Sudan Studies

for South Sudan and Sudan

Number 66 July 2022

Front cover photograph: Gertrude and Ian Porter having tea in an Atbara garden (Copyright: Frances Welsh).

Contents

Registered Charity No. 328272

Editorial

Welcome to our second issue of 2022. We hope that after the isolation caused by the Covid pandemic, we will be able to meet with many of you at our Annual Symposium and Annual General Meeting, which will be held this year on the 8th October in the Brunei Lecture Theatre at SOAS. Our last in-person gathering was in 2019, so we are really excited at the prospect of being able to meet members and friends again this year.

Please book your place as soon as possible and pay either online or by using the booking form enclosed with this journal. As we return to SOAS, it will greatly help us to have an idea of how many people are likely to be there – and have lunch! The programme will be announced on our website (www.sssuk.org) nearer the time but we plan to hold sessions on Darfur, on South Sudan, on the Sudan Revolution and on architecture.

We still need a new Treasurer

One current preoccupation for the Society is appointing a new Treasurer as Adrian Thomas will not be standing for re-election at October's AGM. We have sent out several notices about this but without any positive response so far.

The Treasurer's post is key to the running of the Society – in all organisations someone has to make sure that the administration and finances are looked after effectively. It can be a satisfying role for the right person and indeed, the Society has only had three Treasurers since it was founded in 1986 – Lesley Forbes, David Lindley and Adrian, who has done the job since 2006.

However, no one has come forward yet, so we are asking all members once again if they know any well organised and reliable person who would like to take on this essential and interesting role. If no member is available, we would like to find someone else who is familiar with Sudan and South Sudan. If no one then emerges, we shall have to widen our search and hopefully appoint someone who has the right qualities and who can learn about the region from members and others.

If you would like to discuss this or have any ideas, please contact Adrian Thomas (treasurer@sssuk.org) or Jane Hogan (secretary@sssuk.org). There are more details about the role on the SSSUK website.

'Sudan Journeys' project

A sub-group of the SSSUK Committee has been working towards producing a series of short videos on historical Sudanese and South Sudanese men and women who undertook extraordinary journeys – including across Sudan to Mexico, Italy, the UK and the wider world. They include soldiers Ali Jifun and

Jimmy Durham, Saint Bakhita, journalist Ahmed Hassan Mattar, evangelist Selim Wilson (Hatashil Masha Kathish) and merchant seaman Ahmed Hussein Ahmed Bek. Research on some of these figures is complete and the first video will be about Jimmy Durham (*c.* 1884-1910), a Sudanese infant "taken prisoner" by British forces after the Battle of Ginnis and then adopted, raised and recruited by the Durham Light Infantry regiment.

Issue 66

We begin with the obituaries of Professor John "Jack" Davies, Ann Crichton-Harris and Griselda ElTayib, all of whom will be sadly missed. Jack Davies was the former Editor of *Sudan Studies*, handing over to me in 2014. He gave me invaluable practical and moral support when I began as Editor and continued to do so, both through sharing his contacts and sending me links to new articles and books. He also made helpful suggestions at Committee meetings about the future direction of the journal. He continued to attend SSSUK Committee meetings for many years, standing down only when he was unable to make the journey from Swansea to London.

The articles in this issue are all historical, by accident rather than design. We begin with SSSUK member **Frances Welsh**'s memories of her childhood in Atbara between 1938 and 1951, where her father worked for Sudan Railways. She provides an insight into a vanished world, illustrated beautifully with original black and white photographs. Our next article is by the Sudanese economist **Iman Sharif**, who writes about development economics in Sudan in the 1960s and the little known first Sudanese economic plan of 1961-1970. This is followed by the first part of **Douglas H. Johnson**'s field diary of his trip to South Sudan in 2007 to assist Southern members of the North-South Boundary Technical Committee in researching what would become the new international boundary between Sudan and South Sudan; photos also illustrate this account. The second part of this diary will appear in issue 67. Finally, **Antonis Chaldeos** has written about the Greek community in Sudan between 1900 and 1930 and its contribution to the local economy.

We have three book reviews. **Bernard Tuttle** writes on **Maciej Kurcz**'s *Urban Now: A Human in the Face of Borderlineness and Urbanisation in Juba, South Sudan*. **Kurt Beck** reviews **Eduard Rüppell**'s *Riḥlāt fī šimāl as-Sūdān wa Kurdufān wa šibhi ǧazīrat Sīnā' wa sāḥil al-Ḥijāz ḫāṣṣatan min manẓūr ǧaġrāfī iḥṣā'ī*, and **Gill Lusk** offers a review of **Mohammed H. Sharfi**, *Islamist Foreign Policy in Sudan. Between Radicalism and the Search for Survival.*

Francis Gotto has written his latest 'News from the Sudan Archive' and the minutes of the last AGM (held on Zoom in 2020) are reproduced in the section, 'Sudan Notices'.

We would love to hear from you with comments or contributions and offers of articles and book reviews. We hope you enjoy this issue of *Sudan Studies*.

Obituaries

Harold Richard John (Jack) Davies
1931 – April 2022

Jack was born in Anfield, Liverpool in 1931 and was a life-long ardent supporter of Liverpool football club. His father was a lay preacher and this had a strong influence on his life and his Christian values. He attended Anfield Road School and then Alsop High School. He was a keen member of the Boys' Brigade and also an accomplished sportsman, in particular in football, cricket and athletics in his younger years, with a highlight being witnessing Roger Bannister breaking the record for the four minute mile in 1954.

With the start of the Second World War, Jack was evacuated to his mother's family in Penmaenmawr, North Wales, where he also spent many family holidays. On leaving school, he was awarded a state university scholarship to attend St. Peter's College, Oxford. However, before he could take up his university place, he was called up for his 18 months' National Service in the Army Education Corps, spending time in Bicester as well as numerous other places in Britain.

In 1951, he entered St. Peter's College to study geography, followed by a postgraduate certificate in education at London University. On graduation in 1955, he was appointed as Geography Lecturer at the University of Khartoum, Sudan, where he stayed for five years. During this time, he married Gwyneth, who returned with him to live in Sudan. From there they had a great time exploring much of the Middle East and East Africa, including an overland journey to West Africa.

This period sealed his life-long interest in, and commitment to, the environment and resources of arid lands, in particular in Africa. In 1960, with the expected arrival of their first child Mina and with the news that Khartoum University was going to 'Sudanise' his job, he applied for and got a lectureship in the Geography Department at the University of Wales, Swansea. Jack and Gwyneth built a house in Southgate, Gower, where they brought up their children, Mina and Stephen, and lived for the rest of Jack's life.

Jack continually extended his knowledge and experience of Africa by academic visits to various African universities. These included two years as Head of the Rural Economy Research Unit, funded by the Ford Foundation, at the Institute for Agricultural Research, a part of Ahmadu Bello University near Zaria, Nigeria. This post was ended six months early, with him and his family having to be evacuated during the 1966 *coup d'état*. He also served a twelve-month posting as Professor and Head of the Geography Dept. at the University of Sierra Leone, as well as extended periods in Uganda, South Africa and

Jack travelling overland from Khartoum to Juba in approximately 1957.

Australia. He continued to visit Africa regularly as part of his research and for many years as External Examiner for the University of Khartoum, among others. Over the years he developed many links with African Universities and through this attracted numerous students to Swansea University. He always took a keen interest not only in their academic development but also their personal lives and that of their accompanying families, continuing to help them long after they graduated.

Jacks' research and expertise on arid lands was put to practical use by various international organisations, including the United Nations, which published two of his books. Throughout his life, he continued to publish his research in books and articles. Alongside his academic career, Jack led a very active church life. He was on the Parochial Church Council for his local church and served several terms of office as Churchwarden and membership of Swansea and Brecon Diocesan Stewardship Committee, as well as training lay parish officers.

After retirement, Jack continued his interest in Africa by publishing his on-going work and through the SSSUK, his life-long philatelic interest in Sudan and his support of many Sudanese or other African charities. He and Gwyneth continued to travel widely, exploring many interesting parts of the world and satisfying his fascination with islands. He was also a Gower voluntary driver for many years.

While Jack managed to live a very busy professional and church life, he was also very much a family man, delighting in the success of his daughter and son

as well as his two grandsons, Christopher and Andrew. He certainly made people feel good about themselves and contributed to making the world a better place at local and international levels. We will all miss his kindness, intellect and Christianity.

Mina Davies-Morel

***

The death of Jack Davies was very sad. As a former student and a friend of Jack's since he taught in Khartoum and later in Swansea, I feel his loss and my sadness is shared by other former students of his.

Jack Davies spent over sixty-five years teaching and exploring his own research on topics in Sudan, as well as evaluating many research projects about Sudan in other British universities. He was instrumental in establishing an academic link between the Geography Department in Khartoum and the Geography Department in Swansea. We also remember him as one of the founders of the *Sudan Studies* journal.

Jack was known in many British universities for his evaluations for higher degrees. He was very active in the fields of teaching and research for the long period after he left the Sudan until his death. During that time, he promoted the importance of Sudan studies both through his own research and through evaluating the research of others as well as by writing conference papers on the Sudan.

I would like offer my condolences on the death of Jack Davies to members of the Editorial Board and readers of Sudan Studies. He was a faithful teacher and friend to a large number of researchers in the Sudan and elsewhere.

Mustafa Mohamed Khogali,
Faculty of Geography, Khartoum University, Khartoum, Sudan

***

We miss Jack. Long after he had passed the editorship of *Sudan Studies* to Charlotte Martin, he was still a faithful member of the SSSUK Committee. His was a thoughtful and measured but always kind and humorous presence. He edited the journal in the days when none of the copy came in by computer, indeed, much was a tangle of near illegible handwriting. Jack tackled it all with characteristic patience and a desire to understand.

We shan't forget Jack's major contribution in assessing some of the papers for the Sudan International Studies Conference in Bergen, Norway, in 2006, a challenging task that he doughtily undertook along with his then fellow Committee member Dr David Lindley.

If, before the pandemic, the Committee regularly met at the Union Jack Club in Waterloo, we owed that to Jack, too. He had been a member there since doing his National Service. "Sergeant Jack" said he liked the fact that it was a club for other ranks, not officers. Notwithstanding the interesting colonial overtones of some of its historic decoration, it had none of the pretentiousness of some officers' clubs. He and his wife would stay there because they had a big journey to and from South Wales, and while Jack stoically played his part in our lengthy Committee meetings, Gwyneth would enjoy seeing friends or a museum in London, collecting him from the bar later, where much of the Committee was recovering.

Thank you, Jack, for all you did for Sudan and for SSSUK.

Gill Lusk

Ann Crichton-Harris
1936 – 2022

A scholar of Sudan's medical history

Ann Crichton-Harris, who developed a special interest in Sudan's medical history, had varied and diverse interests throughout her long and rich life. She was a well accomplished and multi-talented woman who excelled in several spheres. She was born in Surrey, UK, and raised in Birmingham. She became one of the UK's first female electricians, working in her youth at the Garrick Theatre in London's West End. She migrated to Canada and settled in Toronto.

Ann had many passions and interests throughout her life, from a theatre career in her teens to horticulture, where she ran her own business for many years, to a stint as a TV presenter, to freelance writing especially in medical history. She received her bachelor's degree in Italian in 1983. She was trained in horticulture and for several years ran her own landscape design business. Her artistic skills were evident in her embroidery, decorating, and justly-celebrated gardening. A musician as well, her proudest creative achievement was playing the Mozart clarinet concerto as a soloist with an amateur symphony orchestra. An accomplished genealogist and researcher, she wrote her first book on African medical history: *Seventeen Letters from Tatham: a WWI Surgeon in East Africa*'. Her family connections led her to write one of the epic biographies when she researched and documented the life and times of her great uncle, Dr John Brian Christopherson, the first to research and pioneer the use of sodium antimony tartrate in treating bilharzia, a parasitic scourge in the first half of the twentieth century.

Ann's sense of social responsibility got her to the heart of the women's movement in the sixties and the seventies of the last century. She took a vanguard position in several social activities in her adopted country, Canada, and in her Toronto neighbourhood, the Roncesvalles/High Park community. She fought to save the Carrville Post Office (her former home in Vaughan) from the wrecking ball and registered her High Park home as a historic landmark. She organised a team

of gardeners to beautify Roncesvalles Avenue when the city failed to adequately support the street's small gardens. In recognition of her activism and ongoing community service, in 2012 she was awarded the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal for her "contributions to Canada." Ann was highly accomplished in many ways. For television she did many things: from creating the props for TVO's *The Polka Dot Door* to being a researcher for Peter Gzowski on CBC's *90 Minutes Live*.

Her children wrote in tribute:

> Ann, could, and would, talk to anyone. She not only knew most of the people in her High Park community but helped forge many new friendships within it. A woman of huge generosity who went out of her way to help others, few people have had so many friends. Quick with her words and opinions, she was an avid and potent letter-writer; numerous politicians learned to feel her wrath.

I came to know Ann through her 'Sudanese connections', and became one of her many special Sudanese and international friends. Her passion for medical history writings led her to research and document the biography of her great uncle, Dr John Brian Christopherson, a pioneer of modern Sudanese medicine. He was one of the first British doctors to work in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan following the invasion of the troops led by Lord Kitchener. He became the first director of the Sudan Medical Department, the platform on which modern medical practice and research was introduced in that African hinterland. For nearly two decades, Christopherson was at the heart of a medical service which later become famous in British and international medical circles, as the 'Best in the World'. Christopherson's genius and medical mind led him to research the use of the first cure for bilharzia, a parasitic scourge that menaced mankind for many generations.

In that research lay the 'boon and the bane of Christopherson', as he didn't receive the credit and recognition for his ingenious enterprise. This led Ann, with her strong mind to research and publish his biography in her epic book, *Poison in Small Measure. Dr Christopherson and the Cure for Bilharzia* which appeared in fall 2009.[1] During this journey, Ann visited Sudan in 2003, and her eight years' long research for that book made her many Sudanese friends, Professor Mohamed El Makki Ahmed, Professor Abdel Rahman Musa, Professor Ahmed Adeel, Alsir Sid Ahmed, to name but a few. My Arabic translation of

[1] Ann wrote an article about Dr Christopherson's work in averting a smallpox epidemic in Sudan, 'Contact tracing in 1903: How one man turned around a potential smallpox disaster' *Sudan Studies* 63, January 2021, 86-89

Poison in Small Measure is in its final stages and should be available shortly to Sudanese and Arabic readers.

My personal connections with her spanned over nearly one and half decades, despite that we never met in person. Plans were hampered by the havocs of the corona virus pandemic and her mortal illness. She was very helpful and supportive in my writings of a comprehensive account of Sudan medical history; its first volume, *'Colonialism & Medical Experiences in the Sudan, 1504-1956* was published in fall 2020, and the second volume will come soon. Ann wrote an elegant blurb for that volume.[2]

Ann was diagnosed with mesothelioma last year, presumably in the wake of her working early life in theatres, where asbestos use was rampant. She died in Toronto surrounded by family. She leaves behind five children, nine grandchildren, and countless friends around the world.

Tarik Elhadd
Doha, Qatar

References

Ann Crichton-Harris, *Poison in Small Measure. Dr Christopherson and the Cure for Bilharzia*, Brill, 2009.

Tarik Elhadd, *Colonialism & The Medical Experiences in the Sudan, 1504-1956*. Medicine, Medical Research & Education Paperback 26, Africa World Press, Trenton, Nov. 2020.

[2] This volume was reviewed in *Sudan Studies* 64, July 2021, 99-100

Dorothy Griselda ElTayib, MBE.
1925 - 20th May 2022

Griselda: 'Someone who knew her own worth'.[1]

Griselda was born in Chalk Farm, London in March 1925. Griselda's lifelong association with Sudan started in earnest on her 21st birthday, when a couple of her Sudanese friends studying at the University of London (she was doing a course in education there at the time) invited her for lunch. There, she was to meet her future husband, Abdallah ElTayib, for the first time. Griselda had already studied at the Chelsea School of Art.

They were married in 1948 and Griselda came to Sudan with Abdallah by boat (from Birkenhead to Port Sudan on the *Warwick Castle*) for a three-month visit in 1950. They returned to Sudan to settle in 1952, when Abdallah was made head of the Bakht er Ruda teacher training college near Ed Dueim, White Nile. There, she contributed to the curriculum for art education in the primary and later, the intermediate school.

In 2002, she was awarded an MBE (Member of the British Empire) medal

Griselda and Abdallah in the 1960s in Suakin, Sudan.

[1] When Mohamed Ahmed Abbaro and Mahmoud Abdel Karim (both members of the SSSUK) passed away, I remember in talking fondly about each of them, she added that she liked how they "knew their worth, like Abdallah".

at the Queen's Birthday Celebrations for her work in promoting and strengthening Sudanese-British cultural relationships.

In 2000, Abdallah suffered a massive stroke and he died in 2003, having been paralysed and unable to communicate for all that time. After his death, Griselda decided to carry on living in Sudan. Not having any kids of their own, they had brought up a number of Abdallah's nieces and nephews over the years, and therefore she had a large extended family there. Griselda knew Arabic well, having studied on a course for non-Arabic speakers at Khartoum University. Apart from being well known in Sudan in her own right, it helped that her husband still has daily repeats of his very popular radio broadcasts on the interpretation of the language and meanings of the Quran.

In addition to living in Bakht er Ruda and Khartoum, she lived with her husband in Juba for a while and they also lived in Kano, Nigeria, for a couple of years and then for ten years in Fez, Morocco. She taught art in secondary schools in Sudan and she also taught English for some of the time she lived in Morocco.

Griselda was a cultural anthropologist who did a lot of fieldwork, mainly in Sudan but also in Nigeria and Morocco. She published a number of articles on various cultural and folklore issues. In 2017, she published a large book of her main research for a master's degree she'd done back in the 1980s, "Regional Folk Costumes of the Sudan".[2] All the many illustrations in the book were done by Griselda herself. Above all else, Griselda was a very capable visual artist. As a water colour painter, she is held in high esteem by her peers, many of whom are world renowned artists. In 2016, her work was included in a large exhibition at the Sharjah Art Foundation, along with top artists such as Ibrahim el Salahi, Siddig el Nigoumi, Osman Waqialla and Shaigi Rahim. She was considered to be a Sudanese artist of British origin.

The name Griselda: her parents stayed with us in Wad Medani in the late fifties while on a trip to Sudan to visit their daughter. Her mum told mine that they had been on holiday in France when a little boy and his sister were playing nearby and the boy kept calling out, "Griselda, wait for me!" (and in French!) They were taken by the name and called their daughter by it.[3]

Griselda was someone I'd known all my life. She and her husband were friends of my parents and over the last twenty or so years, she became a close friend of mine. Spending time with her was always a joy. She would always start off by asking about how everyone we'd ever known or their own fami-

[2] *Regional Folk Costumes of the Sudan*, Griselda el Tayib; DAL Group, Khartoum; 2017; ISBN 978-3-94-019096-3

[3] The website. www.sudanmemory.org/cms/96/ is worth checking out for Griselda and other Sudanese resources.

lies were. She enjoyed talking mostly about art, artists, books and the current situation in Sudan. She'd usually say something and then end by saying, "What do you think?" More often than not, she would bring up the same topic a year or two later and ask me if I remembered what I'd said and if I still thought the same. The hardest part about writing this piece apart from the loss is the knowledge that she and I are not going to be able to discuss its merits or shortcomings.

I got a call from Griselda sometime in August 2021 to ask me if there was going to be an AGM for the SSSUK that year. I told her it would only be by Zoom. I asked her why she hadn't come to London in the summer. She replied, "You know I'm 96 and too old to travel. Aren't you coming to Khartoum any time soon?" I told her it would probably not be until December. "Oh, I won't be here then, I'm going to the Seychelles", and she did. I was lucky enough to see her in February when I invited her to my daughter's wedding. She phoned me the next day to tell me she'd had a great time and find out if I was going to come round and see her before I left Khartoum. The day I tried to visit her, I got caught up in all the demonstrations on my way and was unable to get to her. Her house in Burri has been on the front line of the protests for the last few months and the teargas is just unbearable. I left Sudan the next day.

Griselda led a very full life with almost daily events. There was always a list of never ending projects that she had thought up to be executed (some very ambitious). A project I hope will one day see the light was convincing the Aziz Kafouri Trust to donate the old farm house on the Blue Nile in Khartoum North to be converted into a Sudanese Museum of Modern Art. A lot of charity work, not least with the Cheshire Homes for the rehabilitation of the young disabled, was very close to her heart. At the time of her death, she was organising the first charity shop for clothes etc. to be established in Sudan on their premises. The charity hopes to go ahead with this. On Mondays, there were lessons in painting for the ladies she knew. Then there was the constant travel inside and outside Sudan, always with her sketch book.

Griselda fell ill for a few days before she died. She had been in hospital briefly some weeks before but had recovered. At the time of her death, she had been organising travel arrangements to visit the UK.

She lived a full and colourful life, just as she depicted in her paintings.

Aziz el Nur

***

Gill Lusk adds:

I have never received so many messages when anyone died. My mobile was

swamped by Sudanese people sending photographs of her or her paintings, and with texts expressing condolences, sorrow, admiration and respect. Griselda ElTayib was a pioneer among *khawajat* in making her life in Sudan before Independence in 1956 and many appreciated that.

She could be a fearsome presence. We shall not forget her last visit to SSSUK, at the 2019 Symposium. We had arranged a place for her to sell copies of her astonishing book but she determinedly decided to appropriate a table in a corner and there she stayed, providing not only books and pointed comments but photo-opportunities for the many Sudanese who wanted to be snapped beside her. She made her mark on the world and we shall not forget her.

A British Child's Memories of Life in Atbara, 1938-1951

Frances Welsh*

Abstract

A British child who lived in the Sudan in her early years, tells how that led to an enthusiastic interest in the history and culture of ancient and modern Sudan.

Introduction

Reaching the age of eighty gave me cause to look back over the years and take stock of my life. I realised that Sudan has been a major influence, sometimes indirectly but often the dominant feature. I thought that modern Sudanese people might be surprised and interested to know that the colonial period in their country's history is remembered with affection by the children of the British officials who lived and worked there.

I started my life in Atbara and Sudan went with me all my life, particularly when I was studying its ancient history and visiting ancient sites and modern villages there. So I feel I have come 'full circle'.

Daily Life

My father, Ian George Porter, worked for Sudan Railways from 1926 to 1951 and served in Atbara for his whole career. He married my mother, Gertrude, in England and she joined him in Atbara in 1933. My brother who was born in 1935, and myself in 1938, were born in England and brought back to Atbara as babies. Atbara was my home for the next seven years.

Frances aged three in Atbara. (All photos are copyright the author Frances Welsh).

It was an idyllic life for a child: always sunny and warm; no need to help with household chores or washing the dishes; just a regular routine. Dad having left on his bike to go to the office at 6.30am returned for family breakfast at 8.00am after which he went back to work. I went to school or joined Mum at a coffee

morning meeting with other mothers and children in the British community. Family dinner was at 2.00pm in the refreshingly cool dining room, followed by a quiet rest and play while the grownups had their siesta. At 4.00 pm it was time for tea in the garden or at the Sports Club where we could watch the grownups playing tennis. Then, as darkness fell around 6.00 o'clock, we went home to supper and bed.

Atbara children. Frances is front left.

On Friday afternoons I was often taken to the swimming pool near the Sports Club. The pool was usually filling up slowly with fresh water after its weekly cleaning. My Dad was determined that his children should be able to swim and it was in this pool that he taught me how to swim at a young age.

On Sundays there would be swimming for grownups and sometimes a gala with races for the children on 'seahorses' made of two petrol cans joined by a wooden plank and with a carved horse's head fixed to the front. These were made by craftsmen in the Railway Workshops who also made all sorts of toys, such as a wooden doll's rocking cradle (which I still have) and furniture.

At the weekend, Dad often liked to take out his sailing boat called, "Hells Bells" and I enjoyed the fun of 'avoiding' the boom as we tacked from side to side on the River Nile. There was no ferry then so we landed on the opposite bank in an agricultural paradise. *Dourasham* (corn cob) grew head high which an obliging farmer cut for us to take home. I once saw a newly born baby donkey wobbling unsteadily to its feet. I remember noticing the man's bare

Sports Club swimming pool with 'seahorses'.

legs ankle deep in the rich dark brown silt at the river's edge when he carried me onto the shore.

Our house

I don't remember our first house which was in the northern part of Atbara. Built of burnt brick it would have had one or two concrete domes. Mum and Dad always talked about it as number "three-four-nought" (340). Later, my

Parents on their sailing boat Hell's Bells.

Dad insisted on moving to an older house in Broadway (number 21) which although made of white washed mud brick was situated near the river. A small park on the opposite side of the road gave access to the bank where his boat was moored. From our veranda we could see its mast sticking up.

This is the house I remember. It was a bungalow which had five main rooms including a central dining room kept cool and dark with wooden shutters. There were tiled floors throughout and ceilings which could not keep out dead flies and geckos which fell onto beds and chairs from time to time. Deep verandas all round kept the heat off and mostly we slept out there in the open – our beds just taken out at night.

There were two rooms, lounge and master bedroom at the front and two rooms at the back, children's bedrooms and the '*Feece*'. I never knew the meaning of that word and nor do I know an English word for it. There was a refrigerator there and a large kitchen table with an unpainted top where Mum mixed cakes and chopped onions, and stale bread to feed the turkey she was fattening for Christmas. Food and bottles of drink (soft and spirits) were kept in this room and Mum cut up cones of sugar which were wrapped in blue paper, as well as chopping up huge bars of chocolate.

The kitchen was a separate building close at hand and sheltered two *zir* for drinking water. A small bathroom was attached to the side of the master bedroom. It had running water but hot water had to be heated on the kitchen range in petrol cans fitted with a wooden crossbar and carried across the yard to fill the bath.

There was another separate building close by consisting of a storeroom and a lavatory with a bucket toilet. I was always worried that the night soil collectors might lift the flap and remove the bucket while I was sitting there!

Roses, oleanders and hibiscus flourished in the garden and a small orchard plot had bananas, grapefruit and guavas. Every Thursday, the garden was flooded and Ali, the gardener, spent the day organising the irrigation flowerbeds and lawn, making little walls of mud, then dams to fill certain areas, and openings to allow the flow to different areas. My Dad had a patio square of paving slabs laid in the middle of the lawn with a raised path for access from the house. This was called the *mastaba* and on Thursdays became an island when the lawn was flooded. In the afternoons a table and armchairs were carried out there together with a metal standard lamp with metal shade. Then tea was served in this odd environment.

As it grew dark the lamp attracted moths and other flying insects which made a plopping sound as they hit the shade. It was no good for a child in the Sudan to be afraid of insects and creepy-crawlies – they cropped up everywhere! I saw the havoc caused by white ants on an outside door frame – deep

grooves had been eaten away leaving just a thin layer of paint. The legs of wooden furniture in the house were placed in round tobacco tins (Players Navy Cut) filled with water or oil to prevent invasion of white ants. Every week the mosquito man would visit to pour oil on any stagnant water which effectively stopped the spread of malaria. I don't remember ever having mosquito nets on beds. Gabriel, our houseboy, would use his 'flit gun' against flies etc. and DDT was also used.

At night, Dad would sometimes carry me out on his shoulders into the garden and point out the stars which sparkled like diamonds on a velvet cloth: Great and Little Bear, Orion's Belt, the Milky Way.

Garden scene.

I regarded our servants as part of the family as they were always there and returned to Dad's service after each leave. Bakheet was our cook – plump and jolly. His kitchen always seemed a dark and mysterious place when I peeped in at the black cooking range where he produced a stream of delicious food, including tomato soup and *foul Sudani* a soup made from peanuts. He went home each day but Gabriel our houseboy had a room beside the kitchen.

I presume Gabriel did all the house cleaning as well as the laundry, although my mother probably dealt with her personal items. He was a Christian from Abyssinia and was a kind and gentle man. He once collapsed and I saw him lying motionless with an ashen face so that I thought he might be dead. It turned out that he was doing without food in order to send money home to his family, so my parents arranged for Bakheet to feed him regularly. Ali the gardener seemed to come most days and was always willing to show me how he irrigated the garden.

Railway society

There were railway lines laid out all over the British part of Atbara and I had to lift my bike over them where they crossed the road. Each house had a line beside it so that a saloon carriage could be shunted there, filled up with the passenger's household and personal luggage as well as the travelling family and then shunted off to join a passing train going to the required destination.

The saloon carriage was set up inside like a flat with lounge, two bedrooms, bathroom, kitchen and servant's room. This enabled officials to travel on business (or pleasure) to remote parts of the country. We went to Khartoum at least once and Dad pointed out to me a row of small triangles on the horizon, "Egypt's not the only place that had pyramids, there are some in Sudan!" These were the Meroe pyramids which I didn't see again until about 50 years later.

British society reflected its military background – Atbara was often called 'the Cantonment' because it had been set up originally as a military camp after Kitchener's successful campaign. The political officials were the 'officer' class and the Railway men were the 'other ranks' which was expressed by the two Clubs – the Sports Club was like the sergeant's mess and the Atbara Club was for officers. I knew this as a child because my Dad and his colleagues joked about the fact that men of higher rank would have dinner at the Atbara Club and then come down to the Sports Club for "a bit of fun". At the same time, it was quite clear that the lower ranks would not be welcome at the Atbara Club.

Railway families helped each other out. I was once having to spend two or three days in Khartoum waiting for a train to Atbara (presumably having flown on my own from England) at about age ten. My Dad had arranged for me to stay with 'Uncle' Arthur Jarvis, who I had known in Atbara, and spend the days with the Chiesmens (another ex-Atbara colleague) to play with their daughter, Susan who was a similar age and who I had known in Atbara. In the evening, I felt very awkward and did not know what to do. I had a bath and wondered whether I should put on my pyjamas and go to bed or get dressed and join Arthur for the evening. I hope I went to bed as he might have found it difficult to entertain a little girl having had two boys himself. I always tried to prepare my own children with what was going to happen and how to cope with things.

Out and about

My Dad liked to get about. We have photos of his early days in Atbara – a tall good looking man on a motorcycle. Later, with a wife and children, he had a green two-seater sports car which he called 'Boanerjees'. My brother and I sat in the 'dickie' - the luggage door flap which opened out. The hooter was

raucous, up and down it went and sounded like the wooden rattles at football matches.

I went to Wadi Halfa once with my parents but cannot fit it in to my remembered life story. My Dad and Mum with myself and young sister stayed one or two nights at the Blue Nile Hotel. We were put into rooms in the Annexe, which was a row of bedrooms in the hotel grounds. The hotel had blue curtains and I thought that was to fit in with its name. My Dad took me for a walk along the riverbank and picked a branch of a plant with round spiky berries and told me that this was a caster oil plant. I took the plant to school with me and when it dried out I kept it in my tuck box. This had to be about 1949 because my sister was born in 1947.

I never learnt to speak Arabic because I didn't need to but Dad taught me the Arabic numbers to 100 and also a few words especially the useful phrase, "*ana owiz kubayit moya min dedlak*" (can I have a glass of water please?). I never forgot these. However, I find I can distinguish various languages easily and can pick up the meaning of words and the correct pronunciation of foreign place names – probably because I heard Arabic spoken around me at an impressionable age.

Sometimes we all went to Marketto's, the main store which seemed to supply all sorts of dry goods. A large room was full of sacks of rice, dried peas, grain, and it seemed to be something of a social club where everybody met and presumably compared notes on whatever was available. This was on the edges of the *souk* where there was another Greek owned store. The *souk* was a dusty place of sandy roads and interesting small cubby-hole shops where one could choose from the stacks of rolled cotton material – many coloured and patterned. That's where Bata shop was – lots of shoes hanging up outside. I think there were Bata shoe shops all over Africa.

The tailors in the *souk* made the baggy shorts that were *de rigeur* for Sudan officials. Once my mother in a fraught moment, told Dad to take me to the tailor in the *souk* to ask him to make me some pyjamas (which she would usually make herself). So, the tailor began to measure me but had to stop when Dad shouted, "don't measure her inside leg" (I was about ten at the time). Not surprisingly, the finished garments were like prison outfits, with very wide legs and in a dull beige material. I couldn't let Dad down and so I put up with them.

'Home' Leave

One of the unique conditions of service within the Sudan Government, whether political service or railways, was the provision of three months per year paid home leave of absence to compensate for the difficult climate, although wives and children usually took longer.

During the Second World War it was necessary to avoid travel to the U.K. if possible so most wives and children went south to Kenya or South Africa and were joined in due course by their husbands. This involved travelling on the Nile steamer from Kosti to Juba, then by land and boat to Nairobi. I went on this route eight times before the age of seven and it is not surprising that I had vivid memories of that exciting trip and hoped to do it again someday and also see those places again.

I was taken to South Africa in 1941 and 1942 and to Kenya in 1943 and 1944. The Nile steamer was rather short of space and we children (there always seemed a lot on board!) roamed all over the upper and lower decks. When the boat had to push against the papyrus plants in order to get round bends in the river channel, some plants would break off onto the lower deck. We seized them and waved the fronds at each other and in the faces of the grownups. The upper deck was supported by narrow metal supports fixed to the lower deck, and I unsuccessfully tried to climb them 'monkey-fashion'.

We were driven through the bush to Nairobi in station wagons with their distinctive wooden panelling and I remember seeing giraffes poking their heads up through the acacia trees to nibble the leaves on top.

In South Africa we stayed in a seaside resort called Doonside, south of Durban and a photo shows me having fun on the beach and hugging a new doll. It was a very special rubber doll which I wanted to take home to Atbara to show my Dad. But, I have a vivid memory of seeing the doll bobbing along in the white foam behind the ship taking us to Mombasa: "If only I had dropped one of the other dolls. I didn't like them as much". At the same time I heard the grownups talking about the U-boat threat but didn't realise the danger.

Beach near Durban. Frances is at the front with her doll.

My older brother was sent to boarding school in Kenya, so the next year we went to Thomsons Falls School where Mum was able to work as Assistant Matron until Dad jointed us in a rented bungalow. Mum and I, of course, had free board and lodging at the school and I joined in lessons (which I don't remember). She was glad of that because Dad's salary was not large and the expense of going on leave was always a problem.

Of Kenya, I remember a mountain stream of sparkling water running between glistening rocks which I felt too scared to use as stepping stones. I also have a vivid memory of pyrethrum – a vast field of lovely white flowers and the nearby building where they were laid out on trays to dry – and over all the distinctive smell of pyrethrum. Every garden I have owned in adult life had a large bed of white marguerites which remind me of the pyrethrum flowers.

1944-1945

I was not aware of the Second World War going on. I was taken once to Atbara airport to see a few military planes (presumably British) and was worried about the very small holes which the pilot used to go inside. I didn't travel by 'plane until much later and was relieved to find it had a full-sized door.

In 1944/45 my mother was working as a secretary to an official in the Railway offices. Her job started early, so I went with my older brother to a school run by a group of nuns near the s*ouk*. As I was only six years old, I could not join in the lessons but had a chair sitting beside the teacher / nun who started me on simple embroidery (which developed into an interesting and successful hobby when I went to boarding school). At the break, the older children settled down in the playground to eat their picnic breakfast, but I was taken home for breakfast and then on to the infant school run by Mrs Eileen Phillips in the Sports Club Hall.

8th May 1945 was VE day and a few days later we were on our way back to England on home leave. I don't know how my father managed to arrange this, but after a few days at the hotel in Port Sudan, my mother, brother and I boarded a passing ship which was full of British troops returning to the UK from the Far East. I think my father came later because I know he left England in September, four months later, which would be too long for his leave.

On the ship, passengers were kept segregated away from the troops, but our cabin porthole opened onto the deck where the troops exercised. They were delighted to talk to two English children after such a long time separated from their own families.

We arrived in the U.K. (Glasgow) in May 1945 and I was left at boarding school in Worthing in the September as Mum and Dad's leave was over and they had to go back to Sudan. England was a foreign country to me with my

brother in another school in Liphook and grandparents who lived in London and who I had only just met. I knew no-one at school either so it's not surprising that I cried continually for the first week and felt desperately homesick for HOME, which of course, was the Sudan.

I must have consoled myself by going over memories of life there, probably glamourised with nostalgia, and these thoughts kept me going, especially the beautiful river where we all went sailing in Hell's Bells. I used to write a lot of poems (privately) describing creatures dropping from the ceiling, as well as addressing a vulture sitting on a telegraph pole in the desert who was watching a dying man staggering along – hopeful of a meal!

After the war, special flights from England to Sudan were organised each Christmas to bring schoolchildren out to spend two weeks of their holiday with their parents. I went on one of these 'reindeer' flights and it was great fun. We flew from Blackbush Airport, touched down at Marseilles to refuel, then on to Malta for a night in the Phoenicia Hotel in Valetta. Next morning we flew to El Adem (an outpost in the Libyan desert) then on (I think) to Khartoum. We were met in Sudan by a locally based official who had been briefed by Dad to put us on the train to Atbara.

The day after we arrived, we went along to the Atbara Sports Club for the Christmas activities. Santa Claus (aka the General Manager of the Railways) appeared on the other side of the sports field riding in a white painted sleigh or sledge drawn by (I think) a camel and a donkey. He brought presents for all the children. After tea we could go on a roundabout, made in the workshops of course, with wingless 'aeroplanes' to sit in. They seemed to me to be made from petrol cans beaten and riveted together, then painted: two cans, one with a pointed end. The rest of the holiday was all enjoyment!

Every morning the youngsters would foregather at the Sports Club Swimming Pool. There was nobody to supervise us, and no lifeguards, so I am surprised now that as far as I know there were no accidents there. Fortunately, I could swim very well but I remember thinking I would drown when one boy (whose name I will not reveal) stood on my head in the deep end. We practised diving, we swam up and down with different strokes, we larked about, and generally had a great time. Finally, lunch was calling and some of the boys went across to the Sports Club bar and signed a 'chitty' in their father's name for a lemonade (I hope!). My Dad expressly forbade me and my brother from doing this but, instead, my Mum gave me a whole bottle of delicious government lemonade at home.

1950-1951

My Dad was due to retire in 1951 at the end of his 25 year contract and it was

A social gathering outside the Club with 'aeroplane' carousel.

decided that I would go over to Sudan for a long final visit. I am not sure why this happened – it may have been simply a way of saving on boarding school fees. I never asked and was never told.

So, I went back to boarding school as usual in September 1950 and prepared to fly out in the December. Mum had left for me a suitcase of 'summer' clothes which the school Matron sorted through and packed. She found three lovely cotton dresses that my mother had made without me knowing and Matron ironed them and packed them in tissue paper. I was amazed that she had gone to so much trouble for me and I was also thrilled to know that I had such lovely dresses to wear in the Sudan. I hope I thanked my Mum for making them!

Atbara was just the same – the house and servants and swimming pool, I was 12 years old and able to help Mum. Some evenings we walked over to the market garden / allotment set up by the Railways to provide fresh vegetables for its employees. A couple of *goofahs* (baskets) were soon filled with good things to be delivered to the house later, and paid for with the usual chitty signed by my mother.

Each morning I cycled down the road to the Annexe near the Sports Club and swimming pool, in order to do my piano practice. Dad had arranged this. This Annexe was an extra space for people to relax in, with lots of armchairs and small tables, and the piano must have been used for entertainment. In the

morning there was nobody there except for a team of cleaners who took no notice of me as I didn't of them. There were lots of glazed French doors so there was a lot for them to clean.

I was given a man's bike to ride and I thought this was very grownup as I cycled all over the residential area through the avenues of banyan trees.

I was not let off school though! I had to go to the Sports Hall where small children were doing lessons. I joined in with their singing – "Up the street and round the corner, stands the house of Little Jack Horner, all the doors are open wide, ring the bell and walk inside". The teacher (no longer Mrs Phillips) gave me a copy of *The Children of the New Forest* which had comprehension questions at the end of each chapter, so I was kept busy with that. Because I was twelve, I was allowed to attend the New Year's dance at the Sports Club and watched all the ladies in their long gowns and men in evening dress (including my parents) dancing for a while, before being taken home to bed with my three year old sister under the watchful care of Gabriel.

On retirement Mum and Dad had to leave their house so most of the furniture had to be sold. Some things were kept to be taken to England: two Lloyd Loom chairs, and a matching bathroom box, a small teak table, a plain white painted cupboard, a small wall cupboard with mirror and a few small 'souvenir' items of ivory and wood, and soon everything was packed in suitcases, trunks and packing cases.

We stayed in the Atbara Rest-house for a few days and then took the train to Port Sudan. While there, we went out in a glass bottomed boat to see the colourful coral reef in the Red Sea. Dad took his final farewell and left Sudan with my mother, my sister and me on a ship which took us back to the U.K.

After 1951

Back in England, my parents settled back into English life and, though seeing old Atbara friends occasionally, did not have any regrets at leaving Sudan. My father had done well for himself in the Sudan and was proud to have completed his contract successfully. Although he felt no desire to return there, he maintained an affectionate interest in the country's fortunes. My mother had joined him happily as his wife and had managed to cope with the unusual housekeeping and child-rearing circumstances and she had enjoyed the social life, but she was glad to be back in England.

As for me I lived at home, no longer a boarder, and got on well with school and, later, secretarial college, work and finally marriage to Reg (aged 19), although still thinking it would be nice to go back to Africa and see it all as an adult. Fortunately my wishes came true.

Reg and I lived in South Africa (Natal) for three years and returned to the

U.K. in 1961, overland to Egypt via the Nile steamer from Juba to Kosti, and then in 1963 we spent a week in Sudan visiting the ancient fortresses in the Second Cataract south of Wadi Halfa.

We both enjoyed the wonderful landscape of Sudan: golden sand interspersed with glistening rocks and everything glowing in the strong sunlight under a clear blue sky, so we were pleased to be able to return several times in the 1990's as part of a small tour group with archaeologist Derek Welsby to the remote ancient sites in Sudan. During that time I was working on the objects excavated at Meroe in 1910-1914 that are now stored at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology.

In 1997 we were able to visit Atbara and had two days there reviving memories. I knew my way around the British area which surprised our driver. At the same time I was also visiting ladies who had joined their husbands working for Sudan Government or Railways, to throw light on my own mother's life there.

I had been interested in the mudbrick houses in villages beside the Nile and in 2004 was able to spend a month photographing and recording these in the Fourth Cataract which were to be destroyed by the new Merowe Dam.

And, I kept up to date with knowledge of modern Sudan through membership of SSSUK.

*Frances Welsh (*née* Porter) spent her childhood in Sudan and later developed a deep interest in Ancient Egypt and Ancient Sudan. After graduating from UCL in 1987 she taught evening classes for London University for many years. She is the author of *Tutankhamun's Egypt*, 2nd Edition, 2007, Shire Books.

Development Economics in Sudan: The Ten-Year Economic and Social Plan, 1961-1970

Iman Sharif*

Development progress achieved by the Sudanese state in the 1950s and 1960s has been obscured by political instability & civil unrest
(Alden Young, 2018)

Introduction

Political, social and development studies have ignored the developmental state in Africa for a long time, focusing instead on the structural factors of the world economy and how they have impacted on African development or on the role of African elites and policy makers (Young 2018, 8). The African state has been seen as problematic, ignoring entirely the economic progress realised during the 1940s, early 1950s, late 1960s, early 1970s, 1990s and early 2000s. The "economic miracle" achieved by Asian countries during the last few decades has also shifted attention away from African developmental achievements.

Recently, I came across a book by the late Dr Abdel Rahim Mirghani entitled, *Development Planning in the Sudan in the Sixties*, not having realised before this that Sudan had a comprehensive development plan at this time.[1] Dr Mirghani was the Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Economics and director general of the Economic Planning Secretariat which was set up in 1961 to formulate a comprehensive development plan.[2]

The 'Ten Year Economic and Social Development Plan, 1961-1970' was Sudan's first ever national economic programme and was initiated after the country gained its independence in 1956. Before this, there had been a series of uncoordinated investment schemes and various plans that had nevertheless greatly contributed towards development. The aim of the plan was to help Sudan reach balanced sustainable growth within one generation (Mirghani

[1] I am particularly grateful to the family of the late Dr Abdel Rahim Mirghani and particularly his granddaughter Zeinab Mirghani for scanning the 583 pages of her grandfather's thesis and sending it to me, and his niece Dr Samira Mirghani for all the help and links she provided.

[2] Dr Abdel Rahim Mirghani (1927-1998) obtained his BSc. from the London School of Economics and his PhD from the University of Khartoum in 1974. He worked as the Senior Financial Officer at the Ministry of Finance from 1948-1960, was Undersecretary of Planning 1961-1965, Governor of the Bank of Sudan 1965-1970, and Economic Advisor at the Kuwait Fund for Development 1970-1987.

Dr Mirghani.

1974, 18). The Plan was conceived and implemented by Sudanese economists who were later invited by the World Bank to share their expertise with other newly independent countries (Young 2018, 9; Mirghani 1974, Chapter 2).

Major hurdles faced the implementation of the ten-year Plan and its ambitious goals were not fully achieved due to, among other factors, the civil war in the southern part of the country and a lack of sufficient capital investment for major projects, as well as administrative difficulties. The economy during the period of the plan was stable and grew on average by 5% a year (Ali and Elbadawi 2004, 3). This compared favourably with growth rates in other developing countries at the time. Although these growth rates were achieved, the ten-year programme was abandoned within seven years.

The history of economic development in Sudan pre-independence

The history of economic development in Sudan dates back to the 16th century, trade and commerce being the main enhancers of growth and development. A major trading route with Egypt developed and international trade flourished due to the presence of foreign traders. A well-established tradition of domestic trading in subsistence crops was in place and developed through the generations. Crops were grown on rain-irrigated land and on land flooded by rivers or irrigated by water wheels or other means. Various forms of animal husbandry were practised in different corners of the country.

Turco-Egyptian rule (1821-55) saw the development of international trade between different regions of Sudan and Egypt, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The introduction of modern communications in the form of the telegraph service, accompanied by the development of modern transport such as steamers on the Nile and the construction of railways and harbour facilities helped to expand trade, resulting in increased agricultural development and expansion and the diversification of crops. A Chamber of Commerce was

established due to the European presence and the development of international trade.

Under the Mahdiya state (1885-99) the market economy continued, although most economic activity was restricted to subsistence production.

Economic development prior to 1898 had a considerable effect on later economic and social life (Niblock 1987, 23). Continuous investment and re-investment programmes during the first half of the Condominium i.e. 1898-1930, shaped the Sudanese developmental state despite there being little central economic planning. This progress continued and by the end of Condominium Rule, subsistence production constituted a very substantial part of the economy. This gave rise to a significant private sector that played an important role in the economic, social and political sectors. The private sector's success in accumulating capital in earlier periods enabled it to re-invest and thus strengthen its economic position at a later stage.

During the Condominium, Sudan's economy was mainly geared towards meeting colonial needs through the production of goods for export, mainly cotton. Development programmes after the Second World War focused mainly on mechanised agriculture and aimed to compensate for the development deficiencies and neglect caused by the War (Mirghani 1974, 22). While they were individual schemes rather than part of a development plan, they nevertheless greatly stimulated the economy.

Productive agricultural schemes raised the output and income of the country and increased government revenue quickly, with cotton as the main cash crop. Large-scale mechanised production of sorghum (*dura*), the main food staple in the northern part of the country, was started in 1945 near El Gedaref in eastern Sudan.

Private investment in the agricultural sector grew in importance in the colonial period. Investment in pump schemes designed to irrigate cultivated land began in the 1920s and by 1955, the number of private pump schemes had grown to 1,000. Private pump scheme ownership followed different patterns: two-thirds of the schemes were multi-partnerships (i.e. a small number of individuals getting together), while a few were owned by companies or cooperative societies. Private investment in mechanised rain-fed farming began in 1950 and by 1956, the impact was already substantial, with more than 300 private schemes covering about 388,000 feddans (402,682 acres).

The economy at Independence

At Independence, the productive economy was dominated by agriculture, which contributed about 61% of gross domestic product. There was virtually no industrial sector to speak of (approximately 1.1% of GDP), with the

service sector accounting for the remaining 37.9% of GDP. Sudan's exports at independence were exclusively primary products: principally cotton, which provided 80% of total exports, followed by gum Arabic and groundnuts. Within the agricultural sector, there was a vast traditional sector and a small modern sector.

Not all the capital initially invested in the large mechanised schemes was available for re-investment; large amounts left the country as the profits of private investors. The largest sums exported came from the Gezira Scheme; profits from the Scheme were almost entirely taken abroad and used to pay dividends to shareholders (Niblock 1987, 23).

While the development of mechanised rain-fed farming began in the public sector, over time it went largely into the hands of the private sector. Laws facilitating this were introduced during the Condominium and continued after Independence. The role of the government in this sector was limited to providing advice, exercising general control over land use, and a management and machine repair service. Until 1960, the government also had control over land management and regulations for treating land and maintaining its fertility.

Neither the private sector nor government invested substantially in industry, as they thought that agriculture was the key to development.

In 1966 the Roseires Dam was completed.[3] It was both a source of hydro-electric power and also increased the flow of water to irrigated agricultural schemes. The resulting increase in cotton production helped the country to solve its financial problems and to pay off all its financial liabilities to the Egyptian and British governments, as well as helping stimulate development in various sectors of the economy. It also allowed planners to think about initiating development projects on a larger scale. It was felt that large scale development plans were needed that included all sectors of the economy, so that there would be balanced sustainable growth in the economic and social structure of Sudanese society. This gave birth to the Ten Year Plan of 1961.

National economic planning: the 'Ten Year Economic and Social Development Plan, 1961-1970'

Aims and rationale

The development plan started initially as a seven-year plan (1961/2-1970) but in 1965, it was extended to a ten-year economic and social development programme.[4]

[3] The Roseires Dam was funded by the World Bank, the government of West Germany and other international donors.

[4] The 1964 October Revolution that toppled the regime of General Abboud led to a move towards civilian government and debates about policy. This led to a change in

The key objectives of the plan were: broadening the structure of the economy, achieving an appropriate increase in real *per capita* income and an increase in exports, as well as import substitution, improvement of social services and the maintenance of a stable price level.

The Plan was consistent with economic approaches being taken in other 'developing' countries in this period. Development economic theory was held to arise out of practice and learning in the field, not just taking ideas from other countries and applying them in a different context. Sudanese developmental economics was influenced by at least three approaches to development that were influential at the time i.e. the dynamic theory or Rostow doctrine, the theory of balanced growth (Rosenstein-Rodan-Nurske), and the theory of unbalanced growth (Hirchman).

The implied strategy of the Plan was to develop the existing structure of the country rather than to change it fundamentally, both in the sectoral sense and the geographical sense. This meant a continued emphasis on irrigated agriculture and further development of the central region rather than the peripheral regions. This was considered the right strategy from the point of view of raising national income as fast and as surely as possible, with the assumption that growth would spill over to other regions in time and eventually lead to sustainable growth. The rationale was that investment returns were most favourable in productive schemes that were mainly located in the central region; in addition, this region had a good physical and administrative infrastructure that did not exist elsewhere.[5] It was argued that on the successful completion of the Plan, the central region's income would have been raised and that this growth would lead to investment in other regions.

Sudanese policy makers were well aware of the inequalities that plagued their vast country but tight capital inflows, combined with a lack of appropriate macroeconomic tools to assess the economy appeared to justify the uneven geographical and sectoral spread of the Plan (Young 2018, 12). This strategy severely compromised future political stability as the traditional sector continued to receive little or no attention from the central government. The Western and Southern regions were deprived of agricultural investment as well as physical infrastructure or social spending.[6] This neglect helped fuel separatist movements and rebellion in peripheral areas.[7]

---

the planned duration of the Ten Year Plan.

[5] The Western and Southern regions of Sudan were deprived of basic infrastructure investment.

[6] Low-cost investments in infrastructure were carried out in some peripheral areas.

[7] This may also have been a mistaken strategy from an economic viewpoint too. An ILO report argued that the traditional agricultural sector and animal husbandry were

The Sudanese role in formulating the Plan

The discipline of development economics was mainly shaped by economic officers who acted as advisors to the governments of less developed countries, rather than by academics.

In Sudan, development economists were senior government officials who had succeeded colonial officers; rather than copy them, they tried to adapt their policies to the needs of the country. They developed their own economic frameworks, including for the Ten Year Development Plan. A major hurdle however was the scarcity of statistical data on national income, balance of payments and public finance; information regarding past periods was scarce and subject to large margins of error.[8]

The macro-economic model

The modern sector was projected to expand by 6.7% annually and by 1970-71, to have raised the contribution of agriculture to GDP from 47.5% to 55.5%. Accelerated growth in the modern sector of the economy was expected to absorb part of the traditional sector as populations displaced by the big dams of Er Roseires and Khashm el Girba were settled on newly available irrigated land. Increased productivity in the traditional sector was also, in part at least, due to the indirect effects of growth in the modern sector, as modern methods of production spilled over to the traditional sector. Therefore, despite its focus on the modern sector, the Plan also had positive effects on the traditional economy.

The livestock sector was a promising area for development but was not a focus in the Plan. The government was unable to overcome social barriers to increased livestock production as nomadic tribes were reluctant to sell their cattle and traditional breeding patterns meant that quantity of cattle was considered more important than their quality.[9]

Administrative constraints facing the implementation of the Plan

The 10 Year Plan operated under heavy constraints. At the time the plan was

---

capable in the long term of better returns to investments than either the mechanised rainfed or irrigated agriculture (Faalan 1976, 3).

[8] A relatively small percentage change in national income could lead to considerable structural change in the economy and social patterns of the country.

[9] The FAO had provided livestock specialists to the Sudan Government since 1954 with the aim of developing and expanding the sector and ensuring its sustainability. Government plans included improving breeding, feeding and the management of livestock. Social barriers were not the only problem facing the development of the sector, there was also a lack of essential infrastructure in the peripheral regions of the South and West of Sudan where large herds of cattle were kept (Mirghani 1974, 36).

formulated, public administration was not completely suited to carry out routine government tasks such as tax collection, law, order and security, administration of justice, etc., and it was mostly inadequate for the many tasks and responsibilities of formulating and implementing plans, programmes and projects for economic growth.[10] This was not surprising as the public administration system inherited from the Condominium period was designed to permit complete control by the expatriate officials from the occupying power. Realisation of the new role that public administration would have to play in meeting the developmental needs of the nation was too slow. Dr Mirghani (1974) illustrated the many instances of the failure of the administrative system to react in a manner conducive to economic development.

In the year before the plan was due to commence, there was a large expansion in the number of government departments and the creation of a statutory public corporation. This resulted in administrative and organisational overlaps. The civil service did not fully appreciate the significance of the development plan and the need to train personnel. When the development department decided to send trainees abroad for rapid training, not many administrators were able to attend the training courses. As well as disagreements about the significance and importance of projects such as developing the livestock sector, these administrative factors delayed the finalisation of the Plan; when it was finally agreed, three of the ten years of its planned duration had already elapsed.

Outcomes

At the time the Plan was executed, there was a widely held belief in the international community that poor countries were incapable of realising high rates of growth with their own savings; they would have to suppress internal consumption and/or turn to foreign help (Easterly and Levine 1997). The target of Sudanese policy-makers was to increase the capital-intensive sectors of the economy by 3% during the first years of the 1960s, which meant finding adequate capital inflows (Mirghani 1983, 29). The parliamentary system failed to create a political climate in which these objectives were possible and instead, political differences paved the way for the military coup of 1969 that brought President Nimeiri to power.

Although at first sight the imbalance in the economy between the modern and traditional sectors might be criticised, particularly in respect of the difference in *per capita* incomes in each sector, the Plan in fact turned this imbalance into an advantage by using the higher rate of domestic savings in the modern

[10] Tax adjustment proposals by the World Bank had been turned down by the Sudanese government.

sector to develop both parts of the economy. However, a major shortfall of the Plan was that there were no guidelines or specific proposals for the fiscal and monetary policies that were needed to implement it and ensure that it realised its objectives.

Following Sudan's Independence in 1956, access to British and Commonwealth markets had become limited for Sudanese exports. Sudan's economy at the time of the Plan depended on demand in foreign markets for export crops such as cotton. At the time the Plan was implemented, an exports diversification plan had weakened the market as Sudan shifted from its main cash crop, long-staple cotton, to short-staple cotton. As a result, it became a marginal cotton producer with a market share of only 4%; short-staple cotton was also subject to volatile international market prices. Sudan's continued dependence upon the export market for cotton was a critical weakness that undermined the Ten Year Plan.

The theory behind the Plan was that most of the country's resources should be allocated to the productive side of the economy (i.e. cotton production schemes), which would provide a base for future development. Health and education would receive attention later, after investment in land and water had increased productivity. Southern rebels however asserted that the Ten Year Plan had no legitimacy as it ignored the peripheral regions of the South and West. This Plan did not survive these challenges from the periphery and their demand for a voice in state policy.

Conclusion

The 'Ten Year Economic and Social Development Plan' was the first national economic plan in Sudan. The hope was to attain sustainable development within a generation. The Plan encountered many obstacles and towards the end of 1965, policy-makers abandoned it. However, considerable levels of economic growth were achieved despite there being developmental disparities between the regions. Sudan found it difficult to build on this success and increase the capacity of her economy in future years.

The Plan was executed under stressful conditions; the changing political spectrum (i.e. from civil to military authority) did not help in fulfilling its objectives. Most importantly, policy measures for the reform of fiscal and monetary policy were not taken. However, the economic environment in which the Plan took place was favourable as the country had benefited in previous decades from investment programmes with intensive capital inflows.

Political instability was the main hindrance to the Plan achieving its goals and has continued to be the most important factor preventing economic structural reform in Sudan. Political stability would have resulted in more diversifi-

cation in the economy and made the country more attractive to foreign investment. The political situation has also hindered a shift in the economy from mainly agricultural production to industrial production and the development of other major sectors, such as livestock.

Growth, and the structural transformation of economies that accompanies development, is ultimately driven by investment, learning and innovation.[11] The role of investment in affecting growth is facilitated by physical infrastructure, macroeconomic stability, the rule of law and solid institutions; these factors are still not in place in Sudan even though 40 years have elapsed since the first Sudanese development programme.

References

Ali Abdel Gadir Ali and Ibrahim A. Elbadawi 2004. 'Explaining Sudan's Economic Growth Performance', AERC Collaborative Research Project. Working paper No. 9.

Chenery, H. and T. N. Srinivasan (eds) 1989. *Handbook of development economics. Vol. 2.* Amsterdam: North Holland.

Easterly, W. and R. Levine 1997. 'Africa's growth tragedy: policies and ethnic divisions', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112: 4, 1203-1250.

Faaland, J. 1976. 'Growth, employment and equity: Lessons of the Employment Strategy Mission to the Sudan', *International Labour Review* 114, 3-10.

Mirghani, Abdel R. 1974. *The design and implementation of a development plan: Sudan experience 1961/62 – 1965/66*. PhD. dissertation, University of Khartoum.

Mirghani, Abdel R. 1983. *Development planning in the Sudan in the Sixties*. University of Khartoum Press.

Niblock, T. 1987. *Class and Power in Sudan: The dynamics of Sudanese Politics*. State University of New York Press.

Rostow, W. W. 1960. *Stages of economic growth*. Cambridge.

Young, A. 2018. *Transforming Sudan. Decolonisation, economic development and state formation*. Cambridge University Press.

Young, A. 2017. 'African bureaucrats and the exhaustion of the developmental state: Lessons from the Pages of the *Sudanese Economist*', *Humanity* 8.1 Spring, 49-75.

[11] Growth has been volatile over the years since independence in 1956. Available data indicates four major growth episodes: 1960-1973, 1974-1983, 1984-1994 and 1995–1998 alternating with negative growth. Growth has been hindered by the high degree of political instability in Sudan with its alternating democratic regimes of short duration and military regimes with relatively long durations.

Wynn, R. F. 1971. "The Sudan's 10-Year Plan of Economic Development, 1961/62-1970/71: An Analysis of Achievement to 1967/68". *The Journal of Developing Areas* 5: 4 (July), 555-576.

*Iman Sharif is an academic at the University of Bangor in North Wales. Her PhD is in monetary economics, University of Bangor.

Border Research 2007 Field Diary
Part One

Douglas H. Johnson*

Preface

Between 1972 and 2005 I was fortunate to have travelled extensively throughout South Sudan. Beginning in 1972 I accompanied members of the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission from Juba to Wau via Yambio and Tembura; in 1975-76 I conducted doctoral research mainly in Upper Nile and Jonglei Provinces; in 1981-83 I made a series of archive collecting tours in Jonglei, Upper Nile, and Eastern and Western Equatoria Provinces as Assistant Director for Archives for the Regional Ministry of Culture and Information; from 1990 to 2004 I worked with various agencies in Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) and the UK Department for International Development in SPLA-controlled territories; and in 2005 I was a member of the Abyei Boundary Commission (ABC). Most of that travelling was overland, usually in a vehicle of some sort, sometimes on foot, also by riverboat, speedboat or rubber dinghy, and finally during the relative luxury of OLS and the ABC by airplane and helicopter.

In 2007 I was hired by the Government of South Sudan (GOSS) to assist Southern members of the North-South Boundary Technical Committee (NSBC) researching what would become the new international boundary between Sudan and South Sudan, running along the northern borders of the old Bahr el-Ghazal and Upper Nile provinces. I worked mainly with Colonel Engineer Riek Degoal of the SPLA and at times met with other members of the committee, including Professor Joshua Otor, professor of geography at the University of Juba (then still in Khartoum), Muhammad Wada'allah Mufiji, MP for Western Bahr el-Ghazal State in the National Assembly, Garang Diing Akong from Northern Bahr el-Ghazal State, then 1st Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Khartoum, Police Major Pal Tut from Upper Nile, and John Wicjaal Buom, a former Assistant Commissioner of Western Upper Nile and someone I got to know well during my doctoral research. This was co-ordinated from the Secretariat in Juba where Luka Biong was Minister of Presidential Affairs. In February to March 2007 Riek Degoal and I toured the border districts collecting such documents as could be found and meeting with various border authorities. Copies of file numbers 8.A.1 (Province Boundaries), 8.B.1 (District Boundaries), and 16.A (Districts) from the old Civil Secretary's filing system used to be kept in every district and province headquarters, and we hoped to recover and scan surviving files of these and other categories.

This is a lightly edited field diary of that trip, recording my impressions of this immediate post-war period, such as the multiple currencies circulating in South Sudan, and the change in communications brought about by cell phones.

17th February 2007, Juba-Khartoum

Deng Deng Yai (Luka's secretary) confirmed we were to leave for Khartoum that day. Check in time between 12:30–1:30 for a 4pm flight. Joshua Otor and Muhammad Wada'allah had gone off to the market when we came to pick them up, but found them at the Oasis campsite (very nice riverfront covered restaurant and bar area) where Riek Degoal was staying. Drove to Juba airport only to find the United Nations was using a pre-fab container for their departure terminal and had to drive there. They had a baggage X-Ray machine which wasn't working, so all baggage had to be handed round it, and walked through the metal detector, which pinged loudly every time a passenger walked through. We found out that we were classed as 'VIPs' which got us through the bag-weighing and passenger manifest checking process quicker. Met Luca Zampetti (a former student of the Rift Valley Institute Sudan course), who is now with OCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs). He introduced me to a colleague from Benin who hopes to be on the RVI course this May.

The waiting room was full of United Nations Mission to Sudan (UNMIS) soldiers and police in various national uniforms: Russian and Ukrainian (sitting together), German, Norwegian, Swedish, Canadian (I knew he was Canadian from his blue Tilley Endurable hat), New Zealand, Philippine, Fiji, Nigerian, Indian, Bangladeshi and a few others I couldn't identify (with 'Pulis' or 'Polis' emblazoned on their shirts). A few civilians also: most for the Malakal-Khartoum flight (on a MacDonnell-Douglas 80 jet airliner), or to Rumbek and Wau. One Japanese woman came up to speak to me – I thought perhaps because I had been staring rather intently at her trying to read her T-Shirt – but it turned out she is one of Diane de Guzeman's UNMISS civil affairs team and had come to my Abyei talk at the Southern Legislative Assembly and was also hoping to go on the Rift Valley Institute Rumbek course this May.

The plane was late returning from Entebbe, so we were in this long corridor of a container with air-conditioner straining from about 1:40 to about 4:20. Nothing to drink or eat (and no loo that I could see). Everyone other than us knew the ropes and brought their own water. Nothing served on the flight, either, except two cups of water on the Malakal-Khartoum leg.

Pal Tut got off at Malakal. I gave him a hastily scribbled note to give to Peter Maxwell, head of UNMIS in Malakal, to expect us on Tuesday, as I

am not convinced that everyone has been properly alerted ahead of us. The financial forms had not been processed, so we were not given any money for expenses. Joshua Otor not at all impressed with GOSS's organization of the project. No accommodation had been arranged for me in Khartoum. Riek then invited me to stay with him, 'not that my house is properly run', he said. I accepted, as long as it would be no burden. 'How could that be a burden?' he replied. So that was settled, quite satisfactorily. Our schedule is tight and there really is no point in putting me somewhere out of the way, which will only make it more difficult for us to rendezvous for our various departures. Also, much better for working relations not to separate *khawaja* off from Sudanese.

Pal had suggested that I give any maps to Riek before we got to Khartoum, just in case security at Khartoum airport was suspicious of my having them. I had only three (Karkoj, Jebelein, and Rumbek, having left the rest in Juba to reduce the weight of my luggage), and gave them to Riek. Must remember to remind him to give them back when this is all over. In the event, there was no security check at Khartoum airport. It was an internal flight, and I was just one of a number of *khawajat* getting off, in the company of several Sudanese.

Met by Riek's driver, Abd al-Azim, taken to his house, some mix up when Muhammad Wada'allah walked off with my rucksack rather than his briefcase when we dropped him off at his house, but that was quickly sorted out. Riek has about three young men, and a young couple with their baby daughter living with him. We had a late-ish (9pm) dinner, shower before bed (because we won't have time when we leave at 5am tomorrow).

Because we had not been given any funds from GOSS, I advanced Riek 20,000 dinars for petrol.

Khartoum is full of little 'trickshaws', Chinese or Indian-made three-wheeled motorcycle taxis that can take two passengers. I don't remember them in 2005.

18th February 2007, Khartoum-Renk

Abd al-Azim arrived about 4:20am. I was already basically packed, and after taking tea we set off at about 10 to 5. The new road is paved to Jebel Aulia and all the way to Renk (much shorter than the Wad Medani-Rabbak route I used to take). On the way out of Khartoum we were stopped at a police checkpoint. I was ready with my identification, but they only wanted to tick Abd al-Azim off for not wearing a seat belt. He continued not wearing one the rest of the journey. I made sure I wore mine.

Early part of the journey I dozed off from time to time while it was still dark, but I wanted to watch the countryside more when it got light, so dozed less. Not much to see between Jebel Aulia and Rabbak, but Rabbak is big and

bustling. A number of sugar plantations south of Rabbak, also some petroleum installations. I noticed one with a Chinese flag flying, another with a very long wire perimeter fence. Some of the adobe villages south of Rabbak made out of dark cotton soil mud.

Jebelein interesting in that the north side looks like a typical northern Sudanese adobe town, but once you get to and beyond the *jebels* there are a number of Nilotic *tukls* inside the town and creeping up the south eastern base of the *jebels*.

We stopped at Wunthou, the first Upper Nile state police post. This is where the Upper Nile Region authorities pushed their boundary northward in about 1984, and Riek wanted to get a GPS reading here and at Joda, the old northern border post further South. SPLM flags flying in Wunthou and Joda, showing that they are part of the Southern Sudan. Police at Wunthou a Shilluk. We took tea there but decided to breakfast in Renk, 30 miles away (we had been snacking on apples and biscuits Riek brought along).

Renk MUCH bigger than I remembered from 1975-6. There is a brand new large Mosque there, much on the style of the new Mosque at Abyei, dwarfing the old Mosque, which looks run down in comparison. But there are some prominent Christian churches, an active Comboni school, and a number of *tukls* with crosses on the apex of their roofs to balance the official spread of the National Islamic Front version of Islam.

A lot of litter of thin plastic bags in villages along road and in Renk.

Riek had been ringing ahead on his mobile phone as we got closer, so there were people expecting us. The offices were closed, this being Sunday, but there were people quite happy to take the time to help us get started. Naturally the man with the *muftah* could not be found.

We were placed in the *isteraha* (different from the guest house I stayed in in 1975 and 1976). There were already some UNMIS troops there (Tanzanian, Bangladeshi, but also some *khawajat)* who were there to monitor the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) troop withdrawals scheduled for this weekend (they had just been to Melut). They had managed to get a generator going to provide electricity. We were placed in another wing with the Sudanese. There is satellite TV here, but no running water.

We were about to go to the house of the most senior Dinka chief in the area, but as it was now noon, we stopped to have 'breakfast' in the Executive Officer's office (the Executive Officer having kindly got it open for us, but then left). Nazir Yusuf Ngor Jok was first appointed an Omda of the Giel Dinka in 1950.

He was quite insistent about where the northern boundary of the district was, and had photocopies of the 1920 and 1956 *Sudan Government Gazette*

Nazir Yusuf Ngor Jok, standing between driver Abd al-Azim to his left and DHJ to his right. (Credit: All photos Douglas H. Johnson).

(both English and Arabic texts) to show us, plus the carbon copy of an Arabic report written in 1979 when someone had actually taken the trouble to walk the old boundary and locate old boundary markers. I already had notes of the *Gazette* entries, but we took the report back to the *merkaz* where I set up my scanner – and it worked! After that we also scanned some Arabic documents from a survey file. After talking with Abd al-Nabi Muhammad, the Establishments officer who was taking us around, and the Executive Officer, and finally the *Muhafiz*, whom we saw in his house later that afternoon, we have established that there are Rural Council files, an archive at the Rural Council, and Agriculture Dept files. The *Muhafiz* said he would detail some people to dust the archive files off tomorrow morning. So, we are getting somewhere, but whether what we really want has survived remains to be seen.

Sudanese hospitality being what it is, Yusuf Ngor offered us (in quick succession) semi-cool Coca-Cola, tea, and coffee.

While we were with Yusuf Ngor, Acuil Deng Dak from the Mechanized Agriculture Dept came looking for us, so we went looking for him and found him in the *suk* at a *shai beit*, so sat down to talk to yet more coffee. Various persons came up and I was introduced. 'Is that Douglas?' they asked. 'We know him', so greetings in Nuer, Arabic and English all around. So my fame stretches from Juba to Renk.

Here an enterprising shoe shine boy offered to shine our shoes. Mine were covered in dust and had lost their original colour, so I let him have a go (though

the shoes are a semi-suede quasi-hiking boot). He managed to get them clean with a new coat of polish they probably shouldn't have, but which helps to repel dust.

Also in the *suk* went to a pharmacy stall to get some cough medicine for my Juba cough (I don't want to have to repeat the prolonged cough I brought with me from Abyei in 2005).

We decided that we would buy our next meal in the *suk*, but as it turned out, one of Riek's brothers is here in the police, so we went to his house. More tea, plus *kisra* and a type of green stew which is NOT *mulukhiya*, but still a little bit slimy. I'm hoping that I will be able to avoid *mulukhiya* altogether.

Renk (former Northern Upper Nile District) was formerly a 'Province' but is now a 'County' within Upper Nile State.

Renk not only has brand new taxis (but no Renk taxi rank), but the 'trick-shaws' I also saw in Khartoum.

Women here tend to wear either a *loua* (southern fashion) or a *tob* (northern fashion) over their dresses: most of either are brightly coloured rather than plain white.

Travel time from Khartoum to Renk by road was 6 hours, as I had been assured. While in the *merkaz* I rang Wendy on my mobile just to see if I could. I could. Some things have improved in 30 years. Clearly my Old Geezer view of the Sudan needs some updating.

19th February 2007, Renk–Malakal

The night was cool and had a reasonable, but not unbroken, sleep. Listened to the competing *muezzins* at about 6 in the morning, the loudest, I suspect, coming from the newest mosque.

We were told in the morning that the road to Malakal is open. It is gravel but in reasonable shape except a section between Lul and Akoka. This confirmed later in the morning by people at the *merkaz*. Estimated travel time, about 6 hours. We've decided to go straight to Malakal rather than back to Khartoum.

Went into town for tea. The *shai beit* was opposite the offices of the 'Shaykan Insurance and Reinsurance Co.' Not a very reassuring name (Shaykan being the site of the battle where Hicks Pasha's Egyptian force was annihilated by the Mahdi's army in1883).

Saw Acuil Deng Dak, Director of Mechanised Agriculture in his house. He spoke to us about the annexation of agricultural schemes to White Nile and Blue Nile in the 1990s, so that the revenue went to them. He was very concerned about the issue. But no files.

Went from office to office. Briefly: there is no archive of closed files. Whatever store of files from the 1970s backwards was lost when the mud store-

room they were stored in collapsed in the rain.

Executive Director Deng Col Deng was very helpful. Offered to have the locked filing cabinet in his office opened. No key could be found, so the lock was broken open. All we found were a few miscellaneous files, a large number of rat droppings, and one large rat which was flushed out and scampered up the wall and into the roof.

The Horticultural Department is run by a Shilluk woman (wearing a *tob*). It was a small office and orderly. When we asked to see files in her cupboard, not only was the man with the *muftah fi*, he was sitting in front of me. But unfortunately they had no relevant files.

'Breakfast' again at about noon. Riek then said we would have to wait an hour while he recharged his mobile phone and *thuraya*.

One observation is that Southerners here (and I suspect most everywhere else in the South) by now converse with each other easily in Arabic, and seem to be more comfortable in that language than in English. Many of Riek's conversations alternate between three languages: Arabic, Nuer, English, almost within the same sentence.

Left Renk 1:30pm, arrived Malakal *c.* 7:40pm.

Road from Renk is red murram embankment, a thin russet stripe through the black cotton soil. There were three span bridges over deep khors, plus a number of culverts, so the going was unimpeded by water (it was dry most of the way anyway). On alternating sides there were maintenance roads along the base of the embankment. As we drove along we often went off the road to follow the maintenance roads, which were smoother. Usually maintained a speed of around 70-80 kmph. A number of heavy twin-trailer lorries going in either direction, as well as enclosed buses and, as we got closer to Malakal, mini-buses. Difficult when behind a lorry or bus as they threw up a lot of dust that drifted over to the other side of the road, making it impossible to see oncoming traffic. But we managed to pass safely.

No check-points or road-blocks as such. Did pass a UNMIS camp on the west side, as well as a Joint Integrated Unit camp.

At 'New Palouge' (Paloic) a new hospital, other construction, and even a large network of power lines (which did not continue on to Malakal). Other example of fractured new place name spelling: Pariak has become Faryag.

Got confused in the area of 'Adar'. A number of signs pointing to 'Adar 1' through 'Adar 10'. Finally got on the right road to Malakal (had to follow one of the 'Adar' signs, but there were no signs to Malakal). After this there was some road construction going on, and then the road ceased to be an embankment. Came across a decrepit mini-bus stalled in one of the unrepaired ruts.

The ground was dry, but it tried passing over the deepest rut, thinking it could clear it, but could not. Naturally the battery is low, so once stalled they could not get restarted. At first it looked as if all the passengers (a number of women with small children) hoped we would take them the rest of the way to Malakal and they came rushing up to us. In the end Abd al-Azim pulled the mini-bus out of its rut. Then we had to push it a couple of times to get it started again.

After this the road became a track through the dry grass, much like roads of old, and then it got very rough from north of Akoka up to Lul. It was sandy from there on. The last time I was on this stretch was when we were coming back from Chali el-Fil in May 1983. I can't say that I 'recognised' where we were, but it did feel familiar. I'd forgotten how long that last stretch to Malakal can seem.

Got in to Malakal after dark. There were lights on, but these were powered by generators. Thoroughly confused driving into Malakal at night as I was looking for landmarks which either are no longer there or are engulfed in new building. There are taxis and trickshaws in Malakal, too!

We didn't find Pal Tut at the Police Hq where we expected him, but went to the house where we are putting up. He wasn't there either, so we sent someone to find him while we went to the *suk* for tea (which I declined as it was already after 8pm and I didn't want to be kept awake at night). Pal finally showed up and showed us into the house, which is in the Hai Saha district, next to Hai Jallaba. It is a large house with its own generator and running water, enough for a shower and a flush toilet, but not for the wash basin (turns out to be the Oxfam guest house). Dinner brought in from the *suk* at about 9:30pm, shower, and then to bed. My room has an air conditioner, an overhead fan, and a standing fan, but the air conditioner cut out some time during the night.

Tried calling Wendy, but the network failed.

20th February 2007 Malakal

Went to the Upper Nile State offices. This put me in an area I was more familiar with. The old Greek store on the main street has been enlarged and is now a branch of the Nile Bank (the old Unity Bank building is now the Khartoum Bank, and there is a branch of the Faisal Bank in town, too). There are now gates cutting off access to the main government offices along the Nile road. They weren't there back in 1983.

Went to the UNMIS office, which is in the old Senior Government Rest House. Peter Maxwell was off to Akobo and Nasir, but we were shown to Judith Omondi's office. She is a Kenyan (ex-Civilian Protection Monitoring Team) and was expecting us (she had a copy of *Root Causes*[1] on top of her

[1] Douglas H. Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, Oxford: James Currey, 2003.

filing cabinet). Poor lady had been living in her office until just recently (it still had her bed in it). She was eager to set up a meeting for us to talk to people at UNMIS about the boundary, which will take place tomorrow at 4pm. She is a Luo speaker from near Kiisi, looks Sudanese (very tall, dark skin, high cheek bones: this does make people more open to her, but they also sometimes wonder why she is pretending to be a foreigner. Dinka men ask why a woman her age isn't married and start offering cows). She says that the vocabulary of Shilluk is the same as Luo, but the grammar is different. To her ear the Shilluk sound like children just learning to speak (and vice versa). Curiously enough she feels she understands Dinka and Nuer better than Shilluk, even though much of the vocabulary is different.

We talked about some of the problems along the border, with Arab settlers coming in around Kaka (possibly not settlers, should leave before rains). Also the Nuer-Shilluk antagonism during the fighting in 2004, when Nuer militia tried to kill the *reth*, the Shilluk king. Riek explained that there were a lot of Nuer SPLA married to Shilluk, but the new *reth* had tried to decree that all these marriages be annulled, and the children of Shilluk women declared Shilluk. That was one reason for the animosity. Riek was the SPLA commander of this area before Lam defected. SPLA knew that it was outgunned by SAF in the area, and therefore knew that it could not prevent the destruction of Shillukland if SAF and allied militias went in.

Charles Buom came in. I introduced myself and explained how I got to know his brother, John Wicjaal, a former assistant commissioner of Western Upper Nile whom I got to know well during my doctoral research, and gave him a copy of *Governing the Nuer*[2] because of Coriat's comments on his father, the prophet and government chief Buom Diu. Judith was intrigued by the title and asked if she could get it in Nairobi (alas, not yet, but something could be arranged).

On issue of getting better ground truthing for roads, she said the demining people would have good information.

Went to the offices of the Minister of Local Government & Law Enforcement (Duac Deng), the Minister of Physical Infrastructure (Peter Pal Parik), and the Governor (Dak Duop Biciuk). The Governor is a Muslim (who does not go by an official Muslim name) and National Congress Party member (but does not wear *jallabiya* and *imma* in the office, rather a long sleeved safari suit). He is a large man, and seemed very open and easy in his manner. His father

[2] Percy Coriat, *Governing the Nuer. Documents in Nuer History and Ethnography, 1922-31*, Douglas H. Johnson ed., JASO Occasional Papers No. 9, Oxford, JASO, 1993, now available from Africa World Press.

was paramount chief of the Gaajak Nuer. I remember interviewing him in Khartoum in 1976; one of the most interesting interviews I had about Jikany Nuer history.

The old *Mudiriya* offices were being renovated, which is a bad sign for the survival of any records, and there had been much building in the back. The old brick store room had disappeared. There was a new, larger corrugated iron shed, which we were shown into.

It was a dismal sight. There are no shelves. Files and loose papers are just piled up and strewn around, some stuffed in burlap sacks, only a few tied up in twine. Other things – a chair, a filing cabinet, some empty fuel drums – were piled up on top of them. Everything extremely dusty. Those that we could see were dated in the 1980s. Were there any older ones further down? We had to walk on the files to get to the ones in the back. Question: does one do a careful archaeological dig, strata by strata, or a Schliemann Trojan job digging down quickly in hope of finding treasure? Answer: we don't have time for either. I was a bit annoyed and berated everyone for this negligence, what is the point of keeping records if they are kept this way and can't be read? How does the South expect to get its freedom if it can't keep track of its on administrative record better? Not much use, this rant. As far as the file clerks were concerned, this was all done before their time, and they were just leaving it as it was. The

Riek Degoal sifting archives in the corrugated iron shed at the old Mudiriya offices, Malakal.

story was that a certain *jallaba* Finance Minister, Husham Muhammad, had wanted the filing cabinets the files were kept in, so had the files dumped and took the cabinets. I'm still not sure we have got to the bottom of the story of what happened to the old pre-1983 files. I doubt they were in that pile, as the volume of files I left behind in 1983 was greater (I recollect) than the piles we saw. Though the depth of piles of paper can be deceptive.

The problem is that my memory of what was left behind, and where, is as clear as if it was all last month. Yet 24 years have passed (it's like dreaming about something left behind in my mother's house: I can visualise the location quite clearly, but the house is no longer there).

Met with the various directors in the Minister of Physical Infrastructure's office. Riek was cross with the Director of Surveys as he had asked specially to be included in the survey team, but at the last minute had backed out on the grounds that his diabetes would not allow him to climb mountains with the rest of the survey team to locate triangulation poles.

I was then asked to explain what I needed. I related my past activities in Malakal and the work with the archives. I then showed them pictures of what I had just found and expressed my despair. Peter Pal chuckled at the sight of the pictures and then shrugged it off, by saying this was done by the occupying force and was not the fault of Southerners.

The Director of Surveys then produced a pathetically thin folder of extracted material he had gathered since Riek's last visit when he asked for people to search for records. It contained some photocopies from the *Gazettes*, and a few other papers from 1981-3. I did not have a chance to read them properly then, but reading them through later in the evening it is clear they came from one of the types of files we are looking for: do they have the complete file in the Survey Directorate, and, more importantly, is there a complete file in the Governor's office? We might not have time to find out tomorrow as we are due to visit the *reth* on the way to Kodok to see if any records have survived there.

One of the people we were told we ought to see was my old friend James Bol Kalmal, who is someone I wanted to look up once I got here. We went to find him in town and missed him. We sent someone to search for him, and he came into the Minister of Local Government's office just as we were having 'breakfast' (at about half past noon). At first he did not recognise me, and of course he is older, and gaunter than when we last met. But he reminded me that after I left the Sudan in 1983 I had sent him a pipe (I am always relieved to be reminded of good deeds I have forgotten). He asked after Wendy. But then a great chasm of time opened between us, which we could not cross. He could only allude to the hard times they had been through ('That is a now a big mem-

ory.') and I could not bear to ask him. We talked a little more, a bit about the boundaries project and what he could tell us, then, saying how glad we were to see each other again, we parted, and Abd al-Azim drove him back to his home.

We then went in search of Philip Diu Deng, with whom I had collaborated on research in 1982-3, and found him in a house very close to the Presbyterian church. We sat on his veranda and one of his sons (about 10 or 12 years old) guided him out. 'Is that Douglas?' he called, 'Philip, is that you?' I replied, and we hugged. 'It's good to see you', I said. 'Your voice is still the same' he replied, 'I've gone blind'. 'Yes, someone told me.' 'Good.'

He wanted to congratulate me for contributing so much to the peace of the South. I thought my contribution had not brought much peace yet. 'We used to hear you on the BBC, talking about the Sudan.' That's more than I heard.

So, I gave him his presents: gifts for the sighted, given to a blind man. The first was a framed copy of the photo Coriat took of his grandfather, plus some spares. And then a copy of the Coriat book to replace the one that someone walked off with, and then a copy of *Nuer Prophets*.[3] He was delighted with them, and I apologised for not having tried harder to get them to him before he lost his sight, but I didn't know how to contact him. 'That is all right', he said, 'they would be books that would remind his children of me'. 'And of you and your grandfather', I replied.

He has been in Malakal, in the same house, for the last 17 years. The United Presbyterian Church is no longer united, he explained, and the Presbyterians have got 'donor fatigue' and have cut off funds. He has seven children. Four have died, and seven remain. I asked if he had grandchildren. 'The ones who would have given me grandchildren have died'. I remembered his daughter, about my daughter Fiona's age, or a year older, running to hug her father, wrapping her arms around his neck as he picked her up, when we came back from a journey together, just as Fiona hugged me when I came back from the Sudan after long absences. So, she is one of those who died. I didn't press him for details. He asked after my children and I gave a brief account of what they are doing now.

He asked if there was a good chance the 1956 boundaries would be accepted. I gave a very long answer that meant 'I don't know'. If people act in good faith, it will, but they hadn't acted in good faith over Abyei, and that was an indication of how things might go.

He wanted to know when we had arrived (last night), and how long was I staying (I leave tomorrow). For the first time he looked crestfallen. 'I hoped we might have a chance to just sit down and talk', he said. I said that if I had

[3] Douglas H. Johnson, *Nuer Prophets*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994.

time before we left I would try to look in on him. 'You will find me here'. So he bade us good-bye and we left. (Philip has since died.)

Riek had seemed reserved while we were there and said very little. As we drove away I explained that Philip had fought in Anyanya I, hoping that would thaw his reserve a bit. Then Riek explained that Philip had been involved in the factionalism that had split the Presbyterian Church in the Sudan, and that the withdrawal of funding by the American Presbyterian Church was meant to get them to stop squabbling. He held Philip responsible for the church's factionalism.

Not much peace yet, then.

Tried to call Wendy in the evening again, but still couldn't get through the network. Riek is finding it hard to call anyone on either his mobile or his *thuraya*.

21st February 2007 Malakal-Yuomo-Malakal

Planned to go to Kodok, visiting the *reth* on the way, so got up before 6am and were down at the river waiting for the boat at about 10 to 7, as previously arranged. But boat *ma fi*, and commissioner, who was to accompany us, was *ma fi*. Waited an hour. The port was quiet at this time of day: stacks and stacks of empty crates of half litre beer bottles (mainly Tusker, but other brands) waiting to be shipped back to Juba and then back to Kenya? I looked for the old memorial to the UNP police who died taking Gambela during WWII. I thought maybe it had been removed, but I found it.

Memorial to the UNP police who died taking Gambela during WWII. The inscription reads, "Upper Nile Province Police Killed in the Defence of Sudan 1940-1941".

The commissioner showed up. A lot of talk about 'Sudanese time' and 'these J*anubiyin* (Southerners)' as an excuse. Police in the headquarters tired of watching us stand around near the flag poles on the river bank, so brought us chairs to sit on. Then sent a lady with tea. Still no boat. Commissioner suggested that it was now late in the morning and we must take breakfast. Went back to the rest

house and had breakfast. I was beginning to think that we should scrap the Kodok visit, if we were to get back in time for our 4pm meeting at UNMIS, and also that we should focus on trying to find at least one copy of the 8.A. 1 file to nail down the date of the decision to move the northern boundary line north.

We went to Malakal County Office and spoke to the County Commissioner, Dr Sayed Awad Morgan (a man from the *malakiya*). He said the old files were in a store, and he would have the file numbers we wanted collected for us (we had asked for them on the off chance that the information we needed had been circulated to the Rural Council).

Went to the river, found the boat ready: it was a long narrow metal boat normally used for carrying cargo, but sometimes as a ferry. The boatman said that the journey to Kodok would be 3 hours. The steel plates at the bottom of the boat buckled so badly with the waves that the plastic chairs on which we were sitting near the bow bounced about so much that I thought they would break. Went toward the stern and sat on a more stable bench. It took us an hour to get to Yuomo, where the *reth* was. We decided not to go on to Kodok.

Yuomo is one of the *reth's* 'resting villages', situated on a broad stream that feeds into the Nile (it looks almost like another channel of the Nile). A lot of water fowl: pelicans, sacred ibises, black ibises, herons, egrets, even some kites. Yuomo has a diesel pump and a small teak plantation. The fences around the houses are supported by the eight grass rings allowed only on the *reth's* fences. When we landed two unarmed bodyguards in olive green camouflage met us and said, 'You were supposed to come at 8' (by now it was near 11:30). We were led to the *reth's* thatched audience chamber, a hut with a thatched 'portale' in front. The floors of both the *portale* and the hut were smooth hard mud.

The *reth* was sitting on a chair wearing a pink *loua*, ostrich egg shell necklace, a number of strings of beads around his ankles, and ship-ships, talking on a satellite phone. His Shilluk bodyguard took off their shoes when entering the *portale* and approached him crouching or on hands and knees. We each took off our shoes, and entered the hut while the *reth* remained outside speaking on the phone. The chair was then brought inside and placed on top of an antelope skin, then he came and sat down.

Reth Kuongo looks very like his late brother, the former politician Othwonh Dak: large frame, muscular, and a piercing expression on his bearded face. The commissioner began addressing him in Shilluk, and he interrupted saying, 'Why don't you speak in English so that the others can understand?' So, he started over again explaining what we had come for. He then introduced Riek, who explained our mission more, and then introduced me. 'Douglas Johnson?' The *reth* asked, 'Douglas Hamilton Johnson?' I said yes. 'Douglas Hamilton

Johnson the Nuer expert?' Caught off guard I answered instinctively '*ejen goa*', to which he replied in Nuer. He was going to remain in control of the conversation no matter what happened. He explained that he was working in the Unity Bank in Malakal when I was first here. 'Only you have got greyer since then. Then you were thin and tall. Now you have got short and stout.' The thin and stout comparison I understand, but tall, in comparison to the persons I was then with, I doubt.

I listened to see how the others addressed him. The commissioner (a Shilluk) merely addressed him as *Reth*. Riek didn't address him by any special title. I made the mistake of addressing him as 'excellency', he immediately corrected me, 'your majesty, not excellency'. We all addressed him as 'your majesty' after that.

When asked about the boundaries of Shillukland, he claimed them up to the Nuba Mountains, pointing out that a special type of thick bamboo (an example of which he was carrying as a sceptre) was needed from there before a new *reth* could be installed. But then got down to the CPA and said it was important to decide the South's boundaries before deciding on the boundaries between Southerners. He mentioned that the boundaries of Shillukland had been demarcated during the time of his father, (John) Dak Fadiat (he had gone to the Comboni school in Shilluk country). There were places where Shilluk spirits such as Ugeek resided where no foreigner can live. He mentioned a place where people settled and they kept on being bitten by snakes or eaten by crocodiles until the Shilluk came back and blessed the land. 'These people are stupid', he declared, 'how can you bless your land for people who are occupying it?' (Riek explained to me later that he was referring to an area now occupied by Nuer).

He mentioned his brother Othwonh. I said I had known him. The *reth* then said that he personally had always kept out of politics, his words were straight. Made a number of critical comments about politicians.

All the papers concerning Shilluk history, including the photographs of past *reths*, had been burned in Kodok 'by the rebels'. 'Can you imagine such people? They burn a bridge without thinking that they may need to cross it one day.' (I think this refers to Tang Ginya's militia in 2004, who twice tried to kill the *reth*.)

I explained some of my experiences with the ABC as an example of the information we needed and some of the problems we faced. 'The problem of Abyei', the *reth* proclaimed, 'was that they were betrayed by their own chief, who wanted to be part of the North. All his children were educated in the North, including Francis Mading. If they want to live in the North they can go, but leave their people their land.'

Discussed who among the Shilluk elders and chiefs could be approached for knowledge of boundaries. When we were finished, he said, 'All right, I will let you go. But I must leave first, by tradition', and got up and left the audience chamber. We returned to Malakal.

Abd al-Azim didn't know when we were returning, so no car. We walked to the Malakal County Council to see if they had found any files. A few miscellaneous files from the 1980s produced. We were then shown the store (another corrugated iron shed) and found that the files were stuffed in sacks and piled up in no order. A few pieces of paper floating outside the store. Found one from 1954. Gave up in despair.

Had to walk back to the house through the *suk*. In Malakal the rubbish problem is compounded by the number of plastic soda and water bottles thrown away. People in cars just toss them out the window, but there is no one in town collecting rubbish. The litter of plastic bottles is a contrast with 30+ years ago, when most bottles were glass, and just about any container, whether glass, plastic or metal, was put to use by somebody. Bottles would be carefully wrapped in twine to protect them and carried around as canteens.

The 'industrial *suk*' (where metal welding goes on) is near the old open air cinema, but all that is left of the cinema is the two storey front wall with the entrance and projectionist's room. Market stalls have encroached into the old cinema perimeter.

Tried to get some Nivea cream for my sunburn from a pharmacy (there are several in Malakal, including a branch of Al-Shifa). Nivea used to be the only cream in the pharmacies in the 1970s. Now, it is *ma fi*, but skin lightening is common (did later get some Johnson's baby cream in Bentiu, and that has helped stop peeling).

Just enough time to have a brief wash and change clothes before driving to UNMIS. Saw Judith and Peter Maxwell. Found out that we were not on the flight manifest to Bentiu tomorrow (I really should have raised this the first time we saw Judith), but Peter is trying to sort something out. The only other alternatives are to go by boat to Manga (9 hours) and then be driven to Bentiu (2 hours), or fly back to either Khartoum or Juba. The latter options mean that we miss Bentiu and the mission is aborted.

Spoke to a group of about 13 people. Both Peter Maxwell and Judith claimed that my fame had preceded me, but there wasn't as large a crowd gathered to hear us speak as I think they thought there might (one woman did tell me that she had been in the Juba airport recently and counted four persons there reading *Root Causes* – someone should set up a bookstall there). Riek explained the work of the N-S Boundary Committee to date, I described some of the differences between the ABC and the NSBC, and how some of

the same problems we had with the ABC might not happen with the NSBC, but that both depended on the good faith of both parties. A number of questions about potential border issues, as well as about the CPA. One Southerner who is working for PACT (Private Agencies Cooperating Together, a USAID-funded NGO) said that when the CPA had declared that the South's borders would be the 1956 line, he was in favour of that, but realised that he doesn't know where that line is. Someone asked whether the border would start a new war. There was a silence, and then Riek and I simultaneously sighed. That was really the only answer possible.

Riek was up quite late trying to telephone. Reached Pascal in Juba about midnight and explained our problem. But part of the problem rests with Deng Deng Yai, as Pascal gave him our MOPs (Movement of Passenger vouchers), and he neglected to hand them on to us. Riek reached Deng at 5 am. We will have the MOPs sent to the First Vice President's office in Khartoum and hope for the best.

Seeing *khawaja* NGO staff walking around Malakal with their small rucksacks (like mine) I am reminded about how incensed Vanian (Armenian merchant) was when I bought a rucksack from the Granada TV team in 1975. 'If I see you wearing that', he shouted, 'I will shoot you! Let them (Southerners) carry it, they're slaves.'

to be continued

*Douglas H. Johnson is a former 'International Expert', retired Managing Director of James Currey Publishers, past Chair of the SSSUK, and current Fellow of the Rift Valley Institute.

Glossary

imma headgear or turban traditionally worn by men in Sudan
jebel mountain or large hill
jallaba northern Sudanese
jallabiya men's long white shirt traditionally worn in Sudan
khawaja/khawajat white person (people)
kisra pancake made from red sorghum
laconda rest house/hotel
loua cloth knotted over one shoulder worn by men and women in South Sudan
ma fi not here
malakiya originally the civilian quarter in a government town
merkaz government offices
Mudiriya province/state headquarters
muftah/muftah fi key / there is a key
Muhafiz Commissioner
mulukhiya stew or sauce made with okra and green leaves
muezzin singer who calls the faithful to prayer
rakuba a small open-sided roofed structure providing shade
reth Shilluk king
shai beits tea houses
suk market
thuraya satellite phone
tob women's traditional outer garment in Sudan
tukl thatched round hut

The Greek Community of Sudan between 1900 and 1930 and its Role in the Local Economy

Antonis Chaldeos*

Abstract

Since the mid 19th century, the main activity of the Greeks living in Sudan has been trade. Most of them had been active in Egypt for years before moving to Sudan to expand their businesses. The Anglo-Egyptian campaign that initially led to the conquest of Omdurman in 1898, and later the rest of the country was the starting point for a new era of the Greek presence in Sudan. Migration increased and thousands of Greeks settled in various parts of the country. They were pioneers in several aspects of the local economy and central to the economic development of Sudan, especially during the period 1900-1930.

This article analyses the political and economic conditions that shaped the Greek community in Sudan. It discusses their role in the local economy and contribution to the development of Sudan between 1900 and 1930 and presents new insights and facts based on a wide variety of unpublished records.[1]

Introduction

The Greek presence in Sudan was inextricably associated with the political and economic conditions prevailing in Northeastern Africa, and specifically with the Egyptian campaign of 1821 that aimed to conquer Sudan. The army was followed by Greeks who provided the army with food and water. The Greeks subsequently dispersed within Sudan and gradually acquired a prominent role in the country's economic life.

In the late 19th century, Sudan experienced a series of major political changes. It was the site of the struggle between the European colonial powers which were seeking to extend their spheres of influence in Africa. The need for infrastructure, both to move European military forces in a continent where the terrain was mostly desert, jungle and large rivers, and to open up trade routes, led to a great demand for a skilled workforce. The Greeks took advantage of these conditions and migrated in large numbers to Sudan. By the first half of the 20th century, they were widely dispersed within Sudan (the

[1] This article is the result of extensive research made in the archives of the Anglo-Egyptian administration of Sudan located in The Palace Green Library at Durham University; the records of the Greek communities in Sudan; the diplomatic archives of the Greek consulate of Khartoum; and the archives of the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Nubia.

biggest country in Africa) and were leaders in the economic development of the country.

The formation of the Greek community

Since the late 19th century, even in the most remote areas where few Europeans had ever been, the Greeks took advantage of trade opportunities and settled.[2] In 1929 the Greek community accounted for 80% of the total European population of Sudan; one-third of the Greeks resided in Khartoum and the adjacent Omdurman (SAD 1914, 10). The Greek community was the most populous of the 2,400 Europeans living in the Sudanese capital. Greeks were also present in Port Sudan, Atbara, Wadi Halfa, Wad Medani, El Obeid, Kassala, Wau and other cities to the south of the country (SAD, Annual Reports of the Governor General/ Reports on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1906, p. 721; Skotidis 1908, 42-52).

Demographic trends in the Greek community were affected by the conditions prevailing in Sudan, as well as the political and economic context of the Eastern Mediterranean. Many Greek refugees from Smyrna and other cities in Asia Minor arrived in Sudan through Egypt after the blight of 1922 (SAD, Annual Reports of the Governor General/ Reports on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1923, p. 51).

As migration to Sudan increased, the British imposed restrictions on immigrants, including Europeans (Newspaper *Sudan Chronicles*, 30/10/1929). There were few British people living in Sudan and as a result, they were afraid of the increased presence of other ethnicities in the country's economy. In order to gain entry to Sudan, it was necessary for the migrant to have a work invitation and money guarantee from the local community. Despite these limitations, the Greek community continued to grow and in 1929, it consisted of about 4,000 members (Politis 1930, 353), of whom 1,455 resided in Khartoum. During the 1940s, 1,687 Greeks lived in Khartoum while the total European population was 3,052 people (FO 287/214).

The role of the Greeks in the local economy

Since the middle of the 19th century, the main activity of the Greeks in Sudan had been trade (Chaldeos 2020; 2018). After the arrival of the British in Sudan, Greeks dominated the trade sector (Niblock 1987, 55). According to Captain Hayes-Sadler, "as the Greeks have a remarkable talent in driving the country into growth, their presence is particularly necessary for the development of the country" (SAD, Annual Reports of the Governor General/ Reports on

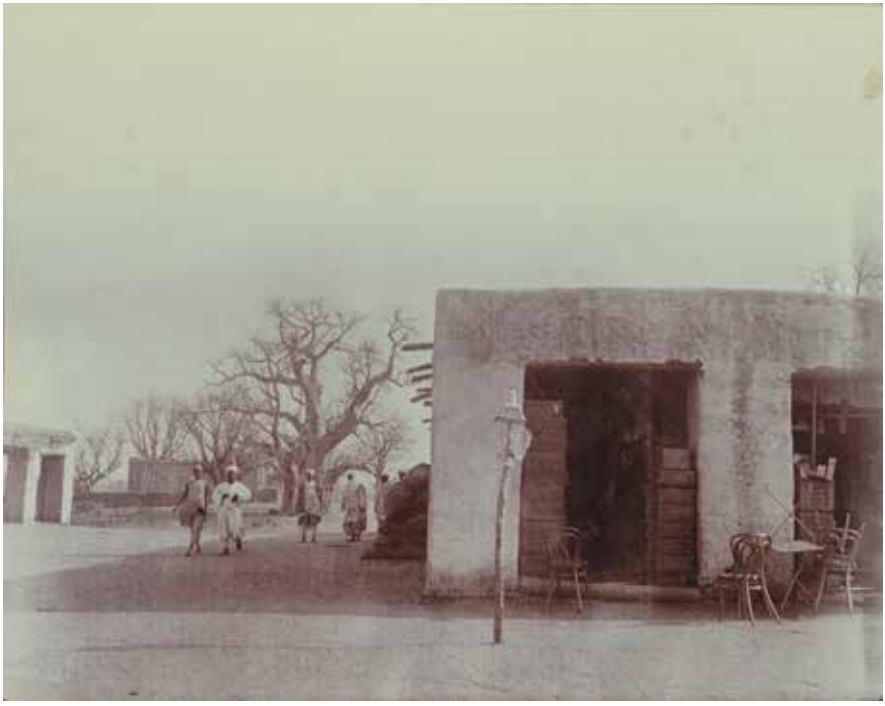
[2] For more information about the Greek presence in Sudan in the 19th century see two articles by Chaldeos (2018; 2020) in *Sudan Studies*.

the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1904, 59).

The first shops that were opened in Sudan were Greek. After the capture of Khartoum, the Greeks followed the British campaign troops to the interior of the country, supplying the army; a privilege that they maintained for three years (Pachtikos 1933). In 1904, Cromer reported that the majority of retail trade was in Greek hands (Cromer 1908, 198-199), which was later confirmed by the English politician Percy Martin (Percy 1921, 529).

Many Greek migrants settled in urban centres, which were more attractive for those who wanted to return to Greece after a short time or sought to invest their money in a small business. However, as Sudan was sparsely populated and lacked essential infrastructure, many Greeks settled in remote areas in order to take advantage of the absence of competitors. If we consider the vastness of Sudan and the limited capacity of both the railway network and Nile River transport, we can understand the difficulties those Greeks experienced when they tried to set up businesses in the hinterland.

The Greeks were also active in the import and export trades. Those who were export-oriented bought raw materials from the domestic market and dis-



Roseires, the Greek's shop, 1905-1911
(Copyright: F. J. L. Atterbury Collection, Sudan Archive Durham (SAD.A10/72).

tributed them, primarily to foreigners who owned large commercial houses with branches inside and outside Sudan. A typical case was the company of Gerasimos Contomichalos, which was the largest import and export firm in Sudan, participating in numerous businesses not only in Sudan but also in other countries. The Contomichalos company was set up with an initial capital of £6,000. The worth of the company gradually increased to £600,000 with activities in agriculture, shipping and financial sectors. Its headquarters were in Khartoum and there were 10 branches within Sudan, three in Egypt, and an office in London. In Port Sudan the company had warehouses that could store 200,000 cotton parcels (Pachtikos 1933).

In contrast, those who turned to the import sector were representatives of foreign companies in Khartoum which was the headquarters of an extensive transport and sales network that spread across Sudan. Through the creation of branches in distant parts of the country, Greek store owners managed to create a close relationship with local markets that was often monopolistic.

The Alcohol Trade

One of the most widespread commercial activities of the Greeks immediately after the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian administration, was the alcohol trade which was one of the most profitable sectors of the Sudanese economy. Licenses were given by the government to commercial outlets for the import and sale of alcohol within specific geographical boundaries. In 1899, the first 24 licenses were granted exclusively to Greek merchants (SAD, Sudan Government Gazettes, 1899, Nr.1-6). These licenses were for Omdurman, Khartoum, Kassala, Berber, Dongola and Wadi Halfa. In 1900, additional alcohol marketing licenses were granted including for Suakin (SAD, Sudan Government Gazettes, 1900); and in 1901, Wad Medani and Sennar (SAD, Sudan Government Gazettes, 1901).

In 1902, the legal framework for trade in alcohol changed. It was forbidden to sell alcohol to the indigenous population and British soldiers because its consumption often led to violence and alcoholism (Fothergill 1910, 67). The fine for infringing this rule was set at 100 Egyptian pounds (Skotidis 1908, 45). However, this obstacle was 'overcome' as the Egyptians acted as intermediaries, buying alcohol from the Greeks and then selling it illegally to the Sudanese and the British (SAD, Annual Reports of the Governor General/ Reports on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1906, 633; Fothergill 1910, 16-17). Moreover, it was decided that mercantile alcohol licenses should be given by the local governor (*mudir*) only if he approved the applicant's character and plant facilities (SAD, Sudan Government Gazettes, 1902, Nr. 31). Despite these limitations, the Greeks continued their activi-

ties and also received a license to sell alcohol in the Kordofan area in 1902 (SAD, Sudan Government Gazettes, 1902, Nr. 34). In the following years, although some restaurants and hotels could sell alcohol, the Greeks continued to monopolise this sector of the economy (SAD, Annual Reports of the Governor General/Reports on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1906, 33).

The development of trade, 1899-1914

Between 1899 and 1914, Sudan experienced a particularly high rate of growth as a result of political stability and security (Daly 1986, 194), and the initiatives taken by the administration to improve basic economic structures. The improved organisation of production and the management of hunger and disease after the Mahdia period ended, contributed to the trade boom. Between 1901 and 1914, exports increased by 282%, while imports went up by 246% (Baier 1977, 45). The cultivated area in Sudan increased from 1,000,000 feddans in 1904 to 2,100,000 in 1913, an increase of 110% that reflected a fivefold increase in cotton production (Daly 1986, 216; Schanz 1913, 136).

Undoubtedly, the contribution of the railways was decisive for the development of trade and the country's economy (Brett 1973, 128-132; Beshai, 1976; SAD, Annual Reports of the Governor General/Reports on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1911, 294). Firstly, railways facilitated the flow of goods to and from the markets. Secondly, they increased the mobility of the workforce and enabled traders to improve the organization of their commercial networks and gain access to a wider geographical area (Sikainga, 2002). As economic activity spread throughout the country, cities developed which, in turn, stimulated other sectors of the economy. Thirdly, the development of the rail network resulted in the expansion of the telegraph network, enabling better coordination of the movement of goods. Finally, its extension facilitated the development of engineering and technical knowledge, resulting in skilled staff who were capable of working in other key areas of the country's infrastructure.

The Greeks, foremost of all Europeans, drew on their adventurous mentality and entrepreneurial culture and travelled throughout the country looking for opportunities that would bring them more profit (Bertrand 1924, 52-53; Yacoub 1911, 170). They overcame difficulties such as the lack of transport infrastructure and increased mortality due to disease and the rough living conditions, and managed to maintain an uninterrupted supply of basic products to Sudan, even in the most remote places (Murray 1925, 172; Peel 1904, 245-246). However, some Greeks lost their lives, like Theodosis Chatzimarketos, who was a representative of the Kavadias trade house. He died when a trolley

he was travelling in overturned on a wooden bridge and he fell into a river where he was killed by crocodiles (FO 403/330, 1902).

As a result of Greek dominance in Sudan's trading activity, in 1902, 25 Greek merchants participated in the creation of the Omdurman Chamber of Commerce. Moreover, in 1907, at the suggestion of the Capatos and Stamatopoulos brothers, the Bank of the East set up a branch in Khartoum (Newspaper *Empros*, 28/2/1907). Competition between the traders in Sudan intensified in the following years. As a result, the Egyptians, Lebanese and Syrians founded a new association without the participation of the Greeks. In response to this move, the Greek Chamber of Commerce of Khartoum was created in 1908 (Newspaper *Empros*, 16/1/1908). Later, the Greek Chamber included merchants of non-Greek origin too (Schanz 1913, 137). The Greek Chamber gradually evolved into an international group with prestige in Khartoum, as it brought together the largest merchants in the country, including G. Contomichalos, who was named its honorary president in 1935 (Newspaper *Sudan Chronicles*, 22/4/1935).

The second decade of the 20th century saw the beginning of economic distress, partly due to adverse weather conditions. During 1912-1913, reduced rainfall was disastrous for agricultural production in the country. The outbreak of the First World War also had economic consequences for Sudan, particularly in relation to imports and exports and also because the government was forced to reduce its spending. As a result, the volume of trade in 1914 was lower than in 1911. However, in 1916, things changed again as the volume of transactions almost doubled compared to that of 1914. Favourable climatic conditions partly explain this while at the same time, trade with Palestine and the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula developed because British and Allied troops needed cereals and livestock products.

Economic downturn, 1914-1926

Between 1914 and 1926, due to the general economic downturn and a few wrong business choices, a significant number of Greek and foreign merchants who had been active for more than a decade went bankrupt, resulting in the forced divestment of their property in order that their creditors be paid (SAD, Sudan Government Gazettes, 1914-1926). One of the most typical cases of a trader who started from scratch, set up a financial empire and eventually became bankrupt was that of Angelos Capatos.

Angelos Capatos

Angelos Capatos was born in 1854 in Kefalonia Island, which was dominated by the British at that time. He was from a naval family whose members had served in the British Navy. Both his grandfather Kosmas, and his father Elias,

took part in the battle of Abukir, during the campaigns of Crimea and Egypt. Following his family's tradition, Angelos arrived in Suez in 1870 and a little later became a crew member of Sir John Murray's "Challenger" ship that undertook a four-year scientific mission covering more than 68,000 nautical miles across the oceans (Rice 1999). Subsequently, Capatos followed the first British Nile exploration mission in 1882 as a merchant, with a total capital of 5 gold dollars (Newspaper *The Standard Union*, 10/9/1905). In 1883, he went to Suakin with the army of Baker and Sartotious Pasha as a partner of John Ross. After the destruction of Sir Gerald Graham's army in 1884, Ross and Capatos took over supplying the army. At the end of the campaign, the cooperation of the two partners ended and Capatos cooperated with the John Walker Co., supplying the British army and navy with food until 1886, when they dissolved their partnership.

After becoming a British citizen Capatos started his own business as the main supplier of fresh meat to the Egyptian army. At the end of 1888, he signed a contract with the Egyptian army for the supply of 1500 cattle every 42 days but shortly afterwards experienced his first financial blow.[3] His animals were struck by disease and he was forced to slaughter them. As he was unable to fulfil the terms of the contract, he had to pay compensation of £15,000 (Newspaper *The Standard Union*, 10/9/1905).

Apart from his business activities, Capatos was also engaged in domestic missions on behalf of the British who wanted to expand their sphere of influence and consolidate sovereignty over Sudan. Through this role, he expanded his activities throughout the country. He got involved in the ivory and Arabic gum trade and made a profit of more than £200,000. He founded branches even in the more remote areas of Sudan, such as Bahr-el Ghazal, as well as in neighbouring countries like Uganda, Congo and Ethiopia (Newspaper *The Illustrated Buffalo Morning Express*, 1907).

He spoke nine local dialects, in addition to English and Arabic, and had an extensive commercial network which employed a large number of Greeks. He gained tremendous influence with the British administration and acted as a partner to the government.

In addition to the ivory trade Capatos owned thousands of acres of cotton plantations; cotton was shipped to British companies that carried it to Egypt on the Nile or through Port Sudan (Politis 1930, 173). After the fall of Omdurman in 1898, Capatos received two steamships from Kitchener that he turned into hotels at great profit.

---

[3] The Egyptian army was preparing for a campaign in Gameiza aimed at expelling Mahdi supporters from Suakin (Politis 1930, 181),

In 1906, financial problems resulted from a series of fires and the sinking of some of his ships. Firstly, his warehouses in Port Sudan burned down, resulting in a loss of £33,000, then warehouses in Khartoum, leading to a loss of £55,800 and finally those in Gondokoro with a loss of £47,000 (Politis 1930, 82). Then, some of his boats, carrying gum Arabic, merchandise and salt were sunk between Shellal and Wadi Halfa; because they were uninsured the loss amounted to £46,200. Capotos's subsequent failure to repay loans he had received resulted in his bankruptcy with a debt of £185,000.

The wrong choices and excessive risk, key elements of the character and the commercial activity of Capatos, contributed to the increasing liabilities of his trading transactions over the next few years. His inability to pay his creditors and increasing debt due to high interest rates on his loans, led him to declare bankruptcy again in 1909 (SAD 287/2/218-221 and SAD 287/3/82-83). In order to be able to continue his business and cover a £4,000 loan he had received from the Bank of the East, he mortgaged one of his best estates (Newspaper *Empros* 23/6/1909). However, the economic downturn continued and Capatos's debts exceeded two million francs. His creditors, banks and individuals, although they initially compromised, later seized his property (Newspaper *Empros*, 14/2/1910).

In 1914, after receiving credit from his nephew G. Contomichalos, he made a new start. In 1928, he abandoned his business as he went bankrupt again. The man who, for almost three decades, was one of the most powerful people in Sudan, spent the last years of his life at his home in Alexandria, where he lived on a £55 monthly allowance he received from G. Contomichalos (SAD 682/14/1-134).

Conclusion

Apart from being the most populous European community in Sudan, Greeks were among the foremost actors in the economy between 1900 and 1930. They took advantage of their entrepreneurial culture and travelled throughout the country looking for opportunities that would bring them profits. They overcame difficulties caused by the lack of transport infrastructure and poor living conditions and disease, and managed to maintain an uninterrupted supply of basic products, even in the most remote places. They took advantage of colonial laws and invested money in important sectors of the Sudanese economy. Greeks are widely recognised as key to Sudan's economic transformation during the first half of the 20th century, although some prosperous businessmen experienced the consequences of the economic downturn of the mid-1920s and went bankrupt.

References

Abd Al-Rahim 1969. *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Sudan*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Baier, S. 1977. 'Trans-Saharan Trade and the Sahel: Damergu, 1870-1930', *The Journal of African History* 18:1, 37-60.

Barbour, K. M. 1961. *The Republic of the Sudan*. London: London University Press.

Bertrand, L. 1924. *Le Mirage oriental*, *vol. A*. Paris: Perrin et Cie.

Beshai, A. 1976. *Export Performance and Economic Development in the Sudan: 1900 -1967*. London: Ithaca Press.

Brett, E. A. 1973. *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change, 1919-1939*. New York: NOK Publishers.

Chaldeos, A. 2018. 'The Greek Community in Sudan at the time of the Mahdia, 1885-1898', *Sudan Studies* 58, 17-28.

Chaldeos, A. 2020. 'The Greek Community in Sudan between 1821 and 1885', *Sudan Studies* 61, 56-64.

Clayton, G. 1969. *An Arabian diary*. California: University of California Press.

Cromer, E. 1908. *Modern Egypt*, vol. B. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Daly, M. W. 1986. *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Drakopoulos, A. 1900. *Αιγυπτιακόν Ημερολόγιον του έτους 1900 μετ' εικόνων*, [Egyptian Calendar of 1900 with images]. Alexandria.

Fothergill, E. 1910. *Five years in the Sudan*. London: Hurst & Blackett.

Kamitsis, G. 1967. *Το Σουδάν και ο Ελληνισμός του* [Sudan and Hellenism]. Athens.

Murray, H. 1925. *Egypt under* the *Egyptians*. London.

Niblock, T. 1987. *Class and power in Sudan: the dynamics of Sudanese politics, 1898-1985*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Pachtikos, A. 1933. *Εικονογραφημένη Αφρική* [Illustrated Africa]. Alexandria: Hermes.

Peel, S. 1904. *The binding of the Nile and the new Soudan*. ed. A. Edward. London.

Percy, M. 1921. *The Sudan in evolution: a study of the economic financial and administrative conditions of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. London. Constable.

Politis, A. 1930. *Ο Ελληνισμός και η Νεοτέρα Αίγυπτος* [Hellenism and New Egypt]. vol. A-B. Alexandria: Grammata.

Rice, A. L. 1999. 'The Challenger Expedition', *Understanding the Oceans: Marine Science in the Wake of HMS Challenger*. London: Routledge.

Schanz, M. 1913. *Cotton in Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, submitted to the 9th International Cotton Congress, Scheveningen, June 9th to 11th. Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co., Ltd.

Sikainga, A. 2002. '*City of Steel and Fire': A Social History of Atbara, Sudan's Railway Town, 1906-84*. Oxford: James Currey

Skotidis, N. 1908. *Το Σουδάν* [Sudan]. Alexandria.

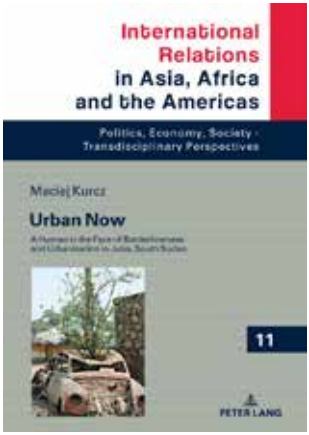
Steevens, G. W. 1898. *With Kitchener to Khartoum*. New York: Dodd & Mead Company.

Yacoub Pasha, A. 1911. *England in the Sudan*, (trans. from the French by G. Robb), Khedivial training college, London: MacMillan and Co.

* Antonis Chaldeos is a Research Associate in the Department of Languages, Cultural Studies and Applied Linguistics at the University of Johannesburg.
Email: anchald1997@hotmail.com

Book Reviews

Maciej Kurcz, **Urban Now: A Human in the Face of Borderlineness and Urbanisation in Juba, South Sudan**, translated from Polish by Krzysztof Zarzycki, Peter Lang, Berlin, 2021, ISBN: 978-3-631-81988-3, hardback, €56.



Urban Now (2021) is a new translation of *Jak przeżyć w afrykańskim mieście? Człowiek wobec pograniczności oraz procesów urbanizacyjnych w południowo-sudańskiej Dżubie* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2012), or "How to Survive in an African City? A person faced with borderland and urbanization processes in Juba, South Sudan." In this book Maciej Kurcz writes in the present tense to emphasise what he calls the "urban now" (hence the English-language title), which is 2007-2008, "a very specific, ephemeral period, suspended somewhere between unfulfilled dreams of post-colonial past and still unaccomplished promises of neoliberal future" (2021, 5). Kurcz is at his best when he is describing ephemeral spaces: "After dusk… [c]rowds of residents settle themselves along the road, on chairs they bring with them. Innumerable candles and kerosene lamps illuminate the darkness. This is the time for small, makeshift service points: TV rooms or equally tiny restaurants, run by women. When the dawn comes, they all disappear" (2021, 81).

Urban Now is divided into eight chapters comprising an introduction with several short orienting sections, a short chapter about migration to Juba, five ethnographic chapters interleaved by photographs, and a brief conclusion. The ethnographic chapters concern the spatial organisation of place and mobility, family life, livelihoods, ethnicity, and religious expression.

The book's introduction locates Kurcz's study in relation to "African borderlands" and situates Juba in South(ern) Sudan and the country's recent history. The book's first chapter describes the magnitude of migration to Juba after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005 and the struggles over land that ensued. In the book's first ethnographic chapter (Chapter 2, "Spatial Structures"), Kurcz records his observations of how people relate to each other in various urban spaces: the neighborhood of Hai Jalaba, informal development in Munuki and Hai Gabat, residential spaces, city streets and minibuses, markets and restaurants, sacred spaces, and social life after dark. Chapter 3 ("Urban Family and Its Dynamics") examines continuity and change in family life, marriage, gender, and age through case studies of two groups: single women managing what demographers call "female-headed households"

and "street children", who work to make ends meet. Kurcz describes "A day in the life of a woman," women's mutual aid associations, and how children get by collecting bottles for resale, or finding work as ticket collectors, or fruit vendors. Chapter 4 examines urban livelihoods in Juba's highly stratified hierarchy of professions, beginning with the city's political and diplomatic elite and moving "downward" through civil servants, NGO-workers, highly mobile cross-border traders, and the increasingly criminalised informal sector, where work is carried out overwhelmingly by women. Chapter 5 ("Changes of Ethnicity") describes how ethnic identities are variously strengthened (through mutual aid, the need to find accommodation and work, and the practical demands of organising weddings, funerals, and other gatherings), suppressed by the use of English and Juba Arabic, and transformed through the creation of new forms of cooperation, cohort, and association based on shared experiences of migration. Chapter 6 ("Religion in the Modern City") examines how group solidarities have been shaped by the recent past; how Christianity in Juba is anchored in the social care provided by churches (health care, education, and service delivery); and how religious institutions are attractive because they open up spheres of experience and global networks and identities that would not otherwise be available, providing a link between rural areas or refugee camps and the city. Running through this account is a sensitivity to the ways that older structures of segregation continue to shape the city's development and how people draw on shared experiences of moving through large and small spaces to create a sense of identity and belonging.[1]

[1] Though chapters are not numbered in the table of contents, they are discussed in the book's final chapter (see 2021, 240-242). Apart from Catherine Miller's work on Juba Arabic or Naseem Badiey's (2011) analysis of the dynamics of overlapping claims and contestations over land and political authority in Juba ('Les dynamiques locales de la construction étatique à Juba, Sud-Soudan [2005-2008]', *Politique Africaine* 122 (2), 21-39), little contemporary scholarship on Juba would have been available to Kurcz when he was drafting the book's first Polish edition. Readers may be discomfited by the book's assertions about "traditional culture" that draw on the Seligmans' *Pagan tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932) and wish for more engagement with contemporary literature on South Sudan. This is not to say that he is uncritical. Kurcz has plainly read and taken direction from postcolonial studies: see Maciej Kurcz 2014 'Imaginary Sudan – Reflections on the Formation of the Notion of Sudan in the Period of European Influences', *Ethnologia Actualis* 14 (1), 19-36; and Maciej Kurcz 2021 'Dekolonizowanie konferencji. Kilka uwag na temat kongresów afrykanistycznych w Polsce', *Czas Kultury* 2, 105-109, where Kurcz discusses some of the complexities of decolonizing African studies in Poland.

Urban Now is based on nine months' research carried out in Juba during a period that spanned about two years (January to March 2007, January to March 2008, August to October 2008). Kurcz evidently had a difficult time. His research plans fell apart. It all nearly ended in disaster. He only managed to complete his work, he says, "by a stroke of good luck" (2021, 6). His fieldwork methods are the subject of a fascinating section in the book's Polish edition (Kurcz, 2012, 22-30), which has been unwisely cut from the English translation: his research in the city, he writes, was an uninterrupted search for gatekeepers, cooperation, and people to interview.[2] The elision of this section will be disorienting to readers who, expecting a discussion of positionality and method, are left wondering whom Kurcz actually spoke to.

Kurcz, who is trained in archaeology and ethnology, came to this study of Juba after carrying out ethnographic research in 2003-2004 near Old Dongola, where Polish archaeological teams have been excavating since 1964. This research led him, eventually, up the Nile to Juba, where he found "borderlineness" even among his initial contacts, who put up barriers to his speaking to others for his study. In both editions, Kurcz describes his realisation that he "was an integral part of the community under investigation: a 'stranger' in a place [where] almost everyone was a 'migrant" (2021, 26). Being an outsider was a "binding factor," he says. Through this link with recent arrivals Kurcz came to know others in their circle of acquaintance. In a section that has been cut from the English translation, he describes how his group of regular informants came to comprise "former refugees" who had recently arrived in the city from camps and cities in the region and were similarly looking for a sense of connection and belonging. These men and women seemed to represent the city's largest group of recent arrivals. They provided him with access to their communities, neighbours, and friends. They were also "the most easily accessible", Kurcz says; "as recent asylum seekers they seemed used to dealing with 'white people,' and what's more, were convinced of the benefits of such contacts" (2012, 25).

Kurcz's work was not all bad luck and barriers, of course. The many documents and official stamps required by his stay in South Sudan provided an opportunity to observe administrative work in offices where his presence provided welcome relief to the tedium of clerical duties: "officials at various levels

[2] The translation is very uneven and sometimes quite jarring. There are several puzzling sentences, awkward phrasings, and serious missteps in the region's linguistic, political, and ethnic terminology. Setha Low, whose work on space and place is important to the book's central theoretical framework, is referred to as "Seth" throughout. One shudders to think what Martin Daly would say about the book's copy-editing, bibliography, and index.

turned out to be very open interlocutors" (2012, 25). He attended Sunday mass in Munuki, where a priest introduced him to the congregation. ("Thanks to this, Sunday became not a day of rest but a day of hard work." [2012, 26].) He distributed a questionnaire survey, carried out group interviews, chatted with people that he met around town, and shadowed others as they went about their morning errands, relaxed in the afternoon, or went looking for work. Kurcz used his notebooks to record close observations of public spaces: neighbourhoods, streets, city minibuses, markets, memorials and sacred spaces, public offices, hotels and restaurants, and the Nile waterfront.

The picture that emerges from this focus on public interaction among people struggling to navigate a place shaped by decades of strife and enforced ethnic categorisation is of fracture and disjunction. It is as if Juba society is open on the surface but closed at the centre. While talk, stories, and commensality are readily offered in public spaces, many people that Kurcz encountered were quite guarded in their struggle to work out how they themselves would fit in. They relied on highly localised tactics to navigate the different social regimes, structures of authority, norms, and economic practices associated with different parts of the city: there were places to conceal ethno-regional identifications with Juba Arabic, English, or a public religious or professional identification, and places to "cherish cultural tradition" in highly formalised ways (2021, 196). The impression of distance given by this focus on public tact among strangers is reinforced by the book's style. Observations are set down as generalisations. People appear as types. Photographs illustrate "[t]he marks characteristic for Bari people" (2021, 46), "the ordinary hut" (2021, 103), a "typical house" (2021, 102). There is no directly quoted speech in the book. It is a little unfair to criticize an ethnography for being ethnographic in this manner, I suppose; the effect of this presentation is to allow us to see a part of Juba more clearly. But the style may limit the book's value for readers who wish to locate individuals and fine details in the picture that it provides of Juba during the years just after the CPA. All the same, examining a variety of social identifications within the same analytic frame provides Kurcz with a useful way to approach social categorisations and identifications in South Sudan. These public identities can be thought of as partly overlapping ways of organising mutual-aid, cooperation, and trust—the roots of social life, in other words—which recent arrivals in Juba (particularly those in precarious economic circumstances) struggle to put down.

Overall, this book makes a useful contribution. Kurcz's close attention to economic precarity and the unhelpful role played by aid organisations is particularly welcome. Though there are several assertations one could quarrel with and the translation demands generosity from the reader, *Urban Now* will pro-

vide helpful detail to historians interested in Juba during the period that followed the CPA. It can be usefully read alongside the excellent work produced by Naseem Badiey, Christian Doll, Nicki Kindersley, Ferenc David Marko, and Gabriella Marie McMichael, whose different perspectives on and approaches to understanding the city described by Kurcz during this time intersect each other in constructive ways.[3]

The University of Silesia has helpfully placed the full text of the English and Polish editions of *Urban Now* and Maciej Kurcz's other publications online: https://rebus.us.edu.pl/browse?type=author&sort_by=1&order=ASC&rpp=20&etal=-1&value=Kurcz%2C+Maciej

Brendan Tuttle is a Research Associate at the Children's Environments Research Group at the City University of New York (CUNY). He is grateful to Rebecca Turczynowicz for patiently answering questions about Polish translation.

[3] Naseem Badiey (2014) *The State of Post-conflict Reconstruction: Land, urban development and state-building in Juba, Southern Sudan*, Boydell & Brewer Ltd.; Christian Doll (2019) *The Post-State State: Sovereignty, Futurity, and Urban Life in Independent South Sudan*, PhD dissertation, University of California, Davis; Nicki Kindersley (2019) 'Rule of whose law? The geography of authority in Juba, South Sudan', The *Journal of Modern African Studies* 57(1), 61-83; Ferenc David Marko (2015) 'Negotiations and morality: the ethnicization of citizenship in post-secession South Sudan', *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 9(4), 669-684; Gabriella Marie McMichael (2013) *An elusive peace dividend: land access and violence in non-formal settlements in Juba, Southern Sudan*, PhD dissertation, University of Manchester; Zoe Cormack's (2016) 'Borders are Galaxies', *Africa* 86[3], 504-527) also provides an analysis that can be usefully read against Kurcz's "borderlineness."

Eduard Rüppell, ***Riḥlāt fī šimāl as-Sūdān wa Kurdufān wa šibhi ǧazīrat Sīnā' wa sāḥil al-Ḥijāz ḫāṣṣatan min manẓūr ǧaġrāfī iḥṣā'ī,*** with 8 copperplate prints and 4 maps, and a preface by Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, translated by Fadia Foda and Hamid Fadlalla, edited by Khalid Mohamed Farah, Khartoum (Dār al-Muṣawwarāt), 2019.

Finally, after almost two centuries of near inaccessibility, Eduard Rüppell's account of his observations in the Sudan has become accessible to those he described – or rather their descendants. His *Reisen* was originally published in 1829 in Frankfurt, and, at that time, Rüppell and his publisher Friedrich Wilmans quite naturally assumed that every cultured being in the world would be fluent in the language of Goethe and Schiller. Now, by the most laudable efforts of the translators and the editor, it has, at last, become accessible to those who read the language of the countries he describes. The challenges of translation and editing must have been enormous, however.

Rüppell's *Riḥlāt* originally appeared under the title *Reisen in Nubien, Kordofan und dem peträischen Arabien vorzüglich in geographisch-statistischer Hinsicht* which would translate as 'Travels in Nubia, Kordofan, and Arabia Petraea particularly with geographical-statistical regard'. For the educated classes of the early 19th century, Arabia Petraea, das peträische Arabien, would have included the Sinai Peninsula and the Hejazi coastline on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Akaba, as distinguished from Arabia Felix and Inner Arabia or Arabia Deserta. Today, nobody would talk of Arabia Petraea or Petraic Arabia, hence the Arabic translation as Sinai and Hejaz is certainly much better. I am, however, less sure about the necessity of rendering Nubia as northern Sudan in the title. The translators explain that the translation northern Sudan is more appropriate, as historically Nubia referred to a much larger part of today's Sudan than it did in the past. They are of course perfectly right, but on the other hand, we should be aware that the term Sudan itself is clearly an anachronism for Rüppell. He did not mention it once in his account, and instead stated explicitly that his *Reisen* dealt with Kordofan and the Turco-Egyptian province of Dongola.

Another expression in the title which may deserve some explanation is 'statistical'. By using this term on the front page, Rüppell consciously committed himself to the emerging science of facts as distinguished from the sentimental romanticism which usually characterised travel literature for the cultured classes of his time. Geographical-statistical thus meant a methodological programme and Rüppell was firmly taking sides in the science wars of his time. It is evident that his understanding of geography was much indebted to Carl Ritter's empirical foundation of geography; Ritter was for some years a Frankfurt contemporary. Rüppell's agenda is laid out in the preface (27ff)

and in chapter one (31ff) where he writes about his reasons for travelling, his moral and (being heir to a bank) material independence as compared to his contemporaries Waddington and Cailliaud, his choice of his instruments for measurement and his empiricist methodology in general.

Eduard Rüppell, who was born in 1794 and died in 1884, cultivated a life-long close connection to the Senckenberg Society for the Study of the Natural Sciences in his hometown Frankfurt, which ranked among the most important nature research institutions of his time. He eventually became director of their collections and the donations from his many expeditions provided a considerable part of the foundations of the Senckenberg Natural Science Museum. *Reisen* was only one of his many books and articles. Other books include one about the birds of northeast Africa, two about Nile fish, one about the vertebrates of Ethiopia and – Rüppell being an accomplished cartographer and draftsman – a so-called atlas which is a most charming collection of animal drawings designed to illustrate his travel accounts.

The editor and the translators of the *Riḥlāt* have now provided us with an Arabic version of Rüppell's *Reisen* which is absolutely faithful to this scholarly spirit. The editor has even gone to such incredible lengths as to include Rüppell's metrological observations, tables and itineraries from the original, almost 100 pages of data, the purpose of which in the 1829 edition was to provide evidence for the map of Kordofan that it contained. This was the first reliable map of Kordofan in the sense of having been drawn according to actual measurements instead of hearsay from afar. When it comes to Nubia, a region that was already well-travelled by the 1820s, Rüppell's map is unsurpassed even by Burckhardt's who, travelling in the guise of a Muslim merchant in 1813 and 1814, carried no astronomical instruments. It is therefore unfortunate that the small size of the map in the *Riḥlāt* gives only a rather vague impression of the original in the *Reisen*.

What Rüppell did for the exploration of Kordofan is comparable to what his contemporary Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar at-Tūnisī did for the exploration of Darfur. In fact, Rüppell was the first European to travel in Kordofan and come back with a travel account, and second only to Niebuhr, Bruce, and Burckhardt in the Hejaz. The editorial team has done us a great service in making that account accessible. Professor Abushouk has written a very useful preface in which he knowledgeably presents the historical context of Sudanese exploration and explains the importance of Rüppell's *Reisen* (13-20).

Rüppell set out on his travels in the year 1822 and returned home in 1827. His visits to Egypt, the provinces of Berber and Sennar, Abyssinia, and the eastern Sudan are not included in this volume. He arranged his account in three roughly equal parts followed by some chapters containing medical, astro-

nomical, and other metrological observations and an appendix containing the first known vocabularies of several Nuba languages. The first part is about Nubia from Wadi Halfa to Jabal al-Barkal (chapters 3-11) plus three chapters (12-14) devoted to the Bayuda crossing and the Shendi region; the second part about Kordofan (chapters 15-20), also contains two chapters devoted to information about the Nuba Mountains and Darfur which Rüppell only skirted while joining the Ḥamar Arabs hunting giraffe (hard to believe that this was the former banking apprentice who had been sent to North Africa to strengthen his delicate health); the third part deals with Sinai and the Hejaz (chapters 21-30). Travelling in the immediate aftermath of the Turco-Egyptian invasion, his account offers much precious knowledge about conditions before the invasion, as well as about the agrarian and fiscal reforms that took place immediately afterwards. In accordance with his scientistic approach to geography, he went to great lengths to gather quantitative information about climate, vegetation, agriculture, and the politics and administration of the regions he visited – a bonanza for economic history. His description of Nubian irrigated agriculture by water wheels in chapter 5 is unsurpassed, for instance. Roads and watering places in the desert are always painstakingly documented.

Unlike some other travellers of his time, Rüppell developed a sympathetic attitude towards those whom he described, except towards the slavers and the Turkish officials of whom he was rather critical. However, some in the Arabic-reading audience might not be amused to come across an otherwise coyly forgotten heritage of the manners and customs of 19th century Dongolawis and Kordofanians, including their meticulously described religious and alimentary practices as well as their dress styles and bodily habits which in no way measure up to the high expectations for a pure past widely held by the Sudanese public.

The editor, Khalid Mohamed Farah, a well-known Sudanese diplomat, writer, and scholar with a broad interest in the social sciences and history, has translated and edited a number of foundational works for Sudanese Studies, among them recently MacMichael's *Brands Used by the Chief Camel-Owning Tribes of Kordofan*, first published in 1913. Fadia Foda is a scholar and translator and an active civil rights activist specialising in migration and refugees, and Hamid Fadlalla is probably the best-known medical doctor of Sudanese origin in Berlin, besides being a writer, a highly respected human rights activist, and a translator. They should be highly commended for having so successfully coped with the obvious challenges of translating a book that was written two centuries ago. It must have been a nightmare, for instance, to translate all the ancient German titles and offices held by Baron von Zach who was Rüppell's supporter and to whom the *Reisen* is dedicated. I can imagine that it must have

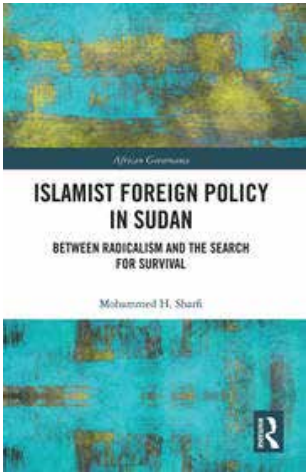
been tempting to just skip the dedication (9). No less than 65 pages containing the translators' explanatory notes attest to challenges of this kind, and every one of these pages will be most welcome to the reader.

Not all of the many hurdles of the *Reisen* have been overcome so elegantly, and this is inevitable. It is not easy, for example, to know that Rüppell meant court jesters when he wrote 'Narren', and not genuine mağānīn (104). Endless and not easy to avoid are the pitfalls posed by geographical names that are not to be found on any map in the world, let alone Google Earth. The translator either knows them or is forced to hazard a courageous guess. For example, Rüppell's Simirie is al-Simriyya and his Webri is al-Wubrī (88, 100), both watering places of the Hawāwīr Arabs, his Saurat (88) are the Sawwārāb Arabs in the Wādī al-Muqaddam. Rüppell's Nasbusan should read Naṣub al-ḥuṣān in Arabic (102); likewise, his Kailub, one of the three mountain massifs of Ḥarāza, should be spelled Kailūb, not Qailūb (104, 197), and his Seraue living north of Kağmar are the Zaġāwa, an offshoot of the Zaġāwa of Darfur (104). Rüppell's Filie to the south of Kağmar is the small oasis of al-Fīlīya (105) and his Mehamudie are the Muḥammadiyya on the White Nile (107). Derihamat are the Dār Ḥāmid Arabs (113). Guesses are not easy given Rüppell's archaic way of transliteration in addition to the comparative lack of phonetic differentiation in German generally, and the translators and the editor have worked wonders in avoiding a great deal more of these little 'off-the-target' mistakes.

Every Kordofanian and everybody with a historical interest in the Sudan who does not read German has reason to be grateful for their efforts.

Kurt Beck is a retired professor of Anthropology at Bayreuth University.

Mohammed H. Sharfi, **Islamist Foreign Policy in Sudan. Between Radicalism and the Search for Survival**, Routledge, Oxford and New York, 2021, ISBN 13: 978-0-367-78584-0 paperback, £36.99.



This book is indispensable for anyone interested in the politics of Sudan or the ideology of Islamism. The two have been tightly interlocked since the National Islamic Front (NIF) seized power in its 1989 coup, and Mohammed Hussein Sharfi's densely detailed *opus* goes a long way towards explaining how and why. Those writing in English, i.e. mainly non-Sudanese authors, rarely have such a grasp of the significance of such events and policies.

Herein lie both the plusses and the minuses of this work. On the plus side, we find solid examples of how the NIF and its various factions took and held power, pragmatically and always ruthlessly. Their degree of organisation, finance and dedication are very clear and made possible this shock to Sudanese traditional politics. Much of this material was already available in Arabic but Mohammed Sharfi brings it together, usefully footnoting the mainly Sudanese writers. Some is more original, derived from interviews with both leading Islamist politicians and unnamed civil servants, and here, the *cognoscenti* will find some real jewels. Other information is from English-language sources among which, I was pleased to see, *Africa Confidential*, which followed Islamist developments closely from 1989, in both Sudan and beyond.

Quotations are also many from WikiLeaks, especially in Chapter Five, "The GNU Foreign Policy (2005-2011)", which is largely devoted to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Khartoum regime and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). These would benefit from an explanation that they originated primarily in United States' embassies and other government offices, and as such reflect interpretation by US officials. This may be why he rarely resorts to quoting Wiki sources on matters pertaining directly to Islamism.

Repeating the same pattern of Islamist tactics.

Reading this book since the military-Islamist coup of 25th October 2021, an aspect that struck me forcibly was the parallels between Mohammed Sharfi's detailing of NIF strategy and tactics, and the repetition of these in the Islamists' counter-revolution of 2021-22. They include the regime led by General

Abdel Fatah Abdel Rahman el Burhan portraying itself as essentially military, disguising its Islamist affiliations just as the Revolutionary Command Council did when it seized power in 1989 (to the extent of dispatching Islamist leader Hassan el Turabi to gaol – very temporarily, let it be said). In both cases, this allowed the Islamist coup-makers to consolidate power while duping the international audience. As the Islamist movement well knows, this works: in mid-2022, most internationals were still talking as if the junta were military rather than Islamist – and therefore open to serious negotiation. Other aspects of the 1989 coup in the book which echo into the present include blaming the disagreements of political parties for the coup ("We had to act to save the country") and promising the free and fair elections which such squabbles supposedly had made impossible.

The book feels as if its author is overflowing with things he wants to say. More problematically, he also writes as if he were talking to readers who have lived through the tribulations of Islamist rule, as he has. This can leave the reader missing crucial information because it is landing too fast and needs contextualising for them to grasp its significance to the bigger picture. Many such facts are key to understanding Islamist theory and practice, yet we can't always see the wood for the trees. These are missed opportunities in an area that most non-Muslims (and some Muslims) struggle to understand. To the detriment of that understanding, busy international officials and journalists may not spare the time to join up the dots. They really should make that time because there are valuable facts and insights here. Extra effort is needed because, sadly, established international publishers do not always see the need for editing or even proof-reading.

The author repeatedly shows his own understanding of Islamism, yet sometimes seems to contradict himself. For example, he may talk about "moderates", a term beloved of international pundits who don't want to delve too deeply into the Islamist ideology or who seek to engage with it.

> Hostility towards Sudan in the international level was unprecedented since independence and attempts to rectify the situation by moderates were rebuffed by the outside world. The failure to improve relations was due to the inability of the NSR moderates to control domestic and foreign policies, along with the determination of radical elements to sustain their holy mission" (p. 54).

"NSR" means National Salvation Revolution, a confusing acronym devised by the writer.

At other times, though, he makes clear how radical the regime's adherents are. Omer el Beshir, still President when Mohammed Sharfi was writing, some-

times swings between being exceptionally clever and completely the opposite. Some of these confusing arguments and counter-arguments may stem from the fact that the book is extracted from Mohammed's doctoral thesis at Reading University, an insight into a PhD's requirement for balance that I owe to Dr Jihad Salih Mashamoun of Exeter University who, unlike myself, has gone through this very process. Again, a lack of context or simply subediting.

Focus on Islamist fundamentals

The writer may have intended to write about foreign policy but his book focusses more on domestic policy – essentially how the NIF captured the state and ran it, which naturally includes some foreign policy. It would in any case be impossible to implement a foreign policy in isolation from such an all-embracing – indeed, totalitarian – ideology. Among a host of quotes from interviewing veteran Islamist (and Professor at Khartoum's African Islamic University) Dr. Hassan Mekki Mohamed Ahmed in 2003, we also find a useful summary of why it had well served the Muslim Brothers, as they were then known, to join President Ja'afar Nimeiri's regime in the 1980s. This comes from p. 128 of Hassan Mekki's 1999 book *Al-Harakah Al-Islamyyah fi Al-Sudan* [The Islamic Movement in Sudan]. It is so revealing that it is worth citing in full (p. xii):

1. Emergence of missionary foundations and fronts for Islamic activities, such as the Islamic Call Organisation, the Islamic Thought and Culture Society, the African Islamic Relief Agency and the Society for Women Renaissance Pioneers
2. Control of the direction of Islamic financial institutions, i.e. banks and companies
3. Increase in their political weight among the students [of the Muslim Brotherhood]
4. Prominence of their political voices in the forums and policies of the state (People's Assembly, Council of Ministers and the Sudan Socialist Union [Nimeiri's ruling party])
5. Association of the women's movement with the Islamic agenda
6. Expansion of the movement's organisation internally and externally, and its adoption of decentralisation
7. Weakening the secular elements in the regime, such as Mansour Khalid, Bedr Al-Din Suliman and Jamal Mohammed Ahmed

It would have been rewarding to read more about the Islamist regime's foreign relations, especially with African and Arab countries: these are all mentioned but rarely in depth. Most of all, it would have been interesting to learn more about a foreign policy of which a major aspect consisted of interna-

tional terrorism. Key events should have included, for instance, the first New York World Trade Center attack in 1993, the bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on 7th August 1998, or the USS Cole in Yemen in 2000, all of which implicated the Sudan regime. Courts found the Khartoum government guilty of helping to train and finance the attacks and ordered it to pay compensation to the Kenyan and Tanzanian victims, many of whom were simple passers by. The total death toll was 224 people, with over 4,500 injured.

The author indeed notes several times that the NIF supported Islamists worldwide but details are sketchy. For example, he doesn't mention that it opened offices in former Yugoslavia, Albania and Austria, while Islamists were sent at party expense to study not only in Western countries and Malaysia but also in the then disintegrating Soviet Union, including its predominantly Muslim states. Missionary zeal was only part of that venture. The NIF expertly took advantage of the international political fluidity attaching to the end of the Cold War and discussion of this would have been welcome.

Mohammed Sharfi leaves the reader in no doubt that in its early years, the regime tried to destabilise its neighbours. However, he stresses that Sudan's involvement in the June 1995 attempt to assassinate the late Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, who was attending the African Union summit in Ethiopia, was a landmark necessarily followed by a more "pragmatic" (i.e. non-interventionist) policy. While the Addis Ababa attack indeed led to United Nations' and US sanctions, and to the departure for Afghanistan of Al Qaida "Emir" Usama bin Laden, the NIF regime's warmly welcomed guest and collaborator, Khartoum continued to finance, train and equip jihadist fighters and cadres at home and abroad. They included Egyptian Islamic Jihad and Nigeria's Boko Haram. We are seeing the results today in overwhelmingly Muslim Niger and Mali, and also in African areas that are not mainly Muslim, from the Central African Republic to Burkina Faso. Perhaps we can hope for more on this from the author in future books. There is much to be said and not many people seem to be saying it.

Much of this jihadist activity was (and still is) directly linked to Al Qaida and the book's chapter on the USA's 20th August 1998 bombing of El Shifa pharmaceutical factory is therefore disappointing, not least because it provides a superb example of NIF foreign policy. The rationale for the Tomahawk cruise missile attack was that Al Qaida was using the plant to prepare chemical weapons, specifically precursors for the highly toxic nerve gas Vx. Some also saw it as retaliation for the East Africa embassy bombings 13 days earlier, although Sudan regime involvement was to be proven only later.

Having explained in detail throughout the book how the Islamist regime manipulates not only facts but opinion, both domestic and foreign, Moham-

med Sharfi then seems to take at face value Khartoum's denial of anything amiss at the Khartoum North drug factory.

> It became clear from the media and testimonies of many scientists that the factory was intended to fulfil the pharmaceutical needs of the country. The baseless attack back fired on the US administration... (p. 33).

The attack indeed "backfired" because despite being terrorist-listed and with good reason, the NIF regime successfully grabbed the apparent moral high ground, portraying itself as the helpless victim of a mighty US bully that was trying to divert attention from President Bill Clinton's not-so-private life. Instead of deploying a senior Islamist to make its complaint to the UN Security Council, it wheeled out the rarely seen State (junior) Foreign Minister, Bishop Gabriel Rorich Jur (a Southern Sudanese whom the Episcopal (Anglican) Church had "relieved of his diocesan duties" when he joined the Islamist ruling party, which after South Sudan's independence in 2011, he still spearheaded in Juba). The very least that can be said is that the bombing and its aftermath require more investigation and analysis, especially given the effort Khartoum put into its public relations campaign, where outrage outpaced evidentiality.

Another area which needs more research is Khartoum's claim that it would have handed Bin Laden over to Washington if only the US government had agreed. This needs more unpacking than there is space for here. Mohammed Sharfi offers a delicious quote from a 2003 interview with the once mighty Qutbi el Mahdi Ahmed, an Iranian-trained intelligence officer with a Canadian passport who was Ambassador in Tehran before becoming NIF head of External Security.

> We gave 'US officials' a piece of advice that they never followed. We told them: Don't send him [Bin Laden] out of Sudan [to Afghanistan] because you will lose control over him... Now the US has ended up with war with an invisible enemy (p. 56).

The notion that Sudan would help the USA to "control" Al Qaida was as improbable as it was durable: the Central Intelligence Agency's flirtation a decade later with a subsequent intelligence chief, Salah Abdullah "Gosh", helped the NIF more than Washington.

The same would have applied had Khartoum handed Bin Laden to the USA. Mohammed Sharfi makes it clear that such a move would have hugely damaged Sudan's position as the only modern Islamist regime apart from Iran,

which made it "the world epicentre of radical Islam" (p. 54). Yet this is also an area where more analysis would be welcome. It is not enough to write that Sudan (and Saudi Arabia) offered to hand him over but this was "unlikely" (p. 56). This was yet another area of achievement for the Khartoum regime's propaganda campaign, prompting an extraordinary comment from US former Ambassador Tim Carney who, after he left Sudan in 1997, publicised widely his view that Vice-President Ali Osman Mohamed Taha had really wanted to hand over Bin Laden.

> The fact is, they were opening the doors, and we weren't taking them up on it. The US failed to reciprocate Sudan's willingness to engage us on serious questions of terrorism. We can speculate that this failure had serious implications – at the least for what happened at the US embassies (Kenya and Tanzania) in 1998 (p. 57, citing *Vanity Fair* magazine, *The Osama Files*).

Islamist Foreign Policy in Sudan is teeming with facts, insights and sometimes astonishing quotes from people who were once household names in Sudan. Some of them are now back in power and although much of the material was written some years ago, that makes this book extremely timely.

Gill Lusk

News from the Sudan Archive, Durham

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

Dr Katie Hickerson, the 2022 Sir William Luce Fellow, gave her public lecture "Portraits, Postcards and Protest: mobilizing Sudanese visual culture" at Trevelyan College in Durham on 14th June 2022. It will be made available in the Sir William Luce Papers series later in the year. Past lectures are available online at https://bit.ly/3G2nIUg. The deadline for applications for the 2023 fellowship is 5th September 2022 (please see the website link above for further details).

Recent accessions to the Sudan Archive

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

*__Thomas H.B. Mynors__ (1907-2000), Sudan Political Service 1930-1955: personal correspondence, 1930-1954 (1 box), with 3-volume published edition

*__Robert O. Collins__ (1933-2008), historian: file of correspondence and academic writing, 1998-2003

*__Philip P. Bowcock__ (1927-2021), Sudan Political Service (1950-1955): 2 cinefilms

*__William Root__ (1898-1972), Posts and Telegraph Department engineer, 1923-1932: Khalifa House Museum postcards

Vonda Adorno: photographs of Juba, 1973-1975

B. J. Braak: "Overcoming ruptures. Zande identity, governance, and tradition during cycles of war and displacement in South Sudan and Uganda (2014-2019)" (PhD thesis)

Rev. Alfred W. B. Watson (1860-1912): letter briefly describing the Battle of Atbara, British casualties; with transcript and biographical notes

Ian G. Simpson (1926-2020) and Morag Simpson (1923-1998), agricultural economists: grey literature, correspondence and some field notes, photographs, 1960s-1990s

* accruals to existing collections

Francis Gotto, Archivist
francis.gotto@durham.ac.uk
+44 (0)191 334 1218

The Society for the Study of the Sudans (UK)

Annual Symposium and General Meeting

in association with the Centre of African Studies, SOAS

10.15am – 4.45 pm on Saturday 8th October 2022

in the Brunei Lecture Theatre, School of Oriental and African Studies, Thornhaugh Street (off Russell Square), London WC1H 0XG

Registration will be from 9.15-10.15 a.m. and the Symposium will end at about 4.30 p.m. Programme details will appear on our website **www.sssuk.org** once they are confirmed

Underground: Russell Square, Euston or Euston Square.
Buses: all buses that go along Southampton Row or Euston Road which are a short walk away.

Please **book in advance** (by 6.00 pm on Thursday 6th October) as we cannot guarantee a place or lunch for those who register after that. Those who book in advance should still report at the desk when they arrive on the 8th October.

It is simplest if you pay via PayPal (using the button on the SSSUK website), and provide the information requested on the form below to **treasurer@sssuk.org** if booking for more than one person. Alternatively, send the loose paper form inserted in this issue and a cheque, made out to SSSUK, to the Treasurer: Adrian Thomas, 30 Warner Road, London N8 7HD, UK.

	Reduced Rate (£) (if booked by 29th September)	Full Rate (£) (bookings after 29th September)
Conference + Lunch:	23	25
Students with ID:	13	15
Conference only:	9	11

Jane Hogan, Honorary Secretary

SSSUK Annual Symposium and AGM, 2022: Registration Form

Name…….
Name of Guest(s)……

SSSUK Member? Yes/No (Please circle)

Address …….

……...

……..

No. of tickets required …… Amount enclosed £……..

Email …… Date……...

Society for the Study of the Sudans (UK)
35th Annual General Meeting, 23rd October 2021
By Zoom

MINUTES

Chairperson Gill Lusk welcomed everyone to the 35th Annual General Meeting of the SSSUK.

1. *Introduction from the President, Leila Aboulela*

Leila spoke about events in Sudan in recent days and quoted the words of the Sudanese writer Abdelaziz Baraka Sakin about the end of the military regime.

2. *Apologies for absence*

Apologies for absence were received from committee member John Ryle, and from members Mark Duffield, Nicki Kindersley, Susanne Jaspars, Samya Muddathir, Amira Osman, Mary Robson and Pieter Tesch.

3. *Minutes of the 2020 AGM*

There were no matters arising so the minutes, which had previously been circulated, were accepted as a true record.

4. *Report of the Chairperson*

Gill Lusk, the Chairperson, expressed her regret that we were once again unable to meet in person and enjoy lovely Sudanese food prepared by Deya el Mardi. Gill had recently spoken to Angelica Baschieri of SOAS about arranging meetings in our usual venue and reported that SOAS may start to allow these again in January or February.

Gill paid tribute to those members who had died during the previous 12 months:

Charles Armour, who was probably SSSUK's oldest member
Philip Bowcock, former SSSUK Committee member
Anisa Dani, a former Chairperson of SSSUK
Ahmed El Bushra, another longstanding Committee member
Muhammad Bashir Ahmed (Abdel Aziz el Sawi), a long-term member

5. *Treasurer's report*

Accounts: Adrian Thomas reported that the Society's current financial position, as shown in the 2020 accounts previously circulated to members, was much healthier than last year, partly thanks to a number of generous donations. Thanks were expressed to Heywood Hadfield for once more examining the accounts before they were submitted to the Charity Commission. Looking

to the future we would expect to maintain the same level of reserves. The new subscription rates had been agreed in 2018 but about a quarter of members were still paying at the old rate. Adrian is now writing personally to each of these members.

Membership: Nine new members had joined the Society since the last AGM, five had died and three had resigned. The total number of members is about 226. A larger membership would obviously help our finances and all were encouraged to help bring in new members.

Comment from member: Aziz Abdel Majid pointed out that if we were able to hold physical meetings it would be easier to attract new members.

Adrian wished to record his thanks to fellow committee members. He reiterated his intention to step down as Treasurer in 2022 but expressed his willingness to help his successor.

Questions from members:
Fidaa Mahmoud asked if we had a donations policy. Adrian replied that donations come from members of the Society and were normally kept anonymous. If we were offered money with conditions this would obviously be discussed by the committee.

Mohamed Baraka and Isam Osman both asked if the names of donors could be made known and Adrian agreed that this would be discussed by the committee.

Michael Medley suggested Heywood Hadfield as a successor to Adrian (Heywood subsequently declined by email).

6. *Editor's report*

Charlotte Martin reported that two issues of *Sudan Studies* (63 and 64) had been produced in 2021. Issue 64 had had a slightly different format, with more articles about South Sudan. She missed having discussions at seminars which often resulted in material for the journal.

Members of the SSSUK committee and the Editorial Board had contributed greatly to the journal's successful production for which Charlotte was very grateful.

A suggestion had been made that one issue of the journal should be dedicated to a commemoration of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement. For a number of reasons Charlotte reported that contributions on the Agreement would be in both the issues in 2022.

Questions from members:
Lutz Oette commented on how much he enjoyed the arrival of the journal and

liked the new format. He recommended appealing for contributions to future editions dedicated to special issues.

Abdel Azim El Hassan suggested replacing "July" and "December" on the cover of the issue with "Summer" and "Winter". Zoe Cormack suggested that having a volume number followed by issue 1 and issue 2 would be more standard for journals.

Isam Osman asked if we had an online copy of the journal and also if it would be possible to produce a bilingual issue. Charlotte pointed out that this would be hard to do technically. A number of members supported the idea but others objected on the grounds that the journal covered both Sudan and South Sudan.

7. *Website Editor's report*

Mawan Muortat, the Website Manager, was attending the Manchester conference so there was no report on the website.

8. *Elections to the Committee*

An appeal had been made for members with specific skills to volunteer to be co-opted to the committee and a number of names were being followed up.

The following member of the committee had agreed to stand for re-election as Trustee:

Abdel Azim El Hassan (Proposed by Fidaa Mahmoud and seconded by Gill Lusk)

Abdel Azim El Hassan was subsequently elected by a majority of the members attending.

9. *Future events*

Gill Lusk reported on plans for a webinar on the waters of the Nile. She and Mawan Muortat had done a lot of work on this and it would happen eventually, but to a certain extent it had been overtaken by work on the item below.

Plans were advanced on a project to replace the annual symposium, co-ordinated by Francis Gotto and a small sub-committee, part on historical figures and part on diaspora / migration. The part on historical figures had taken off, with work progressing on a short film to be completed some time next year, with the assistance of Taghreed Elsanhouri, the film maker.

President of the Society, Leila Aboulela, had agreed to appear in an online session, possibly in late November. Details to follow.

10. *Any Other Business*

Liz Hodgkin asked if we should pass a resolution in support of peaceful demonstrations for civilian government in Sudan. Gill Lusk replied that, as a

charity, we have to be careful not to take a political stand.

Charlotte Martin asked if Leila Aboulela would write an introduction to the next issue of the journal along the lines of what she had said in her opening remarks. This was agreed. Simon Bush asked if it could be put on the website in advance of appearing in the journal.

Isam Osman said he was excited by the opportunity of a new Sudan and felt that the Society could grow in response to this. He suggested employing someone part time to take on the administration. He also felt that we should voice our support for civilian government. Gill Lusk reiterated the point about not being political. Matters like this are discussed in committee all the time. Members don't lack ideas but it is hard to get people to volunteer to help.

Mo Baraka asked if we could have a meeting on how to have more productive North-South relations.

Gill Lusk thanked everyone for attending and hoped that our next meeting would be in person.

Jane Hogan, Honorary Secretary
30th October 2021

Sudan Studies

Sudan Studies – ISSN 0952-049X – is published twice a year by the Society for the Study of the Sudans (UK). Views expressed in notes, articles and reviews published in *Sudan Studies* are not necessarily those held by the SSSUK, the Editor or the Editorial Board. Articles are published to promote discussion and further scholarship in Sudan and South Sudan studies.

All correspondence, articles and features relating to *Sudan Studies* and books for review should be addressed to:

Charlotte Martin,
Hon. Editor,
Sudan Studies,
72 Castle Road,
Colchester,
CO1 1UN
Email: sudanstudies@sssuk.org

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

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

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