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SUDAN STUDIES

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SOCIETY NEWS

By Simon Bush, Secretary of SSSUK

Those who attended the SSSUK One Day Symposium and AGM at London House in September will be aware of some of the committee changes. A full report on the minutes of the AGM can be found in this edition of Sudan Studies. Tony Trilsbach has resigned as Secretary and Editor of Sudan Studies. Please note that following the decision reached at the AGM Paul Wilson and myself will be taking over this work.

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Members will notice that the Secretary and Editor are no longer one "post". I think this shows the amount of work that Tony Trilsbach must have put in over the last four years. I am sure that all members of the Society will join me in thanking, most sincerely, Tony for all his dedicated work.

Dr Robin Hodgkin retired from the Committee. The AGM expressed thanks for his valued contribution to SSSUK. Mrs Janet Starkey and Mr Ian Matthews were elected as ex-officio members of the Committee at the AGM.

Membership of the Society is starting to fall slightly. Some members have not renewed subscriptions for this year. If that is the case this will be the last Sudan Studies you will receive! I am sure that existing members have contacts with Sudanists who are not members of the Society. Perhaps you would consider asking them to get in touch with me, or send me their address. I will then send them a membership application.

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This year's main Society event was the one day symposium. I am sure that all present enjoyed the day. The presentations were varied and of particular relevance to members. Many members commented that the inclusion of a slide presentation was an excellent idea. John Jackson's presentation on the Red Sea was such a contrast to many of the talks that gave, some members felt, a rather depressing image of the Sudan today. London House proved to be a satisfactory venue for the symposium. On behalf of all the members of the Society I thank all who helped organise such a successful day.

The next date for your diary is 8-11 April 1991, the Second International Sudan Studies Conference "Sudan: Environment and People". I hope that as many members as possible will be able to attend all or part of the conference. Durham will be an ideal place to meet old and new friends and colleagues — as well as to attend the many and varied lectures! It will certainly be a unique gathering in this country.

Please do not hesitate to get in touch with any ideas and suggestions that you may have about SSSUK.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SUDAN STUDIES

Like my predecessor, I would welcomes articles for publication in *Sudan Studies*. The principal criterion for inclusion is relevance to the Sudan. Contributions can be based on formal research, experience, reviews or anecdotes. Each issue should present a balance of articles. Ideally there should be a broad subject coverage between the sciences and the arts, although this balance varies between issues according to the nature of the contributions received. Some items are as short as 50 words, whilst others may be a few thousand (printed in parts over several issues). In particular, we are looking for someone with easy access to an academic library who would be willing to provide lists of recent publications (both books and articles) on a regular basis. This function was performed by my predecessor, who at the time of his tenure had access to such a library resource. I don't, and so this feature is absent from the current issue, and hence would welcome assistance. The next number of Sudan Studies is planned for March, i.e., it will be in advance of the conference. We would like to make it a 'bumper' issue, with articles and features on as many topics as possible from the academic to the anecdotal. If you are able/willing to contribute, please write to me, Paul Wilson, at the address given above.

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MINUTES OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

London House, September 29th 1990, 12.05pm.

1) Welcome:

Peter Woodward was acting as Chairman in the absence of Miss Joan Hall who was unwell. He introduced the meeting by welcoming those present and commenting that he hoped that Miss Hall would make a swift recovery.

2) Secretary's Report:

Dr Trilsbach gave his final report as Secretary and Editor of Sudan Studies. He commented that two more editions of the newsletter had been published since the last AGM and that another edition was expected before the end of this year.

The Secretary also commented on the change in the structure of the membership, with a declining role linked to the abandonment of the English Teachers recruitment programme by the Sudan Government and the gradual decline in the Sudan Government Pensioners' membership due to death and other reasons. He also commented on the 1991 international conference which had been the main 'behind the scenes' activity in the previous year, pointing out that more about this would be mentioned separately (item 5).

3) Treasurer's Report:

Miss Forbes gave her Treasurer's report, commencing with a distribution of the accounts to those present. She said that although the accounts appeared to be moderately healthy, there was a decline in the rate of renewals and that there was a danger of the subscription levels falling below SSSUK's budgetary threshold. She indicated that the Society began when Sudan was 'in the public eye' but since the end of the famine years, combined with the factors mentioned in item 2 above, there has been a reduced interest in the Sudan and its affairs. She appealed to all those present who had not renewed their membership to do so as soon as possible. She also showed a sample of a new membership form, which contained information about SSSUK and could be used for publicity.

The Treasurer also announced that membership fees would have to increase in June 1991 to £8 (normal membership), and £14 (institutional membership). She commented that SSSUK's UK fees had not changed since the Society was founded but added that consideration was being made to adjusting the Society's financial year to commence in January and that a consequence was that the new charges could cover an eighteen month period in the first instance.

4) Committee Changes:

The acting Chairman confirmed the advance notice that Mr Hodgkin and Dr Trilsbach were retiring at this AGM. As two nominations had been proposed for the committee, Mr I G

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Matthews and Mrs J Starkey these were elected unopposed, but major changes were to take place within the committee. Mr Matthews would replace Mr Hodgkin directly, as the representative of the Pensioner's interests. However it was decided to split the roles of Secretary and Editor of Sudan Studies. Mr S Bush, an existing committee member was appointed as the new Secretary and Mr P Wilson, (also an existing committee member) was proposed (and subsequently accepted) as the new editor of Sudan Studies. Mrs Starkey was then appointed to replace Mr Bush as a non-executive member of the committee. The changes were all accepted by those present without question. Dr Woodward ended this item by thanking Dr Trilsbach and Mr Hodgkin for the work they had done during their years of office.

5) Conference Presentations:

In the absence of Mrs Starkey, the Conference Organiser, Miss Forbes gave an outline of the proposed 1991 Conference to those present. A fuller set of details is produced in this edition of Sudan Studies and so is not included here.

6) AOB:

Dr Woodward gave advanced warning to those present that the committee were proposing a change to the constitution which would be presented to the Society in the next few months. He pointed out that members of the committee were compelled to retire after three years of office and were not eligible for immediate reelection. He mentioned that there were few people willing to serve on the committee and hence that it was difficult to find replacements. The new changes would address this issue and would probably recommend a change to allow for immediate reelection of committee members. There were no comments from those present.

Simon Maxwell introduced an item on Sudan's current crisis. He asked what role SSSUK should play in the present circumstances. He proposed that the committee should write to the ODA and to encourage them to be sympathetic to Sudan's current food needs. He also suggested that representations should be made to relevant bodies to encourage full human rights. Andrew Gunston commented that he thought the ODA would welcome clear representations from a body such as SSSUK. Charles Gurdon also added comments that he thought SSSUK should write to politicians in Europe and Sudan along similar lines, both expressing concerns about 'human rights' and food/aid policies in the circumstances of an inevitable famine. The comments were accepted in principle and it was agreed that appropriate letters would be drafted by the committee.

7) Conclusion:

The meeting ended at 12.25.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS IN SUDAN

Dr Charles Gurdon continues his series on contemporary political and economic issues in the Sudan. The column is particularly based on reports prepared for the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), but the author stresses that this column presents a personal viewpoint and does not necessarily reflect the views of the EIU, SSSUK or anyone else.

For anyone who knows and loves Sudan it is heartbreaking to realise the depths to which the country has sunk in the past six months. It is now almost eighteen months since the Islamic fundamentalist dictatorship of General Omar al-Bashir came to power in June 1989. Those analysts who thought that nothing could be worse than the democratically elected but corrupt and inefficient regime of Sadiq El Mahdi have tragically been proved very wrong.

As noted in previous issues of Sudan Studies the policies of the current regime appear to be based on — the forceable Islamisation of the whole of the country, the brutal suppression of any sign of dissent, and the continuation of the civil war in order to defeat the rebel Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA) by military force.

Politics

To the surprise of many analysts, (including the author) who thought that it would be overthrown very quickly, the regime was able to reach its first anniversary in power on 30th June 1990.

Although it succeeded in bussing perhaps 500,000 supporters to its first anniversary "celebrations", the regime's support base is very narrow and is heavily outnumbered by its opponents. For security reasons the scheduled military parade was cancelled and the leaders' families had to be protected from potential attacks. Many of the demonstrators who were bussed in were members of the *Shabab el Bina* (Youth for Reconstruction), the NIF's youth movement, which is led by Commander Ibrahim Shams al-Din who is increasingly seen as the regime's strong man and chief hardliner.

General Bashir's regime is likely to continue to consolidate its position by putting its Islamic fundamentalist allies in key government and army positions. The aim is to produce a layer of loyalists who can control and influence every facet of life in Sudan and act as the vanguard of the Islamic revolution. Loyalty to the regime is replacing competence and experience as the criteria which determines promotion through the government ranks. Control is being maintained by the combination of sheer thuggery and the persecution of opponents on the one hand and economic and promotional rewards for supporters.

Despite its efforts to intimidate its opponents there is no doubt that opposition to the regime will continue to increase as its policies and methods anger more and more people. Even the initial enthusiasts who supported the removal of the corrupt and inefficient Sadiq El Mahdi

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government have realised that Bashir's regime is far worse. His support is therefore now confined to the hardline Islamic fundamentalists who recognise that this is their best, and probably last, opportunity to create an Islamic state in Sudan.

The regime's attacks against its perceived opponents have continued with further waves of arrests of trade unionists and political activists across the country. In September the University of Khartoum has been closed indefinitely following clashes between different student factions. A further 92 army officers were pensioned off including six major-generals, 19 brigadiers and 39 colonels in the same month. Since it came to power the regime has also dismissed over 135 lawyers and judges because they were "politically unreliable". When Amnesty International released a report covering the regime's first year in power it described the period as a "permanent human rights crisis" and there is no doubt that the widespread use of torture has continued.

Although it has taken over a year the regime's northern Sudanese opponents have finally got their act together and the National Democratic Forum (NDF) is operating more effectively. As an example it has unequivocally condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait while the regime has, despite its equivocation, continued to support Iraq or at least make excuses for its actions. The result is that the NDF now has the support of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the Gulf states. Several former senior army officers, including the former C-in-C General Fathi Ahmad Ali, his deputy and security chief, joined the NDF and broadcast an appeal calling on the rest of the Sudanese army to join them in restoring democracy and legitimacy to the country by removing the NIF regime.

Civil War

While trying to maintain control in northern Sudan the regime is continuing to seek a military solution to the civil war in the south. It was banking on the combination of the imminent collapse of the Ethiopian government, which has been a principal supporter of the rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), and the expansion of the Islamic fundamentalist dominated Popular Defence Forces (PDF) to defeat the SPLA.

The reality, however, is the SPLA is stronger today than it has ever been and it appears to have the upper hand. It controls large areas of southern Sudan where, with the exception of occasional air force bombing raids, life is gradually returning to normal. By contrast, despite the regime's bluster and rhetoric, army moral is very low and its senior officers know that the war cannot be won. Instead it will continue to drain both the national economy and the regime's dwindling political support.

Despite recently announcing in a speech at the United Nations that he was willing to declare a permanent ceasefire, Bashir has shown little serious inclination to end the war. The air force has continued to bomb SPLA held towns with the heaviest raids being on SPLA leader John

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Garang's home town of Bor. It has now once again threatened to shoot down aid flights to such SPLA held towns. Meanwhile on the ground in August three army convoys which left Juba to try and relieve the besieged town of Yei were reportedly forced to turn back.

Foreign Relations

The past year has seen a significant decline in the support that Sudan receives from the international community. The vast majority of its traditional Western and Arab aid donors and creditors have been appalled by the regime's human rights record and have cut off or have significantly reduced their non-emergency aid. At the same time Khartoum has exacerbated the already tense relations with most of its neighbours including Chad, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya and Although it has received some support from Iraq, Iran and various Islamic fundamentalist groups in the Middle East this has shown signs of wavering.

At the moment only Libya, because of both its campaign against the Chadian government and its perpetual ambition for unity with Sudan, had been prepared to back the Khartoum regime. However, as past experience has shown, Col Qadhafi is just as likely to make a 180 degree turn and start supporting the regime's opponents if it suits him.

The regime's support for Iraq since it invaded Kuwait in August has isolated Sudan still further. The regime insists that its position has been misunderstood and that, while it is opposed to the Iraqi invasion, it believes that condemnation of Iraq would not help find an Arab solution to the problem. These excuses have not impressed Egypt, Saudi Arabia or the Kuwaitis who have all halted what little cooperation was left with Khartoum. Western countries, including Britain, have virtually washed their hands of Sudan and the regime now survive in an unprecedented isolation.

There were numerous reports, which were denied by the regime, that Iraqi missiles and fighter planes had been positioned in Sudan to threaten the Saudi Arabian port of Jeddah and the Egypt's Aswan High Dam. There have also been persistent reports of Islamic fundamentalist and terrorist training camps in Sudan and even that one at Arousa may have been attacked and destroyed by an unnamed foreign airforce.

In mid-August there was an NIF organised demonstration against the Saudi Arabia embassy which was seriously damaged and there was also large pro-Iraqi demonstrations outside the US embassy in Khartoum. However, it is now believed that there is a rift between the RCC which supports Iraq and its NIF civilian allies who have adopted a more conciliatory approach during their visits to Saudi Arabia. For its part, the opposition NDF capitalised on the regime's support for Iraq by issuing a statement which condemned its invasion of Kuwait and noted that the views of the regime were not the same as those of the Sudanese people.

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In late August a huge Chadian force, estimated at 30,000 men and 70 tanks, crossed the border into Darfur and occupied the provincial capital of El-Geneina and Katum in search of the Chadian opposition and Libyan Islamic Legion. It was reported that up to 900 Sudanese soldiers were killed by the Chadians but all three countries kept silent about the events. Meanwhile the plans to unite Sudan and Libya have continued but this is probably more a reflection of Khartoum's desperate need for economic assistance than a genuine wish to unite with Col Qadhafi's maverick and anti-Islamic regime.

Famine

Within the past month there have been a number of reports which forecast that Sudan is facing a major famine which will be worse than the one in 1984-85. It is believed that about 150,000 people starved to death in the 1984/85 drought and famine and that at least 250,000 died in 1988 as a result of the man-made famine in southern Sudan. Oxfam and Save the Children have warned that between 1.0 and 1.5 million tonnes of food is needed and have appealed to international donors for immediate aid to avert the deaths of hundreds of thousands of civilians. The refusal of the RCC to admit the looming catastrophe is hindering the distribution of emergency food aid and the peak of the famine is expected to be in April 1991 when eight million people could be at risk.

In 1989/90 Sudan produced only half the sorghum that it produced in 1988/89 and the most optimistic estimate for 1990/91 is 30% while Western aid organisations put the estimate at a maximum of 10%. Sudan only has about 1.5 million tonnes to feed its estimated 25 million people but it needs at least three million tonnes. The price of a sack of sorghum has now increased to around S£1,500 compared to the official price of S£500 a sack.

Rainfall in most of the country, including the nation's granary around Gederef, has been disastrously low this summer. Ironically there is already famine in some of the SPLA held areas because of widespread flooding caused by a two metre rise in the White Nile above its normal level. Despite the threat of famine there are reports that Sudan exported 250,000 tonnes of sorghum to Saudi Arabia earlier this year to earn foreign exchange and that it has also been exported to Europe as animal fodder. It is also believed that some sorghum was exported to Iraq but that, because of the Gulf crisis, Sudan has not yet been paid.

If the crisis were not bad enough already two factors are bound to make it worse. The first is that the actions of the government have made the international community far less sympathetic to the plight of Sudan than in the past. The second is that the attention of the world is now focused on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and everything else, including a major famine in Sudan, will take second place.

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The economy

The regime seems determined to introduce its own economic reform programme rather than be forced to implement one which has been produced by the IMF. It will include — the reduction in government expenditure by measures including the sacking of 50,000 government employees, the removal of subsidies on many items and the reduction of domestic borrowing; an ambitious privatisation campaign; the encouragement of foreign investment; and increasing agricultural self-sufficiency.

Whether or not it will be enough to satisfy the IMF is highly unlikely. In an unusually strongly critical statement the IMF recently declared Sudan a defaulter nation and issued a formal Declaration of Non-Cooperation which is the final step before expelling Sudan from the Fund.

In the meantime, however, the problem is that these measures will inevitably cause further economic hardship for large numbers of people at a time when the regime needs all the support it can get. There will also be considerable resentment at the fact that many potentially valuable state assets are already being sold, at rock bottom prices, to the regime's Islamic fundamentalist supporters. While it may be true that the private sector should own and run many of these assets there is no reason why they should be virtually given away to Islamic millionaires.

By the regime's own admission the measures it is introducing will only produce positive results in their second year. This means that, despite its boasts about the imminent self-sufficiency in sugar and wheat, the next year is likely to see little or no economic improvement and considerable hardship. Coupled with the virtual total lack of economic support from the international community the short-term economic prospects are not very encouraging for the majority of the population.

Two banks — the Faisal Islamic Bank (FIB) and the Baraka Islamic Bank — now dominate the Sudanese economy and have effectively become the national bank. Their influence was strengthened earlier this year by the appointment of the former director of Baraka's London bank Abdal-Rahim Hamdi as finance minister. However, with Khartoum openly siding with Iraq, it is unlikely that these two Saudi controlled banks will be able to pump fresh money into the country. The regime should have remembered that during the past 20 years more than half of Sudan's foreign aid has come from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, while a further large proportion came from the multi-lateral Gulf organisations.

The reality of the situation continues to be that Sudan's enormous economic problems cannot be tackled until its political crisis is resolved. This will, however, necessitate the removal of the current regime and the ending of the civil war by a political settlement. Unfortunately both events could still be some way off and Sudan's economy is likely to deteriorate still further before it gets better.

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THE PRESENT IN PERSPECTIVE

Peter Woodward

Summary of a talk at the SSSUK symposium, 1990

One of the difficulties of speaking on the situation in Sudan at present is the lack of clear information, hence my somewhat vague title. It is partly because of the problems of reporting that a number of very worthwhile publications have been appearing outside the country in the past year or two such as Sudan Update, Sudan Democratic Gazette, Sudan Monitor, and the regular reports of Amnesty International and Africa Watch. But while they help fill out the picture, the constraints under the present regime on the work of Sudanese and foreign journalists are to be deplored.

Perspectives are many and varied, one obvious one being the historical. Perhaps the briefest way to sum up the present in this regard is to say that during the past thirty-four years of independence, for all the past travails, Sudan has never looked worse. Civil war in the south which re-opened in 1983 still rages; reports of attempted coups suggest the instability in the military regime that took power last year; and there is little hope for the economy with aid drying up and Sudan apparently about to be expelled from the International Monetary Fund. Moreover, in the first session of the symposium Helen Wood and Simon Maxwell reminded us of the poor rains of 1990 and held out the prospect of a famine worse than that of 1984-85. By historical comparison Sudan is in a terrible condition on virtually all fronts. The present regime has no option but to recognise the problems. Some supporters, mainly from the Muslim Brotherhood, will argue that a new phoenix in the form of a truly Islamic society can arise from the ashes. Its critics meanwhile blame it for a coup which they allege aborted a developing peace process between the government and the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army fighting in the south in June 1989, precisely to protect the Islamic vision. Some hope, with the SPLA, that a second intifadah (uprising) will explode to complete that of 1985 which overthrew Nimeiri, but with this coercive and repressive regime it will be more difficult and perhaps more bloody.

While historically the comparison is overwhelmingly gloomy, at least in the twentieth century, there are also contemporary comparative perspectives, especially within the Middle East and Africa. The two regions are very different, and the significance of both for Sudan's identity and policy directions has been a major problem in Sudanese politics that has increased rather than diminished with the years, including contributing significantly to the years of civil war. In this regard the present military regime has effectively identified itself primarily with the Middle East on at least two main counts. First, its relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood and emphasis on sharia (Islamic law) has been seen as putting Sudan in the forefront of an ideological current that hopes to sweep through the Middle East and which already had some reverberations in

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Egypt and elsewhere in North Africa. Second, the Gulf crisis has seen Sudan identified with the so-called Arab nationalism as proclaimed by Saddam Hussein, the leader of a secular Ba'athist movement. (How reconcilable these apparently conflicting ideological elements will be in the thinking of the present regime in Sudan remains to be seen.) But precisely because of the importance of the crisis in the Gulf for the Middle East as a whole, whatever its outcome, it is at present impossible to foresee how changes in the region will affect Sudan in the future.

The African perspective on Sudanese politics, while historically having a lesser impact on the thinking of central government, though not of course of leaders of the south, is at present ironic. 1990 has been a year of proclaiming liberal democracy in Africa. Numerous regimes that have in the past resolutely turned their backs on democracy from South Africa to Zaire are now proclaiming its virtues and apparently pursuing policies aimed at its implementation. It is this that is ironic for Sudan, coming as it does when the third attempt at liberal democracy was overthrown by the present military junta.

Sudan and Nigeria represent the most persistent attempts among Africa's larger states to establish liberal democracy, and while there are general problems in such poor and illiterate communities, their experiences also indicate particular problems. Older members of SSSUK will recall that when Sudan first introduced a simple unitary 'Westminster' style constitution shortly before independence it owed less to the discussion of the suitability of the model than the need to put something in place hurriedly amidst the confusion of the apparently more pressing questions of the moment, such as possible union with Egypt. Yet that constitution with only minor modifications has been the one attempted three times and which has always shown two main weaknesses in the context of Sudan's heterogeneous population.

First, it has not proved capable of generating adequate political representation for the country as a whole. The need for competing political parties to seek to win control at the centre emphasised the organisational capacities of Islamic sects. In the past this meant essentially the Mahdists behind the Umma Party and the Khatmiyya supporting the Unionists; while more recently the Muslim Brotherhood threw up the National Islamic Front. Areas such as the south where Islamic sectarianism was virtually non-existent, and areas on the economic and social periphery away from the country's riverain core, have lacked adequate representation and power. In the case of the south this has contributed to an almost total alienation leading not only to civil war but to secessionist sentiments (though NOT held by the present SPLA leadership). Second, Sudan has suffered the occurrence of weak coalition governments. The party rivalry when converted into parliamentary power has meant that whatever the number of seats gained no party has ever won an overall majority leading to the necessity for coalition governments. Though in theory these may allow for consensus, in Sudan's case such coalitions have been riven by rivalry

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and have been highly unstable, leading to little constructive government policy and undermining support for democracy itself.

An alternative discussed for many years has been some form of federalism. It was first raised in the south after independence, and most recently by the present regime, partly to answer what it sees as the problem of the non-Muslim minority. Certainly some way of emphasising Sudan's regions, not just north and south, but east and west as well, will be vital for a more stable future; and it will need a more balanced sharing of power at the centre as well as devolution of power to the regions. But federalism is not a panacea: federal systems are sophisticated and require a high degree of constitutionalism. Federalism may well have attractions when compared with the past shortcomings of the 'Westminster' system in Sudan; but Nigeria's federal experiments show how difficult it will be in practice.

As mentioned, the shortcomings of democracy in Sudan have led to disillusionment that has encouraged military intervention. Yet the weaknesses of military rule place great strain on the army as an institution, and under the present regime there have been mass dismissals, attempted coups and hurried executions. And in a country as vast as Sudan the limits on military capabilities have led to the soldiers seeking allies in society, currently the National Islamic Front. Such involvement of groups and parties alienates others, creating divisions in society and leading to underground and exile opposition on the one hand, and coercion and repression on the other. This is not the first military regime under which there has been a decay in civil rights and the encouragement of armed militias, but it has arisen more swiftly and on a larger scale than in the past.

The political experiences of the late 1980s have reflected earlier experiences. The shortcomings of the past model of liberal democracy and of military rule have become apparent more quickly since Nimeiri's downfall in 1985 that they did in earlier periods; but they are in essence the same old problems. I have dwelt upon the political aspects of Sudan's crisis both because that is my trade, and because of the centrality of the political issues. A leading economist of Africa, Douglas Rimmer, wrote recently: 'The economic future of Africa would be most served by peace, security and responsible government' (African Affairs, 1989, p.185). Without a recognition of the importance of the political dimension and concerted efforts inside and outside Sudan to evolve a more effective political structure the social and economic crisis is likely to persist as well.

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ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE IN A SUDANESE **CORPORATION**

All large organisations develop an internal culture which is influenced by the composition of its staff and socially determined norms of behaviour. Organisations in Sudan have developed their own unique culture which in many ways mirrors the characteristics of the Sudanese people. The writer spent a year in a Sudanese parastatal corporation in Darfur province which had been planned and developed mainly by expatriate consultants. He saw many interesting interactions between the formal requirements of work and the culture of the Sudanese staff.

1. Managers in the corporation often complained that there were a stream of outside visitors entering their offices without appointments, often in two's and three's, to talk about matters frequently unconnected with work. Although this custom would build up good personal relations it was a major disruption. A literal open-door policy was traditionally observed at all levels of the corporation, and senior managers who had control over resources could sometimes spend one-third of their day in fielding requests for favours. A fifteen minute talk on general matters was often the prelude for a request. A generous and openhanded approach was expected of the management which could be put under considerable social pressure to grant favours. Tribal connections were often used in this way. It was difficult for senior staff to limit their open-door policy, and secretaries were unable to control visitors especially influential people and officials who arrived without appointments.

Apart from considerable time-wasting, the result was a slow but regular haemorrhage of resources from the corporation, especially items such as fuel and vehicle spare-parts. Although various strategies were devised to control the situation they were never entirely successful.

Many of the staff had been seconded from government ministries to the corporation 2. They came from an old-fashioned, unreformed civil service with a bureaucratic structure. They were often unable to adjust to the project culture which was planned into the corporation. This culture placed a high value on careful planning, innovation and selfregulation Senior staff from a civil service background were principally concerned with getting procedures right rather than encouraging initiative and getting a job done. A minority of staff with previous exposure to the dynamics of a project, and most of the expatriates in the

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corporation, had a different less mechanistic approach to work which frequently resulted in misunderstandings and tension.

Since the civil service was the major employee of graduates most of the corporation's senior staff were from this background. Unfortunately the clash of organisational cultures had not been recognized by senior management and no induction training or support was available to help staff make the transition.

- 3. Within the corporation there were vague performance standards and generally weak supervision of subordinate staff. One possible reason for this was that most managers did not have an emotional style that matched the needs of their work. Social harmony and good social relations with subordinate staff were often placed above more task-related considerations. Weak supervision came about when this attitude prevented a senior officer risking a disruption of relationship in order to improve subordinate performance. On several occasions when the solution to staff problems required (in the writers opinion) decisive or firm action the corporations response was to form a committee to investigate the problem and prepare recommendations. This was a slow and inefficient process and invariably problems were left unsolved, papered over by ambivalent reports. In the meantime the problem may have been replaced with another one! Although a preference for people over the demands of work may be an excellent personal quality, there was a need for a better balance of interests in the management of the corporation.
- 4. There was often a tendency in the corporation to extemporize and focus on short-term objectives. One common criticism heard from expatriates was the lack of contingency plans to meet emergencies or unanticipated changes, and the tendency to plan reactively. Initially the writer thought that this was due to a lack of experience in forward planning. However this is only part of the explanation. In Darfur Province there were many unanticipated factors which conspired to prevent an activity from taking place as it may have been planned. Since the unique combination and timing of these factors was almost unknowable, management and staff had evolved a natural inclination to react to events as they unfolded rather than to plan proactively on the assumption that future events could be anticipated and controlled. Another consequence of this attitude was a great tolerance for uncertainty and a long-term orientation towards time. This passive approach stood in contrast to the careful planning and discipline which was implicit in the project culture in which the corporation had been designed, and on which it would be partially evaluated. The assumption made in the design of the corporation

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that all aspects of the project culture can be transplanted into the uncertain environment of Darfur remains doubtful.

5. The writer concluded that many of the cultural traits found in the corporation which reflected outside values or customs were often positive in their effect, or could be productively channelled in a work situation. The general willingness to help pleaders did, on several occasions, lead to reciprocity. Cooperation was usually understood by both parties to be a two-way street. The benefits of the good will earned by the corporation within local society cannot be directly quantified and may have been important to the overall work. The corporations orientation towards internal social harmony and tolerance could lend itself to the development of strong team work and collective effort if it could be focussed. In such an environment effective discipline could be exercised internally by peer pressure rather than externally by senior managers.

Some other cultural traits proved to be flexible and capable of change under certain conditions. When some basic management improvements had been made within the corporation which helped to reduce internal uncertainties, and the system of management by objectives was introduced staff became more disposed towards the need for planning. Their tolerance of uncertainty and the tendency towards reactive planning was also noticeably changed. Similarly, the long-term orientation towards time was rapidly changed when time targets were set and teams worked towards deadlines. When, despite their best efforts, the teams were sometimes unsuccessful they demonstrated great resilience.

Lincoln J. Young

29.10.90

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Previous issues of Sudan Studies have included a list of recent publications on the Sudan - both books and journal articles. If anyone is able to provide such information could they please contact the editor, Paul Wilson.

BOOK REVIEWS

LEXICON OF GEOLOGICAL TERMS FOR THE SUDAN by J R Vail

Publishing details: A.A. Balkema Uitgevers B.V., Postbus 1675, NL-3000 BR Rotterdam, Netherlands. 199 pages, (1988) Price £24.25 (hardback).

Review by Helen F Wood: Postgraduate in Geography (University of Durham).

This book provides a comprehensive listing of lithostratigraphic terms used by geologists in the Sudan. The only other work of its kind was compiled in 1956 and contained only 16 entries supported by 70 references. Since that time, there have been many geological surveys and studies in the Sudan and new terminology has been introduced. This book, therefore, provides a timely review and update of the geology of the Sudan and its existing lithostratigraphic terminology.

The book is divided into two main parts. Firstly, there is a useful summary of geological events. This is followed by the principal section: a lexicon of 315 rock unit names which had been used up to the end of 1986. Each entry is listed under the original stratigraphic nomenclature and consists of: (1) a brief lithologic/petrographic description of the unit, as defined by the original author and usually includes one or more of the original or major bibliographical references; (2) the type of location; (3) approximate latitudinal/longitudinal coordinates; (4) the present day administrative province; and (5) the geological age/stratigraphic position.

This is followed by a list of some 262 supporting references. These consist of the main sources but is not an exhaustive account of Sudan's geological literature.

Finally there are three indexes of rock units, by age (stratigraphic index); location; and author.

The overall conclusion is that this book may be highly recommended as a standard work of its kind, supplementing a desperately meagre list of existing, up-to-date and relevant geological documents for the Sudan.

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SUDAN 1898-1989: THE UNSTABLE STATE

by Dr Peter Woodward

London, (Lester Crook Academic Publications), 27lpp, £25

Dr Peter's Woodward's new book is a very welcome addition to the literature. It will not surprise anyone who has read his previous publications, or has heard him speak, that Dr Woodward's book is analytical, informative and very well written. Like all good and interesting lecturers Dr Woodward, who is in the University of Reading's politics department, puts across his message with the clarity and precision of a text book.

The book analyses the role of the state, both before and after Sudan achieved its independence in January 1956, within a broad historical and international framework. The emphasis is on the political relations between the rural communities and the state, the politicisation of cultural and ethnic differences, and the state's part in the competition among classes, religious groups and ethnic communities that is threatening the very survival of the Sudanese state.

The book is divided into two main parts which deal with the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and then Sudan's post-independence history. In the first part it traces the establishment of the Condominium, its stormy history in the inter-war period and the subsequent transition towards independence. In the second part Dr Woodward analyses the multi-party period between 1956-1969, the rise and fall of President Numeiri (1969-1985) and the less than rosy "new beginning" of the second multi-party period which lasted until June 1989.

The concluding chapter draws the threads of the book together and explains just why Sudan's current problems are so complex and insoluble. It correctly concludes that Numeiri flung open a Pandora's box when he introduced Islamic sharia law in 1983 and that the role of religion in this heterogeneous state is the source of current conflict. Dr Woodward's various potential scenarios for Sudan's future all seem very depressing. One cannot but agree with his final statement that - "Such is the nature of that decay - political, economic and social - that not only Sudan but the international community as well has a responsibility if it is to be reversed".

There are only a few minor criticisms which can be made of Dr Woodward's book and these are probably due to the personal preferences of the reviewer.

It seems to be fashionable for new books to be made more "user friendly" by compartmentalising different aspects of a specific period. As an example, in the chapter on

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"The Numeiri Years", there are separate and discreet sections on foreign relations, state machinery and policy, and social change. The result is that, rather than examining the whole period chronologically, the reader is catapulted backwards and forwards between 1969 and 1985. While this has the advantage of putting all of Numeiri's foreign polices in one box it does not help explain the interaction between them and the domestic situation at any one time.

It is inevitable that every author who writes about contemporary politics is faced by a publishing deadline and that every book is always out of date before it is published. While Dr Woodward has wisely placed his work within a specific time period, it is a pity that a book published in the second half of 1990 has only one or two sentences on General al-Beshir's regime which came to power on 30th June 1989. Surely, even by the end of 1989, its links with the National Islamic Front (NIF) had been revealed and it was obvious that the Islamic fundamentalists had finally achieved power. One would have thought that such a profound event would warrant a paragraph or two in the concluding chapter

It is refreshing to read a factual account of Sudan's decline and fall and not to have to wade through inaccurate, exaggerated and bias sensationalism. One is left wondering, however, just what it would take to get Peter Woodward angry (besides such an accusation!). Despite being someone who knows and loves Sudan his book is remarkably dispassionate, even-handed and fair to everyone. As an example, in 1988 at least 250,000 Sudanese died as a direct and indirect result of the perpetuation of a senseless civil war by the government and SPLA. This was probably more people than the combined death toll in all the other conflicts in the world that year. Despite this, the book has little or no sense of outrage, disgust or revulsion that such carnage could be allowed to continue.

Perhaps, however, that is the secret of writing a book which, like this one, will pass the test of time and remain essential reading for any serious student of Sudan's 20th century history.

Dr Charles Gurdon

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SOCIÉTÉ FRANÇAISE POUR LES ETUDES **SOUDANAISES**

We were pleased to receive a letter from Dr Christian Delmet (Chargé de Recherche au CNRS) announcing the formation of the Société Française pour les Etudes Soudanaises, an extract of which is given below.

I am glad to inform you that a French Society for Sudanese Studies (Société Française pour les Etudes Soudanaises) has been launched. Its first annual general meeting took place on 1st December 1989. The committee is as follows: President: C. Delmet, Vice-President: Mohamed Awad, Secretary: Suleiman Hussein, Treasurer: R. Marchal. The registered office is Laboratoire d'Ethnologie, Musée de l'Homme, Place du Trocadéro, 75116 Paris. A first public session on the contemporary Sudan took place on the 15th February at the Institut du Monde Arabe. Like SSA and SSSUK, but on a smaller scale, we want to improve Sudanese studies in France and to act as a link between the French teachers, fellows and the students involved in Sudan History, Sociology, Ethnology, Linguistics, Geography and Politics... Now there are about fifty people interested in an association, as fellow, scholar, student or for any professional reason, and twenty-five among them have actually paid membership dues. As you know, most of us working in the CNRS participated in the Oxford Symposium last December, and we have been informed in due time of the Durham Conference, but, at the beginning, the topics were not exactly suitable for most of us. As the new sessions will cover Sudanese recent history, culture etc I think that we can join and that some of us will give you now the title of a paper.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AFRICAN STUDIES

Khartoum, 10th-16th December

The sixth session of the International Congress of African Studies (ICAS) will be held in Khartoum between December 10th to December 16th 1990. The Secretary-General of the ICAS, Professor Sayyid H. Hurreiz, has supplied the details which follow.

The theme of the congress will be "Integration in Africa". Sub-Themes and Topics at the Congress will include: 'Ethnicity and National Integration'; 'The Political Economy of Regional Integration'; 'Pan-Africanism: Liberation and Integration'; 'Language Policy and Problems of Integration'; 'Religion and Society: Divisive or Integrative'; 'Africa as an Afro-Arab Continent: Political Culture and Political Economy'; 'Imperialism versus African Integration'; 'Drought and Refugees: factors of integration or disintegration'; 'Experiments with regional economic integration outside Africa and their relevance for Africa'; 'Education and Integration'; 'Creative Literature and African Literature'; 'Africanity and the Arts' and 'Science and Society in Africa's Experience'.

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NORTH-EAST AFRICA SEMINAR

Term Time, Fridays, 2.15 - 3.45 Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology Annexe 61 Banbury Road, Oxford.

This seminar has been designed primarily as a regular forum for the existing network of people engaged in academic work on North-East Africa, and for students taking courses on the region in social anthropology. All are welcome. Some papers will be given by invitees from outside Oxford, but it is expected that the majority will be from Oxford-based scholars and postgraduate students. While many sessions touch on current affairs, the main disciplinary focus is in the social/cultural anthropology and modern history of the region. "North-East Africa" is broadly interpreted, one of the aims being to take a regional approach and build up connections between the scholars and scholarly traditions of the Sudan, Ethiopia/Horn of Africa, and East Africa.

The seminars held during the Michaelmas Term included the following: "One year of Islamic fundamentalist rule in the Sudan", Bona Malwal (St. Anthony's); "Making the Madi: inventing a tribe on the Sudan-Uganda border", Tim Allen (The Open University); "Re-reading a 19th century text: Juan Maria Schuver on the Blue Nile", Wendy James (Inst. Soc/Cult. Anth); "The Kufra Oasis: an entrepot in trans-Saharan trade", John Davis (Inst. Soc/Cult. Anth); "Operation Lifeline Sudan, 1990", Douglas H. Johnson (World Food Programme).

The Covenors are Wendy James, Douglas H. Johnson, Alex de Waal and Tim Allen. It is intended that the seminars will continue on a regular basis. Details of the seminars in the forthcoming (Hilary) term are available from the Institute of Cultural Anthropology, 51 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 6PF, or by ringing (0865) 274677 or (0865) 274687.

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SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE SUDAN

ENVIRONMENT AND PEOPLE

The Second International Conference on the Sudan is being Organised by the SSSUK with the Sudan Studies Association of North America and with members of the Institute of African and Asian Studies, Sudan. The main theme of the Conference is "Environment and People" and is being held from 8 to 11 April 1991.

The Conference is being held in University College (the Castle), one of the Colleges of the University of Durham. This is a historic monument in its own right, in a magnificent setting. The organisers very much hope that as many members as possible can attend. This international Conference will provide an excellent opportunity for <u>anyone</u> interested in the subject of Sudan to meet and exchange ideas. In addition, its location in Durham, where the unique Sudan Archive is housed, is an excellent opportunity for those wishing to pursue their research therein.

The following programme, which is provisional and may be subject to some alteration, shows a wide range of topics on Sudan, with sessions on Recent History, Resource Management, Ecology and Biology and Sudanese Culture.

Please note that the first session on Thursday 11 April is open for <u>anyone</u> to submit a paper (lasting for ten minutes). It is intended for those who have expertise or knowledge of a subject or a point of view which has not been covered during the Conference. Please contact the Conference Organiser before 1 March if you wish to give a short paper and wish to have it included in the printed programme; otherwise, please let her know as soon as possible after that date.

We plan to show archive film of the Sudan and to bring over a Sudanese musician to perform at the Conference. We are also planning a book exhibition to accompany the Conference.

Please complete the accompanying accommodation form and Sudan Archive users form (if applicable) and return them to the Conference Organiser as soon as possible. Acknowledgement of receipt of your form and joining instructions will be sent out in February. Copies of the *Conference Papers* and the final programme, meal tickets and further information will be available in the Conference Packs upon registration at the Conference.

If you need any further information, please do not hesitate to contact Mrs Janet Starkey, c/o Sudan Archive, Durham University Library, Palace Green, Durham, U.K.

Tel: 0388-526047 or 09-374-3035.

Fax: 091 374 3740. Telex: 537351 DURLIBG.

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UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

SUDAN STUDIES SOCIETY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

WITH THE SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION (USA) AND MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF KHARTOUM

Second International Sudan Studies Conference

SUDAN: ENVIRONMENT AND PEOPLE

at the University of Durham

8 - 11 April 1991

PROVISIONAL CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Monday 8th April 1991

Arrival of participants in Durham at University College (the Castle)

Registration University College
Informal lunch University College
Welcome and opening of the Second International Sudan Studies
Conference
Addresses from
The Right Hon. Mrs Lynda Chalker, M.P., Minister for Overseas
Development
His Excellency, The Sudan Ambassador
SSSUK President, Sir Gawain Bell, KCMG, CBE,
SSA representative, Dr C. Fluehr-Lobban
IAAS representative, Dr Mahassin Al-Haj Al-Safi
SSSUK - Durham, Miss Lesley Forbes - practical infomation on the
conference and the Sudan Archive
Tea
Informal discussions
Conference Mayoral reception Town Hall
Dinner University College
Informal evening with Sudanese music

Tuesday 9th April 1991

09.15-10.45

History I Elvet Riverside I Room *

- (1) William Y. Adams, North and South in Sudanese history
- (2) G.N. Sanderson, The legacy of the Condominium to the Independent Sudan.
- (3) Yoshiko Kurita, The role of "the negroid, but detribalized" people in Sudanese society, 1920-40.

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10.45-11.15 Coffee

11.15-12.45

Elvet Riverside 1

A. Resource Management

Room *

- (1) John Price and John Wright, Mapping Sudan before and after Independence.
- (2) Simon Bush, Transport in the Sudan, a crisis?
- (3) Karl Wohlmuth, New industrial policies in Sudan

Elvet Riverside I Room *

B. Islam in the Sudan

- (1) Abdulla el-Tayyeb, Journey of the Prophet's companions to Ethiopia.
- (2) Hervé Bleuchot, Signification du droit islamique mahdiste.
- (3) Muddathir Abd al-Rahim, Islam and politics in the
- (4) Ahmed E. el-Bashir, The identity crisis of the Northern Sudanese.

13.00-14.00

Informal lunch University College

14.00-15.30

Elvet Riverside I

A. Literature

Room *

- (1) R.W.J. Austin, A study of the archetypal role of women in Tayyib Salih's Mawsim al-Hijrah ila'sh-Shamal.
- (2) Constance Berkley, On the art of shaping a Sudanese ethos.
- (3) Tayyib Salih, talk on Sudanese literature.

Elvet Riverside I Room *

B. Land Management I

- (1) C. Milton Coughenour, Government, ethnic group and farmer relationships in Sudan
- (2) Victoria Bernal, Labour markets and the rationality of household farming on the Blue Nile.
- (3) Christian Delmet, Land and people among the Awlad Tergam, Taragma villages, Shendi district, Sudan.

Assemble at the Castle porters' lodge C. Walk around Durham, led by Dr Douglas Pocock, Secretary, City of Durham Trust.

15.30-16.00 Tea

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16.00-17.30

Elvet Riverside I A. Culture I

Room *

- (1) Abdulla el-Tayyeb, The changing customs of the riverain Sudan with regard to marriage.
- (2) Clara Semple, Jewellery and ornament, a slide show [in absentia].
- (3) Rolf Husmann, Sport and ethnicity in Khartoum: Nuba wrestling [paper and video film]
- (4) A Sudanese musician, talk on Sudanese music.

Elvet Riverside 1 Room * B. Land Management II

- (1) Nigel Nicholls, On early warning systems and food aid policy.
- (2) Mohamed el-Hadi Abu Sin, Urban process and resource conservation and management in Sudan.
- (3) Charles Gurdon, From bread basket to basket case: the decline of the Sudan economy.

17.30-18.30

Room • SSUK Committee Meeting
SSA Committee Meeting

19.00-20.00 Dinner University College

20.00 Film show, cine films from the Sudan Archive

Music School Palace Green

Wednesday 10th April 1991

09.15-10.45

Elvet Riverside I A. Culture II

Room *

- (1) Yusuf Fadl Hasan, The development of the university system in Sudan.
- (2) Mohamed Omer Beshir, A new venture in higher education in the Sudan.
- (3) Alan Woodruff, Juba Medical School.
- (4) Lee G. Burchinal, Model for supplying educational materials to Sudanese universities.

Elvet Riverside ! B. History II Room *

- (1) Gabriel Giet Jal, The Anglo-Egyptian occupation of the Pibor valley in 1911.
- (2) M.R. Nikkel, The dynamics of Christian identity and the growth of the church among the Dinka in the "post-missionary" era since the 1960s.
- (3) Deng Awur Wenyin, The problems of culture in Sudan.

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10.45-11.15 Coffee

Elvet Riversida

Demonstration of the Solar Cooker for arid countries by John Wright. (weather permitting)

11.15-12.45

Elvet Riverside I Room *

A. History III

- (1) Colette Dubois, Déséquilibre alimentaire et expéditions militaires: le cas du Soudan pendant la Turkiya.
- (2) Peter Clark, The Siege of Khartoum: questions and some answers.
- (3) John A. Rowe, Rinderpest in the Sudan, 1888-1890: the mystery of the missing Panzootic.

Elvet Riverside I Room *

B. Water Resources

- (1) Ahmed al-Shahi, "The Nile gives with one hand and takes with the other" the repercussions of recent flooding in the Shagiyya region of Northern Sudan.
- (2) Robert O. Collins, Nile waters will they flow?
- (3) Osman M. Ali et al, The Nile, the lifeline of the Sudan an ecological assessment over thirty years.
- (4) Daniel A. Mamer, Water resources management: the case of the Nile valley.

13.00-14.00

Informal lunch University College

14.00-15.30

Elvet Riverside I Room *

A. History IV

- (1) Fadwa Abdel Rahman Ali Taha, Sayyed Abdel Rahman al Mahdi: kingship and its implications on the history of the Sudanese nationalist movement.
- (2) Albrecht Hofheinz, From Fakî to Duktôr: Changing attitudes towards tradition among Sudanese rural intellectuals
- (3) G.R. Warburg, Sudan from Condominium to Independence, 1952-56, an historiographical note.

Elvet Riverside I Room *

B. Conservation

- (1) Gunnar M. Sørbø, Resource management and the problems of scale examples from eastern Sudan
- (2) Hassan Abdel Nour et al, Forestry in the Sudan.
- (3) Ole R. Vetaas, Change in abundance of perennial species in Erkowit, North Eastern Sudan.
- (4) Hussein Muhammad Nour al-Din, On forestry programmes.

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15.30-16.00 Tea

16.00-17.30

Elvet Riverside I Room *

A. Politics

- (1) Bona Malwal, Sudan: three decades of elusive nationhood
- (2) Carolyn Fluchr-Lobban, Legal and constitutional development appropriate to majority and minority populations in the Sudan.
- (3) Ismail Abdalla, Some structural impediments to democratic experiments in the Sudan.
- (4) S.A. Khadalio and Ray Bush, The Sudanese state, continuity and crisis.

Elvet Riverside I Room *

B. Linguistics

- (1) James Dickins, Definiteness and indefiniteness in Sudanese Arabic.
- (2) Catherine Miller and al-Amin Abu Manga, Arabic varieties spoken by non-Arab migrants in Khartoum: some linguistic features
- (3) Torbin Anderson, title to be announced
- (4) John Edgar and Roland Stevenson, on Darfur linguistics.

Elvet Riverside I Room *

C. Natural Resources

- (1) Abdul al Tayeb Zahran, Rainfall monitoring programme.
- (2) Harriet Nash, Ground water management in the Sudan, the function of rural water organisation, plan and use.
- (3) P.N. Kariuki, Renewable energy potential for clean environment and development of her people.

18.00-19.00

Reception hosted by Centre for Middle

Senate Rooms University College Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham

19.30-22.00

Conference Dinner with Guest Speaker University College

Thursday 11th April 1991

09.15-10.45

Elvet Riverside I

A. Culture III

Room *

- (1) Necia Desiree Harkless, Afro-centrism and Nubian scholarship.
- (2) Richard Lobban, Pigs: their rise and fall in the ancient Nile valley.

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Elvet Riverside 1 Room *

B. Presentation of Short papers

(1) Gérard Prunier, a topical talk on the latest political developments in Sudan.

(2) Gasim Badri and Edith H. Grotberg, The impact of cultural factors on children's critical and creative thinking.

and other papers to be notified

10.45-11.15 Coffee

11.15-12.45

Convenors' summaries Elvet Riverside I

Chair: Miss Joan Hall, SSSUK Chairman Room *

(1) Culture

(2) Ecology and Biology

(3) Recent History

(4) Resource Management

Chairman's concluding remarks

Informal lunch University College 13.00-14.00

14,00 End of Conference