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ASIAN STUDIES

THE COLONIAL ECONOMY AND THE
COLONIAL ECONOMY AND THE
SOUTHERN SUDAN, 1899-1989

JUNE, 1997

17 DEC. 1997

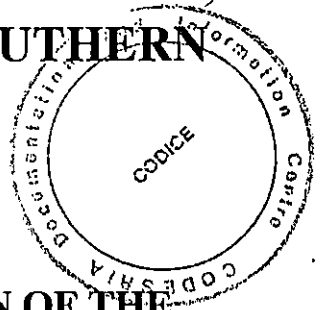
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UNIVERSITY OF KHARTOUM
INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES

**THE COLONIAL ECONOMY AND THE
UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTHERN
SUDAN, 1899-1989**



**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR SATISFACTION OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY IN AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES**

BY

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JUNE, 1997

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply grateful to Prof. Dr. Mohamed Hashim Awad, my supervisor, for his invaluable suggestions and comments on processing this Ph. D. project. Honestly he is a rare academician in character. He is always a very encouraging person. Having him as my supervisor was a great luck.

My thanks are also due to Associate Prof. Dr. Medani Mohamed Mohamed Ahmed. He is another talented person. I benefited a lot from his invaluable criticisms when reading the draft of this thesis.

On the other hand, I thank all the staff of the Institute of African and Asian Studies, mainly Dr. Hamid, Dr. El Hag Bilal, Ust. William Zakaria and the librarians of Sudan Archives, Sudan Library, Graduate College library, DSRC library and IAAS library for their amicable cooperation throughout the research work. Amal Eisa, Peter Chol, Hiba Mohamed and Yosa Wawa of IAAS were very helpful in this area.

The response of the various Ministries of Finance and Economic Planning in the Centre and Khartoum State and other states was instrumental for the success of this thesis. The Directors and Inspectors in Planning departments were frank to provide answers to the research questions. In this respect, I am indebted to

the following respondents, Mr. Yithak Wel Lual, Mr. Isaac Makur Ater, Mr. Rimond Aguek, Rt. Rev. Kedhekia Barac, Akuot Gareng, Ust. Kedhekia Chol and many others.

I would like to greatly thank the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) for the grant award received for this invaluable study project. This grant was vital for the successful completion of this thesis. Also, I thank Sudanaid, Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), and Sudan Council of Churches (SCC) for their financial support of this work. Mr. Jerome Surur of NCA and Alfred Wani of SCC encouraged me alot in all respects. Many people from SCC facilitated this research mainly Mr. Anei Mongong Anei, Mr. John Maciek Acuoth, Mr. Richard Tito, Mary Kajo, Rejoice Joseph, Eflence Nakueri, Christine Jagru, Mr. Angelo Lokoyome, Elizabeth Adut Magurbok and others.

The response of my relatives and friends to meet financial obligations incurred during the research is highly appreciated. The most effective persons in this regard were Lt. Col. Anthony Majok Makuei and Abdel Bagi El Sadig Elshafia. Also, I am indebted to Prof. Moses Macar Kacuol, the former V. C. of Bahr el Ghazal University, and presently the V.C. of Upper Nile University for having provided me with two ways air tickets Khartoum-Wau and Wau-Khartoum. Also, he accommodated me in the University guest house. I express my gratitude for that service. The hospitality

accorded me by his staff and workers in Khartoum and Wau is acknowledged, specially those of Mr. Faruk Akaca, Henry Yuot Riak, Abel Nai, Margan Angong Leer and others.

On the other hand, I am thankful to the following people who accorded me moral encouragement and support. They are General of Police Richard Makur Athorbei, Mr. David Deng Athorbei, Dr. Deng Dongrin, Ust. Manashe Malak Mou, Rt. Rev. Henry Cuir Riak, Rt. Rev. Benjamin Mangar M., Mr. Turic Bai-Riak Geng, Col. Phillip Dau Atem, Mr. Mabior Acuil Agoth, Mr. Mordicai Achol Madol, Mr. Philip Acol Kuer, Mr. Kuer Tokmac, Mr. Agok Malual Akec, Mr. Manyiel Ater, Ust. Henry Jada Andrea, Mr. Andrew Revi, Mr. Caesar Ankagelo Sulieman, Mr. Fadel Mula Mohamed, Mr. Angelò Atak Akol, Dr. Jino David, Mr. Abdalla Deng Nhial, Ust. Mark Atem Awol, Ust. Simon Manoja, Ust. Deng Akol Juac, Dr. Jamal and Mr. John Angol Korodit. Also, I thank Ust. Lodu Lo-Wani Pitia for having tirelessly proof read this thesis as an English Language specialist on time. Another special group that deserve thanks are my daughters and sons. These are Pour, Ayor, Dhal and Malou. Pour usually gives me warm welcome at home. She never sleeps until I got home. She likes seeing me reading and writing while she sits to imitate the same without noise. Dhal does the same thing. Both of them do respect study times and I like them for that very much. Their attitudes inspite their age were very good and encouraging and this resulted in the successful completion of the thesis on time.

After all my late brother Henry Acol Dhal motivated me a lot to pursue my education successfully. Any achievement made is due to his previous support and encouragement. Also, my brother Dheiu and mother Aledi have been supportive and wished me every success in my studies and I thank them for their encouragement.

Finally, I thank Omema Modhowi Mohamed and Zeinab Shakir Elnahas for having word-processed this thesis efficiently. Also, I thank Associate Prof. Dr. Paul Wani Gore and Mr. Abdel Hadi Abdalla Margan for having tirelessly corrected typing errors on the screen and for allowing me to use their laser printer.

I thank all those who contributed in one way or another to the successful completion of this thesis and whose names might not have been mentioned.

ABSTRACT

This study analyses socio-economic underdevelopment of Southern Sudan during the colonial and post independence period, 1899-1989. The phenomenon of underdevelopment is critically examined, and an explanation of the existing underdevelopment conditions in the southern Sudan is made.

Accordingly, the research attempted to investigate four main issues: causes of underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan from the colonial period to the independence, factors contributing to, and responsible for, the economic imbalance between Northern and Southern Sudan; adverse colonial policies inherited by the successive governments of independent Sudan, which have led to persistent underdevelopment in the Southern Region; and the national governments' economic policies toward development of the Southern region during post independence.

The findings show that the colonial rule militated against the development of the Southern Sudan by denying the region the opportunity to exploit its rich natural resources. The colonial philosophy was based on the assertion that the Southern region is poor and unworthy of any economic investment. This implied that the British administration discouraged development in the region. The descriptions it

gave about the Southern region is that it is a jungle, swampy and unfit for human living but for animals and mosquitos. Such claims are unacceptable. This research indicates that southern Sudan is rich in natural resources. The thesis contends that this unjust campaign has affected the post independence economic policies. Consequently, the successive governments had to invest more resources to improve long staple cotton in Gezira in Northern Sudan which was the colonial legacy; traditional agriculture in the south was neglected on the account of this campaign.

Also economic and social services were concentrated in the North, creating an increased economic and social imbalance between the Northern and Southern Sudan. Hence the persistence of the underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan during the post independence era; collapse of national projects (Tonj kenaf; Wau fruit factory, Melut sugar factory, and Nzara factory; insufficient social and economic services; lack of banks and credit institutions to support traditional farmers; and the poor industrial sector witnessed in the Southern region. This confirms the claims that Southern Region has been deprived of development by uneven distribution of the state's resources for development rather than lack of them.

The unevenness in the allocation of financial resources for development and the political power (to some extent) construed as injustice gave rise to extreme economic and social tensions which led to re-emergence of civil war in the southern region in 1983 and upto now. A strategy for development must, therefore, include consideration of how to get an acceptable planned distribution of investment resources. Implications of the colonial and post independence policies are discussed in depth and possible solutions to the underdevelopment of the southern region are suggested. Externalities are also examined.

It is concluded that development of the southern Sudan may enhance development of the whole country, and this can be achieved through introduction of irrigated agriculture, improvement of traditional farming techniques, transformation of traditional farming to include fish farming, improvement of livestock sector and exploitation of oil resources with the refinery situated in the oil area, and also exploitation of gold and forestry resources etc.

خلاصة البحث

هذه الدراسة تحلل التخلف الاقتصادي والاجتماعي لجنوب السودان منذ العهد الاستعماري، وحتى فترة مابعد الاستقلال ١٨٩٩ - ١٩٨٩م. وقامت بالتحليل النقدي لظاهرة التخلف كما قامت بتوضيح خاص لظروف التخلف القائم الآن في جنوب السودان.

وعليه فقد اتجه البحث لتحري أربع قضايا رئيسية : أسباب تخلف جنوب السودان في فترة الاستعمار وحتى الاستقلال، والعوامل التي ساهمت في أو كانت مسؤولة عن عدم التوازن الاقتصادي بين شمال وجنوب السودان، والسياسات الاستعمارية المتناقضة التي ورثتها الحكومات الوطنية المتعاقبة في السودان المستقل والتي قادت الى تكريس التخلف في الاقليم الجنوبي، والسياسات الاقتصادية للحكومات الوطنية تجاه تنمية الجنوب خلال فترة بعد الاستقلال.

لقد أظهرت نتائج هذا البحث ان الحكم الاستعماري اعتمد تصوراً خاطئاً تجاه جنوب السودان بتجاهله لثراء الاقليم في الموارد الطبيعية، وقد عمل على نشر هذا التصور، و فلسفة الاستعمار قامت على تأكيد ان الجنوب فقير وغير مؤهل لأي استثمار اقتصادي، وهذا يوضح بان البريطانيين كانوا لايسمحون بتنمية الجنوب. والوصف الذي اسبغوه على الجنوب هو انه اقليم احراش ومستنقعات لا يصلح للحياة البشرية ويصلح فقط للحيوانات والبعوض. مثل هذه الدعاوى غير مقبولة. وهذا البحث يوضح أن جنوب السودان غني بالموارد الطبيعية. هذه الدعوة غير العادلة أثرت على سياسات مابعد الاستقلال الاقتصادية، وترتيباً على ذلك فان الحكومات المتعاقبة أوجبت استثمار مصادر أكثر لتحسين زراعه الأقطان طويل التيلة في الجزيرة بشمال السودان وأهملت الزراعة التقليدية في الجنوب لحساب هذا المشروع، وكذلك ركزت الخدمات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية في الشمال بما أوجد عدم توازن اقتصادي واجتماعي يتنامى بين شمال وجنوب السودان.

وعليه فإن استمرار تخلف جنوب السودان خلال عهود ما بعد الاستقلال وإنهيار المشروعات الوطنية (مثل : كفاف التونج، مصنع الفاكهة بواو، ملواط ، انزارا ... الخ)، وقصور الخدمات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية وانعدام خدمات البنوك ومؤسسات التمويل لدعم المزارعين التقليديين وفقر القطاع الصناعى، كل ذلك مشهود فى جنوب السودان. وهذا يبرر الدعاوى القائلة بأن الاقليم الجنوبى قد حُرِم من التنمية بسبب التوزيع غير العادل لموارد الدولة المخصصة للتنمية أكثر منه بسبب عدم وجود هذه الموارد. (ان عدم المساواة فى تخصيص الموارد المالية للتنمية وعدم المساواة فى السلطة السياسية والتي تفسر بأنها عدم عدالة أدت الى بروز توترات اقتصادية واجتماعية حادة قادت بدورها الى إعادة اشتعال الحرب الاهلية فى الاقليم الجنوبى فى عام ١٩٨٣م وحتى الآن.

ان آثار وانعكاسات السياسات الاستعمارية وسياسات ما بعد الاستقلال تمت مناقشتها فى هذه الأطروحة بعمق، وتم اقتراح الحلول الممكنة لمعالجة تخلف الاقليم الجنوبى، كما تم كذلك معالجة العوامل الخارجية ذات العلاقة، وعليه يجب اعتماد استراتيجية للتنمية تتضمن اعتبار كيفية ايجاد خطط توزيع مقبولة للمصادر الاستثمارية.

وقد توصلت الدراسة الى خلاصة مفادها أن تنمية جنوب السودان تعنى تنمية كل السودان. وهذه يمكن ان تتحقق عبر ادخال الزراعة المروية، وتطوير تقنية الزراعة التقليدية، وتطوير الزراعة التقليدية والتي تشمل الزراعة السمكية، وتطوير قطاع الثروة الحيوانية واستغلال مصادر البترول وإقامة المصافى لتكريره فى أماكن الانتاج ، وكذلك استغلال الذهب والمصادر الغابية .

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Brief Background to the Problem :-

Generally speaking, during the colonial administration Southern Sudan was known as the three Southern Provinces of Upper Nile Province, Bahr el Ghazal Province, and Equatoria Province. These provinces cover a total area of 250,215 square miles (648,000 sq. km.)(1).

The British administration neglected the Southern Sudan in terms of economic and social services and it is the least developed region in the Sudan. The economy is of subsistence livelihood. crop production and cattle raising were, and are still the main economic activities in this region.

Under the colonial rule, natural resources available in the South such as gold, forestry, fishery, animal wealth, copper, and so on were not adequately utilized nor did the colonial government explore the availability of oil resources. Also, the colonial administration did not provide substantial education facilities or training to the Southerners.

The Southern Sudanese people facing underdevelopment problem are categorized into three main groups : The Nilotes, the Nilo-Hamits and Western Sudanic tribes(2). The Nilotes

comprise the Dinka (Jieng), Nuer, Shilluk and Anuak Burun, Bor, Balanda, Jur, Shulk Luo and Acholi. The Nilo-Hamits include the Bari, Mundari, Nyangwara, Pojulu, Kakwa, Kuku, Nyepa, Luluba, Latuko, Lopit and Ligo. The Sudan tribes are composed of the Azande, Madi, Moru, and the Bougo-Baka groups.

However, underdevelopment generated armed conflict between the South and the central government in the Sudan. The confrontation started in 1955 and the Addis Ababa Agreement was the end result of this conflict with the Southern Sudan granted self autonomy in 1972. The autonomy was based on geographical boundaries drawn in 1956. (See the map). The conflict has economic roots. The struggle for the regional autonomy was a struggle for economic resources and development.

In 1983, the Addis Ababa Accord was dismantled by May Regime resulting into division of the Southern region into three regions of Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal, and Upper Nile - with a population of 6,000,000 people approximately, compared with about 2,400,000 in 1956.

In 1990s, the Sudan adopted federalism creating twenty six states-with southern Sudan comprising ten states. Equatoria

region is divided into three states : Bahr el Jebel with its capital as Juba, Eastern Equatoria with its Headquarter-Torit, and Western Equatoria with Yambio as its capital. Bahr el Ghazal region consists of Lakes state-Rumbek, Warrap state-Warrap, Northern Bahr el Ghazal state-Awiel, and Western Bahr el Ghazal state-Wau. Upper Nile region comprises Jonglei state-Bor, Upper Nile-Malakal, and Unity State with its capital as Bentiu. Old districts like Yirol and others, were upgraded to the status of a province and some as states headquarters like Rumbek, Yambio, and Torit. All these states are in need of development.

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem:

For the last thirty seven years, Sudan has witnessed two major civil wars in the southern Sudan. The effects of these wars are devastating in terms of loss of human lives and property. Many people from rural southern Sudan were displaced and crowded in Urban towns in the North like Khartoum and within the towns in the south of the country, like Renk. Refugees from the south crossed to the neighbouring countries like Ethiopia , Kenya, Uganda, Zaire and central African Republic to escape the war and famine in the 1980s and the 1990s.

The outbreak of these wars in the southern Sudan against the successive governments is alleged to be a result of socio-economic backwardness of the southern Sudan . It is widely

believed that British policies were disfavoured economic development of the Southern Sudan. In this thesis, it is argued that colonialism in the Sudan, was responsible for the underdevelopment of the southern Sudan, partly because it did not allocate sufficient financial resources for developmental purposes of this region. There was not a definite economic policy by the colonial authorities towards the southern Sudan. Instead, they invested both economic and financial resources in the Northern Sudan, hence creating economic and social imbalances between Northern and Southern region. This is clearly stated by B. Yongo-Bure when he expressed that " *the*

Socio-economic development which the Anglo - Egyptian condominium government carried out in Northern Sudan and the neglect of any such development in southern Sudan has been another source of antagonistic North - South relations in Sudan" (3)

The civil conflicts between the central government and southern Sudan have negative impacts on the Sudan economy. Most of the financial resources were and are still being used for defense and security. The development projects programmed for the southern Sudan were either retarded or abandoned. (4) Economists argue that the country's economic and financial resources were absorbed in non-productive services such as defense. According to Medani'... most of the economic surplus is

obsorbed in defense. (5) He stressed that the Southern war costs more than eleven million Sudanese pounds a day .. 1983-1990 .

(6) It is also argued that expenditure on defense and security has expanded and it has resulted in the retardation of development in the Sudan. This is clear in Taisier's analysis when he stated that "... to date defense and security still devour the greatest proportion of total state expenditure". (7)

The general point of view is that the resources spent for acquiring arms and internal military activities could have been utilized in productive sectors and development programmes of the least developed regions of the Sudan. What is necessary is the extension of development to reach the underdeveloped rural Sudan to achieve internal political stability and economic growth. With the economic potentials in the southern Sudan, for example, water, mineral and agricultural resources plus oil etc., development could be achieved easily and quickly in the southern Sudan if there had been peace, justice and honesty in the Sudan. These resources are adequate for attaining development in the Sudan at large. Abel Alier emphasises the

availability of these resources when he states that "*... the dynamics of oil in potentially oil rich southern Sudan, where there already existed vast water resources, land, wildlife, thousands of fish in one of the largest swamps in the World, and potential for timber industry.*"(8)

The British administration in the Sudan denied existence of these economic potentials and alleged that southern Sudan is a poor region and it is unworthy of economic investment. It claimed that southern Sudan is a jungle, swampy and unsuitable for human living except animals and mosquitoes. For example, Colonel J.C. Maxwell described the Sudd region by saying that "... the country is only fit for hippos, mosquitoes and Nuers to live in".(9) This reveals that the colonial administration had a bad concept about southern Sudan and its people. Its policies were coloured and full of disinformation and such policies seem to have influenced the thinking of policy makers and the researchers in the past and during independence period. Abdel A'll Abdalla Osman statement on some misconceptions about southern Sudan is a justification where he admitted that " ... as

for southern Sudanese, we were not given any useful information about their past history. When I finished my education in Hantoub Secondary School, I was left with three impressions concerning southern Sudan and its people. Firstly, Africans are savage and sub-human compared to the European Whiteman. Secondly they have no cultural heritage. Thirdly, southern Sudanese are totally different from and do not in any way relate to Northern Sudanese."(10)

In addition, the colonial justification for the underdevelopment of the southern Sudan were the difficulty of

communication and transportation etc. The difficulties in communications and unsuitability of the southern region for economic investments and development were extensively magnified as a means to retard socio-economic improvements of the Southern Sudan. For example, Abdel Wahab Abdel Rahim in his M.A. thesis emphasized that "... the

Southern provinces, cut off by swamps inhabited by Negroid tribes with no common tradition were the most backward part. In the difficult conditions of dense forests, wild animals and fatal disease like sleeping sickness in some parts, the activity of man is greatly limited."(11)

The dense forests, wildlife etc., were erroneously assumed as handicaps to economic development of the southern Sudan. On the contrary, the forests and wildlife are economic resources and the country's efforts to invest financial resources in these sectors for developmental purposes is crucial. The swamps areas contain papyrus which is a potential for paper industry. Although the colonial economic policies are responsible for the underdevelopment of the south, the post-independence governments maintained the status quo of underdevelopment of the southern Sudan. This is true in the sense that predominant groups holding political and economic powers in the Sudan did not provide prerequisites of economic development other than the ones which the colonial system had displayed. Systematic allocation of resources for development, saving and investments

to meet development aspirations in the southern Sudan continued to be insignificant. The governments invested larger share of financial resources in favour of irrigated agriculture, commercial sector in the North etc., and this brought growth to a large beneficiary groups which exercise control of the state policies in their favour. According to M. Ahmed those beneficiary groups of bureaucrats, and commercial class, for example, merchants, rich farmers, livestock traders, import and export businessmen and industrialists controlled and influenced the economic activities of the successive governments in the Sudan to maximize their benefits. These groups have access to banking credits and financial capital to finance their trading, farming and industrial activities. Southern Sudan received very little share of these economic resources because of unequal distribution of loans facilities provided by the bank of Sudan during the period of 1979-1986. M.Ahmed stated that Khartoum received 63.5%, Eastern region 19.35%, Central region 8.27% Western region 7.55% and southern and northern Sudan had less than one percent each of the total loans. (12)

Unequal distribution of development resources is a clear case from colonial period to post - independence era. The colonial efforts were targeted to the improvement of irrigated agriculture for cotton production in the North and this policy enhanced underdevelopment of the Southern region. The public

investment programme 1946-1951, The Ten - year plan of economic and social development 1961/ 62 - 1970/71 etc. , are very clear examples .Areas of economic interest were Managil extension , Sennar Hydro-Electric project , Rosseries Dam, Guneid Sugar factory , Khashm ElGirba Sugar factory, Halfa Resettlement, Provision of capital to Industrial Bank and Agricultural Bank . (13)

The examination of these plans reveals that development policies remained unchanged before, during and thereafter independence. It can be argued that uneven development as a result of unequal distribution of development resources is a problem which faces the whole country but the problem is more serious in the southern Sudan. Underdevelopment in the southern states manifests itself in the form of the lack of basic needs and basic services. The region suffers from severe problems emanating from inadequacies in the levels of incomes, food, clothing, shelter, employment , educational facilities, improved drinking water services, sanitation and health services. Taisier

was correct when he stressed that "*...the*

population of the Sudan's Southern provinces faced even worse conditions.

Not only did they share the deteriorating socio - economic fate of other rural areas but they were subjected to brute and very often indiscriminate state violence. As a result, during the years from 1956 to 1972

the few agricultural schemes which existed virtually collapsed."(14)

Backwardness of the southern Sudan is aggravated by inequitable economic policies adopted by consecutive national governments in the Sudan since independence in 1956. In 1975 a study by international Labour organization (ILO) estimated that Ls 70 million was required for development of the southern Sudan in 1980. The advice of the report was neglected and less than Ls 10.8 million was budgeted as development fund for the south. (15)

However, the main objective of this study is to evaluate and assess the impacts of colonial policies on the underdevelopment of the southern Sudan, 1899-1989. The aim is to examine how past economic policies have exacerbated economic backwardness of the Southern region.

Literature sources available on the southern problem as a result of works of ethnicity, diversity, identity, national integration and colonial legacy school of thought focus mainly on issues like ethnic politics, policies of national identification, North-South relation, cultural and religious policies etc., and give little information on problems of development and underdevelopment of the southern Sudan. There are few scholars

who attempted to document or analyse the economic causes of the problem and explain the roots of underdevelopment in the region. Also, very little is done on the link between the colonial policies and the problem of underdevelopment in the southern region. Likewise, not very much is done on the relationships between national governments economic policies and underdevelopment in the region. This study attempts, just, to do that.

1.3. Research Questions :-

The study attempts to examine the following issues:

1. causes of underdevelopment of the southern Sudan from colonial period to the independence.
2. Factors contributing to and responsible for the economic imbalance between northern and southern Sudan.
3. Adverse colonial policies which were inherited by the successive governments of independent Sudan and have resulted in persistent underdevelopment of the southern Sudan
4. National government's economic policies towards development of the southern region during post - independence period.

1.4. Methodology of the Research :-

The data from this research is obtained from primary and secondary sources.

Primary data:

The primary sources of data consist of information obtained from the archives of the Sudan government in Khartoum. All reports pertaining to southern provinces of Bahr El Ghazal, Mangalla, Equatoria, Upper Nile provinces etc., were examined and they covered period extending from the British rule up to 1989 : Also the following documents were consulted: Public investment programme, 1946-1951. The Ten-year Plan of Economic and Social Development 1960: The Five-year Plan of Economic and Social Development, 1970, The Ten-Year Plan and the beginning of the Five-Year Plan 1961-1972. Regional Development Budgets, for example, Bahr El Ghazal Annual plan and Development Budget 1987/1988-1989 etc., were treated as part of primary sources. The data were complemented by direct interviews of planners in the north and southern Sudan. Some southern towns like Wau were visited for the research purpose in July- August 1995. But, the National Ministry of finance and Economic planning was the central focus of the research data. The data collected here included funds allocation for developmental purposes in the Southern Sudan from colonial period and up to 1989.

Secondary data:

The secondary data were derived from published sources and mainly books, journals, newspapers, and others, dealing with the southern Sudan in the period 1899-1989. Conference and seminar papers were also consulted. Proceedings of southern problem conference in 1947, 1965, 1972 and 1989 are considered as very important documents for this study.

Analysis of data:

The study used a number of approaches to link the colonial and national policies with the underdevelopment in southern region. The approach included analytical, economic historical, explanative, descriptive and comparative approaches. The data were assessed to see whether or not the colonial policies have exacerbated underdevelopment of the southern Sudan.

1.5. Structure of the Research :-

This research is divided into nine chapters. The introductory chapter gives a statement of the research problem. It describes research questions, methodology of the research; primary data, secondary data, analysis of data and the structure of the research. ^{Chapter one} gives a theoretical background and analyses of the phenomenon of underdevelopment. Chapter two discusses the development of the colonial economy, and its impact on the southern Sudan in the period 1946-1956. Issues discussed

include agricultural development, for example, Zande cotton scheme etc., commerce and industry, communication network and transportation infrastructure, etc. Chapter three discusses independent and post independent economic policies in the period 1956-1960s. Allocation of development resources, distribution of financial and economic institutions, (for example, agriculture and industrial banks), are examined. Chapter four analyses development and investment plans in the 1960s and 1980s. The flow of central subventions for economic and social development is examined. It also reviews performance of national projects in the southern Sudan, for example, Kenaf Factory in Tonj, Sugar Factory in Melute, Jonglei Canal project, and Wau fruits canning Factory. Chapter five discusses National government's economic policies and underdevelopment in the southern region in the period 1983-1989. It analyses national economic policies, the effects of war and retardation of development in the south in the period 1983-1989. Chapter six deals with the links of colonial and national policies in underdevelopment of the southern region. Chapter seven analyses national government economic policies and externalities. Chapter eight proposes a way out from economic backwardness in the southern Sudan. Finally, Chapter nine gives a summary and conclusions.

TOWNS, CITIES AND PROVINCES OF THE SUDAN



Key:
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CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Our study of underdevelopment of Southern region is tackled within the context of development theory. However, economic development means achievement of sustained high rate of growth of the national income, progress and improvement of socio - economic life of the people, and it is the concern of most people in the world. The basic objectives of economic development are to increase the availability of basic needs such as food, shelter, health and education services, to raise levels of living of the people through provision of social and economic services with the purpose to eliminate poverty, reduce levels of economic inequality and to gain accessibility to high levels of income, and to expand or widen the range of economic and social choice of the society. The ultimate aim is to achieve sustainable socio-economic development of the country.

However, the role played by the colonial system and the successive governments in the less developed countries was for a long time a subject of discontent and debate. The debate is centered on the causes of underdevelopment, effects of uneven distribution of resources etc.; in some regions of the poor countries. In this context consequences of the political and

economic deprivation of the colonial administration and successive governments in the Sudan are our main concern.

In regard to this, it can be argued that any strategy for nation - building, and economic development can be seen as a major instrument for achieving goals of unity, political stability, equality and social well-being of the people. It is generally believed that provision of equal economic benefits and facilities like education and health infrastructure circumvents political situations which may arise as a result of conflict in a country inhabited by a diversified groups who have different religions, cultures and aspirations.

Also, it can be argued that equal provision of development resources for development of the underdeveloped regions may generate mutual understanding and respect and promote common outlook whereas unequal and imbalanced provision of development funds, may cause underdevelopment and political problems in the country. The uneven distribution of economic and development benefits mainly on ethnic, religious and regional backgrounds is a phenomenon which has replaced colonialism in less developed countries (L.D.Cs) and added complexities and disadvantages to other more fundamental socio-political and economic inequalities. Professor Mohamed Hashim

Awad in his book, the socio-economic change in the Sudan has challenged this phenomenon when he stated that "the *division of wealth, which followed more or less ethnic lines, fanned group prejudices, economic development seems to have unleashed social pressures which social planners could not contain nor even fully comprehend.*(1)

The fact is that the most serious economic imbalances in the third world are a result of colonial, ethnic, religious and tribal factors which dominate state's distribution of resources strategies and has led to persistent underdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries. It has also led to claims that people from particular ethnic groups and regions dominate state power to serve their interest and deliberately deprive other regions. This argument may be true in the sense that development implies the principal means of access to economic benefits if offered by national development programmes and policies.

It is the contention of this thesis that development policies which are based on the strategy of basic needs to solve and meet developmental needs of the people in the underdeveloped regions are much needed. But if we want to achieve development, we have to critically analyse and understand "underdevelopment" as a concept and see its links with colonialism in an individual country in the third world.

1.2 Underdevelopment : A Critical Analysis:

Underdevelopment is a phenomenon that explains economic and social backwardness of a country or region. Economists unanimously view underdevelopment as an economic situation in which an economy is poor and unprogressing in relation to its economic resources leading to low levels of standard of living for the people. Underdevelopment is assessed by comparing economies and levels of development in the advanced and less developed countries of the world. By contrast the socialist economists on most cases argue that underdevelopment in the third world is a result of the development of capitalist western countries and external dependency in terms of commercial and financial dependence of the poor countries on the industrial and advanced western countries.

They assert that the world is pre-occupied with the problem of underdevelopment which is merely a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation. Capitalist economists and international organizations measure underdevelopment in relation to the economic conditions of the industrial countries of the west. For example, the united nations experts describe an underdeveloped economy as one in which per capita real income is low when compared with per capita real income of the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and western Europe(2). Along the same

understanding, Sloan and Zurcher argue that underdevelopment is a term used to indicate a region which, compared with western standards, suffers from low levels of living.(3). These definitions imply that underdevelopment only makes sense when comparing levels of development between the rich and poor countries in the world. It also emphasises that only western standards of living are superior and they are regarded as developed even if their resources are not fully developed. It also ignores the fact that less developed countries are rich but they have been deprived of exploiting their wealth by colonialism.. It gives no adequate analysis with respect to economic imbalances among the poor countries and between provinces or regions of one country. Comparative analysis of the poor economies with rich ones inevitably leads to a very poor judgement and does not take into consideration real causes^{of} the underdevelopment in the Third World.

Todaro gives a general description of what undevelopment means. His definition of underdevelopment is based on characteristics and diagnoses of the underdevelopment. To him underdevelopment is an economic situation in which there are persistent low levels of living with the following characteristics: absolute poverty, low per capita incomes, low rates of economic growth, low consumption levels...vulnerability to and dependence on foreign economies and limited freedom to choose between

variables that satisfy human wants.(4). Todaro's understanding of underdevelopment is influenced and based on international poverty line defined as "

.. an arbitrary international real income measure, usually expressed in constant dollars e.g. \$ 50, used as a basis for estimating the proportion of the world's population that exist at bare levels of subsistence."(5)

But the meaning of poverty in poor countries differs greatly with that of Europe, America and industrial countries. Poverty in western countries refers to that economic and social situation where a family owns a house with two or three rooms and two children sharing a bed or room and eat three meals a day . The house holder possesses a pick-up car and a member of the family may not have enough money to travel abroad. In addition, the unemployed person is paid from social security fund for his/her subsistence and livelihood. Whereas in less developed countries a poor family hardly possesses a house, a car and lacks food. A family may afford one meal only per day, and some times it may have one meal after a day or two let alone education and health services and social security or protection. Beds, clothing and traveling abroad are more or less are luxuries in most of the LDCs. In the Western World, I believe, this Third World countries poverty line described as such, might mean starvation rather poverty.

Experience has shown that poverty whether absolute or relative, occurs when income and consumption of a person and household falls below normal social and economic life, thus resulting in malnutrition, disease, ... and human misery. It should be noted that poverty should not be generalised in definition. It varies with the general level of economic and social inequalities such as inequality in the distribution of income and wealth between different regions, tribes and ethnic groups and with respect to access to industrial sector, education, health and transport infrastructure.

However, one problem with Todaro's definition of underdevelopment is that he lumps up the common characteristics of underdevelopment as if less developed countries constitute one entity. He did not take into consideration the negative impact of the colonial countries on Third World countries as part and parcel of what caused underdevelopment in those countries. The colonial administration had monopoly of power to direct and allocate investment resources in the colony. It had the power to prevent exploitation of economic resources for development of regions of particular states. Colonialism exercised political discrimination and made uneven distributions of investment resources. In some less developed countries such as Sudan, it created the so called

'closed districts' decrees as a means of isolating the southern region from the rest of country.

Ragnar Nurkse argues that underdeveloped countries are those which are underequipped with capital in relation to their population and natural resources compared with the advanced countries. (6). This explanation is not sufficient. Other underdeveloped countries have abundant natural resources which are untapped even when capital is available because colonialism and political deprivation tend to thwart the utilization of these resources. Concerning population, other countries like the Sudan have low population and possessed abundant economic potentialities yet they remained underdeveloped. While Egypt has more population than Sudan and also lacks natural potentials and depends on the Nile water yet famine and starvation have never been reported. It can generally be argued that the availability of capital and resources does not solve problem of underdevelopment. If we look at the experiences of the advanced or rich or developed countries we find that development is not evenly distributed. For example, Italy is not like Spain, whereas Spain is not as developed as Scotland. Thus, we can argue that it is not the lack of natural resources, capital and skilled labour which is responsible for the underdevelopment of some countries in the World. There are areas or regions which possess substantial resources yet they

have remained underdeveloped because of colonialism and a host of internal factors like political and economic deprivation, ethnic differences etc. and regional income and wealth inequality

Baver, Yamey and many others believe that underdevelopment comes as a result of lack of technology and trained manpower. To them underdevelopment refers to a low level of economic and technical achievement, it does not refer to other achievements or qualities(7). To restrict underdevelopment to a low level of technical achievement is an unfortunate misunderstanding of the meaning of underdevelopment. Underdevelopment is a multidimensional problem which includes economic and non-economic aspects like attitudes and institutions as vital components that determine the levels of living of the people in a given country. In real terms technology is a result of new and improved methods of traditional tasks like the use of tractors in agricultural sector. Technology refers to system of innovation and adoption of new knowledge and use of old one to improve the quality of human life , to increase the quantity of productive resources, and raise the level of productivity in the economy . Baver, Yamey and others, reviewed this technical achievement as a prerequisite for economic growth. But economic growth is different from development. According to Todaro economic growth is the steady process by which the

productive capacity of the economy is increased overtime to bring about rising levels of national income. (8) To him economic growth is concerned with problem of income inequality, ... and unemployment. Therefore, to analyse underdevelopment in terms of economic growth would lead to improper analysis of under- development as meaning something missing (i.e. lack of development) without explaining why is it lacking.

On the other hand, underdeveloped countries have their own views about underdevelopment. For example, the Indian planning commission defined an underdeveloped economy as being characterised by the co-existence, in greater or less degree of un-utilised or under-utilised manpower on the one hand, and of unexploited natural resources on the other .(9) under-utilized manpower seems to be a weak argument. It is not indicated whether the manpower which is under- exploited is skilled labour or not. The manpower must be trained and skilled, so as to fulfill its economic function.

Sills went further to describe underdevelopment in terms of the ratio of material to human resources and inefficient technology. He asserts that the typical less developed economy is characterised by an extremely low ratio of material to human resources and backward technology, together yielding extremely low levels of per capita income frequently barely above

subsistence. (10) It is true that technology provides the basis for economic progress but technological progress without social development in terms of education is meaningless. The colonial system did not provide sufficient educational infrastructure in some parts of the less developed countries. For example, in the southern Sudan only about 22 missionary schools were provided. So, it failed to mobilise human and potential resources for development and productive purposes. In any case technology is dependent on trained human manpower which was lacking.

Dewett , argues that an economy will be considered underdeveloped :

- a/ if its per capita income is low ,
- b/ if the natural resources and manpower in the country remain un-utilized or under-utilized on account of lack of economic development ; and .
- c/ if it is possible to raise its level of national income and per capita income by properly utilizing its natural resources and manpower. (11)

These propositions only suggest that underdevelopment occurs as a result of non-exploitation of economic resources and this does not explain underdevelopment in the real context of the problem. The debate about underdevelopment went further than this. O'Brien and El Shazali categorized underdevelopment into primitive underdevelopment, mature underdevelopment and

advanced underdevelopment. (12) The assumption is that primitive underdevelopment only marks the period corresponding to the initial phases of the implementation of the export sector and the mechanisms of primitive accumulation. Mature underdevelopment explains the structural characteristics based on the link between production for exports and luxury consumption of goods. To them this period showed marked inequalities in productivity between sectors, weak articulation between sectors of the economy-with basic links dictated by international capital, a heavy and increasing dependence on foreign resources. Finally, advanced underdevelopment is associated with severe repression and grinding poverty. But underdevelopment whether classified into primitive, mature or advanced, the meaning remains the same, it is underdevelopment since it is caused by deprivation.

Infact underdevelopment has troubled many economists and they have contributed to explain it in various ways. The most prominent ones include Amin, Frank, Rodney, Rostow, Marx, Marxists, Neo - Marxists, structuralists, etc. For example, Frank's thesis advocating socialists views state that ... capitalist contradictions and the historical development of the capitalist system have generated underdevelopment in the peripheral satellites whose economic surplus was expropriated, while generating economic development in the metropolitan centres

which appropriate that surplus - and further ,that this process still continues. (13) He contends that underdevelopment is the necessary product of capitalist development and of internal contradictions of capitalism itself . He asserts that the satellites remain underdeveloped for lack of access to their own surplus and as a consequence of the same polarization and exploitative contradictions which the metropolis introduces and maintains in the satellites domestic economic structure. The socialist economists explain underdevelopment in terms of dependency theory. The central argument is that capitalism has shifted economic resources in the form of raw materials from poor countries through international trade etc., to augment advancement of the capitalist world on the basis of profit making, hence, aggravating underdevelopment of the less developed countries because of disproportional terms of trade . This is true but international trade is usually based on the law of comparative advantage and the relationships could be guided by the availability of the resources needed for exchange.

The debate on underdevelopment is dominated by ideology (Socialist versus capitalist)and failed to explain underdevelopment as an economic problem. Ideological antagonism is more likly to increase conflict than development. In addition, both capitalist and socialist systems of economy have been practiced directly or indirectly in some parts of the

underdeveloped countries yet underdevelopment conditions have worsened. These views only analyse external factors of underdevelopment in a general form. It is true that external influence has a direct effect on underdevelopment of the poor countries but each country has its own internal political economic and ethnic problems which are responsible of its underdevelopment in the post independence period and they must be analysed independently . In addition, the heated theoretical debate on underdevelopment has resulted in division of the world into advanced or capitalist versus poor or less developed countries, with strong ideological connotation.

On the other hand, the internationalization of underdevelopment is severely handicapped by heterogeneity in resource endowment, colonial rule, ethnic conflicts and the like. Nevertheless the weakness is that these conceptions failed to conceptualise underdevelopment in terms of real economic factors that exist in the country as an entity but have dealt with underdevelopment in a comparative way (poor countries - rich countries , socialist -capitalist) etc . But , my observation is that underdevelopment occurs mainly where indigenous population is deprived from exploitation of their economic resources , political power and mobilization of development resources as an independent region .

From the above arguments underdevelopment is considered as a term that explains economic relationships between the rich - capitalist and impoverished countries or less developed regardless of their different economic situations which exist in each country or region concerned . Underdevelopment should be analysed in relation to actual internal problems of individual regions or provinces where backwardness exists or comes as a result of the colonialism .

This argument is truly in line with Hettne's analysis when he asserts that " the underdeveloped economies are an extremely heterogenous category. Therefore, no general theoretical formation of their problems , and no universal cures can be valid for such a category".(14) Therefore, the point of departure from the theory of underdevelopment is the view that the root cause of economic problems in the poor countries is colonialism. There are various factors like ethnicity, uneven distribution of development finances and concentration of investment resources to develop or improve modern agricultural schemes etc., of favoured areas by post independence governments in the LDCs.

There is a growing concern that blaming colonialism after 30 to 40 years of independence is less impressive . The argument raised is that if colonialism was evil and has caused underdevelopment, it should have been the duty of the national

governments in the LDCs to adopt economic policies in favour of even development of their countries contrary to the colonial ones which generated underdevelopment in some parts or regions of the LDCs. It would be a denial of internal incapacities of national governments in the LDCs to hold colonialism responsible for the persistence of underdevelopment in the poor countries after this long period. The successive governments are the ones to be blamed for enhancing underdevelopment persistently in the LDCs. One important point to note is that underdevelopment defined in terms of common characteristics in the context of less developed countries does not give a true picture of the meaning of underdevelopment in other countries. Each colonized country should be investigated and examined separately depending on the actual economic and political factors resulting in its backwardness so that they are clearly pinpointed. Medani M. A. puts it in a widely acceptable manner that "each underdeveloped country must be studied as a separate case because the factors which shaped its underdevelopment were unique and dissimilar to those of the other countries. (15)

Nevertheless, underdevelopment has acquired new characteristics. A real conceptualisation of underdevelopment today refers to an economic backwardness of a region where agriculture is extremely traditional, where traditional techniques

of production are not improved, where abundant forestry, fishery, wildlife and water resources are un-utilized for irrigated agriculture, where electric power and energy are lacking or inefficient, where illiteracy rate is high, where modern industry and transportation infrastructure are absent or inefficient, where potential mineral resources (gold , oil etc .) remain untapped for economic development of the region, where education and health institutions and services are inadequate, where development funds and resources are unevenly distributed or allocated on ethnic and regional lines, and where natural potentials remained untransformed to satisfy socio-economic well- being of the people as a result of colonialism and its influence on the ruling ethnic group in the less developed countries .

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CHAPTER TWO

THE COLONIAL ECONOMY, DEVELOPMENT AND POSITION OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN , 1899-1945

2.1. Introduction :-

The main objective of this chapter is to investigate into early start of the process of underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan caused by the British Administration. How did it proceed, develop and generate the post independence features and structural characteristics of the underdevelopment in the Southern Sudan? Section one introduces objectives of the chapter. Section two defines the colonial economy in the Sudan. It also reviews economic activities of the colonial administration, namely, transport, agriculture, industry and trade and education. Section three examines economic development, 1946-1956. Section four gives a summary.

2.2. The Colonial Economy :-

The term colonial economy denotes an economic system controlled, planned and directed by an alien power in a colonized state . It is an economy designed to generate benefits to the colonialists only. Its objective is to extract resources for the development of its native country . An economy of this type has effects which causes a seepdown underdevelopment of some

parts of an underdeveloped country, such as, the Sudan under the British administration in the period 1899-1940s .

Economic Activities of the Colonial Administration :

A Review :

Transport :-

In the Sudan , the colonial administration started with building of rail routes , water routes and roads construction in 1899. Wadi Halfa and Khartoum were linked up by a railway line at this period. In 1909 , Khartoum was connected with Sennar via Kosti. The rail route from Kosti to Elobeid was constructed in 1912 for commercial purpose mainly to exploit gum Arabic. Until 1924 , Sennar - Kassala and port Sudan rail routes were connected to maximize returns from exports of cotton in Gezira and Gum Arabic. The colonial administration did not extend the railroute southwards to connect southern region with the rest of the country. The only link between the southern and northern parts of the country was the White Nile route from Kosti to Juba.

The fact that railway infrastructure was confined to the northern part of the country created imbalances in transportation infrastructure between the north and the southern Sudan and this paved the way for the underdevelopment of the south because of

immobility of goods or ideas . This underdevelopment condition is explained by Fatima Babiker as this " ... *the*

underdevelopment of southern Sudan was a result of the fact that the British were not interested in the type of the potential production of this area. Another problem was that of transport; it was too costly for the British to provide a vast country such as the Sudan with an adequate transport system."(1).

Lack of transport infrastructure in the southern region was a direct cause of underdevelopment in the area. The benefits from the use of rail route and roads are many but the most important one is that northern communities gained accessibility to trade because of easy transportation and delivery of goods and services in the markets and urban areas whereas the southern Sudan remained isolated, land-locked and unaware of trading knowledge or skills being exchanged in places like Elobeid and Port Sudan. This transportation inequality contributed effectively and negatively to underdevelopment of the southern region under the colonial economy .

Agriculture :-

The colonial administration initiated and modernized irrigated agriculture in Gezira . It was advocated by a British surveyor in 1900. The assumption was that good cotton yield would give the country the opportunity to provide adequate

cotton as a source of external revenue , and ... would be an encouragement for modern husbandry . Thus , the outstanding cash crop in Gezira was the long staple cotton for export .

To improve irrigation of cotton , the British government provided a Loan of LS 11 , 500,000(2) for the construction of Sennar Dam to provide gravity flow irrigation. Also completion of Jebel Aulia Dam in 1925 facilitated irrigation of cotton. The area under irrigation increased to 250,00 feddans in 1948/49.(3)

Position of the south :-

Cotton cultivation was introduced in the southern provinces by the colonial administration between 1922 - 1923. The type of cotton grown in the south is the medium - staple cotton that grows with less water supply and shorter , dry season than required by long staple cotton . (4) The specific areas of cotton cultivation were in the Upper Nile , Bahr ElGhazal , Eastern Equatoria , Yei district , Maridi and Zande .

In the period 1942-1944 a number of Ginning factories were established in the south. But the Torit Ginning factory did not operate after the 1942-1943 season because of financial problems. The production of rainfed cotton in the southern provinces recorded in kantars of 315 rotles can be illustrated in the following table .

**Table 2.1 : Cotton production in kantars of 315 rotles
in the Southern Provinces:**

year	Upper Nile	Equatoria
1938- 1939	3,686	10,546
1939-1940	3,945	7,874
1940-1941	476	4,853
1941-1942	2,166	5,362
1942-1943	357	828
1943-1944	417	2,409

Source : Agricultural and forest Department Report
1942-1944, Central Archives , Khartoum, Sudan.

From table 2.1., it is clear that cotton production in the south was low compared with Gezira . The excuse given by the colonial administration was that reduction of cotton yield in 1942-1944 was caused by :

- 1/ Deliberate drive to increase , production of food crops.
- 2/ Closing down of several ginneries .
- 3/ Good prices were offered for sesame etc.(5)

But when I examined cotton prices , there was a clear indication that cotton prices in the south were lower compared with those in Gezira and Nuba Mountains and this should be considered another cause for the decline in cotton production. The lower cotton prices discouraged cotton growing in the south. For example, the cotton in Upper Nile was fixed at a flat rate of 33 piasters, Equatoria 30, and Torit with 35 respectively. During that period, Cotton from Nuba Mountains was sold at 34 piasters for grade 1, 31 piasters for grade 4, per small kantar . So low prices might have discouraged production because cost of production was high etc.

Moreover, low prices of the cotton were accompanied by payment of low wages. The result was a decline in the production of cotton which caused migration of people to urban towns and neighboring countries like Uganda which in turn caused shortage of labour force to produce enough cotton during that period. Low wages were caused by economic decline which caused emigration of people from low paid cotton schemes to other sectors. The wages were terribly low to the extend that any small wage increase would have not resolved the problem. Accordingly, the same report commented that "*neither*

an increase in daily wage rates nor an improvement in working condition will provide a solution of the labour problem, daily rates, though 200% to 300% still appear low in comparison with the rest of the Sudan, this can only be counteracted by development and improved conditions.(6)

2.3. Economic Development , 1946-1956 :-

In 1947, cotton grown in Maridi covered an area of 3,000 feddans and the yield was about 12,000 kantars of seed cotton. In the Zande area the production was 5,390 kantars.

Between 1940s and 1952 , a ginnery was set up, an oil mill started extracting cotton-seed., and soap was manufactured. By 1951, the production of cloth had begun, and large electric power unit designed to use local available fuel such as charcoal had been erected. (7)

But in 1952-1953 season Azande cotton cultivators were deeply disappointed by poor crops caused by weather conditions and pest damage. Uncertainty of rain is another obstacle to growth of cotton in the Southern region. The weakness of the colonial policy regarding Azande scheme was lack of irrigation infrastructure to ensure all weather sowing of the cotton crop as it was indeed done for long- staple cotton in Gezira.

Tothills was the architect of the Zande scheme. His plan was to set up a cloth industry which would grow, spin and weave its own cotton, to an extent sufficient to provide a considerable exportable surplus. He also suggested weaving of sacks and sacking from locally grown hemp or jute, the production of oil

and soap from palm and cotton seeds and the growing of coffee, sugar-cane and timber. (8) But one weakness of Tothill's project was that it was not related to local techniques of production. The best development approach is to tackle development at grass root level. It is good to build on the locally existing know how and knowledge rather than to try and create something new completely.

But it seems that the project was situated in the south on the basis of balanced growth theory. Of course, balanced growth as advocated by Ragnar Nurkse and Rosentsein-Rodan means that the pattern of investment should be designed to ensure a balanced development of various sectors of the economy. (9) As explained earlier, the project is designed in such a way that in the long run commodities like soap, oil, cloth etc., would emerge as independent industries. With all these useful plans, the colonial administration failed to invest more resources and bring the project to the level of cotton production in Gezira. Hence, the project was retarded.

Industry and Trade :-

The railway and road networks connecting the urban centers and market areas plus growth of long staple cotton in Gezira have helped the growth of industry and trade in the north.

Textile factories were installed in Khartoum North, Omdurman, Khartoum and Medani in 1920s -1930. According to Abu Affan, increase in demand for cotton by the British textile industry intensified cotton cultivation in the Sudan and this was accompanied by "... modern

manufacturing sector in the country represented by the cotton - ginning factories, the first four were installed in the Gezira area in 1925. In 1933, the number of ginning factories operating in the whole country had risen to twenty-one,"(10)

At present the number of industries grew considerably in the northern Sudan. For instance, Sudanese Chambers of Industries Association (SCIA) recorded a total number of 1,050 industries. They include : Edible oils and soap chamber registered 209 factories, food industries chamber with 327 factories, spinning and weaving chamber has 151 factories, chemical industries chamber 114 factories, engineering industries chamber 123 factories, leather and footwear chamber with 64 factories, printing and publishing and packing chamber with 62 factories. (See appendix .1).

In addition, oil mills, vegetable oils, soap factories, macaroni and vermicelli, soft drinks, perfume, cement, floor tiles

etc., as privately owned factories stimulated trade and most of them were also situated in the three towns.

My observation is that the availability of large number of industries in the north has stimulated trade and commercial activity to expand, hence, creating commercial specialization, employment opportunities and growth of social and economic services in the north. It has also encouraged industrial advancement and trade in the north compared with the southern region.

Position of the Southern Region :-

The main industries in the south under the colonial administration were :

- 1/ Nzara Agro-industrial complex . It was installed in 1946 and operated in 1951-1952. The intention was to produce clothing, soap, oil, wood industry, coffee, bananas etc.
- 2/ Yirol oil mills established in 1950s for oil processing. It used sesame as the raw material.

Trade :-

Trade was another important sector that can contribute to development but it was neglected by the colonial administration J.W. Robertson confessed this when he stated that "...our

chance of succeeding depends upon confining ourselves to the one aim of developing trade in the south, and between the north and the south."(11)

Inspite of this philosophy , trade sector in the south is underdeveloped because of poor transportation network with in the region etc.

Also imposition of royalties on agricultural commodities like groundnuts and sesame acted as barrier to the sector growth. The following expression by Southern Development Investigation Team, is sufficient evidence to the negative impact of taxes on the development of agriculture in the region. The report says that:

"... royalties of 15% on export of both groundnuts and sesame impose serious limitations and therefore actively discouraged increased production - in the southern Sudan ... In a country which needs to increase the image of its cash crops the imposition of royalties, which amount to a tax on production, would appear to be a most undesirable method of collecting revenue.."(12)

Supposing that trade was encouraged through provision of incentives and non tax barriers , three subsectors of trade would have emerged. These are:

1. Cattle trade: this trade is based on sale of cows. It is flourishing in Yirol, Bor ,Bari land, Wau etc. The cattle are purchased from Gogrial and Tonj or other cattle owning areas and driven to Juba, Yambio, and Tumbura. Sale of bulls for

commercial purposes is the leading activity. But sale of meat, milk, cheese, butter, skins and hides is a new trade activity practiced by town inhabitants. Meat selling is the sole function of butchers in the towns. Cattle traders from Yirol and other places buy cattle from Tonj, Gogrial, Aweil, Bentiu etc., for commercial reason. Some times cattle trading takes the form of a barter system-mainly in Yirol province. Sack of sorghum or dura can be exchanged with a bull or a calf or with both. This barter system encouraged cultivators to increase production of food crops in order to exchange them for cows in the past and at present.

2. Fish trade: Fish sellers supply fish to town dwellers. Both fresh and dried fish are marketed in the towns and villages.

Those involved in these trade are knowledgeable about places and communities where certain commodities are needed. For example, the cattle traders from Yirol etc., provide meat to tse-tse areas in Equatoria whereas fish traders supply town dwellers and so on. Trade in this context links production, distribution and commodity exchange in the economy. The link in the distribution channels by local traders is precisely argued by Awad, as follows : "*.. in*

all these rural communities, whether they are sedentary or nomadic, there is no distinction between a retailer and a

wholesaler. Every trader acts as the first link in the chain of intermediaries dealing with villages or tribes product; he also acts as the last link in distribution channels which bring to...the goods which they have to buy... these traders often operate as sales agents. The mobility of these traders, the simplicity of their trading techniques, and their readiness to perform all... marketing services required by their communities make them well suited to the needs of their - environment."(13)

Agricultural Commodity Trade :-

Agriculture in the southern Sudan is mainly a subsistence activity where a family farms to satisfy consumption needs. In general, there is no surplus for sale and if any, it is sold for cash when the producer meets its consumption needs.

Until today, trade is underdeveloped. It exists in the form of retail and petty trade activity. Whole sale trade is negligible because of lack of financial capital, capabilities and incentives. My observation is that smallness of the size of the trade sector in the south has denied it from revenues expected to be generated from this sector. For example, in another work, we argued that the problem with trading activity is that it is very backward and small in size in the southern Sudan. There are very few factories and companies that can stimulate the trading sector in the south.

As a result of the smallness of trading activity , there are also very few number of traders to pay business profit tax . The majority are petty traders where profits are very low ... (14) Empirical analysis shows that local government bodies such as Area Councils in the south failed to raise sufficient revenues from business profits tax during the periods of 1970s-1980and as a result they incurred deficits in their annual budgets. Consequently , Area councils depended on central grant - in -aid to pay salaries only .

Education :-

Before the condominium administration formal education in the Sudan started between 1830-1885. Mohamed Ali pasha invaded the Sudan during this period and he established a centralized administration.

But the reconquest of the Sudan in 1896 by the British and the Egyptians-setting up colonial rule in 1898 - 1955 attempted to open schools in the north and allowed missionary to run schools in the south. Education grew very fast in the north and the number of schools multiplied significantly. The colonial administration neglected education in the south. Consequently, the position of the south in terms of schools provided were very few. Until 1954, the Southern Development investigation Team report revealed that the Sudan government played no part in

developing education in the Southern provinces. The report asserted that only 22 missionary elementary schools, two intermediate schools and one trade school were available. From 1939, 1946 and 1945 Rumbek secondary school, Yambio Agricultural training school and Juba training centre were the institutions of learning added.

Until 1954 it was becoming common knowledge that there were very few schools in the Southern region.

The colonial administration itself was convinced that it neglected education in the south in 1946, when the civil secretary stated that " ... in education , I believe that while the south may hope to have a secondary school , it cannot hope to support post secondary education ... southers should get this at the Gordon Memorial college..."(15) Also the colonial administration felt that economic development could be achieved through provision of education services which it neglected previously. Although the then civil secretary propogated for education policy in 1946, it was not adopted. In his words, he stated that "*.. to ensure that they shall by educational and economic development be equipped to stand up for themselves in the future as socially and economically the equals of their partners of the northern Sudan in the Sudan of the future.*" (16) .

It is the contention of this thesis that neglect of education in the south by the colonial rule was deliberate and this has affected the south. Until today the north continues to be far ahead in education whereas the south lags behind. Empirical evidence shows that the gap is too wide if we compare the south with the former Northern province only let alone Khartoum, Medani, Eastern and Western Sudan. The Northern province (currently Northern states) which is also underdeveloped like the south possesses greater number of schools than the south during the colonial and post independence periods. The schools established in the Northern Province since the colonial period are currently the basis for educational growth in this province (States) while those established in the Southern region during the same period are the basis for persistence underdevelopment. For instance, in 1984 Northern region alone had over 800 primary schools with population of about one million, 400 general secondary schools, and 36 higher secondary schools. There were also three commercial and two industrial schools. (17) The Southern region presently (comprising ten states) possesses 573 primary schools with population of six millions approximately, 115 intermediate schools, and 28 academic secondary schools and five teacher training institutes during the period of 1982-1983. (18). Many of these primary and intermediate schools are incomplete ones in terms of buildings, school equipment and other materials. For instances, some secondary schools occupy the former buildings

intended for intermediate level were as some intermediate schools displaced the elementary ones. These school buildings were constructed during Abouds regime in 1964.

However, this is a marked expansion of education in the Southern region during post independence period compared with the colonial and independence period from 1956 to 1972. Upto 1992 Northern region and Nhar El Nil States had three universities. These are Dongula , Wadi El Nil and Shendi beside the twenty universities in Khartoum, Medani, Eastern and Western Sudan. On the other hand, the ten states of the Southern Sudan have only three universities and one health institute in Wau currently operating in Médani. All the three universities of Juba , Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile are at present in Khartoum because of the war in the south.

Lack of education in the south is a critical problem . Educational infrastructure (schools and equipment) and services are important aspect and a prerequisite for socio-economic development. Once education is lacking the region can hardly progress , hence underdevelopment will persist. Education is a necessity for economic development like water to agriculture. Without water there will be no agriculture and human life will be impossible.

2.4. Summary :-

The Colonial economic activities started in the 1890s by connecting Wadi Halfa and Khartoum , Khartoum - Sennar via Kosti in 1909 , Kosti - Elobeid in 1912 , Sennar - Kasalla and Port Sudan routes in 1924 .

The post independence period the Railways and paved roads networks in the north became the basis for industrial, educational, health and commercial activities and as a result the degree of urbanisation was remarkably raised.

In the context of agriculture, the colonial administration established Gezira scheme to grow long staple cotton. Much efforts were made to improve its yield and exportation to international trade.

While only medium staple cotton was grown under rainfed agriculture in the Southern region since 1922-1923. Upper Nile, Bahr El Ghazal, Eastern Equatoria, Yei, Maridi and Zande land were the main areas where cotton was cultivated. It failed and several ginneries were closed in 1942-1944. The reasons offered pertain to increase in demand for food production, and low prices of cotton. Consequently, the Zande cotton factory which was installed in 1940s to manufacture cloth performed in-efficiently.

On the other hand, rail route way and road networks became the basis for industrial growth and trade expansion in the north. From 1925-1933 modern manufacturing represented by a number of ginning factories increased. Most important to note is that presence of the manufacturing industries in the north stimulated trade and commercial sector whereas the southern region lacked all these activities.

Trade in the southern region remained undeveloped because of smallness of the market and weakness of the economic base. The permit to trade order policy which banned inter-provincial trade between northern traders and the southern Sudan in 1925 worsened the situation.

Other obstacles that had hindered trade in the south include imposition of royalties on agricultural commodities such as sesame. Until recently trade was practiced by cattle traders, and fish sellers whereas agricultural commodity trade was carried out by Southerners themselves but inefficiently. Also, during the colonial administration, education was neglected in the south. Only few missionary schools were opened.

From the above observations, I can conclude by saying that the concentration of rail routes and paved roads and other infrastructural projects in the north as spearheaded by the

colonial administration has shaped the structures of the Sudanese economy of today. An economy which has been characterized by economic unevenness and social and political instabilities and civil strife.

FOOTNOTES :

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(See Table 5).

CHAPTER THREE

INDEPENDENT AND POST - INDEPENDENCE ECONOMIC POLICIES, 1957-1960s

3.1. Introduction:

Chapter three attempts to discuss independence and post-independence economic policies, 1957-1960s. The objective is to investigate and find out whether or not these policies resulted in changes in the traditional sector of the economy in southern Sudan. Section one is an introduction. Section two deals with the allocation of development resources. Section three discusses traditional economy of the southern Sudan. Section four deals with distribution of financial and economic institutions: Agricultural and Industrial Banks. Finally section five gives a summary.

3.2. Allocation of Development Resources 1957 - 1960s :

From 1957 to 1960s the national governments formulated annual development programmes usually cited as Development Budget 1957/1958 - 1960/1961. After this they adopted the Ten Year Plan of Economic and Social Development 1960, the Five Year Plan 1970/1971-1974/1975, etc.,. A review of these plans

reveals that most development funds were earmarked for the construction of Kasham El Girba , Rosereis Dam, the Sennar Hydro-Electric project, the Guneid Sugar factory, the Managil Extension, the Tannery and cardboard factory etc. For instance, the amount of LS 3,416,304 million sudanese pounds, were allocated to fund Hydro-electric project in 1960 - 1966, LS3,814,515 million sudanese pounds were for Guneid sugar factory ... and LS 5,397,000 million sudanese pounds (1) were allotted for Mangil project in 1960,-1980. These projects were funded through foreign and local resources. For example, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development provided loans to Sudan government and mainly to Managil project. But not very much was allocated for the Southern region.

3.3. Traditional Economy of the Southern Sudan: A Review:

As the colonial administration left the south underdeveloped, the economy of Southern Sudan consisted of a variety of traditional economic activities. These activities included traditional farming which used some simple tools and implements like hoes etc., livestock herding, fishing, hunting, gathering of forestry products, etc.

The economy was influenced by the availability of water, land, forestry, fishery, wildlife and livestock resources. This is an

indication that the economy of the southern region since that time and upto the present time is both mainly a subsistent and dependent on nature. Cultivation of food crops is through natural rainfall, soil fertility and vegetation .

Farmers donot use fertilizers, pesticides or any chemical or external farming inputs in the production process. The size of farm and levels of productivity as well as production is mainly dependent on the size of the family labour. For example, in the Dinka tribes- the family labour is essential for undertaking some important activities, like, herding cattle, cultivating and harvesting crops, weeding of crops, cooking of food, milking of cows, looking after goats, protecting crops from birds, monkeys, fishing etc. Herding of cattle is solely a responsiblity of men whereas cultivation of crops is done by both men, women and youth. Crop protection from the birds is mainly done by small boys and girls. On the other hand, cooking and fetching of water is the duty of women and girls and occasionaly boys. Milking of cows is a shared responsibility by boys, girls and women.

Farming is sometimes undertaken as a collective or group work. This collective cultivation is traditionally called "Kaya or Akut-Kut" in Dinka and it is conventionally conceived as cooperative. "Kaya or Akut-Kut" is a collective farming method arranged by villagers to cultivate a family garden in one day or

so. Usually the number of able persons involved to do the job ranges from ten to one hundred. The group is served with food; sometimes a bull is slaughtered for them with a service of traditional beer. Although it is a one-day work, large area can be cultivated easily because of joint efforts. In Yirol district, now a province, this group system of cultivation was eventually transformed into cooperative society in 1951. The cooperative society stimulated production of sesame in Yirol area and served Yirol oil mill in 1951.(2)

The traditional farming is mainly practiced in the production of food crops for consumption. The crops commonly grown in the southern states are dura, groundnuts, cassava, sweet potatoes, yam, millet, maize, okra, pumpkins, beans or lubia. Cassava, bananas, mangoes, sweet potatoes are dominant crops and fruits in Equatoria region. Maize is grown in small quantities in some areas of southern region but the Bari and Munderi grow sufficient maize for home consumption. Until 1950s-1970s subsistence agriculture was supplying towns of Juba, Torit, Malakal and Wau with dura, groundnuts and sesame at favourable seasons. But, Bor, Southern shilluk and Nuer districts experienced shortage in dura production. Bahr El Ghazal was on balance self sufficient in dura. On the other hand, lack of rains normally affects agriculture and causes crop failures. Dependency on rainfall made agriculture to remain very

traditional in the southern region. The consequences of shortage of rain are adverse and some districts are persistently in shortage of food. As a result the cropped area is oftenly small and limited resulting in a very low production levels for less than what the people need for their essential consumption. Even when some surplus is produced the existing traditional stores of grain are inadequate. The traditional storage capacity is limited to the amount of dura required for family consumption and preservation of seeds to be used in the next following year. A point to be made is that the subsistence traditional farmers who operated in small plots of land, using primitive techniques of production for ploughing, weeding, clearing etc., had no support from government. Efforts to develop traditional agriculture through provision of infrastructure, credit facilities and the like to alleviate impoverishment in the south were not visible. So factors to which the backwardness of traditional agriculture is attributed were absence of credit system and credit distribution to traditional farmers.

Credit is always assumed to be necessary to supplement the farmers work. It is needed to finance the introduction of fertilizers and new technology...(3) But sources of credits are the commercial bank and agricultural Bank of Sudan which were lacking in the south and farmers were unaware of their usefulness in promoting traditional agriculture. Credit constitutes the

backbone for modernization of traditional agriculture. Although the Agricultural Bank of Sudan was established in 1959 to extend credits to farmers, farmers did not benefit from this facility in the southern Sudan during this period. Instead, government policies were directed to the development of mechanized agriculture and experimental schemes in Zande , Yei and Torit districts etc. The ministry of Agriculture was concerned with the issue of cotton seeds to cultivators, advice on cultivation methods, control of pests, purchase of cotton seeds and ginning, transport and marketing of crops while disfavours the traditional farming. This neglect of traditional cultivation has led to backwardness of traditional farming and underdevelopment of the southern region.

Livestock :

Livestock is another important sector of the traditional subsistence economy in the southern Sudan. This sector consist of cattle, sheep and goats raising activity. But cattle raising constitutes the greater part of animal wealth. Until 1966/1967, the animal wealth estimated in terms of livestock was 4,354,790 cattle, 2,718,200 sheep and 2,399.430 goats.

Table 3.1: Animal wealth by provinces, 1966/1967

Province/State	No of Cattle	No of Sheep	No of Goats
Bahr El Ghazal	2,420,000	726,000	847,000
Equatoria	482,790	1,363,000	635,250
Upper Nile	1,452,000	629,200	917,180
	4,354,790	2,718,200	2,399,430

Source: Ministry of finance and Economics, Review of the Economy, A supplement to the 1967-1978 Budget, Research and Statistics Section, Economic Branch, Khartoum, (see table on P. 23) Khartoum.

Cattle are kept in Bor, Gogrial, Yirol, Rumbek, Tonj, Awiel, Ngok, Latuka areas, and Bari land. Sheep and goats are also kept by the same tribes dwelling in these areas. It is only Zande districts which do not have livestock raising activity because of the presence of tse-tse flies. The zande depend on hunting to obtain meat and protein diet.

In most cases the cattle owners keep cows for economic purposes of a domestic nature. These include the provision of milk and other animal products such as traditionally processed cheese, butter, skins and leather for local consumption and use.

Skins are used as bedding or wind as ropes for tethering of cows. Cow dung is used as a manure for soil fertilization. Sometimes it is burned into ashes and used for body decoration and beautification mainly for traditional dances etc. Also its smoke is used for driving away flies and mosquitoes in the cattle camp.

However, the emergence and growth of rural town and districts in the southern Sudan brought some changes in the livestock economic sector. Trade and slaughtering of cattle, sheep and goats for meat to meet demand of town dwellers is a relatively modern practice started since 1940s. Trade and slaughtering of cattle expanded with growth of urban areas. Since then hides and skins were marketed. This trading activity stimulated local authorities to introduce slaughtering houses in the districts of the southern region as a means to control and extract revenues through collection of slaughtering and other charges under the department of public health. It also generated revenues through issuing of cattle trading licenses. The livestock trade and its products continued as an important source of revenue for the Area councils until today.

Moreover, livestock management is simple in the traditional economy. The animal feed is dependent on natural vegetation and agricultural by-products such as groundnut leaves and stem known as 'Akuac' in Dinka areas. Groundnut leaves(akuac) is

used as a feed for goats and sheep. But most of the livestock depend on natural green vegetation-grass and flora which are available in all forests and toiches of the southern region. Although dry season is troublesome in other parts of the south, all the forests of the south are grazeable and accessible during certain times of the year (rainy and dry seasons).

The role of government is to promote livestock including introduction of better ways and modern methods of protecting animals from diseases, use of scientific methods of animal management and promotion of scientific research. These policies were not fully achieved in the past except rendering of veterinary services. Efforts of the independence and post-independence governments are insignificant and livestock raising remained more or less a traditional activity. Data on animal population as from 1970/1972, rate of increase and local consumption of livestock meat is not available and /or reliable. The only reliable data available consisted of figures obtained during vaccination and massive immunization programmes. Figures obtained by such means is misleading because experience showed that cattle which are beyond reach of the vaccination team remained uncovered. Sometimes cattle on which some families have disputes on, are not forwarded for vaccination - they are hidden. Shortage of vaccines may affect estimation of animal population. Therefore, estimates based on vaccination programme are

assumed to be low, and accuracy in estimating animal population could be achieved only when extensive animal census is undertaken.

On the other hand, goats and sheep are kept for meat and ritual sacrifices among the Dinka or bartered in exchange for a haifer or bull when needed or desireable. Whereas among the Jurs, and Bari, they are used for payment of dowry.

For instance, a recent study in 1988/1989 put the total number of cattle as 8,740.6 (4) It is unlikely that the increase after thirty four years is small . There seems to be an under estimation in the said data. Change in the number of cattle exchanging hands in traditional marriages among cattle owners in the South indicated that cattle number had increased tremendously. In 1950s the number of cattle or cows paid as dowry ranged from five (5), ten (10) to thirty as the maximum. But from 1970s, 1980s and 1990s the number of cows paid in traditional marriages has been continuously rising. For example, the number of cows paid in traditional marriages from 1986-1994 ranges from 100 cows to 200 cows per marriage . As a result the fifty marriages held in Khartoum resulted in the transfer of ownership of 65,00 heads of cattle in Yirol province alone; apart from the other marriages held by the citizens of other areas such as Gogrial, Rumbek, Awiel, Tonj, and the whole of Equatoria and

Upper Nile states. It is important to note here that marriage is no longer a purely social practice but is becoming increasingly an economic one. The underlying objective of it is the accumulation of cattle or animal wealth to meet future consumption needs of the family. Thus, the payment of more cows per traditional marriage can be a yard - stick measuring the increase in animal wealth in the South . In addition the big number agreed upon in the traditional marriages conducted in Khartoum in the period 1980s-1990 revealed that marriages had gone up as a result of the increase in animal wealth at home :

On the other hand , livestock sector is expected to create an industry of its own in the South . It can supply milk powder, butter , cheese , (skins and hides) and leather for shoe factory, button, wool and canned meat factories etc. It will also enhance development of trade sector as it did for the tse-tse belt (Zande land) Malakal town, Sudan meat products LTD in Kosti, Northern Sudan as well as with export trade to Egypt, in 1950s.(5)

Admittedly, lack of adequate veterinary services and dependency on traditional means of livestock raising result in big losses in cattle in the southern sudan. Natural disasters such as drought and floods have contributed to the death of livestock in Equatoria and Bahr El Ghazal states in 1980s. In 1984, thousands of cattle died in Latuka and Taposa areas as a result of

drought that was not officially reported or announced by local authorities while the natives from these areas claimed the occurrence of severe droughts. They said that lack of water and the dryness of grass had caused starvation of cattle in their areas. On the other hand, the 1988, floods in Yirol province resulted, in the loss of hundreds of thousand cattle. In a conversation with the author in May 1992, Mangar Maker Athorbei, a cattle owner from Yirol stated that "death of cattle is devastating and some families lost all or some of their cows. For example, Athorbei's family lost over 148 cows, Dhal's family lost about 13, etc.(6)

Inspite of the death of cattle he also explained that numbers of cattle in Yirol areas gradually increased and marriages soared, from 120 to 200.

It thus appears that livestock sector is an important sector of traditional economy in the southern Sudan. Apart from the fact that animals are used in marriages this sector also provides means for sustainable livelihood of the people. Also at times of crop failure or destruction by pests, for example, locust, livestock ensures, complements and provides additional resources to meet the needs of the family. Animals can be sold in market for money to buy dura and people can drink their milk as food, etc.

Forestry:

The subsistence economy in the southern Sudan involves the use of forest resource as an economic activity. For instance, forests in the three regions of Equatoria, Bahr El Ghazal and upper Nile are suitable for fire wood, charcoal making, poles and building materials. Forests do have a value to the local population in the sense that they provide fuel wood, building materials, grasses for animal pasture, fruits, fibres, wood suitable for spear, hoes, clubs, shields and other implements. For example, Zande use forests for numerous natural vegetative products. They are excellent woodsmen and knowledgeable about uses of the great variety of plants in the forests and bushes that yield many products important to the Zande economy such as fibres for construction, wood for carved articles, firewood and charcoal, material for baskets, sieves, winnowing trays, mats and hats, timber for all construction, thatching grass, food, medicines and poisons and cosmetics. (7) The forests also act as a place for hunting activity.

Forests of the southern Sudan also host game resource, like elephants, buffalos, lions, leopards, tiangs, water-bucks, reed bucks, bushbucks, mangalla gazale ... and variety of birds for human consumption . Hunting is also an important economic activity for food and as means to obtain ivory for traditional use and trade. Elephants are hunted for both purposes.

Although hunting was a traditional economic activity for the purposes of obtaining meat as protein, it was in 1950s that colonial system realised its potential as a source of revenue from game in the southern sudan by sale of ivory, rhino horns, leopard skins and sale of live animals. The system also introduced laws which protected animals like giraffe from random killing . Hunting to obtain meat was also controlled until today . But animals hunting in order to obtain meat in addition to elephants and rhinos include hippopotomas, buffalos , antelops, pigs, giraffe, and small mammals speared, shot by use of arrows or traped methods. Game meat is impotant to all tribes in the Southern region since it is the main source of animal protein. But traditional huntig is dangerous. Many people lost their lives through hunting because animals like elephants, rhinos and buffalos retaliate and can kill people. Beside these, there are many other uses of forests in the Southern region.

However , new uses of forests resources were introduced by the British administration. It utilized the forests for production of woodfuel for river steamers between Kosti and Juba . But advancement in technology resulted in the use of oil, thus the steamers were converted into oil use yet the British needed timber as sleepers for railway lines. Therefore , the need for timber forced the colonial rulers to introduce saw-mills to

produce sawn timber. Moreover, the British interest to obtain sawn timber for building and production of railway sleepers brought improvements in this sector. The colonial system conducted forest survey to identify timber of higher quality in Bahr ElGhazal and Equatoria areas. The demand for sawn timber led the Colonial government to establish government controlled saw-mills in Yei in 1942-and subsequently another four mills were added in 1946 : Namely loka, Wau, Imatong mountains and Katre. But the output of the Loka -Yei saw mills were in the form of standard sleepers for Sudan railways . The output of sawn timber in the Southern Sudan increased. For example , in 1944 match splint factory yield was 6,934 sacks of splints from 40,662 billets. (8) In 1942-1944, the Wau, Yei, Imatong Mountains sawmills were operated by the department of forestry. On the other hand, the annual report 1942- 1944 revealed that the production of hand - hewn bauks in Yei amounted to 44,534 cubic feet in 1942. For three years 580,120 exytenousp abyssinia, bamboos and 11,000 isoberlinia poles were cut in Equatoria only and shifted north, etc. The same report claimed that the production of cut firewood rose from 256,026 stacked cubic metres in 1942 to 431,440 cubic metres in 1944. Part of the output was used to supply needed energy sources for railway locomotives and railways pumping stations.(9)

But by 1970s many of them had collapsed and few dragged on producing timber at low capacity such as Wau saw mill. Wau saw mill which was fully an automated saw mill was equipped with Russian machines. It was originally a gift by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) to the Republic of Syria and due to insufficient wood in Syria, the FAO donated it to Sudan. The assumption was that if the mill was at full production, the output will be the largest in Africa. But realisation of this goal was hampered by various problems. For example, Russian experts arrived in Wau in April 1967 but work was still slow. In 1969 it was estimated that a total of Ls 182,725 thousand had been spent on the project yet it was not until March 1974 installation of essential saw equipment, a transformer sub-station, diesel engines and some parts of the drying and boiler rooms were completed. Only the brenta saw, frame saw, double edger saw and the cross-cut saw were in working order when the mill was officially opened in April 1974.(10) It is important to note that production stood at one-fifth of the design capacity of 5,000 cubic metres of sawn timber per year. The problems identified for low productivity were that Russians gave little training to workers and as a result all the wide band saws were cracking, power station was unreliable and the average number of working days per month was only 14. (11)

Water and fish resource:

Water:

In the Southern region drinking water is available in rivers, pools, wells and rains. The river of Bahr Eljebel, Bahr Elzeraf, Bahr Elarab, the sudd region and the main tributaries of Yei river, Jur river, Payii river at Yirol plus lake shambe, lake Nyibor and lake Yirol, Bahr Elnaam river (Rumbek), Nyamlel and Acien rivers are the major sources of water resource in the South.

Fishery:

Fishing as an economic activity takes place usually during the period of low river-water levels in the pools, rivers, tributaries and water channels. It is a seasonal economic activity. Fishing is undertaken as a supplement to the diet as well as a complement to livestock and subsistence agriculture. Very few people are very skillful and dependent on fishing and are called by the Dinkas "Thany" – singular is "Mony-thany" and there are also the shilluks in upper Nile region. Fishing is done mainly by use of traditional implements, for example fishing spear. These are commonly used by Dinkas and Nuers. Nuer women use con-shaped baskets.

But fishing follows traditional methods and use of simple implements, and the amounts of fish consumed annually can not be accurately estimated.

Fishing is widely practiced in Geigar, Kadok, Malakal, lake No, Bentiu, Lake shambe, upper zeraf, Bor, Tombe, Terakeka , Juba, Jur - River, Bahr Elarab, Baro and Pibor rivers and Nimule etc .

The introduction of modern techniques of fishing was done by the government since 1949. But this did not bring changes or improvements in the traditional fishing techniques in the Southern Sudan.

3.4. Distribution of Financial and Economic Institutions :

Agriculture and Industrial Banks:

Development and economic policies must in-corporate the role of financial intermediaries. Agricultural bank of Sudan established in 1957/59 is a government bank and its policies are influenced by national development plans and its role should be felt in the South. Also there are commercial banks such as Real Estate Bank, EINilen Bank, Sudanese Commercial Bank, People's Commercial Bank, The Unity Bank renamed as Khartoum. Faisal Islamic Bank, Arab African Bank , Sudanese French Bank, Sudanese Saudi Bank , etc. All these banks are concentrated in Khartoum, Omdurman, Khartoum North and Medani . This is an indication that the financial intermediaries and credits are unevenly distributed.

Agricultural Bank and Underdevelopment of Southern Region:

Although the Agricultural Bank of Sudan can play an instrumental role in the development of the South , its credit policies were not sufficiently extended to include traditional farmers of this region. The importation and ownership of tractors through sales and the system of credit reveal this fact. (12) But experience shows that the Agricultural Bank supports mechanized farming at Gedarif and Renk area much more than traditional rainfed agriculture in Aliab scheme, Amathduol and Jebel Lado etc.

On the other hand, access of traditional farmers /cultivators to bank credits in the Southern region is handicaped by lack of knowledge about what the bank credits are , and their use in development of agriculture because banks were not available in the region . But after their role was known in 1970s in the South, the conditions laid down by the bank for lending money were unfavourable to poor farmers. For instance, eligibility for agricultural loans requires the farmer to provide a collateral like concrete building in first or second class residential area-a condition which is lacking since Southern farmers are only traditional cultivators for subsistence livelihood . However, the credit policies followed by the Agricultural Bank of Sudan give an impression that the strategy for the development of agricultural sector in the South and traditional rainfed sector are

undermined. The increasing deterioration of traditional agriculture and farming upto now, presence of poverty and income inequality is a clear indication that the banks policies are biased agaist traditional farming in the South. Although the present government encourages development of agricultural sector, traditional rainfed sector in the South remained untouched. Grain stortages are experienced with increasing threats of starvation in this region. Therefore, lack of these institutions in the region to provide credits is a bottleneck in the development of regional economy as a whole.

From 1972 to 1974, the bank has established twelve branches all over the country, but only Renk area in the South was being served under Kosti branch.

The inability of the Agricultural Bank of Sudan to extend credit services to the farmers in the South , has resulted in failure of the development of agricultural sector in this region .

Industrial Bank of Sudan :

TheIndustrial Bank of Sudan established in 1961 is the next bank which contributed nothing in the development of industry in the Southern region . Its main objectives are : to provide financial assistance for the modernization or expansion of existing industries and the establishment of new industries, to

give technical assistance and advice in research, management and marketing for industrial enterprises, and to conduct research and investigate the economic and technical feasibility of new industrial projects. (13) This bank extended financial assistance to 157 industrial projects in the period 1962-1977 ... in the north and failed to do the same for the few existing industries in the Southern region . The Southern factories which collapsed as a result of lack of financial credits include Wau fruit canning factory, Yirol oil mill, Cement factory in Kopoeta , Mangalla sugar factory in upper Nile previously but curenly under Equatoria region to mention only a few .

It has to be mentioned that the role of commercial banks in economic development of the Sudan for the period 1956-1972 has not been supporting development activity . It has rather been concentrated on financing trading activity (both foregin and local) with little finance going to fund productive investment. Moreover, distribution of banks and their advances and finance have been unevenly distributed between regions and states. Geographical Distribution of loans from Industrial Bank in 1979-1980 is a clear evidence especially when Khartoum has 57.6% in 1979 and 35.6% in 1980, Eastern region 26.7% (1979) and 36.5% (1980), Middle regon 12.4% (1979) and 22.7% (1980), Northern region 2.3% in (1980), Kordofan 0.3% (1979) and 2.9%, Darfur

0.5% (1979) and nil 1980 and Southern region with 2.5% (1979) and nil in 1980. (14) (see Appendix (2)).

3.5. Summary :

The feature of the economy in the Southern Sudan since 1956-1972 is that of traditional sector. The economy was dependent on traditional methods of cultivation, herding, fishing etc. for subsistence livelihood. But modern economy started with cattle trade and slaughtering of animals and sale of meat in the towns. It also involves the introduction of timbers industry and mainly the timber saw mills managed by forestry department in the South. On the other hand, forest remained as natural pastures for livestock and acts as a hunting place, a source of firewood and building materials in traditional sense. Water in the form of river, pools and lakes are the source of fish resources in the South. Both traditional and modern methods of fishing are used.

However, the economy of the Southern region persisted as a subsistence one because the development policies did not incorporate support of agricultural and industrial banks of the Sudan. Also, the geographical distribution of these banks and their credits, credits and loans provision to the farmers and industries were uneven as far as the Southern region was concerned. Moreover, eligibility for agricultural loans requires

the farmer to provide a collateral - a condition many Southern farmers can not meet. Although the Industrial Bank of Sudan supported 157 industrial projects in the north, it failed to do the same for the few existing industries in the Southern region during this period .

FOOTNOTES :-

1. See Ministry of Finance and Economic Survey 1960, Research and Statistical Section, Economic Branch, Ministry of Finance and Economics, Khartoum 1961/65, p.89 (See table No 26) .
2. Southern Sudan Development Investigation Team , Natural Resources and Development Potential in the Southern Provinces of the Sudan, London , 1955 , p.186 :
3. Ibid .
4. Anai M. " The Role of Foreign Resouoces in the Development of the Southern Sudan, 1972-1982," (Unpublished M.A . dissertation), I AAS, University of Khartoum , 1989 , p. 42. (See table 2.3.)
5. Southern Sudan Development Investigation Team, OP. Cit , pp. 207-208.
6. Conversation with Mangar Maker Athorbei a cattle owner from Yirol province. The conversation was conducted in Gerif West, with the author , May 1992, Khartoum.

7. OP: Cit .
8. Forestry Department Annual report , Equatoria Province 1942 - 1944, no page, Sudan Archives, Khartoum . (See 2/ civsec 30/10/32 .
9. Ibid .
10. Sudanow, February 1977, P.36.
11. Ibid.
12. K. Wohlmouth, (ed), "Alternative Economic Strategies for the Sudan", Sudan Economy Research Group, Discussion paper: No 26, University of Bremen, Bremen, 1992, P. 30.
13. Industnial Bank of Sudan Guide, United Nations square, Khartoum University press, (no date) , p . 4 .
14. Sudan Guide, Prepared by Planning and Management Consultancy, Khartoum, 1981, P. 54 (see table 23).

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPMENT AND INVESTMENT PLANS IN THE 1960S AND THE 1980S

4.1. Introduction :

The objective of this chapter is to examine development and investment plans from 1960s to 1980s. The intention is to make comparison between the independence period and the post independence period with the aim of finding out whether or not there has been progress in socio-economic development in the southern region. The chapter complements the previous chapters and mainly chapter three. Section one introduces the chapter. Section two discusses the flow of central government subventions for economic and social development in the southern region. Section three deals with performances of the national projects in the southern region. Section four gives a summary.

4.2. Flow of Central Subventions for Economic and Social Development :-

In the period 1972-1983 there had been socio-economic changes compared to the pre-independence period and the years that followed it immediately.. Many development projects were undertaken and central subventions were allocated to finance them.

These socio-economic changes were prompted as a result of Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972. This agreement provided the basis and formula for integrating southern development aspirations into the planning and development strategies of the Sudan. Regional planning council was formed in the south with the purpose of formulating development plans in the south. For example, five years plan 1970/1971-1974/1975.

Repatriation, resettlement and rehabilitation programmes were part of development plan in the region in the period 1972-1980. Also the regional government adopted a policy of self-reliance in food and its concern was placed on priorities related to the provision of food, cash crop production, etc.

In addition, reconstruction and development, manpower training and development were taken into account. But many of these objectives were not fully achieved because of uneven allocation of development subventions for management and implemetation of these projects and development of the region. There were also shortage of skills, scarcity of materials, fuel and inputs, but , transport problems were the most over-whelming factors.

However, the most serious problem facing these development projects is the unevenness in the allocation of

development funds. For instance, The Six Year Plan which was due to start in 1977 with the objective of making Sudan self sufficient in rice and sugar commodities, created substantial surplus for export to Middle East, expansion of mechanized farming and livestock industry in rainfed areas of eastern, central and western Sudan. The southern region was not considered in this plan because Sudan government did not want to give a priority to the traditional sector in the plan for economic and social reasons. The government argument was that modern sector both in irrigated land and rainfed areas, must be given priority as this is the only way of achieving reasonably rapid economic growth. The government assumed that concentration on traditional sector would be a costly, time-consuming operation with little certainty of success. (1) On the other, this plan included contradictory objectives by stating that regional development will be encouraged to narrow the present gaps between the richer region of central and north-eastern Sudan and the underprivileged provinces of the western and southern Sudan. (2) However, the regional plan for the Southern region as integrated into the Six Year Plan of 1977/1978 to 1982/1983 replaced with the public investment programme of 1984/1985 made no provisions for Melut sugar complex and mangalla etc. This period is known as the third year public investment programme 1982/1983-1984/1985, designed to achieve the objectives of economic reform and stabilization policy. The allocations were

made, in accordance and with the intentions of the followings: completion of viable on-going projects, rehabilitation of the productive capacity of the economy mainly in the agricultural and industrial sectors, promoting capacity utilization and increasing productivity in all productive sectors, maximizing exports and speeding up efficient import substitution so as to lead eventually to a balance in foreign trade, provision of necessary infrastructure for successful and efficient operation of the productive sector, promotion of greater participation by private sector in economic development, and speeding up the exploitation of natural resources specially mineral oil. (3) This programme indicated serious concern in rehabilitation of irrigated subsector to ensure export of cotton and groundnuts as the cornerstone objective. The programme aimed also at completion of economically viable on-going projects which the plan assumed will accelerate increased production of exports crops and import substitutes. Emphasis to improve economic infrastructure was also geared to projects that would facilitate movement of exports. (4)

This Third Three Year Public investment programme 1982/1983-1984/1985 was formulated within the framework of the six year plan for Economic and Social Development 1977/1978-1982/1983 which was extended for two additional years 1984/1985. As pointed out before, the programme stressed

improvement of agricultural sector with major concern to the rehabilitation and modernization of the irrigated subsector and the remainder to be used for the continuation of projects under implementation such as Jonglei canal and improvement of rainfed agriculture both mechanized and traditional .(5) But among the rehabilitation-and mainly for on - going projects, only Jonglei was allocated funds. For example, agriculture subsector was allocated 17.9, and irrigation with 25.5 million in local and foreign resources, whereas allocation for the southern region as development finance in agricultural sector beside Jonglei in 1981/1982-1984/1985 was 14.7 million sudanese pounds. (see the table below). This amount was to supplement regional resources.

Table 4.1: Central Allocation of Development Subsidy in Southern Region 1982/1983-1984/1985(million Sudanese Pounds):

Year	Local resources	Foreign resources	Total
1981/1982	0.6	2.3	2.9
1982/1983	0.6	2.8	3.4
1983/1984	0.8	3.4	4.2
1984/1985	0.8	3.4	4.2
	2.8	11.9	14.7

Source: The Third Year Public Investment Programme, 1982/1983-1984/1985, Ministry of finance and Economic Planning 1982,P.45.

Table (4.1) shows that allocation of development funds to agricultural sector in the southern region under The Third Three year public investment programme 1982/1983-1983/1984 is inadequate. The allocation mainly focussed on rehabilitation programme. The table also indicated that total local and foreign resources allocated for development of the region for four years was \$ 14.7 million Sudanese pounds only. But the regional resources were meagre to meet development of the agricultural sector regionally because there were many areas to be improved.

For example, the Regional ministry of Agriculture, Animal Resources, Forestry and Irrigation in the southern region, in its development budget allocated funds for development of agriculture marketing project with the objective of purchasing agricultural products from local farmers and selling them in local or external market. The aim is to stabilize prices of agricultural products by setting up minimum guaranteed prices to farmers as safeguards against fluctuation in the prices of agricultural products. The funds allocated by the region were also meant for the improvement of other sectors of the economy which facilitate development of the region. Agricultural Training Institute of Yambio which is responsible for training of agricultural technicians, land development, crop development etc. Also ox-ploughing extension was encouraged to supplement and reinforce human labour to help farmers increase production of agricultural commodities in the region was included. Many other functions of the ministry provided in the allocation process were: agricultural extension services, horticultural development, horticultural nurseries etc. Other specific agricultural projects included in the plan were Pinykou pilot project, Malakal rice scheme, land development project, Aliab Valley Dura scheme in Yirol District, pineapple production, tobacco development, potato project, Jebel Lado Dura scheme, Amathduol dura scheme, coffee development, tea development, plant protection etc. In addition, Animal resources development took the shape of the following

projects: Juba Dairy Farm, Juba Poultry Farm, Wau Poultry Farm, Wau Dairy, Malakal Dairy, Pasteurization Plant, Poultry Plant Mangalla, Kapoeta sheep improvement ranch, Range Survey and Extension, Rumbek Cattle Ranch, Hides and Skins Improvement in upper Nile and so on. These types of projects are also established in Eastern Equatoria, Yambio, Lakes etc.

Forestry sector also has planned projects ranging from extension of nurseries, wood working factory, afforestation projects in Bahr El Ghazal, re-equipment of saw mills-Eastern Equatoria and Western Equatoria, afforestation and Gum Arabic tapping - up (Bahr El Ghazal), species trials and afforestation in Jonglei etc.

Fishing resources development plans were also aimed at opening new fisheries camps, improvement of fishing methods, to increase production for home consumption and external markets, provision of modern fishing techniques such as fish farming, etc. Malakal fisheries training institute was among these projects.

Other special projects include Shambe and Meshra El Regg ports and agro-industrial project at Mangalla which consists of projects meant as terminal for receiving fish, slaughter house,

poultry plant, poultry farm, wood working factory and electric power and water pump stations.

Plans for development of education, communication and transport etc. are also outlined by respective ministries. But many of these projects failed because of inadequate financial subsidy allocated by the central government. The following table is a summary of the development projects, 1980/1981-1982/1983.

**Table 4.2. Development Project 1980/1981-1982/1983,
Ministry of Agriculture and natural resources,
Southern region, Juba**

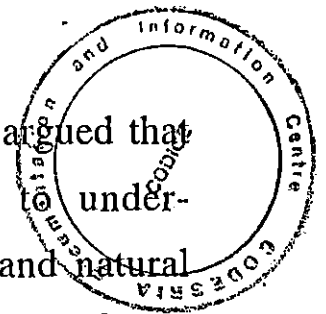
Project	1980/1981- 1982/1983 proposed	1982/1983- Actual Expenditure	1983/1984 proposed	Amount released for investment
<u>A. Bahr Elghazal Region</u>				
1. Awiel Rice Development	410,000	1,243,670	276,000	
2. Aliab Dura Scheme	378,500	200,556	80,000	
3. Rumbek Agric. Training C.	296,500	63,237	52,000	
<u>B. Equatoria</u>				
4. Yambio Institute of Agric.	274,000	268,037	180,000	
5. Agriculture Extension S.	281,000	121,362	40,000	
6. Planning and Evaluation	102,000	55,803	41,000	
7. Penyko pilot project	20,000	466,765	125,000	
8. Jebel Lado Dura Scheme	490,000	192,501	120,000	
9. Horticulture Development	686,500	448,991	111,000	
10. Coffee Development	437,000	770,040	100,000	
11. Tea Development	238,000	85,152	65,000	
12. Upper Talanga tea Project	-	-	40,000	
13. Mangalla Agro. Complex	107,000	16,040	50,000	
<u>C. Upper Nile</u>				
14. Malakal rice scheme	404,800	179,866	-	
15. Plant Protection	273,500	96,826	93,000	
Total	4,399,800	4,208,848	1,408,000	

Source: Regional Ministry of Agriculture and
Natural Resources, budgets, Juba, 1983/1984.

Also, another central subsidy realised by the southern region, was the grant-in-aid to regional and local authorities. This type of subsidy was meant to supplement expenditure on salaries. The intention is to strengthen local authorities financial viability as a means to enable them render social services and to give them chance to generate local resources perhaps to create surplus that can be used for investment or economic development at local and regional levels. For the period of 1973/1974-1982/1983, the grant-in-aid received by the southern regions amounted to LS 230.47 thousand sudanese pounds upto 1983/1984-1989/1990, the grant subsidy increased as a result of expansion in the context of social and economic services and expansion in public sector. For instance, Equatoria region received Ls 560.889 thousand Sudanese pounds, Bahr El Ghazal with Ls 432.145 thousand sudanese pounds, upper Nile had Ls389.135 thousand sudanese pounds and the council for the south in Khartoum received Ls 11.8 million Sudanese pounds compared with that of 1974 -1982.

Another factor responsible for the growth of expenditure is devaluation of sudanese currency since 1978-based on IMF policies. However, inflow of grant-in-aid subsidy to the southern region and other regions in the country has created some sense of financial dependency of regions and local authorities on the central subsidy. Analysing the situation of local government

financing in the southern region, we have elsewhere, argued that dependency on central grant-in-aid is attributed to under-development and under-utilization of the economic and natural resources, such as agriculture, animal resources, forest resources, oil, etc., in the southern region. (6)



On the other hand, observation has shown that transfer of central subsidy to finance regional economic policies and development is not tied to basic needs approach. But allocations are made as a matter of policy and this resulted into the allocation of inadequate amounts for development in the southern region and this has adverse effect resulting in underdevelopment of the region.

Investment Plans of the Regional Government :

Agriculture :-

In 1980, the regional government planned to make the region self sufficient in food by encouraging food production through small-holding farming. This policy was not realized due to lack of cash flow, infrastructure (bad roads and other means) of communication which rendered any speedy operations difficult..(7) The case of Renk in which dura could not reach other regional towns despite the great stock-piles is an example of the difficulty to transport produce from one place to the other. (8)

The problem is that the Regional Ministry of Agriculture in the southern region has no production function except for demonstrative and research activities. It only undertakes production for specific crops such as tea and coffee. For instance, tea is grown in Eastern Equatoria. Iwatoka and Upper Talanga are well known for tea growing in this province. The project covers an area of 1,500 feddans of which 1,000 feddans were under the government and 500 feddans allotted for small holders.(9) The Iwatoka nursery established 50,000 seedlings. In addition Upper Talanga tea projects developed tea plantation of 2,380 feddans. The cost of first phase was about 2.5 million Sudanese pounds in 1978/81 . (10)

On the other hand, coffee plantations occupy an area of 114,000 feddans in Eastern and Western Equatoria. Until 1981, 8,000 feddans were cultivated. The regional government owns an area of 1,184, Nzara complex holds 2,000 feddans, small holder farmers (programme development Unit/PDU) possess 4,000 feddans, large private coffee growers have 800 and cooperatives maintain a small area. Annual coffee production was about 5,000 tons. (11)

However, the regional Ministry of agriculture only plays an advisory role in promoting agricultural development (mainly in the field of food production). It assists farmers by giving them

extension services, provision of improved seeds, tools and introduction of new crops. This role was not sufficiently fulfilled because many small holders did not receive such services. Another function of the Ministry was training of personnel or extension workers. Many of trained extension workers left the job for lack of motivation and facilities and joined other jobs or ministries like Administration etc. Some of them were recruited as police or administrative officers in 1980s. So we can deduce that ministry of agriculture did not succeed in producing food since it was thought to be the work of private sector which was virtually absent in the South.

4.3. The Performance of National Projects in the Southern Region:

There are national development projects in the southern region. They include industrial and agricultural projects. Some of them initiated by the colonial administration inherited by the national government. These include oil mill in Yirrol, and Nzara Agro-industrial complex. Melut, Kenaf and Wau canning factories were established after colonialism.

Melut Sugar Factory :-

This project was a part of the Five year plan 1971-1976. Its expected output was estimated to be 110,000 tons of sugar, 1983. Although construction of the factory was signed with the Belgian

Consortium in 1974 the implementation was rather slow due to transport difficulties. Transportation of construction materials of 18,000 tons were needed but only 1500 tons reached Kosti and another 1500 tons were stranded in Portsudan in 1977.(12)

Another problem was that credit facilities of Ls 27 million for the project work were to be provided by the Belgian credit Bank Du Croire, but it failed to do so. Also the Sudanese government failed to pay its ten percent share within the specified period as agreed upon by the two parties. As a result the consortium terminated the contract in 1978 and pressed for US \$ 4 million dollars compensation on the basis that the government had not facilitated supplies of necessary construction material such as cement on time. Fresh negotiations between the company and the government were also frustrated. Disagreement arose when the matter of compensation was discussed for inconveniences previously committed and the company withdrew in 1979.

Although Melut factory was designed to produce 6,500 tons of cane per day, it lacked agricultural machinery with which to produce the crop for processing. It had 20 tractors for use on the plantations but twice of this number was needed. (13) Moreover, irrigation was lacking. Channels were yet to be dug and pumps were to be installed. Several reports claimed that some of the

project machinery were kept in Kosti because there were no strong cranes to load them onto the lorries which were supposed to carry them to the project Site. (14) Furthermore, other machineries were still in Belgium. Not only that but three pumps earmarked for the project irrigation were stored in Sennar for safe keeping. On the other hand, the machinery which was already in Melut began to rust and this meant replacement or re-innovation if the project finally was to get start.(15)

The project was implemented after trails were conducted by the Agricultural Research corporation (A R C). The trails were successful and feasibility studies were positive. It used 100 feddans at one time but the area declined to 50 feddans due to the lack of progress in the construction works. The cane produced was sold locally or sent to Malakal when transport was available, and the remaining quantity burnt. So if it was supported properly the project would have enhanced economic development in the south. Its poor performances has resulted in the laying - off of 160 permanent staff and 20 seasonal workers who were employed to cut the cane.(16)

Kenaf Factory in Tonj :-

This project was undertaken concurrently with Abu Naama factory in the mid 1970s . The project was funded through foreign aid. The fund intended for the project implementation

amounted to 17 million American dollars, 47 million Italian liras, 22 million Australian shillings and eight million sudanese pounds. (17) But up to 1983 the project was still not yet operating at full capacity. With the out break of the present on-going war in 1983 most of construction materials were still lying at Wau railways station. There seems to be a delay in transporting them to the project site.

Adriano Gwdello an Italian, was the contractor for these two factories. While Abu Naama work was carried out successfully and operated in 1979, Gwdello pulled out from Tonj Kenaf in April 1979-due to shortages of cement and fuel to complete the factory buildings, and operate the machinery respectively. Moreover, several sources pointed out that some equipment were lying in the docks at Portsudan for months and this excuse has continued for years now because of inadequate transport facilities to take them to Wau on their way to Tonj. (18) Not only that but there was lack of mechanized equipment, and consequently, the clearing of land was done by hand or use of traditional implements like hoes etc. So the factory could not operate successfully due to shortages of materials and infrastructural difficulties. But the question is why did not the Sudan government exert equal efforts to make this project a success like that of Abu Naama?

Wau Fruit Canning Factory :-

This Factory was among the projects under the ten year socio-economic plan 1961-1971. It was built in 1963 and production started in 1968. In addition to being a fruit canning factory it was also successfully used for processing canned meat. The cost of its establishment amounted to 102 million sudanese pounds.

The Wau fruit and vegetable canning factory was opened in 1968, seven years after the signing of an agreement between the Sudan and the Soviet Union. It was established in Wau as a gesture of economic and technical cooperation between the two countries. The factory created employment and thus, nearly 500 workers were recruited. The production was roughly nine million conventional cans of food in a year. (19) Unfortunately, it began to run at a steady loss in the 1970s. The reasons advanced to explain its bad performance include absence of a market for the products and non-availability of raw materials. But efforts were made to rescue the situation by allotting 35 feddans devoted to the development of philippine and congpine-apple varieties near the factory. Also, Indian mangoes were grafted onto "bledy" stalks and Italian lemon were introduced. Another problem which impeded production was that pine-apples need plenty of water in winter but irrigation system was not qualified to do that. Until 1982, it operated at under capacity level due to lack of

industrial inputs, spare-parts, lack of efficient management and shortage of finances.

Wau Beer Factory :-

This beer factory was initiated in 1972. But construction was completed in 1982. Building of the Sudan's modern largest beer factory in the southern region was a developmental effort aimed mainly at revenue generating and creation of jobs to the people in the south. But one weakness expected to happen was that raw materials were to be imported from France, Italy and Zaire. (20) The beer factory never worked due to prohibition of alcoholic drinks in Sudan in 1983.

Poor performance of national projects in the southern region has been explained in various ways. For instance, central government sympathizers and planners believe that failure of these projects in the region lies in the over all economic state of the country whose balance of payments deficit has persistently been rising. According to this school of thought, Melut sugar factory was not completed in October 1977 as scheduled due to shortage in finance. The proposed budget for Tonj Kenaf factory was Ls7.2 million for 1980/81 but it was cut down to Ls2.2 million by the Ministry of National planning. The said amount was also reduced to Ls 0.5 million when forwarded for approval ... (21). From this figure about Ls 335,000 was earmarked to meet

salaries of the factory workers. Similarly, a request from Melut scheme for Ls 8 million was cut to Ls 0.5 million. For three consecutive years the southern region was granted Ls 15 million in 1978/1979, Ls 17.5 million in 1979/1980 and Ls 20.5 million in 1980/1981 for its development budgets.(22) But the actual approved sum oftenly released was Ls 0.5 million which is inadequate for development envisaged.

Although the south contributed Ls 13.8 million (23) to its development finance in 1977/1978, the situation remained unimproved. This amount was generated from revenues collected through direct and indirect taxation. According to Abel Alier central subventions were Ls 12 millions, and grant - in - aid to local authorities was about Ls 10 millions per annum. Also, central government contribution to development of the southern region budgeted was Ls 30 millions a year. (24) A pledge on paper only.

The examination of the performances of national project in the southern region show that southern region economy is suffering severely from the lack of infrastructure and shortages of finance. Almost all the industrial development projects planned have been left unfinished or abandoned due to central government failure to provide adequate funds for the efficient functioning of these industries.

Roads Infrastructure :-

From 1972 to 1983 there were attempts to improve roads and land transportation in the region. The following roads were constructed: The Sudan-Kenya road, to connect Sudan with East Africa with an estimated cost of 40.5 million Sudanese pounds. This project was funded by American aid and the construction started in 1982. Completion was scheduled to 1987 but this was interrupted by war in the region.

Juba, Bor and Kongor Road was under construction. This road covers a distance of 220 km. The work started in 1983 with an estimated cost of 350 Million Sudanese pounds. Although completion was expected in 1986, its progress was also hindered by the deteriorating security condition in the region.

Also, Rabak, El Gebelein, Renk and Malakal road was considered. This road is intended to connect the southern region with the Northern region. It is about 500km long and seven metres wide. About 500 million Sudanese pounds were the cost estimate. But its progress was affected by lack of equipment etc.

Jonglei Canal Project :-

Jonglei canal project was initially an Egyptian programme, a well-known partner in the colonization of Sudan under

condominium rule in the period 1899-1956. This raised doubts in the minds of many southerners to whether colonial plans, like it, would yield fruitful results for the development of a region it had deprived under its previous administration .

Other threats speculated included environmental changes if the canal was completed. The digging of the canal is assumed to pose threats in terms of environmental degradation in this region—such as lost of wildlife resources, grazing areas etc; are expected. Anyway, what is clear is that there are plans to introduce irrigated sector of agriculture in Jonglei which is in line with the National development plans of the country. This type of investment reflects the very policies of concentration of development resources on the modern sector of agriculture which have already caused underdevelopment of traditional rainfed agriculture and inadequacy of food supply in the southern Sudan. Traditional farming is sustainable if improved through rational planning based on its traditional farming system and practices because the way cultivation is practiced is feasible. But the problem is that the successive governments only supported projects initiated by colonial system thus undermining locally planned development projects and this is a wrong policy. According to Medani the adoption of erroneous developmental and agricultural policies which discriminate against and undermine traditional farming sector which has successfully

sustained the livelihood, income, employment and food security of the majority of rural poor ... the persistent adoption of these agricultural policies has systematically deprived the traditional farming sector from capital, and led to the fast deterioration in small-scale farming activity... while the modern irrigated sector has increasingly received and enjoyed financial, technical, marketing and price support and subsidies, while traditional agriculture has been marginalized..(25)

4.4. Summary :-

A review of development and investment plans from 1972 to 1989, shows that the flow of central subventions for economic and social development is inadequate to finance many development projects undertaken in the south during this period. It is clear that allocations were made in accordance with intentions to complete on-going projects, rehabilitation of productive capacity of the economy mainly in the agricultural and industrial sectors etc.

A clear vision of development policies in the south was based on the 1972 self-government in the south. Southern development plans were integrated into planning and development strategies of the country. A regional planing council was set up to make regional development plans in accordance to national economic plan policies. But these

development efforts were frustrated because of inadequacy of funds. The excuse of the central government has been that central subventions were meagre to support many development projects in the southern region. This argument is not totally correct because most of the Northern regions unlike the Southern region did receive much more financial support to finance some economic and social activities and services.

Nevertheless, grant-in-aid finance had continued to be allocated to the Southern region. Although it was mostly meant to be used for payment of salaries, it contributed greatly in the development of social services in the southern region. On the other hand, the national projects in the southern Sudan failed due to lack of industrial inputs, spare parts and finances etc. This was because the central government made no efforts to ensure financial resources sustainable to keep them functioning. Other industries like Melut never functioned. Another factory which did not operate after its completion is the Wau Beer Factory because of Sharia law which banned alcoholic drinks in the country in 1983. So investments made, mainly construction of the factory building are wasted and this has an economic impact in the region. Wau canning factory and Kenaf in Tonj functioned but at below capacity level and they were collapsing because of financial problems before the outbreak of the war in the southern region.

On the other hand, the Sudan-Kenya road , Juba, Bor and Kongor, Rabak, El Gebelein , Renk, Malakal roads were interrupted by the war in the region. Also , the Jongei canal project halted because of the war. This was the most favoured project in the region by the central government whereas its oponents claimed that the project posed threats in terms of environmental degradation, lost of wildlife resources and grazing areas etc.

Finally, much effort is needed to consider an even allocation of development funds with the intention to fulfilling developmental aspiration of the southern region.

The unevenness in the allocation of central subventions and financial resources for development, inability of colonial administration and the successive goverments to undertake sound economic strategies systematically since colonial period, and during independence and post independence periods enhanced socio-economic underdevelopment in the southern sudan.

Although the independent governments focused attention on laying the foundations for new agricultural and industrial policies in 1970s, new industrial policy and strategy to link these subsectors in more productive manner was relatively achieved in

the north but the industries in the south failed as a result of uneven allocation of development finances and inadequate financial resource transfer to the region by the central government.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Africa, The international magazine, Special Report No 57, May 1976, pp.66-67.
2. Ibid..
3. see the Democratic Republic of the sudan, Ministry of finance and Economic planning, Third Three Year Public Investment Programme, 1982-1983/1984-1985, June, 1982 , p. 44.
4. Ibid, p. 44.
5. Ibid.
6. A.M. Dhal, "Local Government Financing in the Southern Sudan," IAAS, (Unpublished M.A. dissertation); University of Khartoum, p. 76.
7. Interview with Bassiouni, David, " Pursuing self-sufficiency", in: Sudanow, April 1981. p.26-28.
8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid, P.
13. Sudanow, February, 1977, P.36
14. Sudanow, Ibid.
15. Ibid,
16. Taban, Alfred Logune, " Regional Projects: Funds and Feasibility", In: Sudanow, April 1981: pp.26-29 .
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Sudanow, Ibid.
20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. M. M. Ahmed, " Agriculture in the Sudan: The Need for A " Blend Between Indigenous Knowledge and Modern Technology," In : Medani M. Ahmed (ed), Indigenous Farming systems, Knowledge and practices in the Sudan, Sudan Library series (21), IAAS, Khartoum University Press, 1994, pp.10-34

also see the following:

Interview with Abel Alier, " Our Country is Reconciled with Itself"... in: Africa No 78 February 1978. p. 36.

26. Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICIES AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTHERN REGION, 1980 - 1989

5.1. Introduction:

Chapter five investigates into the relationships between national governments economic policies and the underdevelopment in the southern region. The aim is to find out why these policies failed to bring some development in the south. This will be done by examining the economic policies of the national government in the period 1980-1989. Section one introduces the chapter. Section two deals with the national economic policies 1980 - 1983. Section three discusses effects of the war in the period 1983-1989. Retardation of development in the southern region is part of this section. Finally, section four gives the summary.

5.2. National Economic Policies:

In the period 1980/1981-1982/1983, The Three Year Investment Programme was formulated with the purpose of improving the deteriorating balance of payment through expansion of exports, to raise the capacity of the existing capital

stock, to rectify the financial imbalances and to ensure regional balance in the national policies. (1) The strategy for achieving adjustment was to invest more resources on rehabilitation, maintenance of existing development projects, raising of productivity of important schemes, completion of on-going development projects, consolidation and expansion of infrastructural projects such as transport, power and water projects.

Efforts were exerted to achieve some of these policies, For example, expansion of transport sector was done successfully in the north. Constructin of Port Sudan-Khartoum high way road, building of Kosti bridge, Kober bridge, Kosti-Khartoum road, Khartoum El obeid road etc., were completed. In the south, Jur river bridge is one example.

In addition power and electricity services were improved in Khartoum, Medani and Port Sudan. As a result of improvement in electricity and power, industrial sector grew in these towns.

However, the most important thing is the policy of development pursued by the state. The countries or regions seen to have progressed depend entirely on the efficiency of government and its commitment to achieve development. The government makes itself felt through overall policy of

development pursued by the country, for instance, modernization of traditional agriculture.. investment policies (for example irrigation projects), research and development (identify natural potentialities),... extension services, market and pricing policies land use and tenure. (2) Some of these policies have not been undertaken sufficiently in the south. The support to improve agriculture in the southern Sudan was based on few government demonstrative farms in 1980/1981 - 1983/1984. Fifteen development projects were budgeted for. In Bahr El ghazal there were Awiel rice scheme, Aliab dura, and Rumbek agricultural training centre. Equatoria had Yambio institute of Agriculture, Penyko pilot, Jebel Lado, coffee and tea development, etc. In upper Nile, Malakal rice scheme and so on were the development projects. (see table 4.1. and summary of investment in Southern Sudan - table 5.1. of this chapter).

**Table 5.1. Summary of Investment in the Southern Region,
1980/81 - 1982/83 :**

Sector/Project	1980/81-1982/83 proposed budget	1982/83 Actual Expenditure	1983/84 Proposed budget
Agriculture	4,399,500	4,208,848	1,408,000
Animal Resources	939,900	1,051,232	390,000
Forestry	1,770,100	702,640	375,190
Fisheries	1,028,930	1,082,913	104,000
Nzara Agro. Industry complex	1,192,500	351,818	427,000
G/Total	9,815,390	7,478,457	2,704,190

Source: Regional Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources,
Juba, 1983/84.

Also see the list of development projects 1980/81-1982/83
in chapter four.

Finding investment capital to support production in
agriculture is a challenge in the southern region. Actual finance
allotted for this purpose does not match the proposed budget as it
is clearly shown in table 5.1. and this presents problems. These

problems became clear in Bahr El Ghazal region in 1992/1993. Development budget increased to 21 million sudanese pounds in 1992/1993 for Bahr El Ghazal region alone. In 1993/1994, a fixed amount of 150 millions were approved to meet investment expenditure. But the amount of only 25 million sudanese pounds was released by the central government. According to planning department that amount was used by the council of ministers on services other than development projects. For 1994/1995, 240 millions were approved for the region's development out of three milliars which is less than 3% of the proposed investment budget of the Bahr El Gazal state. Moreover, nothing was released for development activity. But what is clear is that some of the development problems emanated through:

- 1/ Release of inadequate funds for development, thus, hindering the implementation process.
- 2/ Improper use of investment funds by governors and their finance ministers.

It is along this line of argument that planners feel that political interference in the form of diversion of development funds could frustrate efforts to undertake economic development in the region. So the problem is not lack of skills, technology and education alone but also mis-use of funds by political authorities.

But with this staggering progress in the southern region some northerners believe that the south has gained more than enough from the national cake in 1980s and it was interrupted. Individual objections advocating anti-regional progress for the southern region were published in various magazines like sudanow. An article entitled 'southern danger', stated that "*... it is now time for southerners to leave for the southern region and bid fare well to the north. Many of these people say that they are unhappy about the north, its people, policies and religion, yet they crowd into our capital and compound the problems here in Khartoum. No region-except the south..has ever been granted a separate budget . I am totally against the Addis Abba Accord; the south gained everything, but the whole of sudan gained nothing. Miniorities can live with us peacefully, but it is foolish to give them the whole country. The example, of the south might be good evidence for the west and the east to separate*". (3)

It is wrong to conceive regional budget a separate one. Development plans are formmlated according to guide lines of the national policies. They are also integral part of the national economic plan and policies and they should be concieved in that context. Also, it is an exaggration to assume that the south gained everything and the sudan gained nothing . Regional

autonomy was used as an example for decentralization of planning etc. It was seen as an acceptable way to extend socio-economic progress to the south at least to re-dress failures of the colonial administration and the independence policies. Regionalisation proved to be useful and it was applied in northern region in 1980. So the idea that the west and east may separate is not a strong claim. Unfortunately, the central government responded to the line of argument followed in this article in 1981 by introducing 'Kasha'; and as a result southerners were forced to go back to the south through the use of military forces and the state police. Also the central government changed its policies by implementing sharia laws in 1983. A law that dismantle or put out of use projects which were revenue generating, for example, Wau Beer factory.

Such political decisions are closely related with the underdevelopment of the southern region in the sense that resources intended for development were now wasted for political ends instead of investment on development projects.

On the other hand, the economic objectives of the economic recovery plan in 1987 did not cover regional development policies and the southern region in particular. But it dealt with economic issues at macro-level. Its main objectives were:

- to ensure the recovery of a sustained growth in output which will allow increases in per capita income and consumption, especially availability of essential goods.
- to moderate the rate of monetary expansion.
- to achieve greater self-reliance by improving the external payments position and reducing dependence on foreign aid.(4)

These were to be achieved through maintenance of price incentives in agriculture, removal of both physical and administrative constraints from industrial production as well as investment, improvement of parastatal agencies efficiency, encouragement of saving and investment in the private sector and strengthening the budgetary position of the country. A review of this plan shows that the southern region has been neglected. And this explains why the southern region remains underdeveloped until today.

Finally, in 1980s the central government was occupied with further regionalization policies for the northern and southern regions. The government policy was to commit funds for development after division of the region into three regions of Equatoria, Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile.(5) This policy was

stated by Nimeri's regime mainly when it pointed out that "... after regionalization, the most important task facing the authorities is the development of the economically backward south".(6) In persuasion of the southerners to accept redivision policies, the government cited its previous fulfilled promises of what it did to achieve the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement by saying "... in February 1972 ... practical steps were taken to southernize the regional administration ... pour Northern funds into a crash development programme for the area far more than had been done in all the previous years of independence". (7)

Redivision here seems to be a precondition for the southern region to receive development funds.

However, the period of 1983 was the period in which the southern region was divided into three and each region had its own investment programme formulated.

5.3.1. War and Retardation of Development: Effects of War 1983 - 1995 :

The effects of the war on the southern region are devastating. From 1983, the year in which war broke out in the region up to 1989, all economic activities and social services such as education came to a halt. Few factories and agricultural schemes which were suffering from financial problems finally

collapsed or closed down like that of Nzara, Yirol oil mill, Wau canning factory, Kenaf factory at Tonj, Aliab dura scheme, Amethduol dura scheme, Jebel Lado experimental farm, tea plantation in upper Talanga, Timber saw mills in Loka, Katire and Wau, beside oil exploitation in Bentiu etc. My observation is that as a result of the war natural resources like oil, forestry, agriculture and livestock remained unexploited, destroyed or not attended to, in the south.

Access to education, health and social services are ^{un}reliable since all primary, intermediate and secondary schools were closed and dispensaries abandoned. School buildings are turned over into military barracks or camps like Bussere, Rumbek secondary etc. Few equipment and educational materials which were available were destroyed because of the war. At the level of the country one billion U.S. dollars was committed to meet direct costs of the war in the south since 1983-1992. (8)

In addition, human loss is high. Population in the region is heavily displaced and they live under condition of homelessness and food insecurity. The displaced people are exposed to starvation, hunger and disease. They are residing in the camps under the government controlled towns and dependent on relief assistance provided by both international and local relief agencies. However, the table below, is an illustration of the displacement of people as a result of war in the southern Sudan.

**Table 5.2: Displaced Persons Residing in the Camps,
Khartoum City 1983-1996:**

Region/State	Area Council	Total
1-Equatoria	Juba	202000
	Yei	71000
	Kaya	20000
	Mundri	8000
	Tumbura	15000
	Maridi	23000
	Yambio	-
2- Upper Nile	Malakal	45000
	Renk	12000
	Mayom	15000
	Bentiu	20000
3- Bahr El Ghazal	Wau	40000
	Awiel	80000
	Malwal	15000
	Raga	10000
		578000

Source: Commission of the Displaced Khartoum, 1989. Also, see George's legu lecture notes on disaster management, DSRC, University of Khartoum, 1996.

The table indicates that about 578,000 displaced are settled in the displaced camps in Khartoum city as from 1989-1996.

On the other hand, 300,000 Sudanese refugees were staying in camps in Ethiopia in 1988.(9) In the same period about 120,000 displaced were settled in the camps in Juba and 50,000 in Wau. According to Africa confidential by the end of August, Juba had run out of relief supplies for its 120,000 displaced people. Meanwhile the International Committee of the Red Cross announced that 50,000 people in Bahr El ghazal capital Wau were desperately in need of food. Death rates in Awiel and El Meiram are 50-100 a day. (10)

But while the displaced were heading to Khartoum, many of them lost their lives on the way. One major incident is the "Dien's (11) massacre under Sadig's ElMahadi government in 1986. The massacre claimed lives of about one thousand Dinkas(12). Other sources pointed out that their bodies were doused with petrol and set ablaze.(13) Rizeikat are accused of carrying out the murder. Also, children were taken as slaves. The tragedy was that no legal steps were taken to bring the murderers to the court.

In addition, the massive displacement of rural population to the northern Sudan, urban cities, towns in the Southern region

and neighbouring countries to escape the dangers of war is regeretable. Childern left without parents and homeless and those who ran endlessly to the north for survival and protection got trapped by economic difficulties and therefore ended up either living as street boys, servants and sometimes forced by circumstances to stay in slavelike living conditions. Child abuse and neglect in terms of labour exploitation (low wages etc.) were rampant. Many female childern were seen working as servants in return for food. Women were another vulnereable group specially those women who generate incomes through brewing of local alcholic drinks. Raising of incomes through beer or alcholic drinks contravens against state's laws which are Islamic. The states laws prohibit making of alcholic drinks and it is punishable. As a result of this, many women were fined, lashed, imprisoned or a combination of these three types of pumishments were enforced upon them. These are heavy punishments and as a result, the displaced people who opted to take refuge in the northern regions, lived in continuous difficult conditions of harrassment and they feel the stress and are depressed as a result of the war in the southern region. Both childern and women sufferred a great deal. For example, Sudan council of churches (SCC) report of 1994/95 gives a general picture of the war effects on the displaced, when it stated that " more

than 22 cases in 1994 out of 690 reported salient cases of mainly Dinka

children kept in western Sudan in slave-like conditions and other children collected at market places in town of Khartoum were taken to the camps for proselytization. In addition, there were cases documented 445 of women prisoners in the capital and the adjacent states to Khartoum. These women are imprisoned for mainly dealing in local drinks. (14)

5.3.2. Retardation of Development

There are Three important indicators that measure retardation of development in the southern region as a result of the war and bad policies. Firstly, education : Most of the schools in the southern region are closed because of insecurity. Teachers ran to the northern part of the country. Also the displaced schools like Imatong secondary school opened in Ahalia Omdurman in 1986, Mairidi, Shambe, Tonj, Fashoda Secondary Schools, etc., were discouraged as a matter of policy by central government in 1992/93. The state's policy was to absorb pupils into the national schools in the north. Although it is a sound policy it is not appreciable because the underlying reason behind the opening of the displaced schools was that some of the displaced pupils are over school age and they could not cope up with the school age children in the Northern regions. Many of them are beyond the age eighteen and twenty

and this made it difficult to mix them with those of age seven and ten etc.

However, closing down of the displaced schools implies that most of the displaced children who came to the northern region to seek education will remain uneducated. But a point to be made is that neglect of education in the Southern region by the colonial administration has contributed to the underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan. It is crucial to allow the displaced Southern Schools to function so as to enable the region increase its literacy rate.

Secondly, agriculture: Agriculture is the back-bone of traditional subsistence economy in the Southern region. It provides food to people and raw materials to industry like Yirol oil mill etc. Its importance in development of the economy is pronounced in the Sudan. For instance, Thornton stressed its instrumentality when he argued that functions of agriculture in the economy are provision of peoples' food, raw materials for industries, exports, labour and capital to nonagriculture, an occupation for a section of population, surplus for reinvestment in its own growth (15). This analysis is an indication that agriculture is a stirring wheel and pre-requisite to development. Therefore, if it is retarded, underdevelopment may persist. Thus, it is worthnoting that Thornton's argument is in place mainly if

we take the example of Gezira Scheme. It is my opinion that our experience with Gezira agricultural scheme showed that improvement in agriculture led to the richness of that state and attainment of higher literacy rate. So it is a worrying situation that as the war continues, traditional agriculture will continue to be retarded and socio-economic imbalances of development will continue to be widening and therefore, the central government will be held responsible for the widening of the inequality gap.

Also, let us not forget that the central government policies in 1980 had indirectly or directly helped retardation of development ^{of} the economy in the Southern region mainly when it failed to release development funds on time. For instance, a joint report by UNDP and the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "one area in which support has not been forthcoming adequately is in the provision of funds. There has been the delay in remitting funds. the government has not provided ... funds for development work. Shortfalls and delays in funding have created difficulties and this shows little promise for the long -term future .

(16)

Thirdly, mineral resources such as gold remained unutilized and out of government control. Not only that but the war has stimulated gold smuggling to neighbouring countries like Somalia. One source revealed this fact when it stated that

"Southern Sudan's war has stimulated production from local alluvial deposits... much of out-put finds its ways to Somalia where it may be legally sold at auction. Other produce finds its way to Kenya or Uganda". (17)

5.4. Summary:

The tragedy is that development or regional economic balancing policy was interrupted by opponents of regional progress of the southern region in 1980s. Individual objections were published in Sudanow. As a result the central government responded by enforcing "Kasha". The Military and police was used to return Southerners to the region by force. This decision was followed by re-division of the South- a way to dismantle self government in the region. Thus, outbreak of the war in the Southern region in 1983.

On the other hand, effects of the war on the region are devastating . Many of the displaced people because of the war lost their lives on their way northward in search of security. Children became parentless, kidnapped or enslaved in the Western Sudan. Those children who escaped Dein's massacre and managed to arrive in Khartoum were faced with economic difficulties and therefore some of them live now as street children. Women are another vulnerable group. Many of them (lactating and pregnant) are imprisoned because of brewerying

- the only means of generating incomes for them to support their family livelihood in the northern region.

Although retardation of development in the Southern region started in 1980s as a result of the delay in the release of funds for development work by the government, it persisted as a result of the war. The indicators are that the displaced Southern schools in the north are closed down as a matter of policy, hence aggravating the neglect of education services started by the colonial administration and enhancing the underdevelopment of the southern region.

Therefore, it is the contention of this thesis that the persistence of underdevelopment in the southern region and failure of economic policies to create developmental mechanism as a means to mobilize investment, saving, technology, social progress and dismantling of regional government in the southern region in 1983 resulted from bad government policies which caused underdevelopment of the southern region and escalated conflicts between the northern and the southern regions and had consequently resulted in the re-emergence of the war in 1983 upto now.

From our analysis of this chapter, we found that the relationship of government's economic policies with the

underdevelopment of southern region are characterized by delay in the release of funds for development in the southern region. Another relationship of governments policies with the underdevelopment in the Southern Sudan during the post independence period is manifested in the neglect of the region from being included in the economic recovery plan of 1987.

FOOTNOTES:

1. The Ministry of Guidance and National Information, Perspective on the South An Analysis of Trends and Events Leading to the Final Decree of Regionalisation for Former Southern Region of the Sudan, compiled by Sudanow, Khartoum, 1983, P. 18.
2. Thandika M. Mkandawire, "Rural Development, Agriculture and Food : Preliminary Proposal in ICCDA Beyond the North-South Dialogue," ICCDA Secretariat, Asian and Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur, 1983, p.60.
3. Mir Khord, Mirghani K, "Southern Danger", in: Sudanow, vol. No 1, Jan. 1981. P. 9.
4. Bank of Sudan, Twenty Eight Annual Report, 1987, P. 80.
5. The Ministry of Guidance and National Information, Op.cit., p. 18.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

8. Africa Confidential, Vol, 29 No. 10 13th May 1988, P.81. Also see Wohlmuth, Karl (ed), Alternative Economic strategies for the Sudan, Sudan Economy Research Group Discussion paper No 26, University of Bremen, Bremen, Dec. 1992.
9. I bid.
10. Ibid, Africa Confidential.
11. U.A. Mohamed and Baldo, S.A AlDien Massacre Slavery in the Sudan, Khartoum, 1987, PP. 12 and 20.
12. Ibid.
13. Africa Confidential, 29 April 1987, Vol. 29 No. 9 P.2.
14. Ibid.
15. Sudan Council of Churches A report by the Department of Advocacy and Communication, Khartoum 1995, P.2.

16. D.S. Thornton "The Role of Agriculture in Sudan's Economic Development component, in : D. S. Shaw(ed), The Philosophical Society of the Sudan in Conjunction with the Sudan Agriculture Society, Agricultural Development in the Sudan, Proceeding of the 13th Annual Conference, Dec. 3- 9 1965, Khartoum 1966, P. 12.
17. See the Democratic Republic of the Sudan , The Country Programme Assisted by the United Nations Development Programme, A Joint Review, Report Prepared by Dr. N.P.R: UNDP. Khartoum, 1992.
18. Africa Confidential , Sudan : "Challenges All round", 29 , 1988, Vol. 29 No. 9, P. 8.

CHAPTER SIX

LINKS OF COLONIAL AND NATIONAL POLICIES WITH UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGION

6.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess the defects of both the colonial and the national policies and their connection with the underdevelopment of the southern Sudan. The intention is to examine development strategies practiced by these systems.

6.2. The Colonial Policies and Underdevelopment of the Southern Region:

Actor in development: the colonial administration was the sole body playing the role of providing socio-economic needs of the people in the Sudan. As an actor in development, its efforts were centred on the improvement of irrigated long staple cotton. Others included transport and communication sector, etc. But we shall focus our discussion on irrigated cotton because of its leading role in the Sudan economy during the colonial and independence periods.

In the northern region agricultural sector was supported by the colonial administration. Besides small pump irrigated agriculture, agriculture was transformed into modern sector of the

economy through introduction of mechanization and modern technology mainly to cultivate long staple cotton by irrigation in Gezira. The objective was to increase cotton yields and output so as to enhance international trade. Other colonial motives were the belief that development of trade and industrializations of the western world would best be assisted in the Sudan through increase in cotton yields for exports. The following argument by Holt affirms this by explaining that "*Wingate's*

Governor-generalship saw the beginning of a revolution in the economics of the Sudan - the production of long staple cotton for the world market but the future of cotton production depended upon irrigation system in Gezira."(1)

Also the colonial administration facilitated progress of irrigation programme in Gezira by providing a loan of Ls 3,000,000 in 1913(2). This Financial support guaranteed by the British government reveals its interest to improve the cultivation of long staple cotton under irrigation system to promote exportation of cotton.

In the southern region, only small areas of medium-supply of rainfed cotton was encouraged by the British administration in the Zande scheme in 1940s without adequate financial assistance. But introduction of cotton as a cash crop in the region

had produced many negative effects. It discouraged local inhabitants from cultivation of sesame, cassava, sorghum, chillies, tree crops and other food crops in the Zande areas. Zande farmers were diverted from improving the production of local food stuffs like maize, groundnuts, honey gathering and beans. As a result they could not produce a surplus for exportation as they did with chillies in 1945. Anthony and William argued that"... Prior to the commencement of cotton growing for the Zande scheme in 1945 chillies supplied the only exportable cash crop."(3)

However, interest in cotton production in the southern region was clearly dictated by British economic interests and not by interest in the development of the region. Unlike the irrigated sector, machinery and technology were not sufficiently introduced to improve the expansion of rainfed cotton cultivation in the region. (see table 6.1.).

Also there is a strong evidence that the introduction of cotton as the cash crop as well as the establishment of local cotton industry in the southern region was motivated mainly by the British interest to create employment to British personnel in the southern region. For example, nine houses were built to accommodate the British managers and engineers during factory construction. Other 56 houses were for accountants, electricians

and store -keepers who were not from the region. (4) A project like this should have started with training of personnel from the region to work in the factory. So development of human resource was not undertaken the matter which handicapped production of cotton, and only very few feddans were cultivated. Also the cultivation of small areas of cotton was also a result of insufficient funding of the project by the colonial administration. Table (6.1) below depicts commitment of the colonial administration to produce cotton as cash crop in the Sudan generally and in the southern region in particular, except in the Blue Nile region.

**Table 6.1: Areas under cotton production by Provinces
1960 - 1961:**

Province	Area in Feddans
Blue Nile	649 000
Kassala	55 000
Northern	6 000
Khartoum	-
Kordofan	164 000
Darfur	-
Upper Nile	1 000
Bahr El Ghazal	-
Equatoria	32 000

Source : Abdel Rahim Mirghani, Dvelopment planning in the Sudan in the sixties, Graduate College Publications Monograph 2, University of Khartoum , 1983,P.18.

From table 6.1 , it is evident that the colonial administration invested more resources in long staple cotton under the irrigation system. The Blue Nile area which included the Gezira was the leading region in total cropped areas under long staple cotton with 648 thousand feddans. The area under cotton cultivation in the three southern provinces was 33 thousand feddans. 32

thousand feddans were in Equatoria and one thousand feddans were in Upper Nile . It should be noted here that some of these provinces were converted into regions in 1980s and currently into states.

The area under cotton cultivation is small in the south because modern machinery and technology were not adequately introduced in the southern region. The few tractors seen in the south during the colonial administration were used for removal of human waste and disposal of refuse by the colonial administration rather than agricultural work. Where these machinery were not available, bulls were used for the same purpose. There was no training of bulls for agricultural work such as ox-ploughing but people were trained on how to use them for transporting refuse, etc. Consequently, the expansion in cotton cultivation mainly in the irrigated sector and little support by the colonial government to inject changes into subsistence agriculture in the region have contributed to economic and social imbalances between the areas of irrigated cotton and the marginalized rainfed cotton and agriculture in the southern Sudan. The fact that agriculture remained in the form of traditional subsistence farming contributed to the underdevelopment of the southern region. Also it has made many economists to believe that the economic backwardness of the southern region has its roots in the colonial economic policies

which disfavoured agricultural development of the region in the past. It is alleged that the colonial administration took great interest in growing long staple cotton for commercial purposes. Its main objective was seen to sustain textile industries in Britain. Also international trade and accumulation of industrial capital were the motives. Cotton marketing was seen flourishing between Sudan and the Britain. According to Mohamed Hashim Awad, "the marketing policies of the Sudan ... were basically mere responses to the developments in the buying policies of the United Kingdom, her largest customer." (5)

Another defect of this policy is that while the colonial administration favoured cotton cultivation, it neglected production of food production the matter that exacerbated poverty in the Sudan. Accordingly, Awad pointed out that "the

colonial administration did not take interest to produce food crops. Instead it concentrated efforts in growing long staple cotton. Even in Gezira itself cotton was grown for export only. But the only case where dura was cultivated was in Gadmabala near Gadarif during the period between first and second world wars to feed army soldiers in the middle East"(6)

6.3. National Governments Policies and Underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan :-

During independence period, National governments assumed the role of being an actor of socio-economic development . Its role and function is to plan,implement, allocate and distribute economic resources in the country. Its priorities were investment on the same projects initiated previously by the colonial administration. This process of concentrating investment on projects like Gezira scheme led to the maintenance of growth pole strategy. But the gist of the growth pole plan was heavy investment in the socio-economic activities in the irrigated agriculture, and mechanized farming in Gadarif . The areas covered by this strategy include Gezira, the Blue Nile and white Nile and the riverain district... north of Khartoum. (7) This region was, and continued to be the major source of the country's commerical production and it is favoured in terms of social and investment programmes.

The concentration of investment in these areas reflect the same colonial logic of producing enough cotton for external trade and this has dictated regional inequalities / disparities in economic growth between modernized and mechanized agriculture in the northern region and the traditional sector in the southern region.

The weak point of growth pole strategy is that investment is concentrated on irrigated cotton and in one area, hence resulting to a loop-sided growth of the economy and consequently created economic imbalance among the regions of one country. This disparity was imposed by the colonial administration for the fulfilment of their objectives and it is wrong to promote or adopt it. This is clearly explained by Abdel Salam, in his argument that : "*... by intentionally laying the foundation for these structural inequalities; the colonialists were leaving behind a time bomb. They rendered the Sudan an area of potential ethnic Cleavages between the haves and the have-nots..*"(8)

In my opinion the have-nots refer to those regions which are underdeveloped because of wrong development strategy that favoured one area . This partial growth strategy which excluded a region is one possible root cause of underdevelopment in the southern region . This policy is the link between national government policies with the underdevelopment of the southern region. Experience has shown that heavy investment on one part of the country and one crop particularly the long staple cotton in Gezira has brought severe regional disparities and the underdevelopment in the southern , eastern and western Sudan . It is like serving one child out of ten with milk , butter plus any other nutritious food stuffs whereas the remaining nine are given

coarse food inadequate for their survival. Such a policy of sacrificing numerous regions only to develop a few regions is undesirable and unhealthy for the central government to promote. Re-allocation and redirection of investment resources and facilities to cover those regions previously neglected will be a decision in the right direction. The economic policy desired, is to decentralize and engineer massive shift of investment resources from currently favoured areas to the marginalised or underdeveloped regions.

Another dimension is the political propaganda. Some political statements influenced economic plans of the state and they are responsible for the underdevelopment of the southern region. This is in the sense that politics did not address real economic issues. Some political statements released as a matter of policy were more or less exaggerative and false and this has an impact on development of the south. It is along this line of argument that the national government in 1964 stated that " the

development programme implemented by the national rule - all over the Sudan exceeds by far the efforts of the foreign administration in half a century in many respects. In education, economic advancement and social evolution the pace of development is unprecedented in the history of the Sudan - the southern Sudan which suffered a great deal as a

result of the British policy of seclusion recovered part of the lost ground and derived tremendous benefits from the national regime - the era of imposed poverty and nakedness is gone."(9)

In economic terms , there is no economic advancement nor development achieved. The evident is that Sudan is among the underdeveloped countries or poor as grouped by international standards . But relative growth of the centre and mainly Gezira area was construed as economic advancement .

In addition , if we look back to the southern region, we find that significant proportion of the population is still going naked for lack of enough finance to buy clothes , contrary to the national government's claims in 1964.

Starvation is rampant due to lack of food and improvement in agricultural sector . Also people die in big numbers because of diseases and inadequate health services, etc.

Inspite of this deplorable economic situation, the national government claimed achievement of agricultural development in the southern region through introduction of new crops such as coffee , tea and tobacco . It was stated by the same national government of 1964 that "*agricultural*

Bank of Sudan has directed its services to the South where the need was urgent for

production of these crops . There is, therefore, a crucial need to encourage Southerners to participate in economic development of the Southern region.

However , the constituent Assembly report of the Facts Finding Committee on the Southern Sudan, October 1966 , mentioned that one of the reasons of the Mutiny in 1955 was that Southerners believed that "*.. the*

northerners officially and publicly failed considerably to prove their good will to that part of the country and also failed to explain their economic, social and political scheming to develop the South."
(11)

This statement places blame on the northerners but this generalisation is incorrect . All the northerners are not the central government even though some of them are influential over economic politics of the state . Failures of the central government are never the responsibilities of individual northerners as such but the central government in particular. But what is clear is that failure to develop the Southern region seems to be a persistent event . The fish pond programme to be discussed below is a good example .

Fish Pond :

Fish pond project is one of the development schemes introduced by the national government but it was unfruitful. The objective of fish pond farming was to promote protein requirements in tse-tse fly infested areas in 1959-as a substitute for livestock development. The pond programme was too, hindered by lack of financial support .

Until 1972, under May regime, fifty government demonstrative fish ponds culture were privatized and were taken over by private fish farmers to generate profits from sale of fish .

But among many economic activities , fish farming is economically rewarding and it can generate substantial incomes. Also its progress was eminent if development efforts were exerted for its improvement. The indication of its success to raise adequate finances through fish pond farming is the availability of fish ponds stocked with indigeneous fish species because they can breed freely in the pond environment and feed on natural food organisms that are abundant . According to the fish specialists , fish pond yields have quick returns because young ones are obtained from rivers and transplanted into the fish ponds and grow to a marketable size of (400-600g) within 6-12 months.

(12)

The areas where fish pond was practiced by private fish farmers included Yei, Ezo , Maradi , Yambio , Nzara , Li- yubu and Tambura . In 1975 ,16 fish ponds farms were in Yambio and Nzara. But, in fact, fish potential is great in the Southern Sudan and efforts to develop such resource should be broadened to cover the whole region so as to maximize output to serve external and local demand . Therefore , to confine fish pond activity in western Equatoria alone reflects encroachment of growth pole strategy (unbalanced development) into the Southern Sudan . This confirms the national government's inability to undertake economic policy capable of lifting up the region from the present stage of underdevelopment .

On the other hand , privatization of development projects in a backward area like the Southern region has its defects. The private merchants are only concerned with profit making and do not care about general welfare of the region. Maximization of commercial profits is the motive by the commercial class and this has affected the states economic policies because opinion of the commercial class overwhelm the country's development policies. Therefore, I believe that some development problems emanated as a consequence of the interests and behaviour of the merchants , farmers and businessmen. Accordingly, Ahmed argued that the concentration of economic services in Gezira and Gadarif was not by chance. It was meant to fulfill interests of commercial groups

and this has resulted in expanding the "beneficiary groups"...(13) which as surplus extractors maintain strong link with the state's bureaucracy ... These beneficiary groups are observed to have a say in state's development policies and as a result the development efforts of national government are geared to fulfillment of their interests . This view further noted that the beneficiary groups refer to private merchants , rich farmers and bureaucrats.

6.4 Bentiu oil

Bentiu is one of the provinces in Upper Nile region. Oil resource was discovered in this area under the May regime in 1978 . The town was renamed as unity province right away with the discovery of the oil . The oil wells were named as Unity I, Unity II and Unity III.

However, the baptism of Bentiu as unity was misunderstood . The questions raised were : Was Sudan not united before oil discovery ? How does changing of name consolidate unity of the country? or does it mean that Sudan was driving toward separation if the oil was not discovered ? Does it mean that the central government is denying contribution of the South toward economic development? All these questions remained unanswered by the central government and we do not want to dwell on them now.

Another controversial and debating issue was the decision of the central Minister of Energy and Mining to build the sudan's second oil refinery at Kosti. The Portsudan refinery handle primarily imported crude oil while the planned Kosti refinery would handle the bulk of the crude still burried .(14) under the soil.

The policy to locate the refinery at Kosti was said to have been made ,. based purely on technical grounds at the instigation of chevron oil Company involved in oil exploitation activity.

The Southern region was opposed to this policy, but supported refinery of the sudan's crude oil installment in Bentiu. According to this view, Bentiu needs more than Kosti does. The assumptions were that an oil industry offers jobs and development. Apart from providing jobs, it would be an opportunity to train people of the region in skills needed in the oil industry and the accompanying growth of basic infrastructure could greatly benefit an extremely backward areas such as Bentiu. (15) In more precise terms, refined oil fuel , oil products and petrochemicals are essential inputs to any industrial growth , generating jobs and providing opportunities for training in industrial skills . (16)

Beside the allocation of oil refinery outside the Southern region, building of pipeline from Bentiu to Kosti is uneconomical because pipe lines need the use of steel for making them (since the steel is stronger than iron) and with larger diameters . Steel is lacking in the Sudan and if it is available it is only a potential resource and requires hard currency to develop it. Experts are also needed to weld pieces of steel pipe together and make the joints stronger. Also on agricultural lands pipelines must be burried deep enough so that they do not interfere with farming . Not only that but the burried lines are coated with a protective covering to avoid corrosion . In addition , where pipelines cross swamps areas , rivers or lakes like Bentiu area they may be encased in concrete to protect them or give them extra weight to stop them floating up when they are empty. (17) All these activities require huge amounts of money and advanced technology than construction of the refinery in the oil site . Tankers can be used to transport the oil to where it is needed or marketed-which is much cheaper .

However , utilization or construction of oil refinery outside the Southern region will deny it some opportunity to develop its economic base. This is because building of a refinery in the Southern Sudan means an additional increase in investment , creation of jobs and incomes to the people . It also means

broadening of productive capacity and provision of infrastructural services.

The government policy to build the refinery at Kosti seems to have affected planning of public petroleum corporation in 1983/84 specially when the corporation excluded Bentiu oil field or well from their proposal which the corporation submitted to the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. The Fund held discussions with officials of the petroleum public corporation concerning that report on the oil sector in Sudan. The report dealt with six items. But for the purpose of this chapter, the following few points are important to mention: these include estimation of the quantities of explored and expected oil, use of the discovered crude oil at the fields of sharaf and Abu Gabra to produce electricity for the western regions, exploitation of the gas fields in the Red sea area... (18) It is interesting to see that nothing was raised about funding of Bentiu oil in the southern region by the corporation. This implies that the corporation is not ready to invest in oil exploration and production in the southern region.

6.5. Summary :

From our discussion in this chapter we found out that the colonial administration supported long staple cotton under irrigated system in Gezira only to increase its yield for

commercial purposes, i.e. international trade and western development at the expense of the Sudan. In addition, the colonial interest to grow cotton in the Southern region resulted in the discouragement of the Azande people from the production of food crops, which were very much needed for its subsistence. Crops like cassava and others were not cultivated on a scale large enough to generate surplus for local demand and external market. The production of chillies declined since interest to grow it was diverted to cotton as the cash crop in Zande area in particular. Also creation of textile industry in the Zande land was merely to provide employment to the British managers in the Southern region .

Therefore, underdevelopment of the Southern region persisted as a result of the national government adoption of the past colonial economic policies . Concentration of investment as a means to improve long staple cotton in Gezira is a colonial policy , hence, applying growth pole strategy.

However, growth is important. But growth that does not observe regional balance is unsustainable economically, socially and politically. Also growth pole strategy has led to absence of modern agriculture in the Southern region .

The best way to eliminate the underdevelopment of the Southern region is to provide it with productive opportunities.

Improved agriculture and fish pond culture would add to the progress of the region. Privatization of fish pond farming is undesirable because the commercial class is concerned with profit making rather than the region's welfare.

Also just and fair political decision regarding installation of oil refinery in Bentiu is crucial. Building of oil refinery in Bentiu would generate rapid creation of jobs, and growth of infrastructural services etc. thus, eliminating underdevelopment in the southern region in a very short time span. It will also create a feeling of oneness in the sense that the region has a contribution in the development of the whole country.

FOOTNOTES:

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CHAPTER SEVEN

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICIES AND EXTERNALITIES

7.1. Introduction :

The objective of this chapter is to analyze economic policies and foreign resources used for investment in the Southern Sudan . The aim is to assess the role of foreign aid in the development of the region during the post independence period . In this chapter externalities refer to foreign resources integrated into national economic policies for investment in the Southern region. Section one introduces the chapter. Section two highlight the national government economic policies from 1977/78-1982/83. This was the time when foreign aid started to be realised in the region. Section three focuses on Arab aid to the Southern Sudan. Section four examines external aid linked to water resources : economic relations with Egypt is the main focus in this section. Section five deals with external assistance provided by Western, Eastern bloc, Bilateral and Multilateral aid. Finally, Section six gives a summary.

7.2. National Government Economic Policies :

National governments in the Sudan have attempted to seek foreign lending to complement local resources for development . So economic policies of 1977/78-1982/83 plan and other plans

were the integral part of the national economic policies during this period.

The formulators of 1977/78-1982/83 plan intended to achieve an accelerated growth rate in real per capita income at an annual rate of 7.5% in constant prices. The plan listed a number of objectives such as conservation of the country's national resources, development and modernization of the traditional agriculture sector (which did not happen), raising the productivity in all sectors of the economy, expanding productive employment opportunities, and limiting of unemployment as a first step towards its eradication; developing industry as a sector complementing the agricultural sector giving priority to agro-industries and import substitution; achievement of self-sufficiency in food stuffs and agricultural products; consolidation and expansion of basic infrastructure in the fields of transport, communications; power resources, marketing and storage facilities; improving the balance of payment positions through increasing of production and exportation, encouraging private sector (both foreign and local) to play an effective role in development; developing the cooperative movement so as to mobilize all available financial and human resources for development; providing more social services mainly in the fields of health and education, devoting more attention to rural development and advancement of retarded areas, increasing and

mobilising public and private saving, and basing central development firmly on regional planning. (1) These economic policies also ensured foreign financing through bilateral agreement with some Arab countries.(2)

Later, the public investment programme 1983/84-1985/86 did not contain any new projects . It was concerned with rehabilitation of the productive capacity of economy and improvement of infrastructure. It was also conceived as the fourth Three^{year} Investment Programme. Its objectives were to achieve :

1. An average growth rate of 6%, compared with 3.5% in the previous public investment programme .
2. Rehabilitation of existing projects and consolidation of the economic infrastucture.
3. Intensification of measures that increase productivity and capacity utilization.
4. Expanding and Strengthening the role of the private sector in economic development .
5. Directing investments towards maximization of exports.
6. Substitution of imports in which the Sudan has a comparative advantage . (3)

A point to be made here is that major amount of this investment was directed toward rehabilitation of irrigated projects as a means to ensure increases in agricultural output , exports and

imports substitution . Equally important is the distribution of the foreign finance of the major agricultural schemes in 1983/84 as follows : Rahad agricultural corporation got \$ 9.5 million U.S. dollar, the Gezira scheme with \$ 6.5 million, White Nile agricultural production corporation \$ 8.4 million, Blue Nile agricultural production corporation \$ 15.0 million, New Halfa agricultural production corporation \$ 17.9 million, Southern region agricultural development, \$ 4.5 million, Jonglei \$ 12.6 million. A total \$ 73.9 million U.S. dollars was distributed for improvement of these projects in 1984.(4)

Although foreign resources were used as directed the share of Southern region is the lowest for agricultural development. The new Halfa agricultural production corporation and Blue Nile are the leading areas provided with the foreign funding followed by Rahad agricultural corporation and the White Nile . The Gezira scheme received less amount than the rest of the development projects of the foreign resources during this period . Jonglei is a jointed development programme by Sudan and Egypt and it is not our concern in this chapter . However, the allocation of foreign resources for development as it appears in our analysis shows that very little agricultural development will be expected -in the Southern region because of the uneven distribution of foreign aid.

7.3 Arab Aid to the Southern Sudan :

The aid institutions from Arab countries which contributed to complement the above economic policies included the Arab fund for Technical assistance to Arab and African countries (AFTAAC) established in 1976. Its role is to provide technical assistance programmes , facilitate studies , offer servicing , promote scientific and cultural cooperation . The fund covered thirty-two African and Arab countries in 1976-1977. It has offered ninety three scholarships and 123 grants for training programmes . Its starting capital was \$ 15 million

Another fund was the Arab fund for Economic and Social Development (AFESD) and Islamic Development Bank (IDB) formed in 1968 and operated in 1974 . Both institutions have funded underdeveloped countries , mainly Arab; Afro-Arab and African countries. They gave Priority to Sudan, Somalia, Mauritania, Djibouti, etc .

Sudan received 11.2 % of the fund between 1977 and 1978 from its \$ 987.9 million : Nothing was earmarked for the development of Southern Sudan . According to M.O., the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) authorized capital of 750 million islamic dinars. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, U . A. E. And Libiya contributed 60% of the share . (5)

Kuwaiti Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED) was another aid facility intended to assist Arab states in developing their economies , provide financial and technical assistance for the execution of development programmes. It had the largest contributions ranging from \$ 712.5 million in 1961 to \$ 3.45 billion in 1977. (6) Beneficiaries from this fund were governments, institutions involved in developmental activities and semi public bodies. From these tremendous donations, only one million was invested in the Southern Sudan. The Kuwaiti aid was in form of 214 low-cost houses built in Juba in 1980-1982 .Also Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development (ADFAEDF) 1971, gives assistance to African countries. It deals with infrastructure project, cotton , spinning and sugar refining , agriculture and rural development. But funds from this source have ^{not} reached the Southern region yet .

In 1976 , according to Mohamed Hashim Awad, the Arab authority for Agricultural Investment and Development (AAID) was set up in Khartoum with a capital of \$ 500 million .Until 1977, the Sudan received from Arab countries and the fund thirty two different loans which amounted to \$ 430 million in the form of support for the balance of payments and development assistance.(7) . From the flow of Arab aid to the Sudan very little was allocated to the Southern region for socio-economic development in 1970s and 1980s. It appears that the national

government did not include the development programmes of the Southern region in the plan of external aid from the Arab states. Also, the Arab funds are alleged to have ties to cultural cooperation and religious programmes which have not yet taken shape in the Southern region. This argument was mentioned by Mohamed Omer Beshir when he argued that " the loans , grants and scholarship were made to those countries where islam was predominant ."(8)

Another development project supported by Kwait was Sudan-Kwaiti poultry production company (SKPPC). The Kwait's total investment in this project was estimated at \$10 million. The project was expected to supply the local market with eight million eggs and 1.2 million boiler chicken in the period from July 1977 to 1979 in its first phase. Also fourteen thousand tons of fodder was to be produced for export to Abu Dhabi as well as 11,000 tons for the local market.

Until 1980 the project targeted three million boilers, 22 million eggs with rising feed proportion. (9)

The project was constructed in July 1976 by the middle East Construction Company. It occupies an area of 100 feddans. The project activities included production, hatching, feed growing and processing, slaughtering, cleaning, packing and

marketing. It generated employment of staff and technicians and they were 100 in number. Also there were two veterinary officers. (10) Although the project is situated in Wau town, it is still not functioning and the reasons for its stoppage are not yet revealed.

From our analysis of Arab aid to Sudan we found that only one million American dollars was used for constructing 214 low-cost housing in Juba. This means that Arab aid to the Southern region is not merely determined by religious motives but it is determined by the economic policies of the successive national governments in the Sudan. It depends on the projects favoured by the central government and this deficiency resulted in the underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan .

7.4. External Aid and Water Resources : Egypt:

Egypt is another Arab country which undertook joint development programmes with the Sudan. Also, these two countries are naturally linked up by the Nile unlike other Arab countries .

In addition, water resources from the White Nile and the Nile have connection with economic development in Egypt and the Sudan. So availability of water resources would act as a link to attract foreign lending , create genuine economic cooperation, joint planning , joint constructive policies and sharing of benefits

and disadvantages. It is observed that the water resource to human life is exceptionally important: Without it life is impossible and development will be handicapped . (11)

But, the Nile water and its use is institutionalised by the Nile Water agreement of 1929 and 1959. These Nile water agreements are intended to regulate distribution and utilization of the flow of its water for irrigation, power, flood control, dropping water supplies and various uses needed by the communities living along the river. The agreements are also guided by international and national laws which govern the control of rivers so as to prevent suffering of people from loss of water as a result of unfair river control. (12) In Egypt, the demand for water to increase agricultural production of cash crops and food stuffs in the face of growing population is very high. Allocation of water between Egypt and Sudan under the Nile water Agreements made Sudan to receive a much lower share of water compared to Egypt. Not only that but after the construction of the Aswan High Dam, Egypt was able to irrigate its desert land, plant forests, expand rice cultivation and maintain efficient power and energy supplies whereas such benefits were not realized in both the Northern and the Southern region of the Sudan.

Instead, some regions in the Sudan suffered from Egyptian water control policies . For example, the construction of the

Aswan High Dam resulted in the flooding of Halfa, thus, creating Lake Nasir. Displacement of population and destruction of homes were experienced. Halfawins had to be resettled and floods' victims were to be compensated.

The same floods were also reported to have caused damages in the southern Sudan mainly in Bor and part of Yirol district (Province) in 1960s. The interviewees I talked to have claimed that the flood of 1961/1962 was caused by the surplus water which was prevented from its normal flow during the Aswan High Dam construction at that time. Many of them explained that the floods in the Southern Sudan occurred because Jebel Aulia Dam was closed to minimize flowing of water into Aswan, and as result the blocked water settled in low land regions of the Nile and the white Nile, thus, creating lakes. The sudd region and Bor are some of the low places substantially damaged by the floods. The flood measured approximately six meters above the ground as the marks of water were seen later, on the few left over trees after the flood in 1967. The Bor people called it "Abor riak piny" meaning floods that destroyed the land.

However, our interviewees gave evidences that the floods had connections with the Aswan High Dam construction by saying that "... with opening of the dam after its completion, water flowed to Egypt and while some of it was reserved by the

dam, immediately the river was seen shrinking and the land was recovered partly in Bor..."(13)

Therefore, the co-occurrence of the drop of water level in the White Nile river, right after the completion of the dam seems to be more logical. But special research on the causes of floods in the area would probably reveal more information.

Our concern is to point out that while the Aswan High Dam yielded fruitful development projects in Egypt, it displaced Halfawin in the northern Sudan and caused migration of Bor people to the northern region mainly to Khartoum and Medani. There were no development efforts made in terms of resettlement or compensation to the people of the region like what happened to Halfawin. For three years and more, Bor and the Sudd region remained flooded. Human lives lost were estimated at 20,000 people and more in Twic area only. (14) Another interviewee who was an eye witness estimated loss of over 45,000 people for the whole area, 85,000 cattle, 120,000 goats and sheep. (15) To him death came as a result of drowning, hunger, and diseases. The interviewee claimed that he lost 27 cows and 10 sheep. Another interviewee alleged that his family owned 100 goats and all of them got drowned.(16). It appears that losses and destruction were huge since the flood started by night and crept

into the huts and "luks" by september 1961 while people were sleeping.

On the other hand, this incident of Egyptian water project does not mean that Egypt contributed nothing to the southern region. On the positive side, it provided educational assistance to the south. Although records did not show, experience showed that number of southern graduates from the Egyptian universities is much greater than that of the sudanese universities. Under the rule of the High Executive council in 1970s upto 1978 and 1978-1983 the number of southerners accepted yearly into the Egyptian academic Institutions of high learning was thirty students mainly to the faculties of agriculture, medicine, veterinary, pharmacy, education and arts. So, until 1984, over three hundred southerners must have been accepted in Egypt.

Control of rivers to guarantee water for agriculture, power and energy is necessary and dams are constructed for these purposes. But also the same objectives should equally be pursued in the southern region. For instance, the strip of Kapoeta- pibor land can provide suitable agricultural schemes if irrigation facilities are installed for farming activity. This land is flat, fertile and free from thick bushes and trees. It is also rich in wild-life resources. During dry season, a considerable number of animals die of thirst and lack of pasture because of dryness of the

land. The need to construct feeder canals for irrigation to meet water needs for the wildlife resource and agriculture in this area is crucial to enhance the development of the southern region.

Moreover, the incidence of floods caused by the Egyptian use of water is not the only policy which affected Southren Sudan. The Selim's mission through the sudd region to Gondkoro (1841) and exploration into the source of the Nile in East and Central Africa was aimed at collecting ivory to enhance the dwindling resources of ~~the~~ Egyptian treasury, and to explore the country for commercial activities respectively. (17) His visit sparked up news of commercial opportunities in the Southren Sudan and the northern Sudan as well as in Europe, and the merchant class rushed to the southern region to obtain ivory; thus resulted in the scarcity of the commodity and caused the merchants to turn to slave raiding.

Another development was Sudan-Egyptian bilateral agreement based on 1965 agreement and its progress was reviewed in 1973. It considered removal of trade restrictions, abolition of import export duties, exemption of Sudan's exports to Egypt and Egypt's exports to Sudan from custom duties. Also both countries agreed to remove administrative controls. For example, abolition of open general licences system and introduction of issuing of a new statistical form.

In addition, Egypt and Sudan established an integration fund to play the following functions in 1983:

- Raise funds from regional and international sources and aim at attracting foreign capital
- Right to establish banks companies and financial institutions to finance integration projects .

The authorized capital of the fund was Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) 500 million . Each country pays 1/3 of its share in its local currency and 2/3 in foreign convertible currencies. (18) Until 1983 , the fund was headed by an Egyptian as the chairman. One of the achievements was that the popular National Development Bank was established in Khartoum to finance the integration projects and projects assumed to be contributive to food security . The Sudanese - Egyptian Integration Company (SEIAC) was one example of these projects. One million feddan were cultivated in Damazin in 1982/83 , 60 thousand feddans were cultivated with dura, cotton and soya beans .

Furthermore, the two countries undertook a joint company for fishing and fish canning in the Nuba Lake district, meat production project in Al-Kadoro costing Ls 15 million, concentrated fodder production Ls 19 million and so on in the

Northern Sudan only. There are several proposals which include: agricultural, irrigation and natural resources such as oil seed project, fertilizer, tea plantation, coffee and tobacco projects. (19) Also, industry and mining, transport and communication were proposed. The transport sector was concerned with the Aswan Wadi-Halfa road, and Wadi Halfa - Khartoum road which is about 947 KLM. (20)

However, the economic integration between Egypt and the Sudan provided nothing other than harmonization of regulations and laws concerning economic activities and financial policies of these countries. A review of the economic integration programme tells us that the projects for development are concentrated in the Northern region and merely served the Egyptian development interests. The fact is that the development programmes which are foreign contribution are unevenly distributed and have added to the underdevelopment conditions of the Southern region. Other sources have even claimed that the fishing project installed in Jebel Aulia was intended to be established in Malakal.

7.5. Non Arab External Assistance :

These are external resources coming from non Arab countries as from 1971. At the level of Sudan, the Western bloc was the major contributor at this period. U.S.A. provided \$ 11

million for the Rahad scheme , West Germany pledged DM 60 million loan and Britian offered aid worth \$ 14 million .

In addition , the World Bank earmarked \$ 42 millon for Rahad , \$ 20 million for railways improvement and \$ 10 million for electricity infrastructure . These loans and gifts were to fund the 1970/71-1974/75, five year plan. This plan was extended to seven years and was confined to public investment . (21)

This Five year plan (FYP) laid the infrastructural basis for agricultural expansion by initiating a big expansion in the country's road net work, communication systems and electricity grids . (22) This external aid excluded the Southern region despite the fact that electricity power, road network, communication system and agricultural expansion are very much needed to enhance development in this part of the country.

Also the six year Economic and Social Development Plan 1977/79-1982/83 was complemented with the external finance of Ls 21,085,750. The regional resources were Ls 231,310,00 whereas the central subventions were Ls35,875,750 for the fiscal years 1977/78-1982/83. (23) This external aid was invested on specific development projects in various places in the Southern region.

Regularly bilateral aid : the main donors were the British Technical Aid, Danish and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Overseas development Administration (ODA), German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), Netherlands and Belgium. Each agency supports specific Development programmes in the Southern region. For instance, USAID financed projects in the Southern region for 1978-1986 were : Primary health care, manpower development, Yambio Agricultural Research Stations, rehabilitation, Rural health support projects, roads and rural infrastructure. All these amounted to U S \$ 78.926 million. (24) Belgium contributed to the Southern region through mineral exploration. Copper and magnite were discovered in the Southern Sudan as a result of Belgian aid in 1970s and 1980s .

Multilateral aid contributors were the UNDP, WHO, UNICEF, WFP, World Bank (IDA) and EEC. In the Southern region, UNDP funded Yambio Institute of Agriculture. UNDP/FAO was concerned with raising of citrus seedlings, development of pineapples suckers, production of Irish potato's seeds, etc. Whereas EEC financed projects in the region in 1977/78 - 1982/83 included tea production in upper Talanga, Awiel rice scheme , coffee cooperatives , etc. - With an amount of 7, 862, 000. It also granted aid to central government projects

existing in the South like Juba Airport, Juba university to mention only a few. On the other hand, World Bank (IDA) supported education in the South by building Juba Day Secondary school and May vocational training school at Wau at the cost of Ls 18,910,000.

A number of voluntary organizations funded development projects in the Southern region from 1977 to 1983. German Leprocy Relief Association, Norwegian church Aid, Sudan council of churches, Lutheran World Federation, Christian Aid and International Technology Development of London, Voluntary service overseas (V S O) assisted development programmes of the region in the period, 1972 - 1986. Appendix (4) gives summary of external aid used for development in the southern Sudan. It is an illustration of the projects funded through external resources. In the appendix, places and project costs are indicated and the Contributing agencies shown. Also it can be pointed out that development projects funded through external aid are evenly distributed in the southern region and therefore balanced development was expected.

7.6. Summary :

The national government economic policies were supported by foreign resources. The foreign financing of development programmes in the Sudan was generated through bilateral, multilateral and international voluntary bodies.

Arab countries have contributed large amounts of financial assistance to the Sudan. But these financial, technical and economic resources were mainly invested on development projects in the northern Sudan. Some of the little aid from Arab countries invested in the southern Sudan came from the Kuwaiti assistance in the form of 214 low - cost houses built in Juba in 1980s. It has also supported poultry project. Another Arab Islamic Project physically existing but not found in aid records is the Sabah Hospital for children in Juba. It is intended to provide health services to the children in the southern region.

In addition, Egypt, the only Arab country linked with Sudan by the Nile, has joint economic projects with the Sudan to an extent that a Sudanese-Egyptian integration company and a national Development Bank were established in Khartoum. Also, one million feddans were reserved in Damazin in 1982/1983 as a part of the integration and 60 feddans were cultivated with dura, cotton and soya beans. This is beside the Nile water Agreements.

Our review of the economic integration between Egypt and the Sudan and Nile Water Agreements reveals that Egypt has benefited from these economic projects more than the Sudan. In this respect the Aswan High Dam construction is a good example. Its construction has enabled Egypt to cultivate its desert land, increase rice production in this area and allowed it to

install a huge electrical power station for household use and for industrial development. The Aswan dam construction has resulted in floods destruction and displacement of Halfawin people in the Northern region and people of Bor in the southern region. Also the southern region lacked power and electricity services for household use and for industrial development. The region lacks irrigation facilities and agriculture remains backward because it is dependent on rainfall. If the water resources were used in the same way as it was done in Egypt, the land strip of kapoeta-Pibor would have been put under irrigation-hence improving agriculture in this area. Regulation of water would also provide wildlife resource with water and pasture.

But the external assistance coming from non Arab countries whether on bilateral, multilateral and voluntary agencies were realized in the southern Sudan. International organizations, like UNICEF, WFP, UNDP, WHO, and so on were involved in education development, health programme, Mineral exploration and exploitation in the Southern region. Agriculture was given emphasis and institutions concerned with promotion and development of agriculture in the region were supported, especially Yambio Institute of Agriculture. Tea and coffee were also funded. Major agricultural schemes like Awiel rice was financially and technically assisted, rehabilitated and the results were successfully reaped in 1980s.

However, it is the contention of this thesis that external resources are instrumental in the development of a region but bilateral, multilateral and voluntary assistance should not be tied or based on economic cooperation which are exploitative and unhelpful like that between Egypt and the Sudan. It should be tied to the global call of sustainable development aimed at eradicating poverty, ignorance, disease and unemployment as basic indicators of underdevelopment for many regions in the Sudan and for the Southern Sudan in particular.

Based on this line of argument, there is, thus, crucial need for the central government to raise foreign resources for development in the Southern region as a means to reduce poverty, inequality and underdevelopment. There is also a need to develop techniques of how to use the Nile water for local irrigation in the Southern region and for generation of power and electricity for both household consumption and industrial development.

As long as Nile basin water use and distribution remained governed by international laws, terms of economic integration or cooperation should follow the law of comparative advantage as a means to remove disadvantages which might be caused by the water use and distribution agreements between Egypt and the Sudan.

FOOTNOTES :-

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CHAPTER EIGHT

ECONOMIC BACK-WARDNESS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN : IS THERE A WAY OUT?

8.1. Introduction :

The purpose of this chapter is to stress that transformation of traditional agriculture into modern farming in the southern region is a way out from the present economic backwardness. It also argues that modernization of traditional farming in the southern region can be achieved through application of basic needs development strategy and introduction of irrigated system in the Southern region. Section one introduces the chapter. Section two deals with obstacles of economic development in the region and examines the role of population factor in development of the region. Section three explains basic needs approach to development in the region and discusses the use of irrigation. Section four deals with other resources which can contribute to development in the southern region. Section five gives a summary.

8.2. Obstacles of Economic Development in the Southern Region :

The economic history of the Sudan reveals that the southern region is late in economic development because investment

policies have not been adequately directed to development . For example, irrigated agriculture and technology used in the northern region were not equally introduced in the southern region to improve food production .

However, many economists agree that economic development in any state has much to do with human endowments , social , political conditions and power . But more direct determining factors of economic development are availability of natural resources, technological progress, population and efficient political system or governance .

Natural Resources and Technology:

The quantity and quality of natural resources affect economic development of a region . In the case of the southern Sudan , the natural resources are abundant. They include land and fertile soil, forests, good river system, minerals and oil and also good climate. A region's productive capacity largely depends on these natural resources which are available . Without sufficient natural resources it is difficult to expect any sizeable economic progress. But the British administration (colonial history) did not mobilize these natural resources sufficiently and they were left idle or unexploited. Also, the use of national resources and their contribution to economic development depends on the type of technology applied. So the problem is that

technology has not been applied adequately to utilise the abundant natural resources of the region .

Empirical data has shown that technological progress helps in the discovery of new resources, for instance, discovery of oil resources in the southern region in 1978. Although technological progress increases efficiency of production (say in agriculture sector) minimizes cost and optimizes the use of natural resources, it hasn't at all been introduced in the region. Also the use of improved techniques in production brings about great increase in per capita income for the people. Moreover; technological progress involves research on the use of new and better methods of production or the improvement of the old methods. Thus, technological progress has a very important role to play in the economic development of this region but it was deliberately ~~kept~~ withheld. According to Dewett, no backward region can hope to march ahead on the road of economic development without adopting newer and newer techniques of production and unless it is assisted in its march by technological progress. (1) But technological progress largely depends on governments that support economic development and welfare of the people.

Efficient Political Administration:

Efficient administration and good governance is also an important element and a requirement conducive to economic improvement of the region.

Some of economists and professional managers often agree that skills and education enhance political and managerial capabilities that help development to take place. This assumption tells us that qualified politicians, professional managers and economists can do much to bring development or economic progress to the society by identifying constraints and by designing approaches and techniques that help development to occur. These qualities seem to be lacking under the colonial administration as maintained by the successive governments. If there was any efficiency, it was overshadowed by political struggles and self interests. The fact that both the colonial and post independence governments were largely concerned with investment and technical improvement of irrigated agriculture sector to increase productivity whereas traditional farming was neglected explains economic deficiency of these systems.

The political condition produced by these systems generated contrasting responses and feelings among the southerners. Their responses were manifested in terms of separation versus unity as a means to redress the post colonial

legacy and achieve development in the southern region . Unity under a highly centralised system has created discontent . But attempts to harmonize separation and unity of the country were made through regionalisation policy and mainly granting of regional autonomy to the southern region in 1972 . On the other hand, separation has been opposed by the northern region since independence and post independence periods and wars have been fought in this regard . Until 1990 s , the world international order has been expected to resolve this problem , but the result is left for the future ... However, whether or not the country remains as one united country or separated is not the subject of our discussion here . Our main concern is what could be the most appropriate development approach to bring about development of the southern region in the shortest time span under any system of government ? This is important because the strategy of development pursued by the government determines development of a region. Also, investment policies which are adequately supported plus an efficient political system are more or less prerequisites of development . In the next section we will analyse an approach of development which we think is more appropriate for the region.

Moreover, the use of natural resources and their contribution to economic development depends on the type of technology and development approach applied . So the obstacle

is that neither technology nor appropriate development approach has been applied adequately in the region to utilise these abundant natural resources of the region due to inefficiency of the successive post independence governments.

On the other hand, it must be noted that skills and education are no longer the major problems. The same logic used to improve economic conditions of urban areas and towns like Gadarif etc. , can be applied in the southern region . Even lack of development resources at the level of the Sudan was not the issue for economic backwardness of this region during the post independence period but lack of political power and manpower seems to constitute the main causes. The following statement by Sanderson and others is a confirmation of the above mentioned argument . They argued that "...this

disturbing lag in Southern education was not due to government poverty - Throughout this period there was a surplus, often a very large surplus of revenue over expenditure. The government was willing in principle to spend more money - The insuperable obstacle was manpower . " (2)

The Population Factor in the Development of the Southern Region :

Obstacles to development differ from country to country and from region to region. For instance, an increasing population is undesirable in the western world. By contrast a very small population has many disadvantages. In the southern Sudan population is small in relation to land area and resources but larger than that of Libya . Until 1983 census, it was six million whereas that of Libya is roughly five million. In any case small population does not generate substantial benefits from specialisation, or division of labour nor a sufficient market for goods produced in the region . This was the main problem in the southern region. If the population was large it would have stimulated large scale production in agricultural sector and livestock sector . Too small population does not justify the creation of large scale projects nor does it promote a sufficient market for goods produced. But development usually leads to increasing population, and this in turn increases the size of local market which facilitates labour mobility, division of labour and specialisation. This encourages investment in the sense that extra consumer demand in terms of goods and services necessitates additional investment by increasing, for instance, number of schools, hospitals , factories and agricultural farms, etc. Also, it stimulates improved techniques of production thereby accelerating development. (3) In this context large population

acts as manpower which can be mobilised for massive productive work in various economic fields .

8.3. A Basic Needs Approach to Development in the Southern Region :(4)

Development strategy in the Sudan is based on the application of modern technology which is more or less a western style. This type of strategy has been criticized in various ways. For instance, Mohamed Hashim Awad indicated that not all technological imports have been designed to cater for the needs of those directly linked with ... but much has been directed towards urban communities with developed western style of life. To him high priority areas that need a new application of technology include the traditional sector, specifically farming and handicraft trade, where the gains promise to be large. (5) Linked to this argument, the basic needs approach can be most appropriate to help development of traditional agriculture to prosper. However, we would like to stress the need for development of agriculture because without agriculture we cannot develop - the farmer as the beneficiary and contributor to national and regional economic modernization and development must be equipped with proper development strategy to play a role in production. The basic needs concept will enhance this role. According to Bhalla basic needs concept, approach and strategy of development is a type of development that attaches a

special weight to the fulfilment of basic needs, both material and non-material, in a given society and aims at meeting this objective in the shortest possible time-span (6). Although it is similar with other development strategies, basic needs approach calls for people to participate to determine their basic needs by setting targets for production and consumption, etc. So basic needs fulfilment is a socio-economic technique and an essential prerequisite as well as a way to alleviate inequalities of development and to ensure wider participation of potential beneficiaries. It too calls for a greater emphasis on indigenous technology application, and improvement of accessibility to food and goods and services, etc.

In the South it is feasible to increase agricultural output if both modern tools, farming techniques and indigenous farming techniques are used. What, I refer to as modern tools and farming techniques include provision of credit facilities to traditional farmers, livestock herders and use of hand driven tractors for farming, provision of irrigation facilities and expansion of cultivable lands. The objective is to produce food stuffs sufficient enough to build capacity for food security in the region. The availability of food at all times for all people, accessibility to it, adequate and acceptable in the region may generate surplus that can be used for re-investment for developmental purposes of the region. The idea is that if food is

secured and poverty eliminated, the rest will follow and development will be achieved easily because shortage of food causes malnutrition, sickness, and inability to do productive work. Even if education is available, the school children will not have energy and interest to attend classes. They may also be faced with mental retardation and their performances will be poor. Therefore, there is a need to invest more resources on development of agriculture with the intention to produce sufficient food since it is one of the most important basic needs.

Food production (food security) can be achieved through provision of loans and other facilities to traditional farmers to buy fertilizers, new seeds and simple agricultural machinery. This sector is worthy of development because over 80% of the population in the Southern region are dependent on traditional sector and they need encouragement to grow sufficient quantities of food to ensure them against poverty and generate surplus that can stimulate agro-based industries. There is strong belief that raising their prosperity can lead to development of the region as a whole. Solving food crisis in the South would enhance effort to achieving development.

Empirical evidence shows that countries or regions such as Japan and America which strongly supported agriculture are industrialized and this same example can be used in the region.

Agricultural Development : The Choice of Irrigation :

Agriculture often fails in the Southern region because it is dependent on rainfall which is uncertain. Poor rains frequently result in crop failure and in addition, there are no provisions made to support small farmers. In this area there is a need to ensure that traditional farmers work all year-round instead of on a seasonal basis. This can be achieved through introduction of irrigation systems. For a very long time some traditional farmers or cultivators used irrigation method to grow tobacco and maize in the cattle camps during dry season. If this traditional technique is reinforced and improved with the use of modern irrigation facilities, agriculture will get improved. An irrigation project will not only increase output in the area where it is situated but also it generates other benefits. Traditional farmers will raise their incomes and receive improved services. Also, an increased output will generate increase in business activity and creation of economic infrastructure in its region. It is expected that a number of millers, bakeries and grain merchants will appear as seen in Gadarif and Gezira. It is the contention of this thesis that irrigated agriculture enhances production of food and expansion of cultivable area and this may solve food problems and impoverishment of the southern region.

Although irrigated agriculture is conceived as modern sector it should make use of the indigenous farming techniques in

the region to avoid desertification and other environmental problems caused by mechnization, etc. Cultivatiom in the region can be in such a way that trees are not up-rooted but reserved. One aspect why under-development is persistent in some parts of the sudan and elsewhere is due to neglect of indigenous farming methods. This is emphasised by Clement C.Onyemelakwee when he argues that : "... *Underdevelopment*

persists, because people have neglected a technological base favorable to the local factor proportions ...development can not gather momentum in any underdeveloped area unless there is an indigenous technology." (7)

Along the same line of argument Medani M. A. stressed that the negligence of traditional farming knowledge by the government policy makers... has produced serious negative effects on farming activity and the incomes of traditional farmers have been declining continously due to failing productivity of the land and lack of investment .. (8) He further pointed out that "... the adoption of erroneous developmental and agricultural policies which discriminate against and undermine the traditional farming sector are responsible for non contribution of traditional farming to development in this country(9) .

However, traditional farming has lagged behind because modern farming used machinery and other inputs. Also farmers using tractors cultivate large areas of land whereas traditional farmers use hoes and spend longer time to cultivate only few acres in the southern region. The need to narrow the gap is crucial.

Development of agriculture in the southern region may result in creation of employment opportunity capable to absorb the surplus of unemployed labour force currently present in the northern, eastern and western sudan, hence, solving the country's unemployment problem.

But introduction of irrigated farming and mechnization in the southern region may generate environmental, social and health problems. For instance, heavy machinery which will be involved may compact the soil causing a hard pan which rainfall can not penetrate resulting in severe run-off and flooding and ultimately affecting yields. (10) Another problem which can be anticipated is that well-to -do farmers may acquire large agricultural schemes and land resulting in displacement of indigenous population and land disputes between the rich farmers and small farmers would take place. Also disputes between the farmers and livestock herders for loss of grazing areas will come to surface. Even wildlife resource will be affected

by lack of grazing areas. Forest devastation and soil infertility are some of the possible consequences. Soil exhaustion caused by improper rotation, increased flooding and water logging , soil erosion due to removal of the vegetation cover, may result in failure and decline in agriculture development. (11)

In addition, our experience with Gezira scheme and mechanized farming in Gedarif should make us more aware and cautious to avoid long term dangers which come as a result of implementation of development programmes. For example, presence of water borne diseases in Gezira is a clear evidence that any irrigated development project must foresee that the same health problems will also occur . This is well explained by Diana when she asserted that "... major irrigation schemes in Sudan have done much to promote the spread of diseases such as malaria and schistomomiasis..."(12)

Moreover, mechanization or modernization of traditional agriculture means importation of agriculture machinery, spare parts, fuel, fertilizers etc., which are costly. Such capital inputs may result in the rise of the cost of production and price of output which may in turn cause inability for the poor to purchase the commodities.

However, foreseeing these consequences is important as a means to enable planners and decision makers to incorporate information about benefits and disadvantages that might arise as a result of modernization of agriculture and application of technology in this region. Many economists have contributed in this area and emphasised strategies that reconcile technology with traditional knowledge of the indigenous people. So the need to get compromise between technology and traditional knowledge is crucial. According to Ahmed, the challenge is to adopt a technical or technological mix or blend between indigenous knowledge... and also to utilize the most appropriate type of modern science and knowledge in order to meet the social ... and humanitarian goals of the people as well as to maximize their material well being. (13) At present basic needs approach may be helpful since it advocates participation of beneficiaries in planning, etc, and project evaluators say "Public participation at all stages of development project may help planners to anticipate and avoid problems that arise as a result of technological application(14) .

8.4. Other Resources for the Development of the Southern Region :-

We have discussed the importance of improvement of traditional agriculture at length as a means to generate food surplus to attain food security in the southern region. Also we

mentioned some thing on forestry elsewhere in this thesis. We pointed out that it provides timber, construction materials and furniture, etc. Here our intention is to give a brief information that food security can not be a complete programme if economic dimension of the forestry is not considered.

Forests in the southern region do not host trees, grass and wild animals only but they also produce food. In places like Zande land, livelihood of some people can depend on fruits such as mangoes, bananas, (annanas) pineapples) and pawpaws to mention only a few. They are in abundant.

Investment to improve production of these commodities may lead to making Sudan, a leading exporter of these fruits. My observation is that a lot of these fruitful fruits mainly mangoes and bananas were not economically utilized. On several occasions mangoes are seen lying and decaying under the mangoes trees because the surplus could not be consumed or preserved locally in 1980s. Some of them regenerated and germinated into mango trees and caused overcrowding of mango trees in one place. If they were re-planted on scientific basis, a forest of mango trees would have been created. Anybody who has not seen this land, may think that this is an exaggeration.

On the other hand, bananas which are available in the Zande area composed of three types: smaller, medium and larger size. The smaller and medium size ones are consumable as fruits whereas larger ones are used or cooked as food. It is the contention of this thesis that improvement in the use of these fruits may enhance agricultural development in the area. Such innovations may include plantation of more fruits and processing them into canned fruits. There is no need to depend on mangoes which naturally grow in the forest. Also, the utilization of these fruits should be improved to avoid wastage or spoilage of the surplus. Not only that but they will create an industry in this region. However, the problem identified was lack of efficient transportation system to facilitate movement of these fruits upto the Northern Sudan where the market is large and prices are higher. So direct investment to improve food processing industries in the region or creation of new ones to process bananas, pineapples, mangoes etc., into asir (juice), jam, or into canned foods for both local and external markets is crucial. Also local food processing and preservation techniques should be devised for economic purposes.

Gum Arabic : Recent studies by Southern Sudan Development Group identified availability of gum Arabic in the forests of the Southern Sudan mainly in Northern Upper Nile region (and Melut), Awiel area in Bahr ElGazal region and Kapoeta in

Equatoria (15). We need not to explain its economic value but it is important to research further for more information on this commodity.

Bee-keeping: Bee-keeping is a traditional economic activity practiced by few individuals in the Southern Sudan. My experience is that this commodity has high demand in the Southern towns and Khartoum city. In other advanced or industrialized countries bees products is used in manufacturing of medicines etc. It is my assumption that this commodity can generate funds which can be used for re-investment in the region. Although there is no scientific data to assess the availability of this commodity in commercial quantities, it is found in all areas of the southern Sudan. Development of bee-keeping techniques is required in this sector. If this resource is exploited efficiently, the region can become a potential exporter of this commodity.

Generally full utilization of all these resources would enhance efforts to achieve food security and prepare the way for development to take place.

8.5. Summary:

The main findings of this chapter can be summarized in the following points. Firstly, economic backwardness in the Southern region is a direct result of lack and inadequacy of

investment to exploit the available fertile land to improve traditional agriculture inherited from the colonial administration. The same condition of traditionalism and backwardness were maintained by the successive post independence national governments since 1956. Secondly, use of agricultural technology was not sufficiently applied to raise productivity and level of production to generate income and employment.

Thirdly, dependency of agriculture on natural rainfall which is uncertain, limits the possibility of expanding cropping area. Fourthly, lack of permanent irrigation makes farming in the Southern region a seasonal activity and lessens the potential for expanding food production. Fifthly, we believe that a major solution to underdevelopment in the Southern region is to undertake a major effort to transform traditional farming into modern irrigated farming by adopting basic needs approach to development of the Southern Sudan.

Finally, full utilisation of the agricultural potentiality may lead to increase in food production which may also result in building capacity for food security in this region. It should be noted that increase in agricultural output depends largely upon investment policy pursued by the state. Boosting agricultural production and achieving food sufficiency and development of agro-based industries by expanding the production of food crops

will depend upon introduction of irrigation system, introduction of better agricultural seeds and practices; provision of efficient transport infrastructure and other facilities. Southern Sudan is basically an agricultural economy. It can produce enough food for its population plus the food requirements needed to feed the whole country. Some of the agricultural problems relate to unforeseen factors and disasters that affect harvests (pests, rain shortages, etc.). Therefore, unevenness in the distribution of financial resources is largely responsible for the neglect of agriculture and the underdevelopment in the Southern region.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This research has attempted to examine four issues pertaining to: causes of underdevelopment of the southern Sudan from colonial period to the independence, factors contributing to and responsible for the economic imbalance between Northern and Southern Sudan, adverse colonial policies which were inherited by the successive governments of independent Sudan and have resulted in persistent underdevelopment of the southern region, and national government economic policies towards development of the south during post-independence period.

Our critical analysis of the theory of underdevelopment has helped us to identify the causes of underdevelopment and enabled us to provide alternative investment strategies that may bring development in the southern region. We have examined closely the political economy of the post independence period and assessed its failures and biasness towards investment in irrigated cotton and modern agriculture in Gezira, etc.

In the introduction to the study, a general description of the research problem was made. The statement of the research problem pointed out that under-development of the Southern region was initiated by colonialism. The British administration justified

underdevelopment of the Southern region by claiming that communication and transport were difficult in the region. The colonial administration also discounted economic potentialities of this region and labelled it as poor and unworthy of economic investment. Even assets like dense forest, wildlife and sudd were erroneously assumed as handicaps to the economic development of the Southern region. But experience has shown that the forests and wildlife are economic resources and the country's efforts to invest funds for the development of these sectors was crucial. In this connection a review of the British policies revealed that investment policies favoured investment in the Northern regions, hence, creating economic and social imbalances between the Northern and Southern regions.

Although the colonial economic policies are responsible for the underdevelopment of the Southern region, the post independence governments maintained the status of the underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan. This is reflected by systematic allocation of meagre resources for development and investment which were continuously insignificant to meet development aspirations of the Southern Sudan. As it was done under the colonial administration, development efforts were targeted to the improvement of irrigated agriculture (mainly cotton production) in Gezira, which was favoured a great deal.

Backwardness of the Southern Sudan is aggravated by inequitable economic policies adopted by the successive governments in the Sudan

since independence in 1956. Unequal distribution of development resources was a clear case contributing to underdevelopment of the Southern region. The ILO study in 1975 which presented an estimate of Ls 70 million as sufficient amount required for development of Southern Sudan in 1980 was a good evidence because the advice of the report was neglected and less than Ls10.8 million was budgeted as development fund for the region.

In chapter one on the theoretical background to the problem we explained that economic development is the main concern of the people in the Southern region. The chief aim is to increase the availability of basic needs such as food, to raise health and education services, to raise living standard of the people through provision of social and economic services; to remove poverty, to reduce economic inequalities and to widen the range of economic and social choice of the society. But development can not take place unless its obstacles are identified and removed. A critical analysis of underdevelopment is the basis for this.

However, there is no unanimous definition of the term underdevelopment. In the context of the situation in the Southern region, it signifies an economic backwardness of a region where agriculture is still extremely traditional, where abundant forestry, fishery, wildlife and water resources are still unutilized; where power and energy sources are lacking or insufficient; where illiteracy rate is high; where modern industry and transportation infrastructure is

absent or inefficient; where mineral resources (gold, oil etc,) remained untapped for economic development of the region; where education and health institution and services are inadequate; where development funds and resources are unevenly distributed and, thus, where sizeable natural resources have not been utilized to fulfill the socio-economic well-being of the people. All this was a result of colonialism.

In chapter two we defined colonial economy. We referred to it as an economic system controlled, planned and directed by alien power in the Sudan. The economic activities of the colonial administration were examined since 1899 and in 1946-1950s. During this period the colonial administration was found to have been concerned with railway building and roads in the northern Sudan. This transportation infrastructure connected production centres like Elobeid and Medani with Portsudan, the outlet for exportation of cotton and gum Arabic. This became a base for industrial growth in the Northern region after independence whereas the Southern region remained land locked. Industry and trade did not grow in the region because of inefficient transportation system. Agriculture remained a subsistence economic activity. Education was completely neglected during this period except for the one offered by missionary schools. All economic sectors namely agriculture sector, industrial sector and service sector (mainly transport and communication) were deliberately restricted and confined to the Northern region by the colonial administration. During post independence, these sectors were improved and

modernised to some extent whereas the situation remained unchanged in the Southern Sudan. Concentration of investment to improve these sectors in the Northern region alone has deprived the Southern region from its share in development resources and resulted in marginalization and poverty of the region. The poverty and maladministration in the Sudan caused rebellion in the Southern region in 1955 and again in 1983 up to present.

Chapter three presents clear picture of independence and post independence economic policies. After independence and until 1956-1972, allocation of development resources was not improved. The development Budget 1956/57-1960/61 and the Five Year Plan 1970/71-1974/75 revealed that much of the resources were earmarked for the construction of Khashm ElGirba Scheme, Roseries Dam, The Sennar Hydro-Electric project, the Mangil Extension, the Guneid Sugar Factory, etc., whereas the traditional economy in the Southern region remained neglected. Distribution of financial and economic development agencies such as the Agricultural and Industrial Bank of Sudan, remained situated in the Northern regions without establishing branches in the Southern region. And because of this unevenness, farmers and craftsmen in the Southern Sudan were not provided with credit facilities and therefore agriculture and industry lagged behind.

However the economy in the Southern Sudan continued to depend on traditional methods of cultivation, herding of livestock,

fishing, etc., for subsistence livelihood. But element of a modern economy started with the cattle trade, involving slaughter animals for sale of meat in the towns. Also forestry was under modern sector since the colonial period. Some of sawmills were improved in 1960s and 1970s, yet they worked below capacity. For example Wau saw mill which was fully an automated saw mill equipped with Russian Machines did not work at full capacity due to various problems. Untill 1974, installations of essential saw equipment, a transformer sub-station diesel engines and some parts of the drying and boiler rooms were completed. Until then only the brenta saw, frame saw, double edger saw and the cross-cut saw were in working order when the mill was officially opened in April 1974. Production stood at One-fifth of the design capacity of 5,000 cubic metres of sawn timber per year. The problem responsible for low productivity was poor training and power station was unreliable. Many timber saw mills were intorduced in various areas of the region in 1940s. A review of both the colonial and post independence economic policies reveal that underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan is their creation since 1899 to present.

Chapter four examined development investment plans from 1960s- 1980s. This Chapter indicated that the flow of central government subventions for economic and social development was inadequate in the period 1972-1983. On the other hand, there were marked socio-economic changes in the Southern region compared with the period since 1956. These changes were prompted by the Addis

Ababa Agreement which provided the Southern Sudan with regional government in Juba. The Third Year Public Investment programme 1982/83-1984/85 formulated within the framework of the Six Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1977/78-1982/83 and extended to 1984/85, emphasised improvement of agricultural sector, its rehabilitation and modernization. Also it is important to note here that the Six Year Development Plan which was due to start in 1977 had objectives such as making Sudan self-sufficient in rice and sugar, creating substantial food surplus for export to the Middle East, expansion of machnized farming and livestock industry in the rainfed areas of Eastern, Central and Western Sudan so as to utilize about 200 milliom acres of land which was available for cultivation. The planners opposed giving priority to the traditional sector for economic as well as social reasons. The government argument was that modern sector both in irrigated land and rainfed areas, must be given priority as this is the only way of achieving reasonably rapid and certain progress. To concentrate on the traditional sector would be a costly, time-consuming operation with little certainty of success. This contradicted the claim that the plan encouraged regional development to narrow the existing gap between the richer regions of central and north-eastern Sudan and the underprivileged regions of the Western and Southern Sudan.

Chapter five explained national economic policies and underdevelopment in the Southern region, 1983-1989. In 1983, the

central government was concerned with further regionalisation of the Southern Region, which was divided into three regions. But as further regionalisation in 1983 was opposed in the region, development needs of the Southern Sudan were neglected by the Economic Recovery Plan of 1987. This was one example of how national economic policies contributed to underdevelopment of the Southern region. But prior to this plan, war broke out in the region as a manifestation of grievances against the central government. The central government was accused for having underdeveloped the region economically. Worse still, the war caused retardation of economic development, and loss of human resources and property. Many people were also displaced. Until May 1988, more than 300,000 refugees were in Ethiopia with a further two million in Northern Sudan. Hunger was another problem. By the end of August 1988, Juba had run out of relief supplies for its 120,000 displaced people. Meanwhile, the International Committee of the Red Cross announced that 50,000 people in Bahr Elgazal, Wau were desperately in need of food. Death rates in Awiel and ElMeiram were 50-100 a day. In addition several hundred people were massacred in the town of Ed Daien whereby 500-1,000 died. It was claimed that their bodies were doused with petrol and set ablaze.

Families were scattered and many children were left homeless. Those who managed to go to the northern areas faced economic difficulties, etc., and they live under the conditions of absolute poverty in the marginalised parts of urban Khartoum.

Chapter Six dealt with links of colonial and national policies with underdevelopment of the southern region . One factor that linked both the colonial and national policies with the underdevelopment of the Southern region was the policy that concentrated investment on the improvement and modernization of irrigated agriculture and cotton in Gezira. This was the product of the growth pole theory of development that caused the underdevelopment of agriculture in the Southern Sudan. The failure of national government to create new development strategies that can remove imbalance created by the colonialism led to the persistence of underdevelopment conditions in the region. Also the colonial administration neglected development of food crops and encouraged cotton cultivation instead.

Fish pond project was one of the development schemes introduced by the national government since 1959 but it was unfruitful. Upto 1972 there were fifty goverment demonstrative fish ponds cutlure. They were taken over by private fish farmers to generate profit through sale of fish.

However, privatization of development projects in a backward region like the Southern region has its defects. This is because the private merchants were only concerned with profit making and do not care about general welfare of the region. Maximization of commercial profits is the motive by commercial class and this has affected the state's economic policies because as beneficiary groups they influence

state's development policies. The state's policies are geared to meet their interests rather than to meet the requirements of development for the Southern Sudan.

Another controversial and debating issue was the decision of the central government to build oil refinery at Kosti. The policy to locate the refinery at Kosti had serious development implications. Construction of oil refinery outside the Southern region may deny the region an opportunity to develop its economic base. This is because building of a refinery in the Southern Sudan means an additional increase in investment, creation of employment and incomes to the people. It also means broadening of productive capacity and provision of infrastructural services.

Moreover, the national government economic policies were complemented by use of external resources. Chapter Seven was clear in this regard. Some bilateral relations facilitated development; but some contributed to the underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan. Externalities refers mainly to foreign development projects which were executed and have caused destruction of local resources (Egyptian development projects mainly Aswan High Dam connected with water use and control policies) caused destruction of both human and livestock resources in the southern Sudan through floods on one hand. Externalities in this thesis also mean foreign resources generated by the national government to complement local resources needed for

investment. Aid from Arab countries was largely invested in the Northern Sudan and very little was channelled into the Southern region. Kwaiti's 214 low cost buildings in Juba were a donation from an Arab country.

Failure of both regional and national development projects in the Southern region has been a consequence of inadequate development funds released by the central government during post-independence period.

On the other hand chapter eight suggests a way out from economic backwardness. Irrigation system and technology were not sufficiently applied. Credits facilities, use of fertilizers, provision of new seeds etc. were lacking. These were some of the obstacles to economic development in the Southern region.

Although colonialism left us for 37 years or more underdevelopment conditions persisted in the southern region because of inefficient economic policies in the country.

The main findings of this thesis are many but the most important ones can be summarized in the following points: Firstly economic backwardness and underdevelopment of the southern region is a direct result of lack and inadequacy of investment to improve traditional agriculture since colonial period. The same condition of

traditionalism and backwardness were maintained by the successive post independence national government since 1956. Secondly, substantial mineral resources and petroleum namely oil, gold, etc., are still commercially unutilized to support economic development in the Southern region. Thirdly, use of agricultural technology was not sufficiently applied to raise productivity and level of production to generate income and development. Fourthly, dependency of agriculture on natural rainfall which is uncertain, limits the possibility of expanding cropping area. Fifthly, lack of permanent irrigation makes farming in the Southern region a seasonal activity and lessens the potential for expanding food production. Sixthly, we believe that a major solution to underdevelopment in the Southern region is to undertake major efforts to transform traditional farming into modern irrigated farming. Introduction of irrigation system in the Southern region will ensure all year-round farming work and maximization of agricultural output as a means to build up capacity for food security in the region. It is the contention of this thesis that production of sufficient quantities of food and agricultural products will stimulate industrial prospects in the region and hence development will take place. Also the need to raise fruit processing industry and export of surplus to external market will be contributive. This may generate funds that can be re-invested in development programmes in the region. Moreover, bee-keeping deserves encouragement. New resources discovered in the region should be mobilized and used as basis for investment in the region.

Finally, sound investment policies are the most effective measures that may over-come obstacles to development. Autonomous investment is preferable because it is influenced by exogenous factors like innovation, population growth etc. or need for a service. It gives the government opportunity to construct irrigation works, roads, schools, etc. This can be done for the fulfilment of basic needs approach strategy. We hope that the availability of natural resources would constitute the requirements to attract attention to undertake economic development in the Southern Sudan.

In conclusion, this thesis has attempted to explain the roots and causes of underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan. Almost the whole thesis has shown that the colonial administration did very little to develop the Southern region. The findings showed that the colonial administration had badly campaigned against the southern region and its people. The evidence is its claims that southern Sudan is poor and alleged that the region is unworthy of economic investment. It denied existence of economic potentials such as papyrus, forestry, oil, gold, wildlife, etc and magnified that southern Sudan is a jungle, swampy and unsuitable for human living except animals and mosquitos. This campaign might have resulted in discouragement of investors from the region by not taking the risk. The contrary is that the dense forests which the authority regarded as jungle constituted substantial natural resources that can be utilized for economic development of the Southern Sudan. But the economic activities of the colonial

administration were building of infrastructure services and economic sector of the Northern regions whereas the Southern region was neglected. In other words the southern Sudan came out of the colonial yoke with nothing unlike the northern Sudan. In economic terms the British rule has decimal record of development in the Southern region and this has raised the feelings that the Northern Sudan experience was regarded as an economic success simply on the account of Gezira Scheme. The efforts exerted to improve it made the stagnation in the Southern region an important matter of research on colonialism and politically explosive issue. The socio-economic imbalance between the Northern and Southern regions is one of the most serious obstacles exacerbating conflict and disunity during independence and post independence periods.

Moreover, one major weakness since independence has been the emphasis of Sudanese development policy directed continuously towards improvement of irrigated cotton growing and agriculture which is the legacy of the colonial administration. This emphasis was more extensive during the post independence period. But development of traditional rainfed agriculture in the Southern region faced problems. Lack of rains and irrigation system, agricultural machinery, for example, tractors are severely limited to government demonstrative schemes in the region. The region lacks improved agricultural tools such as hand-operated jab planter for sowing which can allow larger areas to be sown by traditional cultivators, etc. Also lack of

manpower is the most serious problem because the region is sparsely populated. Supply of labour for agricultural production depends on number of household, time spent on agricultural work and efficiency of tools used. Not only is the number of persons small, time available for agricultural work is also limited. Scarcity of labour restricts crop production by limiting the area under cultivation and short period of rainy season. Other occupations like herding of livestock, fishing, hunting interrupt agricultural work.

In addition Agricultural Bank of Sudan did not support improvement of traditional farming nor did Industrial Bank played any role to promote industry in the Southern region.

From this standpoint the Southern Sudan's economy is suffering badly from the lack of economic infrastructure and shortages of money resulting in several industrial schemes which were previously planned and have either been abandoned or left unfinished because of central government failure to allocate sufficient funds.

Thus , the present economic condition of the Southern Sudan justify an urgent investment policy and special efforts to exploit natural and human resources for development at least to compensate for the inadequacy of previous economic policies implemented by both the colonial and successive governments. The country should exert greater efforts to develop the southern Sudan economy so as to contribute into

the over-all development of the Sudan economy. Such efforts must include peaceful settlement of the current war in the Sudan. Peace to me is an important pre-requisite of development because it generates an atmosphere of stability, security of human life and property and stimulates interest of investors to invest on development schemes planned for the region. This is evident in the period of 1972-1983 when UNDP, and other NGOS undertook funding of development projects in the Southern Sudan.

Also aid through bilateral relations was realised in the Southern region during this period. But some problems emanated from development projects established mainly by Egypt. The region might require some compensation for its lost human and livestock resources as a result of the Aswan Dam construction.

All these factors contributed to the underdevelopment of the southern Sudan. Further then this the main reason why the Southern region is underdeveloped was because of lack of sufficient finance during post independence period. Also there was low productivity in traditional agriculture because cultivators used poor agricultural tools, techniques and lack of credit facilities from Agricultural Bank of Sudan. Consequently there was no surplus for re-investment and accumulation of capital.

However, trend of development since independence has differed substantially. Some regions have stagnated or even retrogressed, others have grown moderately. - this trend will definitely continue. Gap between the rich and poor regions will be widening more than that of post independence period in 1980s - if the central government persistently concentrates investment on formerly favoured development schemes and modern sector of the agriculture. The consecutive governments in the Sudan seem to lack a policy that advocates even distribution of development of investment resources in their vocabulary at least to implement balanced growth in the country. Instead their development policies discriminate against modern sector and traditional agriculture in the Southern region. The latter receives less whereas the former gets the lion share. Inequality or unevenness is created by process of growth pole theory in which some of development projects were considered as the most important because their policies bent on quick returns rather than long term development and this situation has prevailed through out post independence period. The consequence was neglect of some regions like the southern Sudan . These important programmes (Gezira) had opportunities to receive the benefits of government investment resources and application of technology, etc. Underdevelopment of the Southern region is related to the increasing concentration in a few leading modern agricultural schemes especially those ones which export cotton to industrialized western world and to the confinement of transport infrastructure or services sector in the Northern region.

The process of underdevelopment in the Southern region and how to achieve development is always affected by political decision making in the country . Political independence in the Sudan has not promoted economic development in the region. Instead, it has increased persistence of underdevelopment in this region because of economic dependency of the central government on inherited major agricultural plants from colonialism . This has increased inequalities. Consequently increased inequalities in development and provision of inadequate development funds to the Southern Sudan has produced conflict and disunity in the country. I do not want to leave an impression that post independence governments did not do much to promote development of the region. But the national governments were not serious enough to release adequate development finances to improve traditional agriculture and development of economic sectors in the Southern region.

New policies or strategies of development and investment or transformation of the borrowed technology or merged modern technology with traditional techniques of farming to suit or enhance our prospects for development of the southern region should be encouraged. Before colonialism indigenous techniques of production were more or less capable of producing sufficient food but once the family food needs were satisfied they relaxed because there was no reason to produce surplus. Today southern Sudan with oil, gold, agriculture and other natural resources may enhance prospects for

development within a short time span if peace prevails. For agricultural development, introduction of irrigation system may increase food production in the Southern region, hence, building up capacity for food security.

Since these bottle-necks are identified action is needed to transform the structure of the economy in the Southern region. The creation of sustainable development depends upon even distribution of resources. This may lead to reduction of existing under-utilization and unemployment of natural resources in the Southern region, creation of reliable basic infrastructural networking mainly transport, communication and energy for productive and commercial activities to serve the entire region, provision of adequate educational, health and sanitation facilities, creation of irrigational infrastructure for all year round farming to generate surplus for re-investment in the region.

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**Sudanese
Chambers Of Industries
Association
(SCIA)**
Africa Street - Khartoum East

Basic Facts

Tel : 451716 - 451717 - 451718 - 451719

Fax : 451720

Cable : Turus Khartoum

P.O. Box : 2565 Khartoum

Membership

- All industrial enterprises registered under different issued investment promotion Acts and laws or those which will be issued in the future besides enterprises in the fields of minerals excavations and mining .
- AFFiliated membership is granted to - public enterprises working in the fields of industry and mining .

Purposes and Targets

- SCIA is the sole official representative of the Sudanese industrial private sector inside and outside the Sudan .
- SCIA contributes in the design of the Sudanese economic policies .
- SCIA encourages domestic and foreign investments in the industrial sector .
- Encourages promotion of the Sudanese industrial products in and outside the Sudan through markets and trade fairs .
- Upgrading and qualifying the manpower of

the sector through training in coordination with national, regional and international organizations .

□ Organizational set-up :

- SCIA runs by board of directors elected by the general assembly .
- The Board of Directors elects from its members an executive office delegated to run the SCIA affairs .
- There is a specialized administrative body headed by a director to cater for the administrative and technical issues .
- SCIA is divided into specialized chambers besides industrial chambers in the different states (Wilayat). The specialized chambers are :

(1) Edible Oils and Soap Chamber :

- Membership : 209 factories .
- Main products : Edible oils, Laundry & toilet soap . It is divided into :

(a) Edible oil mills sector .

(b) Soap industry sector .

(2) Food Industries Chamber :

- Membership : 327 Factories .

- It includes the following subsectors :

(a) Sweets .

(b) Mineral bottled water .

(c) Automatic bakeries .

(d) Cold stores .

(e) Biscuits , macaroni and vermicelli .

(f) Jams , juices and food canning & packing.

(3) Spinning and Weaving Chamber :

- Membership : 151 factories .

- It includes the following sectors :

(a) Weaving .

(b) Spinning .

- (c) Ready made clothes .
- (d) Tricot .

(4) Chemical Industries Chamber :

- Membership : 114 factories .
- It includes the following sectors :
 - (a) Pharmaceutical industries .
 - (b) Paints .
 - (c) Perfumes .
 - (d) Plastic .
 - (e) Other chemical industries .

(5) Engineering Industries Chamber :

- Membership : 123 factories .
- It includes the following sectors :
 - (a) Aluminium and enamel wares .
 - (b) Particle board and furniture .
 - (c) Building materials , asbestos , zink and glass industries .
 - (d) Air coolers and conditioners,

refrigerator and electrical industries .

(e) Drilling, pipes and water pumps .

(f) Foundries, mining and steel .

(6) Leather and Footwear Chamber :

- Membership : 64 factories .
- It includes the following sectors :
 - (a) Footwear industry .
 - (b) Tanneries .
 - (c) Leather industries

(7) Printing , publishing and packing chamber :

- Membership : 62 factories .
- It includes the following sectors :
 - (a) Printing presses .
 - (b) Packing .

***Social and Cultural Activities
of SCIA :***

The premises of SCIA include beside the offices a modern club and well equiped conference rooms .



(٧) غرفة الطباعة والنشر والتغليف :

تتكون من ٦٢ مصنعا موزعة على الشعب التالية :

(أ) شعبة المطابع .

(ب) شعبة التغليف .

النشاط الاجتماعى والثقافى للازحاد :

تضم دار الاتحاد منتدى حديثا وقاعات للاجتماعات .



Appendix 2

TABLE 22 ACCUMULATED CAPITAL, LOANS, DEPOSITS FROM FOREIGN BANKS 1976 - 1980
(in £S. Thousands)

Years	Item	Total Capital	Total Deposits	Total Loans	% of Loans to Deposits
1976		3780	4255	980	23%
1977		3986	15596	10079	65%
1978		7103	44454	22165	50%
1979		12563	84046	66595	78%
1980		16241	161643	102603	63%

Source: Bank of Sudan

TABLE 23 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF LOANS FROM INDUSTRIAL BANK 1979 - 1980

Regions	1 9 7 9		1 9 8 0	
	Loans (in £S.000)	% to Total Loans	Loans (in £S.000)	% to Total Loans
Khartoum	529.1	57.6%	882.8	35.6%
Eastern Region	245.0	26.7%	906.0	36.5%
Middle Region	114.0	12.4%	564.9	22.7%
Northern Region	-	-	58.0	2.3%
Kordofan	2.4	0.3%	71.3	2.9%
Darfur	4.9	0.5%	-	-
Southern Region	23.4	2.5%	-	-
T.O.T.A.L	918.8	100%	2483	100%

Source: Industrial Bank

Appendix (3)

Government and Private Coffee Schemes in Equatoria 1960s:

Particulars	Area in Feddans or acres	Town	Distance from town in miles
14. Government:			
Kagulu (Yei)	1. Fed	Yei	1
Domo	25 acres	"	2
Mitika	253"	"	3
Logolo	26 "	"	1
Wadabi	27 "	"	1
Andocoro	28 "	"	1
Haggar's company	29	-	1
Iwatoka	30 fed	-	1
Kapengari	18"	-	2
Obbo	250"	Torit	3
15. Equatoria P. Board:			
Ngamondo	1. acres	Maridi	1
Singhi	672"	Anzara	1
Anzara	150"	Anzara	2
16. Private schemes:			
Awad Lutfi & Company	70fedd	Yei	1.
Amin Akasha & company	1 f "	"	"
Amin & Rashid Amiir	2 "	"	"
Abdel Fadil Agot	3 "	-	"
Mahagub Mansour	70"	-	"
El Sir Abbass & Comp.	130"	-	"

Appendix (3) continue :

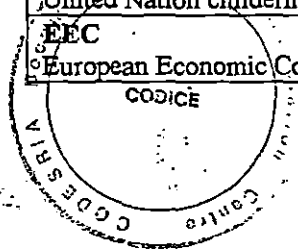
Particulars	Area in Feddans or acres	Town	Distance from town in miles
Abdel Magid Taha & Comp.	70"	-	"
Samsan Lado	4 "	-	"
Ibrahim ALi Gabani	250"	-	"
Moh. Hassen Khogeli	30"	-	"
Abdalla Nagdi	70"	-	"
ELea Loka	70"	-	"
Ahmed Zedan	70"	-	"
Christo Crassass	30"	-	"
Ahmed Sanosi	5 "	Torit	"
Moh. Habib	6 "	Anzara	"
Sayed Moh.	20"	"	"
Osman EL shafi	7 "	"	"
Hoesea Salih	8 "	"	"
17. Small scattered areas:			
Kateri	1. fedd.	Kateri	1
Robusta	2	-	1
Gilo	3fedd.	Gilo	2
Nagashot	3	-	-

Source: Hamid Idris Mohamoud, "Coffee Production, Zande Area, 1960s", paper presented at the Arkowit Conference 1970s, PP. 10-11.

Appendix (4)

Table showing development projects funded by external aid in the southern Sudan 1970s-1980s

Aid Agency	Funded Projects	Amount of Foreign Currency U.S. dollars	Local Contribution	Country	Region or area of the project	Year
1. Bilateral aid: USAID The United States Agency for international development	Primary health care, manpower development, Yambio Agric. Institute, Rural health, roads...	78.926			Southern region	1978-1982/1989
ODA Overseas Development Administration	Agricultural, forestry (development of timber) and forestry plantation	9-11.7			ng mountain)	1981-1982/1984
GTZ German Agency for Technical cooperation GLRA German Leprocy Relief Association	Forestry project, Juba - Maridi-Wau road, primary health care, Leprocy control	1.000.000			Equatoria and Wau Lui and Wau	1982
2. Multilateral aid: UNDP United Nation Development Programme	Yambio institute of Agriculture. horticulture development, citrus seedlings, pineapples, suckers, Irish potato seeds project...	24.410.000			Equatoria	1977-1978/1982-1983
WHO World Health organization	preventive and primary health care programme		80.234		Southern region	1978-1983
IDA World Bank	Agricultural rehabilitation, Education (Juba Day sec.) and Wau vocational school		18.910.000		Equatoria & Wau	1977-1978/1982-1983
UN/FAO - WFP	Feeding of secondary schools, agricultural commodities	12.500.000 6.000.000	11.062.500 5.310.000		Southern region	1977-1982
UNICEF United Nation children fund	Drilling of bore wells, training, health services, children nutrition etc.	N.A.	N.A.		Lakes, Wau, Amadi	1972-1980/1981
EEC European Economic Cooperation	Tea, Rice, Airport, Education (Bilinyang Campus) University of Juba		20.717.118		Upper talanga, Awiel, Juba	1977-1978/1982-1983



Appendix (4): Continue

Aid Agency	Funded Projects	Amount of Foreign Currency U.S. dollars	Local Contribution	Country	Region or area of the project	Year
3. Aid Organizations : N C A/SP Norwegian Church Aid/Sudan Programme	Improvement of basic services eg. education, health, cooperatives, agricultural extension, and water supply.	N.K.V. 102.42	\$26.65m		Torit, Kapoeta	1979-1982
N AD/ NCPB	Disabled person prevention of blindness	226.000 245.000	293.506 318.182		Juba -Rajaf	1983-1982
LWS The Lutheran World Service	Training in carpentry and medical services	1.000.000	1.116.750			1982
NYZS New York Zoological Society	Ecology of the white eared Kob and the Boma ecosystem	51.000			Bomma	
ACROSS The African Committee for Rehabilitation of Southern Sudan	Agriculture extension, medical services, water development in Boma		7.246.000		Maridi , Tonj , Boma	1973-1980
SIC/SIM Sudan Interior Church Development Aid / Sudan Interior Mission	Small scale industries e.g. brick making skills, seeds improvement, tools and organization of farmers, development of dispensary for bilharzia and Kala-azar programme.		338.0000		Southern region	1982
SICA Swess Inter - Church Aid	development of rural water supply aiming to improve quality of water		90.000		Yambio, Nandi & Ezo	1982
SCC Sudan Council of Churches	ox-ploughing project, health, education support etc.	N.A.	N.A.		Rumbek	19

Source: abstracted and compiled from various annual reports and Thesis (1970s - 1989).