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***THE SOUTHERN SUDAN PROBLEM***

***1947 UP TO 2002 A. D***

**PRESENTED BY**

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*As a partial fulfillment of*  
*An M.A. Degree in Arts (History)*

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## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b><u>Topic</u></b>	<b><u>Page</u></b>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>Dedication</i>	<i>II</i>
<i>Acknowledgement</i>	<i>III</i>
<i>Abstract (English)</i>	<i>IV</i>
<i>Abstract (Arabic)</i>	<i>V</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>VI</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	
 <b><u>Chapter One</u></b>	
<i>Historical and Geographical background of the Sudan</i>	<i>5</i>
 <b><u>Chapter Two</u></b>	
<i>Historical background of the Southern</i>	<i>13</i>
 <b><u>Chapter Three</u></b>	
<i>The Colonial Policy in the South during the Condominium Rule</i>	<i>27</i>
 <b><u>Chapter Four</u></b>	
<i>The British, Egyptians and Northern Sudanese Plan to the Problem</i>	<i>51</i>
 <b><u>Chapter Five:-</u></b>	
<i>Section One</i>	<i>The Sudanese Efforts to Solve the Problems</i> <i>61</i>
<i>Section Two</i>	<i>Recent Developments up to the Present Agreements</i> <i>67</i>
 <i>Conclusion</i>	<i>77</i>
 <i>Bibliography</i>	<i>85</i>
 <i>Map of Sudan</i>	<i>92</i>

## **DEDICATION**

*This work is dedicated to my mother Julieta Mondidle; though uneducated. She managed to convert many elders in my village to Christianity and able to compose a lot of interesting traditional songs which were very meaningful among the Lokoya Community.*

*Lohure, Morris*

*Khartoum 2002*

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## **ABSTRACT**

This paper casts light upon the British Policy towards the Southern Sudan during the Condominium rule. That policy which aimed at annexing the Southern Sudan Politically and Administratively to the British Rule in East Africa especially Kenya and Uganda, the British protectorates.

This policy was based upon the following foundation.

- The Non-Arabization Policy
- The Native administration

The aim of this policy besides separation of the South from the North was also to create African Christian existence affected by the western culture.

But after an experience of more than forty years the British Authorities found that it was very difficult to separate the South from the North and recommended that the Unity of the South and the North was a must as a way to progress in the future.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

A.C.	African Continent
A.C.N.S.	Advisory Council for Northern Sudan
A.N.	Administrative Conference
A.N.	Arab Nations
A.U.	Arab Unity
A.N.	Arab Nationalism
A.C.S.	Advisory Council for the South
A.E.A.	Anglo-Egyptian Agreement
A.W.	Arab World
A.L.	Arab League
B.A.	Black Africans
B.P.	British Policy
C.R.	Condominium Rule
C.D.O.	Closed District Ordinance
C.P.	Colonial Policy
C.S.	Civil Secretary
C.A.	Condominium Agreement
D.C.	District Commissioner
Dr.	Doctor
E.N.	Egyptian Nationalism
G.G.	Governor General
G.C.	Graduates Congress
J.C.	Kina Conference
L.A.	Legislative Assembly

L.P.	liberal Party
M.A.	Masters of Arts
N.S.	Northern Sudanese
N.H.	Nilo-Hamites
N.U.P.	National Unionist Party
P.I.	Pan Islamic
P.A.	Pan Africanism
P.M.	Prime Minister
S.S.	Southern Sudan
S.B.	Southern battalion
S.N.	Sudan Nationalism
S.S.M.	Southern Sudanese Muslims
S.P.	Southern Policy/Problem
S.H.L.	Sudan House Library
S.N.R.	Sudan Notes and Records
S.S.N.M.	Southern Sudan Nationalist Movement

## **INTRODUCTION**

Many researches have been carried out in Northern Sudan in the past by both foreign and Sudanese historians. But a lot still remains to be done in the Southern Sudan till to-day since the region is inhabited by culturally different types of people and its history remained tribal for a long time.

It was difficult to come in contact with these Southern Communities because of their tribal conflicts, scattered villages and different languages spoken by each group within a particular area. They were suspicious of any newcomer to the locality being ignorant of the outside world. So most researchers found it risky to go to such a region.

Nowadays some historians and political scientists could draw some findings through constructive researches on the over all Southern Sudanese negative reaction to the Northern leadership that led to this present conflict.

The idea of choosing this topic as one of my M.A. thesis was in my mind since I was still in the Intermediate and later in Secondary schools respectively.

History was a stimulating subject to me, and I was inquisitive trying to know why the “Anyanya” were fighting the government soldiers who were burning villages in the South. Citizens were abandoning their homes and preferred to live in hiding in the Southern bushes and mountains. Who were the people involved in creating this problem? Were there some political, social, economic and educational differences between the North and the South which contributed to the Creation of the problem? Were leaders both Southerners and Northerners at that time just, sincere, not corrupt, greedy, arrogant and not serious in searching to solve the issue? The answers to most

of these questions will definitely give us a clear picture and some clues to the problem.

The aim of this thesis is to find out and analyze some of the key issues, which led to the prolonging situation of the problem. It is therefore essential to expose the weaknesses within the British and Egyptian government's policies and the mismanagement of the problem by them and some Northern politicians.

The work is to bring to the surface the negative and the positive side of the problem which could have been resolved through proper understanding if the past mistakes were to be redressed.

The thesis is an attempt to contribute to researches about the Southern conflict with the Northern Sudanese which in future will constitute a "Southern Sudanese Nationalists Movements as part of their struggle against the sectarian governments of the North for their identity and independence".<sup>1</sup>

It is through my own continuous experience that I have discovered some short comings, deceits and untrustworthiness within the successive Sudanese governments and their failure not to tackle the problem at early stage when the country was handed to them by the British.

I also have discovered that the British and the Egyptians have some common understanding which helped in this failure. The Southerners on their part also contributed to the deteriorating state of the country by seeking alliances with the northern reactionary circles either from within or outside the borders for their personal gains.

The work was carried out through descriptive and critical analysis of the decisions, police's and procedures formulated by Northern politicians,

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<sup>1</sup> Lazzarus Leek Marut, "**Dinka Resistance to Condominium Rule, (1902-1932)**", Khartoum, P 6-8

Egyptians and the British government. Policies and decisions forwarded by Southerners were not considered by the above three groups. It was also helpful to go deep into the works of some outstanding northern and southern personalities such as:-

Mirghani, Sir el-Khatim el-Khalifa, Abel Alier, Oduho Joseph and Deng William, Mustafa Ali Arbab, Muddathir Abdel Rahim, Albino Oliver, Jaafar Ali Bakheir, Anjelo Lobale, Mahasin Abdel Gadir etc.. in the role they have played either positively or negatively in regards to the Southern problems.

The research consists of an introduction and five chapters.

- **Chapter One** is about the historical and geographical background of the Sudan.

The division of the country according to their regions and the different types of peoples living in those regions. Climate, land features and its distribution. Economy, religion and other beliefs and traditional ruling system of the country.

- **Chapter Two:** This deals with the historical background of the problem. Some root causes of the problem. Missionary activities to the problem. Groups and some personalities who are involved in creating the problem. Effects and results of the problem on the community.

- **Chapter Three:** Exposes to us the critical analysis of the condominium rule; the British and the Egyptian policy towards the South and policy of the British alone in regards to the Southern problem.

Government and education in the South including the church and the role they played on the issue by then. Their persuasion of the

- Southerners to accept the unity of the country. Its effect to the future development of the South up to the present moment.
- ***Chapter Four:*** Here we have a united policy of the British, and the Egyptians to the problem. Their manipulative policy and the role they have played in signing some agreements among themselves while excluding Southerners for self-determination and independence of the country.
  - ***Chapter Five: Section One***  
This deals with combine efforts of the Sudanese people both Northerners and Southerners to solve the problem through political dialogue. Conferences, meetings and forums convene between them to resolve the problem. Easing of tensions and political differences between them to achieve their goal of solving the conflict.  
***Section Two***  
This deals with the recent political development which culminates to the present agreements now on motion in Kenya.  
Flashback on the previous agreements and dialogues between the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (S.P.L.M.) including other opposition parties within or outside the country and other political group both the South and the North.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### ***Historical and Geographical Background of the Sudan***

“Bilad el-Sudan or Land of the Blacks was the term used by Arab Geographers to describe the land lying South of the Sahara in Africa”.<sup>1</sup> It is a huge plain drained by both the Blue and the River Nile joining the North and the South. It stretches from the sand region in the North through semi arid central belt of scrubs to tropical rain forest in the south.

“The Sudan is inhabited both by Arabs and Black Africans with a variety of peoples different in origin, religion, language and life style”.<sup>2</sup>

People here have different occupations according to their environment. Most of them are agriculturalists and Pastoralists, and yet some practiced hunting and fishing as their source for survival.

It is “virtually a microcosm of the whole African Continent”.<sup>3</sup> It has different types of physical and climatic conditions both in the North and the South.

(i) ***Northern Sudan***: The Northern part of Sudan started from the Egyptian borders to the North of Khartoum which consists of desert and semi \desert areas, uninhabited. People here only live along the banks of the Nile depending on irrigated agriculture and to the East along the Red Sea Hills all with their different occupations. Some live near the Ethiopian border.

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<sup>1</sup> M.O. Beshir, “ **The Southern Sudan Background to Conflict**” Published by, C, Hurst and Co. London 1961, P 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gino B, and Michael A.A. Quixol, “**Struggling to be Heard**” Paulines Publications, Nairobi , Kenya, 1997, p 1.

<sup>3</sup> Mbali Yanga Alexis, “ **The Nile turns Red**” Pangent Press Inc. New York, 1961, p 1.

(ii) ***Central Sudan:***

This is a region of semi desert and Savannah with rainfall ranging from 8 to 25 inches per a year. In this region lies the famous cotton growing area of the Gezira; and Kordofan where the nomadic and semi nomadic tribes of the Kabbabish and Baggara Camel and Cattle owner live. The semi isolated Nuba are also found in this region. The semi nomadic and sedentary cultivators of Darfur where Jebel Marra lies also live here with their mild climate, plenty of rain and fertile soils. Variety of people is homogenous with a common history, culture and religion.

(iii) ***Eastern Sudan:*** Here we find the Beja tribes of the Red Sea Hills who maintained their own identity, through they profess Islam, they have a language of their own. They have their grievances with government which need to be redressed. They feel that they are being neglected.

In the region we also find the Burun of the Ingessena Hill's ranges and the Funj people, the descendants of the Funj Sultanate. Both occupy the Blue Nile Region.

(iv) ***Southern Sudan:*** It consists of Bahr el-Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile Provinces of the Past, which at present are re-divided into (10) ten Administrative Units. It covers an area of 250,000 square miles, about ¼ of the area of the Sudan. The South lies within the tropics with its ethnic boundaries.

Some tribes at the borders extended into the neighboring Countries. Example, in Upper Nile and Bahr el-Ghazal, some tribes extended up to the (10) tenth parallel.

The boundaries of the South are lines drawn by a foreign power for political and administrative reasons. The South has a mean-annual rainfall

which varies between 400 millimeters in Northern Upper Nile and approximately 1,600 millimeters on the Nile Congo Water Divide.

In Gilo, in the Imatong Mountains rainfall is as high as 2,200 millimeters. Rain usually fall at any time in this area, but its distribution is variable.

The physical and climatic conditions of the South created an environment difficult to live in, but produced a variety in the modes of living. Some tribes live on animal husbandry, others live on crop production, but yet in every area, fishing, hunting and gathering of wild fruits are subsidiary economic activities.

The Southern Sudan is culturally homogenous and its people are classified into three (3) groups according to their languages, physical types and historical background.

- (a) The Nilotic tribes are the Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk and Anuak who lived in Bahr el-Ghazal and U[[er Nile Provinces.
- (b) The Nilo-Hamites are the Murle, Didinga, Boya, Toposa, and Latuko groups who live in Equatoria Province east of the Nile.
- (C) The Sudanic tribes comprises of the small and numerous tribes living in the West and North West parts of the South. Most important is the Zande.

Other tribes like the Bari, Mundari, Moru Nyangwara and Lulubo are a mixture of Nilotics Nilo-Hamites and Sudanic groups.

The ethnical differences between these tribes are reflected in their linguistic, social, political and religious institutions and traditions.

“Potentially the Southern Sudan can be the richest region both spiritually and economically, but because of lack of serious commitment by

the national government to the integral development of the South many believe that it is the poorest region”.<sup>1</sup>

The economy of the south to-day is based on shifting cultivation which is carried out by hands. The main crops are dura, dukhum. Maize, ground nuts, sesame, Cassara, Sweet potatoes, Cotton and Tobacco. “The settlement of land rights was not extended to the South, because land was plentiful and was held in common by a tribe or a group of people”.<sup>2</sup>

In towns whoever applied for a plot or a piece of land for cultivation was given regardless of his tribe, race and religion.

Animal husbandry existed in the South at that time and the animals were mainly kept for marriage purposes paid to the brides parents as dowry and for prestige.

In most parts of the South as I have seen and witnessed, people marry with Cows, Sheep or Goats. If a young man does not possess the animals he is likely not to get married quickly. That is why most people in the East such as Toposa, Boya, Lango, Turkana and a few Didinga usually go to raid cattle from either Kenya or Uganda borders for that purpose of getting married. One also is considered to be an important person when he possesses enough cattle. So his fame is registered by the community due to the possession of such a great number of animals.

Fishing activities existed in certain tribes who live along the Nile and in Swampy region. Fish is consumed fresh, “but it is production later increased when the demand of sun-dried fish in the Congo increased”.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Constantino Pitia Lugos, “**Polygamy and Monogamy in Southern Sudan**”. Khartoum 1993, p 15.

<sup>2</sup> M. Omer Beshir, “**The Southern Sudan Background to Conflict**” Published by C. Hurst and Co. London 1969, p 3.

<sup>3</sup> M.O. Beshir, **Ibid**, 1969, P 3

River provide system of communication which are fed by motor roads. Railway line was not developed until recently that it was extended to Wau town.

“The development of a cash economy has been retarded by the long distance from the main market, lack of proper transport and marketing facilities”.<sup>1</sup>

The shortage of capital and labour, and the absence of specialization were the major factors that led to the backward economic conditions of the South.

Exports are groundnuts, sesame, chillies hides, skins, honey, timber, gum, and ginned cotton.

Imports consist of grain, salt, cloth, beads, textiles, fuel, food stuffs and building materials.

There is no trading system, but it is only carried out in the markets of the major towns and in the bush shops scattered all over the region.

As I have seen in our village I lyangari in the early sixties, there were four (4) small shops belonging to Northern traders along the main road leading to Torit from Juba. These merchants collect certain commodities from the natives around, such as groundnuts, hides honey, lulu oil, and red chillies in exchange for vegetable oil, clothes, beads, soap and sweets. What is collected from the natives is sent to the main town in Juba and sold at a high price, to get some profit, the rest is sent to the North for the same purpose.

These activities are done to keep the constant functioning of the small bush shops in those villages. Minerals have been existing in the South in the early period. But were only found in small quantities in different parts of the

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<sup>1</sup> M.O. Beshir, **Ibid**, 1969, p 3

region. Copper, gold, iron-ore surface deposits of iron, and solid deposits of iron were found in the three provinces of the South.

“No economic exploitation has been made in the South; as such subsistence economy only existed”.<sup>1</sup>

Economic development during the Condominium regime was only concentrated in the North.

There was only traditional system of rule in the South at that time which differed from one tribe to another. Political institutions never existed in the South at that time because the South was not yet matured politically. Their system was divided according to the (3) three above-mentioned main groups of people.

In my view in fact, most of Southern communities differ in some aspects in regards to the ways of how they control their own villages and what system is used to enable law and order to prevail.

However, generally, in Eastern Equatoria, villages are managed by a group of elderly people known as “Monyemiji”.<sup>2</sup> Few to mention are the Lokoya, Puri, Lopit and the Latuko in general. These Nilo-Hamites people live in groups with a collective system of rule and “a minimum organization for order and collective action”<sup>3</sup>. These people have their “loose democratic governments, autonomous villages with their war plans and policies of maintaining freedom to avoid inter-village conflicts.”<sup>4</sup> Each village has a rain maker \*, and when crops failed because of lack of rain, he is to be beheaded or sanctioned or to be exiled to a far place and not to return to his own village. Sickness and misfortunes are treated by the spirits of their

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<sup>1</sup> M.O. Beshir, **Ibid**, 1969, p 4.

<sup>2</sup> Olisa Lais, “**God the Master**” Khartoum, 1992, P 2

<sup>3</sup> **Ibid**, P 2

<sup>4</sup> **Ibid**, P 3;

grand fathers through their relationship with God. A shrine is made from pieces of wood and fix on the ground near the door of the hut. Asacrife, which is “an act of worship people over to God the Master during disasters times” <sup>1</sup> is made by slaughtering either a ram or chicken and its blood is sprinkled on the wood of the shrine. While doing that, the head of the family is to summon to God by calling the names of his ancestors. In that way they or the family receive the blessing which is “an act of giving an object to God so that it is blessed and God grants happiness and prosperity to men or community” <sup>2</sup>, and immediately the sickness or misfortune will disappear.

Other tribes like the toposa, Didinga and Boya have elderly selected people who are to guard villages against enemies and make it peaceful. Their only duty is to organize cattle raids against other tribes. Among the Shilluk, the administration and court cases are usually centered around their Divine King the “Reth” \*<sup>3</sup> and his council.

The Nuer and Dinka have their traditional system concentrated around a pragmatic tribal leader and his council of elders.

Generally speaking, most of these pagans believe in the existence of a high God who is called “Dengdit” \* or “Nyalich” by the Dinka, “Juok” \* by the Shilluk, “Ajok” \* or “hollum,” by the Latuko and “Ngun” \* - “Jun” by the Bari speaking tribes.

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<sup>1</sup> **Ibid** p 22

\* Rainmaker is an extraordinary man among some Southern groups who was able to bring rain thro consultation with God.

<sup>2</sup> Ohisa Lais, **Ibid**, 1992, P 25

<sup>3</sup> \* Reth, adivine king of the Shilluk, Arabic name is “Mak”

\* Dengdit (Wyalick) a Dinka name for God.

\* Juok – a Shilluk name for God.

\* Ajok (hollum) – Latuko name for God.

\* Jun (Ngun) Bari name for God.

The spirits of the ancestors play an important role in the daily life of these tribes more than the High God. They believe that, the spirits of the ancestors are planted in successive generations of the rainmakers and spiritual chiefs; as such the functions of the spiritual and native temporal authority may be combined.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### ***HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM***

The European Scramble for Africa has mandated some strong European powers such as Britain, France, Germany, Portugal and Italy to participate Africa according to their sphere of influence as put forward in the Congress of Berlin of 1885 and confirmed at Brussels conference of 1890.

Sudan was put under Britain because of its historical connection with Egypt which was occupied since 1882 by the British.

### ***CAUSES OF THE PROBLEM***

Slave Trade was the main reason of the problem, which showed a bad image not of any early ruler and administrator in this country.

During the Turko Egyptian period, the South was open to explorers, traders and other influences. "The regime encountered series of hostile loose democratic units which were different and difficult to administer".<sup>1</sup>

The discovery of the source of the Nile had interested most Europeans to "explore the South and have information on the land, people and resources available".<sup>2</sup>

The administration was then extended to this region due to the "published works of the explorers which attracted many traders and opened the South to the outside influence".<sup>3</sup>

The government decided to take an active role on trade in the South since it was considered as an important issue, which was mainly on ivory

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<sup>1</sup> Gray Richard, "A history of the Southern Sudan" Oxford University Press, 1961, p 117.

<sup>2</sup> M.O. Beshir, Op Cit P 10

<sup>3</sup> Gray Richard, Op Cit P 11

and slaves. This trade on slaves was an old issue practiced since the beginning of history as a social and economic element of the ancient societies.

"With the progress of civilization this trade declined, but Christianity accepted those owning slaves to improve their treatment".<sup>1</sup>

In the Sudan, it first began as domestic slavery, but later the raiders took their chance in the issue to supply the European demands. It was part of the structures of the Northern and Southern Societies, Whether they were Muslims or Pagans, Arabs or Negroes. The origin and development of this trade sprung from tribal wars between the Northern and Southern communities. Weaker tribes were often raided by the stronger ones and local chiefs always facilitated this by allying with the bigger merchants or traders in exchange for grain, cattle and tusks.

After the invasion of Sudan by Mohammed Ali Pasha, viceroy of Egypt the Arabs and Europeans then poured into the South to raid the natives for ivory, cattle and grain.

"The ignorant and defenseless black Africans were captured and sold as slaves".<sup>2</sup>

Few examples of some of the slave traders who had an active role in the South are:-

"Musa Bey who was selling slaves to the Egyptian Viceroy in 1860 as soldiers. De Malzage at shame was selling women and children to his Arab

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<sup>1</sup> M.O. Beshir Op Cit P 11

<sup>2</sup> Tartisio Ahmed Morgan, "A search for a peaceful Solution to Southern Sudan Problem". Khartoum 2000, P 5.

Soldiers, Pethericks (1856) established a slave camp among the Jur people where he bartered ivory for beads, cowries and copper bracelets".<sup>1</sup>

"A German explorer Hauglim (1863) visited 13 Arab Zeribas in Bahr el-Ghazal. He was disappointed with the way the Arab traders raided the tribal chiefs with intensive cruelty and hostility and how the natives were robbed for ivory and slaves".<sup>2</sup>

"Another German explorer George Schweinfurth (1870) found 12 Zeribas of slave merchants. He witnessed how cruel and terrible the slaves were captured and how fierce was the plunder of cattle from the Dinka in Bahr el-Ghazal area and along river Lul. He went to Zande Land and witnessed how the slave trader Abu Guroon was defeated by chief Noruma before reaching river Uele".<sup>3</sup>

The famous Sudanese slave trader Zubeir Wad Rahma built up a Zeriba at Dem Zubeir where he annually exported 2000 slaves from Kordofan to Egypt with the help of Reizeigat Arabs.

"The coptic slave trader Ghattas established a Zeriba at Tonj where he raided and exported 8,000 slaves annually from the Bongo and the Dinka tribes".<sup>4</sup>

The search for ivory and the use of slaves to fulfill payments of soldiers encouraged the use of force to overcome the resistance encountered.

All the above inhuman activities caused by the slave merchants, European slave traders and the Arab slave traders made the Southern Community to distrust any foreigner or Sudanese who is involved in such a deal. And this is the reason why slave trade was considered as the main

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<sup>1</sup> T.A. Morgan 2000, P 5

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, P 6

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, P 6

<sup>4</sup> T.A. Morgan, 2000, P 6

cause of the problem because many different groups of slavers were operating in the South in a cruel and hostile manner.

The process of slave trade in the South according to Professor Sanderson was-

"More complex than that implied in the traditional stereotype of Arab explorers and Negroid Victims. Some were enslaved almost to the point of tribal disintegration, others found enslavement not a life of mysteries but an attractive career..... you were given a home, food, cloth etc ..... A gun becomes a man". <sup>1</sup>

**Gray wrote** " it is important in this early phase that the slave trade on the Nile was almost entirely confined within the traditional pattern of tribal life. The slaves were generally purchased from a friendly tribe by whom they had been captured in the normal course of tribal raids". <sup>2</sup>

This trade developed into profitable career practiced by the European traders who employed "Large number of armed Arabs Servants" <sup>3</sup> and founded stations in the interior.

The effect of Turko-Egyptian Administration on the Southern Communities was not healthy.

The communities remained disunited, tribal organization was disrupted and repressive measures were made against those who refuse to submit to the new administration.

Many Arab slave traders thus depended on capital provided by European Creditors. And they sometimes were dealers; as such the Southern

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<sup>1</sup> Sanderson G.N. "**England, Europe and Upper Nile**" Edinburgh, 1959, PP 6-7

<sup>2</sup> Gray, Richard, Op Cit P 45

<sup>3</sup> Gray Richard, Op Cit P 23

Communities have this major problem in their minds that is the "Suspicious and deep rooted prejudices of the natives against the Arabs and the foreigners which resulted from the sad memories left behind by the slave traders of the past century".<sup>1</sup>

Trade in slaves was not taken seriously during the Mahdist State, but they were only involved in domestic activities.

### ***Other Reasons***

The development of Southern Problem as put forward by some historians also had other causes to be considered and that include:-

- Lack of proper information on the nature of the problem.
- Deliberate and persistent confusion of issues concerning the South by the British, Egyptians and Northern Politicians.
- Distortion of facts connected with the South by agents and propagandists who are interested in Keeping the Sudan weak and divided.
- Poor Communication between the North and the South.
- Missionary activities in the South and their negative and positive role in the life and politics of the Southern population.
- A struggle for power, land and resources between the North and the South.
- Lack of respect to other people's cultures, religions and uneven distribution of wealth and power between the North and the South.
- It is the result of the racial, religious, linguistics, cultural discrimination and political marginalization.

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<sup>1</sup> Placito Alema Lobehe, "A history of Catholic Church in Sudan" 1846 – 1920", Khartoum, 1995, P 94

- Uneven development between North and South.
- Islamic religion respect other peoples religions, but the system uses Islam to suppress others which results to crisis upon the community.
- The war was fuelled by the Arab Nations who gave Sudan financial aid to suppress Southerners and to win the war.

### ***Indirect Rule***

Another factor which contributed to the creation of the problem was the indirect rule introduced by the British administration. Here the government wanted to protect the pagan tribes in the South and the native chiefs have to administer their people according to their customs and traditions.

To effect this, Closed District Ordinance was passed by the government, which was considered later as a cornerstone of the "Southern Policy".

This Ordinance was issued by the British for administrative purposes to prevent the movement of Muslims to all Southern Provinces for their own interest and exploitation of the South. It was not liked by the Northern Sudanese because they wanted free access to the South for the spread of Islam.

"The suppression of Islam went hand in hand with the suppression of Arabic Language".<sup>1</sup> Southern Muslims were not allowed to practice their religion openly. The missionaries who were watching with alarm the growing power of Islam in the pagan areas fearing that they would become Mohammedans cooperated in the execution of the Southern Policy.

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<sup>1</sup> M.O. Beshir, Op Cit, P 53

But "they were unable to accelerate the Southernization Policy on education at the post elementary levels due to the lack of funds and staff".<sup>1</sup>

As one goes through books written by most historians concerning the Southern problem the British portrayed to us their changing policies in regards to the South. "Sir, Douglas New bold, the then civil secretary came up with a memo in 1930, stating that the South should be administered separately from the North since its people are Africans and Negroes. And their development should be on African and Negroid lines, not on the Northern Sudanese and Middle East lines".<sup>2</sup>

The basic principles for the 1930 were-

- to established series of self contained racial, tribal units with structures and organization based on traditional usage and beliefs,
- To eliminate Northern administrators, clerks and technicians from the South and be replaced by Southerners.
- To use English where communication in the local vernacular was impossible.

That policy was approved by the British without the knowledge of the Egyptians who were partners in ruling the Sudan.

In his view Cromer pointed out that the Southern policy was:- "Preservation of the status quo in the Muslim North whilst encouraging the gradual Christianization of the pagan tribes the South".<sup>3</sup>

The Northern politicians were not happy with the approved policy, and the British attitude towards the North-South relations. Together with the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, P 54

<sup>2</sup> M. O. Beshir Op Cit, P 59

<sup>3</sup> Gabruel Inlarburg, "**The Sudan Under Wingate**", 1899-1916, Haifa University Ismael. Frank Cass and Co. Ltd. 1971, P 95

Egyptians, they pressurized the government to come up with a genuine policy towards the South.

In the early years of the Condominium, no government action was taken to prevent the spread of Islam to the south; this was because all the posts were occupied by the Egyptian army who later welcomed the Northern "Jellaba" who became elements for spreading Islam.

Wingate was aware that, "The Muslim religion appeals to the blacks very much than the Christian religion can".<sup>1</sup>

The government feared the effect of Muslim education, so it decided not to extend its educational facilities to the South.

Bishop Gwynne on the other hand accused the British Officers working in the South by stating that: - "Some British officers were aiding the spread of Islam by building mosques in the Southern Provinces".<sup>2</sup>

The Northern Sudanese on the other hand became more suspicious of the Southern policy, because it was aimed to separate the South from the North and eventually will lead in future to the independence of Southern Sudan. They wanted to see that closer contact existed between the North and the South. Thus, the Advisory Council for Northern Sudan came up in 1944.

This Council was initiated by the British and was headed by the Civil Secretary, who was of a British National. This Council in some cases was introduced "to pass a resolution after debating a question, while in others it was only allowed to debate a matter without adopting a resolution".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, P 116

<sup>2</sup> Muddathir A/Rahim, "**Imperialism and Nationalism in Sudan**" Oxford 1969; D. of K. 1992. P 138.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, P 140

The Ashigga and the Unionists parties criticized it because of restrictions imposed on it by the government. All of them boycotted it and discredited it.

Since the functions of the council were Advisory, "the Nationalists said that it was useless because it has no powers to choose the subject of its own".<sup>1</sup>

The Council in the eyes of the opposition misleads the politically innocent at home and giving the outside world the impression that there was a genuine representative institution which existed in Sudan while in fact it did not.

The Council in general did not satisfy the aspirations of the Sudanese, it was only "Considered by the government as a step in the direction of self-determination".<sup>2</sup> The Council was only "to speak for Northern Sudan",<sup>3</sup> and excluding the Southern Provinces.

This omission of the South arouses old suspicion that the government was secretly plotting to separate the South from the North.

The Nationalists were convinced that the exclusion of the Southern Provinces from the Council was "indicative of a lack of good will"<sup>4</sup> on the side of the government.

This council was only an appearance of legitimacy but in fact it did not possess it. It only seduces the weaker brothers among the intelligentsia and under minded the unity of the congress and arrests the progress of the Sudan towards self-government. The majority of the members were

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<sup>1</sup> Muddathir A/Rahim "**Imperialism and Nationalism in Sudan**" Oxford 1969, U. of K. 1992, P 140

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, P 141

<sup>3</sup> Ibid P 143

<sup>4</sup> Ibid P 144

"Yesmen" "who merely did what they are told to do, who were neither capable of nor interested in representing the Sudanese people".<sup>1</sup>

After the 1930 Memo, Newbold died sometimes later and a new Civil secretary Sir, James Robertson was appointed in his place.

In 1946 He came with a new policy which was for the unity of the North with the South,<sup>2</sup> instead of separating the South from the North as stated earlier in 1930. The Southern Community from that point was to gear its future development to the Middle East and Muslim Arabs of Northern Sudan. In the same period, an Administrative conference was held which resulted to a final move for the unity of the South with the North.

So from that moment Southern Governors were informed to work in accordance with the new policy. The Governors and British Administrators working in the South reacted differently with varied opinions. "Some merely accepted it for the sake of being British, but most of them disliked the new policy arguing that the South was still backward and premature politically, economically and educationally".<sup>3</sup>

Southern opinion was to be excavated and as such "Juba Conference was convened in 1947 to persuade the less educated Southerners and the native Southern chiefs to accept the unity of the country".<sup>4</sup>

Juba Conference was mainly centered on "Safeguards for the South" by the Southerners. "The pressure which was put on the educated

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<sup>1</sup> Muddathir A/Rahim, "Imperialism and Nationalism in Sudan, Oxford 1969, U.ofK., 1992, P 145

<sup>2</sup> M.O. Beshir, 1969, PP. 62-64

<sup>3</sup> M.O. Beshir, 1969, P 63-64

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, P 137

Southerners in that conference by persuading them to accept the unity of the country led to what came to be known to-day as the Southern Problem".<sup>1</sup>

After the Juba Conference, the Southerners went to attend the Legislative Assembly of 1948 as planned by the British and Northern Politicians.

What was discussed in that Assembly was not in favour of Southerners?

"Major issues were passed against the South and Southern demands were not accepted by Northern Politicians".<sup>2</sup>

From that moment a problem was already created between the North and the South. The Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953 was convened excluding Southerners stating that they had no political parties.

In that Agreement, Self-determination and independence for the Sudan was passed without discussing any issue concerning the South. And that again was a problem in regards to the South.

In 1955, a revolt broke out in Torit due to Southern grievances against the Northern leadership and atrocities committed against them. It spread to all parts of the Southern region and later developed as a mutiny for 17 years.

In spite of all that took place, the Sudan was already stepping towards independence and in January 1956, it achieved its final goal.

It is always natural that every problem has the root causes of its own. To my understanding and in reference to the final summary of this chapter. I personally could say that, the cause's lies within the past relationship between the foreign powers ruling the Sudan, the Sudanese in general and the Southern communities in particular.

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<sup>1</sup> Mahasin A/Gadir A/Safi "Nationalist Movement in Sudan" U.of K. 1989, P 290

<sup>2</sup> Mahasin A/Gadir A/Safi, 1989. P 291.

The South was cut off from outside influence because its people were ignorant of the surrounding and the outside world. The appearance of the white men in Southern region was taken as a surprise and new development in the life of the citizens.

They never differentiated between a British, a missionary or an Arab but just consider them to be the same as people of one origin.

The natives in the South used to hunt animals as a source of food for their living. To their surprise, they came to realize that the presence of those white men was a danger to them.

The daily disappearance of the natives indicated that those whites were hunting the entire population for reasons unknown to them.

From that moment the natives started to resist them and their activities, and as such those whites have to use force against the Southerners.

However, with the existence of different regimes in the country, starting from the Turko-Egyptians, Mahadists, up to the Condominium rule, this trade flourished rapidly before it was abolished in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Slave trade as it was later termed in modern time is the main root cause of this Southern problem.

Others reasons which were later exposed by historians, are considered to be secondary causes of the problem

Under these regimes, the South was opened to the outside world.

Foreign merchants and the Arabs poured into the South to get ivory and to raid the natives and take them as slaves. Other clever Arabs were able to abandon their foreign masters and established their own slave Zeribas where they exported them to the outside world.

“These slaves were taken to Western Europe where they work in sugar, coffee and banana plantations. Those taken to the Middle East were involved in domestic activities”.<sup>1</sup>

The missionaries also appeared in the South, but the natives were suspicious of them because of their colour. At least the problem became clear when the British and the Egyptians jointly ruled the Sudan, for both of them had a hand in the creation of this conflict.

This issue was divided into two (2) phases:-

The first one was between the British and the Egyptians, each one of them was struggling to rule the Sudan and have control over its people.

The second one was between the British and the Northern Sudanese over the issue of the South.

The British wanted to separate the South from the North and to train the Southerners according to the Western ideologies with the help of the missionaries.

The Northerners on the other hand wanted to spread Islam to the South, to Islamize Southerners and at least to train them in accordance with the Islamic principles and Muslim ideology.

These conflicting opinions created a confused atmosphere among the Southerners.

The real problem concerning the South began during the Administrative Conference of 1946, which was discussed earlier in advance by the British and the Northern Sudanese without the participation of the Southerners. In that conference Unity was the main agenda for the two regions to co-exist as one nation. The second hidden agenda was Juba conference, which was aimed at persuading Southerners to accept the unity

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<sup>1</sup> V. D, “A history of Catholic church in Southern Sudan” 1900-1995, Khartoum 1996, P. 89.

of the country since it was already endorsed in the Administrative Conference.

The Southerners presented their request to the government for the creation of an Advisory Council for the South.

In spite of all that, and in all the above Conferences Southern demands were not accepted by the Northern elites together with their counterpart the British.

The independence of the Sudan was decided by the British and the Egyptians during the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953. The Southerners never attended that Agreement. After handing over the Sudan to Northerners by the British, Southerners were told to wait until after independence that they would be given their share on the government. Unfortunately, things became opposite and nothing was materialize. Thus, Southerners have no role in the independence of the Sudan.<sup>1</sup>

The Sudanization policy was passed in 1954 and there Southerners were again cheated; only they were given four posts out of 800, the rest went to Northerners. This injustice and atrocities committed by Northerners against the South sparked a mutiny in the South, which is now considered the backbone of to-day's conflict.

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<sup>1</sup> Muddarthir, A/Rahima, "Imperialism and Nationalism in Sudan" Oxford 1969 U. of K P. 148

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE COLONIAL POLICY IN THE SOUTH DURING THE CONDOMINIUM RULE**

After the reconquest of the Sudan in 1898, the South was brought within the sphere of international politics.

The Condominium Agreement was signed on the 19<sup>th</sup> January 1899 between Britain and Egypt.

Constitutional charter of the Sudan was formed and Britain was real the top as the effective ruling power. Egyptian troops were stationed in most major towns of the Sudan including the South, and British officers took the command and administrative machinery of the country.

The Governor General was the supreme authority in the Sudan exercising all powers of the state.

The Governor Generals who were administering the Sudan since the above agreement up to the time of independence are shown below in a chronological order for the public to know, under whose period did major events took place in the country:-

- |   |                                |                          |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| - | "Field Marshal, Lord Kitchener | 19/01/1899 to 22/12/1899 |
| - | General, Sir Francis Wingate   | 22/12/1899 to 31/12/1916 |
| - | Major General, Sir Lee Stack   | 01/01/1917 to 20/11/1924 |
| - | Sir Geoffery F. Archer         | 04/12/1924 to 17/10/1926 |
| - | Sir Johm L. Maffey             | 24/10/1926 to 13/10/1933 |
| - | Sir Stewart Symes              | 10/01/1934 to 14/10/1940 |
| - | Sir Hurbert J. Huddleston      | 22/10/1940 to 07/04/1947 |

- Sir Robert G. Howe 08/04/1947 to 10/03/1955
- Sir A. Knox 11/03/1955 to 01/01/1956" <sup>1</sup>

The Southern region, which Lord Cromer view as a useless territory, which was difficult and costly to administer properly since independence assumed greater importance because of the White Nile and its water, which was of great value to Egypt.

"The major problem, which the condominium government faced in the South, was the establishment of administrative system and the pacification of the hostile tribes".<sup>2</sup>

This was aimed to restore peace and maintain order in the South and to establish Colonial Administration.

Pacification was a difficult job; as such in 1900 a number of stations commanded by British officers were established in the region. It was done gradually because some of the tribes considered the new Administration as that of the Turko-Egyptians or the Mahdiya.

"Expeditions and patrols were sent from time to time to suppress any revolt of the tribe that refused to submit or that suffered from inter-tribal feuds".<sup>3</sup>

The Nuer were the most difficult of the tribes to pacify. Force was sent against Mut Dung a Nuer witch doctor in 1902.

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<sup>1</sup> List of Governor Generals of the Sudan, From "**Journal of African Society**" Vol. 24, 1924. In Sudan Library Collection U.of K. P 54 . Authors \* Richard Cornwell & Denis Venter . Published by London Macmillan and Co. Ltd.

<sup>2</sup> M.O. Beshir, Op Cit P 18

<sup>3</sup> M.O. Beshir, "Southern Sudan Background to Conflict", P 19

\* Figures and tribes are arranged vertically by the writer from the above page.

Other patrols were sent against the following:-

<b>Year of dispatch of patrol</b>	<b>Tribe where troops were sent</b>
1907	Atwok Dinka
19098 and 1912	Beir
1911	Twig Dinka
1914	Anuak
1916	Latuko
1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1923	Aliab Dinka
1923	Toposa and Didinga

However, at that juncture the government instead of stemming tribal anarchy in the South, it found itself morally committed to the defense of the victims of tribal war face.

Local chiefs were later appointed by the government to help the district commissioner in administration and to relieve him from some cases.

The intention of the British Authorities in Southern Provinces was mainly:-

"to remove the mamurs and to consolidate the control of the D.C. in each district, to experience in some districts the –Lukiko Courts- copied from Uganda which were composed of panels of tribal leaders at district levels and to enforce native customs and traditions".<sup>1</sup>

Courts were later built to administer the natives according to their tribal customs in each distinct. These courts and laws were practice by the chiefs and not the British. The government only supported them and pays their fees and regularized their procedures.

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<sup>1</sup> Jaafar Ali Bakheit "**National Movement in Southern Sudan**", 1921-1937, P 185

J.H. Droerg (1924) a political officer pointed out some difficulties with native authorities.

"He found out that there was lack of unity and tribal consciousness within the Southern Community".<sup>1</sup> To him most important issue was "to educate the community so that their tribal soul is reawakened".<sup>2</sup>

With this information Southern Governors and the Civil Secretary were mandated to create native Advisory Council in each district, "to give reliable Sudanese a share in the government; to save money and to remove the dangers inherent in a centralized bureaucratic system of government based on politically dangerous Sudanese graduates clerks and officials".<sup>3</sup>

That information was not implemented by the government. Those Courts act as defenders against nationalist agitations. It is worth mentioning that those central government proposals were resisted by those Governors in the South and no general policy for the South Sudan was laid down. The "Lukiko Courts and actions" were closely supervised by the D.C. who believed the system was valuable in enforcing tribal discipline.

The available limited human and financial resources retarded the economic and social advance of the South. The North already is more advanced than the South, and by 1920 it has advanced further especially after "the establishment of Gezira Scheme in 1925 and the completion of Sennar dam in the same year".

The extension of the railway lines to the production areas also contributed to the economic advancement of the North.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, P 186

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. P 186

<sup>3</sup> J.A. Bakheit, 1956, P 187

<sup>4</sup> Ali Mohd. El-Hassan, "**An Introduction to the Sudan Economy**", U.of K. 1976, P 45

The South was deprived of development as witness at bellow enumerations:-

- Machinery of Mongala Sugar Factory was diverted to Kenana and Guneid factories in the North.
- Tonj Kenaf Factory equipments were diverted to Abu Naam Kenaf factory.
- Juba Technical School machines are now used by Khartoum Polytechnics now known as University for Science and Technology.
- Tonj Technical School equipments were diverted to Western Sudan.

At this point how can people talk of equality while the South is underdeveloped in comparison to the North. The economic developments in the North was all for the benefit of the British government.

"The Gezira Cotton was to feed the Lanchester textile in Britain and other agricultural products were to feed the British troops who were stationed in Egypt",<sup>1</sup> to control the route to their colony India.

### ***British Secret Agreements against the Arabs***

While Britain was busy pacifying the South and has a full control of the region, she on the other hand was displaying its deceitful policy in the Middle East as she did to the Southerners.

The First World War was already in full swing. Britain had some secret dealing with France and Russia against the Arab Nations.

King Hussein of Mecca, through McMahon the British Council in Egypt, "asked the British government in 1915 to grant all Arab Nations

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<sup>1</sup> A.M. El-Hassan, 1976, P 46

independence after the war to fight on the side of the British against Turkey",<sup>1</sup> the idea was agreed upon but without proper documentation.

"In 1916, the same Britain had a secret plan with France and Russia to divide all Arab lands between themselves after the War".<sup>2</sup>

"In 1917, Balfour, a British Prime Minister passed a decree allowing the Jews to establish their home in Palestine".<sup>3</sup>

The promise that the British agreed with the Arabs for freedom and independence after the war was abrogated.

All these agreements were adecept to the Arab Nations:- Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Mogul, Palestine, Yemen and Lebanon.

"Arabian Unity was shuttered and Palestine was put under international protection".<sup>4</sup>

This was the image of the British Colonial Administration in the Middle East as well as in Southern Sudan.

### ***Missionary Activities in the South***

The missionaries were given freedom of their activities in the South and some concessions were made to them. This was because "the missionaries and British were fearing the spread of Islam through Southern Sudan into Africa". Their agenda was high in the conference held in Edinburgh in 1910, which suggested that, "the race against Islam in Africa should be given priority over any other missionary problem".<sup>5</sup> So the British and other Christian Europe were given that chance to stop the spread of Islam through Southern Sudan into Africa, by operating in the South to

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<sup>1</sup> "**Arab World History**" Comboni Publications, Khartoum, 1985, P 68

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, P 68

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, P 20

<sup>4</sup> M.O. Beshir, "**Southern Sudan Background to Conflict**", P 33

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, P 33

prevent that from happening. In that way the missionaries to that extend were implementing some of the policies of the British Administration.

"The government thought that those clergy would win the confidence of the people to its side by teaching them elements of common sense, good behaviour and obedience to the system".<sup>1</sup>

Other problems faced by the missionaries were, the large number of languages, lack of teachers and limited financial resources.

The missionaries met much resistance from the natives because the natives classify them as former slave traders.

### ***Education in Southern Sudan:***<sup>2</sup>

A traditional system of education first existed in the Sudan. Christianity entered the Sudan in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and it failed to develop the system because of the language problem which was of Coptic Egyptians.

Islam came later in the Sudan and because of Arabic as a language, local people were able to adopt it and Arabs culture because dominant.

With the spread of Islam a demand for education arouse and with the settlement of Arabs tribes.

Religious education was the basic demand of all Muslim societies. This religious education gave rise to cultural and political dominance of the Arab immigrants over the original people of the country.

Institutions for this Muslim education in the Sudan were mosques and Khalwas for teaching traditional needs of simple economic and political life.

Lord Cromer was the architect of the Condominium Agreement and policy maker in Sudan. His view on education was vocational and technical,

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<sup>1</sup> M.O. Beshir, "**Southern Sudan Background to Conflict**", P 26

<sup>2</sup> Job Madut, "Sudanese Education"; Lecture given to students of Juba University 1990 on "Sudan Foundation course".

to produced skilled workers and to detach them from the Sudanese Nationalists so that they can support the British policy in Sudan.

- To limit general education to small class aimed at weakening nationalists movements.
- English to be taught in Intermediate and not in lower classes.
- Wingate view on education was like that of Cromer.
- James Currie was appointed Director of Education in 1900. His objectives for Education were:-
  - a) To create a competent class of artisans.
  - b) To spread education among some Sudanese to enable them to understand government system.
  - c) To create a small class of native administrators to fill the minor posts in government offices.
  - d) To produce and graduate trained Sudanese who will replace the Egyptians and Syrians in junior government administrative positions and in the army.

Currie wanted to reform the Khalwas or religious education to be modified or up graded to the level of "Kuttab" of Egypt to give room for secular education so that government aid would be granted to them.

This was unanimously agreed upon, and then most schools became combined like the:-

- i) Government sponsored schools.
- ii) Missionary schools which gave rise to secular schools in which elements of secular education were introduced.

In the South Education was entirely controlled and developed by missionary societies. Missionary work started in the South after opening three (3) stations at Gondokoro and Holy Cross in 1850 and later at Lul

Upper Nile Province in 1901. Their objectives were:- 1) To convert negroes to Christianity. 2) To bring assistance to the Christians who were traders in Sudan. 3) To suppress slave trade.

Islamic ideas and culture failed to influence the South at that time because of climatic conditions and sudd which act as a barrier for entry to the South.

Language problem in the South was the main obstacle which hindered the progress of education.

In 1928, the Rejaf Conference was convening in Southern Sudan on languages for educational purposes with the financial backing of the Colonial Administration and the missionaries, some of whom were linguistics, to work with Secular British Linguists.<sup>1</sup>

The conference was to define some principles of the school policy. The participants were to list and classify the languages and dialects spoken in Southern Sudan; to recommend a group of at least ten (10) languages for educational purposes; to adopt a unified system of orthography and to produce textbooks.

It was decided in the Conference that English would be an official language in the South. Six group languages were to be taught in primary schools:- Dinka, Shilluk, Nuer, Bari, Latuko and Zande.

In 1930, Nuer, Bari and Dinka Grammar books were produced including textbooks and magazines. Educational Reform in Southern Sudan started in 1933 and in 1934 a reassessment policy was initiated in the South.

Another Conference was held in Juba on 16<sup>th</sup> April 1934 which resolved that educational development should not aim at destruction of native social institutions or divorcing the Southerners from their national

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<sup>1</sup> V. Della goma History of Catholic Church in Southern Sudan 1900-1995 Khartoum 1996. P. 54

background but at teaching them to adopt themselves and their institutions to changing ideas and institutions.

This could only be achieved by: - a) Encouraging missionary teachers to learn the tribal languages, customs, and to teach tribal history in schools. B) To introduce native music, dancing and handicrafts in the schools. C) Boys and girls to wear native dresses in schools.

The Southern policy demanded the replacement of the Northerners by the Southerners; so there was a need to develop post elementary education to satisfy the employment need of the government and missions.

d) Vernacular was suggested to be medium of instruction for fear of detribalization.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 gave Egypt the right to interfere into the Sudanese affairs. The sending of an Islamic mission to the South was discussed and as such, the nationalists and Pan-Islamists in both Egypt and Sudan decided to open the South for Muslim missionary activities. The government should exercise more power over the missionaries and to participate in education by establishing farm schools; government post elementary schools and to provide secondary education either locally or abroad.

From that very moment a team of Northern senior teachers and intellectuals were sent to the South for the spread of Islamic and Arabization policy.

As one of those missionary educated students, and through comparative education in all other mission centers. I came to realize that, the different denominations operating in the South have no unifies educational system. Some were a head with the system, others were behind due to financial crisis, so what was entrusted to the missionaries in the South was

not real education. There was a big gap in all societies operating in the South in regards to education.

The English which was the language of instruction did not find place in some parts of the South.

Some clergy like the Italians and Germans did not speak English at all. Others were aggressive to the students and natives without diplomatic approach, while exhibiting characters of slave trades. Most of them were selfish and did not cooperate with the natives.

Christian groups which existed by then also participated in the process of slave trade, because all their centers were filled up with black children whom they bought from slave markets in Khartoum to keep their centers in motion. They were brought from their families in the south according to a consignment to the Church. The missionary education in the South was only "to raise the cultural level of the natives and to demonstrate Christian charity and moral teaching concerning the dignity of man and respect of human life".<sup>1</sup>

The idea of creating native priests among Southerners to continue their work in case things go wrong against them was not in their minds. "They only wanted to plant an indigenous church among the southerner".<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, the missionaries in the South only succeeded in laying the foundation of education, but they failed in unifying the system. Education in the North was aimed for employment of citizens while in the South it was geared towards the spread of Islam into the South and Africa.

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<sup>1</sup> Jaafar Ali Bakhit, "**National Movement in Southern Sudan**", 1921-1937, P 184

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, P 184

"The policy of entrusting education to missions failed in graduating qualified Southerners who could hold executive posts and sustain political separation from the North".<sup>1</sup>

"It failed to produce a generation of southern intelligentsia loyal to a creed higher than tribalism. It only succeeded in making them anti-Muslim and anti-Northerners without making them Southerners in a positive sense".<sup>2</sup>

As a lecturer of history, Dr. Faisal in regards to Southern problem thinks that, the British policy towards the South was not in favour of the North. The Northern elites made a move, and they as a group were sent to the South to carry out Arabization policy. He was sent to Wau where he managed to teach in Almogtaa school which to-day became to be an outstanding school in Wau town.

Sometimes later his article entitled "Britain denouncing separation of the South from the North" appeared in the "Nile Basin Research Journal" Issue No.3 Vol (1) August 2001.

"Despite the Administrative disputes passed by the British Administration, a research found out that the idea of separating the South from the North and its annexation to East Africa was the dominant policy of the British Administration in the Sudan."<sup>3</sup> Because of fear of the spread of Islam to the South, the British were trying to find out the best policy to be adopted in the South. They had hot disputes among themselves with varying decisions in regards tot the southern policy.

"A special policy was designed for the South which was to be implemented secretly without the Egyptian's knowledge who were partners

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<sup>1</sup> Jaafar Ali Bakhit, "**National Movement in Southern Sudan**" 1921-1937, P 219

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, P 219

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Faisal Mohd Musa, "The southern Sudan policy" "Nile Basin Research Journal", August 2001, P 28

in the condominium rule."<sup>1</sup> This was the policy at last they had agreed upon in the "Memo" of 1930 which was to separate the South from the North. Separation policy developed and Closed District Order stated in the previous chapters was issued by the British aiming to separate the South from the North. The Closed District Order was issued for administrative purposes, but not on government officials, Egyptian military officers, nor any person who had a trading license in those districts according to migration, passports and license rule of 1922.

That policy is divided into two (2) major problems as follows:-

- A. Administrative set up, that the British authorities have separated from Islamization by adopting the 1930 "memo".
- B. Non-Arabicization policy which was for the elimination of Arab existence and elements from the South.

This policy had been adopted for many reasons:-

"Firstly, there was work option administratively in various areas due to great shortage in the number of administrators who were working there.

Secondly, the tribal societies and native had coped up with the system because it goes with their customs and traditions.

Thirdly, that the Elders and Chiefs in the above mentioned areas had full freedom of administering themselves, and that any step towards overlooking them may result in set back and reverse of cooperation that may result into total hatred.

Fourthly, the government at first did not want to impose its administrative policy, but it has to introduce the system for the people to run it."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, P 28

<sup>2</sup> Mac Michael H. "The Southern Sudan", London 1934, P 102

During the native administration, "six native courts were established in the South, four (4) at Mongala Province and two were in Upper Nile and Bahr el-Ghazal Province."<sup>1</sup>

The second issue connected with the policy in the South was that of eliminating Arab and Islamic elements from the South, who were mainly:-

- (i) The Egyptian and Sudanese troops in Egyptian army of the condominium, stationed in the South.
- (ii) Egyptian and Sudanese Civil Officials in the North who demanded the right of stay in the South for work interest.
- (iii) Northern traders who settled in villages and towns in the South for their own trade activities; some were agents of other traders in the North.

To effect this, a Southern Battalion was formed in 1911 headed by a British officer for the security purposes in the South; and that led to the transportation of the last batch of the Northern troops from Mongalla in 1917 leaving behind Equatoria troops alone for security and order keeping in the South. The steps for urgent implementation of this elimination policy were found in "Sir, L. George plan who suggested that, Southern citizens should learn native vernacular by both reading and writing while learning Arabic gradually; and Governor General, Sir John Mafey who wrote a report in 1929 of how to eliminate Arabic and Islamic elements in the South. He suggested the:-

- a) Employment of non-Muslim staff in offices, technical institutions and administration.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Faisal Mohd Musa, "Britain Denouncing South Sudan Separation", "Nile Basin Research Journal", August 2001, P 31

- b) Imposition for the British staff to learn customs and traditions of various tribes and areas of administration they were running.
- c) Restrict the Northern Sudanese movement to the South Sudan.”<sup>1</sup>

What followed later was the 1930 “Memo” which approved the separation of the South from the North; a policy agreed upon by all the British authorities in Khartoum, Cairo and London.

Steps for the implementation of elimination were set up as follows:-  
“First to determine the number of administrative staff, technicians and clerks from non-speaking group in order to put off all the administration workers in the government posts from the Arab North.

Secondly, to continue employment of southerners to replace northerners in the south and to consider English language as the official spoken and written language in the southern offices replacing Arabic language.

Thirdly, to transfer all southern officials from the North to the South, and to encourage Greek and Syrian Christian traders to migrate to the South in accordance with the regulation already laid down for trading activities in the South.”<sup>2</sup>

Reduction of “jellaba” traders in the southern towns and villages was completed by 1930 and restrictions were continually laid up, unless one produces a Pass Card and Passport, which can allow him to enter South Sudan.

Because of all these restrictions, Northern Sudanese strongly supported Sudanese National Movements against British Administration., This period witnessed many events in Sudan; the most important was the

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Faisal Mohd. Musa, “Britain Denouncing South Sudan Separation” “Nile Basin Research Journal” August 2001, P 34-35

<sup>2</sup> Dr. F.M. Musa, Ibid, P 35

movement struggle against preaching of Christianity in the Sudan particularly the South, which was initiated by the Graduate's Congress.

Ismail El-Azhari played a great role in suppressing the Christian preaching in the South building a Khalwa in Juba Town.

“In 1937, a committee for the establishment of a Mosque in Juba was formed, the only one in Southern Sudan by then. On 14<sup>th</sup> July 1939, many speeches were delivered at the opening of that mosque in Juba after its completion.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. F.M. Musa, Ibid, P 35

The below table was is illustrated by the writer

**OFFICIALS REDUCTION TABLES**

By percentage (%)

<b>1930</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>To</b>
Administrators	25%	22% and 21%
Clerks	68%	2%
Technicians	63%	2%

C.S. Sc or, I.C.I. "From the civil secretary to Southern Provinces Governor, 25/1/1930

C.R.O.K. "Nile basin Research Journal" , P 32

<b>1930</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>To</b>
Northern Officials in Administration	25%	22%
Clerks	55%	51%

<b>1930</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>To</b>
Northern Administration	22%	18% and 17%
Clerks	51%	46%

Total and General reduction of the officials is put down as below:-

1933	55%
1934	46%
1935	43%

By Dr. Yunan Labib "Research Institute of Arab Studies" Cairo 1977, P 290

"Nile Basin Research Journal" P 36 \*

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\* Dr. Yunan Labib "Research Institute of Arab Studies" Cairo 1977 P 290 "Nile Basin Research Journal" P 36

McMichael closed the South at the face of northerners and continued to carry out the elimination policy of the Arabs and Islamic elements in the South”<sup>1</sup>

In 1945 collective activities from the Sudan National Movement in Egypt and political parties in Sudan called from the joint government to prepare the country for the Sudanese independent democratic government in union with Egypt.

In March 1946 n Administrative Conference was held in Juba, which came out with the following recommendations:

- Unity with the North
- Abolishing the idea of Consultant Council for both north and south and be replaced by a Legal Assembly Council for the whole country.

The British in the conference spoke on behalf of Southerners as a sort of supporting unity of the North with the South.

That:

- The South was connected to the North by the Nile.
- The south can not depend on itself economically.
- If the South is separated from the North it would remain backward and primitive from the rest of the world.

After the British negotiations with the Egyptian government over the Sudan question, the question of unity of the South with the North was discussed and greed upon. The Secretary for Administration sent letters to District officers for Sudanization. In the South. In 1946 southerners

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Faisal Mohd. Musa, “Britain Denouncing South Sudan Separation: :Nile Basin Research Journal” August 2001, P 42

who worked in government departments went on strike in Juba town for the first time.

The strike was against the rules of civil services. They wanted increment of their salaries; improvement of relationship between the labourers and the authorities; abolishing harsh by the British Administration and that “labour employment in the South are lower than those in the North; for instance a clerk or an accountant in the South receives three (3) Pounds monthly, while in the North, they are paid seven and half (7 1/2) Pounds”<sup>1</sup>

This unequal salary in the South gave birth to Azande Agricultural Scheme which improved the living standard and social services in most parts of Equatoria Province and also helped in implementing government educational policy. The extract ended.

As one goes deeply on certain issues in the Administrative Conference of 1946, there we find similar and conflicting opinions among the British and the Northern Sudanese.

The conference as planned was to associate the South with the Central and Local Government. Those present members recommended that the South should be integrated with the North and represented in the Legislative Assembly. “They dismissed the idea that the South was more backward than the North.”<sup>2</sup> They voted for the unity of the country and that could be achieved by abolition of the Permits to Trade Order; adoption of one educational system in the country; teaching of Arabic in schools in the South; improvement of communication between the two parts and encouragement of transfer of officials to the North and the South.

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<sup>1</sup> Southern Policy on Salary Structure in the South - Wau 9/6/1930 -From: -Governor, Bahr el-Ghazal Province – To:- District Commissioner, Northern Eastern, Western – Rumbek, Tambura and Yambio District.

<sup>2</sup> M.O. Beshir, P 65 “Background t Conflict”

When the minutes of the Conference were presented to the public, some British administrators working in the South criticized the Civil Secretary on the recommendation put forward in the conference. They expressed their dissatisfaction that the future of the South was being “discussed by the wrong man in the wrong milieu”<sup>1</sup> and suggested the formation of a “Southern Advisory Council” for the safeguarding of the interests of the South and demanded the assurance that any law affecting the southern Provinces passed by the Northern Assembly should not be applied to the Southerners. As such Juba conference was then held as a result of that challenge.

Juba Conference took place on 12<sup>th</sup> June 1947. The Civil Secretary was the Chairman of the meeting with Southern Governors and some British Administrators. Southern members to the conference were the less educated personalities from mission schools and literate chiefs from various Provinces in the South. The chiefs were loyal to the government, being the products of Indirect Rule. They were selected by the authority to administer the natives on their behalf. They were not elected by the people to go and represent them in that meeting.

The Northern members were highly educated and experienced in administrative work. In his opening speech in Juba, the Civil Secretary made explanatory remarks on the origin and purpose of the conference. He explained the changes that were taking place in the North and were going to take place in the South. He then presented the framework for the conference which was:- “The representation of the South in the Legislative Assembly; Safeguard against Southern interest with the process of legislation in the

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<sup>1</sup> M.O. Beshir, Appendix , P 134

center; setting up an Advisory Council for the South; elimination of the barrier to social and economical contact between the North and South.”<sup>1</sup>

On the first day Southerners took a stand that “they were not yet prepared for lack of experience and backwardness to take part in the proposed Central Legislative Assembly.”<sup>2</sup>

They wanted an Advisory Council of their own in the same way as the North had as a means of preparing them to participate in the Central Legislative Assembly. They did not oppose the idea of one Sudan.

“Northern delegates to the conference opposed the idea of the Advisory Council for the South as they interpreted it to imply “*Separation*” of the South from the North”<sup>3</sup> The Southerners insisted on their view and the chairman did not bother to explain the issue and let it go unresolved just like that.

When we follow critically the statements given by Mr. Shingeiti in the first session of the conference to the questions and suggestions presented by members in the conference, Shingeiti was able to persuade and convince them by putting everything right for the benefits of the Northerners. This could be seen from the way he was talking. His explanation and the way he was hiding facts, giving reasons to those uneducated Southerners who came to attend the conference. “Most important he was able to challenge the chairman, a British, on the problem of slave trade.”<sup>4</sup> And certain issues presented by Southerners such as incompetence in administration, lack of political consciousness, inexperienced in politics, inability to discuss certain political issues and less knowledge for argument.

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<sup>1</sup> Mahasin A/Ghadir A/Safir “The Nationalist Movement in Sudan” U.of K. 1989, P 278

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit Ibid, P 279

<sup>3</sup> Mahashin A/Ghadir A/Safi “The Nationalist Movement in Sudan” U. of K., 1989, P279

<sup>4</sup> M.O. Behir, Appendix , P 141

In my view, when northerners thought that the Advisory Council for the South means “*Separation*” of the South from the North, what is bad in that case? Why did Northern Politicians form their own Council without Southerners, and why did they drive the Southern community towards a forced unity as witnessed in to-day’s continuous conflict? And lastly why did the Civil Secretary not put this into voting in a democratic way? This was a sign, which indicated that the issue has already been discussed earlier between the British and Northern Sudanese. In that case the Southerners should have already formed their own Advisory Council without prejudice from the Northerners.

On the Second day, “the educated southerners changed their minds overnight and decided to go and attend the Central Legislative Assembly without any Advisory Council for the South.”<sup>1</sup> To me I think and according to my own deduction, those poor Southerners were bribed since it is one of the techniques for winning people to one’s side in modern politics when discussing such a problem with conflicting ideas.

However, these conflicting opinions among Southerners were not voted in the Conference nor even taken notice of. The Civil Secretary simply made a concluding summary statement to the effect of change of opinions among some Southern members but that “the discussion had been a useful one.”<sup>2</sup>

There seems to have been unexplained reasons for the activities and decisions made by the Civil Secretary during that time. There were strong and opposing pressures on the British imperial rulers in the Sudan in regards to the political future of the Southern Sudan.

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<sup>1</sup> Mahasin A/Ghadir A/Safir “The Nationalist Movement in Sudan” U.of K., 1989, P 279

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, P 280

The British Administrator in the South knew the low level of political awareness and administrative incompetence of the Southerners. Those in Khartoum stated that “the South could be controlled with reasonable explanations,”<sup>1</sup> and this was true when Shingeiti and his group were sent to reason with Southerners in Juba Conference.

The significance of Juba Conference was a historical landmark in the Nationalists Movement of the Sudanese towards national unity. Shingeiti persuaded them that they would be able to “speak for the South”<sup>2</sup> in the Legislative Assembly, Robertson assured them that “Northern rates of pay would come to the South if they agreed to come with the North.”<sup>3</sup>

These two above statements indicates that everything had been discussed in advance and all their objectives were one. Because what followed later was in the favour of the Northerners and against Southern aspirations. The Southerners did “speak” in the Legislative Assembly but they soon found that speaking was not enough. The second event was the exclusion of the Southerners from the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953 on the basis that they had no political parties and belonged to none of the existing parties.

After the 1953 episode, “Southern Parties” including Liberal Party, which was earlier formed by Southerner, registered officially to secure a self-government for the South in terms of “federation”.

On the 20/2/1954 Sudnization policy was on the state. Out of 800 civil posts which were vacated by the British, Southerners only got four (4) posts,

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<sup>1</sup> Mahasin A/Ghadir A/Safir “The Nationalist Movement in Sudan’ U.of L/ 1989. P 285

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, P 291

<sup>3</sup> Ibid P 291

the remaining 796 posts went to Northern Sudanese”<sup>1</sup> This act of injustice angered Southerners. From 1954 to August 1955 a mutiny broke out in the South and the whole area was in a state of emergency and all political activities of the Southern party members were confined to the North.

“During the drafting of the transitional constitution, the Southerners forwarded their demand of federation but they were tricked that their demand would be considered after independence”<sup>2</sup>

In January 1956, Sudan achieved its independence with Ismail alAzhari as Prime Minister. From the time of independence until to-day Sudanese politics and society have been dominated by three (3) main issues:- Country’s economy, Southern Problem, and search for a permanent constitution.

The Sudanese economy at present has improved greatly, the question of Southern Sudan and search for a permanent constitution are still the main issues, which should be addressed to because these last two issues are the ones until to-day, which destabilized the country.

Examples were Nigeria under Dr. Azikiwe, the struggle was to tell the British that Africans could manage their own problems.

In Ghana the single was headed by Dr. Kwame and Nurma and in Kenya we have the Mau Mau Movement headed by Jomo Kenyata. All have the same objectives against the British

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<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> Mahasin A/Ghadir A/Safir “The Nationalist Movement in Sudan’ U.of L/ 1989. P 299

<sup>2</sup> Mahasin A/Ghadir A/Safir “The Nationalist Movement in Sudan’ U.of L/ 1989. P 300

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### ***The British, Egyptian & Northern Sudanese Plan to the Problem***

Islam and Christianity are the two most important heavenly religions. The two have the same principles of respecting human dignity in all aspects of life. Non should claim his/her religion to be better than the other.

#### ***I. British Role***

Since the condominium period, "the British has a fear of the spread of Islam to the Southern Sudan. They wanted to prevent Arab activity and culture to reach the South".<sup>1</sup> Why then did they trained Northern Sudanese in various fields of government administration leaving the Southerners untrained and backward? They were the ones who created the Southern problem, then mandated missionaries to go to the South to preach Christianity for their own interest and to hinder the spread of Islam to that region. "The missionaries in the South created lack of trust between the North and the South. They were the agents of the British government."<sup>2</sup> The British also knew very well that, "Islamization of the South means Islamization of the neighboring African countries which will lead to the Islamic expansion into the interior Eastern and Central African Countries."<sup>3</sup>

All these activities caused by the British created friction between the North and the South. "It kindles the spirit of Southern masses and politicians and made them to realize that there was already a problem created for them

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<sup>1</sup> M.O. Beshir, P 38

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. P 46-54

<sup>3</sup> Writer's View

in future."<sup>1</sup> The South in fact was neglected and isolated by the British but only opened for exploitation and trade in ivory and slaves.

## ***II. The Northern Sudanese Role***

"Northern leaders and Southern Muslims also contributed to the creation of this problem. Being people of one religion, they love one another, allotted senior posts to themselves and harassed southerners, resulting to lack of confidence between the two groups."<sup>2</sup>

Job opportunities were first given to the Northerners and "development projects were concentrated in the North"<sup>3</sup>. Educational institutions were expanding in the North while neglected the South.

Northern politicians on the other hand "did not accept the past mistakes done by previous successive governments against Southerners, nor redress the Southern, grievances by resolving them through peaceful means, but instead they used oppressive and discriminatory measures to end the problem."<sup>4</sup>

When the Sudan was handed over to the Sudanese by the British, the North assumed authority of superiority over the Southerners, thus violence, raids, intimidation and the use of the word "abid" (slave) was continuing in the lips of the Northerners.

How can unity come when such issues are not redressed by Northern leadership? "The British on their part pushed the Sudan hurriedly for independence by creating a form of local patriotism in the south which was premature and by pretending to speak in the name of the south and to

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<sup>1</sup> "Lecture given to us by Dr. Mohd El-Amin during our qualifying year at Faculty of Education, U.of K. on 15/9/1999

<sup>2</sup> Simon Gaiku Op. Cit., P 12

<sup>3</sup> Ali Mohd. El-Hassan "An Introduction to Sudan Economy" U.of K. 1976, P 45-47

<sup>4</sup> Mudethir A/Rahim "Imperialism and Nationalism in Sudan", Oxford, 1969 and U.of K. 1992, P 154

establish by all means of violence and the separation of the southern states from the north.”<sup>1</sup>

Did the British developed the south politically, educationally and economically? Of course no, so all there policies failed.

In addition to all that Muddathir Abdel Rahim pointed out that “if this problem is not settled peaceful and democratically, the search for unity and permanent constitution in the Country is impossible.”<sup>2</sup> And “if the separatist Southern policy of the British Administration is important, then right at this moment the north and the South have to find a genuine formula for it,”<sup>3</sup> since the British have already gone after handing over the Country to the Sudanese.

The north should not continue talking of unity always in the media while not putting their spoken words into practice. “They should have a future vision of themselves to link the tow (2) worlds of Africa and the Middle East to enable them develops better and has more human relations between the different races of mankind”.<sup>4</sup>

“Since independence, the southern people have not seen any just rule, peace, development and prosperity, instead they have experienced enough torture, imprisonment in the courts and in social services such as School, hospital, housing of plots and in Officers.”<sup>5</sup>

“The Sudanese Politicians who took over from the British and the Egyptians in 1956 made many mistakes when they drew up policies which aggravated

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<sup>1</sup> Mudathir A/Rahim , P 155

<sup>2</sup> Mudathir A/Rahim “Imperialism and nationalism in Sudan, Oxford 1969 and U.of K. 1992, P 156

<sup>3</sup> Ibid , P 156

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, P 156

<sup>5</sup> Tartisio Ahmed Morgan, “A search for a Peaceful Solution to Sudan Problem.” Khartoum 2000 P 47

this crisis by dividing people into two hostile groups, They did not cultivate trust and confidence among the citizens, but indulged in conspiracies and instability which brought army to rule.”<sup>1</sup>

Few to mention of such leaders are: Ismail al-Azhari, when he became Prime Minister of the Sudan in 1956, he threatened the Liberal Party which was formed by Southerners because of its alliance with other Northern parties against his National Unionist Party. Members of the Liberal Party wanted to organize a mass mobilization in the South against the National Unionist Party (N.U.P). Ismail al-Azhari announced that “his government was fully aware of the conspiracies that were being worked out in the South; they shall use the force of iron in dealing with any Southerner who will attempt to divide the nation.”<sup>2</sup>

In 1955, the Southern ministers in the N.U.P resigned and joint the liberal Party forming a single “Southern Block”. They called for a meeting to be held in Juba in June 1955.

Again al-Azhari made a stern warning that “ ... He would dismiss any government official who attended the conference.... Federation was excluded by the Anglo Egyptian Agreement which bound the signatories to maintain the unity of the Sudan as a single territory.”<sup>3</sup>

Ismail al-Azhari was forced out of his position by the DUP of Umma Parties other Sudanese parties due to troubles over the policy of unity with Egypt.

The Umma party came to power and Mohd Ahmed Mahgoub became foreign minister of Umma party. He was able to challenge the British by

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid , P 48

<sup>2</sup> Mahasin A/Ghadir A/Safir “The Nationalist Movement in Sudan” Institute of Asian and African Studies, Sudan Library Series 15 U.of K. 1989, P 300

<sup>3</sup> Mahasin, 1989, P 301

stating that: “Let the imperialists give education to the people, help them to get rid of diseases, and enjoy the wealth and products of their Country in full.”<sup>1</sup> If that is what he had said to the British, what did he state against the southerners when the Liberal party presented its demand of the federation for the south? Mahgoub warned that, “Africans could only understand the language of force.”<sup>2</sup> What a controversy among northern Leadership? Because of that demand the Umma Party was not different from the N.U.P.

In this respect,. The Southerners saw all the northern political parties as one and insincere and all this negative attitude of such leaders contributed to the prolonging situation of the problem. With the political atmosphere tense, the parliament dissolved to open the way for new elections.

Egypt was the center through which the British expel their policies towards the Middle East and other Arab lands including the Sudan. It was in the Egyptian Centers that the Sudan Question, and the Southern Sudan problem was planned by both the British and the Egyptians.

The effect of “National movement in Egypt on Sudanese politics had contributed greatly to the establishment of the modern national movements in Sudan”<sup>3</sup> to work hand in hand and to achieve their independence from the British.

“The idea of Nationalism came from Western Europe to the Arabian Lands of the east”<sup>4</sup> political, and cultural ideas were also brought in aimed at the formation of a united national entity based on one language, hope, feelings, history and common characteristics. The idea spread to modern Turkey due to “similarities of democratic and social conditions and Islamic

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<sup>1</sup> Muddathir, 1969 and 1992, P 204

<sup>2</sup> Mahasin, 1989, P 04

<sup>3</sup> Mahasin, 1989, P 213-214

<sup>4</sup> “Arab World History” Comboni Publication, Khartoum 1985, P 61

culture which helped the unification of Islamic nations.”<sup>1</sup> National feelings came too late to Egypt because “Egypt was isolated from modern nationalist movements due to the influence of the regional and national tendency, and the activities of the Turkish rulers in Egypt.”<sup>2</sup>

The British cooperated with the Turks to cripple the spread of Arab Nationalism in Egypt. In Egypt it was a Military and Political renaissance. “Urabi revolted, but was suppressed by the British in 1882 and Egyptian National were persecuted.”<sup>3</sup>

Egyptian National Resistance to colonial rule started during the French campaign headed by Napoleon Bonaparte. There, democracy was introduced in Egypt and the “Egyptians participated in the Administration of their own Country,”<sup>4</sup> Yet the Egyptians revolted against Napoleon. But that campaign had some important results in the political, social and cultural fields in Egypt.

There after,” national ideas and cultural influence began to appear in Egypt due to contact of Egyptians with the Western Christian civilization.”<sup>5</sup> The expedition” opened the minds of the Egyptians and kindled in them the spirit of nationalism which encouraged them o resist foreign invasion”<sup>6</sup>

All “these ideas were transferred to Sudan by the Egyptian Nationalists which the Sudanese Nationalist movements adopted to fight against the British for their identity and independence.”<sup>7</sup>

But “foreign Capitulations and financial crisis in Egypt gave Britain an upper hand to intervene into the internal affairs of Egypt and financial

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid , P 61

<sup>2</sup> Ibid , P 61

<sup>3</sup> Op. Cit., P 37-8 “Arab World History” 1985 Comboni Publications

<sup>4</sup> Op. Cit, P 24 “Arab World History” 1985 Comboni Publications

<sup>5</sup> Op. Cit P 24 “Arab World History” 1985 Comboni Publications

<sup>6</sup> Ibid P 24 “Arab World History” 1985 Comboni Publications

<sup>7</sup> “Arab World History” 1985 Comboni Publications P 82

conditions of the Country”<sup>1</sup> This was because Sudan depended entirely on Egypt on financial assistance.

National feelings was flamed by this procedures, then the Egyptians started to opposed the British policy of making Egypt to be in a state of permanent deficit.

Britain continued to suppress the national movements until the outbreak of the 1<sup>st</sup> World war. Here “Egypt was made a British base in the Middle East and a Center for the armies of the allies,”<sup>2</sup> Britain then started exploiting all its economic resources for serving British military efforts.

### ***III. Egyptians Role***

“Sudanese National movement emerged earlier than any other movement in tropical Africa”<sup>3</sup>

The reasons for this could be categorized into four (4) stages.

1. In the north Islam acted as a unifying factor eroding tribal and local divisions and setting up a supra tribal organization.
2. Politically and culturally northern Sudan had been an alien of Muslim Egypt and the Middle East unlike the Negroid and pagan civilizations of tropical Africa. It had been under Centralized governments.
3. Egyptian Nationalists in their struggle against the British nourished the Sudanese nationalist movements.
4. The people of northern Sudan developed a higher sense of community than most African dependencies. They were able to

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<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit P 24 “Arab World History” 1985 Comboni Publications

<sup>2</sup> Mahasin P 267

<sup>3</sup> Jaafar Ali Bakhit, “National Movement in Southern Sudan, 1921-1937.” P 181

adopt, alien cultural and political imports within the frame of their own traditional concepts and institutions.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1919 Zaghul came to power and in the same year a “Sudanese delegation went to England to congratulate the King on winning the War. It was as a token of gratitude for their loyalty to the Empire”<sup>2</sup>

This marked the beginning of the Sudanese national political consciousness among the elites. Egypt opposed to the Sudanese delegation saying that the British were seducing Sudanese from Egypt and protested against it.

“The Egyptian Nationalists claim for the independence of Sudan as apart of Egypt was rejected in favour of “the Sudan for the Sudanese”<sup>3</sup>

Zaghul was removed from his post when Sir Lee Stack Governor General of Sudan was killed in Cairo in 1924, and all Egyptian troops were with drawn from the Sudan. “The events and troubles of 1924 was a struggle of control between Britain and Egypt over the Sudan.”<sup>4</sup>

Britain had ousted Egypt from the Sudan. Egypt had won the cultural triumph over the minds of the many politically conscious Sudanese. She was the window through which the Sudanese intelligentsia had experience the Pan Islamic revival of a Muslim tradition braced with modern western ideas and learned from Egyptian example, the ideas and techniques of modern politics”<sup>5</sup>

Under Egyptian influence Sudanese interest was shifting slowly from “religion” to “politics”. The events of 1924 underlined the immaturity of the Sudanese national movements at that time. “Politically Conscious Sudanese

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<sup>1</sup> Jaafar Ali Bakhit, “National Movement in Southern Sudan 1921-1937, P 181

<sup>2</sup> Ibid P 182

<sup>3</sup> Ibid P 183

<sup>4</sup> Ibid P 183

<sup>5</sup> Jaafar Ali Bakhit, “National Movement in Southern Sudan 1921-1937” , P 184

divided into pro-Egyptian and pro-British schools of thought, and although Sudan for the Sudanese” was at the back of their minds, their aims and actions were decided in terms of which one of the two alien Colonial governments was the best way to achieve independence in future.”<sup>1</sup>

The Sudanese were still debating which of the two masters to back them. They were not yet strong enough but had to use either Britain or Egypt to achieve their independence. “In 1952, a coup against King Farouk took place in Egypt led by Mahmoud Neguib who was half Sudanese and educated in Sudan.”<sup>2</sup>

On February 12, 1953, the British, Egyptians and Northern Sudanese politicians signed an agreement for future status of the Country to be independent or to unite with Egyptians. “Under this situation, the British found themselves faced with two different sets of proposals for self government, one supported by them and another of the Egyptian proposals, supported by Northern political parties.”<sup>3</sup> The British bowed to the Egyptians and their proposals, and there the basis for the provisional constitution was formed. Southerners were omitted from that agreement of 1953, “And since they were not signatories to that agreement and neither did they mandate the British, Egyptians and northern Sudanese to sign on their behalf, then therefore they deserved the right to Self-Determination.”<sup>4</sup>

Although there were foreign elements, which tended to influence the political situation in the Sudan, yet the British and the Egyptian, who signed the Condominium agreement, have their own interest.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid P 186

<sup>2</sup> Simon Gaiku, “Self Determination for southern Sudan , an appeal to the United Nations” Khartoum 1998 , P 15

<sup>3</sup> Ibid P 16

<sup>4</sup> Tartisio Ahmed Morgan Op. Cit P 15

“Britain wanted an assurance from Egypt for a shorter route through the Suez Canal for her trade with the Far East particularly India.

Egypt wanted an assurance over the water of the Nile since millions of the Egyptians depended on the River Nile waters, and their kin in northern Sudan to safeguard the constant flow of the Nile for their use and this could be guaranteed only if the north and the south were united and granted independence. With this compromise the British agreed to grant independence to Sudan, but they were unaware of the fact that this was going to plunge the Sudan in to an endless civil war.<sup>1</sup>

To my understanding Britain wanted to gain the confidence of the Arab nations, because of the fear that those nations would ally with Turkey and Russia.

Britain prefers to unite with the Arab nations against Russia which was the super power of the world in case of any outbreak of World War. Its route to India is just a secondary issue. It realized that Egypt could be taken, as strategic place in case of War in Europe, because it lies between Europe Asia and Africa.

The second point undertaken by the British and the Egyptians negatively is that the independence of the Sudan should not be bought through a region such as the South where its citizens were first exploited and sold in slavery by the British and later harassed, discriminated, oppressed and marginalized by Northern leadership.

The Nile is a national source of water created by God. It never started from southern Sudan, but originated from the Great lakes Region of East Africa. And I do not see why Egypt fears the use of the Nile water by Southerners when the Northern Sudanese are using it.

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<sup>1</sup> Simon Gaiko Op. cit. P. 17

## ***Chapter Five***

### ***Section one***

#### ***The Sudanese Efforts to solve the problem***

After the independence, there were political differences within the Parliament among the Nationalist Parties. Those differences caused Ismail El-Azhari to be ousted from power by the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and the Umma Party (UP) through elections. The two parties formed a coalition government.

Abdalla Bey Khalil came to power as Prime Minister and due to continuous pressure and deteriorating situation in the country, his rule ended with military coup of Ibrahim Aboud in November 1958. During Abboud's regime there were frequent arrest, detention of Southern politicians and unity through Islamization and Arabicization process was imposed on the Southerners.

“Abboud government created special difficulties for church activities in the South. Missionaries were expelled from the south after nationalizing all schools.”<sup>1</sup>

With such a situation Southern Politicians were forced to leave the country and went to exile in the neighbouring countries.

Abboud was overthrown by a popular revolt October 1964. A transitional government was installed in the country headed by Sir Al-Khatim Al-Khalifa. From that very moment a serious dialogue followed between the new government and Southern Politicians.

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<sup>1</sup> V. Dellagiaco, **History of the Catholic Church in Southern Sudan (1900-1995)**, Khartoum, 1998, P 84.

Since independence, several efforts have been exerted for the purpose of ending the civil war peacefully; the first of these attempts was the Round Table Conference of 1965.<sup>1</sup>

This conference was focusing mainly on the establishment of the constitutional basis for the relationship between the disputing parties. The conference was to resolve the constitutional and political issue on north-south conflict.

The Southern Parties in the conference were the Sudan African National Union (SANU) and Southern Front (SF). The conference has unfortunately done nothing.

After (10) days a 12-men committee was formed to recommend constitutional, administrative and financial relations between the South and Central Government to come up with an “interim crash programme) for resettlement of returnees from exile; Southernization of Administration; Police and prison forces; equalization of salaries; establishment of a university and girls secondary schools; guarantee of religious freedom; establishment of increased funds for development.

“That Round Table Conference of 1965 has a Law and Order resolution. Northern Political Parties on one hand and the Southern Political Parties on the other gave the resolution different interpretations. Many Southern elites and northern teachers lost their lives in July that year in Juba, Wau, Malakal, Loronyo (north Torit) and in many district towns, was a result of that law and Order resolution.”<sup>2</sup>

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1 Elwaleed Mustafa, **Draft of Final comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan- Six Protocols Naivasha published by Akhbar Alyoum**, July2004, Khartoum, P 1.

2 Abel Alier, **the Political Charter, Observation and A Commentary**, Khartoum, 1996, P 6.

In May 1968, William Deng founder of SANU Party was assassinated by government soldiers on his way by land from Wau to Juba.

On 25<sup>th</sup> May 1969, Ja'afar Mohd. Nimeri took power in the Sudan which resulted to 9<sup>th</sup> June Declaration after signing the Addis Ababa Agreement in March 1972. That Agreement was considered by Northern as a sell out between Nimeri and Joseph Lagu Leader of the Anyanya Rebellion.

Regional Autonomy for the South was decreed in June for:

- “Recognition of historical and cultural differences between the North and the South.
- That Southerners to develop their own cultures and traditions within a united Sudan.”<sup>1</sup>

A southern Affairs Minister was appointed to carry out the Administration and development of the South:

- “Training of Southern personal was initiated to carry out the development of the South.
- Respect of all religions including the traditional African religions in the South.
- Recognition of the right of the South to Self-Rule.”<sup>2</sup>
- Regional Assembly was set up in Juba.
- Nimeri was relying on Southerners for Suppot.

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1 Terje Tvedt, **A brief Introduction to the History of Sudan and Uganda**, Lectures at Arapi Teachers Training Institute, Juba, 1985, P 128.

2 Ibid, P 128.

- He improved the infrastructure in the South such as roads, bridges, commerce, buildings, hospital, schools and created new development in the region.
- University of Juba was inaugurated during his period in 1977.

The period between 1972-1983 was a decade of peace and development in the South where people experience a sort of democracy in the South and a dictatorial government in the North.”<sup>1</sup>

Another resolution in the 9<sup>th</sup> June Declaration also had a different interpretation; “Granting Regional Autonomy to Southern Sudan. That resolution required that ‘Regional Self-Rule would not be implemented in the South until a “Socialist Oriented Society” was established. Nimeri wanted to turn the South into A socialist society first, so that the Communist Party would have a firm grip on the Southern Society.”<sup>2</sup>

In May 1983, soldiers of Bor Garrison mutinied and came around John Garang. Nimeri on the other hand after reorganizing the South created Unity Province which incorporated the oil fields of Bentiu to the Southern Kordufan.”<sup>3</sup>

In June 1983 he issued a decree to dissolve the Regional Assembly for the South which was operating in Juba and came up with Re-division of the South. This was due to the pressure from Northern Politicians who considered the Agreement as a Sell-out by Nimeri. An Agreement between Nimeri and Southerners and not between North and South.

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1 V.Della, **History of the Catholic Church in Southern Sudan, (1900-1995)**, Khartoum, 1998, P 87.

2 Abel Alier, **The Political Charter, Observation and A commentary**”, Khartoum, 1996, P 3.

3 Abel Alier, Op lit, P3.

In September 1983, he introduced the “Sharia Law” and the break with the intelligentsia of the South, was complete. Without the support of the South, he fell to the apposition of the North and on 6<sup>th</sup> April military government under Suwar El-Dahab came to power in the country.

In March 1986, the SPLM called for holding a National Constitutional Conference which should have been organized by the SPLM and the Nimeri regime before he was overthrown by popular uprising. Actually during that period Kokadam Agreement was signed on 24<sup>th</sup> March 1986 between the SPLM/A and the Sudanese Trade Unions inside and outside the country to resolve the Sudan conflict.

In 1986, Sadig El-Mahdi led a democratically elected government<sup>1</sup>. He was worried with November 198 Sudan Peace Initiative between the SPLM and the DUP that he will be ousted from power by the two coalition parties<sup>2</sup>.

In that Sudan Peace Initiative a National Constitutional Conference was agreed upon decide for the venue and date as to when it will take place.

With all the above developments, the National Islamic Front decided to take power from El-Mahdi in June 1989 with a military coup headed by Omer Hassan El-Beshir, who said that:

The objectives of his regime were:

- (i) To preserve Sudan dignity.
- (ii) To save Sudan from integration.
- (iii) To restore order and stability.

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1 V. Della, “**History of the Catholic Church in S. Sudan (1900-1995)**”, Khartoum, 1998, P 89.

2 **SPLM Document – Peace through Development in Sudan**, Jan. 2004, P 3 of 24.

(iv) To bring Peace to Sudan.

In his first period Omer has to face some challenges within the opposition parties and from his counterpart Dr. Hassan Abdalla El-Turabi and his followers who were trying to destabilized the system.

As such he has to restore order, Security and stability of the Country by the use of force.

## ***Section Two***

### ***Recent Developments up to the Present Agreements***

It this moment we are searching for a new beginning. The Northerners started badly when in 1955, incited by the British, the North occupied the South by force, disbanded, the Southern army and imposed its will on the South until now.

The national Islamic government at first rejected Self-determination for the South; objected a secular democratic State and a Ceasefire; opposed to the security arrangement of Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972.

But after realizing that none of the two warring parties could win the war militarily, they decided to change their agenda and turn to look for a peaceful solution to the conflict<sup>1</sup>.

With the present NIF government, the SPLM/A has undertaken the following peace negotiations<sup>2</sup>:

- a) August 1989, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: These were direct talks between the SPLM and Khartoum Government without any external mediators. No press was made in these talks.
- b) December 1989, Nairobi, Kenya: There were initially direct talks between the SPLM and Khartoum Government without any external mediation, but during the talks the mediation of former U.S.A President Jimmy Carter was involved. Nothing came out of these talks.

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1 V. Della, **“History of the Catholic Church in S. Sudan (1900-1995)**, Khartoum, 1998, P 89.

2 **SPLM Document – Peace through Development in Sudan**, Jan. 2004, P 3 of 24.

- c) May-June 1992, Abuja I Negotiations: These talks were under the mediation of former Nigeria President Ibrahim Babangida, by then Chairman of O.A.W. A communiqué was issued at the end of the negotiations.
- d) April-May 1993, Abuja II Negotiations: This was the continuation of the Abuja I under the same mediator, Babangida. There was no agreement reached and no communiqué issued.

The Nigerian mediators issued a press statement that the Negotiations had been adjourned for one month. They were never held again thereafter.

The Regional Peace process under IGAD countries which has been going on since 1994, is the most serious mediation process that has addressed core issues in the Sudanese conflict through development of the Declaration of Principles (D.O.P)<sup>1</sup>.

The SPLM accepted the D.OP, but Khartoum Government rejected them and the negotiation process stopped. Mohd. El-Amin Khalifa and Dr. Ali El-Haj who led all the Peace Negotiations were dismissed for endorsing Self-determination for the South in Nairobi in May 1994. they were replaced by Dr. Gahzi Salah El-Din and Dr. Nafie Ali Nafie.<sup>2</sup>

The replacement of these two people brought to the surface the historic differences between the traditional riverian rulers of Khartoum and the traditional Western Sudan Muslim followers.<sup>3</sup>

Formal meetings under IGAD later were brought to a conclusion and the Sudan Government walked away from the IGAD Forum. The NIF stayed

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1 **SPLM Document – Peace through Development in Sudan**, Jan. 2004, P 3 & 4 of 24

2 Abel lier, **The Political Charter, Observation and A Commentary**, Khartoum, 1996, P 12.

3 Ibi, P 12.

away from 1994-1997. However, later in 1997 after a two years of sustained SPLM military victories (1995-1997) the negotiations process resumed.

There were two points of contention of IGAD:

- a) Relationship between Religion and State.
- b) The right of Self-determination for the South.

On the first point of two positions are irreconcilable but both agreed on the issue of Self-determination.<sup>1</sup>

To resolve the issue on the first point, the SPLM offered a comprehensive which was the creation of the two confider states, one in the north and another in the south during the Interim Period.

Each Confederal state shall have its own constitutional and laws with clearly defined boundaries. The referendum on Self-determination shall be conducted under International Supervision (see diagram, model 2).<sup>2</sup>

When we go back to explain the two words “Federation” and “Self-determination” in political context, both of them have different interpretations to some politicians. But all have the same objectives.

In the late 1950s and through the 1960s and to the early 1970s, those who wanted federal arrangement for the Sudan were threatened with charges for treason.<sup>3</sup>

Self-determination to many Sudanese was also considered as treasonable to talk about it. Self-determination is a democratic basic right of peoples under various political situations; from colonial environment to sovereign state of diverse cultures, religious and nationalities.

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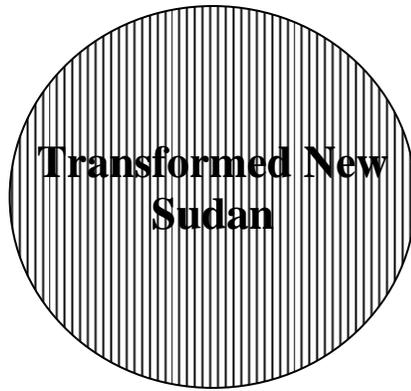
1 **SPLM Document – Peace through Development in Sudan**, Jan. 2004, P 4 of 24.

2 Op lit, P 4 of 24.

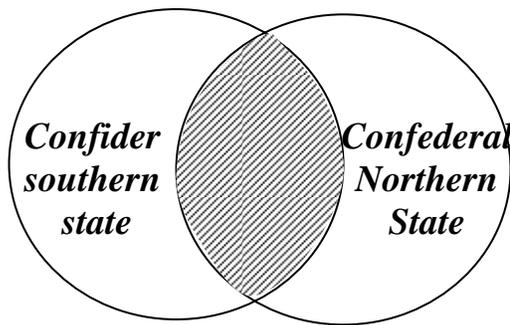
3 AbelAlier, **Self-determination, its meaning and interpretation**, lecture given by Ahlia University Students on 26/11/1995, Khartoum, P2.

*Solution Modalities in Sudan Conflict (1994)*

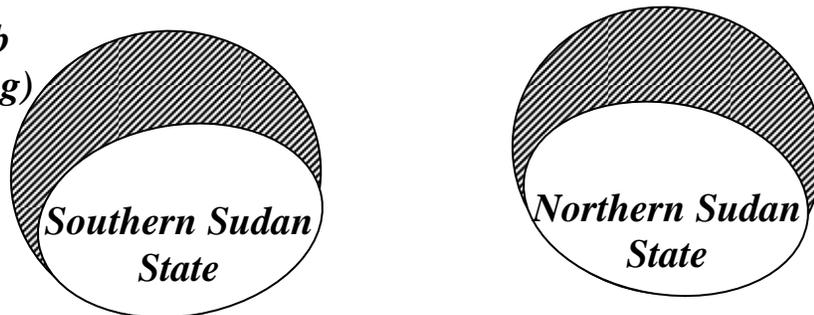
*Model I  
New Sudan  
Model*



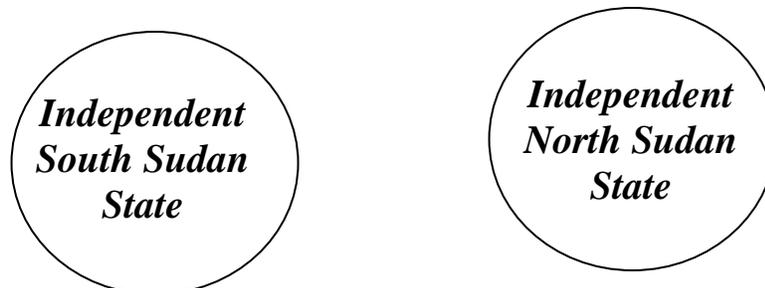
*Model II  
Sudan Community  
(Confederation)*



*Model III  
Islamic Arab  
State (Excising)*



*Model IV  
Total  
Independence  
Model*



*Presented to Gos and SPLM by IG and Secretariat*

e.g. in Quebec Canada (Czechoslovakia and in African countries of Eritrea and Ethiopia.

Federation is not separation as some northern politicians considered it. The word worried some of them of their loss of political economic and social control of the south.

So when Southerners talk of these words in their meetings with northern parties it has been rejected. The NIF government took the word federation as a guarantee to the national unity of the country.

In the ten (10) Southern States, the Walis, his Ministers, Commissioners, Civil Servants, Members of State Assemblies, Members of Police and Prison Forces, and the judiciary are all appointed by the Central Government.<sup>1</sup>

As such, all Southern officials have either been transferred to the North or retired to lessen their activities in the South.

Federal Republic of Germany is a good example of a strong federal arrangement, while India is a good example of a federal Sovereign State of religious, cultural and linguistic plurality. Both are based on plural political association and democratic market economy.<sup>2</sup>

The best way to maintain Unity of the State of diverse social values and aspirations is to maintain equality and justice throughout the country. “Suppression, assimilation and discrimination are poor weapons for maintaining Unity of a State. They are weapons of destruction of such a State.”<sup>3</sup>

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1 AbelAlier, **Self-determination, its meaning and interpretation**, lecture given by Ahlia University Students on 26/11/1995, Khartoum, P4.

2 Ibid, P9.

3 AbelAlier, **The Political Charter, Observation and A Commentary**, Khartoum, 1996, P9.

People in the south and other aggrieved communities will probably vote for separation if the Unity option is not made much more attractive than has been the case for almost half a century.

SPLM/A proposed Federation instead of Confederation on the 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2000. this is transparency in any negotiation process.

Khartoum Peace Agreement of 21<sup>st</sup> April 1996 and Fashoda Peace Agreement of 20<sup>th</sup> September 1997 all died miserably because all what was agreed upon is not implemented. Some signatories to those agreements died, the rest defected back to SPLM/A main-stream.

The political Charter signed in Khartoum on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1996 by two leaders of Southern Sudan Independent Movement (SSIM) Dr. Riak Machar and Kerobino Kwanyin Bol SPLM (Wau) also died as the rest of the Agreements. SSIM supported Asmara resolution of June 1995 and January 1996.

All supported Self-determination for the south, establishment of the interim period, ceasefire agreement, separation of the warring forces and a referendum in the south. The Charter is a reflection of events that took place in late 1995 and early 1996 inside the Southern Sudan, particularly those affecting the SSIM and SPLM/A, Bahr El-Ghazal faction.<sup>1</sup>

The secrets of the NIF government is confirm in Commentary No. 45 “President Cabinet Paper” 1995 entitled “Disengagement Option”.

In that paper of the 4<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1995, Omer brief the Cabinet that they should have an united Northern Front against the South before they could be removed from power by the DUP and the SPLM/A. And that they also should disengage in the South but to consolidate in the North.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, P1

If they should not accept that, then he will hand over power back to Sadig El-Mahdi, the same mechanism which Abdalla Bey Khalid used earlier when he handed power to Ibrahim Abboud in 1958.

He was directing this particularly to Dr. Hassan Abdalla El-Turabi whom he thought would not accept to relinquish power to anybody.

Other attempts to end the conflict were also made by some Southern Sudan Peace Promotion Committee in September 1990. Another one by a Concerned Group of Southern Sudanese in January-April 1993 and in May 1994. The common factor in these attempts was a lack of good will to acknowledge the problem.

That Concerned Group of Southerners wanted a comprehensive political settlement and realization of peace in the country which requires that, the NIF government, Sudan Army, the SPLM/A, and the political opposition forces inside and outside the country should all initiate genuine steps of consultations based on good faith, for<sup>1</sup>:

- a) Realization of a just and peaceful settlement of the problems that have brought the civil war between the north and the south and other marginalized areas.
- b) Restoration of democratic life by allowing fundamental freedoms to function. Democratic pluralism is the best system for modern States.
- c) Reaching an Agreement for Ceasefire, an arrangement for the cessation of hostilities and separation of forces, administered by a machinery of Peace Keeping Forces.

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1 AbelAlier, **Self-determination, its meaning and interpretation**, lecture given by Ahlia University Students on 26/11/1995, Khartoum, P4.

- d) Formation of a national interim government in the centre and an interim regional government in the southern Sudan. The South should be assigned substantial constitutional powers accepted to the SPLM/A and its related factions.
- e) Composition and convening of a Constitutional Conference to address north-south relations and other marginalized areas.

The conference will address problems of political associations and internal democracy, public service, foreign relations and the constitution with emphasis on fundamental rights and freedoms.

In conclusion to this phase, the NIF maintain its basic principles of non-separation of State and religion; its opposition to the right of Self-determination for the people of the South; its plans of annexation of oil and agricultural fields of the South to the North resistance to the formation of one interim Southern Government. It rejects Asmara resolutions and apposed to the Open Appeal made in October 1995 by a Concerned Group of Southern Sudanese.

Now it seems there is a historical opportunity for all Sudanese people to achieve peace in their own country after ten (10) years of negotiations. The IGAD committee concluded six (6) peace protocols which aim at seeking a global solution for the problem. After much staggering over peace Agenda they culminate at last in Machakos Framework Agreement in Kenya which was on the 20<sup>th</sup> July 2002.<sup>1</sup>

The Agreement had a wide framework intensify the principles of rule and the general procedures which shall be adopted during the transitional

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<sup>1</sup> Elwaleed Mustafa, **Draft of Final and Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan**, Text of six protocols signed by GOS and SPLM/A, Naivasha-Kenya, 2004, published by Akbar Elyoum Book series, Khartoum, July 2004, P1.

period, besides the rule structures set on legal and constitutional formulas and the right of self-determination for the Southerners.

Machakos Protocol of 20<sup>th</sup> July 2002 brought hope for everlasting peace in Sudan.

The acceptance of Machakos Protocol depended on two key words: unity of the Sudan and self determination for the people of southern Sudan.

Many Northern Sudanese would not have accepted the framework if the unity of the country was not put as a priority and would have worked against it.

Like wise if the option of self determination was not provided most southern Sudanese would not have accepted the Protocol in which the signing of the CPA would not have been achieved.

There are two types of unity:

a) Unity of Suppression:

This is the unity in which the ruling elites discriminate and imposes any laws on its citizens.

It is a forced and false unity. It existed for many years through many Sudanese governments. It is unity of marginalization, discrimination and inequality in development. It created better feelings and resistant movements in many parts of the country.

It is responsible for the violence in the south, west, east and other marginalized areas.

**b) Unity of Equality:**

This is the desired unity in which the CPA is aiming to achieve. It is based on the principles of equality, respect, good governance, cultural diversity, freedom of religion and reconciliation. It seeks to address socio-political, economic justice and respect for human and political rights where

all Sudanese are eligible for any public office including Presidency based on citizenship and not on religion, race, sex and region or area one comes from.

There are many stumbling blocks to the unity of equality. Its implementation requires radical change. In a situation of change, there are individuals or groups of people who feel that these concessions are a sell not and are ready to choose any option including assassination to interrupt the change, e. g Anwar Sadaad of Egypt and Isaac Rabin therefore, Sudanese Muslim extremists have to choose between the unity of the country and primacy of Islam but they cannot have both

**Self-Determination:**

It is a right which the people of southern Sudan will exercise through an internationality monitored referendum to confirm the unity of the country or its secession.

The principle of self determination is a cornerstone for the CPA.

The unity of the country should be based on the free will of the people not on forced or false unity which is characterized by injustice, discrimination, oppression, marginalization and insecurity of the citizens.

The parties to the CPA must be engaged in a process of establishing justice, truth and reconciliation.

## ***Conclusion***

Tribal resistance was the first recognized southern Sudanese struggle against foreign domination. It paved the way for the participation of the modern southern politicians in national affairs as reflected in Juba Conference of 1947.

Armed resistance by southern tribes had a permanent negative effect on the participation of the southern Sudanese in pre-independence Sudanese politics.

It retarded the region politically and economically, as such southerners were not prepared for economic and political activities in the independent Sudan.

This issue was caused by the British because they decided to link together the Arabs of the north to the indigenous Africans of southern Sudan for their own interest and also because of events of historical development in Egypt and Sudan.

All in all, the government failed to administer the South. They kept it untouched by the outside influence through Closed District Ordinance.

They employed the Missionaries as their agents to implement their policy in Sudan, who also failed in their duties to bring the Southerners on equality with the north educationally.

The British did not prepare southerners for future development in political and administrative fields.

They kept them as backward and helpless prey to the northern Sudanese who were influenced and nourished by the Egyptians Nationalists and political events in the Arab World.

The Southerners were victims of politically educated and advanced northern Sudanese who were influenced by the Egyptians nationalists objectives because of their similar alien cultures, traditions, religion, beliefs and in line with the political events in the Middle East and the Arab World.

The northern Sudanese on the other hand wanted to exercise their political superiority over the Southerners.

The Southerners felt that the northerners were out to colonize and dominate them as the British colonizers did to the entire Sudanese Community.

The modern Arab rulers of the Sudan ignored to make an honest and real reconciliation between these two races to redress the past barbaric memories. Instead they have made many written and verbal agreements, which are used as a play for dishonouring the promised agreements.

This is seen from the way the southerners are being treated in the Sudanese community and how they are being looked upon by northerners as “abid” (servants) and second class citizens.

The Christians and pagan Africans in Sudan distrusted and disliked the Arabs for their discrimination, decrepit injustice and oppression. Yousif Kuwa a Sudanese African was called a racist by the Sudanese Arabs when he allied to his Negro Africans, the SPLM in 1984.

The Sudanese Arabs ironically called themselves nationalists when they joint their Arab brothers in the Arab League. This a real crooked thinking. The Sudanese Arabs are the true racists because they ally with their kin outside the Sudan.

The northern position after independence was to rule the southerners according to their own principles. They did not want to redress the past

atrocities which they committed against southerners by creating a conducive atmosphere which could lead to reconciliation and peaceful settlement of the problem.

On the positive side, the British knew very well that Western Civilization originated from the Middle East. It was from these Islamic nations that these ideas were transferred to the West, and after modification they constituted Western Civilization.

If Islam could contribute to the World Civilization through its values, customs, traditions and culture, why did the British prevent its spread to the Southern? Is it because they are not Muslims?

The southerners could have developed like any other Islamic country in Africa and there could have been no such problem like the present one.

**As a result**

- In order to define ourselves and our needs and change our motives and behaviors towards each other we need to be educated to know our diversity in the family, community, tribal, regional and national levels.
- Sudanese should have tolerance to know their diversity.
- Religion should be looked at as individual relationship with God.
- Sudan should be freed from the domination of Islamic sectarian politics.
- They should enforced freedom to religions practice in the New Sudan.

- The Sudanese and the international communities must play a major role to support the CPA in order to bring about unitary Sudan.
- The civil society should be engaged in development and economic opportunities.
- National conferences including South-South and North-North dialogues should be opened to all segments of civil society for inclusiveness to the CPA.
- Role of religions communities and Aid Agencies should be considered in their contribution to the political development of the country through the CPA.
- The CPA presents a just and lasting peace with options of unitary or divided Sudan.
- In order for the Southern Sudanese to vote for the unity of the country, they must be convinced by action that unity of equality is being practiced and adhered to during the interim period.
- The barriers to the desired unity are strong which open ways to the separation of the country.
- The interim government should accommodate all the legitimate political and social forces in the country and ensures their full inclusiveness.
- It must put in place structures that govern the political and administrative relationships with the government of Southern Sudan (GOSS).

- It is certain that after the interim period, if discrimination and the attitude of hatred between the north and the south persist, the south will opt for separation.
- As a recommendation The two conflicting groups should examine the present political and social policies and structures to discover what generates tension and misunderstanding between them or what put section of the population in the country in permanent difficulties.
- Studies, conferences and forums should be organized between the two groups for a better understanding of each position.
- Debates should be organized on state, regional and national levels which can lead the groups to conflict resolution.
- Topics to such debates should be on political and social issues and not provocative to avoid tensions.
- The two groups should stand up together to build and support on another in a spirit of brotherly solidarity.

**.As a recommendation:**

- The New government should ensure that all Sudanese are equal irrespective of where they come from and this is what will keep the country together.
- Sudanese should have peaceful approaches to the understanding of issues of socio-economic and

political affairs in order to bring about harmony in this heterogeneous nation.

- The national Radio should project the heterogeneity of the country, but not of Islamic and Arab identity only.
- Non-Moslems should respect the way the Moslems worship. They should be tolerant at the early morning calls from mosques for prayers during the time of sound sleep.
- The Moslems should also be tolerant to Christians in their way of worship and should not demolish their churches nor should be open during Moslems fasting month because there are non-Moslems who wanted to take their meals.
- Major causes of the conflict should seriously be addressed to attain just and lasting peace.
- Grievances of other regions in the conflict should be resolved.
- Both Moslems and Christians should get rid of mutual distrust based on past and contemporary, culture and religious differences.
- Their distrust must be replaced by mutual respect for other beliefs and cultures.
- Moslems and Christians must have mutual cooperation in working places for national reconciliation and concrete steps taken for establishing an authentic dialogue and avoiding

merely officials shows of cooperation and dialogue of tolerance and peace.

- Moslems should be willing to renounce the idea that the church is an enemy of Islamic.
- This is a predominant feeling among leading Moslems in the Sudan and a clear obstacle to any kind of true dialogue and tolerance.
- Christians should avoid considering all Moslems as fundamentalists; they should welcome then the majority of whom are tolerant and kind.
- They should not reject all that is Arab and Islamic, they should be open to all men of good will irrespective of their beliefs.

However, now, after realizing that the conflict in the south could not be won militarily, the two (2) warring groups embark on different ways of approach for a political settlement of the fundamental problems facing the south and the north.

They came up with a genuine proposal for a just, peaceful and comprehensive resolution of the conflict, that should include all political forces in the country. They all agreed that, the forum of IGAD and its friends should be utilized to address the regional conflicts with the neighbours and international community. With the attainment of a comprehensive peace in Sudan the relationship between the regional and neighbouring countries and international community will improved.

The final peace agreement at last was signed on 31<sup>st</sup> December 2004, and its celebration was on the 9<sup>th</sup> January 2005 in Juba town and later transferred to Khartoum.

The SPLM on their side were convinced that complete resolution of the conflict in the Sudan will be achieved through a comprehensive development strategy that depend on a sustainable system of participatory democracy and good governance.

Although, the final peace is achieve, still the country is facing many challenges ahead to be corrected and administered properly. A lot more effort needs to be exerted to complete the process. Due to long history of exclusion and Oppression of the of the South the concepts and practice of participations, accountability, openness and transparency should be considered and improved.

Capacity building in these areas needs to be enhanced. The challenge now being faced is to maintain peace and security, provide services to the population and correctly guide the transition to rehabilitation and development of the area.

Poorly developed transport and communication infrastructure, little financial resources, an underdeveloped resources base and a small number of skilled and trained human power also posed considerable challenges to the realization of peace through development strategy in the country.

All in all, what is needed at his present moment is to invite and bring in experts and professionals of various fields to come and train enough cadres in different fields of development and standard of living of the people in the whole country<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> **SPLM Document – Peace through Development in Sudan**, Jan. 2004, P 3 of 24.

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## ***Appendixes***

All Appendixes are prepared by the Writer.

### **Advisory Council for Northern Sudan**

This council was initiated by the British only for Northern Sudanese excluding Southerners. It was to associate the Sudanese to help in administering the country but without powers. It was disliked by the opposition because of its restriction, no discussion or taking take any decision in matters concerning the country.

### **“Anyanya”**

A name given to a Liberation Movement in the South from 1955 up to Addis Ababa Agreement. Commanded by Emidio Talfeng first and later by Joseph Lagu. They reached an autonomous agreement for the South with Jaafar Mohd. Nimeri, 1972.

### **Microcosm**

A small world, which shows the arrangements and nature of the larger world, e.g. Sudan is described as a small world within African continent.

### **Bush Shops**

These are collecting points all over the South established and controlled by northern traders to get from the natives vegetable oils beads, soap ...etc.

### **Witch Doctor**

A man or someone who doses magic for either good or bad omen to the community or to a particular persons.

### **Lukiko Courts**

These comprise of Paules of tribal chiefs and village elders in each distinct to enforce native customs and traditions so that tribal discipline is maintained. They are to help the D.C. in administration and to relive him from petty cases.

These courts were first introduced in Uganda and later brought to Southern Sudan.

### **Rain Maker**

This is an extraordinary man among the Southern Community who is able to bring rain through consultation with God. He possessed some shining and glittering stones, and to bring rain he has to wash those stones while talking to God; when his prayers is accepted, rain immediately falls down. It is an inherited business through generations.

### **European Creditors**

These are big foreign slave traders who employed Arab traders to raid and bring slaves to them in exchange for payment at areas reasonable profit.

### **Southern Battalion**

This was battalion created by the British to counteract the spread of Islam in the South and to the interior of Africa. The

language of command was English to dilute the spread of Arabic Language in the South.

 **Monyemiji**

A group of matured elders or ruling generations among the Nile Hamites (Latuko). They live in groups, have a loose democracy and are responsible for the well-being of their tribes or villages. In short they have a collective system of rule.

 **Consecration**

An act of giving an object to God so that it is blessed and God grants happiness and prosperity to man or community.

**SUDAN** - Sketched by the Writer

