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EDITORIAL

Issue No. 27 of Sudan Studies should arrive at the same time as Issue No. 26: they are bound separately largely because the limitations of the binding format make it impossible to have a single, thicker, issue. We hope to send out Issue No. 28 in October.

I will not add much to the comments already offered in the editorial of No. 26, *except* to reiterate the encouragement to people to get in touch: with articles, with notes and news, with books for review. I hope that you enjoy reading this issue, and I look forward to hearing from you.

Justin Willis

Hon. Editor, *Sudan Studies*
Durham, June 2001

NORTHERN SUDANESE SINGING 1908-1958

El-Sirr A. Gadour[*]

Introduction

The roots of Sudanese singing and music can be traced back to the ancient Nubian Kingdoms and to the Christian era as well as the Islamic Kingdoms. The most powerful and influential of the latter flourished in the area which bears today the name "The Republic of Sudan". The area is a crucible for the fusion of musical influences emanating from the East, the West, the North and South. For ages it was at the cross-roads of caravans from the North and East heading West and South; as well as caravans (after the advent of Islam) heading East towards the Islamic holy shrines.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Sudanese melodies and tunes, arising from human endeavour during agriculture, hunting and herding matured, in different ways and patterns. The most important of these were the Sufi canticles, dirges, songs for weddings and festivals and the DOUBEIT arts which spread among cattle herders. The modern MADIEH ('praising the prophet') developed in this environment. This is different from the choral Sufi canticles. A number of men excelled in *madieh*: Ahmed Wad Saad, Ahmed Wad Tamiem, Ahmed Abu Shariah and others. Their creativity established the art of individual *madieh*, chanted by one person, and different from choral group *Zikr* performed by many. This meant the emergence of the individual performer in front of an

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[*] El-Sirr A. Gadour is a journalist and actor with a life-long interest in singing. These observations "from his notebook" were complemented at the conference with his own rendition of the cited songs and *madieh*.

audience, receiving and appreciating. A parallel development took place in the music and singing on social occasions.

During the Mahdist state another dimension was added, when Omdurman in particular witnessed the mixture of tunes and melodies of Western Sudan with those of central Sudan, especially in *madieh*, Mahdist mobilisation chants and the *Jalalat* military march music of the Mahdist soldiers.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the main features of Sudanese national music were in place.

Beginnings of Modern Sudanese Singing

Some people, when discussing modern singing in northern Sudan, mention Sarour, Karouma, al-Abbadi and Khalil Farah. They seldom refer to Mohamed Wad al-Faki who is the first founder of modern singing. When mentioned, he is seen as an historical figurerecord, so much so that he has become like a teacher at whose hands tens of high flyers have learned their craft. People remember their achievement but rarely refer to the teacher.

Mohamed Wad al-Faki came to the capital in early middle age in 1908 (the same year in which Khalil Farah came as a child). At that time Omdurman, which became prominent as the capital of the Mahdist state, was home to communities which represented most Sudanese tribes. As a result tribal, ethnically-based singing was the order of the day. Each community sang the songs which they brought with them.

There was no famous singer in Omdurman; but there were many with good voices who intoned songs to accompany dancing girls in TAMBOUR (not to be confused with the

musical instrument of the same name). The Jaaliyin (Sheikh Mohamed Wad al-Faki's tribe) were famous for *tambour*.

These *tambour* songs were very short lines delivered by the first singer before the group join in. It is usually started when the female dancer stands up and gets ready to dance. An example of the lines:

O beautiful one, draw near

Reveal your cheek's [cosmetic] marks

Let my elation

Be hallucination

In love

The sting of a scorpion

Is more bearable

Than your disdain

We notice that these lines are similar to the song "Firei al-Ban" which Wad al-Faki later developed in the next stage of his contributions: It says:

O listener to supplication

As I say Farewell to Um Ruaba;

Beauty is inherited not acquired,

My captive heart is asunder

Wad al-Faki's contribution was a turning point in the style of these RAMIAT as they came to be known. He was the vanguard of modern singing in Northern Sudan, especially because many singers and poets were influenced by him.

Wad al-Faki came to Omdurman from an area which had a strong musical tradition, centred around the town of Kaboushiya which can be dubbed the capital of singing. Some believe that its name was derived form the Arabic word for "Parish", *Abrashiya*, or from the word Cathedral; for it falls geographically in the region which used to be Christian, with a past traceable to the Meroitic kingdom. North of it are the remains of pyramids in Masawarat. Fame in music and singing was associated with Kaboushiya town until recently. It was the home town of the most famous woman folk singer in the twentieth century, Al-Jumaira Bint al-Joud, who inherited the talent of singing from her mother Al-Joud who was a distinguished singer.

Apart from singing, the area is famous for *madieh*, poetry recitation over and above *doubeit* both sung and recited. Mohamed Wad al-Faki, as his family name denotes (*fakih* means 'cleric', in Arabic), was the son of a Koranic schoolteacher. His religious upbringing ensured a mastery of proper reading, voice control and correct pronunciation. Another aspect which served him well was the fact that he was careful not to identify with any of the main ethnic communities in Omdurman. This freed him from narrow identity and made him a "general" singer crossing the tribal barrier to broader national affiliation. Together with a group of singers and poets, he laid the cornerstones of national singing in Sudan, instead of tribal ethnic singing. Thus, Wad al-Faki became a star who moved with his group from one quarter of Omdurman to the next singing on festive occasions, and was accepted across the board in a town still marked by ethnic and regional loyalties.

Understandably, he had to rely in the beginning on what he brought with him from his home base; but he soon sought to renew his repertoire with the help of some young men who were striving to usher in a new era, e.g.: Yousif Hasaballa (nicknamed The Sultan of Lovers), Mohamed Osman Badri and Ibrahim al-Abbadi. Before the arrival of Wad al-

Faki to Omdurman, they used to write the *ramiat* (referred to above) which made them famous. An example is Yousif Hasaballa's

> Moringa twig
>
> Dew-soft, bending
>
> By Allah's, peace

This was later developed into a complete song which is considered by some to be the first ever full-length modern northern Sudanese song, opening with the lines:

> The moringa twig
>
> Who is she, dears
>
> I yearn for her

In this song, the chorus plays an important role by rhythmically repeating the last words in every stanza (*Ya salaam*).

After becoming the number one singer in Omdurman, Wad al-Faki abandoned his "regional" style and adopted a new one, steering a middle course between folk songs and the melodies of *madieh*. This new stage showed the influence of his new Omdurman environment on him. An example can be found in the famous lines performed by the chorus before Wad al-Faki's *ramiat*. Many people remember it and the late singer Hassan Atiya used to sing it occasionally. It goes like this, describing the traditional dancer:

> Allah Allah, O Allah's people
>
> The goose swims, O Allah's people
>
> With breast strokes, O Allah's people
>
> Just like a dove, O Allah's people
>
> Like the Governor General, O Allah's people

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> At the Treasury Courtyard, O Allah's people
>
> Sauntering at ease, O Allah's people

This, by the chorus is followed by Wad al-Faki's *ramia* song. An example is:

> The attractive one approached, swaying
>
> Our souls are with her, enamoured
>
> Captivated and jailed by the eyes
>
> Tell our families not to expect
>
> Us soon [We'll be with her a while]

Among the young men who started to write new songs for Wad al-Faki was the poet Mohammed Wad ar-Radi who developed the *ramiat* and gave them some cohesion and organic unity, avoiding piecemeal or disconnected presentation.

One of his most famous contributions is 'Tabiq al-Boukha' which was taken up later by the old singer Abdallah al-Mahi. This is about the traditional perfumed incense of women in Sudan. The opening stanza goes like this:

> All try to reach the original gem
>
> May you never experience what has happened to me
>
> Torture has many facets all similar
>
> My detractors are overjoyed
>
> Because of my pains
>
> ---------------
>
> Rising from the second
>
> Sandal perfumed sauna
>
> Dripping scented dewy drops

Drowsily asleep

Her gentle arm pulling

The sauna blanket behind

Wrapping the thin waist

Gently

In the wake of the resounding success of the new style by Wad ar-Radi, Wad al-Faki continued to present more songs by this poet. One of these is still well known today after its choice by the veteran broadcaster Salah Ahmed as a signature tune for his programme "Haqibat al-Fan" (from the bag of musical archives) in the 1950s. Most of the singers who perform old songs perform the songs of the poet Wad ar-Radi as performed by Wad al-Faki. The best features of this style - as mentioned earlier is organic unity, as the following example illustrates:

The cause of my boredom and tears

Running non-stop [is]:

I was standing in the courtyard

Unaware

When I saw her

Passing quickly with a friend

I was disheartened

My neighbour does not know

What befell me

I stood there, forgotten

May you prosper and end my misery

May your attractions increase

I answered those who told

Me to pull myself together:

"Take it easy

They Said: Is this the way it is?

Fear Allah's wrath

My beloved neighbour"

The lines represent a unified whole in form and content; with the chorus tying the different sections together with the line:

Fear Allah

Yalla O neighbour

In this song the timing with a stick was used as a rhythmical accompaniment.

This was the second stage in the development of Mohamed Wad al-Faki. It paved the way for the birth of the modern song which has come to be known as "bag of archives" song. Many poets have contributed to this development including Al-Abbadi, Abu Salah and Omer al-Banna. Some of these songs are still being performed today.

This development took place during a ten year period 1918-1928. Then another star appeared, one of Mohamed Wad al-Faki's pupils called Mohamed Ahmed Sarour. The younger man accompanied his mentor for years, learning and establishing a network of contacts with younger poets. In the mean-time the social environment in Omdurman was becoming even more conducive to new styles. In the new era many of Wad al-Faki's

pupils have become more famous than him. Their songs spread all over; but history will preserve his place as the real founder of the school of modern singing in Sudan.

Beginnings

Simultaneous to the activities of Wad al-Faki, the musical scene in Sudan witnessed other far-reaching factors.

Official music was being played since the early years of the century, in public squares on British and Egyptian occasions. It was also played publicly on other occasions like the Birth of Prophet Mohamed's procession, the eve of Eidul Fitr at the end of Ramadan and Easter holidays. The musical companies were military, part of the British and Egyptian forces. The most famous was the Scottish company with its distinctive bag-pipe music. These military musicians wrote down and played Sudanese music and transformed some local folk music into military march music. One of these was March 14G which adapted a well known folk song. Another was March Shulkawi No 1, adapted from the songs of the Shilluk ethnic group in southern Sudan.

Moreover, military companies involved many Sudanese in the writing and playing of music. These in turn taught others who played leading roles in non-military music.

The most famous of these was Khalil Farah who used to live in "at-Tirs" quarter in southern Khartoum, near the living quarters of senior Egyptian employees. Some of these played the lute (*oud*) and taught Khalil Farah. He also listened to Egyptian songs from the then new invention, the phonograph. Others who followed a similar path were Abdul Qadir Suleiman, the pioneering musician who taught many singers including the "Prince of Oud", Hassan Atiya. There was also Abdul Qadir's brother, Hassan.

All this should be set against the background of the musical, theatrical and general artistic activities of Arab and European communities: the Greek, Italian, English, Jewish and Armenian communities, as well as the Egyptian and Syrian communities.

By the 1930s, the Sudanese capital was well acquainted with records of music and the phonograph. The number of educated people had increased and several musical companies mushroomed, the most famous of which was the Gordon Memorial College musical company. One of its members, Mohamed Adam Adham (who went on to become a famous physician and politician) wrote a piece of music which is arguably the first Sudanese musical composition, called the Adhamiya. It is still played to this day.

Haqibat al-Fan (Bag of Archives)

With the end of the 1920s the stage was set for the birth of modern singing in Sudan. School leavers increased in numbers, college graduates, police and military graduates were numerous. *Hadarat as-Sudan* appeared as the first Sudanese newspaper and published articles by Sudanese writers as well as poems. Siddiq Farid formed a theatre company performing "Salahuddin al-Ayyoubi" (Saladin) and other plays.

In music the new songs were maturing and spreading. As for the name Haqibat al-Fan, it was coined in the early 1950s to describe an earlier period. Ahmed Mohamed Saleh, who presented a radio programme about music began to collect and broadcast old songs which he kept in a briefcase (bag) in his office. When he decided to devote a whole programme to these songs, he selected them out of the "bag" archive.

No doubt Mohamed Wad al-Faki was the father of the modern song. Equally true is the statement that Ibrahim al-Abbadi, the poet, was the man who took the process one step

forward; by encouraging Sarour, the most talented pupil of Wad al-Faki and writing poetry for him, like "Alam al-Buaad" and "Zan al-Uzaz" and other songs.

Al-Abbadi called for a meeting in 1923 bringing together songwriters and singers. He then published a collection of lyrics marking the new style. He was a versatile man, who wrote for the theatre (al-Mak Nimir was performed in 1937). The veteran Wad ar-Radi was also around together with names like Omar al-Banna, Saleh Abdus Sid, Yousif Hasaballah, Burhan, Ali ash-Shaigi, Beshir ar-Rubatabi and not least the singer Abdul Karim Abdalla (known as Karouma).

The poets writing for Haqibat al-Fan never wandered away from the roots of *madieh*. They were influenced by Sheikh Mohamed Abu Shariah (who lived in both the Mahdist state and the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium) and adhered strictly to rhyme in his poetry. Often the last three letters rhymed in his lines, as in:

> I have entertained a human being (Insana)
>
> With an eye which is not sleepy (Nasana)
>
> She gave me water from a cup (Kisana)
>
> And covered me with a green garment (Tailasana)
>
> And said to me: Forget me not (Tansana)
>
> Come on, it is almost night (Amsana)

They tried to emulate this (excessive) style. Al-Abbadi wrote:

> O my angel, my difficult circumstances ('Asieba)
>
> Stand between us, through no fault of mine (Seiba)
>
> She said: Listen to some true words (Musieba)
>
> Every person makes his own share (Nasieba)

The same influence can be seen in the ending of poems. In *madieh* the end was usually a supplication in praise of the prophet Mohamed. Wad Tamiem says:

> My prayers are complete
>
> Combined and comprehensive
>
> From me, Wad Tamiem
>
> To the meeting eye
>
> And the giving hand

Another example is from Wad Saad:

> My prayers resound as long as
>
> Pilgrims jostled in Mecca
>
> In honour of [Allah and] the prophet
>
> Hoping that I, Wad Saad, attain Salvation.

Poets, writing lyrical poetry borrowed this style; but replaced the religious ending with a message to the beloved. This is how Abu Salah put it:

> As long as rain fell
>
> I'll water your quarter
>
> And smell your perfume,
>
> As long as poets wrote in praise
>
> Of your attraction
>
> I'll send my salvation
>
> To your beauty O spoiled one
>
> With my veneration

Sayyid Abdul Aziz contributed the following example:

As long as a singer sang

(in Arabic or another tongue)

I greet you.

As long as a stranger yearned

For homeland

I greet you

The henna dye on your fingers like the line of a vein

Hoping that you accepted me

O Queen, daughter of a Sultan.

The influence of *madieh* was not only felt in poetry. It left its mark on the melodies too. Most of the first modern Haqibat songs borrowed *madieh* melodies. Some have become very famous, others less so. An example is the Sufi chant:

"Allah the Great, has no partner

Has no equal. Allah"

Along the melody of these lines Abu Salah wrote "Wasf al-Khuntaila"; Omer alBanna wrote " Al-Mafi Mathiela"; al-Abbadi wrote "Addawi Jabienna"; Wad ar-Radi wrote "Tieh"; Sayed Abdul Aziz wrote "Safwat Jamalik", to put the melody of "Busna ar-Rasool Yassien".

Another *madieh* melody (which was less wide-spread) was also used extensively. It said:

O pilgrims on the way to Medina

Convey a thousand greetings

To the prophet

It later provided the mould for the most famous songs. We can thus say that the national song continued to be closely linked to the *madieh* in words and melodies.

A significant point of departure from this pattern was provided by Abdul Kariem (Karouma) who broke away providing new melodies and songs [which are wholly secular]. He co-operated in this with the poet Mohamed Beshir Atiq.

The success of the new songs was boosted by the introduction of records in the 1930s. From 1924 until 1940 the pioneers recorded hundreds of songs for Abdalla al-Mahi, Al-Fadil Ahmed, Mohamed Ahmed Sarour, al-Ameen Burhan Abdul Karim (Karouma) and Ibrahim Abdul Jalil. Women too contributed: Fatima Khamees, Um al-Hassan ash-Shaygiya and Mahala al-Abbadiya.

The phonograph spread in homes and cafes. By the 1940s the Omdurman-born song had already reached most other urban centres, helped by the tours of singers. The great Sudanese leader, Abdur Rahman al-Mahdi, said about the doyen of Sudanese singing, Haj Mohamed Ahmed Sarour, that he had become a leader in his field because he moved singing from tribal and ethnic, to national expression.

The next stage in the history of singing in Sudan came in the 1940s as a direct result of the second world war. Apart from the role of Omdurman Radio in mobilisation and counter-news, singers and musicians were introduced, including some who soon became household names through radio, like Ahmed al-Mustafa, Hassan Atya, Ibrahim al-Kashif, Ismail Abdul Mueen and others. These had access to the public not in festivals and private occasions but in and through a studio for broadcasting and recording; with microphones which boosted their voices. The need for the chorus was reduced and a more intimate individual style developed.

In this respect Ismael Abdul Mueen was a pioneer who strove to adapt to the new conditions and desert the old style. He was followed by a poet-singer called Ahmed Ibrahim Falah. But both were soon overtaken by Ibrahim al-Kashif who became known as the "Father of modern singing". Al-Kashif began to sing under the influence of Haj Mohamed Ahmed Sarour and relied on what Karouma had started, but he renewed singing in three main ways:

- He was accompanied regularly by a musical group which replaced the vocal chorus of old.

- He introduced new melodies.

- He introduced new musical expressions to emphasise the meaning of words.

Landmark songs like "Fishshati" - "Allayle" "Rihla", "Ar-Rihla Fishambat", "Al-Mugran Fis Sabah" put him in a category of his own. He dominated the scene for almost twenty years until independence and two years after that (1958). He influenced a younger generation who, in turn, struck their own way to usher in another stage. Mohamed Wardi, Abdul Karim al-Kabli, Salah Mustafa, Salah Ibn al-Badia and others represent the current stage of music and singing in Sudan. They are all still active.

SPORT AND NATIONALISM IN SUDAN
By Khalid alMubarak Mustafa

This paper will focus on the rise of Al-Hilal Sports Club in Omdurman, putting it in a historical and political context and tracing the threads which link it to similar sporting phenomena in the world.[1] In a reflection of the 'elitist' mentality of most Sudanese intellectuals, certain fields of endeavour have been judged unworthy of serious academic attention. Sport tops the list of these fields. It is my hope that the exceptional example set by Kamal Shaddad, who combined a career in teaching philosophy at the university with a life-long and passionate involvement with football practice and management will be cited as a positive pioneering example, not - as is the case now - an object of unconcealed derision and snide remarks.[2]

History

Although the roots of football can be traced back to ancient China, the modern game reached maturity on 26th October 1832 when the Football Association (FA) was set up in London (adopting Cambridge University Football Rules). The FA was non-governmental;

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[1] An Arabic version of this paper was presented at the conference 'The National Movement in Sudan', University of Khartoum, IAAS, 1-5 Jan. 1985.

[2] When I returned to the University of Khartoum from the United Kingdom in 1975, I designed a course in 'Practical drama.' Some of those who objected to it in Senate reportedly said "If we approve this we might next be offering a course in football!" To its credit, the Senate approved the course, thanks to the insistence of my Faculty Dean, Professor Y. F. Hasan

and the sport developed within the context of industrialisation, the reduction of working hours and agitation for a Saturday half holiday.[3] The Great Reform Act of 1832 had increased democracy in elections. The railways, the telegraph and postage stamps were parallel agents of modernisation in a peaceful era of development.[4]

It is indisputable that the spread of football worldwide was 'caused by Britain's world power status and active presence in commerce, industrial production, territorial control and international finance'.[5] An important aspect of Britain's colonial experience (viewed with the wisdom of hindsight after the end of British rule and contemporary Sudanese political reactions to it) is the fact that the colonialists carried with them some features of their modern democracy. The institutions of civil society, including political parties, philanthropic organisations and active trade unions were free to organise, mobilise and in some cases call for strikes or self-determination. This is the context in which sport, and football in particular, was allowed to flourish as an initiative of the 'natives', free from the colonial administration's prohibitive shackles. Just as sport in England was deemed to foster the spirit of discipline and fair play; there is little doubt that the colonial administration was heeding Machiavelli's advice to provide a safety-valve for the people.

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[3] The FA, *History of the Football Association* (London, 1953), p. 480

[4] The FA, *History of the Football Association*, pp. 1-19.

[5] Eduardo P. Archetti, 'In Search of National Identity: Argentinian Football and Europe', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport* (London, Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 202-219.

In his words, the Prince - at proper times - 'engages the people's attention with festivals and shows'.[6]

Sudanese Nationalism

The Graduates' Club was formed in 1918 in Omdurman, signalling the first stirrings of the national spirit.[7] Like the Indian Congress - which inspired it - it did not start confrontationally, and was cradled under the patronage of the colonial administration. The torch was held high by many intellectuals like Mohamed Ashri as-Siddiq, who wrote *in Hadarat as-Sudan* in 1929: 'I envisage this Sudan as a huge baby, stretching and trying to wake up. If someone said to us that it was not yet a Nation, [we would reply] that nothing will hinder it from becoming one in the near future. The differences in religions, traditions, peoples, weather and lifestyles will not obstruct the materialisation of this virgin wish. At the beginning of their creation, Nations cannot be otherwise [free from differences].'[8]

Two years after as-Siddqi's article Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub (the poet who went on to become Prime Minister after independence) wrote the following: 'As a people trying to build its future, we should - at the first steps on the road - determine the ways in which we can disseminate national feelings in our community and implement them in the face of

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[6] Quoted in Robert Malcolmson, 'Sport in Society. A Historical Perspective', in *The British Journal of Sports History*, (1984) 1, 1, pp. 60-72.

[7] *Speech by Ismail alAzhari on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Graduates' Club* (Khartoum, Almatbaa alhukumiyya, 1968), p. 24.

[8] Mohamed Ashri as Siddiq, *Araa wa Khawatir* (Khartoum, nd), p. 50.

difficulties, because the lack of national feelings hampers public projects.[9] Tens of examples can be quoted from the writings of Mohamed Abdur Rahim, Hamza al-Malik Tambal and others to illustrate the pattern of national expressions.

The end of the 1930s witnessed the gradual loosening of the clampdown which followed the 1924 mutiny/uprising. By 1938, the most mature expression of nationalism, the Graduates' Congress, was formed, insisting on 'Sudanism' instead of tribal identities and instructing its members and others to write the word 'Sudanese' in the space allocated for tribal affiliation in birth certificates and similar official documents. As is usually the case, art was ahead of politics and playwright Ibrahim alAbbadi wrote in his play 'Al-Makk Nimr' (performed in 1937, one year before the Graduates' Congress):

> Let us be the sons of one man
>
> So that others take note of us.
>
> What do I reap from being called
>
> Jaali, Dongolawi or Shaigi?
>
> These can only give rise to differences
>
> Which make a brother an enemy.
>
> Let the news reach far and near:
>
> The Nile is our father and
>
> It's enough that our nationality
>
> Is Sudanese[10]

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[9] Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub, *Nahw al-Ghad* (Khartoum, KUP, 1970), p. 59

[10] Ibrahim alAbbadi, *Al-Makk Nimir* (Khartoum, Wazarat ath-Thaqafa, 1969), p. 118.

The shift in the status of the word Sudanese is highly significant, because it was originally used to refer to emancipated slaves, whereas the northern Sudanese were identified by 'tribe' or by the term 'Awlad al-Balad'. The shift, which started in the 1920s with the Sudanese Union Society, was carried to its national conclusion in the 1930s.

Politicisation of sport

The poet and religious radical Sheikh Muddathir al-Boushi, a leading member of the Sudanese Union Society (which paved the way for the White Flag Society and its 1924 mutiny/uprising) wrote the following about the way sport was utilised after the failure of the uprising: 'After a

while young people started to show interest in sport. The government encouraged them. The intellectuals did the same, because they saw sport as a way to bring classes together. Clubs were opened in the name of sport. We encouraged them as avenues for lawful congregation. Joined clubs in order to use them for different social activities.'[11] One of the organisers of the Graduates' Congress (who went on to become a member of the five-man head of state Sovereignty Council which took over from the British Governor-General) was more open in his memoirs about the politics of sport: 'Sport was not an end in itself. [For us] all activities were geared towards either national or political ends.'[12]

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[11] Muddathir A. al-Boushi, *Al-Baath Al-watani wa Rawafiduhu* (Khartoum, Dar al-Fikr al-Hadith, 1966), p. 41.

[12] Khidir Hamad, *Muthakkirat Khidir Hamad* (Sharjah, Maktabat as-Sharq wal-Gharb, 1980), p. 62.

Al-Hilal Sports Club

The foundation in 1930 of Al-Hilal Sports Club represents a link between sport and politics. The name ('the Crescent moon') was suggestive of Arab-Islamic values, at a time when the intellectuals, who identified themselves with Arab-Islamic anti-colonialism and culture, sought inspiration in the crescent as a symbol of past glories and present solidarity. They saw no contradiction between their Sudanism and their pride in the crescent, because they knew that black people were among the first disciples of the prophet and that a considerable number of the population of the Arabian peninsula, Egypt and other Arab countries was black as were scores of leading figures in Islamic and Arab civilisation. The renowned poet Abdallah Omer al-Banna wrote a poem in 1921 in which he addressed the crescent:

> O Crescent, tell me about life and religion
>
> What you say will fill me with nostalgia

The long poem had such an impact that the colonial intelligence services took a copy to Mr Hillelson, history lecturer and orientalist at the Gordon Memorial College, for analysis and recommendations.[13]

Another national poet, Obeid Abd an-Nur wrote a famous poem (set to music as a popular anti-colonial song in 1924) in which he too invokes the image of the crescent in his words to Sudanese women:

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[13] Hassan Najiela, *Maalim min al-Mujtamaa as-Sudani* (Beirut, Dar Maktabat Al-Hayat, 1964), p. 102

Young men are racing to save you

Holding crescents in their right hands

Yelling loud enough to shake mountains

And transform people from one state to another

 A contemporary, Hasan Najiela, explained the significance of the word 'crescent' in the poem: 'It was a reference to the White Flag Society, whose members used to demonstrate carrying a white flag adorned with the map of the Nile Valley and the crescent.'[14]

Yet another poem which annoyed the colonial authorities used the crescent as a symbol. Ibrahim al-Abbadi's song says:

Love is 'occupying' [my heart]

Rejection by you is not halal

O for a sip from your sweet Nile

And long may your crescent eyebrow glow

One of the founders of Al-Hilal Sports Club, Hamadnalla Ahmed, wrote about the aims of the club:

We felt that graduates needed to link up with other citizens in order to achieve national aspirations. Since the colonial government at that time prohibited gatherings of more than five people (except in football) we thought of launching a 'sport moon' as a springboard for political, social, cultural and sport revolution'.[15]

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[14] Najiela, *Maalim min al-Mujtamaa*, p. 211.

[15] Hamadnalla Ahmed, 'Ayyuha al-Mutasariun ala Idarat al-Hilal', in *Al-Ayyam*, 5 June 1984, p. 10.

It is significant that one of the founders was the poet (later diplomat) Yousif at-Tinay, who wrote the national movement's anthem. His collection of poetry - published in 1938- was dedicated to Arafat Mohamed Abdalla, founder of *Al-Fajr* magazine, the beacon of national thought. Another founder, the only one whom I interviewed, Babiker al-Qabbani, was a member of the Sudanese Union Society (recruited by his neighbour Obeid Haj al-Amin) and had close links with its other leaders Suliman Kisha and Mohamed Ali Shawqi. Al-Qabbani confirmed the political dimension in the foundation of Al-Hilal Sport Club.[16] A Preparatory Committee was formed in 1929. In 1930, he was elected Chairman and held the office until 1935. That fits with Hamadnallah Ahmed's claim that leading members of the Ashiqa party (formed 1943-44) like Ismail al-Azhari (later Sudan's first Prime Minister), Mohamed al-Fadli, Yahya al-Fadli, Mubarak Zarrouq and others joined Al-Hilal Sports Club.[17]

A prominent fan (and financier) of Al-Hilal, Mustafa Kamal Rashid (Keisho) did not confirm al-Azhari's membership; but maintained that the Ashiqa, since the foundation of the party were well known supporters of Al-Hilal. Ashiqa in Arabic means brothers. The leadership of the party included the al-Fadli brothers (Mahmoud and Yahya), al-Qabbani

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[16] Interviewed at his home in Omdurman on 13 Dec. 1985. His membership of the Sudanese Union Society has been verified and confirmed by M. O. Beshir, quoting G. M. A. Bakheit's thesis.

[17] Hamadnalla Ahmed, 'Lam Yakun Al-Hilal Nadian Lir Riyadha Fahasb', in *Al-Ayyam*, 8 June 1984.

brothers (Babiker and Mohamed Said), and Awadallah brothers (al-Haj and Hassan). All were party members and Al-Hilal members.[18]

The most concrete corroborating evidence is the fact that Hassan Awadallah (who went on to become Minister of Interior) actually played football for Al-Hilal as a robust fullback for many years.

It is worth noting that although the Ashiqa (who changed their name in 1952 when they co-founded the National Unionist Party) and other Unionists were predominant in Al-Hilal, Yousif at-Tinay who was one of the founders of the club joined the rival Umma Party when it was formed in 1945. Sayyed Abdur Rahman al-Mahdi (patron of the Umma Party) reportedly donated the premises which Al-Hilal used as a centre. If this were confirmed, it would mean that both sides of the national divide (Unionists and Umma) were keen to promote the club.

Events from history and past politics provided Al-Hilal with a solid national platform. In 1885 Khartoum fell to the Mahdist forces which then made Omdurman - across the river - their new capital until reconquest in 1898. In an act of political insecurity the Mahdi's successor, Khalif Abdullahi at-Taa'ishi, ordered many tribal leaders from all over the country (including southern Sudan) to move to the new capital, together with their followers. The controversial policy was never fully implemented; but enough people relocated and - together with those who came to the capital as victorious soldiers - helped to make Omdurman a veritable 'melting pot' and crucible for detribalisation. The players

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[18] Mustafa Kamal Rashid, interviewed at his Khartoum Hotel on 11 Dec. 1985.

of Al-Hilal reflected the detribalised melting-pot nature of the national capital. They included Sudanese of Egyptian origin, of Indian origin, southern Sudanese, northern descendants of emancipated slaves as well as players from all geographical regions of the vast country. All enjoyed immense prestige and considerable financial rewards.

Al-Hilal (and other clubs, like the rival Al-Marriekh) were indicators and catalysts of national integration. R. Vayrynen provides a comparative example from far-away Finland. In skiing, the national sport in Finland, there are three separate organisations: one for the Swedish-speaking minority, one for the workers, and a third more national body.

> Nation-building is intimately connected with social mobility, which implies people's moving physically; but even more, mentally. Social mobilisation normally starts from the centre of a society and spreads outward to the periphery. There is some evidence that the dissemination of sporting activities follows a similar pattern.[19]

In AlHilal's case, several Hilal clubs were formed in the main urban centres in Sudan, such as Port Sudan, Kosti, ElObeid, repeating the Omdurman pattern.

Off- and On-field nationalism

Far from suppressing Al-Hilal and other clubs, the colonial administration wisely tried to use sport as a point of peaceful contact with the Sudanese. To this end the British garrison's team played regularly with Al-Hilal. Whenever Al-Hilal won, the victory

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[19] R. Vayrynen, 'Nationalism and integration in sport', in Maaret Ilmarinen (ed*.) Sport and International Understanding* (Berlin, Springer Verlag, 1984, pp. 64-71.

acquired a symbolic meaning with street vendors plying their trade in sandwiches with the rhyming call:

> Bread and Taamiya [falafel]
>
> Al-Hilal has beaten the [British] Army![20]

Moreover, Al-Hilal had a musical company which accompanied the team and fans. Khidir Hamad writes in his memoirs,

> There was an unforgettable occasion when Al-Hilal held its customary Friday procession, with its musical company and well-disciplined military steps. When the procession reached the house of Obeid Haj al-Amin, who had died recently, all stopped in silence to honour his memory, in a gesture which must have angered the [colonial] rulers.[21]

Obeid Haj al-Amin died in 'exile' in southern Sudan in 1932. He was the leader of the Sudanese Union Society and secretary of the White Flag Society.

According to Babiker al-Qabbani, leaders of Al-Hilal played a significant role during the mediation to end the Gordon Memorial students' strike in 1931. The strike resulted from the 1929 world economic crisis, which affected the price of cotton (Sudan's main cash crop). The colonial administration decided to cut the salaries of the Sudanese; but left the

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[20] Mustafa Kamal Rashid (Keisho) interview.

[21] Khidir Hamad, *Muthakkirat*, p. 62.

salaries of British civil servants intact. The graduates met in their club. They were naturally sympathetic to the striking students. The 'committee of ten' which they chose for mediation included two members from Al-Hilal club. There was a great deal of 'shuttle diplomacy' between the two clubs until a compromise formula was reached. Sayyed Abdur Rahman al-Mahdi also played a role in the high profile mediation efforts.[22]

M. O. Beshir provides evidence that Al-Hilal was not an isolated case. The national movement put sport on top of its agenda in dealing with the colonial administration. The election of Ismail al-Azhari as head of the Graduates' Congress in 1943 meant that the radical faction had the upper hand. It outlined certain activities, calling for their development and promotion. These included sport and the cinema.[23] However, the most successful activity by the Graduates' Congress was arguably 'Education Day' which was first organised in 1941 and included a cultural/sport festival in which football had pride of place. The proceeds were part of the collection of donations to establish non-governmental schools, tens of which were established in this way.[24] When students (including the present writer) were dismissed for disruptive students' union strikes in Government schools, they found refuge in the Congress secondary school, or other non-governmental schools.

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[22] Babiker alQabbani interview.

[23] M. O. Beshir, *Revolution and Nationalism in Sudan* (London, Rex Collins, 1977), p. 164.

[24] Beshir, *Revolution and Nationalism*, p. 158.

Comparative viewfinder

What happened in Sudan was not unique. In the nineteenth century, the French promoted sport as part of a plan of national revival. The Club Alpin was formed in 1874 as a result of patriotic grief, in the wake of reversals in the confrontation with Germany.[25] The Tour De France bicycle race 'was designed . . . as an ideological tool, an expression of the unity of France. By passing through the whole of France, the Tour could teach the French public about the riches of their own nation.'[26] A more strikingly similar example is closer, geographically, to Sudan. In colonial Zimbabwe, sport provided cohesion and unity. Leaders of the national movement were simultaneously leaders of sport. There existed

no boundary between political action and sport. Some of the principal actors in the demonstrations and strikes in Bulawayo . . . were also significant figures in soccer . . . Benjamin Burombo, the founder of the British African National Voice Association in Bulawayo maintained his interest in soccer. Sipambaniso Manyoba, one of the most significant political figures of the time (he was organising secretary of both the Federation of African Trade Unions and the Matabalele Home Society)

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[25] Eugen Weber, 'Gymnastics and Sport in Fin-de-Siecle France: Opium of the Classes?', *The American Historical Review*, 76, 1 (1971), pp. 70-98.

[26] Richard Holt, 'Contrasting nationalisms: sport, militarism and the unitary state in Britain and France, in Mangan, *Tribal Identities*, pp. 39-54.

was also team captain of both the Matabele Highlanders' Soccer Club and the Red Army Welfare Society's Sports Committee in 1942.[27]

Conclusion

Sport played a very important role in the national movement in Sudan. The foundation of Al-Hilal Club in 1930 was a significant aspect of the multifaceted national liberation endeavour and a pioneering chapter in non-governmental and civil society achievements which helped Sudan to gain independence through peaceful means. The tragedy of Sudan lies in the fact that after independence in 1956 a sea-change in attitudes distorted the positive trend which prevailed during the pre-independence struggle. The political parties which were associated with sport and the arts before independence became more and more preoccupied with 'pure politics' and neglected all other avenues of organisational activism. When the leadership in both major parties passed on from the intellectuals to religious (Muslim) leaders, a reversal of the national dimensions began to take shape because the non-Muslims who are the majority in the south were, to all intents and purposes, excluded. In a logical progression, these parties meekly gave way to a theocracy which has been openly inimical to all sport and the arts. The case of Al-Hilal shows that football is much more than a game. It can be an indicator of complex social or political events.

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[27] Ossie Stuart, 'Players, workers, protesters: social change and soccer in colonial Zimbabwe', in Jeremy Maclancy (ed.), *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity* (Oxford, Berg, 1996), pp. 167-80.

POPULATION CHANGE IN THE SUDAN DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY[28]
by H. R. J. Davies

Making allowance for the differences in its boundaries, the population of the Sudan in 1898 based upon Count Gleichen's estimates (Gleichen, 1905), would have been about 2 million. Though the accuracy of this estimate is questionable (McLoughlin, 1963), there can be no doubt that the first half of the twentieth century saw a steady increase in the country's population. In 1936 it was estimated at 5.7 million (Sudan Almanac, 1937), and had reached 10.26 million in 1955, a 5-fold increase on the 1898 figure. Since then the process has continued so that by 1993 the population had reached 25.6 million with an estimate for 2000 of 31 million, a further 3-fold increase over the second half of the century. The current rate of population increase is about 2.5% a year. Within these global figures for the Sudan there are very considerable regional variations, particularly between north and south (Figure 1 and Table 1). By 1993 the north contained 83% of the population against only 73% in 1955. By contrast, the population of the south has fluctuated greatly due to the chaos created by civil disturbance and the poorer health and other facilities available there. The very small population increase in the south between 1955 and 1973 is accounted for by Bahr el Ghazal alone, with both Equatoria and Upper

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[28] Much of the comment in this paper is based upon the various Sudan censuses of 1955/56, 1973, 1983, 1993 and the Greater Khartoum census of 1990. In a country periodically involved in civil war the reliability of some figures, especially those relating to South Sudan, must be considered with caution. Nevertheless, the published figures have been taken at face value.

Changes have been made since 1955 in the Sudan's administrative arrangements. These are shown in Figures 1 and 2. Reference to `Province' means areas shown on figure 1 and `State' refers to those on figure 2.

Nile recording population losses. The dramatic change recorded in 1983 was due to the improved conditions after the Addis Ababa Accord. Subsequent chaos is shown by the 1993 figures. Since Independence, it would appear that the population of the South has increased by only 53%.

Figures 2 and 3 depict the distribution of population in 1955 and 1983 respectively. During this period the population of Sudan as a whole doubled from 10.3 million to 20.5 and the increased density of population over almost the whole of the country can be readily identified. Figure 4 brings the position more up-to-date as it shows percentage increases in population growth between 1955 and 1993. The area of greatest population increase is Khartoum State with growth of over 1000% (Table 2) compared with a Sudan average of 235%. Figure 7 shows that the proportion of Sudan's population living in this State has increased from 5% in 1955 to 17% in 1993. The other main growth areas are in eastern Sudan and South Darfur. Wadi Halfa is the only *Mohafaza*[29] in the Sudan with fewer people in 1993 than in 1955. Similar rapid rates of population increase to the Sudan's have been experienced throughout Tropical Africa. Such circumstances create severe problems from high levels of youth dependency: of providing health care for mothers and young children; followed by education costs from primary to tertiary education; and the need to provide employment after education is completed. In 1993 Sudan had 45% of its population under 15 years of age (15% under 5). In 1955 the position was less acute with less than 25% under 15 (10% under 4 years of age).

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[29] *Mohafaza* is equivalent to a Province within the States of 1993; and is akin to District within the Provinces of 1955.

The Nineteenth Century

During the nineteenth century certain distinct embryonic population processes can be discerned in the Sudan which have seen their fuller development during the twentieth century. According to Ohrwalder, Omdurman had a population of 150,000 in the 1890s (Ohrwalder, 1892). Besides its strategic position at the confluence of White and Blue Niles, one of the main causes of its rapid growth from a small hamlet in 1885 was the Khalifa Abdullahi's desire to keep political control over various potentially troublesome tribes, so he encouraged westerners, especially the Baggara, upon whose loyalty he could rely, to join him in Omdurman and its environs. Furthermore, it was reported by both Ohrwalder (1892) and Slatin (1897) that in an attempt to control activity within the country it became part of the Khalifa's policy to restrict nomadic pastoralism, especially among the Baggara. So Omdurman became not only the primate city in the Sudan, being many times the size of any other town at that time, but also ethnically diverse. Besides representatives of a wide range of tribes from northern Sudan, Ohrwalder reports Fellata, Takruri, Wadai and Borgu from areas to the west of the modern Sudan, as well as large numbers from Darfur.

The immediate effect of the establishment of the Condominium was a reversal of all these trends. The population of Omdurman was reduced to only 46,000 by 1904 (Gleichen, 1905). Many of those who left went westwards to resume their traditional nomadic way of life and the process of ethnic mixing was reversed. However, these reversals were to be shortlived.

Urban Growth

By 1910 there was evidence for a re-emergence of the movement of people into towns and the re-creation of urban primacy, processes to be noticed in most other countries of the less developed world during the twentieth century. By 1910 there were 20,000 labourers working in Khartoum and Khartoum North (McLean, 1910). Though many of these may have been temporary migrants, nevertheless the new pattern had been set. By 1948 Khartoum Province's population was estimated at 330,000 (Sudan Almanac, 1949) compared with Gleichen's 1904 estimate of 81,000 (Gleichen, 1905, 47-9), and there were 10 other towns - besides the `Three Towns' of Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman - with populations exceeding 15,000. By the 1955 census Khartoum Province's population had passed half a million with 95,000 in Khartoum (the administrative and commercial centre), 40,000 in Khartoum North (the industrial centre) and 115,000 in Omdurman (the main residential centre). 8% of the country's population was recorded as `urban'. There were 13 towns with more than 15,000 inhabitants and a further 7 with more than 10,000. However, in the south less than 50,000 people (less than 2% of the population) lived in `urban' areas compared with more than three-quarters of a million (more than 11%) in the north. The only southern town with more than 10,000 inhabitants was Juba (Figure 2).

Since Independence the urbanisation process has continued apace so that the 8% living in towns of 1955 had increased to 20% in 1983 and 30% by 1993. By 1993 the proportion of the population in southern Sudan living in urban areas had increased 8-fold to 16%. The urban population in the northern states had increased 3-fold now to 32% distributed over 120 urban centres.

However, urban growth in the northern states has not been even (Table 2). In 1955 the quarter million urban population of Khartoum Province accounted for 30% of Sudan's urban population and 32% of the figure for the Northern Provinces. By 1993 Khartoum State's share had increased to 39% and 43% respectively. The twentieth century has also seen an ever increasing degree of urban primacy with evidence for a changing distribution. Sudan Government estimates for 1948 give the urban population of the `Three Towns' (Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman) as some 3.2 times that of the second largest urban centre, El Obeid. By 1955 it was 4.7 times. By 1983 the figure was 6.5 times, with El Obeid replaced by Port Sudan, and by 1993 it had reached 8.9 times. To-day, El Obeid is only in fourth place (Table 2). Kordofan's share of northern urban population (excluding Khartoum State) is now only 17%, compared with the old Kassala Province's 27% of the northern urban population (excluding Khartoum State). This reflects the rapid growth of Port Sudan from 48,000 in 1955 to 273,000 in 1993, a 5.7-fold increase, as well as growth in Kassala town and Gedaref. However, Port Sudan's rate of population increase has been far exceeded by the `Three Towns' whose population increased from 247,000 in 1955 to 2,920,000 in 1993, a 12-fold increase. The fastest growing large towns in the Sudan over the period 1955 to 1993 were: Nyala from 12,000 to 227,000, showing a 19-fold increase, due in large measure to the extension westwards of the railway from El Obeid; and Roseires which has grown from 4,000 to 108,000 due to developments associated with the dam at Damazin. Table 2 provides details of the eleven largest Sudan towns, all with over 100,000 inhabitants in 1993, compared with their sizes in 1955. The only town in southern Sudan to reach this threshold was Juba.

Migration

Such rapid urban population growth is composed of natural increase plus migration. The significance of the latter can be gathered, as far as the large towns of Sudan are concerned, from Table 2 where the population increases since 1955 are far in excess of the national figure of 235%. In the northern states in 1993 3.9 million (18% of the population) were born in a different state from that of present residence (Figure 5). But this number excludes population movements within states and so is a underestimate of migration in an apparently increasingly mobile society (Davies, 1999).

Easterly Migration

Port Sudan replacing El Obeid as the second largest urban centre hints at a resurgence of the nineteenth century population movement from west to east encouraged in the late nineteenth century by the Khalifa Abdullahi. In 1955 there were 60,000 migrants from Kordofan and Darfur living in Blue Nile Province (3% of the population). They were mainly living on the Gezira Scheme where they provided 18% of the workforce in 1959 (Department of Statistics 1959). A further 20,000 of them were to be found in Kassala Province working as labourers on the Gedaref mechanised agriculture schemes.

Since 1955 the same easterly movement of population has continued. Besides Khartoum State, the areas of the Sudan where their share of the national population increased most from 1955 to 1993 were Kassala, Blue Nile and Darfur Provinces. The old Kassala Province, made up of what in 1993 had become Kassala, Gedaref and Red Sea States, contains Port Sudan, Kassala and Gedaref, three of the fastest growing urban centres (Table 2). For Kassala State most migrants came from Darfur Province, Blue Nile State and North State. In Gedaref State they came from West Darfur, South Kordofan and

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Gezira States, whilst for Red Sea State the main sources were the Blue Nile, South Kordofan and North States. The migrants from the west in Kassala and Gedaref States came to work in rural development projects such the New Halfa irrigation scheme and the mechanised agriculture schemes. The western migrants in Red Sea State took up menial jobs in Port Sudan. The Blue Nile Province of 1955, made up of what had become White Nile, Gezira, Sennar and Blue Nile States in 1993, drew most of its migrants from Kordofan and Darfur. Gezira State had more than 75,000 from the old Darfur Province, and over 50,000 each from the old Kordofan Province and White Nile State. Most of these migrants worked in the Gezira and on various other irrigation schemes.

West Africans

A further element in this easterly migration are the West Africans, some of whom were no doubt economic migrants but most were originally *Hajj* pilgrims who were either intending to go to Mecca or had stopped off in the Sudan after completing the pilgrimage (Davies, 1964a; 1999). In 1955 there were approximately 530,000 persons of West African origin living in the Sudan (i.e. 6% of the national population), distributed across the savanna `grassland' Provinces in central Sudan from Darfur Province to Kassala Province, but with some significant concentrations. At this time El Obeid was the western terminus of the Sudan Railways and the natural congregating point for migrants from further west. In 1955 the town had 12,000 West Africans making up 23% of its population. They fulfilled many menial tasks here providing almost the entire gum cleaning work force in El Obeid. The first major West African settlements founded in the 20th Century were along the Blue Nile south of Sennar, such as Maiurno established in 1903 by migrants from the Sokoto region of northern Nigeria. Many West Africans from this area found work in the Gezira Scheme. Here, in 1959 they made up 28% of the hired

field labour force, 90% of the ginning factory workers and 70% of the canal maintenance work force (Department of Statistics, 1959). In all 200,000 West Africans lived in Blue Nile Province in 1955 and in parts formed nearly 40% of the population. Further east in Kassala Province they accounted for 17% of the population, and some Census Areas, associated with the Gedaref mechanised agriculture schemes, recorded almost half of their populations as of West African origin. By 1993 there were 1.4 million Sudan inhabitants recorded as of West African origin and distributed across the country in similar fashion to 1955. The in-migration figures for Darfur in 1993 suggest that migrants from Nigeria and Chad, as well as refugees, are still entering the Sudan. 25,000 of Darfur's inhabitants were recorded as born outside the Sudan, of which 12,000 were from Chad. There were also 3,000 officially registered refugees.

Migration from the North

There has also been migration from what is now North State throughout the twentieth century. In general, in mid-century the migrants from the old Northern Province went to urban areas, particularly in Khartoum Province, to take up white collar jobs in Government and commercial enterprises resulting from the longer tradition of modern education in this area, and the very limited rural employment possibilities on irrigation enterprises along the Nile in this desert region. By 1993 the successor states to the old Northern Province, North and Nile, accounted for a considerably lesser share of Sudan's total population than in 1955 (Figure 4). Besides Khartoum State the main destinations for these migrants were Red Sea and Kassala States again to take up urban occupations, but in Kassala State it also represented the resettlement on the New Halfa Scheme of Nubiyin displaced by the filling of Egypt's High Dam reservoir. Wadi Halfa was the only *Mohafaza* in the Sudan to record fewer people in 1993 (64,000) than in 1955 (76,000).

The traditional links discernible earlier in the twentieth century between the old Northern and Kordofan Provinces seem to have lost their significance.

Southern Sudan

South Darfur State seems to be an anomaly as its share of Sudan's total population has increased (Figure 4) and yet it is at the western extremity of the country. In 1993 70,000 of its inhabitants were reported as born in Bahr El Ghazal, a clear result of southerners fleeing from the civil war. Similarly, in Kordofan there were 50,000 migrants from southern Sudan, mainly from Bahr El Ghazal. In-migration from the west and drought in North and West Darfur have also contributed to population increase in South Darfur.

The decline in population in southern Sudan between 1983 and 1993 was partly due to war, disease and famine and to migration out of the country into Uganda and Kenya in particular. But one alternative was to flee to the north as described in Darfur and Kordofan. In all, in 1993 there were 450,000 persons born in the south and living in the north. Of these 227,000 were to be found in Khartoum State. In 1993 there were said to be 38,250 internally displaced households in northern Sudan. Over 17,000 were reported for Khartoum State and a further 13,000 in Kordofan and Darfur. The Khartoum State census of 1990 lists over 400,000 persons, mainly from the south, as living in displaced person camps (Davies, 1991).

Khartoum State

Khartoum State (Figures 6 and 7) had the fastest growing population during the twentieth century, from 81,000 in 1904 (Gleichen, 1905, 47-49) to 505,000 in 1955 (with 24% born outside the Province) and to 3.5 million in 1993. 1.9 million in 1993 (46%) were born

outside the State. Besides the 227,000 from southern Sudan large numbers came from the old Northern, Blue Nile, Darfur and Kordofan Provinces (Table 3 and Figure 6). Much of this movement is due merely to the general attractiveness for employment and the enhanced facilities of the capital city. However, another factor appears to be deteriorating conditions in many rural areas of western Sudan from the 1970s onwards emanating from drought and poor agricultural incomes. Norris (1985) has noted this with respect to increasing numbers of folk from the Nuba Mountains migrating to the Umm Badda district of Omdurman. In 1993 there were 194,000 born in South Kordofan living in Khartoum State. In 1991 there were 96 squatter localities and displaced persons camps accounting for 60% of the State's urban population (Hamid, 2000). In 1996 it was estimated by the Sudan National Population Council that 70% of Khartoum State's population were living below the poverty line (Hamid, 2000). The rapid increase in the population of Khartoum State has simply overwhelmed the infrastructure and services in both urban and rural areas. Since 1991 the State has been regularising to some extent the squatter localities and displaced person camps but services are still completely lacking in many urban and rural areas.

Often men migrate first with the women and children following after. Khartoum State illustrates this trend. In 1955 for every 100 men there were only 85 women. This figure has remained constant. In 1993 it was 86 women for every 100 men.

Other Migratory Movements

The effect of drought years on the southern fringes of the Sahara can be seen in both Kordofan and Darfur. In Darfur many migrants within the region have moved south. In 1993 South Darfur State reported 150,000 persons living there but born in West and North Darfur States. Similarly, Kordofan recorded 40,000 born further north who had

migrated to South Kordofan. In all over 400,000 persons from Kordofan had migrated to Khartoum State.

Other shifts of population have also occurred during the twentieth century such as downhill movement in such areas as the Ingessana Hills (Davies, 1964b; 1995), and the movement south of northerners into some of the northerly fringes of southern Sudan. This slow advance southwards up the White Nile has been noted since the early years of the 19th century (English, 1823). In 1993 25,000 migrants from White Nile State were reported in the old Upper Nile Province compared with a total of 5,000 non-southern Sudanese in 1955.

Political instability in neighbouring countries in north-east Africa, particularly in the 1980s led to the in-migration of refugees. In 1993 there were 21,100 officially recognised refugee households in the Sudan of whom 18,800 were in the old Kassala Province. These had come from Eritrea and Ethiopia and were particularly concentrated in Kassala State. A further 620 households were recorded in West Darfur composed of people from Chad. Smaller numbers were to be found in Khartoum State.

Nomadism

A more specialised form of migration is nomadism. This long standing way of life on the desert margins flourished during the first part of the twentieth century. Whilst definitions vary, it has nevertheless been claimed that over 40% of the population were nomadic up to the 1950s (Climenhaga, 1958). Taking the 1955 census at face value the figure was 1.4 million (14% of the population). On this basis about 20% of the population of northern Sudan in 1955 was classed as `nomadic'. In the definition used in that census, and since,

seasonal movements in the southern Sudan were not considered as nomadism. Discouragement of nomadism has been part of government policy in the Sudan since independence. At first sight they appear to have been successful as by 1983 nomads comprised 11% of the population of northern Sudan. However, there were more nomads in 1983 (2.2 million) than in 1955. The drought of the late 1960s and early 1970s seems to have had little impact, though there is some evidence for a southerly movement in their migration patterns since 1955 (Davies, 1988). By 1993 there were less than 700,000 nomads in northern Sudan (or less than 4% of the population). Clearly the 1984-85 drought has taken its toll. Nomadism is still important in the Red Sea Hills where, in spite of the drought, a quarter of the rural population is still classed as nomadic. Yet even here the drought has taken its toll because in 1983 much of the area had figures exceeding 90%. North Kordofan also recorded nearly 80% nomadic in 1983 whereas to-day the figure is less than 25% (Davies, 1988) (Figures 8 and 9).

Conclusion

The population of the Sudan increased very rapidly during the twentieth century to top 30 million by 2000 with all the problems created by rapid population growth. The major trends in population change reported during the last years of the nineteenth century have been reinforced in the twentieth. There has been considerable movement of people to the main towns so that by 2000 more than one-third of the population lived in urban areas and urban primacy has become increasingly obvious with the `Three Towns' becoming nearly 9 times the size of the second largest urban centre, Port Sudan. The drift of population eastwards has continued with peoples of West African ethnic origins continuing to be an important element in the population of northern Sudan. Nomadism has become a considerably less noticeable way of life especially since the droughts of the 1980s.

All these migratory movements suggest that ethnic mixing is taking place within Sudan, but in practice it is more apparent than real. Each group tends to live in its own area. This can be seen in the urban areas of Khartoum State and is exemplified by the ethnically segregated villages in the Gezira and New Halfa Schemes, defended there by myths about the spread of disease from the incomers.

A number of other notable changes have taken place. Drought and deteriorating economic conditions in rural areas have led to massive movements of population southwards in northern Sudan and to Khartoum State. In spite of the unsettled conditions in the Sudan refugees from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Chad have found refuge here. Civil war has led to a declining percentage of Sudan's population living in southern Sudan and to large movements of southern Sudanese to parts of the North, but especially to Khartoum and South Darfur States, and to neighbouring countries. Southern Sudan was peripheral to the rest of the country at the beginning of the twentieth century and little is known in detail about its population. Regretfully, the same situation is being repeated at the start of the twenty-first century.

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Table 1: Sudan Population, 1955-93

(in millions)

	1955 (%)	1973 (%)	1983 (%)	1993 (%)
North	7.5 (73)	11.9 (80)	15.3 (75)	21.3 (83)
South	2.8 (27)	2.9 (20)	5.2 (25)	4.3 (17)
Sudan Total	10.3 (100)	14.8 (100)	20.5 (100)	25.6(100)

Table 2: Towns in the Sudan over 100,000 in 1993

(in 000s)

	1955	1993	Increase	(%)
'Three Towns'	246	2920	2674	(1087)
Port Sudan	48	247	199	(415)
Kassala	36	235	235	(553)
El Obeid	52	229	177	(340)
Nyala	12	227	215	(1792)
Wad Medani	48	212	164	(342)
Gedaref	18	191	173	(961)
Kosti	23	173	150	(652)
El Fasher	26	142	116	(446)
Juba	11	125	114	(1036)
Roseires	4	108	104	(2600)

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Table 3: State of Birth of Khartoum State Inhabitants 1993

	(in 000s)
Khartoum	1,890 (54%)
North	140 (4%)
Nile	121 (3%)
Red Sea	13 (<1%)
Kassala	23 (<1%)
Gedaref	33 (<1%)
Gezira	165 (5%)
Sennar	48 (1%)
White Nile	115 (3%)
Blue Nile	10 (<1%)
North Kordofan	198 (6%)
West Kordofan	79 (2%)
South Kordofan	194 (6%)
North Darfur	52 (1%)
West Darfur	55 (2%)
South Darfur	61 (2%)
Upper Nile Region	62 (2%)
Bahr El Ghazal Region	115 (3%)
Equatoria Region	60 (2%)
Outside Sudan	69 (2%)
Not known	9 (<1%)
Total	3,512 (100%)

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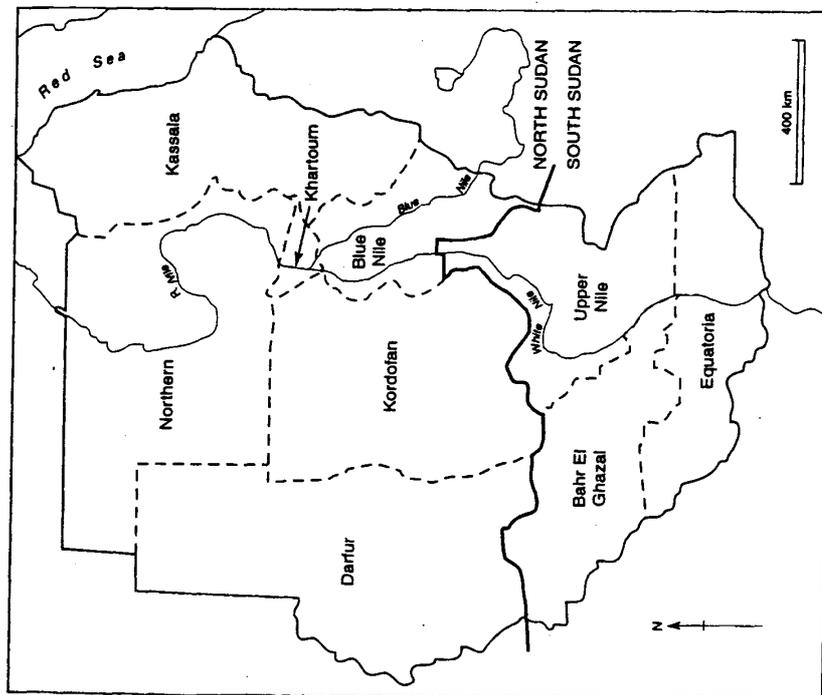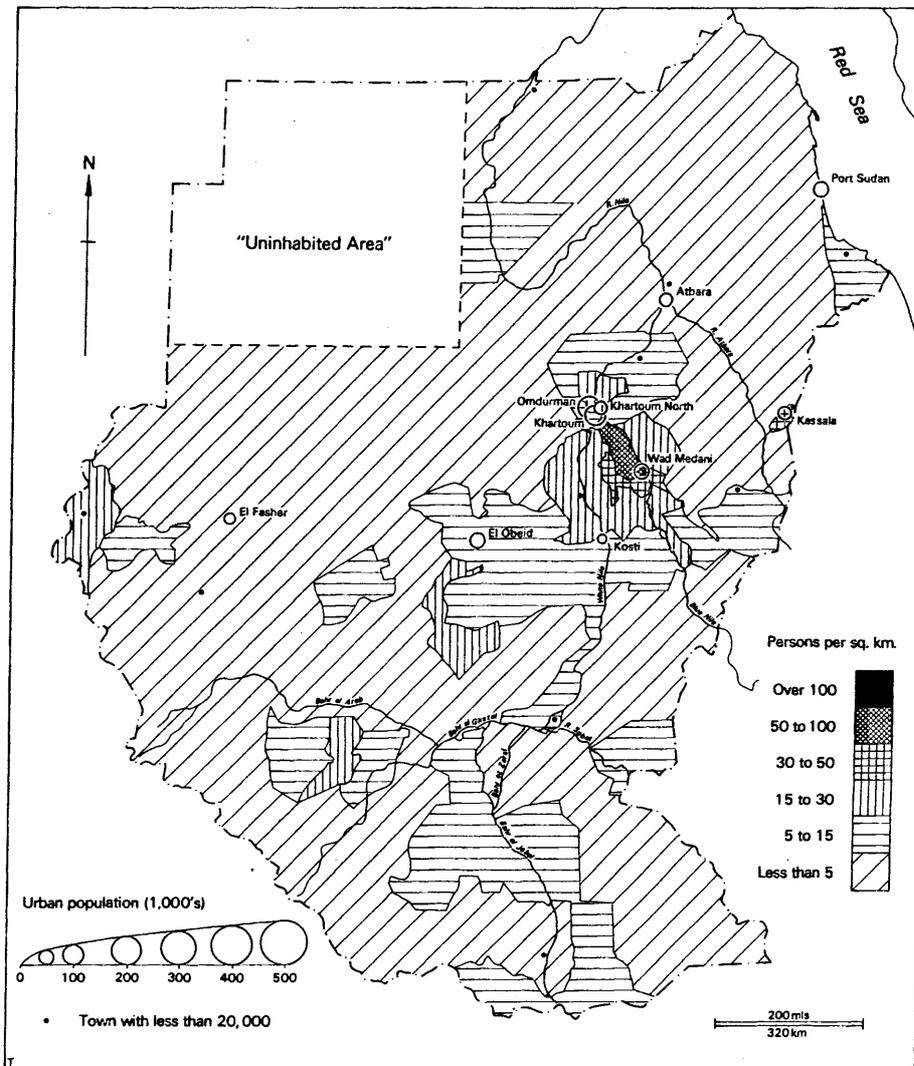**Figure 1**
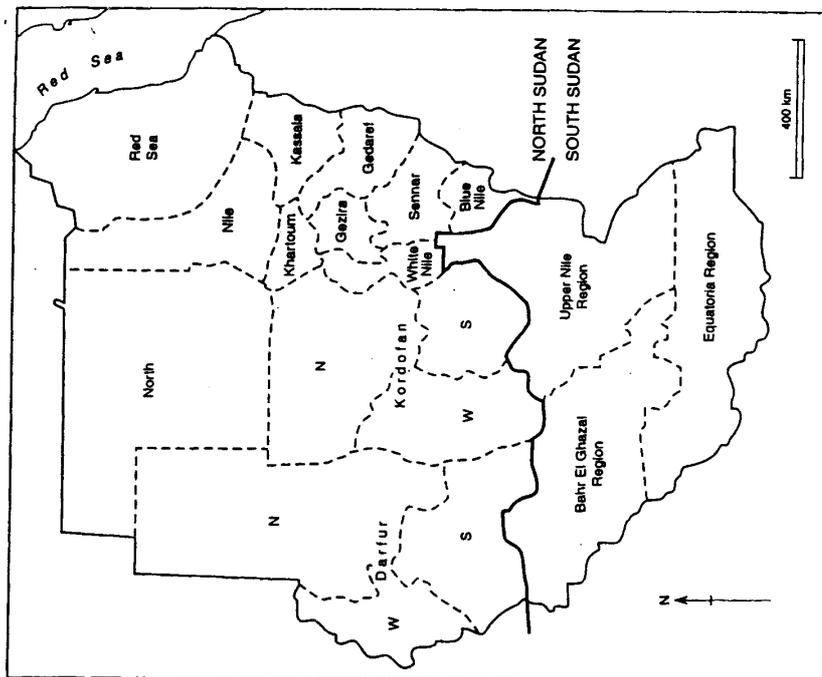
Sudan Administrative, 1993
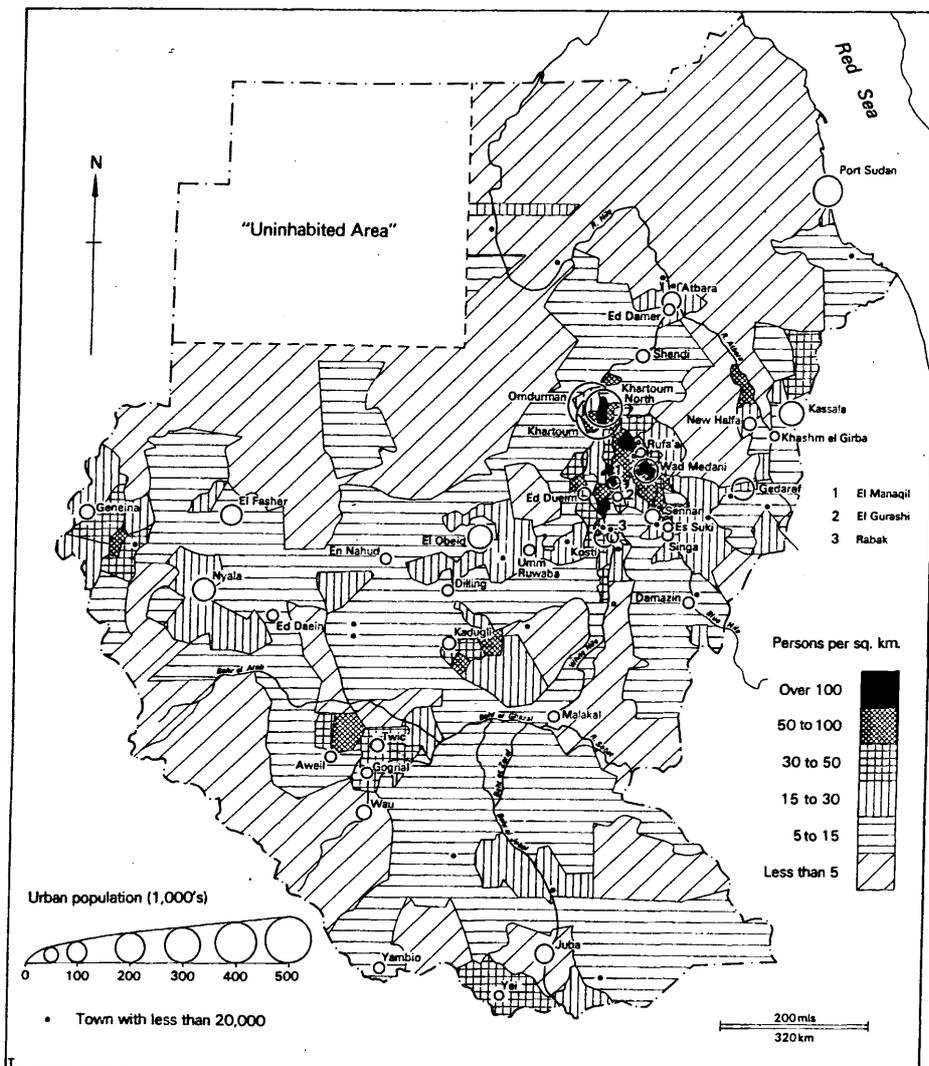

Sudan Provinces, 1955

Figure 2

Sudan Population, 1955

Figure 3

Sudan Population, 1983

Figure 4
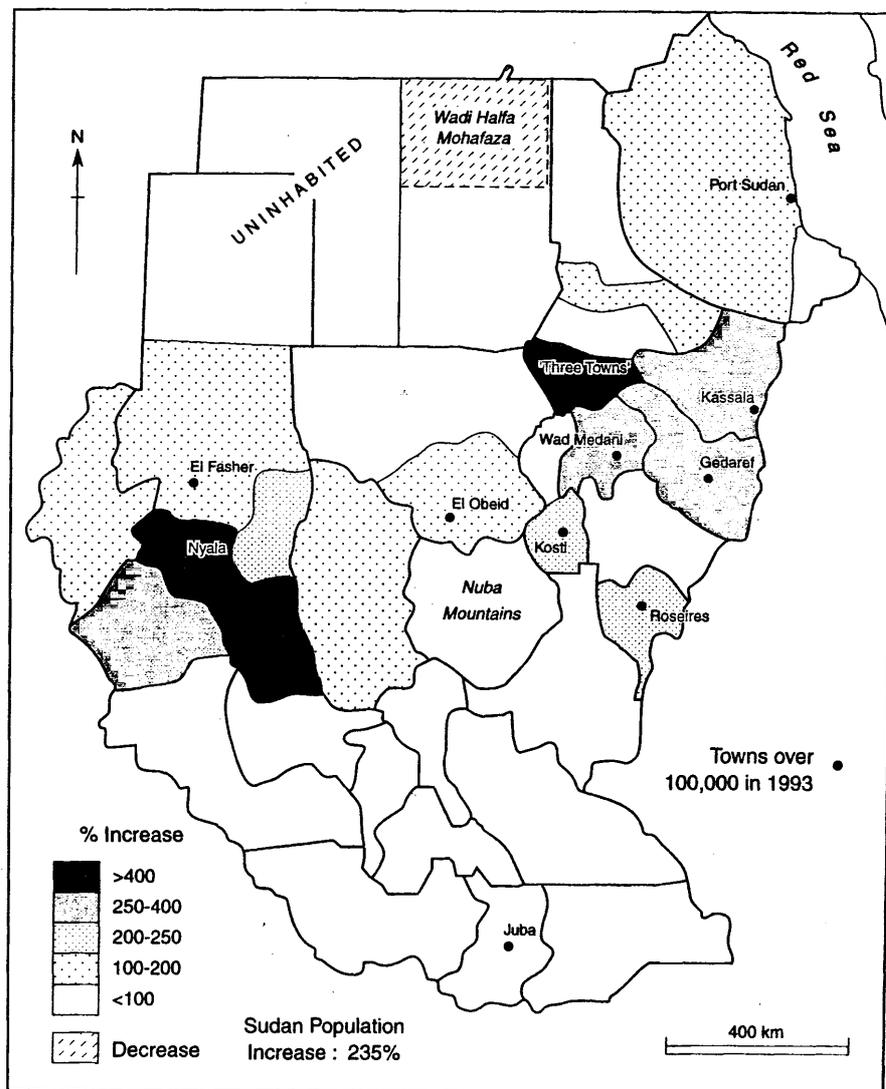
Population Change 1955-93

SUDAN STUDIES: Number 27 (June 2001)
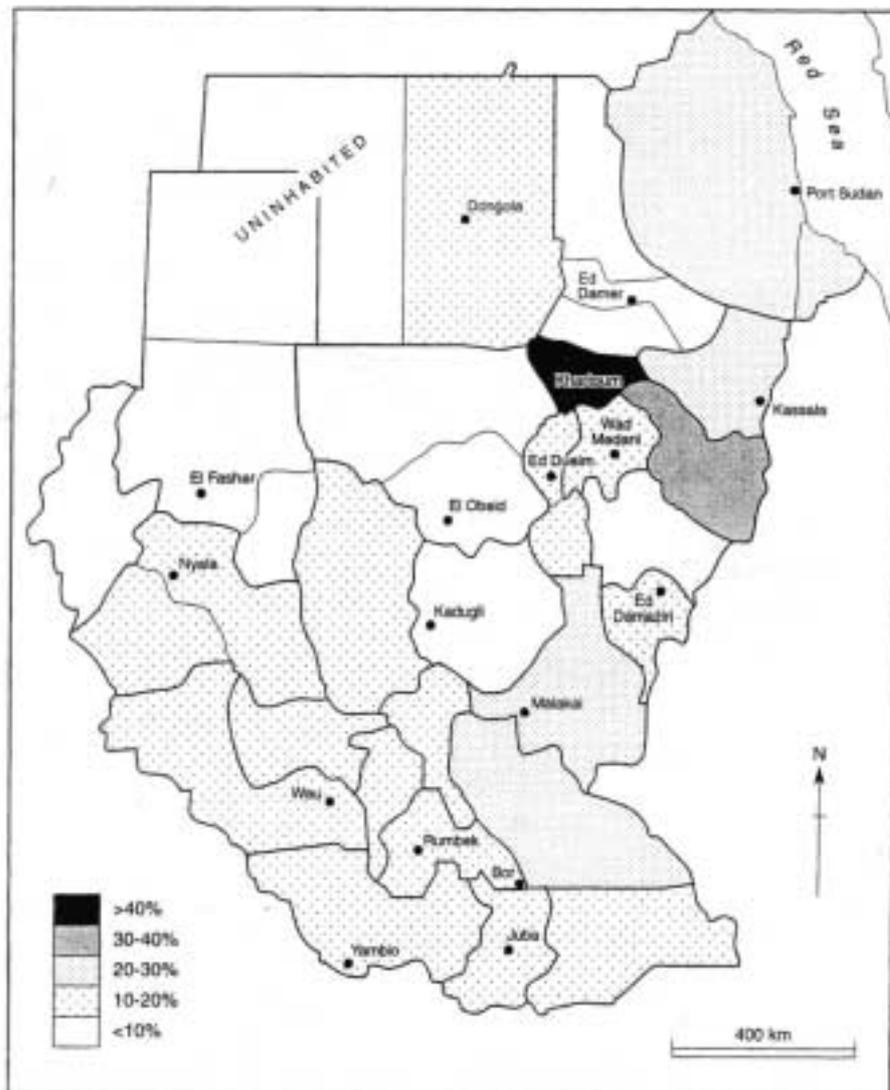
Figure 5

Population born outside State of residence, 1993

Figures 6 and 7

Khartoum State Population, 1993

Origin of born elsewhere by 1955 Provinces
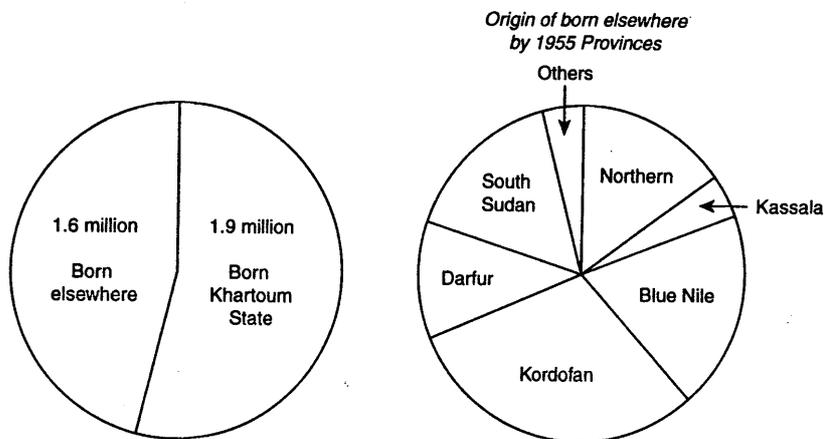
Population of Khartoum State 1955-2000 (% of Sudan's population)
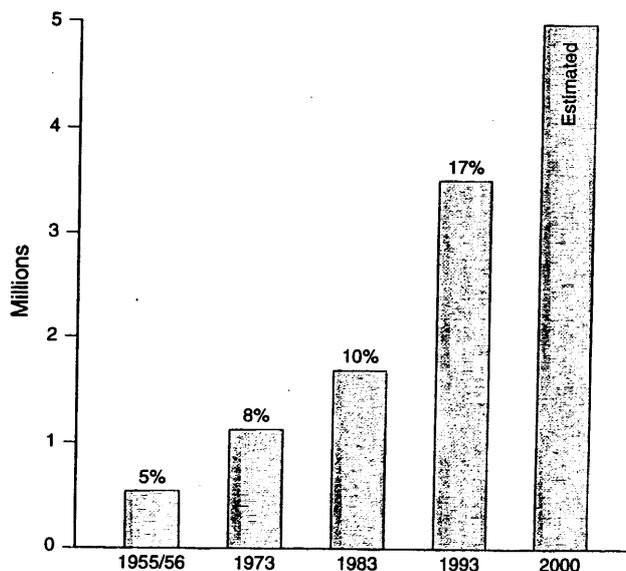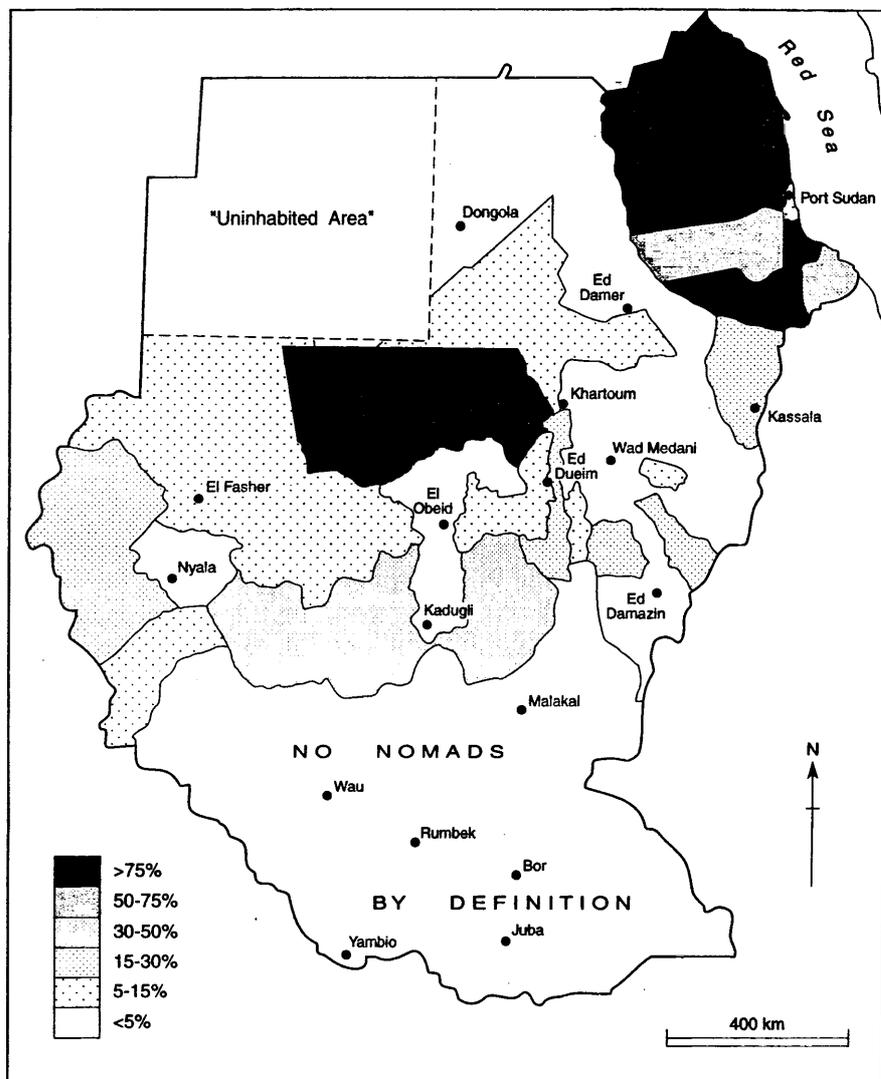
Figure 8

Sudan : Nomadism 1983 (by District)

Figure 9

Sudan : Nomadism 1993 (by Mohafaza)

THE SUDANESE SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL IN LONDON
Dr. Tigani Seisi

Historical Background

The origins of supplementary and mother-tongue schools in Great Britain can be associated with the presence of immigrant and refugee children in British schools, which goes back hundreds of years. The Armenian refugees, for example, settled in Britain 700 years ago, the French Huguenots came in the 17th Century, and the Jews from Eastern Europe entered Britain between 1880 and 1914. But more recent developments in this area of supplementary education can be largely attributed to the efforts of Black and Asian communities in this country. The contributions from various communities to the history of supplementary and mother tongue schooling in Britain are both profound and complex. Suffice to say that the provision has never ceased but has always been changing in line with communities' changing needs.

Supplementary and mother-tongue schools remain minority ethnic group endeavours and the term "ethnic" does influence the attitude towards these schools; but it is essential that the term should be reclaimed from negative connotations such as "underdeveloped" or "foreign and exotic" interests to what it should really imply: a historical continuity of cultural identity and language shared by a group of people. Additionally culture is not static and change is inevitable.

In general, supplementary schools are non-profitmaking organisations, frequently registered as charities that often rely on enthusiastic and able members of the community as well as on the generosity of funders to operate and progress.

Their main aims are generally:

A- developing their children's cultural identity, self-esteem and confidence

B- promoting the achievement of their children in state-maintained schools.

Most supplementary and mother-tongue schools are run for three to four hours a week in youth clubs, community centres, places of worship, state-maintained schools or colleges. Yet they operate almost in isolation from their Local Education Authorities or mainstream schools themselves.

It was under-achievement amongst minority ethnic children in state-maintained schools that necessitated contemporary supplementary education. Nonetheless, the service was questioned by many, both inside and outside the educational arena: just as the need for supplementary schools was questioned, so was the need for developing the mother tongue, and its cognitive importance was long overlooked. But fortunately educationalists are now more aware of the fact that children whose first language is disregarded ad discouraged tend to develop low self-esteem, which in turn can lead to under-achievement. Moreover, bilingual and multilingual children may develop better social skills than monolingual children may.

The value of mother tongue and supplementary education should not be underestimated. The strong cultural input, including lessons in history and culture, give children a real sense of their position in society. As such supplementary education has much to offer to the state-maintained schools and to the advancement of their efforts.

Article 30 of the Rights of the Child adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1989 states: "In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy

his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion or to use his or her own language".

Furthermore, the 1997 EEC directive of which the UK is a signatory obliges member states to promote the teaching of mother tongue. It would be short sighted not to benefit from the rich linguistic resources at our disposal when there are more than 275 minority languages spoken by school-age children in London alone.

Challenges and barriers

"There is much to be learnt from the work that goes on in supplementary and mother-tongue schools in terms of curricular and teaching. For it is these schools which are meeting the challenge of linking the values, knowledge and experience of their particular cultural groups to the demands of learning and attainment imposed through the national curriculum".

According to Charles Clarke, MP, parliamentary under-secretary of state:

> The government believes that study support compliments classroom activities and helps young people to realise their full potential. That is why we are committed to extending the range and quality of out of school hours learning activities.

So supplementary schools can make a significant difference to achievement of all children. But to do so they will need understanding and support from various parties, authorities, communities, parents and funders. Their mission is not only about supporting children and young people in their academic potential. Supplementary education can help in building bridges between cultures in addition to the more direct benefits of learning a mother tongue and appreciating the child's cultural heritage.

About the Sudanese experiment

The reasons why parents choose to send their children to mother tongue or supplementary schools differ from one family to the other, but all seem to agree on the necessity of making the extra effort at weekends or after normal school hours. Motives vary from wanting the child to learn the language because the parents intend to take their family home in a few years time. In the case of many residing permanently in the U.K. they would like their children to communicate in their mother tongue, and appreciate their cultural history. It is eminently worthwhile for communities to consider their part in supplementary education, and the SSS represents a new phenomenon with virtually no precedent in the Sudanese context in this country.

This renders it a trial and error experiment while the educational system as a whole is short of experience and knowledge in this field. Some of the most crucial challenges are financial insecurity, trained teachers and their adaptability, finding means for recognition and co-operation with the educational bodies and local mainstream schools. The SSS, which started as a mother-tongue class in 1991 gained charitable status in 1994 and as a voluntary organisation, is under the auspices of Voluntary Action Westminster.

The SSS operates on 36 Saturdays throughout term time each academic year. There school offers a full range of lessons in Arabic, English, Maths and Cultural Studies. Over 250 children from the Sudanese and Arabic speaking communities from Greater London Boroughs attend from age 4 through to the completion of GCSE's at 16+. In addition a range of social, sporting and cultural activities are organised by the school. To that extent the school provides an important focus for the Sudanese community in London. Immigrant children have experienced insecurity in terms of schooling, settlement and adaptation to the British way of life, so SSS endeavours to enable students to achieve

higher levels of academic and social success within a secure cultural framework in their regular schooling.

Each year is another milestone for the Sudanese Supplementary School as it sets higher standards while a group of educated teachers and other volunteers pursue its project. The Parents' Management Committee, which is elected annually, has always welcomed advice and help from parents, professionals and funding bodies. One of the reliable supporters is The Resource Unit for Supplementary and Mother-tongue Schools in London, which originated from research undertaken by the "Trust for London" in 1996. The research revealed that many supplementary and mother-tongue schools needed financial support as well as additional skills to obtain and handle funding and run classes more effectively. The Resource Unit is a charitable organisation, which provides advice and training for such schools. The Unit co-operates with minority ethnic communities centres and groups, the Department for Education and Employment, Local Education Authorities, State-Maintained Schools, charitable organisations and higher and further education institutions. The Sudanese Supplementary School is a member of the Advisory Group to the Resource Unit, which produced the first guidelines, and Directory for Supplementary and Mother- tongue Schools in London.

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