AT THE SOURCES OF CONFLICT IN CONTEMPORARY SUDAN:
THE LEGACY OF COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICY IN THE SOUTH

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Abstract
This paper will question to what extent educational policy during British indirect rule shaped the socio-political identity of post-colonial southern Sudan and how it articulates with internal and external post-colonial dynamics in the context of the 2011 secession. It focuses on educational policies because of its instrumental importance in creating the agencies for the British indirect rule, which is therefore valuable to examine if one wants to understand the impact of indirect rule on post-colonial societies. This paper will argue that it was the colonial legacy of indirect rule - embodied in the ‘Southern Policy’ - that shaped the socio-political landscape of post-colonial southern Sudan, which led to a decades long struggle of resistance and self-determination towards the assimilation politics of the Arab dominated government in Khartoum. And, that it was in the post-9/11 era that the internal and external dynamics coincided and allowed southern Sudan to vote for its independence.
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I

Introduction

In July 2011, an overwhelming majority in southern Sudan voted for independence from the Republic of Sudan, thereby separating Africa’s largest nation into two separate states.\(^1\) Decades of violence, mass atrocities, and human rights abuse devastated Sudan since its independence from the 1898-1956 Anglo-Egyptian condominium. This mass violence showed itself through two civil wars in which southern Sudanese separatist movements aimed for self-determination from the Arab dominated government of Sudan. The First Sudanese Civil War (1956-1972) – or, Anyanya Rebellion – ended with the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in which the three southern regions Bahr el-Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile were granted more self-autonomy. Its implementation failed and gave birth to the separatist Sudan People’s Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and a reignition of the violence between North and South Sudan from 1983 onwards, known as the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005). The war ended with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the SPLA/M and the government of Sudan in 2005 which aimed to address the grievances of the South and allowed them to choose for independence in 2011. With over two million deaths the decades-long conflict between North and South Sudan proved to be one of the most horrifying, deadliest and intractable in modern African history.

This paper will argue that it was the colonial legacy of indirect rule that shaped the socio-political landscape of post-colonial southern Sudan, which led to a decades-long struggle of resistance and self-determination towards the assimilation politics of the Arab dominated government in Khartoum. And, that it was in the post-9/11 era that the internal and external dynamics coincided and allowed southern Sudan to vote for its independence. This paper focusses on educational policies, which was regarded as vital for the future of British colonial policy. Therefore, British colonial educational policy is valuable to examine if one wants to understand the impact of indirect rule on post-colonial society. First, this paper will elaborate on the problem statement, the research question and the hypothesis. Second, it discusses the literature about post-colonial violence, it will thereby focus on the conceptual ideas about post-colonial political violence by Mahmood Mamdani; whose reasoning will serve as the intellectual framework of this

\(^1\) In this thesis ‘southern Sudan’ refers to South Sudan before its secession from the (Republic of Sudan) in 2011.
paper. In the third and fourth chapter, this paper will elaborate on educational policies in the pre-colonial and early condominium years. Fifth, an analysis of educational policies during indirect rule, which will show how it shaped the post-colonial socio-political identity in southern Sudan. After that, this paper will elaborate on how this socio-political identity developed in post-colonial Sudan and how it shaped contemporary politics. In conclusion, a brief chapter which will provide the reader with an answer to the research question and hypothesis of thesis.

II

Problem Statement, Research Question & Hypothesis

Political violence is often understood from a political-economic or cultural point of view; as a struggle between classes or as a clash between civilizations. However, as the literature review will show, these understandings do not explain the intractability of political violence in post-colonial African societies such as South Sudan. Mahmood Mamdani offers a different explanation in his most famous of writings *Citizen and Subject* and explains the violence as political, grounded within the dual system of colonial government (1996). Mamdani calls it ‘the bifurcated state’ in which populations were governed through the language of law. It divided the population between those who were governed through direct rule and civil law, called ‘citizens’; and those who were governed through indirect rule and customary law, called ‘subjects’ (Mamdani, 1996: 16-23). It was a system that on the one hand racialized between the ‘settlers’, who were regarded as citizens and lived in urban areas. And at the other hand, discriminated between the ‘subject’ rural African indigenous or native population by defining them as indigenous or non-indigenous ethnic groups, called ‘tribes’. There was not a single customary law for all tribes; there were “as many sets of customary laws as there were said to be tribes” (Mamdani, 1996: 22). All the power within the territory of a tribe was vested in the position of an appointed tribal chief. This chief was backed up by the mighty power of the colonial state and ruled over all people living within the boundaries of that territory. This dual system of government resulted in the discrimination between the population by the state apparatus which determined their access to resources and political power. It was an answer to the ‘native question’; a phrase used to express how a European colonizing minority could rule over a majority indigenous population. Most scholars argue that the colonial legacy of the bifurcated state was overcome by the process of democratization in post-colonial African societies because it led to the implementation of civil law for all citizens (De Goede, 2015).
Mamdani however, argues that this process of democratization has failed because post-colonial African states only became deracialized, and not de-tribalized – which meant that the distinction between citizens and subjects lived on, but in a different form.

Mamdani explains political violence in post-colonial South Sudan as the colonial legacy of indirect rule. He focusses on the customary court system – which he regards as the heart of indirect rule. Mamdani’s writings deal with the entire African continent, based on a limited amount of case studies in which he does not elaborate on the administrative project in southern Sudan. It makes it a broad theoretical approach which focusses on the system of justice under indirect rule; an administratively driven affair in which the customary was defined by those who enforced it: the colonial state (Mamdani, 1996: 22). For that reason, to fully understand the impact of indirect rule one must understand the administrative side of colonial policy, which changed with the shift from direct towards indirect rule in the African rural areas. The shift in colonial policy led to internal administrative developments in colonial societies, in which the partnership with the educated African strata was abandoned and education was repurposed from civilizing the native population to turning them into submission. The repurpose of education was of instrumental importance to control the native populations and to ensure the success of the administration. For that reason, it would be a valuable contribution to analyze educational policies for a better understanding of the practice of indirect rule in South Sudan.

This paper will examine the impact of British colonial educational policies and to what extent it shaped the socio-political landscape of post-colonial South Sudan. Then, it examines how this socio-political identity developed in the post-colonial era and how it shaped contemporary politics in post-colonial Sudan. Therefore, this paper will seek to answer the following research question: to what extent did educational policy during British indirect rule shape the socio-political identity of post-colonial South Sudan and how does this articulate with contemporary politics in post-colonial Sudan and the secession in 2011? However, one might believe that there “runs too much water under the bridge,” for a linkage between the institutional legacy of colonialism and conflict in contemporary Africa (Freund, 2011). The hypothesis in this paper will argue otherwise because the presence of a dual system of judiciary and the failure of post-colonial regimes to de-racialize and de-tribalize societies is still an issue in contemporary Africa and South Sudan. The hypothesis of this paper is therefore in line with the ideas of Mamdani: Education during indirect
rule contributed to the creation of a socio-political identity in post-colonial southern Sudan, which led to decades of resistance against the government of Sudan and eventually secession in 2011.

III

Literature Review

This literature review will show that the shift in colonial policy can best be understood within a broad historical perspective; in which the end of liberal imperialism and the intellectual foundations of indirect rule in British Africa must be understood in the context of an imperialistic competition between Western world powers. Within this context, it is evident that the shift in colonial policy was meant to bring the native population into submission for imperialistic needs. This review will show that the turn towards the customary proceeded conjointly with a change of direction in educational policies, in which the mission of civilizing the native population was abandoned, and education became an instrument to manage differences within the native population to ensure the continuity of decentralised despotism. It is within this context that this paper identifies a gap in the literature. Mamdani explains his argument in numerous readings in which he focusses on different case studies; in Citizen and Subject he focusses on South Africa and Uganda (1996); in When Victims Become Killers he focusses on Rwanda (2001), in Saviors and Survivors he focusses on Darfur (2009) and in Define and Rule he focusses to some extent on Sudan (2012). It the latest of these works Mamdani argues that:

The ambition of indirect rule was to remake the subjectivities of entire populations. It endeavoured to shape the present, past, and future of the colonized by casting each in a nativist mold, the present through a set of identities in the census, the past through the driving force of a new histography, and the future through a legal and administrative project (Mamdani, 2012: 45).

Mamdani argues that this shift towards the customary “is best evident in the modern history of higher education in the colonies” (2012: 86). However, he does not elaborate in detail on the practice of educational policies in his books or any other of his further writings. Mamdani has provided widely accepted argumentation that the aim of indirect rule was about managing differences. However, his argument for the entire African continent is based on a limited amount of case studies, an approach which has been criticized by many (De Goede, 2015). Jean Copans
even calls it “an ideological choice and a methodological blunder” (1998: 102). Mamdani draws his argument on a wide range of primary sources, however, in the context of post-colonial South Sudan his focus is with the legal aspect and less on the administrative project. Because of the instrumental importance of education for the administrative project of indirect rule, it would be a valuable contribution to examine the practice of these colonial educational policies. This might provide us with a more thorough understanding of how indirect rule shaped contemporary politics in post-colonial Sudan.

To understand the change of direction in colonial educational policy one needs to understand the intellectual reasoning that had set in motion the shift towards indirect rule in its historical context and how it articulates with the internal developments in the British colonies. The shift towards indirect rule was set in motion after several violent uprisings in the second half of the mid-nineteenth century, which gave reason to reassess colonial policies in the British Empire. The 1857 Sepoy Mutiny in India and the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica showed that to ensure order in the colonies it had to focus on controlling the mass of the colonised instead of the elites (Mamdani, 2012: 8-9). This change of policy was embodied by a shift from direct to indirect rule anchored in the intellectual reasoning of Sir Henry Maine, one of the leading British theorists of that time and member of the viceroy’s cabinet in India whose famous writings heavily influenced British colonial policy after the Sepoy Mutiny. Maine argued that it was the failure of the Eurocentric orientalist understandings about native cultures which led to this unforeseen mutiny. The orientalist understanding about culture was too much focussed on written texts, and too little on observations of local customs and traditions (Mamdani, 2012: 9). In British India this had resulted in misunderstandings of the Hindu Brahminic religion and failed westernization policies to change them, instead it had challenged Hindu orthodoxy. This misunderstanding of culture and the geographical conditions of the Brahmin played a role in the little external influence that brought internal change to their traditions and customs (Mamdani, 2012, 10). Therefore, it was evident that the colonial strategy of direct rule – which was characterised as a ‘civilization’ mission – was doomed to fail. On a larger scale, Maine distinguished between the ‘West’ and the ‘non-West’ – or, the ‘East’ –, in which he argued that Western cultures were to be understood from the domain of social theories and Eastern cultures from the (orientalist) domain of culture. In that sense, culture was understood as a “walled, isolated, and unchanging affair” (Mamdani, 2012: 14).

2 For a better understanding on the orientalist’s perception on culture, see Orientalism by Edward Said (1978).
Maine related his argument to the evolution of law throughout history. He argued that aristocrats had created the rule of law and that in the West these aristocrats became political and civil servants - which is why law became capable of change in Western societies. In the East, the aristocrats became religious men; which is why rules became idealised religious laws and were not subject to change (Mamdani, 2012: 14-15). Therefore, the West was ‘progressive’ and the non-West ‘stationary’ (Mamdani, 2012: 16). To prevent new uprisings in British-India, Maine argued that the British colonial policy should not be one of civilization but one of ‘non-interference’ and containment, enforced by the legal and administrative institutions of the state (Mamdani, 2012: 27). In British India this related to religion, in the African colonies this related to the many different ethnicities, or tribes. This management of different cultures embodied the shift from British direct to indirect rule in the rural areas. Maine’s writings became compulsory reading for British colonial officers and the intellectual basis for a change of policy in the British colonies. In British Africa Maine’s ideas were adopted into a policy of indirect rule by a colonial officer in Northern Nigeria, named Sir Frederick Lugard. In his famous book The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa Lugard laid out the principles of government of European Imperialism in Africa (1929). Based on his experiences in Nigeria, Lugard argued that this dual mandate needed to be one of exploiting Africa’s resources and of developing the African continent, described as follow:

Let it be admitted at the outset that European brains, capital, and energy have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from the motives of pure philanthropy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of their own industrial classes, and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal, and that it is the aim and desire of civilised administration to fulfil this dual mandate (Lugard, 1929: 617).

To achieve this dual mandate, Lugard proposed a policy of indirect rule, known as the ‘Native Administration’. Based on Maine’s principle of non-interference the Native Administration had to ensure the development of the African natives “by leaving them free to manage their own affairs through their own rulers, proportionally to their degree of advancement, under the guidance of the British staff, and subject to the laws and policy of the administration” (Lugard, 1929: 94). Consequently, the power over the Native Court, the Native Administration and the customary authorities within the tribes (Mamdani, 2005b: 6). The chief was appointed as many village and district as possible and was learned how to rule over the people living on those lands, supported
by the British Administration. Mamdani argues that a fourth power was vested in the position of the chief, that of making the rules. Therefore, as argued by Mamdani: “the chief is the petty legislator, administrator, judge, and policeman all in one. Every moment of power – legislative, executive, judicial, and administrative – is combined in this one official” (1996: 54).

Maine’s intellectual reasoning that had set in motion the shift from direct to indirect rule can best be understood within the historical context of expanding imperialism after the breakdown of the Concert of Europe. It shows how the shift in colonial policy articulates with internal developments within the British colonies, especially the abandoning of the literate Africans and a change in colonial educational policies. That story begins in the early nineteenth century when hundreds of thousands of slaves were freed by the British and returned to coastal enclaves in West Africa (Mamdani, 1996: 74). These freed slaves became proponents of the European civilization mission and Christian missionary activities that aimed to “civilize traditional Africa” (Mamdani, 1996: 75). Some of them and their children received Western education in Africa and Europe, which they believed was the foundation of modern civilization (Mamdani, 1996: 75). The role of this group grew more prominent over the years and those who received Western education became leading figures in the African colonial administrations. In the late half of the nineteenth century Europe went through a period of industrialization which increased competition between the European powers for resources and labour in Africa. This period - known as the age of ‘New Imperialism’ - led to a ‘Scramble for Africa’ and the need for colonizers to control native populations through a system of native authority, in which the tribal chief became the most powerful asset. It became a cruel form of centralised despotism that turned the native population into submission for imperialistic needs, such as the exploitation of raw materials, labour force and troops for the British Army. It was through the power of the chief that the colonizers ruled, and it was through them the British could legitimize the use of force by identifying it as customary affair (Mamdani, 1996: 286-287). The shift towards the customary meant a deterioration of the partnership between the educated strata and the British, as Lugard reasoned: “In present conditions in Africa the numerous separate tribes, speaking different languages, and in different stages of evolution, cannot produce representative men of education” (Lugard, 1929: 195). It was evident to Lugard that implementing a Western-style representative system of government would not be the solution for the ‘native question’ and that the role of the ‘civilized’ educated Africans in the system of indirect rule was over. Therefore, the shift towards indirect rule also meant a revision of
colonial educational policies; the objective to ‘civilize’ the native populations through education was abandoned and education took a different direction, described as follow:

Education in Africa must fit the ordinary individual to fill a useful part in his environment, with happiness to himself, and to ensure that the exceptional individual shall use his abilities for the advancement of the community and not to its detriment, or to the subversion of constituted authority. The education afforded to that section of the population who intend to lead the lives which their forefathers led should enlarge their outlook, increase their efficiency and standard of comfort, and bring them into closer sympathy with the Government, instead of making them unsuited to and ill-contented with their mode of life. It should produce a new generation of native chiefs with higher integrity, a truer sense of justice, and appreciation of responsibility for the welfare of the community. (Lugard, 1929: 425).

Lugard description shows - although through a philanthropical narrative - that colonial education had to ensure the continuity of decentralised despotism through a policy in which the native ethnic, or tribal communities would receive education that allowed them to develop along their own specific lines. It showed that the shift towards indirect rule had to go hand in hand with a definite change in educational policy in which future generations of native chiefs and leaders were educated in the native thought. Education was therefore instrumental in the creation of an elite class in the rural areas in which the British introduced an authoritarian form of rule which was uncommon in African tribal society. The creation of an elite class is regarded as a factor of post-colonial violence in African societies (De Waal, 2007: 5-7). However, in southern Sudan colonial rule created centre-periphery inequality embedded in a socio-political landscape in which the rural populations were ruled by the elite chiefs, who in turn were ruled by the government in Khartoum. This centre-periphery inequality is not the only factor which might explain the intractable violence in post-colonial Sudan.

One of the most influential explanations for political conflicts ravaging African post-colonial societies is Samuel Huntington’s Clash of Civilizations (1993). It is violence between what Franz Fanon called ‘the wretched of the earth’ (1963). Fanon points to violence between the poor and the poor; between the impoverished and disempowered people of the world (Mamdani, 2001: 1). Huntington explains this non-revolutionary violence as an outcome of cultural differences between groups of people. The most prominent explanation about post-colonial political conflict in Sudan relates to Huntington’s thesis, which focusses on the crisis over national
identity. Francis Deng described the crisis over national identity as follow: “the civil war between the North and the South is essentially a conflict of the identities that determines one’s place in society and provide the basis for allocation in the distribution of power and resources” (1995: 485). The crisis over national identity is often categorized as a conflict between the Arab-Islamic northern Sudan and African-Christian, or animist southern Sudan (Deng, 1995; Jok, 2012; Wai, 1973). This conflict manifested itself in the successive Arab dominated democratic and military regimes which aimed to establish an Arab-Islamic culture that undermined the cultural identities in peripheral Sudan, and especially South Sudan (Jok, 2012: 243). According to Deng, this had “serious implications for the sharing of power, the distribution of resources, and the opportunities for participation” (1995: 484). Because of the difficulty in finding consensus over national identity the constitutional system had never been representative for the many different peoples in Sudan and has never been viewed as legitimate (Lesch, 1998: 3).

However, cultural differences (defined by ethnicity and religion) between northern and southern Sudan do not explain violence in post-colonial Sudan on its own, it is one factor among many. Huntington’s orientalist viewpoint generalizes and labels Islam as ‘others’, thereby de-historicizing and neglecting the magnitude of differences within the Muslim world. It perceives Islam as a threat to the Western world and those aligned with the West - such as South Sudan. Huntington’s clash of civilizations as an explanation neglects historical, economic or political factors that otherwise might explain violence. Alexander de Waal summarized the following factors as identified in political and social science literature about Sudan:

1. Clash of identities and its variant, the fruitless search for a cohesive identity;
2. Centre-periphery inequality and economic exploitation;
3. Conflict over scarce resources and the breakdown of governance in Sudan’s rural areas;
4. Intra-elite competition at the centre and the struggle to consolidate the state;
5. “Brute causes”: criminality, individual agency and the perpetuation of a cycle of violence (De Waal, 2007: 1).

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3 Most commonly known are the two civil wars between North and South Sudan, however, numerous other conflicts have occurred between the government of Sudan and peripheral tribes such as the Beja in the East, the Fur in Darfur and the Nuba in Kordofan (el-Battahani, 2006: 10).
Mamdani however, identifies this non-revolutionary post-colonial violence as political. It is violence that requires the mobilization of constituencies driven by the issues animated by “non-market factors, a crisis of nation building and the question of citizenship” (Zambakari, 2013: 11). Mamdani argues that at the heart of post-colonial violence in Africa is the question of citizenship and the failure of the post-colonial governments to reform the institutions of the state. In Citizen and Subject Mamdani shows through a historical institutional analysis of the colonial state that non-revolutionary post-colonial political conflict in Africa is the result of colonial rule in which the urban and the rural areas were governed differently through a dual system of government. In this dual system of government, those living in the urban areas were governed through direct rule and civil law, which made them potential ‘citizens’. Those living in the rural areas were governed through indirect rule and customary law which made them ‘subjects’ (Mamdani, 1996: 109-110). Civil law did not apply for everyone in the urban areas but discriminated between races and ethnicities. In turn, civil law discriminated between the European master race and subject races - such as Arabs. The rural areas were governed by the Native Administration and through Customary law, in which a distinction was made between native and non-native ethnic groups – or, tribes. Those with a tribal homeland - defined by a discourse of origin - were privileged above the non-natives and those considered foreigners. Mamdani argues that the ‘Native Administration’ politically enforced ethnic identity and separation between ethnic groups, in which one group was privileged over another (Mamdani, 1996: 286). This determined one’s political representation and access to resources in the public and customary spheres (Zambakari, 2013: 11). At times of independence this dual form of government survived and institutionalized - although deracialized it was not de-tribalized. Political conflict in the post-colonial African state centers around this question of who belongs to the political community and who does not; it focusses upon the question of citizenship (Zambakari, 2013: 11). In Sudan this resulted in the continuation of discrimination between Sudanese citizens by the subsequent Arab dominated regimes. These regimes have failed to reform the institutional legacy of colonialism which Mamdani explains as the underlying root cause of political violence in Africa. Mamdani argues that this is not a cultural explanation but a political one because once cultural identity is inscribed by law and enforced by the institutions of the state, it becomes political.

Mamdani revolutionary violence breaks from the Marxist, or political-economic explanations for political violence which was viewed as a struggle between market-based identities.
– or, ‘classes’. From this point of view societies throughout history have always been divided along the lines of classes, divided between the bourgeoisie dominant class, and the dominated – proletariat - working class. The classical Marxist approach thereby focuses on the role of bureaucracy and military in the modern state and defines it as “a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie” (Engels & Marx, 1969: 15). Its political power is merely the organized form of power of one class to oppress another, only by revolution could the exploited proletarian class change its social and economic position in society (Engels & Marx, 1969: 27). In *The Future Results of the British Rule* Marx looked at the impact of British colonial rule in India to understand the nature of social classes in post-colonial societies (Marx, 1853). The British imposed a set of rules and institutions on the colonized to exploit natural and human resources for their economic interests in an ongoing imperialists competition between industrialized Western states. According to Marx, the British had a ‘double mission’ in India (and other colonies in Asia and Africa), one of destruction and regeneration; the destruction of the old order and laying the material foundation of industrial Western society (Kumar, 1992: 498; Marx, 1853). Marx’s point was (as pointed out by the Hamza Alavi) that colonial rule would “break down old precapitalist social order and regenerate new social forces setting in motion the dynamics (and contradictions) of capital accumulation and development in the colony” (Alavi, 1982: 172). Thus, the colonial ruler imposed capitalism on colonial societies in which the state apparatus was controlled by the imperialist metropolitan bourgeoisie, and at times of independence capitalism would produce a new neo-colonial ruling bourgeoisie class. However, this view fails to explain violent political conflicts in post-colonial societies as Alavi argued that: “The military and the bureaucracy in post-colonial societies cannot be looked upon, in terms of the classical Marxist view, simply as instruments of a single ruling class.” (1972: 61). It is the relationship between the state, the underlying economic structures and the social classes that are more complex in capitalist peripheral post-colonial societies than one would argue from a classical Marxist point of view.4 The state in post-colonial societies was established by the imperialist metropolitan bourgeoisie during the colonial period, and after independence their influence was not over. The military bureaucratic oligarchy had a different role; one as a mediator between the interests of the native post-colonial bourgeoisie, the

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4 For a detailed account on Alavi’s understandings on post-colonial societies in Africa, see *The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh* (Alavi, 1972). Furthermore, for a better understanding of how social classes relate to the mode of production in African peripheral capitalist post-colonial societies see *Revolutionary Pressures in Africa* (Ake, 1978).
landed classes and the departed metropolitan bourgeoisie (Alavi, 1972: 61-62; Saul, 1974: 351-352). In post-colonial societies there was not a divide between social classes in the Marxists sense, it was a multi-class society with a strong state apparatus and a relative weak native bourgeoisie unable to control the (over)developed military bureaucratic oligarchy and subordinate other classes. Because capitalism was imposed on these precolonial feudal societies and did not develop as result of a bourgeoisie revolution as it did in European societies, it “had not evolved the institutions and capitalist social classes that can grow and manage capitalism” at times of independence (Fadakinte, 2015: 35). It shows that colonialism did not create economic independent post-colonial societies, but merely dependency on the industrialized West. It shows that within post-colonial societies (such as Sudan) social classes did not evidently develop along the lines of classical Marxism, which means that Marxist-based approaches provide limited explanatory power for political conflict which is neither revolutionary or counterrevolutionary.

IV

Methodology and Archival Resources

This historical qualitative research aims to provide new insights on how the practice of educational policies during the ‘Native Administration’ articulates with political internal and external dynamics in the context of the 2011 secession of South Sudan. To realize this ambitious goal this paper draws upon – alongside a wide range of secondary sources - primary sources which have not been subject to historical research to this date. There are various archives that keep historical documentations about the Anglo-Egyptian condominium. The Sudan Archive at the University of Durham Library has the largest collection of official and non-official maps, photographs, documents and other printed material from the Sudan Political Service, missionaries, soldiers, doctors, teachers and others representing all levels of colonial society. Other relevant documents from that time can be found at the Egyptian National Library and Archives, the Church Missionary Society Archives at the University of Birmingham Library and the Archive of the Sudan United Mission at the University of Edinburgh. On the matter of education, valuable information can be found at the British National Archives in Kew, London. They hold a considerable amount of correspondence and annual reports that could provide insights into the development of educational policies in southern Sudan. For reasons of finance and convenience, a journey was undertaken to the British National Archives to examine the archival resources which could possibly provide
insights into the development of educational policies during British indirect rule in South Sudan. The extracted data mostly includes annual reports of the British (educational) policy in Sudan and southern Sudan from 1922 to 1938 and correspondence about educational policies and the missionary missions during 1919 to 1947.

The methodology used to analyze these archival documents are aimed to avoid the main pitfalls in historical research, which are ‘investigator bias’ and ‘unwarranted selectivity’ (Thies, 2002). Therefore, each document has been subjected to ‘external’ and ‘internal’ criticism before it to be valued as an authentic and accountable source of information. This research aims to place the archival sources “within their historic, situational, and communication contexts” (Larson, 2001: 343). Placing the data into the perspective of its time helps to recognize the authenticity and accountability of the documents that serve as the foundation of this thesis. The authenticity of the documents is determined after being subjected to ‘external criticism’, thus, is the document what it appears to be, and can it be proven? The documents used in this research are stored at the British National Archives, the accountability of these documents can be determined by ‘internal criticism’. According to some scholars examining historical documents should proceed by applying the following formula: who said what to whom under what circumstances and what purpose (George, as cited in Larson, 2001: 343). To thoroughly understand the dynamics of the time and place from which the documents originate, and to understand the motivations of the authors in writing these documents - more in-depth background research is needed. Further in-depth research about the background of the authors seems hardly possible because of constrains in resources. Personal diaries and correspondence from and about these individuals are being held by various archives around the world and therefore difficult to examine. Just as with many other historical studies, it is the availability of data that determines the direction and scope of this research, not the other way around. By subjecting the documents through external and internal analysis as far as possible, it is hoped for that the earlier mentioned pitfalls in historical research can be avoided.

V

Culture and History of a Divided Sudan

The word ‘Sudan’ derives from the Arabic expression ‘bilād as-sūdān’, meaning ‘the land of the Blacks’ – which was the Arab name for West Africa and northern Central Africa in medieval times (Al-Rahim, 1969: 1). Sudan in its modern period is known as the ‘Republic of Sudan’, of which
the seceded southern states are now known as ‘South Sudan’, or the ‘Republic of South Sudan’. Northern and southern Sudan are geographically different; the northern provinces are mainly dominated by desert whereas the Southern provinces are dominated by the Nuba Mountains and the ‘Sudd’ - large areas of wetland fed by the waters of the White Nile. The northern climate is hot and dry, which is why the ground is hardly fertile for agriculture. The southern climate is tropical; hot with seasonal rainfalls and therefore perfectly suitable for agricultural purposes. The southern provinces are rich in natural resources such as gold, diamonds, uranium, cobalt and oil, whereas in northern Sudan these resources are scare. Due to the many differences in climate and geography, it comes as no surprise that the population contains a great diversity of peoples and cultures.

The population of South Sudan can be broadly categorized into three group: the Nilotes, the Nilo-Hamites and the Western Sudanic tribes. These groups are divided into about 64 ethnic groups, which in turn are divided into approximately 572 tribes (Beninyo, 1996: 9). The Nilotes comprises the largest of these ethnic groups – the Dinka – and are made up out of approximately one-third of the population in South Sudan. The second largest ethnic group are the Nuer, who are half the size of the Dinka population. Sudan’s climate and geography have been an important factor in how history has evolved and how education in Sudan has developed. Modern education in Sudan begun with the Condominium administration in 1898 and started to develop in southern Sudan from the mid-1920’s (Sanderson, 1962).

The peoples in northern Sudan can be divided into two groups (Beninyo, 1996: 5-9). The first consists out of numerous Nuba tribes from the Nuba Mountains; the Gaahmg and Tabi tribes from the Ingessana and Tabi hills; and the Fur from Darfur. The second group are those considered the brown race, or ‘Arabs’. Those people consist out of the Beja tribes from the Red Sea Hills and have physical similarities with the people from southern Arabia. In the course of history Arabs tribes immigrated to northern Sudan and intermarried with the local populations, these Arab tribes were divided along tribal and lines but “existed within the context of the Arabic language and culture” (Wai, 1973: 34). Their arrival started a unifying process of Arabization and Islamization of northern Sudanese tribes, although tribal divisions are still very alive many of these tribes identify themselves with the Arab world. This process of Arabization and Islamization did not reach southern Sudan because of its impenetrable geographical conditions.

Little is known about education in Sudan before the seventeenth century. Medieval Arab sources show that Sudan’s early history is marked by its relationship with Egypt (Holt, 1961: 17).
As early as 2000 BC Egyptians immigrants traveled to old Nubia and developed a civilization which seemed to have many similarities with ancient Egypt (see figure 1). Historians have identified the presence of many pyramids in northern Sudan as a sign for its likeliness with the Egyptian culture in both “character and spirituality” (Beshir, 1969: 3). Many centuries later - in the sixth century - the Coptic Church of Egypt entered the Nubia region to spread Christianity. Their missionary efforts lacked vitality because of disunity and hostilities within the Christian Church (Beshir, 1969: 3-4). Nevertheless, Jacobite Christianity became the state religion in parts of Nubia, such as in the Kingdom of ‘Alwa which lasted until the fifteenth century (Trimingham, 1949: 72). Simultaneously in the sixth century, the Byzantine province of Egypt was concurred by Muslim Arabs under the leadership of ‘Amr ibn al-’, but it was not until the ninth century when the Islam started to spread (Holt, 1961: 16). Arab trans-Saharan slave traders settled throughout the region and intermarried with local tribes who adopted the Islam as their religion and Arabic as their language. By the fourteenth century the Islam became dominant in Egypt, the Hejaz (modern times West Saudi Arabia) and Lower Nubia. The Arabs viewed the lands beyond the Frist Cataract - Southern and Upper Nubia – not as attractive, “except as a supplier of slaves” (Trimingham, 1949: 76). Up until the seventeenth century the Islam slowly spread among these regions which preluded the eclipse of Christianity in Nubia (Trimingham, 1949: 75-80). Islam did not influence southern Sudan due to its natural barriers and an indigenous population who resented the Arab culture which they associated with the slave trade. From the seventeenth century onwards, the Islam dominated the Nubia regions and religious education started to develop in northern Sudan. To “inculcate and strengthen the [Islamic] faith” Muslim societies demanded knowledge about the Koran and the Arabic language (Beshir, 1969: 5). Education during those periods was aimed at teaching the readings of the Koran and the practice of Sufism through mosques and khalwas. Sufism – a more mystic version of Islam and associated with meditation – is still being practiced by a majority of Muslims in modern northern Sudan.
In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans occupied Egypt. But it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that they seized effective control over northern Sudan. During that period Ottoman army Commander Muhammed ‘Ali – who was very popular with the Egyptian population - was appointed autonomous Khedive (viceroy) of Egypt by Ottoman Sultan Selim III. By the 1820’s Muhammed ‘Ali secured his rule over the northern Sudanese provinces and installed a central government (Holt, 1961: 35). In the years thereafter, the regime in northern Sudan did not provide the expected profits in gold, and after Muhammed ‘Ali declared he wanted to abolish slave trade - reforms on agriculture, communications and government were necessary to develop Sudan into a more profitable enterprise (Holt, 1961: 59). From then on, education in northern Sudan was aimed at producing skilled workforce while simultaneously stimulating Koran studies and the educational system of khalwa’s and mosques.

The relative peace in Sudan brought by the Turco-Egyptian rule and Sudan’s position on routes to other parts of Africa attracted European Christian missionaries. Muhammed ‘Ali had a
liberal attitude towards those missionaries and allowed several representatives to settle in Khartoum, which became the center of the Catholic mission in Sudan and the region. Based upon the missionary experiences of Italian Father Luigi Monturi and warnings from the Prefect Apostolic of Tripoli and the Canon of Malta Cathedral about the spread of Islam in Central Africa, Pope Gregory XVI created the Apostolic Vicariate of Central Africa – which had as objective “the conversion of the Negroes to Christianity, the bringing of assistance to the Christians who were in the Sudan as traders, and the suppression of slave trade” (Beshir, 1969: 18-19).

Under the rule of Muhammed ‘Ali’s grandson - Khedive Isma’il (1863-1879) – the modernization continued, and Arabic replaced Turkish as the official language of government correspondence and several primary and vocational schools were built to keep up with the increased demand for skilled personal due to rapid developments in agriculture and governmental administration (Beshir, 1969: 14-15). These schools were needed because many positions in government were held by expensive Turkish speaking Egyptian officials and had to be replaced by the inexpensive Sudanese locals. During Khedive Isma’il’s rule, the eastern Sudanese province Darfur and southern Sudanese provinces Upper Nile and Equatoria were added to the Egyptian Empire. One primary school was established in southern Sudan for the children of officers enlisted in the southern stationed battalions. The local indigenous population could make use of this facility but showed little interests in doing so (Beshir, 1969: 16). Since 1850 the Catholic missionaries had two stations in Gondokro and Holy Cross and since 1862 in Kaka, but these stations did not provide any educational facilities for the local population (Beshir, 1969: 19). Isma’il’s had the same liberal attitude as his grandfather towards the missionaries and appointed the British Sir Samual Baker as Governor of the Equatoria Province (a region in southern Sudan) in 1869, signed a convention for the abolishment of slave trade in 1877 and allowed Christian missions into Sudan (Fabunmi, 1960: 31).

The Mahdist revolution from 1881 to 1885 and the reign of Khalifa ‘Abdallah from 1885 to 1898 ended the Turco-Egyptian educational system of state schools and the European missionary (educational) work in Sudan (Beshir, 1969: 21). The Mahdist education was aimed at teaching the pure Islam and Jihad without the mystic Sufi influences. The origins of the Mahdist revolution can be traced back to developments in Egypt during that same period. In 1879 the Khedivate of Egypt had collapsed with the removal of Khedive Isma’il and the opposition had joined army leader’s ‘Urabi Pasha revolution against Isma’il successor – and son – Muhammed
Tawfiq (Holt, 1961: 76-77). Motivated by interests in the Suez Canal and Sudan, the British ended the revolt by occupying the Egyptian Khedivate in 1882 (Fabunmi, 1960: 30). Egypt remained an autonomic Khedivate of the Ottoman Empire, but de facto it was a protectorate under British rule led by the influential Lord Cromer as its consul-general (Fabunmi, 1961: 110). The events in Egypt had weakened their rule over Sudan dramatically and in the power-vacuum that followed Muslims started to revolt under the leadership of Mohammed Ahmed bin Abd Allah, or ‘Mahdi’ (meaning: ‘The guided one’). The revolt was partly motivated by the unpopularity of the Turco-Egyptian administrators and the Christian ‘infidels’ who threatened the Islam in Sudan, this strengthened Mohammed Ahmed’s revolution. By 1884 the Egyptian troops were defeated and the Mahdiyyah hordes seized power over Sudan (Holt, 1961: 85). Mohammed Ahmed is viewed by many northern Sudanese as the ‘Mujadidd’, or, the “renewer of the Muslim Faith, come to purge Islam of faults and accretions” because he unified northern Sudan to a great extent (Holt, 1961: 77). After Mohammed Ahmed’s death, Khalifa ‘Abdallahi took over leadership and prevented Sudan deteriorating into total anarchy. Khalifa Abdallahi managed to encounter many challenges aimed at depositing him from power but was eventually defeated by superior British and Egyptian military forces in 1898 (1961: 106).

The 1898 Anglo-Egyptian conquest over Sudan under the leadership of General Kitchener preluded the begin of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium; it was a conquest that started for a number of reasons. First, at the high of the European scramble for Africa, the French were threatening to occupy Sudan and connect its territories in West Africa to East Africa. This could endanger Great Britain’s influential position in Africa and its plan for a ‘Cape to Cairo railway’ (Fabunmi, 1960: 46-47). A second important factor was Egypt’s dependency on the Nile waters, which have always been their source of life. As de facto ruler of Egypt, Great Britain was responsible for all Egyptian territories, conquering Sudan would mean control over the water basins of the Nile which could secure the waterflows for irrigation and other purposes in Egypt. The third factor was on British domestic level; the public discourse in Great Britain was that its military credibility was at stake if no measures were taken to retaliate the defeat and beheading of General Charles Gordon – the successor of Equatorial Governor Baker - by Mahdi forces in 1884 (Fabunmi, 1960: 42). After the occupation of Sudan, Great Britain inherited a country which was heavily divided by its history with the Arab peninsula. Northern Sudan was for the larger part Arabized and Islamized, whereas southern Sudan was mostly neglected and exploited.
VI

Education During the Early Anglo-Egyptian Condominium

In 1899 Great Britain and Egypt signed the ‘Condominium Agreement’; joint sovereignty over Sudan based on Egypt’s historical claims and the British ‘rights of conquest’ (Holt, 1961: 110). The military and civil command of the condominium was vested in the position of Governor General, at first appointed to Lord Kitchener and soon after to Sir Reginald Wingate. Wingate held this position until 1916 and laid the foundations of the Sudan Administration, which was replaced in a later stage by the Native Administration (Holt, 1961: 111). In 1901, Lord Cromer appointed Sir James Currie to be the Director of Education in Sudan, a position he held until 1914 (Beshir, 1969: 28). The objectives of his educational policies were “The creation of a small administrative class, capable of filling many government posts, some of an administrative, others of a technical, nature”, “The creation of a competent artisan class” and “Diffusion among the masses of the people… to enable them to understand the machinery of Government, particularly with reference to the equitable and impartial administration of justice.” In 1902 the British constructed the Gordon Memorial College to educate the future staff for the Sudan Administration. It proved to be a significant event in the educational history of Sudan as it became the epicenter from where out education for the northern spheres was regulated.

In southern Sudan, the main concern of the British during the early years of the condominium was to secure access and communications in the impenetrable regions of Bahr al-Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile. Without, territorial claims of southern Sudan could not be enforced, let alone an administrative policy (Daly, 1986: 135). During the early years of the condominium the British found great difficulty in establishing military and administrative outposts in the southern regions. The British efforts to establish contact with the local tribes often resulted into uprisings; Daly claims that there were numerous ethnic groups who continually resisted the British presence in southern Sudan, such as the Azande and the Nuer tribes in the Upper Nile region and the Dinka in the Bahr al-Ghazal region (Daly, 1986: 140-156). Other scholars argue that the resistance of the Nuer and the Dinka did not occur in that order of magnitude (Beshir, 1969: 24). It does seem however that during the early years of the condominium the British had great difficulty in enforcing law and order on the native populations of South Sudan by military

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5 The National Archives of the UK (henceforth: ‘TNA’). FO 141/717/1: The Educational Experience in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1900-33.
means. For that reason, it took time and resources to establish an administration during the first two decades of the condominium.

British educational policy in southern Sudan during that period is best described as ‘laissez-faire’ and was left to the Christian missionaries. After being restricted from activities in northern Sudan – which was aimed at converting the ‘infidel’ Muslims – the missionaries were allowed to act freely in the southern spheres. The primary objective of both the government and the missionaries was to eliminate Islamic influences in the South. To achieve this objective effectively, the main missionary societies were allotted an area for their activities, known as the ‘sphere system’ (Beshir, 1969: 33). The main missionary societies were the British Christian Missionary Society (CMS), the Verona Fathers and the American Presbyterians (King, 1973: 29). The CMS established themselves in the Equatoria province and the southern area of the Upper Nile; the Verona Fathers in the Bahr al-Ghazal province and the American Presbyterian in Central Upper Nile (Seri-Hersch, 2017: 6-7). The missionaries established various types of schools, such as ‘bush schools’, elementary schools, intermediate schools and trade schools (Seri-Hersch, 2017: 7). At the Bush schools, the teachings proceeded in the vernacular language. At the elementary and intermediate schools, education was aimed at teaching the students English literary skills.

Between 1910 and 1920 the British started to show interest in education in southern Sudan. This change of policy started after the British established themselves more firmly in the southern provinces with the necessary military means, and after some of the governors initiated the construction of schools. Wingate feared that those schools would help with the spread of Islam because qualified staff was produced at the Arab dominated Gordon Memorial College Khartoum and the official language of the Administration was Arabic until 1927. The danger of Arabization and Islamization at those schools did not align with his anti-Islam policy of ‘civilizing’ the native population, a policy which had to remain secret out of fear for an Arab uprising in the North. The question remained how to civilize the native population without too much government expenditures and the use of government schools. The answer was found within the missionary educational activities; it was evident for the Administration that because of the language barrier the CMS was not able to educate tribal communities in their vernacular languages, which meant that the CMS were keen to teach tribal communities English to educate them in Christianity. However, Wingate ensured the CMS that he was willing to employ clerks who only spoke English since it would have been very difficult for the CMS to expand its educational facilities and recruit
students if a career in the Administration was not possible (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 80). For the Administration the CMS educational activities were financial beneficial and aligned with the ideology of direct rule, it was through the English language that the natives could receive a Western-style education. The CMS expanded rapidly and in the 1920’s the CMS had over a dozen schools in southern Sudan that offered more than religious instructions, attended by more than 500 students (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 104). Education through these Mission schools reckoned to be the foundation of the educational system in the years to come.

### VII

**The Beginnings of British Education Policy in Southern Sudan**

To understand the development of educational policies one must place it in the context of the shift towards indirect rule; a colonial policy which was set in motion by a series of external and internal developments. These external developments have been discussed in the literature review; a shift in colonial policy based on the intellectual reasoning of Sir Henry Maine as a response on various uprising in the British Empire. The internal developments relate to the failure of British direct rule during the first two decades of the condominium years. British direct rule in southern Sudan was regarded as a failure because of the frequency of military operations that were needed to control the native population and the excess of expenditure over revenue (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 111). This shift took definite shape after the prominent British statesmen Lord Milner was sent to Egypt and Sudan to assess the future of the British protectorate over Egypt, which led to the publication of the Milner Report in 1921 and the independence of Egypt in 1922. It also laid out the foundations of the Native Administration in South Sudan, based on Lugardian Principles of Indirect Rule. The report stated that the Southern (black) portion of Sudan should be cut off from the northern (Arab) area and integrate into British East Africa (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 118). To Milner and other prominent administrators, it was evident that it was time for a separate policy for the South under the Native Administration for a mixture of reasons, of which the most influential one was the desire to prevent Arabism and Islam to penetrate into Black Africa (Ruay, 1994: 38). Developments towards a separate southern policy had already taken place before the publication of the Milner report. The first incentive for an anti-Arab Islamic governmental policy was initiated by CMS Bishop Lleywen Gwynne in 1911, who asked for the removal of Egyptian merchants and high-ranking officials – known as ma’murs - out of Southern Sudan. A request
which was denied by Wingate because he had already ordered far going military reforms against the Arab dominated battalions stationed in Southern Sudan. These reforms included the removal of these troops in 1914 and the deployment of an Equatorial Corps; a non-Muslim Southern Sudanese army led by British officials with English as its service language (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 84). It was after the publication of the Milner Report and the establishment of the Native Administration that a separate southern policy started to take definite shape. The first development was a directive in 1922 to replace Arabic by English as the official language of the Native Administration, which was made official for the entire Southern Sudanese Administration in 1928 at the Rejaf Language Conference. The second development was the creation of ‘closed districts’ by the Passports and Permits Ordinance in 1922, which excluded Arabs to engage in activities in Southern Sudan (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 119-120). The outcomes of the Milner Report resulted in an active southern policy under a new form of colonial rule from 1922 onwards.

Decentralized rule and a separate policy for the south was the perfect response after the failed first two decades of the condominium. It was regarded as a cost-effective form of government and allowed the British to rule over the indigenous population while creating a barrier against the North. According to Mamdani this decentralization of power resulted in the politicization of ethnicity and a regime of extra-economic coercion through position of the tribal chief. Who enforced “a regime that breathed life into a whole range of compulsions: forced labour, forced crops, forced sales, forced contributions, and forced removals” (Mamdani, 1996: 23). Objectives of educational policies by the colonial administration must be viewed within the context of this shift towards the customary and its attitude towards Arabic and Islamic influences. The development of these policies, however, was shaped by its complex relationship with the Missionaries.

After the publication of the Milner Report in 1921, the administration started to show some interest in educational policies. In reckoned that education could be of instrumental use to achieve the aims as portrayed in the Milner Report:

Having regard to its vast extent and the varied character of its inhabitants, the administration of its different parts should be left, as far as possible, in the hands of the native authorities, wherever they exist, under British supervision. Decentralization, and the employment, wherever possible, of
native agencies for the simple administrative needs of the country, in its present stage of development, would make both for economy and efficiency.\(^6\)

According to Milner there were two agencies for the realization of this aim, of which the most important were the tribal chiefs - responsible for administering their own tribes. The second were natives selected for minor posts in government. It led to a series of reports and memoranda between 1921 and 1925 in which the objectives for educational policies were determined (Beshir, 1969: 63-67). The following proposals in the annual 1921 Governor General Report (henceforth: ‘G.G.R.’) show that education was of instrumental purpose for the administration of indirect rule:

\((a)\) the formation of continuation classes for boys who have already passed through the more advanced missionary schools… with a two years’ course in English and office work… to fill clerical posts in the provinces which are now occupied, often unsatisfactory and always at considerable costs, by employees from the north;

\((b)\) grants-in-aid to certain missionary societies, to be expended to the training in approved boarding establishments of the sons of local chiefs recommended by local Government authorities.\(^7\)

From 1921 until 1925 these were the objective of the administration’s educational policy. However, during that period a more coherent plan for education begun to take shape after Sydney Hillelson - a tutor at the Gordon Memorial College - was ordered to inspect and report on mission schools in the Mongalla Province, later Equatorial Province, in 1921 (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 93). In the Report on Education in Mongalla Province Hillelson recommended that the administration should implement the following objectives:\(^8\)

\((a)\) The provision of a better class of Chiefs and Chief Assistants.

\((b)\) The improvement of the standard of native labour ‘by the general training of mind and body’.

\((c)\) The provision of a class suitable for employment in the Police as messengers, and

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\(^6\) TNA. FO/141/580/7: Report on the Special Mission to Egypt, 1921.


\(^8\) Sydney Hillelson’s Report on Education in Mongalla Province, 1922 is located at the Sudan National Archives in Khartoum and is therefore inaccessible, this text was extracted from the book The Southern Sudan; The Problem of National Integration (Wai, 1973: 67).
(d) The influencing ‘of native standards and ideals by moral and religious training’. (Wai, 1973: 67)

Hillelson recommended that to achieve these objectives the government had to adopt a ‘grants-in-aid’ system which would enable them to support mission education under government supervision. The administration adopted this system in a restricted form, predominantly meant to support the education of ‘sons of chiefs’ and because most officials agreed that the southern policy had to have some religious foundation to improve the ‘native outlook’ (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 131). It thereby ignored earlier voices which opted the replacement of Missionary Schools by secular governmental schools. It was regarded as the most pragmatic and cost-effective solution because the larger part of these schools was already established in the rural parts of Southern Sudan and because some of the missionaries spoke vernacular languages, which enabled them to educate native pupils in the context of their daily lives. Before 1925 it seems evident that such a small number of Mission schools could not have had any significant impact on society. This argument is based on remarks in various Annual Reports that provide evidence of slow and even stagnating educational development. For example, in the Annual Report in 1924 the Governor General stated that: “In the Southern Province, although the mission had suffered from lack of British staff and has thus been unable to extent its activities, the attendance of the various schools in Mongalla has been maintained, the total being 448.”9 Whereas in the 1922 Annual Report, remarks were made of its expansion: “In the Southern Sudan the society continues its excellent work at Malek and Juba in Mongalla province and at Merdi and Yambio in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province, where it is hoped that they will open a mission at Rumbek next year.”10 In 1925 there were only thirteen Vernacular Elementary schools and one intermediate school were the language of instruction was English (Beshir, 1969: 69) The number of ‘bush school’ – or vernacular village schools – in 1925 is unknown (Seri-Hersch, 2017: 7).

From 1925 onwards, there was a need for additional educational facilities due to “increasing economic and administrative development in Southern Sudan.”11 The Sudan Administration turned their attention more particularly to Southern Sudan and developed a definite scheme of educational organization in cooperation with the missions. As stated in the Annual

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9 SAD. G.G.R. 1924, p. 44
10 SAD. G.G.R. 1922, p. 47.
Report from 1925: “The happy combination of missionary enterprise and experience, on the one hand, and Government aid, on the other, should afford sure ground and opportunity for the development of these negroid and pagan peoples.”

The administration increased its budget for the grants-in-aid system to meet up with the Hillelson recommendations, which led to a vast expansion of mission schools. The administration funding’s for the Mission school were based on two conditions; that missionary activities were to be supervised by Europeans and that government representatives had the right to inspect the mission schools on a regular basis (Beshir, 1969: 68). The increased expenditures meant an expansion of missionary activities in the provinces of Bahr-al-Ghazal and Mongalla; five new elementary schools were built, and plans were made for the construction of a second intermediate school (Beshir, 1969: 69). In the Upper Nile Province, however, education was mostly abandoned as the Nuer people were very reluctant to any kind of foreign interference.

VIII

British Education Policy and Ethnolinguistic Differentiation

Developments in trade and administration had an unforeseen effect; the spread of a form of Arabic – known as Juba Arabic - as the only lingua franca between the administration, traders and local populations regardless of the expansion of English and vernacular education (Wai, 1973: 69). This development was one of the two subjects during the 1928 Rejaf Language Conference (RLC), the other subject was the “value of the use of vernacular [languages] as a medium of instruction” (Beshir, 1969: 70). The outcome was that the best medium of instruction in elementary schools would be the use of local vernacular languages. An ambition which seemed impossible to realize due to the lack of staff and the multiplicity of local languages. An agreement was reached without the contribution of the ‘native voice’ to categorize these local languages into ten language groups, of which six groups - Dinka, Bari, Nuer, Lotuke, Shilluk and Zande - were to be used as a medium of instruction at the vernacular elementary mission schools (Abdelhay, Makoni & Makoni, 2016: 354-355). The other outcome was the recognition of English as the official language of the Administration and the decision to replace all Arabic speaking ma’murs for English speaking southern Sudanese staff. The outcomes of the RLC were not just for practical convenience; it was

a political act in which linguistic and educational policies played an instrumental role. Since the first developments of indirect rule in the early 1920’s a separate policy for the south had started to take shape. The incentive was to block out Arabic and Islamic influences which showed itself through several developments from 1911 onwards. The outcomes of the RLC fitted perfectly in the context of the developments towards indirect rule and a separate policy for southern Sudan.

The first outcome of the RLC; in which six vernacular language groups were defined, resulted in the creation of various spatially bounded ethnolinguistic identities in the south. The grouping of languages - in which some languages were “sub-summed under others, in spite of ethnographic differences perceived by the group members” - resulted into a new linguistic cartography of southern Sudan, thereby creating new linguistic identities (Abdelhay, Makoni, Makoni & Mugaddam, 2011: 471). It bounded linguistics to ethnicity and territory as defined by the state, empowering certain ethnic groups who were favored by the colonial administration. The RLC outcome to educate the native peoples in their vernacular language is therefore political motivated. The second RLC outcome; the recognition of English as the official language of the administration and the replacement of ma’murs by southern Sudanese English speaking staff was received with less enthusiasm by some high-ranking officials. Correspondence between the Foreign Secretary Sir Austen Chamberlain and the High Commissioner for the Sudan and Egypt Lord Lloyd shows that there was some disagreement about Governor General Sir John Maffey’s views on education, whose following argument was in line with the RLC outcomes: “We have passed the stage of elementary instruction and it is proposed that missionaries should undertake the task of creating, from southern pagan material, literate Government officials.” Sir Lord Loyd’s view however, shows the concerns of some high ranking officers in the colonial administration about English literacy education:

This system, as I understand… is to extend the system of subsidies and to utilize the Missions alone for the purpose of educating youths up to the standard required for entry into Government service, in other words to create a new literate class... and, having regard to the effects of similar systems in other parts of Africa… I cannot but view the prospect of its adoption in the Sudan with concern.

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13 TNA. FO 141/635: Correspondence between British Foreign Secretary Sir Austen Chamberlain and the High Commissioner for the Sudan Lord Lloyd about Mission education, 1929.

14 Ibid.
Sir Chamberlain, however, agreed with Sir Maffey since the objective of literate education was merely to replace the ma’murs in the administration – and not to ‘civilize’ an entire population.

The outcomes of the RLC and all the previous measures taken were adopted in the well-known 1930 Memorandum on Southern Policy, which had the following aim:

The Policy of the Government in the Southern Sudan is to build up a series of self contained racial or tribal units with structure and organization based, to whatever extent the requirements of equity and good government permit, upon indigenous customs, traditional usage and beliefs. (1930 Memorandum on Southern Policy, as cited in Wai, 1973: Appendix I)

It was a policy based upon the ideology of indirect rule and the aim to construct a barrier against northern Arabic and Islamic influences. Education was evidently an important part of this policy because it would take a long period of time before ‘self-contained racial or tribal units’ would be effective in the machinery of government, which meant that in the meantime sufficient and adequate English-speaking staff had to be produced at Intermediate schools to replace the Arabic speaking ma’murs in the administration. (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 174). This important instrumental role of education was portrayed very clearly in the memorandum:

It is recognized that local boys are not fit at present to fill the higher-posts in Government offices, and the supply of educated English-speaking boys depends on the speed with which the two missionary Intermediate schools in Mongalla Province and the Intermediate and Stack Schools at Wau can produce them… But since the employment of local boys in Governments offices is a vital feature of the general policy [emphasis added] every encouragement should be given to those in charge of mission schools to cooperate in that policy by sending boys into Government service. Province officials must aim at maintaining a steady supply of boys for the Elementary Vernacular schools which feed the Intermediate schools. (1930 Memorandum on Southern Policy, as cited in Wai, Appendix I)

It seems that education was instrumental in the Southern Policy’s broader objective to create a socio-political vernacular/English tribal southern identity to oppose the northern Arabic-Islamic identity. It was not however, a unified identity, as the creation of vernacular language groups was aimed to minimize multilingualism to create controllable spatially bounded ethnolinguistic
identities to block out Arabic influences. The proposition by numerous scholars that the British aimed to create a southern Christian identity seems questionable because it does not fit the doctrine of indirect rule. The spread of Christianity into the southern regions was the result of a confusing mutual beneficial partnership between the administration and the missionaries for pragmatic reasons. In which the missionaries used education for their evangelistic ends, which led to missionary perversion of the administration’s educational objectives. Although many of the British government official were ‘good Christians’, evangelism was not however – as shown – an explicit objective in the government’s educational policies. It is clear what the perceived aim of the Southern Policy was and how education fitted in. It is not clear however, how this turned out in practice after 1930.

The impact of educational policies before 1925 does not seem to be of significance due to its scale. After 1925 however, education expanded significantly until around 1934 (as shown in table 1). Thereafter it stagnated because the first objective in the Southern Policy - educating southerners in English at Intermediate schools to replace the Arab speaking northerners in the administration – was restricted. The reason for that is twofold. First, after 1934 literate English speaking staff was no longer demanded in such large numbers because British Administrators had developed new techniques of bureaucracy which enabled them to administer the native population with a reduced number of staff. Although some of the ma’murs and sub-ma’murs were discharged, the percentage of non-Mohammedan staff did not change significantly. Most British Administrators were even reluctant to replace them, as shown by the following comment in the 1932 educational report: “I do not regard this [the unchanged percentage of non-Mohammedan staff] as unsatisfactory… for the maintenance of at least a minimum standard of efficiency in the south.”15 Second, English literate education was also no longer desirable after 1934. High ranking officers in the British Administration – such as the new director of Education and Health R.K. Winter – reversed the southern educational policy because of the danger for the leadership of the native administration in creating an educated class. A policy which was neither supported or opposed by Sir Maffey because there was no necessity for English literate southerners anymore. It meant a renewed focus on the vernacular Elementary schools and Bush schools to prepare pupils for a return to their tribal life – which was in line with the conservative Hillelson recommendations a decade earlier.

15 Ibid.
Table 1. Overview of number of schools in southern Sudan between 1925 and 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School: Intermediate schools (pupils)</th>
<th>Vernacular Elementary schools Boys (pupils) / Girls (pupils)</th>
<th>Bush schools (pupils)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1 (35)</td>
<td>Boys: 13 (630) / Girls: 7 (360)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3 (177)</td>
<td>Boys: 32 (2024) / Girls: 4 (359)</td>
<td>183 (4000+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>3 (237)</td>
<td>Boys: 32 (2374) / Girls: 6 (362)</td>
<td>189 (4000+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>3 (270)</td>
<td>Boys: 32 (2613) / Girls: 11 (547)</td>
<td>263 (7000+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>3 (263)</td>
<td>Boys: 34 (2604) / Girls: 16 (628)</td>
<td>310 (9000+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>3 (299)</td>
<td>Boys: 34 (2994) / Girls: 16 (?)</td>
<td>? (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>3 (261)</td>
<td>Boys: 34 (2934) / Girls: 16 (575)</td>
<td>? (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>3 (246)</td>
<td>Boys: 36 (2977) / Girls: 18 (760)</td>
<td>? (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>3 (233)</td>
<td>Boys: 34 (3382) / Girls: 18 (693)</td>
<td>599 (15000+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>3 (284)</td>
<td>Boys: 35 (3000) / Girls: 18 (648)</td>
<td>604 (15000+)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: authors own elaboration based on various Governor General Reports between 1925 and 1938. Description available at the Sudan Collection from the Durham Library website: [https://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/sudan/gov-genreports/](https://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/sudan/gov-genreports/)

The conservative turn meant a refocus on the customary; educating pupils in hard agricultural work to prevent any de-tribalizing effects, instead of focusing on more academic education aimed at creating entrants for Intermediate schools (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 183). It meant that the influx at Intermediate schools was restricted and that the missionaries were encouraged to open more Bush schools and so-called ‘Normal schools’ in which boys were educated to become teachers in vernacular languages and customary tradition. In 1936 only three of these Normal schools were established with an influx of 78 boys, a number which did not change significantly in the years to come.\(^\text{16}\) The conservative turn thus meant a refocuses on the customary, but now with the vernacular language groups as defined at the RLC as a medium of instruction. The implementation of this second objective of the Southern Policy progressed slowly because the production of vernacular text-books underwent some “difficulties arising from the adoption of a new orthography.”\(^\text{17}\) The Governor General Annual Report from 1931 shows that by then the production of these text-books was still in progress: “Work on the production of grammars and vocabularies and of text-books in the group languages was continued. Several translations await the approval of the special Text-Books Committee.”\(^\text{18}\) It was not until 1932 that the first textbooks

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\(^{16}\) SAD. *G.G.R. 1932*, p. 79.

\(^{17}\) SAD. *G.G.R. 1929*, p. 90.

\(^{18}\) SAD. *G.G.R. 1931*, p. 76.
were published in all vernacular group languages. During the years thereafter the productions
of these textbooks grew more steadily and were used on a more regular basis. The introduction
of these vernacular textbooks meant that pupils could be educated in the context of their daily
lives. The increase in vernacular education and the refocus on the customary also meant increasing
impact on the tribespersons - and especially the chiefs and chief’s assistants – who needed to be
educated in the administrative procedures of government. This was necessary because it enabled
the government to control the customary through the power of the chief, as it obliged them to
deliver written reports to the British District Commissioner. It meant that customary traditions had
to be molded into an untraditional format to make it administratively useful. A contradiction that
shows the intention of decentralized despotism through the tribal chief, in which education was of
instrumental importance. It shows that the colonial ruler not only attempted to create spatially
bounded ethnonational identities through vernacular language group education but also defined
the customary to some extent and vested all power in the position of the tribal chief.

From 1938 to 1947 educational policies did not change significantly because northern and
southern Sudan were prepared for administrative reunification and its independence in 1956. It
was a period that must be viewed in the context of rising fascism in Europe and World War II, in
which the government only allowed the Italian Verona Fathers to continue their missionary work
under strict conditions as the British feared that Italian nationalism could trigger Italy into invading
from neighboring Ethiopia, which it annexed in 1936 (Beshir, 1969: 120). Regardless of the
expensive war fought back in Europe it resulted in increased efforts and recommitment of the
government to the CMS. However, after 1947 the aim to develop southern Sudan ‘along its own
lines’ was completely abandoned in return for Egyptian alliance and military facilities to secure
vital British interests in the Suez Canal. This development paved the path for northern Sudanese
intelligentsia to attack the outlook of indirect rule and to ensure its dominance in the post-colonial
Sudan Government.

This analysis of educational policies between 1921 and 1938 showed that education has
always been instrumental in the creation of a socio-political vernacular/English tribal, or Christian
identity in southern Sudan – meant as a barrier against Arabic-Islamic influences from northern
Sudan. It showed that it was the state that defined who were indigenous and not – based on its
ethnonational identity. Those ethnic groups or tribes, defined at the RLC by its spatially bounded


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imobile linguistic and controllable identity were empowered through a legal and administrative project in which education was of instrumental importance. Educational policies were aimed at educating staff for the administration, developing the native population ‘along their own lines’ and familiarize the tribal chiefs with the procedures of government which enabled the British to control a majority tribal society. These findings align with Mamdani’s reasoning in which it was the colonial state who defined who was to be indigenous and not, and which determined their access to resources and power. However, this analysis also showed that implementing education was a complex and confusing matter because of its relationship with the missionaries. It resulted in the spread of Christianity, now accounted for as the largest religion in South Sudan. This analysis has shown how education certainly shaped the socio-political landscape of southern Sudan by defining and empowering some ethnolinguistic tribes over others, introducing English as the lingua franca of government and by introducing Christianity through its relationship with the missionaries.

IX

Colonial Education Policy and Contemporary Politics: An Issue of Identity

The creation of the CPA in 2005, which allowed the people of southern Sudan to vote for independence through a referendum in 2011 was a deal between the SPLM/A and the government of Sudan. The deal was brokered by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which was heavily supported by the United States, United Kingdom and Norway – also known as the Troika. It allowed only those parties who had the capacity to engage in a full-scale war to negotiate the terms of the peace deal. It was an agreement that must be viewed within the context of the post-9/11 War on Terror, in which Khartoum feared to be the next victim of US aggression. This chapter will briefly go over the political developments in the post-colonial era and will show the development of the southern vernacular/English tribal, or Christian identity. This chapter will show how post-colonial political conflict in Sudan was an issue of conflicting identities which shaped contemporary politics.

Sudan’s independence was the result of northern radical nationalism by the Umma party and the National Unionist Party (NUP). The Umma party aimed for independence from both Egypt and the British; the NUP however, aimed for unity of the Nile Valley and unification with Egypt. From 1947 onwards, the terms of independence were negotiated in a series of meetings and conferences (Johnson, 2003: 37-70). The southerners were represented by the Liberal Party and
advocated for a federal status within an independent Sudan, a demand which was completely ignored (Johnson, 2003: 53). In 1954, the NUP party won the first parliamentary elections, but the anti-unionists won a majority in parliament. Meanwhile, southern resentment towards the North increased because their demand for federalism was ignored and many southern British officials were replaced by northern Sudanese. It was a period in which a new educational policy for Sudan was initiated by Khartoum; a policy that aimed to unite the South with the North. It meant the establishment of government schools in the southern provinces in which Arabic was the language of instruction. It led to a rapid expansion of educational facilities in the South; a development disapproved of by the missionaries as it would allow the Islam and Arabic culture to spread in the South (Beshir, 1969: 163-190).

In 1956 Sudan became completely independent and NUP leader Azhari became the first President of the dual-party government. It was the failure to achieve a federal constitution that led to mutiny in the South and is regarded as the begin of the First Sudanese Civil War. In 1958 the government was taken over by the army after a coup d’état led by General Abbud - who abandoned the constitution, closed parliament and adopted a policy of Arabization and Islamization to achieve ‘national unity’ in the whole of Sudan (Lesch, 1998: 38). General Abbud’s policy meant the exclusion of the missionaries from educational activities because Christianity and English as a medium of instruction were regarded as disruptive for achieving national harmony (Sanderson & Sanderson, 1981: 359). However, the exclusion of missionaries from educational activities and in a later stage from southern Sudan entirely, led to a deeper connection between Christianity and southern resistance movements, as Khartoum’s rejection of Christianity was perceived by the southerners as a violation of freedom of religion. Christianity was also perceived by southern resistance movements as ideologically connected with the West, which is why the missionaries could be instrumental in showing the international community the oppressed position of the South. General Abbud’s reign against the missionaries and its assimilations politics led to fierce resistance by oppressed movements and expelled political parties in the South, who formed the Sudan African Nationalist Union (SANU). The SANU, also known as the ‘Anyanya’, aimed for self-determination and were brought together out of enmity towards the North. It was the creation of the SANU from which the rebellion really began to take shape (Johnson, 2003: 56-57).

In 1964 General Abbud’s rule was ended after mutiny within the army, and a northern dominated transitional government took over (Lesch, 1998: 40). At the Round Table Conference
in 1965 the transitional government and southern representatives negotiated over the future of Sudan, and again any demands for federalism or self-autonomy were neglected. It was followed by a policy aimed to turn Sudan into an Islamic State, which led to a period of fierce resistance in the South. Khartoum’s assimilation policy was predominantly an educational project, in which the southern educational system was integrated into the northern system and all the missionaries were completely expelled out of the country. In 1969 the government in Khartoum was overthrown in a coup d’état by Ja’far Numairi, who adopted a contradicting policy upon his removal in 1985 (Lesch, 1998: 45-60). At first, Numairi endorsed the 1972 Addis Ababa Accord between the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM: a more radical movement than SANU with more support from the military) and the government in Khartoum, which ended the First Sudanese Civil War. In the agreement the South was granted more self-autonomy and representation in new secular Sudan government incorporated in *The Permanent Constitution of the Sudan* in 1973. Thereafter, from 1977 onwards Numairi’s policy changed dramatically. Instead of allowing a multiethnic Sudan, Numairi turned towards an authoritarian policy of Islamization and Arabization for the whole of Sudan which led to a resumption of the civil war in 1983.

The incentives for the Second Sudanese Civil War were born out of skepticism and resistance from former Anyanya rebels towards the Addis Ababa Accord and Numairi’s reign. These Anyanya commanders started a militant army and political movement in 1983 – known as the Sudan People’s Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) - under the leadership of John Garang de Mabior (Johnson, 2003: 116). The SPLA/M aimed for a socialist ‘New Sudan’ based upon Marxist principles, in which the objectives were to include all the backward regions in their struggle for equal rights and distribution of power and resources. They aimed to reorganize the structure of government and to deracialize and detribalize Sudanese society (Garang, 1987: 19-21). It preluded the begin of the Second Sudanese Civil War as the SPLA/M aims were in direct opposite of Numairi’s assimilation politics. However, the beginning of the political violence from 1983 onwards must be viewed within the context of the Cold War; it was a proxy war in which the SPLA/M was supported by Russian backed Ethiopia and Libya, and Khartoum by the US (Johnson, 2003: 117-122). After the downfall of Numairi in 1985 the assimilation policies continued by the newly elected Arab dominated government, in which the rural population were once again unrepresented. It was followed by a period in which Garang’s vision to unite the country and create a ‘New Sudan’ was contested by numerous army commanders, which resulted
in a split up of the SPLA. The course of action by the splinter faction SPLA-Nasir, led by Riek Machar, was paradoxical because it pursued complete independence for the southern provinces but simultaneously aligned itself with the government in Khartoum to defeat the SPLA faction led by Garang (Johnson, 2003: 213). Although there have always been violent conflicts within southern Sudan on different levels, the SPLA split intensified especially the tensions between the two largest ethnic groups; the Nuer who aligned with Riek Machar and the Dinka who aligned with John Garang. It led to the reformulation of the SPLA objectives at a National Convention in the mid-1990’s in which the idea of a ‘New Sudan’ was refocused on the southern provinces alone. It meant that the discourse had shifted from uniting Sudan to self-determination for southern Sudan, which led to a truce between the Nasir faction and the SPLA. At the National Convention the SPLA declared the establishment of a new civil society within the southern provinces, without the consensus of Khartoum. It declared the establishment of an independent judicial institution for the South, in which the traditional chief court was implemented into the national judicial system (Rolandson, 2005, 116). It proved to be the precursor of a conflicted civil society in post-independent South Sudan, in which the state was deracialized but certainly not detribalized.

The period thereafter was marked by many conflicts within the whole of Sudan; intensified by contest over natural resources such as oil. It led to increased efforts by the IGAD to reopen the negotiations over peace in 1997 (Johnson, 2003: 265). Garang’s vision for a ‘New Sudan’ was still to transcend cultural and ethnical differences by including all regions within an institutional and judicial framework which would ensure equal rights for all Sudanese citizens. However, during the IGAD peace talks Garang aimed to ensure a ‘New Sudan’ for the southern provinces – as the majority in the SPLA/M leadership favored self-determination from Khartoum. As shown, after independence from the condominium, Khartoum ignored all demands of southern federalism or self-autonomy. Its changed position during the IGAD peace process can be explained by the international dynamics in the post-9/11 era. After the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in September 2001, the US increased economic and political pressure on Khartoum, which had – after the Cold War – aligned itself with the Middle East and was marked by the US as a sponsor of international terrorism. US foreign policy was aimed at combating Islamic terrorism, founded upon primordial understandings around pre-modern labeled cultures; a brainchild of Samuel Huntington who was a scholar and senior advisor in the George W. Bush Administration.
Next to US military strategic interests there were economic interests at stake as well. The instability in the Middle East meant that the US wanted to ensure its energy supply from Central Africa; the ongoing civil war in Sudan was a reliability for its energy security throughout the region. The military and economic strategic interests would be served with more autonomy for southern Sudan as it would strengthen US influence in Central Africa because of its alliance with the SPLA/M. The position of Khartoum in the IGAD peace process was therefore understandable; it feared to be the next victim of US foreign policy in the War on Terror. It led to the creation of the CPA in which Khartoum allowed southern Sudan a high degree of self-autonomy and the possibility to vote for independence through a referendum. However, it was after the suspicious death of John Garang in 2006 that the SPLA/M aimed secession instead of federalism or a high amount of self-autonomy.

## X

### Conclusion

The research question in this paper was the following: to what extent did educational policy during British indirect rule shape the socio-political identity of post-colonial South Sudan and how does this articulate with contemporary politics in post-colonial Sudan and the secession in 2011? This paper tested the following hypothesis: education during indirect rule contributed to the creation of a socio-political identity in post-colonial southern Sudan, which led to decades of resistance against the government of Sudan and eventually secession in 2011. This paper showed that education during British indirect rule was instrumental in creating the agencies of indirect rule and the creation of a socio-political vernacular/English ‘tribal’, or Christian identity in southern Sudan. This was meant as a barrier against Arabic-Islamic influence from northern Sudan. This work showed that the independence of Sudan in 1956 was the result of rising northern nationalism followed by a process of democratization which did not include southern Sudan, instead it was followed by a period of violence and oppression in which the South was ruled by the Arab dominated government in Khartoum – perceived by the Southerners as hostile and alien. This thesis showed that throughout the history of post-colonial Sudan the state apparatus did not become deracialized or de-tribalized, because the Southern Policy meant the implementation of Islamic

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20 See Good Muslim, Bad Muslim for a detailed overview about the intellectual underpinnings of Huntington’s understandings of cultures in the context of the post 9/11 era (Mamdani, 2005a).
Law in the whole of Sudan which in the South denied full citizenship to all non-Arabs and non-Muslims. This thesis shows that these findings are aligned with Mamdani’s reasoning, as the dual system of government lived on in post-colonial Sudan, molded into a democratic institutional framework of exclusion in which southern Sudan was regarded as a renegade province. British colonial educational policy played a key role in all this because it shaped a southern vernacular/English ‘tribal’, or Christian identity which resisted the assimilation politics of Khartoum. Educational policies were instrumental in the creation of this identity because it empowered some spatially bounded ethnolinguistic identities over others through vernacular education and introduced Christianity and English education through its relationship with the missionaries. It aimed to educate the indigenous population along their own lines and created a new generation of chiefs familiar with the machinery of government. It introduced authoritarian rural elite chiefs who ruled over the rural populations, backed up by the mighty power of the state. The assimilation policies of the subsequent regimes in post-colonial Sudan were met with resistance from the South, whose ethnolinguistic identities created a language barrier against Arabic and Islamic influences from the north. Therefore, British educational policy has therefore contributed to the creation of a southern identity of resistance, which has shaped contemporary politics in Sudan and led to the secession in 2011.
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