I am presuming that you don't know where ther the Sudan is because I didn't. I only know that it was a rather convenient place to get to from Cyprus, which is up here of course because one of the other places I was going to visit was Israel. As you know you can't go directly from Arab countries to Israel except infact through a roundabout way through Jerusalem I discovered Cyprus is the natural jumping off base also we were going to take the students there last summer so it all seemed to be madly convenient but alsos, for plans last christmas Cyrus seemed to have its Civil War arrangement and we went to Italy instead with the students which meant that instead of being able to convenient hop this way and that way ended by us having to come all the way and on again, back to Italy but thats anotherstory.

Apart from this geographic convenience was partly the fact that Rowntree had some money which was made available if it it was of any use to me and partly to enable-me so that I could get to see some other underdeveloped countries

and out patient clinics.

think it happens very often where whole families, whole villages, one whole towns, a whole area would be moved en masse and I was interested to see and perhaps to speculate whether if you moved people altogether and preserved much of its social an emotional structure of the family whether in fact this meant led in 3 or 4 generations to breakdown in the same way as in the more usual patterns when individuals or small groups of individuals form large families move away from the traditional areas and have to

recreate structures of their own. Needless to say this wasn't to be discovered by me by popping off to the Sudan for a few I did spend weeks but this-meant quite a bit of time with the psychiarist who was in Khartoum and he spent quite a bit of time at Wali Hala where the people were being moved from and was going to spend some time at Khas ra Pulu where they were being moved to but he didn't have any real planmeds approach to this subject but a more impressionalistic approach Die om It 5 say at to begin I think it is sad when arather spectacular movement of this kind are happening , sad that perhaps large teams of people couln't come in and study these things when they happened because they are really losing a great deal of opportunity to study of quite fascinating aspects of human behaviour. Any way I didn't know them that the Sudan was in fact, I had read a number of articles about because they is were for the temple of Holy Symbol and I had some idea it was in the same area and might even see the temple and I started off by arriving up here from Cairo and like most tourists rushed off to see the pyramids one morning. I decided to go at 4 o clock before the tourists started. I coudn't even find I couldn't even find a tourist bus so got the local bus which everbody else went on . I was that I quite surprised thatdrotte out on a-quiteand ordinary kind of suburban road, there were not many people going out at that hour in the morning and I came to a largish hotel at the end of the road and there were the Pyramids and there even that hour were people who wanted to sell me a camel or take me for a drive on a donkey or take me into some-body's tomb, and remarkably persistent they were I only mention this because although it was a tourists view of the pyramids the thing that struck me with great force was the way that greenish Cairo with trees and palms and flowers and civilised sort of buildings ended abruptly at the pyramids

and there one looked out and there was some kind of bible camp on the horizon, or bible city or something ridiculous with neon lights. The landscape was absolutely terifying. Well it was different, but I always imagined something growing around in the desert. In Isreal later on, they were very proud to tell me that they had 400 different kinds of thorn which grew in their desert. In this desert absolutely nothing grew at all, and for me this was a rather awe inspiring experience. When I took off in the plane from Cairo one could see this even more dramatically, there was a landacape of absolutely nothing, and this nothing went on for a thousand miles by air from Cairo to Khartoum, and by air 1,000 miles, if you follow the river is something like 1,750 miles. Looking out of that plane from Cairo one saw absolutely nothing but barren hills and waste desert land for hour upon hour, and this rather spectacular thin Nile appearing and reappearing on the horizon as we travelled South. This thin tight-lipped green banks of the Nile all the way along, with occasional small villages and small towns far below, then a really frightening and terrifying landscape of nothing on either side where ever one looked, and just to add to the gentra drama I arrived in Khartoum in a sandstorm, so our plane was chugged around for an hour or so beofre we could land, and then a sort of Dunkirkish feeling at the airport, everybody was getting sand out of their nostrik and out of their cars. and surprised that we had landed there at all.

Khartoum, as you can see from this map, is the join of the two Niles, the blue Nile and the White Nile, and this is where my first feel of the Sudan, if not my first view of the Sudan from the air, took place. Well I had come to see this group of people who were from Wadi Halfa. They were going to be moved across here across the Eritrea Abbysinian bornder to a place called Kashmangara. But before I got involved with that a couple of people in Khartoum who were sent down here a further couple of hundred miles by Dakota plane to have a look at the Gazetra, and one vagualy feels that the Gazetra is not particularly relevant to this other kind of movement but I think I will be able to explain why it is tremendously important to understand what is happending and has happened in the Gazetra if we are to understand this kind of movement at all.

You can see the general geography of the Sudan, enormous country, something like a million square miles, which I have just read is a quarter of the size of Europe, or two thirds of the Union of India, and these boundaries as you see are straight lines which usually denote politically arbitarily drawn lines, they have no geographical boundary. Why these boundaries are like that there seems to be no reason whatsoever, but on the North you see Egypt, this is the edge of Libya in here, here is Chad, this is an old map I suppose, and the Congo down here, and we come down to Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia, and what used to be Italian Eritrea, and there is this the old thin coastal strip out here between Egypt and/Italian Eritrea which is now Ethiopia. From a geographical point of view up here in the North of Sudan it practically never rains ever. M In one village up there they told me that it was tremendously bad luck, an awful evil, if a child was born during rain, and as it didn't rain only once every fifteen years there seemed to be lots of lucky children about. In contrast to this absolutely barren nothingness of rain in the North here, down in the South is this great mountain mass which you see is the divide between the Nile and the Congo which one has to cross to West Africa here, enormous water shed in these particular mountains and an almost step by step decreasing rainfall as you move fufther North. The North here is tremendously barren desert and the South here have this tropical rain forest much in which we have these mighty rivers of the Congo and the Nile, and I am sure you have heard both in fact and fiction of attempts to find where this water is coming from. One of the rather exciting facts about finding out where all this water comes from is that you look at this enormous territory and see how fantastically dry and barren it is, the fact that the river runs through it at all is a sort of miracle, and in living history the Nile has never dried up despite the fact that there are no tributories into the Nile, the last one is up here just above Khartoum joins the Nile so there on something like 13 or 14 where the hundred miles of the river not a tributory nor a drop of rain enters the Nile yet this river has flowed for 2 or 3 thousand years, people are interested to know where this water comes from. It also comes in an extraordinary manner because for a short time of the year its fall and flood and for the rest of the year it is at a low level and something times like 16 times more water flows at flood period as flows during the dry season, or dry as far as the

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river is concerned.

This kind of area down here in the Sudan was always considered to be a barbarous and uncivilized kind of place. Almost up to the beginning of the century people did not know very much about it. As you know people were always coming in round this way to try and find the sources of these rivers. Egypt always had the fancy that if the river was cut off somewhere in the North of possel it in some way, this would bring about the downfall of Egypt. So literally for thousands of years, Egyptians or the people who lived in Egypt were most concerned with what went on up here, though no one ever got tremendously far to find out where the sources of these rivers are. There seems to be some controversy as to which lakes it rises in or whether it flows into the lake from somewhere else. There are two sources, the Blue Nile rises up here in the Ethopian area, curves round, and the White Nile down here somewhere, Lake Victoria. It is not far in fact from the source of the Congo and there is also great dispute as to which river is which, in fact I think it was Stanley who thoughthe was following the Nile only to come out two years later on the West Coast of Africa. This is all relevant in as much as the situation in the Sudan has had to be controlled by the people in control of Egypt. They jealously guarded this water supply, in fact in the last century most of the use of the Nile was just by flood water when it overflowed its banks over the great fertile mud, against some controversy about where this mud comes from. Some pundits have argued that it comes from the Blue Nile but recently there has been some dispute/this again, certainly the Blue Nile does bring down lots of mud but this has been found to be absolutely sterile and nothing would grow in it so there are still problems as to where this very fertile mud in fact comes from. But the crops are mainly grown on the overspill of the Nile-and on those mud banks and only flowed did they cut into the mud banks to try and save some of the water during the floods and only really in recent years they have try round-the-year an irrigation for cotton crop in Egypt which brought a great wealth of course, and during the dry season they dam up the delta here and try to save some of this water. But again the Egyptians have always been very careful to see that somewhere further up the river people aren't using the water that can cut off Egypt from its supply. In a very short space indeed the Egyptians began to use all the water especially in the dry season

and then a great struggle has to go on for any kind of irrigation system,

here in the South

at

A dam was constructed , Aswan in 1902 to hold back some of the water at the first cataract and still this part of the world was considered somewhat uncivilized and expeditions were coming out to map out these rivers to see how and if there was a way they could be used. From a politically historical point of view it is interesting that the Sudan was never a colony it didn't come under the Colonial Office but came under the Foreign Office because we sort of owned it in conjunction with a puppet government in Cairo and apparently a different history has emerged from the Sudan to our other colonies, and as you know it is associated with people like Gordon and Kitchener and Wingate. and new I went somewhat expecting to find the usual exploitation, the Colonial asses , and one couldn't help being impressed by what one heard and saw and read of the rather far sightedness of the administrators at the turn of the century before the first world war and soon after in this particular area. Why the British Empire should be interested, I suppose in this part of the world is largely connected with our enmity with France and the French campaign into Egypt which might have been embarrassing for us in the Mediterranean and for our routes for India, certainly when the Suez canal was built it threatened our route to India and also made us much more interested in this wikewat Africa because there was a passage through to India this way rather than having to go round as we used to, when this part of the country was not of any particular interest to us at all. is some other historical exphanation I don't know it. Anyway, researches were made into the flow of this river and how it might be used, and it was discovere d that the White Nile which flows down this side in fact stores an enormous amount of water that it is extremely shallow wide meandering sort of river and much of it got lost in an enormous swamp area up here called the Sund. where it is calculated that at least half of/the water coming down from the watersheds into the Sand was lost from evaporation. The ground fall of the land is very gradual, quarter of a mile along its length, and there Was nothing very much that the Sudanese could do to make use of that water. If a canal could be built through that great swamp area, instead of/meandering around and losing its flow and could be built through here it is estimated that this could serve all the water needs of Egypt as far into the future as one cares to praject. An enormous amount of water is lying fantastically

molarial

swampy in the siddle of a country which even stops building up in these lake areas great storage waters for Egypt because it never gets through, it disappears in this swampy area. So from Egypt's point of view the White Nile is important because potentially this is a water supply for Egypt. The Blue Nile is important from the Sudanese point of view for it is a faster flowing river and it doesn't meander about in the same way through theend also there is the good fortune of there being very rich soil on either side, in fact down in the foothills and valleys beyond this mountain range here there is very rich soil indeed which only awaits water to become perhpas the most fertile land you might find anywhere in the world. The problem has always been that the Egyptians or whoever controlled Hgypt argued that any use of this water interferred with Egypt's historical rights , and it is also very good fortune that between these rivers at this area called the Gazeera which is a peninsula between the two, the land runs away down in this direction, so that it was discovered that if you put a dam up here, and the dam was anticipated by for server you could by mere gravily distant water into this enormous plain here and make it a tremendously fertile area. This couldn't be done in the early days because of the objections of Egypt and there were all kinds of tie-ups as to how much water you could take and to what time of year, to sultivate your warm crops. Originally the idea was that if you used the water during the flood season it would grow enormous crops of miss wheat and the wheat could probably feed the rather wheatless areas of great need of this part of the world. As you would imagine, and as this was being talked about, the tendency was for a great land speculation to begin to grow out of this part of the Sudan. The government very courageously, and perhaps well in advance of its time, tried to put down this enormous speculation, surveyed the whole area, it saw who the local people were who had claims on this area, and got all the land registered, and made it illegal to transfer land other than to neighbours, families and friends to avoid frat land speculation going on. On the other hand the government in Khartoum had the enormous problem of trying to bring capital into the area to set up these schemes, and these two things didn't quite go together, as if you want to attract capital there has to be some return for capital and it took some time work out a scheme whereby there was a partnership between the government, which at this point of course was British administration, and the paper who owned the area, and syndicates who

by making concessions to the syndicates with an end date when the syndicate concession came to an end, and an attempt was made to settle the people in this area on the land to work it, flong the banks of the river of course, the land was owned by the people because the fiver frontage of course was aggregation economy and there were also in this area quite a number of settled people who depended on rainfall from year to year for their crop, so that there was, as there wasn't in other parts of the Sudan at least a kind of ownership

Originally they tried various co-operatine measures, and these seemed to fall, the wheat which eculd only be grown by the flood waters soon gave way to the ideal of growing cotton which apparently had come from the Sudan originally into Egypt and which was an enormous each crop which wheat would not have been which attracted/foreign capital into the area. Lancashire with her interest to get cotton grown in the area which was somewhat under British control, probably still thinking of the days of the American Civil War and that kind of thing, and so slowly people did get interested in this area, set up a number of schemes to see in fact if they could grow cotton. Local people did not take to the idea of growing cotton which needed tending very carefully whereas apparently the wheat crop could just be thrown down as the river subsided and then heywent and collected the wheat. Cotton had to be very exefully tended. They brought in a manifest people from Egypt for a number of pilot projects Mong the concessions and the pumping stations along here to see in fact whether cotton could grow, and it was more or less a success, and they planned to build this great dam at Sennar to divert the waters into this Gazebra area. As people were beginning to get enthusiastic about this the war broke out in Europe, 1914-1918, and this comewhat postponed the flow of capital effort into the Sudan, but eventually in 1925 the dam was built at Semmar which diverted the waters into the Gazebra and this great scheme/which is brilliantly written up in this book by Arthur Gaitskill, got under way.

In fact an extraordinary situation occurred here with the tenants of this land in which eventually they worked out an arrangement whereby the syndicate got a percentage for its marketing and for its know-how, and so on, the Government got a percentage for the supply of the water canals and the dam,

the tenant farmers got a percentage of the cash crop which was cotton. The tubia the Duce which was grown in rotation belonged to the individual farmers in the area, but the eash crop, cotton, belonged to syndicate, and was sold, marketed on their behalf, and they all got shares. Those people who weren't prepared to give up their land or to put their land into cultivation it wasn't right that because for some reason or other it was felt that/the value of their land should grow because of the coming of irrigation. the government took it over at a rental basis for the next forty years, so in fact they sort of nationalised it but put off some of the problems for a generation or so. People were not allowed to sell their land to others, they were not allowed to sell their crop. in advance which is the way people usually do and lose their land in the area. and this kind of triple arrangement began to grow and have success, at least success up and down with the cotton crop and the process up and down with the cotton crop and the process up and down with the cotton crop and the stockmarket. I forgot to mention that of course one of the great financial needs of this area was to bring in some form of communications, because the river business was wildly expensive and difficult and so a railway had to be built out here and a new port called Port Sudan built so as to take away produce of this area throughout the world. The original cotton growing attempt was made in this little area here with a little delta which had been a success, and there's another little delta in here where today

the cotton seed is in fact grown and taken across to the Gazebra Lex I care, post free.

Theefffect on the people in this area is that they become intensive cultivators, the water is turned on at a certain time, they have to do things to the crop at a certain time, pick it at a certain time, weed it at a certain time, pull up the roots at a certain time, in fact it's the nearest one can think of to an industrial manufacture of cotton in an agricultural setting. This doesn't come easy to these almost semi-nomadic people who don't particularly like of do things when the syndicate more or less says that certain things have to be done, but it has to be done promptly because of the needs of this particular crop. The whole Gazgera area was a sort of initial project of which many, certainly most of the foreign exchange comes into the Sudan through the cotton crop, and also it has repercussions for what has been happening later on. Apparently nothing which much is exported from the Sudan

other than cotton. Eventually the syndicate has dropped out of this picture, at least has been pushed out in a friendly way, that is the government has taken over on their own behalf and there has been political struggles in wehter the Sudan was truly a country in its own right or whether in fact the whole of the Nile basin ought to be looked at politically as one unit, and there has been a number of struggles about this. In fact the people who live up in the Wadi Halfa to the Nubians don't seem to be Arab or Muslim at all, other than the constant invasions and flowings in and out here they have taken on some of these characteristics, down here is the strong Arab area, to do with the flow up and down from the river here, also the old trade routes across to Mecca. This whole area 15 mme 7 Wuslim and Arab, but down here in the South of the Sudan its reall African, very african. Lots of primitive tribes belonging ethically much more to Kenya and to Uganda than to the Sudan, and this is the area in which a great deal of the slave trade took place, and of course this is the political thorn in the Sudan which hasn't been solved by anyone, and has brought the downfall of the government in the last few days as you may have been reading in the paper. So one can't deal with this problem down here, nobody has yet been able to deal with it

The position up here in Wadi Halfa was than the Egyptians had decided that they were going to build this high dam at Aswan and this water was then going to back up something like 350 miles. 350 miles from Aswan back down to the Sudan 100 miles or so in this Wadi Halfa area inside the Sudan. Wadi Halfa itself is a kind of frontier town on the river. It is reckoned that the water will rise sixty meters above the top of the mosque in the town, 50,000 people, their homes, trees and everything will be immdated. A great struggle took place as to how the Egyptians would compensate the Sudanese for the drowning of the Nubian homeland up here. Much of the bargaining determined on whether people in Khartous were friendly with Egypt or whether they weren't, and of course the Egyptians did have the carrot of allowing irrigation to grow up on the Nile if the Sudanese agreed to the flooding of Nubia. At one time a group in Khartoum which was friendly towards Cairo were more or less thinking of unitying the whole of the Nile bait make it from an engineering point of view makes sense. There is also enothing thing that Ngeep The influence man in Cairo at thouting you know ligary shippeness power a Nubian from this part of the world, so the Sudaneseyast Wadi Halfey felt that they

Agyon row Neglish fee from power

and Nasser wasn't in fact popular with this group down in Khartoum so the struggles continued and there has always been the feeling among some of the Sudanese that some groups within the Sudan might sell out to Egypt, and there is no secret I suppose that some of the forces in the Sudan have been prepared to look to Egypt and through various kinds of support in the struggle for power and support the british had pulled / in the early 1950's.

A lot of bargaining want on and still nothing transpired. The Egyptians were prepared to build their dam, you remember at one time they even threatened to take over this part of the Sudan, which they said belonged to them anyway. If you look carefully at the map you will find that the frontier is a funny one. it comes like that, with a little bit up like that around Wadi Halfa, and the Egyptians laid claim to this. There was a great flurry at the United Nations and the Egyptians then gave up their claim for some reasons that I don't understand, but this group in Khartoum, which was the first parliamentary machine after the leaving of the British) were felt eventually to become to friendly with Cairo and a new kind of coalition was being formed to take over in Khartoum in 1958 - 59. and in fact the army took over ending a three year period of parliamentary government and in time honoured style from old military The good ment It is to Mexico generally felt to a rather easygoing benevolent military \( \square\tau\_{\text{a}} \) friendly kindig of people, they didn't seem to hang as many of their enemies as military leads do, but they did have this authward 9tis now military machine and problem in the South and the African, Chrisianised or heathen groups here never felt that they had much say in Khartoum, and there has been grave stories of atrocities and all sorts of things happending in the South . And this government when it came in, this military repune within about 3 weeks made an agreement with Egypt, and they settled for compensation of 15 million pounds for this particular area. Now previous governments had apparently been talking around 45 million, there had even been talk of 75 million at an earlier stage. but this government after a three week period agreed on 15 million pounds, and set up a three man commission to arrange the movement of 50,000 people by July 1963, and when I asked about this I was told that the Government was awfully keen to have friendly relationships with Europe and with Egypt and current apparently £20,000,000 or so was the price of this/friendship, and one may say

that the Sudenese were hopping mad because Khuskler came to open a

section of the High Dam and they didn't invite him any of the Sudenese to the

coremony which more or less shows the kind of relationships between in the Sudan despite the 20 million. This question of compensation for Wadi Halfa of course brought forth an enormous political struggle, and at one point the Wadi Halfans refused to move. There was some who didn't believe the dam was being built anyway. so they wouldn't have to move. There was a whole political movement who argued that they weren't going to move, that this really wasn't good enough. I never could get anybody to tell me quite how and why the Wadi Halfans moved, decided to move, but one of the things the government did originally was to say that the people from Wadi Halfa would be able to choose where they moved to. In fact they set up a 20 man committee in Wadi Halfans to go round various areas of the country to discover where they preferred to go. When they decided to go to a place somewhere near Khartoum the government said we are KS awfully sorry you will have to go to and when I raised my eyebrows at this I was told that the government, as guardians of the geople, had to make the right decision for them. And apparently the government seemed to have wanted to follow this kind of democratic ideal of giving the choice, and at the same time they were convinced that the people would make the draice that the government thought they ought to make. I have been told that the reason why some of the people from Wadi Halfa wanted to go to be near Khartoum was because of some political matrician and the political party thought it would be very useful to have the support of the Wedi Halfans near Khartoum if some future mutil and this was one of the reasons why the government didn't want the Wadi Halfans me near Khartoum. The other reason of course was that they were about to spend an awful lot of money on brand new irrigation systems up here on this tributary on the Albana more of the Nile where they were trying to repeat the kind of performance that one had got in the Gazeera. And whereas there were people living in the Gazeera even before the Careera started, all this Brought in many people since. This was an area of largely nomadic people who moved with the tery light rainfall or moved camels in high numbers to sell up in a Epot and there wasn't anybody there that the could in feature accommunication system without people, here were fifty thousand peopple out of work because their place was drowned, so they thought they ought to move inchese them here. The official handout, at says this, "The area suggested at the beginning of the investigation ..... but after extensive research the commissioners chose R.S . in with preference to the other areas because of the following factors. The similarity of the average daily

The mild winters and cool moist autumns.

temperature throughout the year.

The result of preliminary soil tests which showed that the area was extremely fertile, suitable for the cultivation of cotton, wheat, was sugar cane, sisal and castor oil plant. In fact the experimental farms of these crops proved gratifyingly successful, many vegetables, peas and kitchen beans runner beans were also grown with excellent results. Inhabitants of the area, there were very few, made it clear to the commission that they would welcome the Halfa people, while the tribe which also resides in the district is well known for its generous hospitality.

Well I suppose from the safety of Swansea we can comment on the democratic process, in which the Wadl Halfans seemed to have no say in the they recession Well we can talk a little bit about Wadi Halfer One of the points about it is that it is on the river here, and the people, who are a race of their own, and they lived mainly on palm trees, goats and a wheat crop which they sowed on the banks of the river after the ennual flood. And most of this work incidentally was done by women, they looked after goats, they reaped the one harvest of wheat, they climbed up apparently the palm trees once a year to take down the harvest of dates. Most of men found jobs elsewhere, many of them on the traffic up and down into Egypt, others came down into Khartoum and other areas, and when they did a survey. which wasn't until the government of 1959 made this treaty with Egypt, and decided everybody had to be moved within 32 years, they then decided to find out how many people were actually there. Something like 38,00 people were found to be there. and 14,000 absentees who had claimed to land and property in the area. Amongst those 38,000, the statistics showed 10,000 women unemployed, which really means they were the people who did all the work. One of the problems I think you will see immediately in this area, they are really a corp gathering group of women and the economic survey shows that much of the capital was sent home by the people away but when you moving frameworks and working in other places, the may nove them to an area where you are anticipating a very intensive almost an industrial form of intensive agriculture that you know its no good just having the women doing this

you need the men. But the men apparently are somewhere else. This was one of the problems, that the government tended to see these poeple as agricultural people and therefore to put them into another agricultural area, and yet it was argued at least by the more educated men, that they were not agricultural people at all but only the women did agriculture and the men had livdihoods elsewhere . Nevertheless they went around counting all the people and all the houses, the houses of course were made of mid, palmtree leaves for roofs which needed no paint, it was calculated that you can do 63 different things with palm leaves, I mover discovered what they were. When you wanted to build a bit more house you just mudded up a bit, put leaves on the top, and the houses that you have to have in this area would have to be of entirely different construction because it rained like med for three months of the year. When I was there we had 16 inches of rain one afternoon. They had to have a more constructive kind of house, they couldn't take their palm trees with them because they wouldn't grow in that particular part of the world, everybody was madly attached to their palm trees, in fact secreted xoots of palm trees onto the trains that carried them  $f_{m{s}}$   $mathbb{k}$   $mathbb{s}$ even though those palm trees weren't going to grow, and they had to shift all the animals and other things and so on. Anyway they weren't going to move. Old ladies decided there wasn't going to be a dam and the water wouldn't rise, and anyway it was improper to leave ones dead to be immdated by the waters, you had to stay with them, and there were great political agitations about the compensation both to the Sudan from Egypt, and also about the compensation to the individual Wadi Halfans were getting for their land. The government argued that their old houses up here were only worth £200 epiece, whilst these new smashing ones down here were going to be costly, costing two thousand pounds spiece, so they were going to get 10 times as much. Wadi Halfans weren't impressed because they said that where they were they didn't £2,000 houses, where it was all nice and warm and sunny and not all wet. There was a great toing and froming and I couldn't understand how the political ins and outs worked out, but there was a fantastic and symbolic acene apparently, where along this great hundred mile strip of river where the railway ran and down here to where Alta comes acress they loaded up the first train. It was like rolling up a carpet because its a long thin continuous collaps for hundred miles, and when the first train was loaded up the villagers for the whole 100 miles flocked to the edge of the railway line, there was great

for the whole 100 miles flocked to the edge of the railway line, there was great lamentation and weeping and wailing and crying and an enormous scene of this train leaving and once peple down South here saw the people in the North were actually

going the whole thing seemed to snowball. This particular movement had to be postponed a year because they couldn't meet the deadline of July 1963, in fact it was taking place in July 1964 when I was there. The route across the desert on this train takes at the best of times two days, and there never is a best of times. Trains in the Sudan get lost for days on end and nobody/knows where they got. The particular train that I was connected with was supposed to leave Wedi Halfa, the people went 800 at a time, their baggage must went the day before and the next day the people embarked for an allegedly two day journey down willesh  $\kappa_\gamma$ and there was a sit down strike for 2 days, and this strike took place because they wanted to take their doors and windows from their houses. The doors and windows were made to timber and were carved, and as you can image timber in this area is tramendously scarce so they were awfully prized, these doors and windows. The government argued that they couldn't the doors and windows in the trains because they didn't have enough mann rolling stock, and anyway the compensation for their houses they had been paid for their doors and windows, and there were doors and windows at Has K 5 when they got there, and they weren't going to take their doors and windows. So they sat there for two days eating the food supplies that they had taken with them for the journey, and after two days they finally, quite cheerfully I thought, decided they would go on the train. The train was absolutely fantastic, literally an exodus from Egypt, and that particular train, if two days late, it was held up for 24 hours while they shovelled the sand off the track which had blown there during a storm, they stopped for another day because a woman had died on the train in child birth endthey had to bury her properly, and in fact the journey took 6 days before it arrived .In fact they had an efficient service in assistants people on at Heeh the train, they had a whole mursing unit, doctors midwives travelled on the train, I think that woman was unlucky, she had some hemorrhage and they couldn't do anything about it and she died. Terrible lamentations. It was an interesting sort of train, it was a cross between bank holiday and hop pickers arrangement. with whole families crushed into one carriage, dozens of kinds sort of hanging up on the luggage racks, and grats and pigeons and cats and dogs which apparently they weren't supposed to take, they weren't supposed to take cats and dogs, I don't know why, and birds and everybody crammed in with lots of and the pregnant women had little carriages to themselves, and there was this smazing train which just chugged across these enormous wastes, this particular one early in the morning trundled down to the new area see 14 9 with the

dam had already been built and the canals were ready to flood water onto the land for the first time. The train, this white train, and stand up on this brown embankment, indeed we were no where, and all this plain and all this sky, and stop then the page people sort of flood out of the train, and jump down and push their great stone pots, everything they had brought, their provisions, their beds, their children, their cats, their pigeons, and their goats, and somehow miraculously news would get around that the new group of Wadi Halfans had arrived, and far across over the horizon you would see black for of the women usually first, then the white figure of the men, long flowing gowns, sploshing across the mud of K ? to greet or lament with the people coming off the train. Absolutely fantastic scenes of this kind. Of course as it rained every afternoon and nobody had seen rain for 15 years this was a fantastic arrangement also, and the womens gowns with long black trailing ti things which were great splendour to the women, usually carrying great hunks of mud, camels were almost up their thighs in water. it sometimes took 4 hours to make 5 miles, in a 4 wheel jeep, everybody was sitting around patter in all this mud, not knowing quite what to make of it, andother kinds of disasters had taken place. Up here in the villages of course, it was one long village for 100 miles, and here they had, 29 little villages and one big town so the break-off point of each village was the point of tremendous t controversy whereas you had neighbours and relatives they were now villages away from each other there wasn't transport or roads, there was mud. People hadn't yet been given their land to start growing the first crops, and the chances were that although the cotton came at the end of the rotation they wouldn't grow their fodder for the next year, and while the health organisation had built up tremendous supplies at Kash to keep people fed during this year when there would be nothing. The contract for building these 6 or 7,000 houses up here in the middle of no where had finally gone from British South African country to Teriff, and Teriff maintained that the Sudanese were holding up their supplies at Port Sudan, and the Sudanese maintained that R Terriff red inefficient, and E15,000,000 compensation from Egypt had at least been preliminarily contracted only for the building houses alone for £13 million irrespective of all the other costs. The Transportation cost 45 million, the whole operation probably 75 million before they ended, but anyway a tremendous dispute arose between Terriff Construction Company and the Sudanese and in the end Terriff apparently said. "Well you get on with it mate". or words to that description, and pulled out, and the whole business is now in the international court in the Hague to see who gets what and whose fault it was.

Thirtien different local companies pounced in upon the construction thing and when I was there people were building things like mad all over the place, terribly happy. Then roofs became blown off during the storms and this allegedly was leading to the hysterical attack. The Wadi Halfans had never seen rain, never seen storms before, and on top of everything else were losing their roofs. So in fact out there was an enormous kind of chaos and there they were with the men sitting round lamenting for the good old days and wondering what was going to happen to everybody. Everybody wildly friendly I must say, one was invited in to squat down on dry portions of their houses and drink innumerable cups of terrible coffee. And the other incredible thing was that no matter where it was in the Sudan, and I've been in the most impossible places, people kept appearing with Coca Cola, this is one of life's complete mysteries to me. Where it comes from I don't know, there must be a pipe line under the African continent carrying Coca Cola. One of the intesting things is that here in this area, the people who became the tenants, didn't particularly want to work their land, apart from the fact that the work was womens' work, if they could they'd get someone else to work it for them, and this made everybody, including the British, very mad because you are supposed to work and not sit around encouraging other people to do so, and in bad times of course they couldn't afford labour. But one of the interesting things is that the med kind of migration that comes across the Sudan, the people from places like Akgeriate going to Mecca, lots of them either stop on their way and gazzas further on their way back, to work in this particular area, with large groups of people hutted, rather attractively looking village with very nice grass buts, surround the area and do the labouring for the people who live here. All attempts to make a sort of democratic local government seems to have met with enormous success and the efforts to bring social development to the Gazeer's is really rather fantastic, with things that are coming under social development, things like building wells, windmills to pump up water instead of the as in many willege for see women pulling stuff up in an ancient sort of way. The other thing is that they discovered that the people ought to have fruit gardens, and are trying to build fruit gardens, and people mever ever went to live on their lots of land in this area, they still stuck together in villages, which annoyed the syndicate who then had to travel out and back ince day. But the thing is that has really caught on under social development is football, and the Sudanese keek gone mad on football. Every village has a football field withhundreds of kids rushing around. People are glued to the television, yes television, in Khartoum, and a team came running into the Grand Hotel in their kit when I was there. There seems to be 5 or 6 hundred teams in the Gazeera, and they have to back the football during the cotton picking season because everybody is playing football instead of picking cotton. But what is extraordinary, they televise all the football matches they can get anywhere in the world, this has caught in a tremendous/big way, and this is the aspect supported by the social development section of the Gazeera board.

One of the things that was a bit sad, on passing, was that all the time I was up in Hash KG I couldn't discover people from the Gazeera who had the know-how about this, actually working out the arrangements for the new area, I never quite understood why this was. They seemed to be starting at least on the Mayle this core, late - Ally was the Malle dile ? of the interesting things that happened here is there that there used to be a kind of fund which was put one side, a kind of contingency fund, taxpratuet until the tenants found out about it, and they reckoned they ought to have a bigger come-back on their labour, and after some fight to andfro they agreed, and they seemed to agree in the very year that the yield in the Sudan of cotton was tremendously high, and the cost on the world markets the price of cotton was very high, and suddenly an enormous fortune flooded into the Gazeera, and tenants who were as poor as church mice suddenly starting taking taxes to visit their colleagues in other muddy villages across the horizon. Gave enormous parties, weddings for their daughters, and a fanatastic kind of celebration, as affire telebration

the people of the Gazeera lamented that all this lovely money that could have been used so intelligently and usefully for people had been squandered in this year long Mardi Gras. Catholi has an interesting point here, he says that people keep talking about this year, whenever it was, 20/15 years ago always they think back with such longing absences pleasure and hope andjoy to that year that he wonders from a human point of view it really wasn't worth it. Because it does give people hope and something to live for, that there's going to be this wonderful great jamboree, rather than plodding on in a sensible way from year to year.

Just when I was there they were opening up a great new extension that also raised problems because many of in the Gazeera the people kent who came to do the cotton picking and the labouring in the Gazeera area used to live out here in the and as they now opened this to irrigation the people who ordinarily came as labourers to the tenants in the Gazeera now became tenents in their own right. The great problem now arises as to where the labour will in fact come from to do the cotton picking and labouring in the area. All in all this is an absolutely fascinating scheme, beautifully written up in Gaitskills book. I was cut off for 10 Mays with nothing to read but this at Hash (5). because of the rains so I read it twice, and that made it even more fascinating, but in terms of development we were very interested, and this is the attempt that is going on up here in the Has area, with these Wadi Halfans, who aren't particularly happy, and they were very damp during the time that I was there. But certainly it is a most exceting idea of turning this great nothingness into a productive area and one can't help, when one travels down This wife area at looks at the utter tremendous barrenness of it to wish any scheme weal that would pour water on this land and get something to grow. This was brought home to me when I came back to Gower and found my nettles almost as high as the house, there seemed to be no social justice when down here you've got to work like a maniac to get a blade of grass to grow and up there, you have to go away and then can't get indoors because of the greenery.

Well you can see I have hardly touched on my Sudanese experience at all.

Where dogmental health come into all this?

Well it didn't except that I met this awfully nice man who had been trained at the wordsley working in a hospital in Khartoum with some delightful young women as social workers, all wanting to be trained. All very intelligent women they were in deed. One of them had had training in Italy. He was an in Egypter to a swfully nice man, endhe was saying that one of his problems there was that people kept talking about interviewing people one at a time, and he had never ever seen anybody one at a time because they always brought whoever they thought the patient was with the whole extended family group and he had to sit down with 2,000 people and try to sort out what this problem was. He as far as I could discover was the only trained psychiatrist in the Budan, of course he had been asked, as being the expert, and had gone up to Wadi Halfa and visited people

and talked to them about the move and had also looked into the allegations of hysterical outbursts during the storms. But he also had a hospital to run and being the only man in Sudan to go to international conferences he was off to London even while I was there. He is hardly in the country at all.. He was doing his best. I don't know the answer about Mental Health,

I was overcome by the sheer geography and the mud, a little, to quite distinguish

Some of the sheet allegations

of hysterical outbursts during the storms. But he also had a hospital to run and being his being property at all..

This wasta patural praction.

By what I could discover there is a rather good school of public administration that trains their civil servants and people in Khartoum znakitkementakkekeerring a number of United Nations purite who seem to come in and out. There is a little box at the Air Line that says "Messages for U.N.personnel." I met a man who was travelling on the plane 9 knew h from Athens to Caira who in fact was an American Psychiatrist who was coming to Khartoum for a few days. Incidentally with his mother, his mother-in-law, his wife, and three children, a whole T.W.A. extended plane load of them. I left him a note in the U.N. but he never picked it up. But It does seem to be quite a lot of people flowing in and out but quite what they are doing I don't know, they never seem to be particularly connected with this movement but I did find the World Health Organisation trying to run a public health mursing scheme, trudging through the mud with a Sudanese woman trying to find if she could get field work placements in Hash K < It struck a note. In fact she had sent her people a year or so before to Wadi Halfa. It was very interesting to go round with her in a jeep because they kept finding people who remembered her girls from the year before. And also the government are putting up as part of their the attraction of R & a return of maternity clinics, and dressing stations, and a Hash hospital which is now sited in the old Teriff construction building what had been used for the Halfa dendin here. The last I saw of her she got out bound plane care of the military governor, but in fact she felt she couldn't send her students to that part of the world this year

on our

I think the answer is that it's amazing that movements of this kind which really are fascinating are not somehow adopted or sponsored perhaps by a whole team of universities. Fascinating enought of course down here where the river is going to rise they have opened the area up to teams of

archeologists on the basis of half you find you get. And I went in here

the water rises and there's a great kind of postpox of the University of

new Mexico and the University of Prague and the University of something else

and they have in fact uncovered about 700 sites and they are sending half

the stuff to Khartoum and take half the stuff back to their Universities.

I really don't see why Universities should be sending out teams of

Sender to contact a people of this kind to work on these

kinds of schemes.

In such a vast area these efforts begin to look thin on the ground. There is an enormous food store in Hashmageara with dried milk from Austria, fruit while all who or ground from Australia, Wheat from the United States. There is this women who sort of setting up a school of public health and nursing. There are a number of people working on structural government and things of this kind but that's about it. Otherwise the Sudanese are on their own.

(Comment)

My impression when I visited Gazeera very shortly, and my dominant impression was that they were managing this thing themselves, I gave a reception which most of the senior staff attended including the General Manager, and there were only two Europeans there, one who was a seed man and the other was an hydraulic engineer. Both these people told me that the Sudanese were doing this quite as competently as the old syndicate had done. And the other impression I got was the extraordinary good relationships at a professional level between all the tiers of the administration, agriculturalists, the co-coperative people, the adult education people, the irrigation people, and so on. They really seemed to be working incredibly well as a team and I thought one of the most exciting administrative things I have seen from the point of view of the spirit of it and the competence of it. It was the competence that impressed me there were shorted as anything. Did you get this sort of impression.

There had been a very friendly handover both of government and the syndicate of the Gazeera board. One of the Sudanese was telling me that he had been asked about the Eiri British in the Sudan and said that when the British left they left like gentlemen. One gets this feeling, and I thin k it is working, I the Sudanization of these things took place rather rapidly

and I think they took over not only the advantages but the disadvantages of British administration, and at the same semi-authoritarian paternalistic patterns are being continued between the Sudanese and the tenants as was under the Syndrate days and this is one of the things that raises a big question mark as to how far real democratic process has taken place. How far the local people really are involved, really are taking decisions, and they are asking followed as the different kinds of authority

Comment

(What they call evolution and setting up what they call basic democracies , modelled on Pakistan. I don't know what )

well it has a lot against it because of course there is the whole Moslem culture a kind of democratic idea doesn't seem to be involved in it lagree paternalistic structure. And the other thing which I think is important here is the position of the women. The women are really a separate subject race and there was in fact a small attempt to form a political party between the two women graduates of the but.

Sundan but of course and some into power in 59 they disbanded all political parties and especially the women and some of the women were hopping mad about this. They weren't allowed to take part in any political activities whatsoever. Now five years later they are beginning to creep into educational meetings. One or two of the girks who had escaped family segregation to be social workers in the hospital.

Comment

(The other point that struck me was the Sudanese being compentent without any sort of arogance just rather set aside the need for the expert. I remember going to a Training College in the Gazeera, a teacher training college, and there was an American UNESCO expert there and she wasn't half the calibre of the women really that the senior staff were, and one just felt her quietly satisfied. She made noises but she wasn't the dominant force. I thought this was excellent.

This question not that socilogists aren't needed but there is an administration that is competent)

This raises the whole question of the proper use the exect who key but I certainly do feel that if they can do this sort of thing for acheologists there is not reason they can't do it for the humanities, in a way of counts.

Comment

with the whole teamsof people coming out to continue their interests. I mean this is the western countries insular preoccupations with their own Socilogy rather than socilogy of these kinds. One of the things I am fascinated by is that I saw the same thing happening in the VSt. River in Ghana last year. There were about 80,000 people being displaced there by a river that is going to penetrate about 300 miles and there are about 200 communities. It is not a concentration like this one but a series of villages of about 200 or 250, and they are grouping these into 52 townships and they are doing Southelfu studies about the affinities between villages in terms of preferences, and preference scales have worked out quite interestingly by a sociologist working - the lawrant and some architects working on this too. On trying to find how they are going to resettle they find that this passion for ancestors and so on means that certain people won't cross the river, they've got to be settled on one side, and they are trying to give some account at people's preferences, because they reckon this is going to lessen native confidence in the administration and in working together and in all sorts of other things, and they have taken this really quite seriously. It was very fascinating to see sociologists findings, really patterns, not on a scale like this, but a group of wittiges sociomatice put on an architects draw and this was working out within the actual townships, so not only was there some attempt to see you didn't get the people with strong traditional anaponing to each tel

your first question about mental health suggested this keeping of people with social relationships together might be important. Now this is more than putting them in the same general areas isn't it, much more intricate in association."

What I say what was a long continuous strip is now 29 little squares.

Comment

Comment

But from me bit of strip is one bit of the

Are the Wadi Halfans completely under the group.

29 groups or have they been put into 29 connected groups

It IME is difficult to say. It seems to me that the only distinction that has been made is that the people who lived in the town of Wadi Halfa are now going to New Halfa which is a town, others are going to the 29 villages where there is the business of auctioning off shops and market sites and things of this sort. They are The Lawraha - the agricultural lot which was supposed to be twice as much as the lot held in Wadi Halfa as a sort of inducement, and then there was a great controversy about gardens and whether these belonged to the agricultural lot or whether they were held as private, and the Wadi Halfans seemed to have won on this round and are now allowed to have their own private garden area if they had a garden in Wadi Halfa. Rather in the Gazeera where garden lots are

Jouth amad

but quite where they slipped off each village is hard to say

They seemed to be are a remarkably homogenous group. What is interesting, perhaps even more interesting of course is that the Wadi Halfans, the Nubians that is who live on the Egyptian side have obviously much more in common with the Nubians who are on the Sudanese side, and the Nubians from up here are coming down to here, and these Nubians on the Egyptian side are coming on to here, so really kith and kin are now being separated by himmer than a 1,000 miles

ty are a lower or grand the best of all possible worlds you might have got some grievances about moving the whole lot as Nubians, they have been divided into Sudanese or Egyptians according to which side of the boundary they live. The Sudanese allege that the Nubians on the other side have her moved

this trade in humanity, whether this is true or not I don't know. What is true however is that the Nubians are being resettled on the Egyptian side, www an area which is least something geographically and climatically similar to the although it is in long great blocks of area that they are leaving agricultural houses. The Sudanese say that the compensation to the Egypian Nubians went a patel on that they have done

What is tremedously impressive is riding through these deserted villages there is such a feeling about it. And then I left Wadi Halfa and went out on

the river to Aswan which is 48 hours on the boat. To go along this actually deserted place on both sides, with just the odd dog or perhaps a team of cattle

Ton expect gay larger to be appears. It is said to go in the houses and find enormous great stone jars more or less emptied of their produce but still too big to shift. All time things lost about to be

Grain Storage jars 6 omment

> You talked originally about this so called democracy and so on. I was fascinated by this question of what the expectations of the tenants of the Gazeera would be about, government and about/business of consultation and about the organs which they locally would use, representative or otherwise, to make their claims known and how they would accept or want to accept the official decision and so on, and I just couldn't top nor tail to this at all in terms of the traditional cultural relationships. Did you get any?

Its terribly difficult. Many of the people I spoke to in Wadi Halfa who were

educated people who were coming back to the with their families .

families on the train back to Khartoum. And these people spoke

It was awfully difficult to get any feeling from some of the people especially with the language difficulty. I don't know whether this is relevant but one of the things terribly moving to go out into the middle of nowhere to some tiny scattered village and just dotted around with tents

discussing whether or not they should ask for a well, and someone would take me out and show me the part that had been fenced off so that the goats did'nt walk around in the village and leave their excrement around all over the place. And this was usually the signal for everybody to come out with us while we rushed out this cart to the fence the whole village would would stand out there talking and asking each other questions until it was time for me to got Everybody would applaud as if I had graced them Awondersful horow to come all both of cleared of their excrement. Ind I always thought it was terribly moving, symbolic of the tremendous politeness at a feeling a men sall.

Comment

I had another experience and this was to go into one of villages or two of the villages in the Gazeera which was are just clusters of mud huts with

and so on and I hostile people
and then one of the people said that they think we had come to replan the
village and to straighten their roads and to demolish houses and they are
angry that this should be thought of. And when we assured them that this
wasn't our thought at all, so that there are obviously strong
conflict feelings. The Wadi Halfa one you see is likely to produce dramatic
relationships and it could produce quite an explosive situation once the
people get over the first shock, and I wonder if they were catering for this
fatalistic I think. The habits the attitudes

Comment

by the government or officials are still determined

to carry out

Shallah

Well you feel this God be Willing constantly

I don't know the answer

Comments

It seems to me that as soon as you give people some degree of choice then you begin to open up all sorts of complications don't you. As long as fate is there as harsh as it is in the desert and the rain and the seasons then wax obviously you breath in a kind of fatalism and then you suddenly the the list of the list

Comment

Who could have made a choice and how could they have made a choice?of that particular site or is there something which the expert has to play an important part.

They are having a choice about having their own garden aren't they, and presumably all sorts of other things.

What is most obvious is that you get a kind of modern superstructure which has no relationship with what is happening even at the and then we have this fiction that people had choices without making clear what the choices are really between and on the specialism that expectation that they choose what they want them to choose anyway is the fatal element in it all and the start Cappens.

of course is that decide waterements in October and November

59 that this has got to be done by July 1963. With the best will in the world

you had to think of the almost military problem of moving 50,000 people

And they have done it really in a kind of military scheme of the general manager

kind of team.

Comment

Its a Civil Service kind of quesi whiley offerele

they set up a three or four man commission to plan it

by July 63 and then they set about finding how many people lived there, how many

goats how much compensation people would want, and then there

was a rush to get people moved, and I don't think a scheme on this scale could

be done in this kind of way and think about people's

Comment

I'm sure they wantities cannot. The next stage, during the next 2 or 3 years when they are working out their new life will be fascinating. This is

for any kind of social workers in this new settlement and if so what are they going to do?

merch

They are attempting something really by taking local young men and having them in a sort of place where you could take your complaints and president to a sort of spontaneous citizens advice bureau. But the young men really had no training at all nor experience at this of idea was all right and I'm quite sure that some ak kind of spontaneous citizens advice bureau perhaps connected with the local health commission which was usually in a house just like all the might be at least a place to sort of focalize other houses Lat reople were the feely What was interesting was that some of the men were getting together to pool some of their compensation money and pouring over brochures and jeeps and landrovers, and they were terribly eager that there should be communication between the villages. And I felt that these were the men who weren't going to stay there anyway. The real problems is whether the Wadi Halfans can in fact get this intensive kind of agriculture going and are prepared to

Comment

It is an economic problem in a way. If the go all right this will.

And even the Gazeeri is beginning to have a lot of luck. Its crops were good and prices were high and this started the snowball going, and much depends I think on the next two years out there