from the shortcomings of the past in order to restore a pruned democracy which suits the conditions of the country and is able to withstand pressures and challenges.



15. Institutions of higher education (state-run or private) should not be confined to the capital and its suburbs. All regions should have them.
16. ASAR-UK should carry on the Sudanese academic traditions of concern for public affairs. The “ivory tower” is no place for academics or researchers. It is their duty to contribute to the solution of the country’s endemic problems not only in their fields of specialisation, but in the wider issues which affect the present and future of the people.
17. Despite all its shortcomings, democracy didn’t fail in the Sudan. It was butchered. Academics and researchers should coordinate their efforts with all those who struggle for the restoration of democracy and the achievement of peace and ending of famine. A plan should be drawn in order to bring about development and equality in the distribution of national wealth and power in a united Sudan in which citizens are equal regardless of their language, religion, culture, geographical or ethnic origin.



THE GORDON MEMORIAL COLLEGE TRUST FUND

An early number of *Sudan Studies* carried a note about the Trust and invited donations. Since that note and appeal appeared in 1987, the Trust has continued to give the best support it can to Sudanese education, a task that has been made more complex with the changing educational circumstances as well as policies of recent years. 1992 is an appropriate year to renew the appeal, since it is the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of the Gordon Memorial College (now the University of Khartoum) for the establishment of which the Trust was first set up by Lord Kitchener In 1898.

In the University of Khartoum the Trust has a number of continuing links, especially with the Faculty of Medicine (for which there is also a separate smaller fund which benefits the Kitchener School of Medicine). In addition to Khartoum University the Trust has assisted some of the newer universities, such as the University of Gezira and the private Ahlia University in Omdurman founded by the late Professor Mohammed Omer Beshir. The Trust has also given special help in emergencies such as the famine in 1985 when it supported the work of medical students in the camps for displaced persons, and 1988 when it helped to rehabilitate the Faculty of Medicine following the severe flooding.

As well as these institutional and general beneficiaries, the Trust has also supported individual Sudanese students and academics coming to Britain. While funds do not stretch to full funding for any Sudanese students on degree courses in Britain, a number of students here have been helped by the Trust, though requests far outstrip resources, alas. Staff from Sudan have also been assisted for short courses and sabbaticals in Britain.

The Trust's income is derived from the interest on its capital of some £325,000 which is managed for it by the Bank of England. The level of income is modest, the actual amount varying from year to year depending on factors such as the rate of interest (the Bank of England makes no charge, and the Trustees are most grateful for its help). The calls on the



Trust have risen substantially in recent years, both from within Sudan and from Sudanese in Britain, and far outstrip current income. The Trust would therefore be most grateful for any donations or bequests to enable it to extend its work: anyone wishing to contribute or who would like more information about the Trust is invited to contact the Chairman, Peter Woodward, 36 Betchworth Ave. Reading RG6 2RJ, or the Secretary, Peter Davis, 9 Dixon Rd, London SE14 6NW.

The following letter, dated 4th December 1992, has been received from W.K.R. Hallam, P.O. Box 760, Jos, Nigeria:

Dear Sir,

I am currently researching the early life of Rabih ibn Fadl ‘Allah (also written as Rabi, Rabeh and Rabah), one of Zubair Pasha’s banner leaders who is mentioned in the writings of Slatin and Gessi among others and who later invaded the Chad Basin.

I wonder if any SSSUK members have any information concerning Rabih or can suggest any sources in the Sudan or Egypt. Members of Zubair’s family are said to be residing in Cairo.

Many years ago a messenger in the Provincial Office in Maiduguri (Nigeria), told me that a ‘brother’ of Rabih was working at Khartoum Airport. Does anyone know anything of this?

Any information whatsoever will be most gratefully received and acknowledged.

Yours faithfully,

W.K.R. Hallam



DR. NORMAN DANIEL CBE

Many citizens and friends of the Sudan who remember the sixties will recall with respect and, in frequent cases, affection, Norman Daniel, British Council Representative from 1962 to 1969, who passed away on 11 August 1992.

Working for an organisation which is represented in nearly a hundred countries of the world, he managed to spend the whole of his service outside Britain in the Arab and Muslim world. Beginning as a young Assistant Director of the long-defunct British Institute in Basra, he subsequently served in the Lebanon, the Sudan and Egypt, from where he finally retired but did not withdraw, spending much of the year in his house in the grounds of the Dominican monastery in Cairo, the city which he regarded as his second, or even first home.

I had the privilege of working as a member of his team at the British Council in Cairo and subsequently followed in his footsteps to Khartoum. I remember him as a warm-hearted, intensely committed leader who put the interests of the country in which he was serving to the fore and who at times fought tenaciously with colleagues in London to defend and promote those interests. Yes, he could be a cantankerous colleague who would reject out of hand what one might regard as a sensible suggestion but who would give you a ring a couple of hours later, inviting you up to his office to discuss your proposal which, once he had grilled you and convinced himself of its worth, he would eventually accept and support.

Often without access to primary source material in his postings overseas, he sustained his international reputation as an academic. After a gruelling day's work followed by a busy social programme, the rest of us would retire to bed, knowing that Norman would still be working away at his typewriter and be capable of arriving fresh and only a little late at the office the next morning.

Above all I remember him as a man who loved the Arab world and who, as a devout Catholic, sought to bring together Christian and Muslim. Of all the books which he wrote, perhaps the most seminal was his *Islam and the West*, an erudite but immensely readable introduction for the occidental reader to Islam and to the interface between Islam and Christianity.

But Norman was particularly concerned with bidirectional communication. I remember him leading and participating in ecumenical, trans-religion seminars in Alexandria, seeking to bridge the gap between Muslim and Christian and his wide range of friends transcended doctrinal divergence.

He had left the Sudan over a decade before my arrival. And yet, in spite of the passage of time, it was quite startling how many people recalled him and his wife, Ruth, with genuine affection and respect.

Nowadays, at a time when hardened orthodoxies and tunnel vision threaten to sever the dialogue between communities of equals which Norman Daniel sought to foster, the most positive tribute which those who remember him could give to a man who sought through knowledge and scholarship to bridge differences of culture and faith would be to sustain that dialogue. And this, surely, is one of the principal aims of our Society.

Miles Roddis (British Council, Cairo, 1970-75 and Khartoum, 1982-85. Latterly, British Council Director, Jordan, 1988-92).



BEYOND THE SUDAN ARCHIVE: A GUIDE TO DOING RESEARCH ON THE SUDAN IN DURHAM by Heather J. Sharkey

The Sudan Archive at the University of Durham represents an invaluable resource for scholars concerned with the Sudan. Indeed, each year researchers come to the Archive from all over the world. Because they are often unaware of the breadth of the university's Sudan collection, however, many leave without having fully tapped the available resources. By presenting a rough guide to the full range of the university's rich and diverse Sudan-related holdings, including those which fall outside the Archive, this article hopes to assist future researchers in their endeavours.

The University Library:

Its Sites and Collections

Durham University Library is spread between several sites. Sudan-related material is concentrated at two of these: the Main Library at Stockton Road and the Palace Green Section. The Sudan Archive is housed at the Palace Green site along with other archival collections and the Library's special collections of manuscripts and early printed books. A number of these collections contain material of interest to the student of the Sudan. First, however, a quick update on the Sudan Archive itself may be of use.

Palace Green Library:

The Sudan Archive: An Update

Scholars interested in doing research at the Archive will find very useful the [Summary Guide to the Sudan Archive](#), first published by the University Library in 1991. The guide describes each collection in a few lines, giving a concise career summary for a particular individual and specifying the nature of the materials involved (e.g., private correspondence, official reports, maps, photographs, and the like). The Library intends to update the Summary Guide frequently. In fact, the September, 1992 edition incorporates descriptions of more than a dozen new collections, including, for example, Ian Cunnison's photographs of the Baqqara; H. Ferguson's papers on agricultural research and even the BBC's 1991 documentary "Anatomy of a Famine". The guide costs £2 (payable by sterling cheque or international money order). Address requests to Assistant Keeper [Archives & Special collections], Palace



Green Library, University of Durham, Durham DH1 3RN, England. Likewise, scholars planning to visit the Archive should first write to the Assistant Keeper at the above address.

For a concise description of the range of subjects covered in the Archive (e.g., law, irrigation, public works, education, etc.) see L.E. Forbes, “The Sudan Archive, Durham, as a Source for the Study of Modernization in the Sudan,” in Modernization in the Sudan: Essays in Honour of Richard Hill, Ed. M.W. Daly (New York: Lilian Barber Press, 1985), pp. 163-72. On the history and development of the Archive itself, see Lesley Forbes, “The Sudan Archive of the University of Durham,” in Middle East Studies and Libraries, Ed. B.C. Bloomfield (London: Mansell, 1980), pp. 49-57. See also Gillian Grant, Middle Eastern Photographic collections in the United Kingdom (Durham: Middle East Libraries Committee), 1989, pp. 53-58 regarding the Archive’s photographic materials.

Palace Green Library:

The “Grey” Literature Collection Relating to the Sudan

A particularly valuable and rather under-exploited resource is the extensive holdings of “grey” literature. Some of these materials are technically part of the Sudan Archive, while others have been collected by the Library since 1966 under the Standing Conference on Library Materials on Africa (SCOLMA) scheme.

“Grey” literature is a category which is recognizable but difficult to define. One might almost say that it constitutes a group of semi-published materials: reports, pamphlets, periodicals, etc., issued for members, employees, or supporters of a wide range of institutions and organizations—churches, government ministries, companies, clubs, and the like. Much of it is ephemera, and copies are in consequence extremely rare. It provides a veritable grab-bag of obscure source materials which are the historian’s delight.

The materials are so diverse that they defy generalization. There are some excellent maps (such as “Bartholomew’s War Map of the Sudan” [1885] and the “Provisional Map of Khartoum City, Khartoum North, and Omdurman” [circa 1905]), as well as a great deal of printed matter on off-beat topics—such as, for example, a report on onion production in the Sudan, written by the Onion Consultant of the American Agency for International Development, or a study on the ticks (*ixodoidea*) of the Sudan, written under the auspices of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories. There are tourism brochures from the 1930’s, annual reports from a host of government departments, university calendars and statistics, railway timetables, directories of government employees, a copy of the 1952 Constitution,



and slews of old articles (many being reprints) on everything under the sun-climatology, botany, medicine, the status of women, archaeology, and more. There is a particularly strong collection of ethnological articles. A few files contain the publications of missionary groups (with much of it written in Italian). One can flip through the Sanitary Department's tiny leather-bound volume called Hospital Pharmacopoeia(1905), and thereby teach oneself how to say "copper sulphate" in Arabic; peruse a volume of the Colonial Office's Correspondence Relating to Affairs in Somaliland or scan through a booklet on the 1949 rules and by-laws of the Sudan Club of Khartoum. The possibilities are endless.

Stored here, too, are volumes of a number of journals:

Sudan Law Journal and Reports (1956-71); The Sudan Chamber of Commerce Journal (1950-55); The Messenger, produced by the Catholic Church of Wau (1969-83); Egypt and the Sudan Diocesan Review (1924-44) and The Sudan Diocesan Review (1949-73).

Of particular interest to historians and other social scientists are a number of valuable official sources. These include The Sudan Government Gazette (1899-1955), continuing as The Republic of the Sudan Gazette (1956-75)-listing new laws, ordinances, and proclamations; Reports on Egypt and the Soudan (1899-1920); Reports of the Jonglei Investigation Scheme; Reports of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories (c. 1911); Sudan Intelligence Reports, Nos. 1-60 (1892-1898); and Staff Diary and Intelligence Reports (1889-92).

The bulk of this material is housed in an area where readers may browse, adjacent to the Archives and Special Collections Reading Room at Palace Green. A rudimentary catalogue is available. More materials await cataloguing behind the scenes, but can be accessed with the help of the library staff.

Also available at Palace Green for the quick-reference needs of Sudan Archive users is a small collection of basic reference works and standard historical texts on the Sudan. One can refer, for example, to Hill's Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan, Wehr's Arabic dictionary, Sudan almanacs going as far back as 1888, the papers of the 1991 Sudan Studies Conference, Gordon's journals, and so forth.

Palace Green Library:

Rare Books on the Sudan

Within the collections of early and rare printed books at Palace Green are numerous travel accounts which yield many insights into the history and culture of the Sudan and Egypt.



Though the university's holdings are by no means comprehensive in this regard, one can nonetheless find several of the most famous and historically valuable sources on the region. Among them are W.G. Browne (1799); James Bruce (1790); John Lewis Burckhardt (1819); Dr. Richard Lepsius (1853); G.A. Hoskins (1935); G. Belzoni (1820); George Molly (1851); Eduard Rüppell (1829); Ferdinand Werne (1852); G.B. English (1822); Wilhelm Junker (1890-92); and Frederick Lewis Norden (1757). There are also guide-books for travellers, such as E.A.W. Budge's The Nile: Notes for Travellers in Egypt and in the Egyptian Sudan (London, 1907), and Karl Baedeker's Egypt and the Sudan: Handbook for Travellers (Leipzig, 1908). Copies of the Sudan Almanac from 1885 up to 1970-71 are also housed here, as are the 1902-13 volumes of the Sudan Government's Reports on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of the Sudan. Among these printed collections at Palace Green can also be found several fairly recent PhD theses on the Sudan, which have been done for other universities but which authors have presented to the library.

Citations for Palace Green Library's early books are generally not yet available on the library computer database. Readers can find precise references by looking through the older sheaf catalogues for rare Oriental Books; the librarians are always very happy to assist readers in this process. One may read these books in the same room where one examines Sudan Archive files.

Travel-account enthusiasts may also be interested to know that the library of Durham Cathedral (which is adjacent to Palace Green Library) holds a copy of George Waddington & the Rev. Barnard Hanbury's 1822 narrative, Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia, in which they describe their journey through the northern Sudan during the course of the Turco-Egyptian conquest.

Palace Green Library:

Abbas Hilmi II Papers

Another important resource is the Abbas Hilmi II Papers, which the Mohamed Ali Foundation deposited on loan to the university in 1980. Abbas Hilmi II, the great-great-grandson of Mohamed Ali, became Khedive of Egypt in 1892. The papers cover the period of Abbas Hilmi II's Khedivate (1892-1914), and continue after his deposition in 1914 until his death in 1944. There are documents written in French, Arabic, German, English, and Ottoman Turkish.



Obviously, the Abbas Hilmi II papers are of most value to scholars interested in Egypt. They cover political issues such as the Egyptian nationalist movement, Egyptian relations with Britain and Turkey, etc. They contain documents relating to the khedive's own estates, property, business interests and investments. They also contain correspondence from the khedive's family and friends, from diplomats, and others. Among the khedive's papers, for example, are letters from such luminaries as Mustafa Kamil, Nubar Pasha, Muhammad Abduh, Ahmad Shawqi, and many, many others.

A small number of documents provide information on the Sudan. These deal with subjects such as Britain in the Sudan and Egypt, and the Frontier Incident of 1894. There are also some telegrams sent by British military leaders between Egypt and the Sudan.

A summary list entitled Papers of Abbas Hilmi II (1874-1944) is available for £5 from the Assistant Keeper [Archives and Special Collections], Palace Green Library, University of Durham, Durham DH1 3RN, England. Researchers may also enquire about accessing microfilms of the papers by inter-library loan.

Palace Green Library:

The Karl Grey Papers and the Malcolm MacDonald Papers

As of Autumn, 1992, the papers of the Grey family and of Malcolm MacDonald (which were formerly housed in 5, The College-within the Cathedral close) have been relocated to Palace Green. These two collections have some materials which might be of interest to the researcher studying the Sudan.

A small number of documents (letters, reports, and the like) on Egypt and the Sudan may be found in the papers of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Earl Grey. One file from the papers of the 2nd Earl Grey contains documents dating from 1804 to 1833, dealing with such topics as Muhammad 'Ali, Ibrahim Pasha, British and French policy towards Egypt, Egyptian relations with the Sublime Porte, and so on. One file from the papers of the 3rd Earl Grey contains newspaper cuttings (including letters to the newspaper by Grey) and reports dating roughly from 1882 to 1888, and dealing with British policy in Egypt, notes on Gordon and the Mahdists, the defence of Suakin, and the prospects of gaining Suakin and the Eastern Sudan as part of the "scramble" for Africa. The papers of the 4th Earl Grey contain only a small file on Egypt, dating from the late 1870's, including, for example, a report on "Egypt, Nubar Pasha, and the Khedive" (1876).



The papers of John, 1st Viscount Ponsonby comprise part of the Grey family collections. Ponsonby was the British ambassador at Istanbul from 1833 to 1841. His papers include numerous letters, reports, and the like which deal with the “Eastern Question,” Muhammad ‘Ali’s designs on Syria, Egyptian-Ottoman relations, and more. Few documents relate to the Sudan specifically, with the exception of a report on the slave hunts of Egyptian soldiers in the Sudan, and on the desirability of stopping them.

The Grey family papers also contain a series of photographs from the papers of Lord Cromer. One group within the collection is of special value to those interested in the Sudan, and this is a series of sixty black & white photographs of the White Nile and its tributaries, taken in September, 1903. A number of the pictures are quite beautiful, with good, strong detail. A hand-list of captions accompanies them. For example, the photographs depict Shilluk and Dinka men, a sudd-cutting party near Bor, the wives of the Uganda soldiers at Gondokoro, landscape views of the Bahr al-Ghazal, village scenes, and more.

Another collection which has been housed, until recently, at 5, The College is the MacDonald papers. Malcolm MacDonald held many posts throughout his career, including those of Governor, Governor-General, and subsequently High Commissioner of Kenya in the 1960’s. His papers cover events throughout Africa (including some on the Sudan) as a whole during the 1960’s, and in the 1970’s after his retirement, when he travelled extensively within the continent. Unfortunately, the Foreign & Commonwealth Office of the British government deemed many of these documents to be politically sensitive and therefore withdrew parts of the collection. They will be returned and made available for researchers once the 30-year rule runs out, or until the government considers it proper to return certain sensitive documents.

Researchers interested in consulting any of these papers should write to: Archives and Special Collections; Palace Green Library, University of Durham, Durham DH1 3RN, England.

Main Library:

Books

The main university library, located within walking distance of Palace Green Library, holds in its loan stock a superb collection of published sources on the Sudan, which were moved from their former site at the School of Oriental Studies in 1988. Many books acquired after 1975 are catalogued in the library’s computer data-base, though references to many earlier sources occur only in the main bound [sheaf] catalogues.



A wide and very impressive array of books (in English, Arabic, and a few European languages) is available on the Sudan, complementing the materials in the Archive. Visiting researchers can easily refer to texts on law, ethnographic studies, agricultural projects, hydrology, history (of all periods, local as well as general), and the like. Numerous nineteenth-century accounts comprise part of the loan stock, such as Casati (1891); Cuny (1863); Pallme (1844); Ensor (1881); al-Tunisi (Paris, 1851 and Cairo, 1965 editions); Schweinfurth (1873/1969); Petherick (1861); and others. Strongly represented are accounts of and studies on the Mahdiya, the career of Gordon, southern Sudanese history, the North-South conflict, and, of course, the Condominium. Similarly, key texts on a par with Tabaqat Wad Dayf Allah and the Ratib of the Mahdi are on the shelves. There are biographies, almanacs, and PhD theses as well.

Those interested in literature and language can benefit from a broad variety of sources at their disposal. The university has a strong collection of modern Arabic novels, including a number by Sudanese authors. Classified with materials on Arabic dialects are texts relating to the Sudanese colloquial. Some of these are of as much historical as linguistic interest, such as V.L. Griffith & Abdel Rahman Ali Taha's Sudan Courtesy Customs: A Foreigner's Guide to Polite Phrases in Common Use amongst the Sophisticated Arabic-Speaking Population of the Northern Sudan (1936). The main library is also in the process of amalgamating and re-classifying its resources on [non-Arabic) Sudanese languages-dictionaries, grammar studies, song-books, readers, and the like. They cover a host of languages: Shilluk, Bongo, Nuer, Dinka, Nile Nubian, Berta, Ban, Zande, Tumtum, the Beja languages....and the list goes on.... While a number of these linguistic studies are barely off the press, a few are rare nineteenth-century [German] texts.

A word of warning for archaeologists: while the university owns many texts on Meroitic/Nubian studies, they are scattered throughout the main library-in both the Oriental and the Dewey classification (with the books in the latter system being found either with ancient history or archaeology materials). Library staff are always willing to de-mystify the process of locating books for any interested scholars.

Main Library:

Newspapers, Periodicals, Reference Materials, and Pamphlets

Although the university does not currently subscribe to any Sudanese newspapers, it does nonetheless have a very small collection of assorted newspaper back-issues. Its best runs are



of Ra'y al-'amm (1964-69); Sudan Times (1987-89); and Nile Mirror (some from the 1970's, some from the 1980's). It also has various issues (i.e., broken runs or a number of copies) from the following: Morning News (1960's) Sudan Daily (1960-61); Sudan News (1970's); Sudan Standard (1970's); and al-Sahafa (1985).

Arabic-speaking visitors can choose to read up-to-date copies of Al-Ahram (Cairo), Al-Arab (London), or Al-Nahar (Beirut), to which the library subscribes.

The Main Library also subscribes to a few Sudan-related periodicals. On the shelves are unbound [recent] issues of The Ahfad Journal (1985-), Sudan Notes and Records (1978-), Sudan Studies (1987-), and Sudan: Country Profile [annual report published by The Economist Intelligence Unit].

Many other older, bound periodicals are also available. The university holds the following in their collection: Notes and Records (1918-); Sudan Texts Bulletin (1979-85); Sudan Society (1962-72); Sudan Journal of Administration & Development (1966-76); Quarterly Economic Review: Sudan (1974-); Bank of Sudan: Foreign Trade Statistical Digest (1965-73); Bank of Sudan: Annual Report (1967-73); Bank of Sudan: Economic & Financial Bulletin (1968-74); Sudan Medical Journal (various volumes 1952-68); Grass Curtain (1970-72); Al-Fair (1934-35); and Bulletin of Sudanese Studies (1969-73).

Although the library possesses many useful reference materials, newcomers often have a difficult time finding them, due to the idiosyncratic classifying system applied to Oriental books. Thus the following summary of pertinent reference materials, with their call numbers, may prove useful. One can find a small but strong collection of Sudan-related bibliographies at Ref/PK1605. The old and new versions of The Encyclopaedia of Islam are at Ref/PK2250. A valuable series of reference materials on Africa-including bibliographies, lists of Africa-related theses, guides to international archives, and the like-are in the obscure PRA 100-800 sequence, gradually being re-reclassified into the Dewey sequence. Another critical research tool for the visitor may be 'Awn al-Sharif Qasim's Sudanese colloquial dictionary, Qamus al-Lahjah al-'Amiyah fi al-Sudan (Khartoum, 1972), at Ref/PJ6799.

Researchers may also be interested in the main library's file of Sudan-related pamphlets, covering a variety of subjects: Port Sudan, the Rahad Irrigation Project, the selected speeches of Joseph Lagu, and more.



Centre for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies:

The Documentation Unit

The Centre for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies basically functions as the university's Arabic department: the present incarnation for this subject area of the former School of Oriental Studies. It also contains another major, if little-known, research facility, and that is the Documentation Unit-official publications from and studies on the Middle Eastern countries over the past twenty-five or so years.

Its collection on the Sudan is quite impressive. Those who stand to benefit most are scientists, political scientists, economists, historians, and sociologists. Many if not most of the documents come from official organizations, such as the government of the Sudan, the United Nations, the EEC, and the U.S. government. They consist of statistical studies, annual reports (of ministries and the like), speeches, and so forth. Yet there are also some articles, conference papers, and books. Most materials date from around 1970 and continuing through to the present.

The Documentation Unit's Sudan materials cover the following topics: meteorology; forestry; desertification; geography; hydrology/water management; marine resources; mineral resources; pest control; agriculture (e.g., food production, livestock, development); administration (e.g., budgets, North/South; prisons); civil service; decentralization/southern regional autonomy; government pronouncements (including many, many speeches by Numayri); international relations (e.g., the Sudan vis-a-vis the U.S.A., Saudi Arabia; Palestine; the UN; the EEC); political parties; refugees; aid (e.g., from the UN, Lutheran World Federation); banking; national budget; communications; economy; education (vast amounts of educational materials); employment; energy; health; income distribution; industry (e.g., oil, fishing, food, manufacturing); manpower; law; migration; nutrition; planning (e.g., regional, rural, urban); population; social problems (e.g., crime, poverty); social services; taxation; tourism; international trade; transport (e.g., air, railways, roads); and religious culture.

Those who are interested can arrange for the Centre to perform a computer search on their subject of interest (relating specifically to the Sudan, or more generally to a few other or all of the Middle Eastern countries). There is a standard charge of £10 for up to twenty pages of output, and thereafter ten pence per page [plus postage & packing]. One can also obtain photocopies of specific documents subject to copyright restrictions and technical constraints. Any scholars interested in either doing research at the Centre or in requesting a computer



search should first write to: Information Officer; Centre for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies; University of Durham; South End House; South Road; Durham City DM1 3TG, England.

The Documentation Unit also subscribes to a few journals which may interest those who are researching at the Sudan Archive. Aside from the SSSUK and SSA newsletters, the Unit also receives SUDANOW (since 1976), Jeune Afriaue (since 1971), the UN Chronicle, Amnesty International Newsletter (in English and Arabic), and dozens of journals relating to the Middle East in general and to specific Middle Eastern countries in particular.

The Centre has also recently published the first volume of papers from the 1982 Durham Sudan Historical Records Conference, entitled The Condominium Remembered-Volume 1: The Making of the Sudanese State. The volume divides the contributors' papers into sections on administration, law, defence, and the transfer of power. Copies of this first volume are available for £12.50 (plus £1 postage for residents of the UK, and £2 for overseas residents). Once again, those interested should write to the Information Officer at the address above.

Durham's attraction to those who are interested in the Sudan goes far beyond Condominium-era history. Its holdings of potential research materials sweep from the late eighteenth century through to the present, and stand to benefit social scientists pursuing a great range of topics.

Books and documents are not meant to be left asleep undisturbed on the shelves: they are meant to be read and used for the propagation of further knowledge. Many of Durham University's Sudan-related resources have slumbered on the shelves for far too long. Thus the very hopeful goal of this article, in summarizing Durham's resources beyond the Archive, has not only been to suggest a broader scope of possibilities for visiting researchers. Its added aim has been to help in boosting the future dissemination of studies on the Sudan as a whole.

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AL-MAHDI'S NEW PEACE INITIATIVE FOR THE SUDAN

Ismail H. Abdalla

The college of William and Mary, Virginia

The ex-prime minister and the leader of the banned Umma party, Sayyid Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi, has recently come up with a new program for national reconciliation in the Sudan. News has it that Al-Mahdi has already presented his new program to the junta in Khartoum, and has also circulated copies of the same to many political leader, in and outside the country. Extracts of this proposal were published in Al-Sharq Al-Awsat newspaper of October, 9, 1992.

Al-Mahdi criticized both the current government in Khartoum and the SPLA/SPLM for the failure of the Abuja peace talks. According to him, the government representatives to the negotiations lacked experience and commitment, while they failed to take into account the new development, on the international scene. He points out that the government negotiators saw the problem as a duel between two combatants in the military field, and not as an issue of economic development or governance in the country. He also stressed the fact that the government lacks any mandate to negotiate with southerners, since it is dominated by a small faction, the National Islamic Front.

He also criticized the SPLA/SPLM for the Movement's inability to free itself of what Al-Mahdi calls "adherence to a single interpretation of the history of slavery in the Sudan that puts all the blame on the Northern Sudanese alone." For him, the heinous trade in people was a dark page in humanity's past in which many individuals took part, including southerners. Al-Mahdi also claims that the SPLA / SPLM is wrong to insist that the isolated incident, in which some tribal elements enslaved a few southerners were part of general policy on the part of Khartoum governments. According to al-Mahdi, these unfortunate incidents, which were



by no mean, limited to Sudan, were against the law of the land, and should be seen a. indicative of the primitive circumstances in which these elements lived, rather than as a trait of all northerners.

Al-Mahdi then goes on to admit that northerners have committed grave injustices against southerners. These include:

1. reneging on the promise of federalism after independence.
2. indiscriminate violence against southerners, particularly the educated.
3. forcefully converting southerners to Islam and Arabacizing them during Abboud's regime.
4. unilaterally abrogating the Addis Ababa Agreement.
5. the 1988 (1989) coup that aborted the serious endeavour to reach a new agreement with the south.

Al-Mahdi states also that southerner, committed atrocities against northerners, and were politically not forthcoming in certain historical moments. For example:

- a) indiscriminate killing of innocent northerners during the 1955 mutiny of southern troops.
- b) failure of the Anya Nya take seriously the Khartoum Round Table conference of 1965.
- c) the indifference of the SPLA / SPLM toward the popular uprising of April, 1985.
- d) The SPLA / SPLM alliance with the totalitarian regime in Ethiopia instead of cooperating with democratic administrations in Khartoum after 1985.
- e) finally, treating all Khartoum governments as if they were monolithic.



Al-Mahdi goes on to say that most of these shortcomings occurred during dictatorial regimes in the Sudan. Nevertheless, the northern leadership is not blameless, particularly in the area of determining Sudanese identity. Al-Mahdi believes that northern leaders consistently pushed the Sudan toward identifying with the Islamic and Arab world while ignoring or marginalizing non-Arab groups in the Sudan. Even when some of these leaders finally concluded that that policy was wrong, very little was done to redress the bias toward the Arab and Islamic world. This was, also true in the area of economic and social development throughout the country, which was eschewed in favour of developing the riverain centre. The northern leadership has also failed to equitably divide senior posts in the land among all Sudanese, regardless of race or religion.

In the end, Al-Mahdi raises several key points for his proposed reconciliation agenda:

- 1) Sudan is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural entity where interrelationships among groups must be built on tolerance, mutual understanding, and where rights of citizenship must be guaranteed and protected.
- 2) To safeguard the rights of every ethnicity in the Sudan, an agreed-upon charter should be formulated.
- 3) Sudan must be a democratic country based on non-central administration, the nature and the form of which should be determined by the people themselves. (regional government, Federal administration, or confederacy).
- 4) The legislative body must be a democratic institution, and every ethnic group reserves the intrinsic right to adopt whatever “legislative program” it desires, provided that:
 - a. human rights are maintained and protected, and
 - b. non-centralism is adopted.



- 5) governance in the Sudan must protect basic human rights, must be democratic and must avoid all the pitfalls that marred the democratic experiences in the past.
- 6) development in the Sudan must aim at achieving a balanced and equitable economic and social development, with especial attention to development in the war-torn regions in the country.
- 7) guidelines regarding recruitment of personnel to the civil service, the army and the security forces must be revised with the aim of balancing merit with fairness to the disadvantaged.
- 8) Sudan must follow a foreign policy which respects all international conventions and treaties and which is tilted neither toward the Arab nor the African world.

Al-Mahdi thinks that such a program, after being accepted by politicians of all persuasions and affiliation, must be endorsed by all Sudanese in a national referendum. Any group which rejects the national charter so designed and endorsed may then opt to secede, but only if two thirds of that group so determines.

I must admit that this a very rudimentary rendition of Al-Mahdi's new initiative, since I have not seen the original Arabic document itself and have depended on the summary provided in the newspaper; Al-Sharq Al-Awsat.

Still, the points raised here are extremely important, having come from a key player in Sudanese politics. Of course, one can always accuse Al-Mahdi of opportunism. He is no longer in power, thus he can say anything. Again, he was at the helm of power twice, and did very little to show his commitment to implementing what he calls for now.

But times have changed. Al-Mahdi has matured politically, and appears to have come to a genuine realization that politics as usual from Khartoum can only lead to further destruction and human tragedy. New and daring ideas on his part are therefore necessary. I say "on his



part” because everybody with any degree of sensitivity and vision has been saying for decades what Al-Mahdi has finally accepted as inevitable. For all these years, he and people of his ilk failed to read the writing on the wall.

I am sure there some among us who believe that Al-Mahdi is giving too little too late, or promising what he can not deliver. But for a start, this is by far the most serious proposal that has ever come from a prominent Northern leader which accepts as a given the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic reality of the Sudan and seeks to build upon it the political future of the country. This is not a small step, and should not be dismissed lightly.

SUDANQUOTE

The Scottish traveller James Bruce, who visited Sennar in 1772, has left this wonderful description of the varying degrees of heat to which the visitor is subjected:

“At Sennaar, then, I call it *cold*, when one, fully clothed and at rest, feels himself in want of fire. I call it *cool*, when one, fully cloathed and at rest, feels he could bear more covering all over, or in part, more than he has then on. I call it *temperate*, when a man, so cloathed and at rest, feels no such want, and can take moderate exercise, such as walking about a room without sweating. I call it *warm*, when a man, so cloathed, does not sweat when at rest, but, upon moderate motion, sweats, and again cools. I call it *hot*, when a man sweats at rest, and excessively on moderate motion. I call it *very hot*, when a man, with thin or little cloathing, sweats much though at rest. I call it *excessive hot*, when a man, in his shirt, at rest, sweats excessively, when all motion is painful, and the knees feel feeble as if after fever. I call it *extreme hot*, when the strength fails, a disposition to faint comes on, a straitness is found on the temples, as if a small cord was drawn tight around the head, the voice impaired, the skin dry, and the head seems more than ordinary large and light. This, I apprehend, denotes death at hand...”

James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*. Edinburgh, 1790, Volume IV, page 482.



THE RUMOURED SOCCER WAR

Iain Marshall

Anthony Quinn, the epitome of elderly wisdom, sat cross-legged in the dust of a Libyan village, instructing an attentive group of small boys on the nature of Islam. Aided by the classical Arabic script which had been dubbed over the English sound track, Quinn gave a credible performance as the celebrated Senussi guerrilla leader, Omar Al Mukhtar, who was finally apprehended and executed by General Rudolfo Graziani's Italian troops in 1931. Bellowing his way through the part of Graziani himself, was Oliver Reed, who subjected his subordinates to such ferocious tongue lashings, that each onslaught, albeit in impeccable Arabic, induced them to intensify their efforts to pursue and slaughter Mukhtar's band of resistance fighters.

The film which charted the fortunes of a group of desert dwellers stirred into action against the colonising aggressions of a militarily superior Italian power was peppered with moments of high melodrama; not least of which was the scene depicting Mukhtar's army of embattled heroes desperately standing up to an overwhelming enemy in an oasis. To ensure that none of their number lost their nerve and fled in the face of the encroaching foe, each man hobbled himself in the way nomads tether their camels, tightly folding one leg back on itself with the rope. Unable to stand upright then, they lay in the dunes, trussed and ready, waiting for the attack from which none of them expected to emerge alive.

I'd witnessed this cinematic extravaganza several times on various TV screens in the small Sudanese village of El Ghaba, where I worked as an English teacher. The video of the film was ubiquitous in those households which possessed a television and VCR, normally as a result of having a family member earning hard currency in a Gulf State such as Kuwait or Saudi Arabia. On this occasion I had been enjoying the cool air and leafy shade afforded by a house in the densely cultivated strip of land which separated the River Nile from empty desert. After the evening meal, my teaching colleagues, the local doctor and myself settled down, courtesy of our host, to drink tea and watch the unfolding drama of Mukhtar and Graziani.

When the time came to take our leave and journey back to our 'mess' we loaded ourselves precariously onto the backs of two Toyota pick-ups, the property of the school and hospital respectively, and moved through silent fields of beans and date palms towards an empty 'Saharan' landscape. On arrival outside our school, a noisy messenger accosted us, jumping from his Landrover in a frenzy of agitation. Breathlessly he informed us that Ed Debba hospital, some five to six miles up river, was overflowing with the dead and dying victims of a machine gun massacre whose perpetrators were systematically blasting their way north, up the Nile towards us. He had rushed up from Ed Debba in search of the doctor who was needed urgently, he said, to care for the ever-increasing number of wounded.

The news shattered the peace and tranquillity in which we'd passed our evening. My imagination sparked into activity, frantically calculating possible scenarios and means of escape should the gun-toting maniacs reach me in the middle of the night. The unlikely story which we wrung from the harbinger of these catastrophic tidings was a tale of everyday Sudanese normality catapulted into a nightmarish world of irrational violence. Apparently,



some government soldiers from the south of Sudan stationed in the Ed Debba garrison, had played a football match against a team of local northern youths from a nearby island in the Nile. This match was a replay of an earlier clash in which foul deeds on the pitch and rising animosity between the teams had easily transferred itself to the spectators. Two of the main protagonists from either side had left the pitch harbouring considerable grudges which, with the passage of time had matured to a point where the locals turned up for the second game, more than a needle match by this time, armed with knives and primed for confrontation. At half time the tension had erupted into brawling during which one of the southern soldiers was killed. Enraged, the story went, the remaining soldiers had chased the islanders to the edge of the Nile, burning their ferry boat so that they were forced to swim across to their village and then had stormed the police station, liberating all the automatic weapons and ammunition they could find there. At this stage the narrative roared into overdrive. The picture painted of the indiscriminate shooting and killing which followed the raid on the police station would have done a multitude of Graziani's proud. Women and children, sick and elderly were mown down in equal numbers, so it seemed. The police had fled and the 'loathsome' aggressors were mopping up every scrap of human life they could find along the Nile, with rapid bursts of machine gun fire.

As the Landrover forged into the darkness throwing a wake of sand from its wheels, I allowed the full force of the situation to sink in. Already I was unconsciously straining my ears for the crack of distant gunfire, the sound which an orgy of morbidity had convinced me would be my last sensory experience on earth. My colleagues appeared not to share my sense of foreboding and the way they absent-mindedly went about the routine tasks before bed, suggested to me that the prospect (so real to my fevered imagination) of a fairly immediate and gruesomely violent death, did not throw any of them off balance at all. On exchanging our customary night time pleasantries, I pondered on the ominous poignancy of us all urging each other to wake up in good health the next morning.

Once settled, I accepted the proffered wad of 'sa'ut' with more than my usual eagerness from Ayoub, whose bed occupied the patch of sand next to mine. In the yard where we slept beneath the stars. Like a large proportion of the men I knew Ayoub was a habitual user of 'slut' or 'snuff' as it was sometimes called. Rock salt known as 'natrun' (a name it shared with a desert wadi where it was extracted from the ground), tobacco and a moistening touch of water were the component parts of the substance. The function of the 'natrun', I had been told, was to graze the inner surface of the bottom lip, where the 'sa'ut' was most usually placed, allowing the nicotine more immediate access to the bloodstream. As a non-smoker unused to the effects of tobacco, my first-time 'hit' had sent my head spinning onto an elevated plane from where I had eventually plummeted, to crawl behind the house and vomit quietly in the sand. With practice I became adept at kneading the lump of noxious material in the palm of my left hand with the fingers of my right until it was a compact pellet, ready to be wedged between the gum at the front of my lower jaw and my bottom lip. Rendering the pinch of 'sa'ut' 'mudurdum' in shape in this way, rolling the brown mass into a ball, dung-beetle fashion, was only one method used. Many older men brushed such niceties aside, scooping a liberal amount of snuff from the tin onto the open palm of the hand before throwing it loose under the tongue, all in a single flourishing gesture. After the effects wore off the gob of used tobacco was spat onto the ground and, in the politest company, fastidiously covered over with sweepings of loose sand.



We lay in the still air, each on his own bed, each with an exaggerated bump below the bottom lip from where the ‘sa’ut’ generated its high voltage current around the nervous system. Ayoub, preoccupied with problems of the heart, told me again about the childhood romance he had had with a neighbour’s daughter in Khartoum. Initially neither the welcome effects of the nicotine nor the soporific rhythms of the familiar story, could distract me from thoughts of death. Haunted by the report from Ed Debba, I was in an advanced state of panic, belied by the dormant aspect of my body lying beneath a Chinese blanket under the deep blue, star-studded dome of the night sky. I fought repeated urges to rise (like some demented desert version of Wee Willie Winkle) and bolt through the sleeping village in search of a secure hiding place. The realisation slowly taking shape in my mind was, that there was nowhere to run to. Surrounded by desert, I had to resign myself to fate, hoping that somehow, when the gunmen came with muzzles blazing, I’d be lucky enough to dodge their bullets. Still on edge waiting for the first far off report of approaching machine gun fire, I viewed my mortal predicament as one would watch a video, and recognised that I was just as powerless to escape as the guerillas who had hobbled themselves to face their foe in the Libyan oasis.

The next morning dawned without incident and marvelling at the fact that I must have dropped off to sleep despite my fear, I brushed shoulders with my sleepy colleagues as we wandered around the yard, cleaning teeth, drinking tea and moving beds into the shade for the day. No comment was made in reference to the previous night’s alarm. We were all spruced up, chalk in hands, poised at our blackboards by 8 o’clock and, as if with a life of its own, the school moved through the day in a procession of normal events. Lesson followed lesson. The talk over breakfast was the usual bout of playful verbal jousting and political debate. Of guns flashing in the moonlight, rampaging soldiers and random slaughter on a massive scale, there was not a whisper. I managed to toil through my day graduating slowly from a state of apprehension (still alert for sounds of attack) to one of tired befuddlement, neither happy to be alive, nor convinced that the danger was truly over.

The second night passed more easily than the first. I took Ayoub’s ‘sa’ut’ and actually paid attention to tales of his blighted love life. By the week’s end I’d all but forgotten the supposed massacre and my narrow brush with death in a foreign land. I stopped worrying about how my remains would be transported to Scotland and started to participate once again in various activities. I went to the ‘souk’ and was drinking sweet coffee the colour of tar, when I overheard a fellow patron of the shop, conversing with his neighbour on the subject of the fracas which had flared up at the Ed Debba football match. Politely butting in, I asked if he could tell me how many people had died in the mayhem that tragic evening. He looked at me steadily before saying that only one person; the soldier in the initial scrap; had lost his life that day. Reflecting on the power of suggestion in this ‘sand-blasted’ Northern Sudanese landscape where communications were so problematical, I was thankful that I had been in mortal dread of nothing more lethal than a rumoured soccer war.



HISTORICAL DISCORD IN THE NILE VALLEY

By **Gabriel R. Warburg**

C. Hurst, London, 1992. (xviii, 210 pp., maps, illus., £27.50, ISBN 1-85065-140-X)

This ironically-entitled book is a valuable, innovative work that builds upon Warburg's earlier narrative and analytical studies. Unlike them (and most other works in English on Egypt and the Sudan), it gives a lengthy and perceptive account of Egyptian - rather than only Sudanese and British - points of view. Important subjects in the modern history of the Nile-Valley countries - the Turco-Egyptian conquest and administration of the Sudan, the British occupation of Egypt and enforced Egyptian evacuation of the Sudan, the theme of Nile-Valley in this century, and the "Southern Problem" and Sudanese civil wars - are investigated from the multiple points of view represented mainly in published Arabic and English accounts. The result is a sustained source-criticism and textual analysis that achieves a deeper reading of the sources than has been presented in most other studies.

The themes Warburg analyses are familiar to students of Egypt and the Sudan. He therefore sets out to compare British with Egyptian and Sudanese historical writing on these themes in order to discern and explain the political, religious, and other attitudes that may have informed that writing. It is taken for granted that such connections exist. It is, moreover, worth pointing out that the body of the writing analysed is small, and that in the Sudanese case in particular the historians Warburg reviews have indeed not usually been professional historians at all. The popular historians have often had political ambitions; the politicians whose works he analyses have often been uncritically accepted as objective. Thus Chapter 13, "Contemporary Sudanese Scholars View Their Country's Conflict and Future Prospects", begins (p. 154): "Muhammad `Umar Bashir (Beshir) has probably written more on the conflict in the Sudan than any other Northern Sudanese scholar and moreover, his involvement in trying to solve this conflict was not confined to the academic ivory tower". The same chapter dwells on works by Muddathir `Abd al-Rahim, Abel Alier, Raphail Badal, Kunijwok Gwado Ayokir, Francis Mading Deng, Ahmad Ibrahim Diraije, and others who have held high administrative or political offices in the Sudan. While their writings, and others', can thus be viewed as reflecting the political experiences of their authors, care must be taken also to recognise the authors' interests, ambitions, and motives for writing.

This problem - the limited number of works available for review, and their peculiarities - is particularly acute for the Southern Sudan. Virtually all Southerners who have published on the history of that region have had political axes to grind - policies to defend, careers to advance. This partly accounts for the didactic sameness of their work, their emphasis on a few key texts and a few notable events. Unfortunately too, the few exceptions to this rule are of very uneven quality: the highly personal (and increasingly wistful) writing of Francis Deng may be viewed as at one pole, the opposite of which is occupied by the bizarre Oxford D.Phil. thesis of Kunijwok (which Warburg views uncritically on p. 159). Since most of the Sudan's



independent existence has witnessed civil war in the South, Sudanese writing on that region - whether by Southerners themselves or by Northern Sudanese - is inevitably suspect.

The same warning must apply to Egyptian writings on the long Anglo-Egyptian struggle for control of the Sudan. Chapter 7 of Warburg's book, "Some Views from Cairo" (pp. 69-81), deals with the crucial period 1953-55, when that struggle ended in the country's independence. Warburg focuses on the activities of Hussayn Sabri and Salah Salim, the Egyptian officers most closely involved in negotiating with leading Sudanese after the Egyptian revolution of 1952. While indicating anew the important role played by Sabry, Warburg yet has to rely on the published accounts of interested parties to a dispute with continuing political and personal ramifications.

It is unsurprising, therefore, although it is a cause for regret and self-justification among historians, that the best-documented side in this multilateral exercise remains the British. A special value of the accounts of British officials - whether in London, Cairo, Khartoum, or indeed in the Sudanese provinces - is simply that they can be read in the light of contemporary archival sources. It is difficult to imagine reliance on the accounts of, for example, Sir Harold MacMichael, Sir James Robertson, K.D.D. Henderson, and other high officials, for the history of the Sudan after the Second World War. Their memoirs and their and others' popular histories are largely personal glosses, whose nevertheless official character is the more easily discerned through the lens of the Public Record Office, the National Records Office in Khartoum, and the Sudan Archive of the University of Durham Library. That lens is largely absent in the Egyptian case, almost wholly so in the Sudanese. The reliance of European and American (and indeed Sudanese) historians on British sources is therefore more obviously explained by necessity than by the crypto-imperial motives ascribed by critics of historical writing based on sources rather than sympathies.

There is little danger that Warburg will be counted among those critics. As an Israeli he has been unable personally to consult the archives in Khartoum. But all his work, since *The Sudan under Wingate* (London 1971), has been based on close reading of archival sources nonetheless, especially those at London and Durham. To those he has lately been able to add Egyptian documentation. The result, in *Historical discord*, is confident, detailed analysis. Part of its success lies in the disturbing realisation that so many of the secondary sources available on the subjects he explores are unreliable, and that so much therefore remains to be done.

M.W. Daly

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THE SUFI BROTHERHOODS IN THE SUDAN

by Ali Salih Karrar

London: C.H. Hurst and Company, 1992. xvi,234pp. £30.00. ISBN 1-85065-111-6.

This is a painstaking and detailed account of some important historical and institutional aspects of Sudanese Sufism. It is particularly informative on developments in the Shāyqiyya region, where the author carried out field research in 1982.

Two preliminary chapters offer respectively a general introduction to the geographical and historical setting, and a survey of the role of the Qādiriyya and Shādhiiyya tarīqas during the Funj sultanate from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. For this period the principal, almost the sole, primary source is the Tabaqāt of Wad Dayfallāh, a compilation on which much research remains to be done. With the approach of the nineteenth century, the ensuing Turco-Egyptian conquest, and the strengthening of the previously tenuous cultural links with other parts of the Islamic Near East, the northern Sudan was opened to new developments in the character and organization of Sufism. The change showed itself in the appearance of two new tarīqas. The first of these was the Sammāniyya, a reformed branch of the ancient Khalwatiyya order, which was brought to the Funj realm by Ahmad al-Tayyib w. al-Bashīr in the late eighteenth century, but which after his death in 1239/ 1824 rapidly lost its unitary organization. It is significant that Muhammad Ahmad b. ‘Abdallāh, the future Mahdi, who was par excellence a fundamentalist reformer of Sudanese religion and society, passed his earlier career as a disciple and then a shaykh of the Sammāniyya. The second of the new tarīqas was the Khatmiyya, founded not later than 1239/1824 by Muhammad ‘Uthmān al-Mīrghanī, born in the Hijāz in 1208/1793-4, a disciple of the reformist Sufi teacher, Ahmad b. Idrīs (d. 1253/ 1837). Al-Mīrghanī made a great missionary journey in the last years of the Funj sultanate, and won many adherents. The Khatmiyya subsequently enjoyed the favour of the Turco-Egyptian administration, and was more successful than the Sammāniyya in



preserving its unitary organization. The rise of the Mahdi from 1881, and the subsequent establishment of the Mahdist state, confronted the Khatmiyya with a rival, and for the time more successful, reformist organization.

These developments and their consequences at local level (especially in the Shāyqiyya region) are examined in three chapters, of which the first deals with the introduction and establishment of the Sammāniyya and the Khatmiyya in the Sudan; and the second with the consolidation of the Khatmiyya from the death of the founder in 1853 to the Mahdia. The third deals with a handful of other related tarīqas, some deriving ultimately from Ahmad b. Idrīs, either through his disciple, Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (who came from the Shāyqiyya region), or through his own descendants. Finally there is an account of the role in the Sudan of another missionary tarīqa, the Tijāniyya, linked in its origins with both the Khalwatiyya and with Ahmad b. Idrīs. The last two chapters turn from the history of the tarīqas to their structure and functioning. The first is chiefly concerned with their hierarchies and their related institutions, such as the Qur'anic school (khalwa - an idiomatic usage) and the tomb (qubba) of the holy man, which as a source of baraka may become a place of pilgrimage (ziyāra). The final chapter deals with procedures for the initiation of disciples, and the ritual of the dhikr, the principal communal function of the tarīqa. The long section (pp. 190-216) devoted to sources and bibliography is not the least valuable part of the book, and will be helpful to other researchers in the field. It includes a noteworthy list of informants and of materials in private hands. The work as a whole is a useful addition to the very limited literature on Sudanese Sufism available in English, and supplements in particular Trimmingham's account of the Khatmiyya in his Islam in the Sudan (1949) and The Sufi Orders in Islam (1971).

The absence of maps is unfortunate, especially in view of the numerous places mentioned in the Shāyqiyya region. The family trees are helpful, but some might have been extended, e.g.



that of the Mīrghanī family (p.74). As it is, the reader is liable to be swamped by names of people of whom little or nothing is otherwise said. Finally, by a curious printer's error the text of p.171 appears twice, both after and at the bottom of p. 170.

P.M. HOLT

LETTERS TO HER MOTHER: WARTIME IN THE SUDAN, 1939-45

by Helen Foley

Castle Cary Press, 1992, 1,244 pp, £10.95, ISBN 0905903 269.

Going out to the Sudan in 1928 to start married life, Helen Foley spent the next 18 years in the Sudan with her husband Guy Foley. He was in the Sudan Defence Force and transferred to the Sudan Government in 1932, becoming Director of the Stores and Ordnance Department in 1935, a vital post with the onset of war. At first Secretary for the Red Cross in the Sudan, during the war Helen Foley became Deputy Commissioner for the Red Cross and St John in the Sudan. While abroad she wrote home regularly and frequently to her mother and after her mother's death in 1956 found that she had kept the 1939-45 series of letters. Extracts dealing with wartime from these letters home, with the minimum of connecting text and footnotes, form the basis of this book. The result makes excellent reading.

Although there exists a considerable number of British memoirs of service in the Sudan during the Condominium period, relatively few of them are written by women. Helen Foley's letters are the perfect antidote to the dry historical account. They stand out because they have an immediacy which instantly and vividly evokes the atmosphere of wartime in the northern Sudan and the special pressures then and more generally on the British expatriate wife and the British Sudan official. They contribute to the history of the Condominium, to the progress of the war in north east Africa and Sudan's share in it and especially to the important wartime work of the Red Cross overseas. The book concludes with Mrs Foley's diary of a 16 day voyage from Port Said to England as one of two Red Cross Welfare Officers accompanying 1200 UK ex-prisoners of war. It is well produced and well illustrated with photographs taken by Mrs Foley, a map and an index and can be obtained from the publishers, Castle Cary Press, High Street, Castle Cary, Somerset, BA7 7AN, telephone 0963 50357, for £10.95 plus postage.



THE WESTERN BAHR AL-GHAZAL UNDER BRITISH RULE 1898-1956

Ahmad Alawad Sikainga

Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1989. 183pp. \$15.00.

Sikainga's study on the western Bahr al-Ghazal (also known as "Dar Fertit") presents a fascinating portrait of one of the most remote regions of the Sudan. The author considers British administrative policy from 1898 until independence. By highlighting the twin issues of indirect rule and the so-called "Southern Policy", Sikainga explains how British administrators strove to insulate the southern Sudan in general and the western Bahr al-Ghazal in particular from the rest of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. He successfully illustrates just how contrived and awkward these efforts proved to be in the western Bahr al-Ghazal.

Although Sikainga carefully considers British administrative policy, he never loses sight of the peoples of the region who came under the administration's influence. In fact, it is this attention paid to the western Bahr al-Ghazal's inhabitants which arguably makes his book so interesting and thought-provoking.

A number of important points surface in this regard. One theme relates to the tremendous ethnic and linguistic diversity found in the region, in spite of its very low population density. There is even an element of religious diversity: migration, trade links, and slave raiding brought in a degree of Islamic influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, with the result that small groups (and often ruling elites) were Muslim. Another significant theme relates to what Sikainga calls a "migration tradition": for about two hundred years, the inhabitants of the region had been constantly migrating, shifting back and forth, to escape from political pressures (often manifested in the form of slave raids).

This migration tradition meant that the ethnic, linguistic, and even religious boundaries of the western Bahr al-Ghazal were by no means static. On the contrary, these "boundaries" were very fluid. Populations of the western Bahr al-Ghazal shifted back and forth throughout the regions which we now know as the Sudan, Chad, the Central African Republic, and Zaire. Thus this book details a history which cannot strictly limit itself to the south-western Sudan, but must consider the historical currents from these other areas as well.

By providing this socio-historical background to his topic, Sikainga is able to convey what happened when British administrators initially presumed the existence of clear linguistic,



ethnic, geographical, and even religious boundaries where there were none, and later attempted to contrive the creation of such boundaries. The book also deals with the interplay of personalities in political events, referring to changing British administrators, local leaders, and even Catholic missionaries. Moreover, it shows how a policy that was obsessed with constructing ethnic, political, and religious barriers so badly neglected the region's economic and social development.

This book alludes to many fascinating issues on the western Bahr al-Ghazal which, unfortunately, fall outside of its concentration on the policies and implications of British rule. (One such issue, for -example, is the debate over the nature, extent, and impact of Islamisation on the region by the late nineteenth century.) It is apparent that the turbulent and complex history of this region could warrant a much longer study spanning a broader time-frame.

In sum, Sikainga narrates the story of the western Bahr al- Ghazal under British rule so that it is clear and absorbing. He presents enough introductory information to make his book accessible to readers lacking an in-depth knowledge of Sudanese history, yet at the same time, goes into detail in a manner which would appeal to the specialist.

Heather J. Sharkey



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ALL WELCOME

Hilary Term, 1993

<u>Week 1</u> 22 January	<u>Alex de Waal</u>	The American Intervention in Somalia
<u>Week 2</u> 29 January	<u>D.H. Johnson</u> (<i>St Antony's</i>)	Lessons of Disengagement: Britain's Withdrawal from the Sudan, 1942-56
<u>Week 3</u> 5 February	<u>Elizabeth Savage</u> (<i>British Museum</i>)	A Medieval Paradigm from Libya: Islam, Slaves and War
<u>Week 4</u> 12 February	<u>Abdel Salam Sidahmed</u> (<i>Oriental Studies, Cambridge</i>)	The National Islamic Front in Power: Ideology and Pragmatism
<u>Week 5</u> 19 February	<u>Maryinez Lyons</u> (<i>ICS, London</i>)	The Bible or the Condom: the Moral Debate over AIDS in Uganda
<u>Week 6</u> 26 February	<u>Gideon Githiga</u> (<i>OCMS</i>)	Liberation Theology and Kenya Today
<u>Week 7</u> 5 March	<u>Andrew Timpson</u> (<i>SCF-UK</i>)	The United Nations and Humanitarian Assistance: Somalia
<u>Week 8</u> 12 March	<u>Fatima Babikr Mahmoud</u> (<i>U. of Khartoum</i>)	Islamic Fundamentalism in Sudan: Implications for Women's Rights



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