

Autobiography of Dr. Oliver Meru Duku

Physician and Priest

Edited by

**Richard J. Jones
and
David A. Jenkins**

The Autobiography of
Dr. Oliver Meru Duku

Copyright © 2020 by Richard J. Jones

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States
by Digi Quick Print, Inc., Alexandria, VA.

ISBN 978-1-7923-2944-9

Foreword

by Bishop Anthony Poggo

I am glad to be able to commend this book by the Rev'd Canon Dr Oliver Meru Duku. Canon Duku was one of South Sudan's best doctors and theologians. He was also an administrator, writer, and elder in the church and community, as well as a committed family person.



It is encouraging to see that he has written this book as part of the history of the nation as well as the growth of the church in the then Sudan. This publication will contribute to the limited written record of the history of the church in Sudan and South Sudan.

When I became Bishop of the diocese of Kajo-Keji, Canon Dr Oliver Duku was always there to support me. He was always ready to come and participate in all our meetings. This included Synods, Standing Committees, and Diocesan Boards. Even when he was not well, he would endeavor and was always be willing to do so.

Before his death, he talked about retiring home to Kajo-Keji where he would join us in the training of clergy and help set up a medical clinic in Romoggi. He was passionate on the need to improve the quality of pastors, not only in the Episcopal Church of Sudan but also in other denominations; as he had also taught at the Presbyterian-founded Nile Theological College in Khartoum.

Oliver Duku talked a lot on the need to set up a Primary Health Care Centre in Romoggi. This is to serve the people in the community, the College, the Primary and Secondary School and the growing Diocesan Community in the area. He made contacts with one of his friends on this. In a copy of an e-mail he sent me, he said that he was now coming to join us in Kajo-Keji so as "to upgrade the Health unit in Romoggi to a full Health clinic, with a children's ward, a maternity ward with delivery room, a small theater and a good laboratory and pharmacy".

With my permission he and one of our clergy, the Rev'd Alex Aciga, made contacts with an engineer who prepared the drawings and cost estimates for this project. By the end of 2016, Dr Meru's dreams were fulfilled when a Primary Health Center was completed in Romoggi, Kajo-Keji. Although it is not in use at the moment due to the ongoing conflict, I am sure that it will be used in the future in fulfillment of the dream of this prophetic man of God.

Canon Dr Oliver was such a humble person that he was licensed and worked as a Lay Reader for many years at the All Saints' Cathedral in Juba. When I was a student at the University and of the All Saints' choir, he was one of the active Lay Readers.

At his funeral, I said that one of the ways we can honor the life of Canon Dr. Oliver Duku is to emulate his hard work, honesty and excellent leadership in his role as a doctor, administrator, priest and family man.

I commend this book to you.

Rt Rev'd Anthony Dansasuk Poggo
Former Diocesan Bishop of KajoKeji
Adviser to the Archbishop of Canterbury on Anglican Communion Affairs
Advent 2017

Editors' Introduction

This book has three parts.

Duku's life is sketched in the autobiography. His thought is represented by a portion of his Master's thesis on the Babylonian Exile. His faith is suggested through his English translation of some young people's worship in the Bari- and Arabic- speaking parish of Fithap in the outskirts of Omdurman in 1994, soon before it was bulldozed in the name of city planning and in an attempt to scatter the exiles.

This volume documents in his own words the life of one Christian, Oliver Meru Duku, who made his way from a traditional polygamous family in southern Sudan through British colonial schools, followed by medical education at Tübingen University, to help build up the public health service of a fledgling African state and the theological schools of a church multiplying exuberantly during fifty years of devastating war.

As God the Holy Spirit continues to worm his way through human societies via a community we call the Church, he makes use of conflict and peacemaking, cultural cohesion and cultures disrupted, large social institutions and singular personalities.

Read this volume for the self-effacing portrait of a man who resisted government officials bent on islamization but made friends with a traditional Muslim healer. Read for an unofficial and candid recollection of the internal struggles of a multiethnic group of first- and second-generation believers in Jesus as paramount chief over all tribes of earth. Read for the musing of a Bible teacher who found the pattern of God's punishing his disloyal Chosen People by exile in ancient Babylon now being repeated in his own day by the homelessness of civilian Sudanese populations.

Richard J. Jones
Alexandria, Virginia

David A. Jenkins
Blacksburg, Virginia

December 2019

Contents

	Page
Commendation by Bishop Anthony Poggo	1
Editors' Introduction	3
I. Life	
Short Version (1995):	
The Southern Sudan: An Uprooted and Displaced Community	9
Long Version (2007):	
Autobiography of Rev. Canon Dr. Oliver Meru Duku	14
End Notes to Long Version	49
II. Thought	
The Recent Exile of the Sudanese and the Babylonian Exile of the Ancient Israelites	50
Christianity in the Sudan: 543 A.D. - 1956	
Southern Resistance and Regional Autonomy, 1956 - 1983 Southern People's Liberation Movement, 1983 - 1995	
The Suffering of God's People: Punishment for Unfaithfulness?	
End Notes to Thought	79

III. Faith

Prayer and Praise with Youth of Fitihap Parish, Omdurman 82

Appendix:

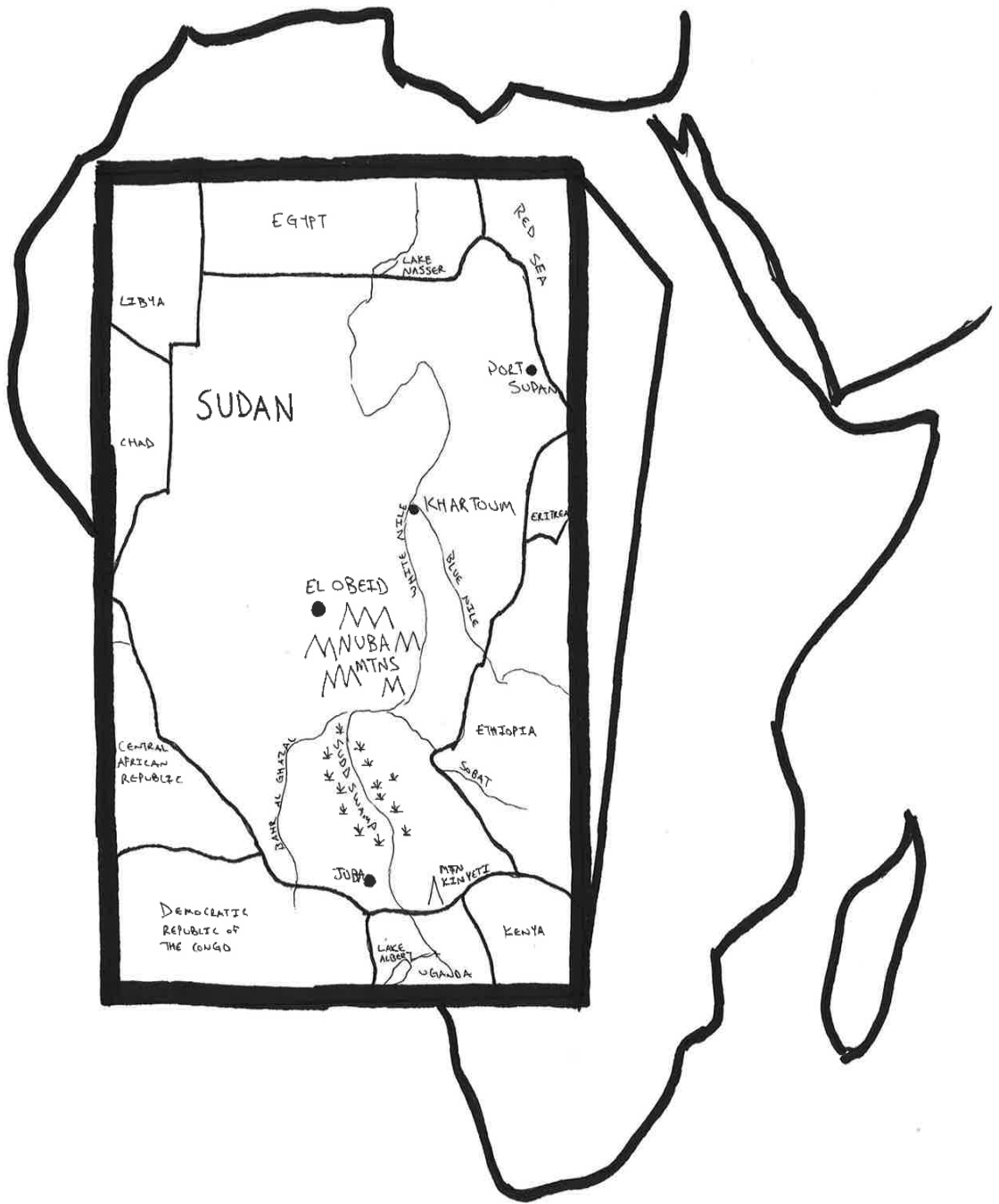
Interview with Oliver Duku by Richard Lindsley Walton 92

Maps

	Page
By Paul Bennett	
Sudan Overview	8
Eastern Equatoria & Northern Uganda: Schools, Medical Posts, & Theological Teaching	16
Western Equatoria: Medical Posts	23
Northern Sudan: Medical Posts & Theological Teaching	28
National Capital Area: The Three Towns	34
By Oliver M. Duku	
Egypt & Sudan (Nubia), 1200 A.D.	53
Southern Sudan: Christian Missions' "Spheres of Influence"	60
Southern Sudan: Provincial Boundaries & Main Towns	63
Fitihap Parish, Omudurman	83

Acronyms

AACC	All-Africa Conference of Churches
ACROSS	Association of Christian Resource Organizations Serving Sudan
AFRECS	American Friends of the Episcopal Church of Sudan
AMREF	African Medical and Research Foundation, later Amref Health Africa
BATC	Bishop Allison Theological College
CAPA	Council of Anglican Provinces of Africa
CMS	Church Missionary Society, later Church Mission Society
CMSA	Church Missionary Society Archives, University of Birmingham, UK
CORAT	Christian Organizations Research and Advisory Trust for Africa
ECS	Episcopal Church of Sudan
PECUSA	Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, later ECUSA
SPLA/M	Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army / Movement
SUDRA	Sudan Development and Relief Agency
TEE	Theological Education by Extension
TEAR Fund	The Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Infant and Children Emergency Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VTS	Virginia Theological Seminary
WCC	World Council of Churches
WHO	World Health Organization



Sudan Overview

I. Life

Life: Short Version (March 31, 1995)

The Southern Sudan: An Uprooted and Displaced Community

I grew up in rural Southern Sudan. But I now live, or rather exist, in displacement in Khartoum, more than 1,100 miles from my place of birth.

I still remember with nostalgia, mixed with sadness, my childhood days and the fresh and warm milk, straight from the cow, when the cows finally came in for milking after a long and eventful day at the grazing grounds outside the village. When I was old enough to be entrusted with the task of driving the goats and cows of my uncle to the village grazing area, I also developed interest in learning in the Church Missionary Society (CMS) elementary school near to our village. I therefore persuaded my uncle to allow me to attend classes on the weekdays (Monday to Friday) at the CMS Elementary Vernacular School, popularly known as the E. V. School Romoggi. On Saturdays and Sundays or when it was my turn to look after the goats and cows of the village I spent the day at the village grazing ground. The village animals were pooled together for the purpose of grazing, and the young boys took shifts to take care of them so that they do not wander into the crop fields. These shifts were usually monthly shifts of three days each.

The school had no textbooks, and therefore we committed everything the teacher said in class to memory, including Bible stories, and to reproduce these at examination time six months or even one year later! So there was no homework assignment. And this was just fine, since there was no electricity or oil lamp available. But our evenings were never monotonous. We spent the evenings playing in the moonlight. And when the moon was not there in the early evenings, we listened to folktales from my grandmother or my uncle's wife, the two expert storytellers in the village.

My father had died a few months after my birth, leaving my mother to take care of my older brother and me. My mother therefore decided to return home to live with her mother and my uncle, her brother. We grew up therefore under the care of my uncle. My uncle is over eighty years old now and lives with his elder daughter in exile in Northern Uganda.

Kajo Keji is an undulating high-plateau country on the west bank of the River Nile, as the river tumbles down from the Uganda highlands. The main town of Kajo Keji, named after our late 18th-century Paramount Chief of the northern part of the District, is only about ten miles from the Ugandan border. Lying some 4,000 feet above sea level and surrounded by a range of hills on all sides, Kajo Keji had a population of about 90,000 in 1980, before the onset of the current civil war. The population is relatively homogeneous and speaks one language, the Kuku dialect, which is part of the Bari language group that is spoken by the Bari, Nyangwara, and Mundari tribes in Juba District.

Although homogeneous, the Kuku tribe has been influenced culturally by her neighbors. The British colonial Government from 1900 to 1935 joined Kajo Keji on the west bank of the Nile with the Opari on the east bank of the Nile for administrative purposes. Thus the Kuku found themselves together with the different language group, the Madi. But they developed relationships, and through intermarriage and other contacts they came to share some cultural activities. The Kuku were also influenced by the Bari to the north and Lugbara and Kakwa of Uganda to the southwest, through their military encounters. These neighbors usually raided the Kuku area for food and cattle. Because of their close cooperation, the Kuku chiefs of Kajo Keji were able to repulse their enemies and to make counter-raids, during which they took war prisoners or slaves who were mainly young girls, women, and young boys. But the slaves were well treated by their captors, who often adopted them as their children or wives, and married wives for the unmarried boys. The girls were also married to local people. Some of these young men even came to occupy leadership positions within the community. Chief Kajo Keji, for example, had several wives, one of whom was a Bari slave girl who gave birth to the father of our present clan chief. Many of the chiefs' warrior leaders also acquired slaves who became part of their households and clan members.

Another influence on the Kuku people during the later colonial period was the migrant labor in the sugar and sisal schemes of the European and Asian farmers in Uganda. There was kind of forced labor, almost slave labor, exercised by the British colonial rulers in Uganda. Young men were forcibly abducted from Northern Uganda and recruited as labor gangs for the sugar and sisal estates in Jinja, Kakir, and Kawolo locations in Uganda. These forced laborers were given food rations and a small allowance during the six months they were kept at the estates' labor camps. After completing the six months they were given their remaining pay, taken to the estate's shop to buy whatever they needed, and repatriated back to Northern Uganda and eventually to Kajo Keji. As they had been rounded up at the border town marketplace, they did not possess travel documents, and they did not need one unless they escaped from the estate. This escape was a common occurrence, especially for those who were recruited for the second time. Those who escaped from the labor camps struck out on their own. Eventually they also returned home with their earnings, either on holidays or to get married, and settled down in their villages.

In the 1940s, therefore, it became rare to find young men and school-age boys in the villages in Kajo Keji. Most of them had either crossed the border voluntarily to look for employment as migrant laborers in Uganda or had gone upcountry to school in higher institutions or to look for employment that did not involve farming. Many got jobs in government offices or in business and trade in the main towns of Juba, Yei, Torit, and Maridi. Only older men, women, and girls were left in the villages. However, the migrant workers and school leavers often returned to their villages, thus introducing into Kajo Keji a variety of skills they learnt outside. One of these skills was the spirit of self-help and self-reliance, which was probably acquired in Uganda. Self-help schools therefore sprouted all over the area. And education, at least up to grade 4, became available to a large number of school-age children in the area. Girls' education was also introduced.

Another self-help skill brought by the migrant workers from Uganda was business, trade, and commercial farming -- cultivation of cash crops like cotton, tobacco, and coffee.

Further improvement of the skills took place during the first period of exile (1956-72), when almost the entire population of Kajo Keji was displaced by the civil war against the Arab, Islamic-dominated, post-independence governments of the Sudan. When the refugees eventually returned from exile after the peace settlement signed by the Government of Sudan under Gaafar Nimeiry and the Southern Sudanese *Anyanya* Liberation Organization in Addis Ababa in 1972, the people of Kajo Keji were able to set up shops and businesses. They were thereby able to squeeze the ubiquitous northern *Jallaba* merchants out from Kajo Keji. Kajo Keji therefore became an often-quoted example of what the southern Sudanese could do for themselves with little outside help. Self-help schools and church buildings constructed through self-help also sprung up all over the villages.

Yei District also experienced an upsurge of self-help development activity. Thus, with little outside input, Kajo Keji and Yei became the breadbasket for the people of Juba during the period of the Southern Sudan Regional Self-Government, until the present Islamic fundamentalist government took over power in the Sudan and intensified the Islamization program and the war in Southern Sudan and Southern Kordofan.

During both the first civil war and the current war, Kajo Keji and Yei bore the brunt of the conflict. The majority of its citizens have been uprooted and displaced into exile in Zaire and Uganda and further inland into Juba, and even as far as Port Sudan and Khartoum. The constant aerial bombardment which has become common in the area especially during the last two years has been largely responsible for the disruption of normal life in the countryside. As a result, over seventy percent of the 90,000 population of Kajo Keji have again moved across the border into Northern Uganda. A sizable number have also moved north into Juba, the southern capital. Some have been placed in camps for displaced persons. Others, especially younger persons, have moved further north to Khartoum to look for educational and employment opportunities which are not available in southern Sudan. There are nearly two million southern Sudanese in Khartoum alone, nearly one thousand of whom are from Kajo Keji.

Unfortunately, many of these people have discovered that even in the northern Sudan there are no employment opportunities except in two areas: in the military, where the government is in urgent need of manpower for its war effort in southern Sudan and southern Kordofan; and secondly, for those who are ready to embrace Islam, any available employment opening is given to them.

It is necessary to say something here about Islam as a religion in southern Sudan. We have had Muslims in southern Sudan even long before the Christian missionaries came to southern Sudan in the nineteenth century. Islam as a religion therefore is not a new faith in southern Sudan. Even when the colonial government tried to suppress the growth of Islam in the 1930s and 1940s in southern Sudan there were practicing

Muslims in the south. However, the Islam we knew as children was a personal religion which was not forced on people. The family of our late Paramount Chief Tete Kajo Keji, for example, were converted to Islam when the young chief returned from detention at Mongalla, where he was converted to Islam. (Tete had been detained or imprisoned for carrying out instant arbitrary justice on some people who were accused of having committed murder by witchcraft and by administering poison on some victims.) The community fully accepted the chief and his family as Muslims. And the chief did not try to convert any of his subjects by force. The chief continued to be popular with the people even when eighty percent of the people had been converted to Christianity through the activities of the Christian missionaries. He even allowed his first wife, who had converted to Christianity, to continue in her faith and not to participate in the Islamic fast of Ramadan. There was very close coöperation between the local Muslims and the Christians. The chief and his family and the other Muslims participated in Christian festivals of Christmas and Easter, and the Christians on their part joined their Muslim neighbors in the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Mohammed, the *maulid* festival. Muslims and Christians also fought side by side in the civil war in the South against the Arab, Islamic North, and they continue to do so even this time against the Islamic *jihad* war declared by the fundamentalist government in Khartoum. Chief Tete, whose Muslim name of Isa (Jesus) was not known to many, died in the forest with the *Any-nya* freedom fighters. And one of the most articulate southern Sudanese political leaders in the *Any-nya* liberation movement of 1956-72 was also a very devout Muslim from the Bari tribe of Juba District, Abdel Rahman Sule by name.

It is to be stressed here that Islam has been directly linked to the war in southern Sudan only by the present administration in Khartoum, which probably wants to use Islam as a rallying force for its war effort in the south. Hence the southern Sudanese liberation war for self-determination has been termed a war against Islam waged by infidels -- who in this case include southern Muslims! The government fighters in the South are therefore called *mujahidin*, or holy warriors. On the other hand, both in southern Sudan and in the Nuba Mountains the war is seen as a struggle against political domination and economic exploitation of the areas by the central Arab-dominated government in Khartoum. The war is therefore seen as an Arab neo-colonialist effort to recolonize the south and the Nuba Mountains, in the name of Islam and Arab nationalism. A proof of the Arab nationalism is seen in the reluctance of the Sudanese government and the people of northern Sudan to identify with Africa and their eagerness to stress their Arab links and identify with the Arab League more than the Organization of African Unity. The Islamic Call and the islamization campaign in southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains have therefore failed to disrupt the unity between the Muslims and the Christians in southern Sudan. Only opportunists, both Christian and Muslim, have succumbed to the attractions of the Muslim fundamentalists in Khartoum. The split in the ranks of the SPLM/SPLA has never been on religious lines. The government in Khartoum has exploited old tribal antagonisms and used the resources at her disposal to promote discord and schism in the ranks of the so-called rebels.

How can the southern Sudanese tragedy be brought to an end? As Christians we believe that God is in control of our lives. We believe that the solution to the problem

of the war in southern Sudan is in God's hands. The greatest weapon in this war is therefore prayer, prayer, and prayer again. We continue to pray to God to hasten the end of the war and the suffering of the people of the Sudan. We pray for God to bless the efforts toward reconciliation between the two factions of the SPLA. We pray that God will influence the leaders in Khartoum and the leaders of the SPLM/SPLA to climb down from their ivory towers of confrontation and animosity and climb to the plains of negotiation in earnest, truthfully, in the interest of all the people of the Sudan, as brothers and sisters, and children of the one God, Allah. We pray the Lord to open their eyes so that they see the suffering the war has brought to the Sudanese people; so that they take the option for justice and for peace as the only option for the people of the Sudan as a whole, and the people of southern Sudan in particular. God is not interested that the Muslims should kill the Christian so-called infidels, nor does God approve the killing of Muslims or so-called Arabs by Africans. The people of the Sudan can live together in peace either as a federated nation or as two separate states, as long as they recognize each other's rights and practice justice and brotherhood. That is the hallmark of both Christian and Muslim teaching! In justice and mutual trust we can share the gift God has given to us to enjoy on earth in this transitory life.

This war would not have lasted this long and would not have been this vicious if external forces had not been involved in it. After all, someone once said that neither the SPLM/SPLA nor the government of Sudan manufacture guns or warplanes or mines or bombs. Those trading in these deadly items are ultimately the murderers of the Sudanese people. God will never forgive them for this crime against God's creation. Almighty God is crying out to these merchants of death and to the oppressors: "Let my people go!"

Let the war come to an end! Let the exiles and the uprooted return to their villages in southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains! Let the displaced and the exiles return home to rebuild their homes and their shattered lives! Let the scattered women and children and old men be gathered together again to enjoy family life, so that the old women can tell tales and young ones play again in the moonlight.

Life: Long Version (2007)

Autobiography of Rev. Canon Dr. Oliver Meru Duku

- 1 Introduction
 - 1.1 Family History
 - 1.2 Educational Development
 - (a.) In Mission Schools
 - (b.) Post-Elementary Education
 - (c.) Higher Education
- 2 Career Experiences
 - 2.1 Experiences in the Ministry of Health (1964-1991)
 - (a.) After Graduation from Faculty of Medicine, Khartoum University
 - (b.) Experience in Juba
 - (c.) In Zeidab - September 1965-August 1967
 - (d.) Back in Juba
 - (e.) AMREF/USAID Rural Health Support Project
 - 2.2 Experience in the Church
 - (a.) Bishop Gwynne College (October-December 1995)
 - (b.) Nile Theological College (1996-2001 May)
 - (c.) Bishop Allison Theological College (2001-2007)
 - (d.) Activities outside the Theological Colleges
- 3 The ECS Crises
 - 3.1 The ECS Leadership Crisis (1986-1992)
 - (a.) Introduction
 - (b.) Creation of New Dioceses and Consecration of More Bishops for the ECS
 - (c.) Genesis of the ECS Crisis 1986-1991
 - (d.) Rev Gabriel Roric Jur
 - (e.) The ECS Reconciliation Effort. (1991-1992)
 - 3.2 External Crisis in the Diocese of Khartoum (2003)
- 4 The Torit Mutiny of 1955: Consequences for Me and for the South
- 5 Other Activities:
 - 5.1 Church Related Activities:
 - (a.) Partners-In-Mission Consultation: (1981)
 - (b.) The World Council of Churches Sixth General Assembly in Vancouver, Canada in 1983
 - (c.) General Secretary, Regional Christian Association, Equatoria Region, Juba (1987-1989)
 - (d.) Chairman the ECS Theological Education Review Committee (2003-2005)
 - (e.) Member of ECS Theological Education Commission (2006-)
 - 5.2 Non-Church Related Activities

Introduction

1.1 Family History

Rev. Canon Dr. Oliver Meru Duku, was born to Elder and Sub Chief Duku Kurjukeji and Wude Sworo his second wife, and her second son, around 1935/36. There were no birth records at the time.

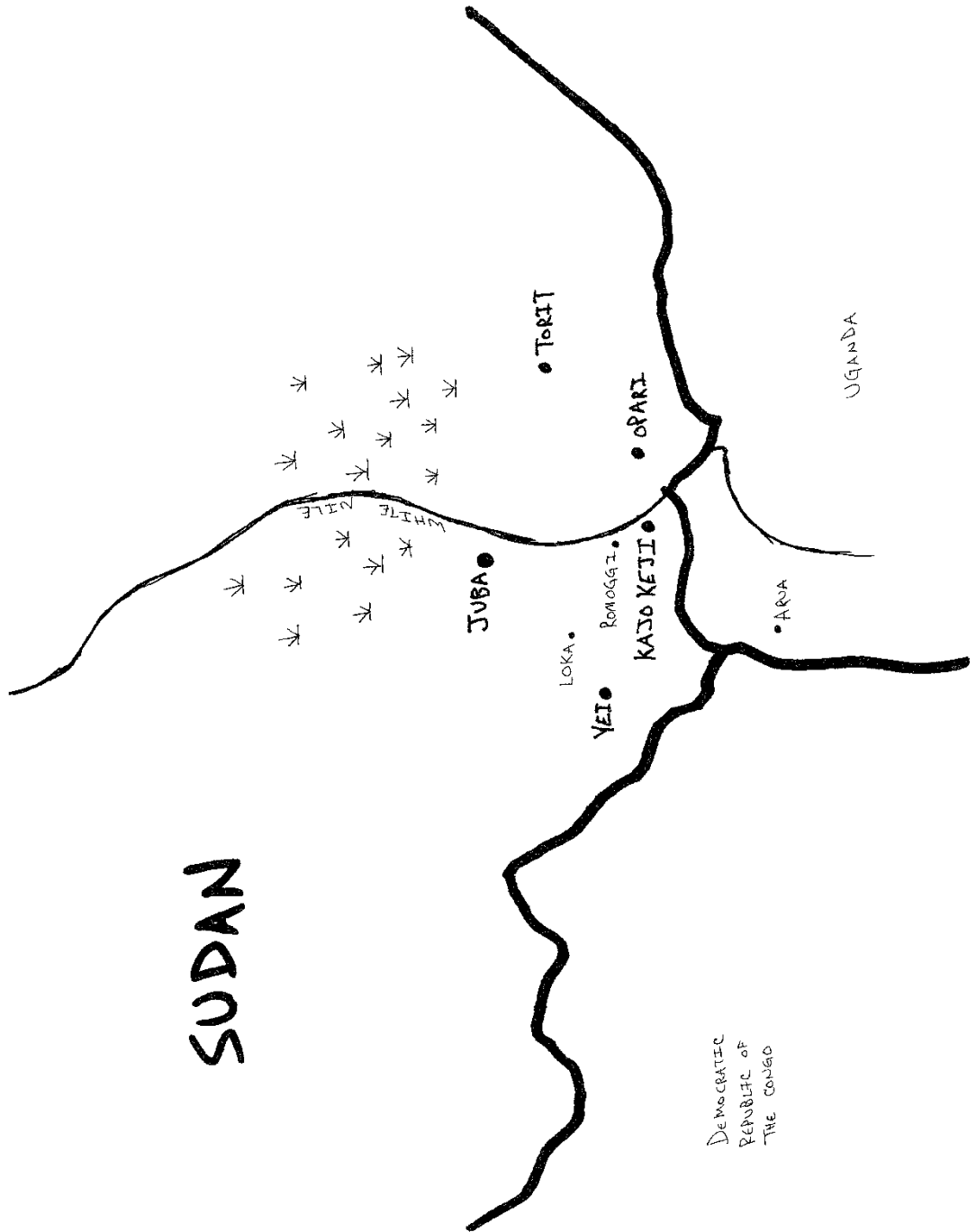
Mother Wude, after the birth of her first child, Nyombe, had stayed without becoming pregnant for several years. Then she decided to consult a seer (*Bunit*) called Nameru to seek help. The seer called on the ancestral spirits for help and she conceived and gave birth to her second child, whom she gave the seer's father's name, Meru. Unfortunately the relationship between Duku's two wives was not so cordial. Hence when Duku lay in bed dying, when Meru was just about one year old, and his brother-in-law and Sister-in-law, Longun and Guo Sworo were on hand to be at their sister's side at the sad occasion, Duku instructed them to take their sister and her two sons with them if he died. This was because he feared that his first wife might play a foul game on the two children after his death.

So Rev. Canon Dr. Oliver Meru Duku grew up with his uncle at Wongkijo, near the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Mission Station at Romoggi, instead of at his birth place at Likamerok, some five miles west of the Mission Station in Lire Payam.

During his early childhood Meru looked after his uncle Longun's goats and sheep. He also took care of his aunt Guo's granddaughter until his cousin from his father's village persuaded his uncle to allow Meru to attend evening school at the Mission Station in 1944 when he was about nine years old.

But when his classmates were called to sit for the Elementary School entrance examinations, Meru had undergone the traditional initiation rite of removal of the lower teeth and was confined in isolation, as tradition required.

Fortunately two other "Out Schools", Kala and Liwolo, also missed sending candidates to the entrance examinations. Hence a supplementary examination was organized. Meru, now out of isolation, attempted this examination. Most of the candidates who sat for this supplementary examination, including Meru, passed successfully and were accepted in second year at the CMS Elementary School in Romoggi, KajoKeji in 1945. Thus I started my education in Church schools: in CMS Elementary Vernacular School in Romoggi (1945-1947), and Yei Primary School (1948-1949), after a brief (3 days) sojourn in the Intermediate School, Loka.



**Eastern Equatoria and Northern Uganda:
Schools, Medical Posts, and Theological Teaching**

1.2 Educational development

(a.) In Mission Schools

During the year 1945, the authorities of the mission school in Romoggi decided that those pupils who lived near the station must be day students. So Meru and some of his colleagues were returned home, after having initially moved to the dormitories.

Life at the mission school was difficult for Meru. His staying at home meant that he continued to look after his uncle's animals as well as other home activities, while going to school daily from Monday to Friday and attending Sunday Services and other school activities. On one occasion, he was absent three days doing his turn in taking care of his uncle's animals. Back in class, the Headmaster gave him a severe slap on the temples for absenting himself. He almost left school then, but other teachers, who were less ruthless than the Headmaster, persuaded Meru to continue in school.

(b.) Post-Elementary Education

Meru successfully completed fourth year elementary school in Romoggi and was accepted in the CMS Intermediate School (Nugent School) Loka in 1948. This was some 100 miles away, and the students from Kajo Keji had to walk the distance- for three days on foot, as there were no public transport facilities then.

On reaching the Intermediate school, Meru's legs were swollen from the long walk. Thus the Headmaster, an Englishman called C. L Cook, thought he was sickly and sent him away from the school together with some other students who were considered too old. Fortunately CMS had decided to open a Primary 5 and 6 classes in Yei Elementary School that year some 30 miles from Loka. The first pupils taken into this school were those sent away from Loka. It was thought that the next rung on the educational ladder after primary school would be the Teachers Training school in Yei.

In 1948 the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Administration belatedly decided to open a Secondary school in the South of the country, in Atar in Upper Nile Province. This moved to Rumbek in Bahr El Ghazal Province in 1949. And the government also

decided to open a Junior Secondary School for students from Bahr El Ghazal Province mainly, also Rumbek, in 1950. In late 1949 the Assistant Director of Education Southern Sudan, who was visiting Yei from Yambio, decided to have an English lesson with the final-year Primary class in Yei. He found us young and bright in the class. He therefore promised to contact the Director of Education South in Juba to allow some of us to join the Junior Secondary School in Rumbek in 1950, provided we pass the examination well.

Therefore seven of us found our way to Rumbek Junior Secondary School in 1950. The Junior Secondary School classes were taught by the teachers of the Senior Secondary School. So the Headmaster of the Senior Secondary School asked some of us in the second- year junior class to attempt the Senior entrance examinations. Three of us who passed well were accepted in the Senior one year in 1952. Thus I was able to catch up with my former colleagues whom I left in Loka Intermediate School in the same class and we graduated together in 1956.

It was when I joined the Government Junior Secondary School in Rumbek in 1950 that I was baptized and confirmed by the Anglican Bishop of the Church in the Sudan, the Rt. Rev. Oliver Allison. Though I regularly attended Sunday and other services in the Christian schools, I was not really converted to Christianity. Two events at the Government school touched my soul and led to my baptism.

The first was a visit in early 1950 by two East African Revival leaders from Uganda, one African and one English. Their powerful preaching touched me.

The second was Mrs. Miller, the wife of our school chaplain Rev. Miller. Though she did not know the local Dinka language, Mrs. Miller nonetheless went out to the nearest Dinka villages near the school in Rumbek and, with sign language, was able to attract the children and mothers to her house and offer them hospitality. She also started a Bible study program with us, the secondary school pupils, in her house. By her action Mrs. Miller demonstrated and communicated the Christian message of love to the Dinka children and their mothers, and to us the students.

Later in the same year 1950, when Bishop Allison was to make a visit to Bahr El Ghazal, Mrs. Miller presented seven of us to him for baptism and confirmation on the same day, baptism in the morning and confirmation in the afternoon, since the Bishop would not come around for another twelve months.

My faith was nurtured also by one of our Kajo Keji parish priests, Rev. (later Archdeacon) Abrayama Kenyi Manasseh. During my holidays in 1954, Rev. Abrayama asked me to preach (for the first time in my life) at a baptism service. The baptism service was conducted at the nearby stream, Mujulari, where the school and staff collect drinking water and also bathe. As soon as Pastor Abrayama had completed the baptism of the candidates and I was preparing to preach, a severe wind and rain storm gathered quickly and was approaching the prayer site. Those of the congregation who were afraid of getting soaked wet started to run to the church building some half a mile away. The pastor however encouraged me to go on with the sermon and not be afraid of the approaching rain. The rain came nearer and nearer. But

it stopped just before it reached the congregation at the stream site. Those who tried to seek shelter in the church building ran straight into the rain and were soaked wet before they reached the church building. I delivered the sermon in a dry place. I cannot remember the sermon itself. But this “miracle” had a lasting effect in my Christian life. As we returned to the church, we were met with the rainwater running to the stream.

An earlier event, at the end of 1951, had reminded me that perhaps God might be preparing me for a special service to His people. Soon after we sat for the entrance examination to Senior Secondary School, I came down with chicken pox and had to be admitted in the Rumbek Hospital quarantine. While I was there the School students went on strike. When I was released from the hospital, all the students were sent home because of the strike. From my classmates who sat for the Senior Entrance Examinations, those who took part in the strike were stopped from proceeding to Senior Secondary class, though they passed the entrance examinations. Because I was in the hospital and did not take part in the strike, I was allowed to join Senior Secondary classes in 1952. We were packed onto a lorry and sent on our way to our homes via Juba. I sat near the boot of the lorry. It was around sevenp.m. As we drove, the driver missed a small bridge and rolled down the stream. Fortunately, the stream was dry and the banks were not steep. The lorry therefore stopped at the other bank of the stream. I was half asleep when this happened and therefore passed out! I was told later that one of the front wheels of the lorry rested on my right hand near my head! If the lorry had rolled another foot it would have crushed not only my hand but also my head! I was pulled out, unconscious! With the other injured students, I was taken to the nearest hospital, at Lui. Fortunately, the injuries were not serious and we were released from the hospital the next day and allowed to continue our journey to Juba. When I reached home in Kajo Keji, I did not experience anything abnormal until two weeks later, when we went to collect bamboo for construction of huts for ourselves in the village. On our way back from the bamboo forest I experienced severe pain in my right forearm and rapidly rising temperature. When I reached home the pain and swelling intensified and I had to seek help from local surgery. With fire-sterilized arrow, the swelling on my forearm was pierced and a large amount of pus gushed out, almost one liter. The wound was slightly enlarged, and I was rushed to the nearest health center and proper dressing was applied to the wound. I made a rapid recovery and, at the end of the holidays, what remained until today was a scar, a dent on my right forearm. Those with me on the lorry said I would have died there and then if God had not stopped the lorry from climbing over my hand and head!

(c.) Higher Education

I finished secondary school in 1956 and in 1957 joined Khartoum University Faculty of Science. I was accepted to the Faculty of Medicine in 1958, graduating in 1963 with an M.B., B.S. medical degree.

After working in both Northern and Southern Sudan Ministry of Health hospitals as from 1964, I was offered in 1968 a DAAD scholarship to study laboratory medicine in Tübingen University in Germany.¹ I graduated from the Medizinische Klinik, Tübingen in 1972 with a Master's Degree in Laboratory Medicine (*Facharzt fuer*

Laboratoriumsmedizin). After the signing of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement of 1972 that temporarily ended the war in Southern Sudan, I returned to the Sudan in April 1973 to begin two decades of work in the field of public health. An opportunity to do further post-graduate study, this time in Christian theology, was provided when I was pensioned off “in public interest” by the Islamist Government in 1991. Two years study at Virginia Theological Seminary in the USA from 1993-95 would give me the opportunity to join the Church fulltime.

Career Experiences

2.1

Experiences in the Ministry of Health (1964-1991)

(a.) After graduation from Faculty of Medicine, Khartoum University

My graduation from the Faculty of Medicine was delayed for three months in 1963 because the Professor of Medicine decided to fail me in the oral examination. Though I had been performing well since I joined the Faculty of Medicine and was awarded the class prize in Anatomy and was also going to get the Final prize in Surgery, I had to sit for supplementary examination in Medicine after six months delay, in 1963. I therefore lost the prize in Surgery. The same Professor of Medicine, however, sent me a letter from home in England apologizing for failing me. And he even asked me to work with him as houseman when he returned from leave and I had passed the Medicine paper very well. He also let me run his skin clinic when he fell ill, instead of letting the Registrar do this referral clinic.

After completing my internship in Khartoum Teaching Hospital and a brief assignment in El Obeid in northwestern Sudan, I was transferred to Equatoria Province after the overthrow of the military regime of General Ibrahim Aboud in December 1964. At that time the civil war in the South had become serious and the southern Sudanese Anya-Nya fighters were scoring many victories in the war against the Sudanese army, which in turn was becoming more brutal in prosecuting the war.*

The overthrow of the Aboud regime in 1964 was unexpected. But it demonstrated the power of the popular civilian solidarity. The military and security situation in Southern Sudan was getting worse. Reports coming from there at last reached the ears of the northern population and these were bad news for the northern Sudanese families whose sons were fighting in the South. These families had all along been told that the government was winning the war against the “rebel” Anya-Nyaⁱⁱ. The military government, in mid-1964, made the mistake of allowing free public discussion of the situation in the South. In Khartoum these discussions inevitably led to street demonstrations by Khartoum University students, which were brutally suppressed by the security forces with loss of lives of some students.

In El Obeid, where I was then working, the public discussions also took place. One of the main speakers in these discussions was Ali Baldo, former Governor of Equatoria, who had introduced and vigorously pursued the policy of Islamization and Arabization of Southern Sudan, beginning in his province, in the late 1950s and 1960s. Ali

Baldo had forced all government civil servants and village chiefs to change to Islam or lose their government posts and forfeit their salaries. He had ordered opening of Islamic schools (*khalwas*) and mosques in each chief's residential area. Ali Baldo now spoke as an expert in these public forums that discussed the causes of the war.

In 1960, Ali Baldo, then Governor of Equatoria, had written to the Minister of Interior's Permanent Undersecretary in Khartoum on the churches' protest against the changing of the day of rest in the South from Sunday to Friday, the Islamic day of rest. Baldo described "the prejudicial and harmful part" played by the missions in promoting the policies of the former imperial power. He alleged that missions had been "the instrument for the disunity of the Sudan" and had "carried out the policy which had been especially designed for the Southern Provinces and which had been energetically pursued to minutest detail", with four main objectives:

- "The division of the country and the isolation of the South and its separation from the North by misleading the Southerners and by intriguing against their brothers and benefactors-- the Northerners -- of which the 1955 tragedy was the natural result.
- "The building up of Christian prestige and the humiliation of other religions and Islam in particular.
- "The insistence on a degrading standard of living for the Southerners and hence the special wages and scales.
- "The exclusion of the teaching of Arabic language and culture in schools' syllabuses."

A northern Sudanese doctor colleague in El Obeid Hospital, who was a medical doctor in Juba University Teaching Hospital when Ali Baldo was the Governor in Juba, challenged him and accused him as one of the main perpetrators, if not the main cause, of the situation then existing in the Southern Sudan, because of his islamization and arabization policies.

This rebuke from a contemporary silenced Ali Baldo. Two days later one of the senior military bosses, General Tahir Abdel Rahman, visited El Obeid and held discussions with officials and civil servants at the Officers Club in El Obeid on the current situation in the country. The next day the university student Ghurashi was killed in Khartoum by security forces during one of the daily demonstrations. This prompted further demonstrations against the military in many towns in the Northern Sudan. In El Obeid we took to the streets in a night-long demonstration demanding the military regime's removal. The next morning we heard the radio announcement that the military government had stepped down from power. There was jubilation all over the country. Mr. Clement Mboro, who had come to El Obeid for eye care and had left for his station in El Fasher the day after the night-long demonstrations, was made Minister of Interior in the new civilian government set up under Sir El-Khatim El-Khalifa as Prime Minister. Two days later we were at the El Obeid Airport to greet and congratulate H.E. Clement Mboro who was on his way to Khartoum to be sworn in as the new Minister of Interior. H.E. Sir El-Khatim El-Khalifa had worked in Juba as Assistant Director of Education South when Clement Mboro was a junior Administrator (*Mamur*) in Juba Town Council.

A brief ceasefire was declared by the civilian government of H.E. Sir El-Khatim El- Khalifa in 1964. A few days later H.E. Clement Mboro issued a directive transferring all senior southern officials working in the North to southern Sudan, as a gesture to restore confidence in the South, during the ceasefire period, declared before the Roundtable Conference between the North and the South in 1965.

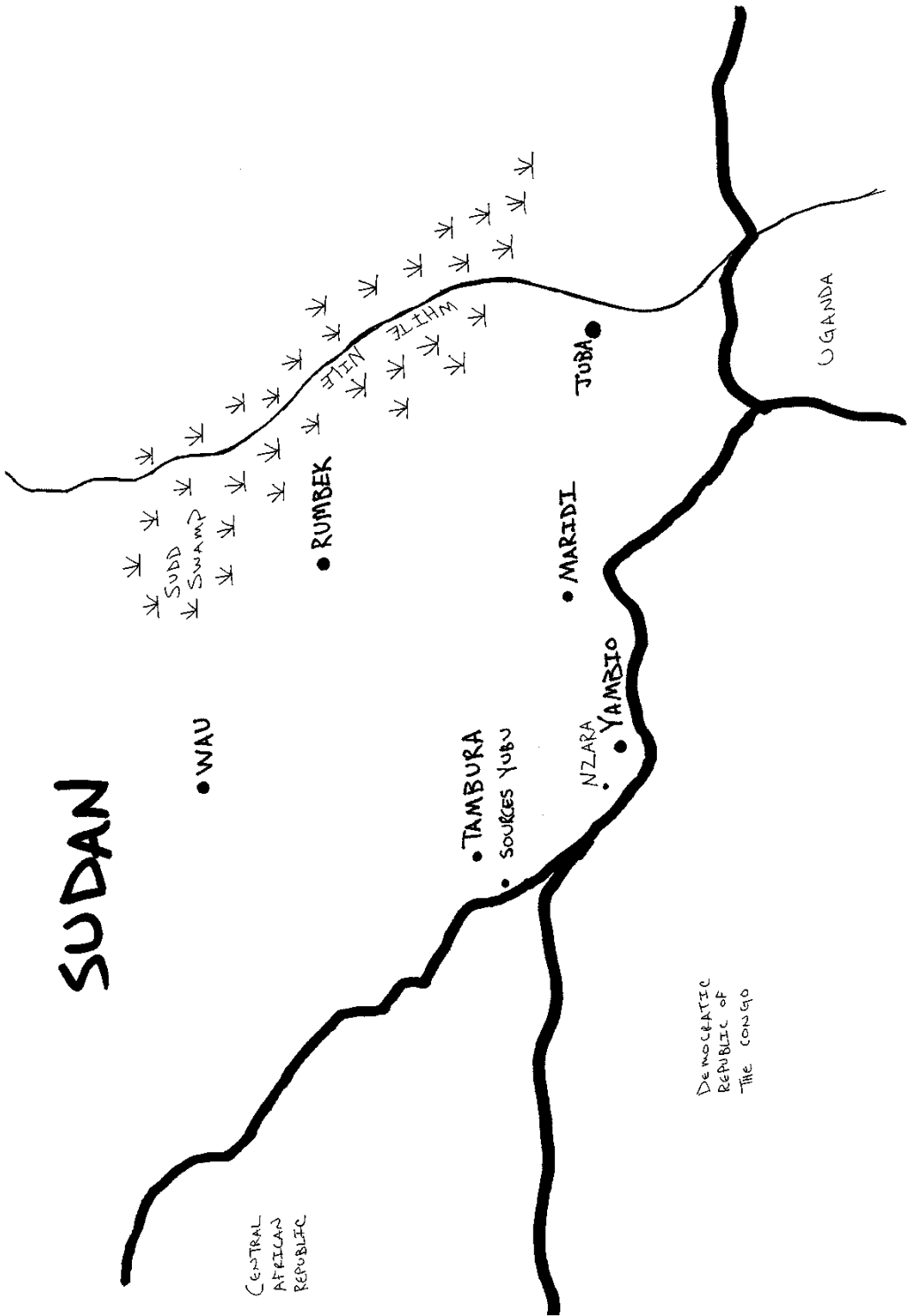
This directive turned out to be a tragic measure, as many senior southern civil servants and security officials lost their lives at the hands of the northern security forces during the elected civilian Government led by the Umma Party under Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub in 1965!! The Wau incident that followed the grave massacre in Juba a week earlier in June 1965 was the most tragic incident. Over 76 senior southern Sudanese civil servants were brutally and systematically butchered by the Government (Northern) security forces at a marriage celebration.

Many of the northern Sudanese doctors and civil servants working in the South at the time felt threatened by the Anya-Nya. They therefore abandoned their posts in the districts and left for the Provincial Headquarters and then for the North. When I arrived in Juba, just before Christmas in 1964, the Provincial Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Shakir Musa, thought of sending me to Yei Hospital. But before I could take off for Yei the doctors of Li Rangu and Sources Yubu in Western Equatoria Province both arrived in Juba, having abandoned their hospitals in Yambio and Tambura Districts, for fear of victimization by the southern "rebel" soldiers. Dr. Shakir Musa therefore changed my assignment and sent me instead to Western Equatoria Province to take charge of Li Rangu Hospital, with added responsibilities for Sources Yubu Hospital and Tambura Health Center. Both hospitals were then run by medical assistants. The doctor at Li Rangu, before leaving for Juba, had moved the hospital some 15 miles westwards, to the Nzara agricultural scheme, to occupy the Inspector of Agriculture's house. He left a medical assistant to run the remaining work in Li Rangu Hospital outpatients' clinic.

I arrived in Yambio in January 1965. Because the District was the only district where the whole administration was in the hands of southern Sudanese, security was relatively good. Mr. Samuel Lupai was the District Commissioner, Joseph Kisanga was the Chief of Police, Peter Cirillo was in charge of the Prisons Department and Fulgensio, from Juba, was in charge of the Wildlife Department. When I came, I became the Medical Inspector for both Yambio and Tambura Districts, and James Hakim, a colleague who graduated in the Faculty of Agriculture in Khartoum University a year before me, was the General Manager of the Nzara Agricultural Scheme.

The only northern Sudanese senior officer in the district was the Commander of the Sudanese Army Garrison in Yambio. As a result, many southerners came to Yambio from the neighboring districts of Western Equatoria Province (Maridi, and Tombura) for security.

My responsibilities, as the only medical officer in the area except Maridi, was to supervise the health services in the two districts of Yambio and Tambura. I would spend one month at Nzara Hospital, and two weeks in Sources Yubu Hospital. The most common surgical condition in the area was hernia. I had only twelve surgical beds in Nzara Hospital and a limited number and quantities of medicines. Still there were so many hernia cases that I had to operate two days a week when in Nzara -- Mondays and Fridays -- besides emergency cases of intestinal obstruction and strangulated hernias.



Western Equatoria: Medical Posts

God blessed my work. In the six months I was in the area, I lost only two patients. One was a woman who was injured by her brother at night and was brought to me with intestines out. She had gone to visit her boyfriend and when returning after spending a good time with her lover, she met her brother on the footpath at night, so she ran to hide in the cassava field. Her brother heard movement in the cassava field and when he did not get a response to his enquiry, he thought there was a wild pig -- common in the area -- and let loose his spear. The woman cried out in pain, and the brother realized it was a human being, who turned out to be his sister.

When she arrived in the hospital, I washed the intestines in warm normal saline, stitched the holes on the intestinal walls, enlarged the abdominal wound a little, cleaned the peritoneum with saline and returned the intestines back, and applied antibiotic in the peritoneum. I gave instructions that she should not eat solid food for at least a week. Three days later she was up and moving about. On the fifth day I was called to the hospital at night to find the woman was in severe pain and vomiting. Someone had brought her some sweet potatoes during the day and she ate them. She obviously had severe intestinal obstruction and died a few hours after the visit.

The second fatality was a woman in labor with placenta previa, from Litangu Hospital. I used to visit the hospital once a week, and on my way to one of my visits I met the hospital ambulance bringing this woman to me in Nzara. She was bleeding profusely. I turned around and rushed her to the theatre to perform caesarean section. But before we could administer anesthesia, she passed away on the operating table. She had bled too much.

However, God was with us and we were able to perform successful heroic surgery, and the patients survived. Two cases are especially worth mentioning. One was a middle-aged man from Sources Yubu. He had a strangulated inguinal hernia, but I was not in Sources Yubu. So the relatives put him on a locally made stretcher and carried him for three days to Nzara. When he was taken to the theatre I found his groin was bulging. When I put the surgical knife, horribly smelling pus gushed out. The strangulated piece of intestine was already putrefied. I had to do a laparotomy, cut off the affected gut, and perform a resection -- anaestomosis of the intestine -- an operation I had not done before but had seen the surgical specialist perform it in Khartoum Hospital when I was a final-year medical student. I put the patient on a drip and pumped him with what antibiotics I had available. He survived. This prompted the Chief of the area, who had seventy (70) wives, to come and request me to operate on his two inguinal hernias, lumbar and epigastric, all at once, especially since I was preparing to travel to Juba and he thought I might not come back -- which actually happened.

The second case was a northern Sudanese policeman from Dongola, in Sources Yubu. He had gone with two colleagues to the hospital staff quarters to get a midwife to come and deliver a woman in their quarters. They sent the midwife ahead and then went on to look for sex partners and drinks. They met with an Anya-Nya fighter who attacked and stabbed the policeman in the stomach, letting out his intestines. His colleagues alerted the army officer in Tambura 27 miles away. The officer organized first aid and a convoy to rush him to Nzara hospital. I was awakened at 3 a.m. and went to the hospital to find the policeman in shock. I ordered the nurses to put him on a drip and on antibiotics. At 6 a.m. I took him to the theatre and opened his abdomen. I found the intestines only bruised but found no other injury; I cleaned the abdominal cavity with saline and returned the intestines and put him on

antibiotics. The next day he developed abdominal distension, but this subsided on further treatment.

The next evening as I was doing my rounds at 5 p.m. When I reached the policeman's bed, a wild-looking Zande young man walked into the room with a machete at his belt and began turning over the sick man. I stood back to watch what he was doing. The nurses with me were scared. When he was finished, I pulled him aside and asked him what he was doing. He said he was an Anya-Nya and he wanted to find out if the policeman's friends, who were sitting outside under a tree, might have brought him a grenade in order to kill me. I told him to disappear immediately as his presence and his own action was a greater danger not only to me but to the rest of the hospital staff and patients.

The next day the policeman was evacuated by helicopter to the military hospital in Juba. But things had gone bad in Sources Yubu. After sending the injured policeman to Nzara, the army officer, a brutal Nuba major, had gone to Sources Yubu in the morning, rounded up all the hospital workers and threatened to kill them all if they did not produce the person who attacked the police at night. When the people did not respond, he ordered his soldiers to open fire, and four male nurses fell dead on the spot. The rest melted into the bush and crossed the border into Central African Republic. The Governor of Equatoria ordered the District Commissioner in Yambio to proceed immediately to Sources Yubu to investigate and bring him a report. The Provincial Medical Officer of Health also radioed me to proceed with the District Commissioner to Sources Yubu and bring him a report on the situation in the hospital. We travelled to Sources Yubu and followed the people up to Central African Republic, which was only three miles from Sources Yubu. We managed to convince the hospital workers to return to their homes. But on our way back to Yambio we learned through informers that the army officer in Tambura had laid an ambush for us to kill the D.C and myself and then put the blame on the Anya-Nya. So we took a different route and arrived safely to Yambio and Nzara.

Travel at this time had to be with military escort or convoy. We therefore left for Juba at the end of May 1965 with the D.C in a military convoy commanded by a senior southern Sudanese officer, leaving the Police Chief and the Prison Officer in charge of the district. A Roads clerk who travelled with us from Maridi to pay road workers up in Lainya was eventually murdered in Mundri on his return journey. A few days later we learnt that the Police Chief Joseph Kisanga had been "accidentally" killed in his car as he was approaching the gate of the military barracks in Yambio. He was trying to go to meet the Military Commander to discuss a security incident, when a soldier opened fire with his automatic gun and killed the Police Chief in his car. The driver turned round and brought the body to the house. His assistant, a northern Sudanese police officer, immediately sent his messenger to the prison offices to warn Peter Cirillo, the prison officer, to immediately leave his office and house, because he feared the army might come for him. Sure enough, a few minutes later soldiers arrived and surrounded the prisons offices and Peter's house. After the burial of the Police Chief he joined the Anya-Nya, together with many southern Sudanese residents of Yambio and Nzara. I was then still single but had my furniture and personal properties including educational documents still in Nzara. The District Commissioner's family was in Yambio, and he was anxious to return to Yambio to his family. The Governor organized a small plane to take the D.C and me back to Yambio, but the Anya-Nya were camping near the airstrip in Li Rangu where the plane would land. That same good northern Sudanese Police Officer sent a message to the D.C. not to leave Juba or get on the plane because the army would probably shoot it down and blame it on the Anya-Nya camped not far from the

airstrip. He promised to arrange to send the D.C.'s family to him in Juba. And he did, together with some of my staff in the hospital who did not run away.

I was very thankful to our storekeeper and colleague from Kajo Keji, Mr. Timon Lomoy Abias, who grabbed from the military my suitcase containing, among other properties, my educational documents. The army officer in charge of the garrison in Nzara had sent a soldier to my house to collect my property "for safe custody"! A young girl captured by the army in Kajo Keji and taken to the north, who later found her way to us in Khartoum, told me she saw my framed photo in the house of one of her captors in El Fasher in Darfur Province. My beautiful furniture, including a paraffin refrigerator, probably also ended up in this "Safe Custody" in Darfur.

(b.) Experience in Juba, 1965

Our brief visit to Juba in May 1965 turned out to be a long stay with no return to Nzara Hospital again. After the general elections in Northern Sudan and the coming to power of the Umma Party with Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub as Prime Minister, the security situation in the South rapidly deteriorated. The new government of Sudan targeted Southern Sudanese intellectuals, including government officials, for assassination. On the 7th of June, 1965, the army in Juba went on a rampage, killing a total of 1,400 persons and burning down many houses and huts in the Kator and Atla Bara residential areas. My colleague Dr. Noel Warille and I narrowly escaped being lynched inside the Juba Hospital Operating Theatre. We had to break the glass windows of the theatre and escape with our operating dress still on us, as the drunken soldiers burst into the theatre. They eventually finished off on the operating table the patient that we were trying to save. Four days later the army in the second southern town of Wau ambushed almost all the southern intellectuals at a wedding party. In cold blood, they killed seventy-six persons, including the Provincial Veterinary Inspector and some senior administrative officials.

In Juba, half the hospital staff, including the two resident southern doctors, escaped to East Africa or Khartoum. Suddenly I found myself the only medical officer in town. I too was preparing for home and eventual exile in East Africa, urged on by my relatives and friends. Two things held me back:

- If I left, then the rest of the remaining medical assistants and nurses would also leave, as the Coptic Senior Medical Officer had sent a message to Khartoum that he was closing the hospital because "All staff have escaped".
- Secondly, when I went to have a last look at the hospital before joining my friends for our journey to East Africa, I found over eighty casualties admitted in the wards from the overnight shootings in town. I was torn between leaving and abandoning these people to sure death due to lack of medical care, or staying and risking my own death at the hands of the government soldiers but saving at least some of those admitted in the hospital with various injuries.

I chose to stay and sent word to my friends to proceed without me. For one full month I was the only doctor in this Provincial Hospital in Juba, helped by a finalist medical student from Khartoum University and a few medical assistants, all southerners. Then in August, some of my former colleagues from the Faculty of Medicine, now dressed in military uniform, were brought to Juba to take over medical services in the Civil Hospital and also help with the ever-increasing casualties in the Military Hospital. However, it turned out that these doctors spent most of their time in the Military Hospital. Rumors began to circulate that I was secretly supplying medicines to the Anya-Nya. This was a dangerous rumor for me.

At the same time, two of our senior politicians in Khartoum, Clement Mboro and Gordon Muortat, had visited Juba on their way from Wau to investigate the massacres in their towns. I welcomed them in Juba and they strongly advised me to leave Juba for my own safety and come to join them in Khartoum. Then I had an attack of acute appendicitis as I was operating on the list of patients drawn up by my colleague in the military, who later became a Minister of Health in Khartoum, Dr. Abdel Salam Saleh. He wanted to refer me to Khartoum for surgery, but I told him that the people were still suspicious of the northern Sudanese doctors and this was a golden opportunity for him to win the confidence of the people, and that I was confident he could operate on me successfully. The operation turned out to be a real confidence-building measure. Nearly half the nurses came to the theatre and those working in the theatre dressed up to assist. I later learnt from them that they wanted to make sure that no foul play was played on me. I recovered fully from the operation. One of the Moru nurses, Kezia Yacobo, stayed with me one day and night to see that I did not get wrong treatment. Soon after my recovery, I was plucked out of Juba and “exited” to a remote desert hospital in Zeidab on the west bank of the Nile, west of Atbara, in the then Northern Province.

(c.) In Zeidab, September 1965-August 1967

Zeidab was the first agricultural irrigation scheme established in the Sudan by the British Condominium Administration. This was before the much larger Gezira Scheme was established. My reception in Zeidab was with great suspicion at first.

A young nephew who was in Loka Secondary School, Napoleon Lubang Wani, had come to stay with me in Juba, when his school was closed due to insecurity. He accompanied me to Zeidab, together with a Baka househand called Juma. For several months we were the only three southerners in the area. Later we came to know of a Kuku young man working as an electrician in a Zeidab factory.

Zeidab Hospital was under a classmate whose home was in Atbara. He was anxious to hand over the hospital and return from this isolated place to the civilization of Atbara. I arrived around 1:00 pm and he quickly showed me around the hospital and handed me the keys of the doctors’ houses. He even handed me a patient with acute appendicitis whom he was preparing for operation, and left for Atbara at 2:00 pm. At that time, the stories from the war in the South were terrible. Southerners were reported to be killing northerners in hundreds or thousands in the South, and here now was one of them come to be a doctor in the midst of northerners! Worse still, he was now to operate on one of their sons! Though they were not pleased with the other doctor, at least he was one of them.

Their sensitivities were not lost on me. I decided to do the appendix operation under spinal anesthesia so that the patient would remain conscious. In spite of this all the people in hospital gathered, peeping through the glass windows of the theatre. Thanks to my experience in the surgical department in El Obeid and later in Nzara and Juba, the operation went well. There was a sigh of relief when the patient was wheeled out of the theatre and spoke freely to his relatives on the way to the surgical ward. This was the first act of confidence building.



Northern Sudan: Schools, Medical Posts, and Theological Teaching

The second came three days later when the brother of the *Omda*, Chief of the area, brought his second wife to me for treatment. They had been married, with the lady in her late twenties, for more than three years, but the lady did not conceive. I was not specialized as a gynecologist, but I had worked as houseman with the former gynecologist in Khartoum Hospital, Dr. Abdel Salam. I therefore examined the lady (in her husband's presence) and found nothing basically wrong with her. I said a silent prayer and then told the husband to bring her next day, first thing, so that I could perform a small operation. The next morning they came and I did a dilation and curettage and sent them home.

To my pleasant surprise, the lady came with her husband to see me three months later with a complaint that she had missed her period since I performed the operation on her. I examined her and told the husband that his wife was probably pregnant and that I should see her every month after that. The man was extremely happy. and he and his brother, the *Omda*, became my personal friends. The *Omda* frequently invited me for breakfast, and the news spread all over the area.

There was a spiritual leader, a *fekki*, to whom people came from all over Northern Province for treatment and healing. He lived some miles north of the hospital on the western bank of the Nile opposite Atbara. Sometime later, some patients whom I had admitted in hospital with intestinal worms, especially bilharzia, which was common in the irrigated area, requested my permission to go visit the *fekki* and then come to continue their treatment in the hospital. Since they seemed not to be responding to the medicines I was giving them, I allowed them to go for one week but to make sure they returned to continue their treatment. This worked very well for both sides. When the patients returned, they responded very quickly to the treatment I gave them. The *fekki* was also impressed and began to refer to me obvious cases of disease he could not handle, like cases of tuberculosis. Thus, a relationship of mutual trust developed between the *fekki* and me. He would refer difficult cases to me rather than to the Atbara Hospital where there were specialists.

Another significant development during my stay in Zeidab was the friendship between me and a famous Falata *fekki*, *fekkki* Adam, to whom many in Zeidab, especially childless women, went to seek help in order to have children. One day he visited me in the hospital complaining of lower abdominal pain and difficulty in urinating. When I examined his prostate, it was as hard as stone. I suspected prostate cancer that was probably already spreading. So I told him I could not deal with his condition and I was referring him to the surgeon in Atbara. He agreed and I sent him to Dr. Morris Sidra in Atbara with a note that diagnosis and was putting him on chemotherapy. He requested me to follow up the patient he probably had advanced cancer of the prostate which might require chemotherapy to relieve his pain and suffering. Morris referred him back to me that he fully agrees with my diagnosis and was putting him on chemotherapy. He requested me to follow up the patient and keep him informed.

Fekki Adam returned from Atbara very pleased, and the pain had disappeared. He became my best friend. When I got married and brought my wife to Zeidab, he took her as his daughter and held a reception party for her. Every week he would send his young daughter to my wife with some eggs and occasionally a chicken. For two years this relationship continued, until we left Zeidab in August 1967. But his sickness was progressing, his pain increased, and he needed increasing doses of the chemotherapeutic medicine. Unfortunately, six months after we left Zeidab we heard that he had died.

This relationship made the people of Zeidab value my presence with them more, and they were planning to send a delegation to the Ministry of Health in Khartoum to request the Minister not to transfer me from Zeidab. I told them I was going away to gain more knowledge, so they allowed me to leave on condition that I would return to them after completing my studies. Of course I never went back to Zeidab. After my return from Germany, a peace had been signed between the Southern Sudan Anya-Nya fighters and the government of Gaafar Mohammed Nimeiri. My services were needed for the reconstruction of the war-devastated South Sudan, rather than returning to that “Desert Prisoner of War”-like existence.

(d.) Back in Juba

I returned from my postgraduate studies in April 1973 with my wife and two sons born in Germany. I continued to work with the Ministry of Health Southern Region as from 1974 until 1985, when I was seconded to a Nutrition Support Project jointly funded by WHO and UNICEF. In February 1998 the project suddenly came to an end because the donor stopped funding it!

I spent nine months in 1973-74 in the National Public Health Laboratory in Khartoum before I was summoned by the then Regional Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Dr. Toby Maduot, to take up the post of Deputy Director for Health and Social Welfare in the Southern Regional Government. This was a crucial time for the health services in the South. Severely damaged hospitals had to be reconstructed, a totally collapsed rural health system had to be re-established and equipped. Returning refugees had to be resettled and rehabilitated. The World Health Organization (WHO) and United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) brought in ambulances and equipment for the hospitals. The German and Dutch governments also helped with the reconstruction and rehabilitation of some of the hospitals like Sources Yubu, Maridi, Bor, and others. The United Nations Infant and Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) provided regular medical kits for rural hospitals and clinics.

In 1976, WHO and AMREFⁱⁱⁱ joined staff from the Regional Ministry of Health and Central Ministry of Health in Juba to develop the Primary Health Care Program for Southern Sudan. This was documented in *Primary Health Care for Southern Sudan 1977/78-1982/83* (the “Green Book”). AMREF offered to put up six Community Health Workers’ schools with financial assistance from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to train Community Health Workers for the program. USAID and the governments of Germany and Holland, along with Norwegian Church Aid, offered to construct primary health care complexes or dispensaries in several districts in Southern Sudan. AMREF helped launch the project by taking twelve medical assistants to Nairobi for training as community health workers/tutors and starting four community health workers’ training schools in Lirya in Eastern Equatoria, Li Rangu in Western Equatoria, Kwajok in Bahr El Ghazal, and Doleib Hill in Upper Nile Provinces. Later in 1980-82, two more schools were opened in Akot in Lakes Province and Baidut near Bor in Jonglei Province. A fairly efficient primary health care program was therefore established in the South by the time war broke out again in 1983, during which all success achieved was totally destroyed in a few years of the war.

The central health authorities at first belittled the Primary Health Care Program as a system delivering inferior health services and were not keen to adopt it in the north. Later, when the program was seen to be delivering essential health services to the rural population in the south, the north also adopted the system. A *Primary Health Care Programme North* document was produced (the “Brown Book”) based on the southern experience. Additional training of other auxiliary health workers -- medical assistants, laboratory assistants, nurse/midwives, sanitary overseers, and traditional birth attendants -- were also carried out to support the program.

One laboratory assistants training school and a sanitary overseers school were opened in Juba in addition to midwifery training schools in Juba, Wau and Malakal. Two medical assistants training schools opened earlier in Juba and Wau were improved. In 1980, WHO had offered me a scholarship for a study tour to Kenya and Tanzania to see the training of Clinical Officers in these two East African countries. This was with a view to starting a similar training program in Southern Sudan. I was the Director for Health Planning, Training and Laboratory Services in the Regional Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Dr. Christopher Wood, Director General of AMREF in Nairobi, travelled with me to Dar es Salaam and we visited Mahimbili Hospital together. Later on we organized a two-weeks workshop in Wau Agog Leprosy Centre where Regional Ministry of Health and AMREF staff worked out a curriculum for the Wau Health Training Institute for clinical officers, nurse/midwives, laboratory technicians, and public health officers. Miserior, a Catholic organization, provided funding, and Fr. Hubert Bardier helped construct the Institute buildings and provided equipment. The Institute opened in 1983 for clinical officer trainees and nurse midwife trainees, despite opposition from the central Ministry of Health in Khartoum.

Later, when the current war that started in 1983 intensified and the Regional Government in Juba was dismantled, the Institute was moved to Wad Medani in the Northern Sudan. In 1997, the central Ministry of Health wanted to take over the Institute, but the Sudan Catholic Bishops Conference, which was funding the Institute, refused to make funding available if the Institute were taken over by the Central Ministry of Health. This was because the Wau Health Training Institute had been established for the purpose of training health workers for Southern Sudan.

A special committee set up by the Sudan Catholic Bishops Conference, including the then Vice Chancellors of Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile Universities in Khartoum and myself, recommended that the Institute be reopened in Southern Sudan, if possible in the “liberated areas”. AMREF again stepped in, and the Institute is now functioning again in Maridi, Southern Sudan.

(e.) AMREF/USAID Rural Health Support Project.

In 1988, the war in South was intensifying and AMREF decided to withdraw expatriate staff from Juba. AMREF requested that I be released from the regional Ministry again to take August 1988. In 1991, the central government began to create obstacles for AMREF/ over the AMREF/USAID Rural Health Support Project South as Project Manager in USAID. First they accused AMREF of cooperating with the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) because AMREF reconstructed Kapoeta Hospital (under contract from UNICEF

and Operation Life Line Sudan). Secondly, they requested AMREF to start work in Northern Sudan also, but AMREF said they did not have Arabic-speaking staff and the rural areas in the North do not understand English compared to the South. Thirdly, the Government requested AMREF to appoint a national as Director of their Project in Sudan. Perhaps they thought I, being a Southerner, was not national enough. AMREF therefore named a Northern Sudanese National Islamic Front (NIF) supporter as quasi-Director in Khartoum to explore possibilities of carrying out some work in Kordofan and Darfur, while I continued to supervise the work in the South. Then the government accused AMREF of further collaboration with the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA), as their government spies had seen SPLA driving AMREF/ GTZ vehicles taken by SPLA when they overran Yei.

All this became too much for USAID and for AMREF. So AMREF terminated its activities in the Sudan together with the USAID funding in 1991. I therefore was forced to return to the Regional Ministry of Health in Equatoria, but the Governor of Equatoria retired us seventeen doctors from Equatoria “in the public interest” the same year. I therefore decided to join the Church fulltime.

2.2 Experience in the Church

While working in Juba in the Regional Ministry of Health, I had actively participated in church activities as a lay Christian. In 1989 the Archbishop had ordained me, with other colleagues, as a non-stipendiary Deacon, and in 1990 I was priested. I went to the USA for theological education in Virginia Theological Seminary in 1993. (I was accepted in 1992 but this was blocked, probably by then Bishop Gabriel Roric Jur). I graduated from Virginia Theological Seminary in May 1995 with a Master in Theological Studies degree. Returning to the Sudan the same month, I started teaching theology, first at Bishop Gwynne College in Juba from October to December 1995, then at Nile Theological College in Khartoum North from 1996 to 2001.

(a.) Bishop Gwynne College, October-December 1995

I began teaching at the Episcopal Church of Sudan’s Bishop Gwynne College in October, but I could not continue because I was not wanted there. My appointment at Bishop Gwynne College did not materialize. Perhaps I was looked on as a rival for key positions. Attempts were even made to block me from taking up teaching at Nile Theological College, an institution shared by the American Presbyterian Mission and the Evangelical Church of Egypt.

(b.) Nile Theological College, 1996-May 2001

I renewed my application for a teaching post at the Presbyterian-Evangelical Nile Theological College. The Dean, Dr. Peter Ford, accepted my application on condition that I be released by the Episcopal Church of Sudan authorities. This, he said, was to maintain the good relationship between the Presbyterian Church and the Episcopal Church. But, as mentioned earlier, the ECS authorities refused my request for release. It was only when I applied to my bishop in exile in Kenya, the Rt. Rev. Manassa Dawidi, that I obtained permission to join the Nile Theological College in June 1996 as a senior tutor. I had the

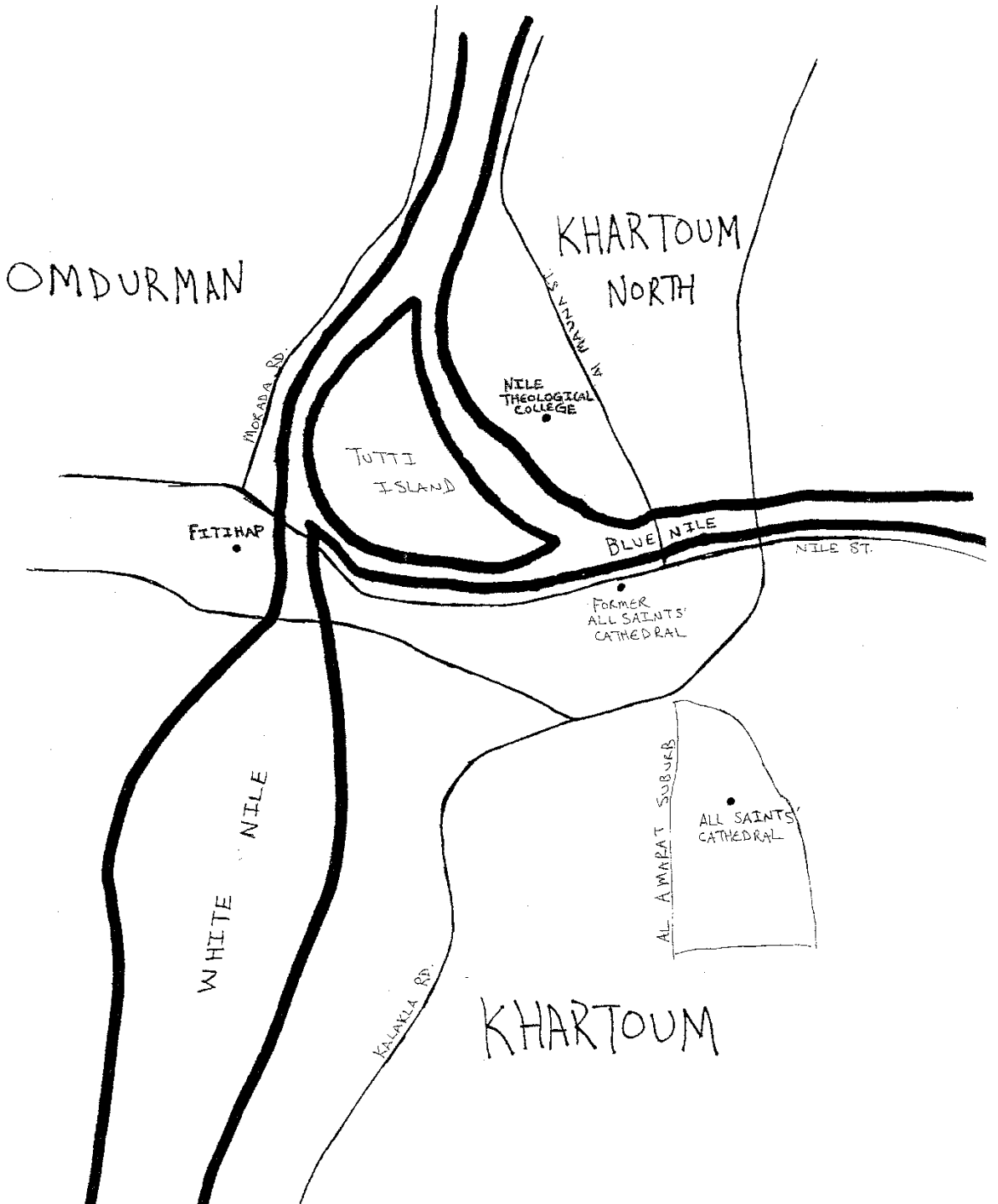
opportunity to be appointed in the leadership of the College. But because I did not belong to the Presbyterian Church or the Evangelical Church denominations, I could not be considered for the post of Dean of Studies.

Even when in 1998 I was appointed as Chairman of the Theological Education Board in the College, and we prepared a comprehensive proposal for associating the T.E.E Program with the Nile Theological College, the College Governing Council demanded that I step down because I did not belong to either the Presbyterian or Evangelical owning denominations. Hence in 2000, I graciously stepped down. The T.E.E. Board was sad about this, and the Board members organized a farewell party for me.

On the whole, however, I had excellent working relations with the Nile Theological College staff, especially with Rev. William Anderson, the initiator of the College, and the Dean of Studies, Dr. Peter Ford, from the time I joined the College until 1999, when he went on a one-year's sabbatical to complete his Ph.D. Thesis. At the Nile Theological College I taught General Church History, Old Testament Introduction and Exegesis, Church Administration and African /Sudan Church History.

On one occasion a German professor and myself were requested to investigate a delicate moral issue between an American colleague and a female student of theology. The student claimed that the tutor was in love with her and had even kissed her several times in front of the students at the entrance of the library and at the dining hall and entrance to one of the class rooms. The American female tutors were angry with their American colleague for spoiling their name as Americans and demanded a thorough investigation into these accusations and that, if proved true, then the tutor should be removed from the College and sent back to the U.S.A. However, in interviews with the student, with the tutor concerned, and with other colleagues of the female student, we found that the accusations were not true. We discovered that the female student had mental hallucinatory disturbance. Perhaps she was looking for a way to go to the United States of America and the easiest way was to go as a wife of this American bachelor tutor. We therefore, referred the student to a psychiatrist for further investigation and management if her mental condition was confirmed. We also recommended that the student be suspended from the College but that the College pay her medical expenses. The tutor was allowed to continue with his teaching in the College. However he left the College in 2000 and is now teaching in Rwanda. I do not know the fate of the female student, as I left the College in May 2001.

During my stay the population of Episcopal Church of Sudan students at Nile Theological College steadily increased until they formed about one third of the student body by the time I left. The ECS students at Nile Theological College faced a number of financial constraints. All were hiring accommodation outside the college campus in Khartoum North, some as far away as Jebel Aulia, some forty miles away. Those with scholarships could not even cover their rent and daily transport expenses. Therefore, when the Honorary Salisbury Sudan Link Secretary visited the College in 1997, the ECS students raised their concerns to him.^{iv} He advised the students to channel their requests through the ECS Province authorities. When the students presented their appeal to the Archbishop, who was visiting Khartoum from the South at the time, the Archbishop turned the request down, saying that these students were there without the knowledge of the Provincial office.



National Capital Area: The Three Towns

Disappointed, the students came out from meeting the Archbishop and met the late Bishop Ephraim Natana. The late Bishop sympathized with the students' case and asked them to be patient. He asked them to hand him the petition. Fortunately, the late Bishop Ephraim met me at the ECS Guest House in Mugran, where he asked me what we could do for these students. I suggested to the Bishop that we could write a Students' Support Project and send it to Salisbury Diocese for funding. He asked me to go ahead and prepare the project proposal and he would sign. I then wrote the proposal and set up a management committee composed of the Bishop as Chairman, myself as secretary and the president of the Nile Theological College ECS student body as member. Bishop Ephraim signed the project proposal and I sent it to Salisbury Diocese. The response was quick. The proposal was very good, but Salisbury Diocese had already committed itself to supporting Bishop Gwynne College, the ECS Theological College in Juba, South Sudan. So they did not have any more money for the Nile Theological College students.

I wrote back thanking the Salisbury Diocese for their quick response, though it was negative, and for their support for Bishop Gwynne College. I suggested Nile Theological College students could collect the crumbs that fall under the Bishop Gwynne College table.

This response probably intrigued and amused the Salisbury Diocese Sudan Link Secretary. So we got an approval for 500 Pounds Sterling for the Nile Theological College ECS students. When we received this money, I told the students to distribute it among themselves, sign against the list, and hand over the list to me. This I sent to Salisbury and told them how the money has been spent.

Immediately Salisbury responded thanking me for the clear response and the accurate report of the expenditure of the grant. They said this was the first time they received feedback on their grant from a Sudanese organization, so they would increase the grant next time. We then received double the amount for the next grant. So we continued to send accurate reports, and Salisbury continued to send increasing amounts every year, until by the time I left Nile Theological College the amount of grant was up to 3,000 Pounds Sterling.

The ECS students were disappointed when I got my transfer to Bishop Allison Theological College (BATC) in May 2001. Even the Administration of Nile Theological College was disappointed. This was because the college was processing its accreditation, and one of the conditions for accreditation was that at least 70% of the staff must be nationals. My going away reduced the number of nationals in the college to less than half.

When Bishop Ephraim Natana died in 2000, the ECS students support committee for Nile Theological College had to be reconstituted. So the Bishop of Renk Diocese, Rt. Rev. Daniel Deng Bul, agreed to be the new Chairman. When I was leaving for BATC, Mr. Zephaniah, who was receiving the grant before, took over from me as Secretary. I am happy to learn that Salisbury Diocese is still supporting the ECS students at Nile Theological College with the annual grant.

(c) Bishop Allison Theological College (2001-2007)

The election of a new ECS Archbishop, Dr. Joseph Marona, in 2000 changed the thinking of the ECS. In February 2001 the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan, meeting in Kampala, Uganda, made some important administrative resolutions, appointing

Rev Hilary Luete Adeba as Vicar General for Yei Diocese, Rev. Peter Amidi as Vicar General for Lainya Diocese and myself as Principal of Bishop Allison Theological College with immediate effect. We were to travel to Uganda together on the way to our new stations in Yei and Lainya in South Sudan and Arua, Uganda respectively. I took up this new post in Arua, Uganda in July 2001 after completing my contract with Nile Theological College in Khartoum North.

Before departing Sudan, I travelled ahead with my wife Tabitha for Khartoum on the 26th June 2001. After spending three days with my Bishop, Rt. Rev. Manasseh B. Dawidi, in Kampala, we took the Nile Coach bus to Arua and were welcomed and accommodated by the late Rt. Rev. Seme L. Solomona, the Chairman of the Board of Governors of Bishop Allison Theological College (BATC). After seeing me settled, my wife returned to Khartoum to wind up some business before rejoining me with the rest of the family in May 2002.

In contrast to the warm reception by the Chairman of the BATC Board of Governors, the Vice-Principal of the College (who was then Acting Principal) received me with the word: "Why are you here and who appointed you?" This was an indication of how much work was ahead for me to bring harmony and coöperation in the College. The other staff, however, welcomed me warmly.

The other problem I met was that the College had no transport at the time other than two old bicycles! A vehicle bought by my predecessor was grounded because the donor (TEAR Fund^v) who gave the money was angry that the grant was supposed to be used for administrative support to the College and not for purchase of a vehicle. Hence the donors requested that the vehicle be sold. They also demanded that the Principal step down, otherwise they would not give any more grants to the College if he remained the Principal.

Another deficiency I found in the College was the absence of administrative management documents or a strategic plan for the College. My first task was therefore to set about rectifying these deficiencies.

First I introduced a weekly staff fellowship on Wednesday afternoon, where staff could share their concerns and the Word of God and pray together. As a result, the hostile reception I received from the Vice-Principal was eventually replaced by unity and coöperation among the staff, including the Vice Principal. Unfortunately this was short-lived, and the hostile attitude of the Vice Principal to the Principal resurfaced. However, with help from a Mission Partner from Northern Ireland, Mr. Kelvin Jones, who was at BATC at the same time as the arrival of the Principal, the staff worked out a draft three-years Strategic Plan (2002-2004) and an outline for a college newsletter, *Salaam Newsletter*. With Funds from TEAR FUND and consultants from CORAT AFRICA^{vi}, the BATC Three-Years Strategic Plan was prepared, and a draft Constitution and other management documents were prepared for the College. These included a *Human Resources Management and Procedures* document and a *Financial Administration and Management Policy* document. These were submitted to the College Board of Governors for approval in 2003. (The Constitution is still to be finally endorsed by the newly constituted ECS Theological Education Commission. The other documents were approved by the College Board of Governors.)

The Strategic Plan envisaged the eventual introduction of a Bachelor's Degree Program in

the College. For this purpose, staff development was to be given top priority. BATC therefore sent two of its staff in 2003 to Uganda Christian University to pursue a course of study for Master's Degree in Theology. They completed their studies in May 2005 and returned to the College. Two more staff were also sent to St. Paul's University in Kenya and to Uganda Christian University's Regional Study Centre in Ringili^{*vii} for degree studies, in 2006. Also one staff member is concluding a higher Diploma in Theology course in Shukai Bible Training Institute (SBTI) in Omdurman, Sudan, sponsored by Salisbury Diocese **and** Church Mission Society. Since my arrival at BATC the College has graduated four batches of students with Certificate and Diploma in Theology.

At a conference in 2004 sponsored by TEAR Fund and attended by former graduates and staff of the College and seven ECS Diocesan Bishops, a BATC Alumni/Alumnae Association was formed. This is to help move forward the practice of integral mission and holistic ministry in the parishes and dioceses of the ECS in the Sudan, especially during the period of reconstruction and rehabilitation, after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005 between the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army/Movement and the Government of Sudan.

Another project related to the Peace Agreement is our plan to relocate the College back to southern Sudan from exile in northern Uganda. For this, therefore, the college is seeking for funding from our ECS Dioceses and from our partners overseas for the construction of the needed physical structures (buildings, water supply, etc). At the beginning of the program, one of our staff stayed in Yei and organized brickmaking for the buildings, to start off the construction project.

So far, five of our Overseas Partners, (Cornerstone Trust U.S.A.; Hilfe für Brüder, Germany; CMS Ireland; Barnabas Fund U.K.; and Diocese of Connor in the Church of Ireland) have responded to our appeal for funds for water supply; construction of students' dormitory, kitchen and multipurpose hall, classroom and administration blocks; and purchase of a tipper lorry, respectively. The College continues to seek funding for the rest of the relocation projects.

(d.) Activities outside the Theological Colleges

In 2002 as Principal of BATC I had proposed to the ECS Dioceses in the "liberated areas" of southern Sudan, that BATC would be willing to send staff, during the College break, to participate in the diocesan activities and in capacity-building activities, if the Diocesan authorities so wish, and invite us to their dioceses. So far two dioceses have taken advantage of this offer:

- The Bishop of the ECS Diocese of Kajo Keji, Rt. Rev. Manasseh Dawidi, has been inviting me to help in pre-ordination retreats in the diocese. He has also invited me to participate in the Diocesan Synod meetings and in the launching of the local NGO-Kajo Keji Development and Relief Association (KADRA) in 2004.
- The bishop of the Diocese of Lainya, Rt. Rev. Peter Amidi, invited three members of staff -- the Principal, the Chief Accountant and the CMS Mission Partner-- to facilitate a leadership training workshop in September 2004.

In addition, some NGOs have engaged some staff of the College in facilitation of workshops and capacity building for church leaders and on HIV/AIDS awareness and control workshops.

The Church Mission Society sponsored a series of Capacity-Building Workshops for groups of ECS Dioceses. The first was in Yei for “LORYKOK” (Lainya, Rokon, Yei and KajoKeji) Dioceses, where I joined Rev. Canon Clement Janda and Rev. Pauline Walker and the CMS Accountant, Mr. Musyoke. The second was in “MIYE” (Maridi, Ibba, Yambio, and Ezo) Dioceses (Yambio was represented only by the Diocesan Secretary). The final workshop was for “Bahr El Ghazal” (Rumbek, Cueibet, and Wau) Dioceses. Unfortunately Yirol Diocese did not attend the Capacity-Building Workshops. These workshops took place between December 2003 and April 2004. Other cluster capacity-building workshops were planned for the other ECS cluster Dioceses, but these have not yet materialized. ECS/SUDRA is now continuing the process.

Further activities included attending training of trainers’ workshops for HIV/AIDS tutors at St. Paul’s, Limuru, Kenya in 2002 and 2003; attending the All-Africa Theological Education by Extension Conference in Mukono, Uganda in August; and the ministry strategy conference in the same place in February 2005. This conference was attended by principals and tutors of theological colleges and by diocesan secretaries from the Great Lakes Region (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Sudan-Southern Sudan).

In 2003 the ECS Provincial Office appointed a five-person team to look into theological education in the Episcopal Church of the Sudan and to try to bring order into the establishment and administration of theological education colleges and Bible schools in the ECS. The strategic review group within in the ECS group met first in Lweza, outside Kampala, in August 2003 and produced an interim report, which was sent to the Archbishop of the ECS for scrutiny and comments. The group, which appointed me as Chairman, met again at Resurrection Gardens in Kenya in May 2004 and produced a second interim report which also recommended the formation of Commissions for the ECS Programmes. Due to lack of accurate statistics from the ECS Dioceses, the group could not produce a final report. Another meeting was, therefore, scheduled for February 2005 in Juba, Southern Sudan where a final report was to be produced and to be presented to the General Synod in January 2006 for approval. Unfortunately, due to the closure of the roads to Juba and very expensive air transport, I could not attend the last meeting of the group. The final report was submitted to the General Synod in Juba in January 2006 and endorsed by the Synod. Earlier in 2004 my former professor in Virginia Theological Seminary, Prof. Richard J. Jones, visited several ECS theological training institutions and extended his visit to us in Arua, Uganda. His report helped the Strategic Review group to complete its report successfully. I was especially pleased to meet Prof. Jones and renew our relationship from the time in 1995 when he was the coördinator of the International Students’ Forum at VTS and I was its Chairman, before my return to the Sudan.

In 2006 Prof. Jones alerted me to the possibility of a one-month Andrew Merrow Fellowship to Virginia Theological Seminary. I travelled to Virginia, accompanied by my wife, Tabitha K. Oliver, in April 2007 for research on the topic of “Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peacemaking”. My former field practice parish of St Aidan’s in Alexandria raised the funds for the ticket to the U.S.A for my wife. I am grateful to the congregation of St. Aidan’s and to Prof. Jones for their kindness and hospitality during our stay at VTS. I also extend my heartfelt thanks to the Parish of St Mary’s at Arlington, Virginia and the entire congregation led by the dynamic rector, Rev. Andrew Merrow, for

offering this Fellowship and for their hospitality during the days I was in Virginia and worshipping on Sundays with them. We returned to Uganda from the U.S.A on the 7th May 2007.

While in the U.S.A. we also had the opportunity to participate in the triennial conference of “New Wineskins for Global Mission” in Asheville, North Carolina (organized by the Christians who opposed the Episcopal Church USA policy of blessing gay marriage and consecrating of gay bishops and clergy). After the Wineskins conference we attended the American Friends of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan (AFRECS) annual conference in St. Louis, Missouri, chaired by Prof. Richard Jones. The AFRECS Conference was also attended by representatives from the Episcopal Church of the Sudan: Rt. Rev. Peter Amidi, Bishop of Lainya Diocese; Rt. Rev. Bullen Dolli, Bishop of Lui Diocese; Rev. Canon Enock Tombe Stephen, Provincial Secretary; and Mama Harriet Deria Kwaje Baka, representing the Mothers’ Union. Many of the Sudanese youth who were evacuated from the refugee camp Kakuma, in Kenya, the so-called “Lost Boys”, also attended.

3. The ECS Crises

3.1 The ECS Leadership Crisis (1986-1992)

(a.) Introduction

The Episcopal Church of the Sudan Province came into existence when the Diocese of the Sudan, under the Province of Canterbury, was divided into the four Dioceses of Khartoum, Juba, Yambio and Rumbek in 1974, on the retirement of the last expatriate Bishop of the Sudan, the Rt. Rev. Oliver Allison. Thus Bishop Elinana Jambi Ngalamu, one of the four Bishops of the Sudan, was elected the new Bishop of the Sudan to succeed Bishop Oliver Allison and then become the first Archbishop of the new Province of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan. He was enthroned in Juba in October 1976 by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. Donald Coggan. The Rev. Clement Janda, who was reading for his Master’s in theology in the U.S.A., was recalled to become the first Provincial Secretary.

Soon after the inauguration the new Archbishop called a Partners-In-Mission (PIM) Consultation in Juba to discuss the development of the new Province. The Consultation identified education as the top priority for the Province. The new Provincial Secretary therefore immediately started contacting our Partners for scholarship sponsorship for training of the clergy needed for the new Province. Six candidates were selected to go overseas immediately for training. These were to be followed every year by six more. The first group therefore travelled in 1977. However the Archbishop thought that this was too fast a scheme. Differences developed between the Archbishop and the Provincial Secretary as to the pace of the development programs of the ECS. Thus the Provincial Secretary, Rev. Clement Janda was forced to resign his post, and he left to join the All-Africa Conference of Churches. Rev. John L. Kanyikwa, from the same parish of Yei as Rev. Clement, then took over as the Provincial Secretary. Rev. John Kanyikwa was a quiet person and was able to work with the Archbishop as Provincial Secretary for 15 years, until he left for a sabbatical in 1991 and never returned to the Sudan until his retirement as General Secretary of the Council of Anglican Provinces of Africa (CAPA) in 2006.

(b.) Creation of new Dioceses and consecration of more Bishops for the ECS. In 1981, the Archbishop called for another Partners in Mission Consultation, to consider expansion of the ECS by creating seven new dioceses and consecrating seven new bishops. But the idea was opposed by the then Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. To avoid being pressured by the CMS Secretary, the Archbishop wisely decided that this PIM Consultation be chaired, not by him, but by a lay Christian.

One of the pressing problems facing the ECS was the vast areas of the dioceses which made it difficult for the bishops to exercise their pastoral ministry and pastoral visits. Hence the need for creation of new dioceses. For example, the Diocese of Rumbek included places as far west as Wau and Aweil, as far east as Bor, and as far north as Malakal and Renk. Khartoum Diocese extended from El Fasher and Kadugli in the west, Dongola and Port Sudan in the North and east and Wad Medani and Kassala/ Gedaref and Damazin on the Blue Nile in the southeast.

The Archbishop surprised me by asking me to chair the Partners in Mission Consultation of 1981. This was a wise decision, as we were able to convince our Partners from the Episcopal Church in the United States of America (ECUSA) and the Anglican Church of Canada to give answers to the objections from the CMS Secretary. They provided funds for the cars for the new bishops and also approved funds for development projects of the ECS, specifically the Juba Housing Project, which was to generate funds for the Church. Therefore the Consultation approved the creation of the seven new Dioceses of Kadugli, Bor, Wau, Maridi, Mundri, Yei and Torit (which was later changed to Kajo Keji, as Torit at the time had only one parish whereas Kajo Keji had at least two archdeaconries and over ten parishes). These seven Area Dioceses were created in 1983.

Subsequently seven Assistant (Area) Bishops were consecrated for these new diocesan areas as follows:

- Rt. Rev Joseph B. Marona for Maridi Diocese area;
- Rt. Rev. Seme L. Solomona for Yei Diocese area;
- Rt. Rev. Nathaniel Garang for Bor Diocese area;
- Rt. Rev. John Malau Ater for Wau Diocese area;
- Rt Rev. Manasseh B. Dawidi for Torit (later Kajo Keji) Diocese area;
- Rt. Rev. Mubarak K. Khamis for Kadugli Diocese area; and
- Rt. Rev. Eluzai G. Munda for Mundri Diocese area.

These were elected full diocesan bishops in 1986 when the areas were confirmed as full dioceses. Earlier that year, however, tragedy struck and the Bishop of Wau died in a helicopter crash. That was also the year when the Archbishop was to retire from his position as Archbishop. During the consecration of the Assistant Bishops, differences arose between the Archbishop and the Bishop of Khartoum. Unfortunately, the Bishop of Khartoum died and a new bishop was elected in 1985.

(c.) Genesis of the ECS Crisis, 1986-1991

The election of the Bishop of Khartoum took place in Juba in 1985. Four candidates were proposed: Rev. Bulus Idris Tia, Archdeacon of Wad Medani in Khartoum Diocese; Rev. Ephraim Natana, Provost of Khartoum Cathedral (the candidate favored by the Archbishop); Rt. Rev. Mubarak Kurkis Khamis, Assistant Bishop of Kadugli, in Khartoum Diocese; and

Rev. Michael S. Ligor from Juba Diocese.

Eventually Bulus was elected bishop of Khartoum Diocese. But the Archbishop was not happy with the results of the election, and he refused to consecrate and enthrone Bishop-elect Bulus Idris Tia. This was one of the main contributions to the ECS crisis. The other issue that contributed to the ECS crisis was accusations by some clergy against the Provincial Secretary, before the Archbishop left for his last tour to the U.S.A., Canada, and Britain in 1986. Before he left on his trip the Archbishop suspended the Provincial Secretary for the following accusations: (1) Misappropriation of church money to build himself three houses, one in his village in Longamere and two in Juba in the same year, while his pay as a priest could not have been enough to do this. (2) Committing adultery with a Ugandan woman working for the Sudan Council of Churches in Juba. This second accusation stipulated that Rev. John Kanyikwa took this Ugandan lady to Nimule and spent the weekend at the Nimule National Park Guest House with her. The accusation arose because some people saw the Provincial Secretary return from his weekend break in his Land Rover vehicle with this lady. These accusations were brought to the Archbishop before he left for his trip, probably by individuals who did not want Rev. John Kanyikwa to continue as Provincial Secretary. The Archbishop immediately suspended Rev. John Kanyikwa and set up a special committee, chaired by Bishop Manasseh Dawidi, to investigate these accusations. The Committee found no evidence to support these accusations and recommended that Rev. John Kanyikwa be reinstated in his post. But the Archbishop refused to act on this recommendation.

The explanation Rev. John gave to the investigation committee, in his defense, was:

(1) On the misappropriation accusation, John stated that he had come back from Uganda, in 1974-75 as a refugee, with some building materials which UNHCR transported free to Juba. Then he had obtained a second-class plot behind the Cathedral. ACROSS^{viii} agreed with him to develop this plot and reside in the house free until they recovered the money they spent in developing the plot, and they could use his building materials. Rev. John produced to the Committee vouchers for these building materials and the agreement with ACROSS. The second house in Muniki, fourth-class in Juba, was built by building materials his wife bought from the Sudan Council of Churches. As a staff of the S.C.C. they were given the opportunity to buy building materials bought by S.C.C Management. The house in the village Rev. John said he and his two grown sons built by their own hands when he was on holidays with his family.

(2) On the adultery accusation, Rev. John stated that he had worked hard during the week and decided to drive his Land Rover for a break and rest at the National Park guest House in Nimule. He spent the night in the guest house not knowing that the Ugandan lady, who was a workmate of his wife at the S.C.C, had also gone to Nimule by public transport to accompany her sister who was returning to Uganda from visiting her. After seeing her sister off at the border the lady came and spent the night at the guest house also. When he got up in the morning they discovered that they had spent the night in the same guest house. The lady, being his wife's friend, asked him if he could give her a lift in his Land Rover instead of her using the public transport facilities. He accepted, but told her that he had wanted to go to the park to admire the elephants and other wildlife before taking off for Juba. She accepted the delay and went with him to the park. When they came to Juba some of the people who were accusing him, probably seeing their driving back together,

concluded that he had taken her for a weekend pleasure!

Now the Archbishop had returned from his trip a sick man and was rushed to Kenya for treatment. When his health improved, the Archbishop decided to stay for a while with his son, who was studying in Nairobi, to fully recover. Meanwhile the Dean of the Province, who was acting Archbishop in his absence, had called a meeting of the bishops and other church leaders to Juba for a meeting to discuss plans for the upcoming Synod of the ECS and the retirement plans for the Archbishop. The meeting decided to send a senior pastor, Rev. Michael Lugor, to ask when the Archbishop would return to Sudan, as he was released from the hospital already. And, if he was still resting in Nairobi, could he allow the Dean to call the Synod on his behalf in accordance with the ECS constitution.

Rev. Michael Lugor returned to Juba with the message from the Archbishop to the effect that the Dean could go ahead to convene the Synod but the Synod should not touch two issues which he, the Archbishop himself, would be the one to deal with, namely the consecration and enthronement of the Bishop-elect of Khartoum Diocese and the suspension of the Provincial Secretary, as these were his personal problems. When Rev. Michael reported this to the meeting, the bishops' reaction was that these were the very problems bringing the church disgrace and bad propaganda, both among the Nuba Christians in the Diocese of Khartoum and Kadugli and in the southern Dioceses. There was therefore urgent need to solve them. The Bishops, therefore, called Rev. John to come back to resume work and dismissed the case for lack of evidence and in compliance with the recommendations for the special committee set up by the Archbishop.

On the matter of Bishop-elect Bulus Idris Tia, the bishops again dispatched Rev. Michael Lugor, this time to Egypt to invite the Bishop of Cairo to come and participate in the consecration and enthronement of the Bishop of Khartoum Diocese, since there were only two Diocesan Bishops in the ECS and a third Diocesan Bishop was required for the consecration, according to the ECS constitution. The House of Bishops also recommended the approval of the retirement of the Archbishop because his ten-years term had ended and he was not in good health. These moves angered Archbishop Elinana because he had requested an extension of his term of office for another five years. The Archbishop therefore returned immediately from Nairobi to Khartoum and, with the Provincial Chancellor, who was also in Khartoum, wrote a strongly worded letter to the Dean of the Province in Juba, signed by the Chancellor, declaring the bishops' action a rebellion against the Archbishop and dismissing all the ECS Bishops except Bishop Eluzai Munda. They formed a Committee called "The Concerned Christians Committee" chaired by Jackson Dokolo in Juba, which vigorously campaigned against the decision of the House of Bishops. This committee encouraged the consecration of new bishops to replace the dismissed Bishops. Elinana then went ahead with plans for consecration of new bishops.

(d.) Rev Gabriel Roric Jur

Rev. Gabriel Roric Jur had just completed his theological studies in the Near East School of Theology in Beirut, Lebanon and returned to Khartoum. Immediately, he found the struggle and joined the "Concerned Christians Committee" as its Secretary. He was dispatched to Juba in February 1987 with a letter from the Dinka "elders" ordering the Dinka delegation to the General Synod to pull out of the Synod. Ven. Henry Cuiir Riak who was leading the Dinka delegation to the General Synod in Juba could not reject this demand from the Dinka "elders" in Khartoum. These "elders" considered the Juba General Synod illegal. No

wonder, because one of these “elders” was none other than the then Provincial Chancellor, His Honor John Wol Makech.

However, the General Synod went ahead and the election of the new Archbishop was completed and the Dean, Rt. Rev. Benjamin Wani Yugusuk, was elected. The Synod also set up a special committee under the chairmanship of Archbishop Elinana’s cousin, Elinana Were, Director of Personnel Management in the Regional Ministry of Public Service and Manpower in Juba. This Committee was to work out the retirement benefits of Elinana Ngalamu, including the construction of a retirement home for him either in Juba or in his home town of Mundri, should he choose to retire in Mundri. The retired Archbishop Elinana Ngalamu came to Juba, and when Elinana Were went to find out from him where he would want to retire he got angry and refused to reply. Elinana Were promptly made an about turn and joined the “Concerned Christians Committee”. Elinana Ngalamu returned to Khartoum and prepared to consecrate his new bishops. The Dinka “elders” presented the retired Archbishop with names of those Dinka pastors they wanted to be consecrated bishops. Unfortunately Rev. Gabriel Roric’s name was not among them. Disappointed, Gabriel Roric made his own turn – away from Elinana Ngalamu. When the Archbishop-elect Benjamin Yugusuk came to Khartoum, Roric mobilized the young Dinka pastors and youth to go and meet the newly elected Archbishop and declare to him that they dissociated themselves from the decision of the Dinka “elders”. He was their Bishop of Rumbek Diocese and they could not abandon him. They were still with him. But they had a condition to stay with him. Rt. Rev. Benjamin said they should go ahead and state their condition. They said the Archbishop should consecrate one of them as Bishop to replace him in Rumbek. Nothing could be simpler for the Archbishop-elect. Whom do they want to be consecrated bishop? Who else but Gabriel Roric Jur! That is how Gabriel Roric eventually became Bishop of Rumbek Diocese, which he never visited for the sixteen years he was the Diocesan Bishop!

Now Roric has rebelled against the ECS and, with another “Crisis” Bishop, Peter El Berish of Kadugli, has formed the “Reformed ECS”, and consecrated his own bishops and archbishops, dividing the ECS Province into three provinces. One of the newly consecrated “Archbishops” was Rev. Eluzai Mogga, the son-in-law of the late ECS Archbishop Benjamin Yugusuk, who was made “Archbishop” of Eastern Equatoria. Roric himself remained the “Archbishop” of the Central province and Peter El Berish “Archbishop” of Northern Province.

(e.) The ECS Reconciliation Effort, 1991-1992

In 1990 and 1991 the Council of Anglican Provinces of Africa (CAPA) tried to persuade Archbishop Benjamin Wani Yugusuk to reconcile with Elinana, the retired Archbishop. When I accompanied the Archbishop, as his chaplain, in 1991 to the Primates’ Conference in Northern Ireland, the Anglican Primates of Africa met with Archbishop Benjamin Yugusuk, and the Archbishop asked me to brief the Primates of Africa on the ECS crisis and the latest situation. The Primates appealed to Archbishop Benjamin to take steps to bring about unity and reconciliation in the Church in the Sudan. When he came back, therefore, the Archbishop set up two reconciliation committees in Juba and Khartoum. These committees worked hard to bring understanding and reconciliation between the two sides. I participated in the efforts of the committee in Khartoum. In February 1992, the ECS held its General Synod in Omdurman. The Synod endorsed the reconciliation efforts of the two committees.

Shortly thereafter retired Archbishop Elinana Ngalamu gave his blessing to the reconciliation process and the unification of the ECS. Unfortunately he was immediately called home to the Lord!! He did not witness the reopening of the Cathedral in Khartoum for united worship and the unity celebrations that took place in the Cathedral, soon after his burial at the Cathedral compound.

The priests ordained as bishops by Elinana in 1987 were accepted as full bishops in the Episcopal Church of the Sudan and new dioceses were created to take care of these Bishops. But this was done by the House of Bishops alone, without the involvement of the General Synod or the Electoral College. Therefore, theoretically these dioceses and their bishops were/are unconstitutional. But they were accepted by the Church for the sake of unity of the ECS. In fact for the last ten years (1992-2000) the House of Bishops was the sole body governing the ECS. No Synod or Standing Committee was called. The House of Bishops met annually during this time and issued decrees on the affairs of the Church without the involvement of the House of Laity or the House of Clergy. Even before the General Synod that elected a new archbishop in 2000 in Limuru, Kenya, there was an attempt by Bishop Gabriel Roric and Bishop Eluzai Munda, supported by the then Provincial Chancellor, Christopher Laki, to again sideline the Houses of Clergy and Laity, by holding a “Pre Standing Committee” meeting in Khartoum to give the House of Bishops the mandate to elect the new archbishop without the participation of the two houses of clergy and laity. Fortunately this plan was blocked by the lay and clergy delegates to the upcoming General Synod backed by the Diocesan Chancellors of Khartoum and Renk Dioceses, H. H. James Lomole Simeon and H. H. Majok Mading Majok. Roric’s argument was that it was too expensive to transport all the delegates to Kenya from Sudan. But the transport had already been catered for by the Diocese of Salisbury. So there was no justification for Roric’s statement. The meeting was therefore accepted as a “Consultative Meeting” and not a Pre-Standing Committee, especially when the majority of the Bishops were in exile and not attending this meeting. Thus, this time the Clergy and the Laity stood firm against tampering with the ECS Constitution.

It later transpired that Bishop Gabriel Roric had agreed to sponsor Bishop Michael Lugor as the candidate for the post of archbishop, since he himself would not have a chance to be elected. Bishop Gabriel was conscious that his plan would fail if all the delegates went to the General Synod and all the Electoral College delegates participated in the process.

In fact that is what happened in Limuru, Kenya, when Rt. Rev. Joseph Marona defeated Rt. Rev. Michael Lugor by a large margin of votes. The retreat before the election was conducted by the Bishop of Salisbury, Rt. Rev. David Stancliffe, who represented the Archbishop of Canterbury. Archbishop Joseph Marona was enthroned at All Saints Cathedral in Juba by the Dean of the Province, Rt. Rev. Dr. Eluzai G. Munda, in February 2001, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Most Rev. George Carey, delivering the homily. The Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda who was invited for this occasion, sent a representative, the Bishop of Ma’di/West Nile, Rt. Rev. Enock Lee Drati.

3.2 External Crisis in the Diocese of Khartoum, 1993^{ix}

The Diocese of Khartoum had received a large number of Christians from the southern

Sudan and the Nuba Mountains as a result of the civil war in the 1990s. The 1992 Juba massacre brought in more ECS Christians to Khartoum. The Antonov bombings in Northern Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile also brought in more and more Southerners to Khartoum. A positive result of all these was the strengthening of Christianity in the Three Towns and other towns in Khartoum Diocese.

The Islamic fundamentalist Governor of Khartoum Province sought to curb this increase in Christian activities in his province. Local churches set up in the camps for displaced peoples, in the peri-urban areas of Khartoum, Omdurman, and Khartoum North were bulldozed down. Land belonging to the Evangelical Church in Gereif West was confiscated and a plan was prepared to build a bridge across the Blue Nile to touch land at St Matthews Roman Catholic Cathedral in Khartoum, thus necessitating the destruction of this old historic church building. The Governor then issued orders for Omdurman Municipality to take over the headquarters of the ECS Diocese of Khartoum in Omdurman, claiming that the land lease obtained during the British colonial time had expired and the church property now belonged to the Government of Sudan.

Two church facilities had earlier been confiscated by the government, namely the old CMS Hospital which had been turned into El Tigani Mahi Mental Hospital, and a two-story building near the diocesan offices which was turned into a children's hospital. The Governor gave Bishop Bulus Idris Tia one week to move out of his headquarters, the Diocese of Khartoum offices, or face eviction by police. When this was reported, it evoked a spontaneous reaction from Christians of all denominations in the Three Towns. Many Christians of all denominations gathered for a prayer vigil on Friday at the ECS Diocesan premises in Omdurman. Speakers in the day-long prayer vigil included leaders from the Evangelical Church, the Presbyterian Church, the African Inland Church, the Roman Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church and the Secretary General of the Sudan Council of Churches. But this show of solidarity by the Christians had no effect on the fundamentalist governor.

A week later the governor gave a final order to the Omdurman Police to forcibly evict the Bishop of Khartoum from his offices in Omdurman and gave the Bishop twenty-four hours to comply or risk eviction by the police. Once again the Christians of all denominations came together to a night-long and day-long vigil at the ECS Khartoum Diocesan offices. They were ready to face the police in the morning if they came to evict the Bishop of Khartoum. Speakers in this vigil included the Bishop of Khartoum Diocese, Rt. Rev. Bulus Idris Tia; the head of the Evangelical Church in Khartoum; the prominent ECS lawyer/advocate in Khartoum, H.H. Abel Alier; the ECS Bishop of Renk Diocese, Rt. Rev. Daniel Deng Bul; the Provost of All Saints Cathedral, Khartoum, Very Rev. (now Bishop) Ezekiel Kondo of Khartoum Diocese; and a senior lecturer at Nile Theological College, Rev. Canon Dr. Oliver M. Duku.

In my speech I recalled Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream". I dreamed that one day Sudan will become a Christian country and that Dr. Hassan al-Turabi will become a Christian before his death. I still hope that these dreams will be fulfilled. The Islamic government realized they had gone too far. The Governor of Khartoum was removed from office and transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture, and the plan to take over the headquarters of the ECS Diocesan offices in Omdurman was shelved, hopefully for good.

What is interesting is that, during all these activities, Bishop Gabriel Roric, a bishop of the ECS and who was then Minister of State in the Foreign Office, never raised his voice to defend the church. Possibly because he was mindful of his government post which he did not want to jeopardize.

4. The Torit Mutiny of 1955: Consequences for Me and for the South

In August 1955, while preparing for the final examinations at Rumbek Secondary School, our class was scheduled to travel to Northern Sudan for a class tour of Northern Sudan. The class was accompanied by three teachers, the Deputy Headmaster, a Northern Sudanese (with his wife and two children), the Geography Master, also a Northern Sudanese and Mr. Isaac Elli, a Dinka from Bor. We took off from Rumbek early in the morning on a pickup and a lorry. All went well until around 2.00 p.m. when, approaching Lainya junction, we came across a roadblock at the village of Bereka, set up by the native Fajulu. When the vehicles stopped a large crowd of natives rushed down the hillside armed with spears and bows and arrows. Those of us who spoke the local language asked them what was happening. The crowd told us that they had received information that the Arabs had killed all southern Sudanese in Khartoum, Torit and Juba and that in retaliation the natives should kill all the Arabs they find. The message was sent by a soldier who escaped from Torit, where the Southern Soldiers had mutinied. This soldier was at Lainya junction manning a road block!

Some of the soldiers had proceeded to Yei and killed the District Commissioner and other Northern Sudanese officials in Yei.

We tried to plead with the natives that these teachers were innocent civilians and should not be killed. But they could not listen to us. And more natives poured down the hillside, more wild and more dangerous. Eventually they were persuaded to let us travel, (with many of them on the vehicles) to Lainya. This followed the message that our teacher Isaac Eli brought back from the soldier at Lainya.

The pickup car went ahead with the Geography master and Isaac Eli, and we followed in the lorry with the Assistant Headmaster and his wife and two children. On arrival at Lainya there was already confusion! We saw our Geography master lying on the road in a pool of blood. He had been killed by the natives. When our lorry arrived, they rushed at it and pulled out the Assistant Headmaster and his daughter and killed them in cold blood! Like the apostles of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, we scurried down from the lorry and ran for our lives. Fortunately a CMS Missionary, Mr. Ogden, was in Lainya and he was able to rescue the wife of the Assistant Headmaster and her young son. But her husband and their young daughter had already been speared to death by the wild crowd!

Those students from Yei and Juba disappeared into the bush and walked to their homes. The rest of us scrambled on the vehicles and headed back to Rumbek where I came to know the family very well.

One of my countrymen, a colleague from the Rumbek Junior Secondary School, was

working in Amadi town, near Lui. Therefore, I decided to get down at Lui and go to join him instead of returning to Rumbek. Unfortunately (fortunately) I met one of my classmates Christopher Bennet, who was staying in Lui with his uncle. He told me that Amadi had been evacuated and there was no one there at the time. So he invited me to stay with him at his uncle's home in Lui. I never imagined that Christopher Bennet's uncle, Matayo Warille, the father of Tabitha, was to become my father-in-law ten years later.

I spent one month in Lui. In September 1955 the Headmaster of Loka Intermediate School was taking the students from Bahr El Ghazal back home and he stopped at Lui with the European doctor. The doctor asked him to pick me up when he returned to Loka and help me to go to Kajo Keji. Mr. Cook, the Headmaster, willingly agreed to do so and told me to be ready and that he was going to take the students from Kajo Keji home and I could ride with them. I was overjoyed. Unfortunately when Mr. Cook returned from Rumbek the next day his mood had changed! He told me to find my way to Loka but he would not take me from Lui to Loka. He could then give me a lift to Kajo Keji! And he drove away. This was around 12.00 noon. Fortunately at 2.00 p.m. a PDW lorry came from Maridi on its way to Juba and I got a lift up to Lainya, arriving at Lainya at 7.00 p.m. The station was completely deserted and I spent the night alone in one of the deserted classrooms. At four a.m. I started on foot to walk the seven miles to Loka, arriving at 7.00 a.m., only to find that Mr. Cook had gone to Kajo Keji and come back the previous day! Loka was also deserted except for a Kuku restaurant owner and his family who were waiting to leave for Kajo Keji also. There were students from Juba Intermediate School who were also hoping to hitch a ride on Mr. Cook's lorry. But they arrived in Loka at the time the lorry had left for Kajo Keji so they took off on foot. When I arrived in Loka, it started to rain heavily and it rained for the best part of the day. After it stopped raining, at midday, the restaurant owner, Gideon, went to Mr. Cook to ask if he could let the school lorry take him and his family to Kajo Keji. Mr. Cook asked him to provide twenty Sudanese pounds for fuel. However Gideon was a miser! The twenty pounds was too much for him, so he refused. When he came back, his wife put pressure on him so much that he decided to accept Mr. Cook's conditions and went back to him. Unfortunately Mr. Cook had changed his mind and he refused to release the lorry! A young man, the brother of Gideon's wife who was with them in Loka, decided to walk to Kajo Keji with me. It took us two days to Kajo Keji. Mr. Cook had told Gideon to let us go to Yei and take a ride on a police car that was travelling to Kajo Keji the next day. But it was as well that we did not take Mr. Cook's advice. The Arab soldiers in Yei had organized a police massacre in Yei that day and they were sending the police car to Kajo Keji to bring the other police from Kajo Keji to face the same fate as their colleagues from Yei! The Northern Administrator, who came with the Arab army to Yei, was in a revenge mood. He had arrested some of the people involved in the killing of the two Rumbek Secondary School teachers at Lainya and was looking for any of the students who were with these teachers.

5. Other Activities:

Besides my normal duties and responsibilities either as a medical doctor and administrator or as a pastor and teacher, I had the opportunity to serve the community, both civil and religious, in other fields before and after my ordination to the priesthood.

5.1 Church Related Activities:

(a.) Partners-In-Mission Consultation, 1981

As mentioned above, in 1981, when the young ECS Province was planning to expand from four dioceses to eleven dioceses, the then Archbishop Elinana Ngalamu called a Partners in Mission Consultation in Juba. And, in order to avoid pressure from the General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, he asked me, a lay Christian, to chair this meeting.

(b.) The World Council of Churches Sixth General Assembly in Vancouver, Canada, 1983

In 1983, the ECS Standing Committee selected me to represent the Laity at the W.C.C. 6th General Assembly in Vancouver, Canada. I accompanied Rev. Ephraim Natana (Clergy) and a young lady, Grace Peter (representing the youth) to the Assembly, where I was elected to the Central Committee of the W.C.C and to the Christian Medical Commission of the W.C.C for seven years (1984-1990).

(c.) General Secretary, Regional Christian Association, Equatoria Region, Juba, 1987-1989

In 1987 the Christians in Juba decided to form the Regional Christian Association, whose Patrons were the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Juba Archdiocese and the ECS Archbishop. I was elected to be the General Secretary. Unfortunately the coming into power of the Islamic fundamentalist regime of Omar al-Beshir abolished all such associations in 1989.

(d.) Chairman, ECS Theological Education Review Committee, 2003-2005

After the ECS Standing Committee meeting in Kampala in 2002, the Archbishop appointed a special team to review the ECS Theological Education Policy on training of clergy for the Episcopal Church of the Sudan. The Committee started its work in August 2003. I was appointed by the members of the ECS Strategic Review of Theological Education as chairman of the group. The recommendations of the Strategic Review of theological Education in the ECS were presented to the ECS General Synod, in Juba in January 2006, and endorsed by the Synod.

(e.) Member of ECS Theological Education Commission (2006-)

One of the Recommendations of the Strategic Review of Theological Education in the ECS group was the formation of a Theological Education Commission to which all Principals of the ECS Diploma Colleges were automatically to be members. This Commission meets once every year. The second meeting of the Commission was in July 2007 in Juba.

5.2 Non-Church Related Activities:

I can mention only two:

- Membership of the Juba Town Council in 1984-1988.
- Attended Sudan Socialist Union General Assembly in Khartoum as delegate from Juba branch in 1980.

END NOTES to
I. Life: Long Version (2007)

ⁱ Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service), the largest German support organization in the field of international academic coöperation. DAAD is a private, federally funded and state-funded, self-governing national agency of the institutions of higher education in Germany. *Ed.*

ⁱⁱ The Anya-Nya (the Madi term for 'snake/scorpion venom') were a group of separatist rebels formed by Joseph Lagu in 1963 as the military wing of the Southern Sudan Resistance Movement. *Ed.*

ⁱⁱⁱ AMREF, now known as Amref Health Africa, was officially founded in 1957 to deliver mobile health services and to provide mission hospitals with surgical support. *Ed.*

^{iv} The Salisbury Diocese in the Church of England has had an enduring link with the Episcopal Church of Sudan. As part of the ongoing relationship, mutual visits take place to provide considerable support for projects involving advocacy, education, and medical aid. In June 2013 a celebration of the first forty years of the link took place in Salisbury *Ed.*

^v TEAR Fund (The Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund) is a UK Christian relief and development agency which works in over 50 countries. It is a member of the Disasters Emergency Committee. Tear Fund addresses poor communities, marginalized groups, vulnerable adults, children, churches, education, HIV victims, conflicts, injustice, hunger, water and sanitation. *Ed.*

^{vi} CORAT AFRICA (Christian Organizations Research and Advisory Trust for Africa) is a Pan-African, not-for-profit organization, established in March 1975 to provide capacity enhancement to individuals, churches, and other organizations through innovative approaches and creative learning. *Ed.*

^{vii} Ringili is about 8 km south of Arua, Uganda. *Ed.*

^{viii} Association of Christian Resource Organizations Serving Sudan

^{ix} "It is very difficult for keeping records of the events, but having checked my diaries, I think it was Friday 26 September 2003. I was the preacher of the day and my text was 1 Kings 21 about "King Ahab and Naboth Vineyard". Prayers were offered and fire was called from heaven come to confuse the secret meetings of injustices against the church. The following day Dr. Turabi who was the Speaker of National Assembly was removed and a week later (?) the very governor who issued a decree to confiscate church property was killed in a car accident with his family! Thank God that the property remains church property to this date!" *E-mail from Ezekiel Kondo to Richard J. Jones, Oct. 23, 2019*

II. Thought

The Recent Exile of the Sudanese and the Babylonian Exile of the Ancient Israelites

Introduction

Historical Background:

The Early Christian Kingdoms of Nubia--Nobatia, Makuria, and Alodia (Alwa)
Early 20th Century Reintroduction of Christianity into the Sudan
under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Administration (1899-1956)

Causes of Conflict and Displacement of the Southern Sudanese Population:

Relations between North and South Sudan:

The Slave and Ivory Trade, Islamization, the Role of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Administration, and the "Southern Policy"

Post-Independence Policies of the Governments of the Sudan:

Religious and Cultural "Assimilation" and Unequal Development
The Southern Sudanese Response -- the Civil War

The Sudanese Christian Church and her "Babylonian Exile"

The Growth and Development of the Christian Church in the Sudan under
Islamic Pressure and Persecution in the 20th Century

The Episcopal Church of the Sudan and the Current Civil War in Southern Sudan

Future Prospects and a "New Exodus" for the Christian Church in the Sudan

Introduction

...There are a number of parallels to be found between the Israelite exile in Babylon and the exile and displacement situation resulting from the current civil war situation in the Sudan. The effects of disruption of social and community life and the influence of the Christian faith as seen in the context of displacement will therefore be examined briefly. The relevance and the effect of the biblical sections on the liberation of the Israelites from Egyptian slavery and from the Babylonian exile will be discussed. A brief historical background to the current conflict in the Sudan will be given. The historical development of Christianity in the Sudan from the 9th Century A.D. up to the time of independence from the Anglo-Egyptian rule in 1956 and the influence of other religious traditions (Islam and Africa Traditional Religion) will be highlighted.

Available information, which is by no means complete, indicates a tremendous growth and development of the Christian Church in the Sudan. There appears to be a growing awareness of God's power at work, both among the exiled in the neighboring African countries and the displaced within the Sudan. This is despite the civil war situation and the intensive campaign of islamization and arabization by the Islamic fundamentalist government in Khartoum. There is a recognition of the grace and saving power of God working among the "exiles" of Southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains of Central Sudan. One cannot avoid the temptation to compare the situation of the Sudanese displaced Christians to that of the exiles in Babylon. The Bible is being read and studied with such ideas in mind.

Are there prophets like Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah among the Southern Sudanese exiles? What is being done among the displaced Southern Sudanese in exile and inside the country by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Torit Diocese? Bishop Paride Taban and the Episcopal Bishop of Bor Diocese, Bishop Nathaniel Garang, cannot but stimulate comparison of these people of God with their Israelite counterparts 2,590 years ago in Babylon.^x

For such a wide subject as the Babylonian Exile, which has been extensively studied by biblical scholars and commentators in the past years, any claim to thorough and original work cannot be realistically entertained, given the limitations of time and availability of resources. The available literature on the Israelite prophets and the Holy Bible, especially the Old Testament books of 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Isaiah 1-55, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Lamentations have therefore been extensively used.

The analysis of the Sudanese exile and displacement situation is even more constrained by the limitations of time, communication difficulties, and lack of available literature. The discussion has therefore been based on personal experience^{xi} and the work of the Rev. Marc R. Nikkel on the Dinka tribe, although the latter is limited to investigation only one of southern tribal groups, tow which the Rev. Marc Nikkel is especially closely associated. However, many of his findings on the effect of displacement on the Dinka population can be extrapolated and projected to displaced people from the other tribes with only minor modifications.

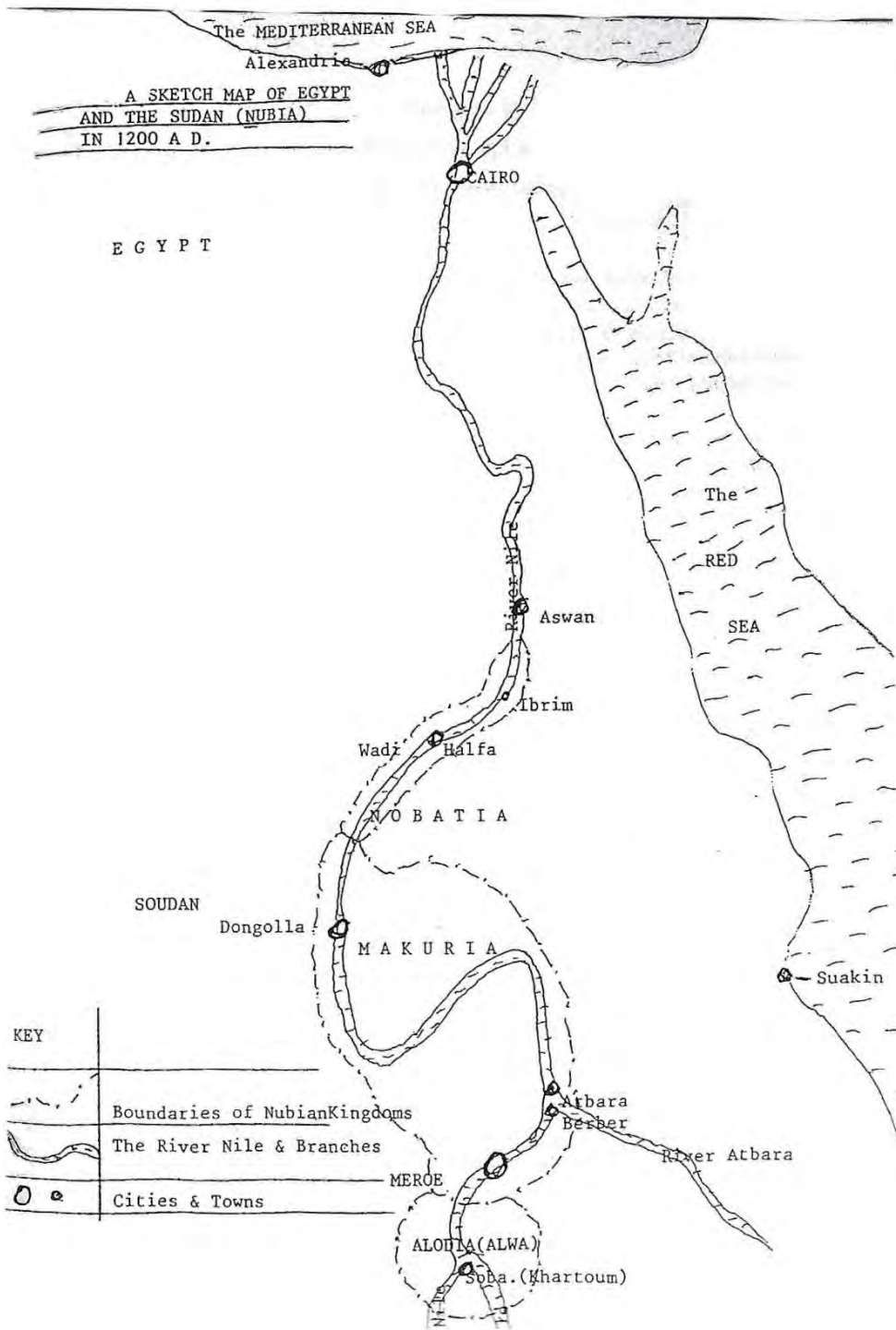
It must be admitted, however, that much that is from my personal experience may be colored by my own personal biases. This only human, and I have no regrets. This how I view a very complex and tragic situation. The review of the effects of displacement and exile on the Sudanese populations is simply because there are features here which, as in the Israelite exile, point to the fact that Christianity grows more rapidly in the face of suffering in the Sudan, just as the Hebrew faith and religion were greatly developed following the Babylonian exile.

The Early Christian Kingdoms of Nubia: Nobatia, Makuria, and Alodia (Alwa)

The territory of the Sudan, sometimes referred to in the Old Testament as Nubia, Ethiopia, or Cush, was exposed to Christianity as early as the sixth century A.D. According to Fr. Giovanni Vantini, Christianity was brought by Christian missionaries based in Constantinople around 543 A.D. The King of Nobatia requested Emperor Justinian in Constantinople to send missionaries to evangelize his kingdom. The Emperor, therefore, sent a Christian missionary delegation headed by Justinian from Constantinople to evangelize Nubia. However, his Egyptian wife Theodora, who was of the Alexandrian Coptic group, requested the deposed (anti- Chalcedon) Patriarch Theodosius, who was then in exile in Egypt, to send a rival delegation led by the Priest Julius in 543 A.D. Thus Justinian, arriving in Nubia, found missionaries of the rival Alexandrine camp (the Jacobites, or Copts) sent by Theodora. The delegation from Constantinople were therefore held back on orders from the Empress, who wanted the Coptic Church rather than the Byzantine Church to be established in Nubia.

Nubia consisted of three separate kingdoms. The northernmost and smallest Kingdom of Nobatia extended up to the Egyptian border. It accepted the Byzantine position. The middle and largest Kingdom of Makuria accepted the Coptic position. The third and southernmost Kingdom of Alodia (Alwa) had its capital at Soba, south of Khartoum.

However, from the New Testament we read the story of the conversion and baptism of the eunuch between Jerusalem and Gaza by the evangelist Philip (Book of Acts 8: 26-39). The eunuch was the treasurer of the Nubian court who was coming from a business and religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He must have come into contact with the Israelites at the Jewish colony of Elephantine in southern Egypt while doing business for his queen, Kandake of Meroe or Kabushiya in Makuria, and been converted to Judaism. Hence his pilgrimage to the Jewish holy city. Through him, therefore, one might assume that the Gospel came to Nubia, though there are no records from early historians of the flourishing of a Christian community arising from this first-century Nubian Christian's evangelization of his country. Giovanni Vantini, in contrast, reports that some church historians claimed that the apostle Matthew had visited Ethiopia and had converted the Ethiopian king Aegyptus, his wife queen Euphenissa, and daughter Ephigenia, and that he was eventually martyred at the altar of the cathedral he had built.^{xii}



Egypt and Sudan (Nubia) 1200 A.D.

When the Arab Muslim armies invaded Egypt, the Christian kingdoms to the south (Nubia and Beja) were fighting among themselves, and therefore they could not come to the help of the Egyptian Coptic Christians. However, when the Arab Muslim armies tried to invade Nubia itself, they were at first repulsed and forced to sign a peace agreement with the Nubian kings. But the terms of the agreement signed between the Arab Muslims and the Christian Nubians were unfavorable to the Nubians. The agreement that was signed between the Egyptian ruler, Abdalla bin Saad, and the Nubian kings contained the following unfavorable terms:

- 1) Unlike their Christian Coptic Egyptian brothers, the Nubians were not required (at first) to pay the poll tax (the *jizyah*) imposed on non-Muslims.
- 2) The Nubians were to provide 360 slaves annually.
- 3) The Arab Muslims were to provide wheat, clothing, and other commercial commodities in exchange.

Because of the repercussions of these agreements on the political and security situation in the Sudan, which are felt even up to the present day, I give the details of the agreement as presented by Fr. Giovanni Vantini in his book *Christianity in the Sudan*, pages 66f. (emphasis added):

This is the convention given by Emir Abdalla b. Saad b. Abi Sark to the chief of Nubia and all the people of his kingdom as a convention *binding on all Nubians from the boundaries of Aswan to the frontier of Alwa*. Abdalla b. Saad b. Sark gave them *security* and a truce, valid between them and the neighboring Muslims of Upper Egypt, as well as other Muslims and the dhimmi.

You Nubian people will be safe under the guarantee of God and His Prophet Mohammed. We shall not fight you and shall not wage war against you, nor shall we carry out raids as long as you keep the conditions laid down between us and yourselves: *that you enter our country in transit only, not for the purpose of settling there. You must protect any Muslim, or anyone who is under our protection, if he settles in your country, or travels through it, until he leaves the same. You must hand back any fugitive slave belonging to the Muslim who seeks shelter in your country; you must deliver him to the country of Islam; you must likewise return any Muslim who fights against the Muslims; you must drive him out of your country [and deliver him] to the Country of Islam, without befriending him or without hindering him in any way. You must take care of the mosque [masjid] which the Muslims have built in the enclosure of your town; you must not prevent anyone from praying there, or interfere with any Muslim who goes there or lives close to it, until he goes away. You must keep it swept and lighted with lamps and respect it.*

You must give 360 men every year, whom you hand over to the *Imam* of the Muslims. They must be chosen from among slaves of your country, *adults without bodily defects* both male and female, excluding old men, old women and sucklings; you will hand them to the *wali* [governor] of Aswan.

The Muslims do not undertake to drive away enemies who attack you, or prevent them from attacking you, from the frontier of Alwa to the territory of Aswan. If you give shelter to any slave of the Muslims or kill a Muslim. or any ally, or if

you allow any damage to be done to the mosque which the Muslims have built in your town, or retain any part of the 360 men, the treaty and truce will become null and void, and we shall leave it to God to decide [by war]. In such a case we take as witness on our side God and His promise [*mithaq*], His protection [*dhimma*] as well as the protection of His Envoy; you, on your side, will call as witness in your own favor the dearest things of your religion, the protection of Christ [*al-Masih*], the protection of the Apostles [*al-hawwaryin*], and the protection of those persons whom you hold in the highest respect in your religion and in your community. May God witness between us and you on this.

The treaty requirements were spelled out in detail as follows:

The slaves to be provided included 40 additional slaves; thus 360 slaves to the Treasury of the Muslims and 40 slaves to the Governor of Egypt. In return the Muslims were to provide 1300 measures of wheat and the same quantity of barley plus 1300 jugs of wine, two horses, and specified numbers and types of cloth.

The problem with this agreement was that if the kingdom ran out of slave prisoners of war, then the king had to make good the deficit from his own subjects; otherwise, failure to meet the required quota would automatically lead to war with the Arab Muslims. Secondly, the Muslims were not obligated to take care of Christian places of worship. In fact, where the Muslims were victorious, they either destroyed the churches or converted them into mosques for Islamic worship. Thirdly, Christians were not allowed to settle in Muslim territories, while Muslims were not only to be allowed to settle in Christian Nubia but were to be protected.

In the land of the Beja, in northeastern Sudan, the Arabs settled and intermarried with the local Beja Christian women. The offspring from such intermarriages automatically became Muslims. Thus, marrying into the Christian royal family (by a Muslim man marrying a Christian princess) led to Muslim princes taking over the kingship. In this way the whole of the Beja country, and later in the fifteenth century also in Nubia, Islam replaced Christianity as the religion of the kingdoms. Christianity therefore eventually disappeared in Northern Sudan by the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.

Repeated invasions of Nubia from Egypt as a result of alleged failures by the Nubian Kingdoms to honor the terms of the agreements signed with the Egyptian Arab rulers, coupled with infiltration and intermarriage, especially into the royal families and the nobility, eventually led to the total elimination of Christianity in northern Sudan by the beginning of the sixteenth century. As already mentioned, the Christian churches and cathedrals were destroyed or converted into mosques for Islamic worship.

It was to take four hundred years before Christianity was reestablished in the Sudan. It was after the reconquest of the Sudan by the British and Egyptian colonial forces in 1898 that Christianity was reintroduced into the Sudan. However, this time the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium administration, particularly the British Governor-General, restricted the Christian missionaries to work only in Southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains. These areas are now the targets of an intensive islamization campaign by the current government of the Sudan. They are also the arenas in which the current civil war is being fought.

To conclude this section, let me mention here that the Nubian kingdoms were forced to make raids into the neighboring kingdoms and territories to the south for the purpose of collecting war prisoners to meet their slave quota requirements of the Muslim rulers to their north. The practice of raiding Southern Sudan for slaves and for ivory was continued after the Muslim conquest of northern Sudan. This was intensified in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by Arab merchants and by the Sudanese fundamentalist Mahdist government (1885-1898). Forced islamization also became an integral part of the Mahdist raids into Southern Sudan. Such raids have been largely responsible for creating the spirit of mistrust and suspicion of northern Sudanese intentions in the south. The seeds of the present conflict therefore date back to the fourteenth century or earlier.

Early Twentieth-Century Reintroduction of Christianity into the Sudan under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Administration (1899-1956)

In 1811 Mohammed Ali Pasha took over authority as ruler of the Ottoman Province of Egypt. Mohammed Ali Pasha extended his control to the Upper Nile Valley to secure the collection of slaves, ivory, and gold. In 1820 Mohammed Ali's son, Khedive Ismail, led an expedition to the Sudan and conquered the country, thus establishing Egyptian rule in the Sudan for the next twenty-five years. This Egyptian administration in Northern Sudan made military raids into Southern and Western Sudan for the purpose of rounding up able-bodied men and women for slavery. Forcible islamization of these slaves and absorption of the men into the Turko-Egyptian army followed these raids. The Muslim soldiers were encouraged to marry non-Muslim Southern Sudanese women for the purpose of spreading Islam. This nineteenth-century practice is again being implemented in the 1990s in Southern Sudan by the Islamic Fundamentalist Government of the Sudan in areas captured by the Arab *mujahedeen* (holy warriors) from the Southern Sudanese resistance forces, the SPLA.

By 1830 slave-raiding expeditions had penetrated into Equatoria Province (Bor and Gondokoro). But these expeditions met with some resistance from the local people. The slave and ivory trade was not restricted to the Turko-Egyptian administration alone. Arab and European merchants who were also active in the trade had their own militia. By 1856 these merchants had penetrated deep into Southern Sudan. Trading stations (*zeribas*) were set up by these merchants in many parts of the south for the purpose of raiding neighboring tribes and holding the booty before sending them on to the slave markets. Later, northern merchants and Arabized Nubians or *Jallaba* (called so because of the dress they wear, the *jallabia*) took over the slave and ivory trade. Many of these entered into alliances with local southern tribal chiefs and collaborated with them in raiding neighboring rival tribes for cattle, slaves, grain, and ivory.

Christian missionaries from the Roman Catholic church had already made attempts to reintroduce Christianity into the Sudan under the Mission to Central Africa that was proposed in 1845 by Canon Annetto Casolani and approved by Pope Gregory XVI. The first Christian missionaries were permitted to go to Khartoum from Cairo with strict directives that they were not to proselytize Muslims. They arrived in Khartoum in 1848 but were not welcomed by the Turko-Egyptian and European traders in Khartoum. However, a Sudanese Muslim merchant, El Sharif Hassan, welcomed them and helped them obtain a plot of land inside the town. The missionaries set up a church and a school for the children of Christians in Khartoum and for youths whom they purchased from the slave market.

Later, Bishop Daniel Comboni was to say of this venture: “In 1848 the missionaries bought in the slave market many youths who looked intelligent. They started to teach them the simplest things that would be useful to them in their country, among their tribesmen, whom they would have to lead to security.” Later, escaped slaves, orphans, and children purchased from traders joined them.^{xiii}

In the South, the Catholic Church missionary, Fr. Knoblecher, established a mission in Bariland at Gondokoro, north of Juba, in 1852. A second mission was established in 1854, at Holy Cross in Dinkaland, by Fr. Bartolomaus. Later, Fr. Daniel Comboni, one of the missionaries at Holy Cross, was to witness the death of one of the missionaries. In the presence of young Comboni, the dying missionary said, “Go on with the work you have begun, and if it should happen that only one of you be left, let him not lose confidence or withdraw.” Both Gondokoro and Holy Cross Stations were abandoned in 1869. Diseases and the coming into power of the Muslim fundamentalists under Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi in 1885 put an end to this Roman Catholic venture, and the missionaries had to be withdrawn.

By the year 1852 as many as 180,000 conscripted slaves were serving in the Islamic Turko Egyptian army--in the Sudan. Again, this is a practice the present administration in the Sudan has adopted. A sizeable proportion of the Sudanese army fighting in Southern Sudan are black Africans. In this the Arabs hold true to their saying, “Use slaves to kill slaves!” During the latter part of this period, under pressure from European slave trade abolitionists, the Turko-Egyptian administration tried to establish some control over the slave trade in the Sudan. The trade in slaves, cattle, and ivory had flourished, and by 1880 some merchants were even appointed as administrators in some parts of southern Sudan. For example, the chief slave merchant in Bahr el Ghazal province, Zubeir Pasha, was appointed and became a powerful figure in the province. The Arab and *Jallaba* merchant colonizers greatly increased in number – to between 50,000 and 100,000.

Kedive Ismail, therefore, came under increasing European pressure to stop the slave trade. But he could not rely on the Arab merchant administrators. He therefore recruited some Europeans as administrators, especially in Equatoria Province. Kedive Ismail appointed General Charles Gordon, a passionate anti-slavery Englishman, to be Governor of Equatoria Province, with three others as his assistants: Romolo Gessi (Italian), Chaille-Long (American), and Eduard Schnitzer (Austrian-German), who later converted to Islam and became known as Emin Pasha. In 1877 Charles Gordon was transferred to Khartoum to become Governor General for the whole Sudan, and Emin Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer) became Governor of Equatoria in his place.

Under Gordon’s supervision, the European administrators vigorously pursued the anti-slavery campaign in Equatoria. In so doing they incurred the wrath of the Muslim Arab slave traders. Unrest stirred up among the Muslims in northern Sudan as the anti-slavery campaign also interfered with the islamization program.

In 1881 a devout Arab Muslim fundamentalist from Nubia announced that he was the Mahdi, the Muslim messiah. Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi, took up residence on Aba Island on the White Nile, south of Khartoum. He quickly gathered around him a large number of fanatically devout Muslim Sudanese who were sympathetic to his call for a holy war (*jihad*) against the Turko-Egyptian and European infidels. This call for *jihad* was

especially taken up by Muslims in Western and Central Sudan, an area which has remained a stronghold for the Mahdi's party, the Umma Party, to this day. These *Ansar* warriors eventually marched on Khartoum, where they finally stormed the palace in 1885, killing the Governor, General Gordon, and virtually taking over the administration of northern Sudan. The Egyptian government was forced to withdraw from the Sudan; and the Mahdi's forces became rulers of the country for the next fourteen years (1885-1898).

Southern Sudanese tribes also rebelled against the Turco-Egyptian rulers and briefly allied with the Mahdi's forces to overthrow the foreign rulers. This alliance soon broke down, however, as the *Ansar* of the Mahdi continued the slave trade and tried to enforce conversion of southern Sudanese to Islam with even greater vigor. Eventually the *Ansar* Arabs were forced to retreat to the Northern Sudan in the face of unexpected help for the Southerners from a force sent by the Congo Free State (Belgian Congo), who were in control in Equatoria Province. The Mahdist *Ansar*, who continued to make forays into Southern Sudan for cattle and slaves from 1881 onward, never established any administrative control in the land. Their activities inflicted a severe psychological injury which has continued to dominate North-South relations in the Sudan and which continues to be a major factor in the current civil war. It has largely been responsible for the refugee problem in the Sudan.

For a brief period during the Mahdist rule in the Sudan (1885-1898), Southern Sudan was once again under its own tribal institutions and tribal rulers. When, in 1898, the Anglo Egyptian forces commanded by the British general, Lord Kitchener, finally crushed the *Ansar* of the Mahdi at the Battle of Omdurman, the Sudan again reverted to Egyptian rule. However, this time Egypt was the junior partner; the real power was in the hands of the British in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Administration set up in 1899.

The South continued to resist sporadically until it was finally subdued in 1934. Conscious of the antagonisms created between the Arabs and the African Southern Sudanese tribes by the forced islamization and the slave trade, the new administration tried to avoid further friction between the two parts. Therefore, Christian missionaries, who came with the British forces or shortly after the conquest, were not permitted to evangelize in Northern Sudan. Northern Muslim merchants were also not allowed to travel to the South. The overriding concern of the British administrators in the Sudan was security. Christian missionary societies were encouraged to go and evangelize the "unfortunate savages" in Southern Sudan. The British administration therefore divided the South into spheres of influence in which each of the missionary organizations could work.^{xiv} Besides spreading the Christian message, these missionary groups were also given the task of providing limited education (up to grade 8). But the early missionaries had an unwelcome reception both from tropical insects (mosquitoes, etc.), diseases, and some of the natives. The Catholic Bishop, Daniel Comboni, described some of the causes for the hostile early reception:

Since the wicked perpetrators of such horrible crimes [slave raids and snatching of cattle and property by Arab and European merchants] are not generally of their own race but are foreigners, these unfortunate savages, accustomed to being betrayed by everyone and mistreated in the cruelest ways, sometimes regard the missionary with distrust and horror because he is a foreigner. In this way the Africans may appear to him [the expatriate missionary] as barbarous, stupid, ungrateful, and brutal. Consequently he must, rather than expecting to receive an encouraging response of affection, resign himself to hostile resistance, saddening inconsistency, and dark betrayal.

Government policy changes also contributed to the loss of trust and the feeling of betrayal, as will be discussed later. The speed with which the British handed over political power to the Muslim northern Sudanese, without involving the southern Sudanese in the independence process, guaranteed the continuation of the hostilities which broke out in August 1955, shortly before Independence in January 1956. After the fall of Khartoum to the Anglo-Egyptian forces in 1898, Christian missionary societies in Europe and America once more decided to send missionaries to the Sudan. The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) wanted to send missionaries to convert the Muslims (who had assassinated Charles Gordon, the British Governor General of the Sudan) in Khartoum. The new Anglo-Egyptian Administration rejected this, however. For the Administration, this would stir up trouble among the recently defeated Muslim *Ansar* of the Mahdi.

Christian missionaries were directed to carry out their evangelization in Southern Sudan, on condition that they not try to convert Muslims, not only in the North but also in the South. This was also a de facto recognition by the British of the cultural, traditional, and religious differences between the two parts of the Sudan. This was later to be formalized in the Government's "Southern Policy" (1930-1942). The reversal of this policy in the 1940s in an attempt to unify the two parts into one geopolitical entity was one of the seeds of instability and civil disturbance in Southern Sudan that has continued to this day.

The C.M.S. was still insistent on converting the Muslims in Khartoum and was reluctant to send missionaries to Southern Sudan. The Governor General had, therefore, to warn the two C.M.S. missionaries who entered Khartoum in 1898, the Rev. Llewellyn Gwynne and Dr. Harper, "not to speak to Muslims about religion."^{xv} The Rev. Llewellyn Gwynne was therefore appointed chaplain to the British forces, to divert him from trying to convert Muslims.

Because the C.M.S. had refused to allow Gwynne to go to the South, the Roman Catholics became the first to open mission stations in Southern Sudan after the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest. In 1901 the Catholics opened a mission station at Lul on the west bank of the Nile, north of Malakal in Upper Nile Province.

In 1903 the Catholics opened a new station at Tonga, south of Malakal. More Catholic Missions were opened in 1904 at Kayango and Mbili in Bahr el Ghazal. In the same year the American United Presbyterian missionaries opened a station at Doleib Hill near the mouth of the River Sobat, south of Malakal. Besides preaching the Gospel, the Presbyterians concentrated on agriculture and education.

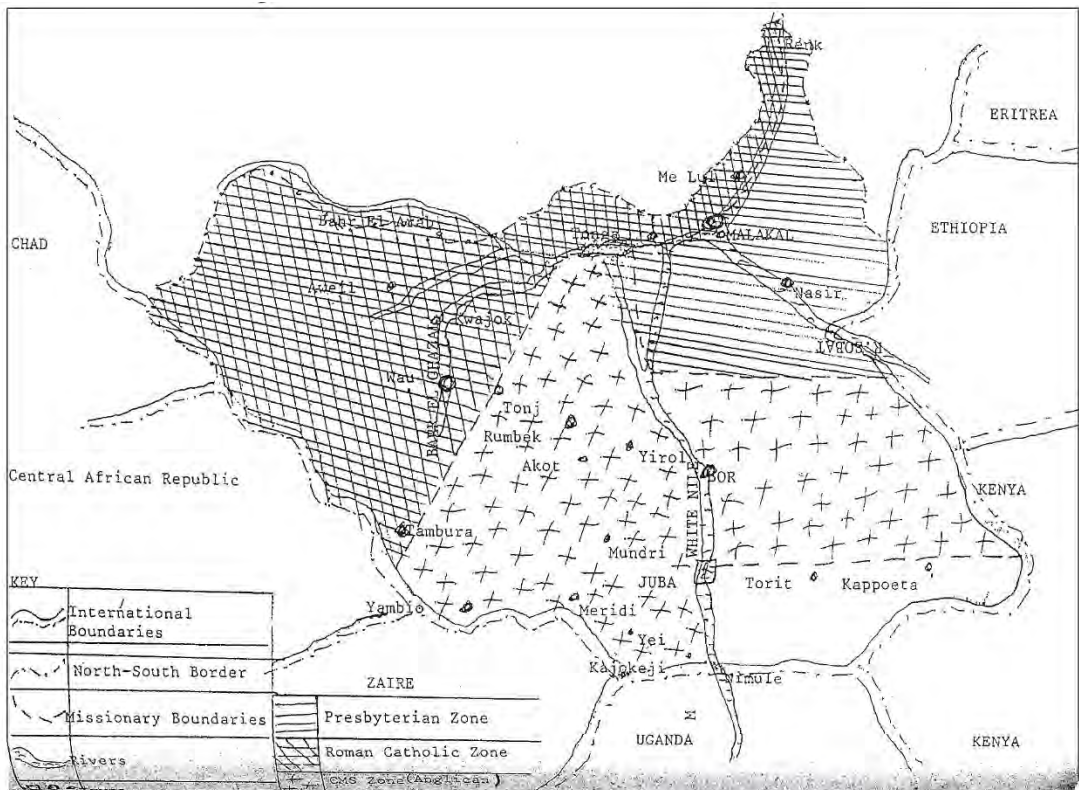
The C.M.S. still made no moves to go south. Lord Cromer, the British Governor of Egypt, urged Christian Missionary Societies to go and work in the Southern Sudan. He wrote to the C.M.S. Secretary in 1904, saying:

The government (Anglo-Egyptian Condominium) would welcome the cooperation of the missionaries in the work of *civilization* now being undertaken [in the Sudan]. This is more especially the case as regards education.... I hope that in any work undertaken by your [C.M.S.] Society special attention will be paid to some simple forms of industrial and agricultural instruction.

Cromer hoped that Christian missionaries would help win the confidence of the people for the new government by teaching them elements of common sense, good behavior, and obedience to government authority.

In 1905, “in an effort to contain Catholic [Austrian] expansion and *guard against future conflicts* between rival missions”, the Governor General -- an Anglican who would not like to see his church overshadowed by the Roman Catholic Church -- delineated several missionary spheres. Southern Sudan was therefore divided into four areas with the White Nile acting as the main boundary line, as shown in the map. The largest part of the Southwest, together with parts of the Southeast, was allocated to the C.M.S. (Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission). The United Presbyterian Mission acquired the Northeast, from the Nile up to the Ethiopian border and the borders of Northern Sudan. The Roman Catholics obtained the rest of the West Bank. They were later given a piece of land in Juba town and Rejaf East. The Southeastern area bordering Uganda and Kenya was left without allocation to any of the three missionary societies. Strict observance of these boundaries was mandatory.

Southern Sudan: Christian Missions’ “Spheres of Influence”



After this, the C.M.S. quickly moved into action in Southern Sudan. The first six missionaries arrived at Khartoum in the same year, 1905. They were the Rev. Archibald Shaw, the Rev. F. B. Hadow, the Rev. Arthur M. Thorn, Mr. R. C. J. S. Wilmot (a carpenter), Mr. J. Comeley (an agriculturist), and Dr. E. Lloyd (health). They were to proceed immediately to the South, accompanied by the Rev. Llewellyn Gwynne. Their mission work was to be patterned on the work of the C.M.S. in Uganda. Therefore, an experienced C.M.S. missionary from Uganda, Dr. Cook, was to travel by land from Uganda and join them in the South. Dr. Cook was to work as secretary. Their work at the stations to be established was to consist of a school, a clinic or hospital, an industrial center, and a church. From this complex, outposts were to be established for evangelization.

Dr. Cook arrived at Mongalla in 1905. While waiting for the party from Khartoum, he was warned by both the Equatoria Governor, Angus Cameron, and the Army Commander, Captain Logan, not to engage in evangelization of the Muslim soldiers *nor to render medical care to the Bari population* at Mongalla! He was also discouraged from establishing any Christian mission station among the Bari at Mongalla! The Rev. Llewellyn Gwynne and the six missionaries arrived at Mongalla from Khartoum in their reconditioned boat, the *Endeavor*, in January 1906. They were told by the Governor of Equatoria to return to Dinkaland, some ninety miles north of Mongalla, to establish their mission station there. Gwynne was not happy with this location, and he told Governor Cameron that the Governor was “condemning the missionaries for a year to a most unhealthy place and with but a few people to work amongst.”

Dr. Cook was familiar with some Nilotic languages. He therefore helped translate the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles’ Creed, and the Ten Commandments into the Dinka language. Dr. Cook also helped compile a two-hundred-word Dinka vocabulary, using an older translation of St. Luke’s Gospel manuscript in Dinka by an Austrian Roman Catholic priest. He also helped prepare a Dinka grammar. Health care and carpentry instruction were also organized in the station. By 1908, however, the C.M.S. suspended work at the mission station and withdrew the missionaries. But Archibald Shaw returned later that year and continued to work among the Dinka, thus endearing himself to those people.

The greater part of the present state of Equatoria was at this time under the control of the Belgians (the Congo Free State). The Governor General had kept the southeastern part of Equatoria Province as an open sphere. He had wanted the Anglicans (C.M.S.) to be responsible for it when Belgium relinquished its control. However, when this eventually happened in 1909, the C.M.S. had financial and personnel problems. So the Roman Catholics were able to step in and get a foothold in this area (Torit, Palotaka, Loa). Despite these early disappointments, the C.M.S. continued to remember the inspiring words of their murdered hero, General Gordon, who had urged the Anglican Church (C.M.S.) to send missionaries to the Sudan. This was before the Ansar of the Mahdi speared him at the steps of the palace balcony in Khartoum in 1885. The Rt. Rev. Llewellyn Gwynne, the first Anglican Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Egypt and the Sudan, was to express this as follows: “I believe that the mission in the South and political service in the Sudan were answers to the prayer of Gordon. When he looked at the poor Sudanese in the South who had been enslaved, he prayed that God would send out missionaries; that was the sure answer to slavery, to spread the knowledge of God through Jesus Christ.”

Christian missionary activities continued to increase after the first disappointments. More mission stations were opened in Yambio (1913), Yei (1917), Lui (1917); Kajo Keji, Juba, Loka, Meridi, Akot, Gel, and Panekar. The Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches also opened more stations in the South. Ordinations of local priests came in 1941 when the first two Anglican priests, Andrea Apaya and Daniel Deng Atong, were ordained. Education was used by both Catholics and Protestants as a tool for evangelism. But there were differences between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant use of education. The Roman Catholics concentrated on moral development through secular education and discipline. The Anglicans, on the other hand, were more direct in their evangelization. The C.M.S. used local agents or teachers as evangelists. Therefore, almost all the early Anglican priests were teachers who later were sent to theological schools and became ordained ministers.

This may explain why the Anglicans had fewer expatriate priests and thus found it easier to indigenize the church as political independence approached. The first native Anglican Sudanese Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Daniel Deng Atong, was consecrated in 1955, just one year before Sudan became independent. When the national Muslim military government of the Sudan expelled the foreign missionaries in 1964, the C.M.S. had only six expatriate missionaries in the country. The Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, still had two hundred expatriate missionaries in the South who were all expelled!

Causes of Conflict and Displacement of the Southern Sudanese Population

The present civil war in Southern Sudan, that has caused so much suffering, displacement, and exile, can be traced back to the historical, religious, cultural, and socioeconomic differences between Northern and Southern Sudan. The first mistake was made by the British (the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium administration), who brought together in 1899 two racially different peoples with totally divergent cultures and religions into one geopolitical entity. The British must have been aware of the psychological trauma inflicted on the South by the North through the centuries-old slave trade. That is why they instituted through their "Southern Policy" a kind of South/North apartheid. On taking over the country, the British, the senior partners in the Anglo-Egyptian government of the Sudan, went ahead to initiate and implement educational and socio-economic development in Northern Sudan. The massive Gezira Irrigation Scheme was started with the construction of the Sennar Dam on the Blue Nile. This scheme was established to produce cotton for the textile industry in Britain. The scheme was therefore very beneficial to both Britain and Northern Sudan, as it provided employment to people in both countries.

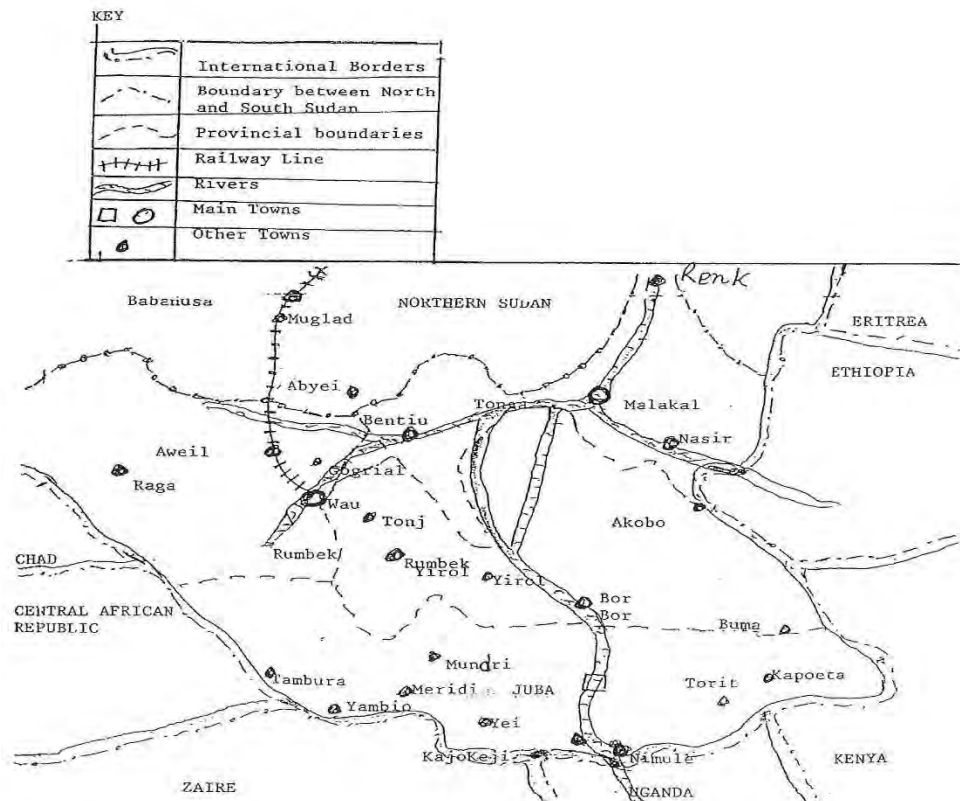
In the field of education, the Government went ahead to establish the Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum and a number of secondary schools in many towns in Northern Sudan. No comparable socio-economic development schemes were established in Southern Sudan until shortly before independence. The differences were even more glaring in the development of education. Education in the South was left in the hands of the Christian missionaries. The missionary societies lacked sufficient funds and only received limited government subsidies from 1940 onward. Their educational programs were therefore limited to basic education up to the eighth grade and to vocational education that was to prepare lower-support staff -- clerks, bookkeepers and cashiers, nurses, and teachers -- for the government offices in the South and for the few government hospitals there. Nikkel

reports: "Throughout the 1930s lack of commitment to academic standards complicated the contradictions of the Southern Policy and resulted in lower-level and poorly funded mission schools guided by erratic educational policies."¹⁰²

The result was lack of intellectual growth and academic and political advancement in the South. On the other hand, as already mentioned, the Sudan Government's educational policy for North Sudan was clear and forward-looking. Already in the early 1920s the Gordon Memorial College was opened in Khartoum up to the senior secondary level. This was upgraded in the 1930s to a post-secondary college level, producing doctors, lawyers, high school teachers, and administrators. By the time of independence in 1956, the Gordon Memorial College was upgraded to become the University of Khartoum. Government funding was guaranteed for the university, college, and all primary and secondary schools in North Sudan. Because of the government's Southern Policy, those few lucky Southern Sudanese whom the Christian missionary teachers felt deserved better education were sent to senior secondary schools in Uganda.

It was not until the Southern Policy was dropped in 1942, and when the North was already agitating for independence, that the Anglo-Egyptian Government of Sudan finally opened a senior secondary school in 1948 at Atar in the premises of the Protestant Intermediate School in Upper Nile Province. This was moved to its present location in Rumbek, Bahr El Ghazal Province, in 1949. Graduates of this secondary school were then allowed to enter the University of Khartoum in 1952.

Southern Sudan: Provincial Boundaries and Main Towns



The second grave error made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government was the total exclusion of Southern Sudanese in the decision-making process for the independence of the Sudan. Having made an about-turn and dropping or reversing the Southern Policy, thus uniting the two parts of the Sudan, the British went ahead hurriedly to sign an independence agreement with Egyptian and Sudanese politicians from the North in Cairo in 1954. This agreement gave independence to the Sudan in January 1956. The Egyptians supported the Northern Sudanese in the hope that after independence the Sudan would join Egypt to constitute one country. For this Egypt did not take into account Sudanese nationalism and was therefore disappointed.

In all these negotiations the Southern Sudanese were taken for granted. They were neither consulted nor were they invited by the British (Anglo-Egyptian Government) to participate in the Cairo independence discussions, nor were they a party to the signing of the Cairo agreement on Sudan's independence. The British were probably more concerned with their interests in the Suez Canal and not antagonizing Egypt than with the welfare of the "poor savages" down South.

Worse still, the British left the Sudan without formulating and securing an independence constitution for the Sudan that would guarantee the rights of all its citizens. This left the Northern Sudanese a free hand to implement their own independence plans for the country. I believe they were reacting to the British "Southern Policy," which they believed was aimed at separating the South from the North and joining it to British East Africa. This may well have been the case, but if so I do not understand why the British developed "cold feet" and failed to carry it through. We might have been spared a bloody war with the loss of one and one-half million southern souls and a tragic refugee problem!

The "Southern Policy," which was officially instituted by the British administrators in the Sudan in 1930 until it was suspended in 1942, specified the following:

- 1) Islamic evangelists and Arab-Islamic merchants were prohibited from going to the South. On the other hand, no Southern Sudanese was to travel to North Sudan without permission.
- 2) The Arabic language was not to be taught or spoken in southern schools and government offices in the South. Greek merchants were allowed to have business and trade in the South.
- 3) Christian missionaries, who were given responsibility for education in South Sudan, were to use indigenous languages and English in the elementary, intermediate, and vocational schools. Arabic speaking on school premises was punishable by corporal discipline.
- 4) Administration in the South was through "indirect rule," whereby authority was, as far as possible, exerted through the indigenous institutions and local chiefs. Local traditions and cultural activities were encouraged.^{xvi}

It was therefore no surprise that Northern Sudanese politicians should want to replace these with their own policy of promoting the "national language, culture, and religion" (Arabic language and Islamic religion). This policy of Arabization and Islamization of the South was the immediate, and perhaps the most important, cause of the civil war in South Sudan. As independence approached, Northern Sudanese politicians began to agitate for "National Unity" under the slogan, "One nation, one language, and one religion;" That is, the independent Sudan must be united, centrally administered in Khartoum, speaking one

language, Arabic, and having one religion, Islam. The Southern Sudanese pre-independence call for a federal system of government for the large country of the Sudan (as large as the whole of Western Europe, excluding the British Isles) was consigned to the trash can of history.

It is to be noted here that the idea of a nation having one language and one religion was not unique to the Northern Sudanese. The Europeans had fought the Thirty Years' War in the sixteenth century for the same philosophy of national unity under one religion.

Given the history of slavery and the refusal of Northern Sudanese politicians to entertain the Southern Sudanese demand for a federal system of government for the Sudan, it was not surprising that the response of the Southern Sudanese to the new government of the Sudan, with its policy of Arabization and Islamization, was to take up arms and defend their African culture and traditions.

Post-Independence Policies of the Governments of the Sudan: Religious and Cultural Assimilation, Unequal Development and the Southern Sudanese Response -- Civil War

The Republic of the Sudan became independent from the Anglo-Egyptian rule -- in practical terms, British -- on January 1, 1956, amid feelings of bitterness between the Muslim North and the African South of the country. Just four months before, on August 19, 1955, the tension that had been building up between the two sides exploded into a tragic bloodbath.

On that day, the Southern Sudanese military garrison mutinied when one of the Northern Sudanese officers who had newly taken over command from the withdrawing British officers shot dead a Southern Sudanese soldier for disobeying orders. What followed was a classic, tragic event. The mutinying Southern Sudanese killed many of their Northern Sudanese officers. Then they spread out and started killing any Northern Sudanese civilians they could get hold of in the towns of Equatoria. However, many Northern Sudanese teachers and other civil servants were rescued by some of the Southern Sudanese Christian officials and by Christian missionaries working in mission stations in the South. Northern Arabs who lost their lives included two of our teachers accompanying our class for a North Sudan exposure tour. Our student efforts to save the two could not succeed except to save the life of the wife of one of the teachers and his young son, whom we managed to smuggle into the house of the expatriate Anglican missionary in the area.

Later on that month, when order was restored with the help of the British Governor General, more Northern Sudanese troops were rushed to the South. There followed an even bloodier revenge killing of innocent Southern Sudanese civilians by the Army. This incident clearly demonstrated the Southern Sudanese feeling of betrayal and abandonment by the British to the mercy of the Muslim Arab "former slave raiders".

[These Southern Sudanese feelings can be explained. *Ed.*] First of all, the British had taken pains to prevent free communication between the Southern and Northern Sudanese through the "Southern Policy".^{xvii} The Government had reversed this policy in 1942 and linked the South to the North.

Secondly, the Anglo-Egyptian Government had taken an active part in the socioeconomic

and educational development of Northern Sudan. On the other hand, the Government had shown little interest in the socio-economic and educational development of the South. Whatever little education the Southerners had received was through the Christian missionaries.

Thirdly, when the Government made the about-turn in its “Southern Policy” and began to work with Northern Sudanese politicians toward independence for the Sudan, the British never bothered to consider the interests of the Southern Sudanese. Perhaps they thought the Southern Sudanese were incapable of speaking for themselves! That may well have been the reason why they were not invited to the independence talks. The British appeared to the Southerners as especially biased in favor of the Arabs, despite the fact that the Southerners still entertained enormous trust in them.

An example of this trust was when the army garrison in Torit mutinied against their Northern officers as a result of the unequal sudanization of the civil and military services before independence, which perhaps is best called “northernization.”^{xviii} When the British Governor General appealed to the mutinous soldiers to surrender with promises of “fair play,” many soldiers heeded his call and surrendered. Unfortunately for the Southern soldiers, this proved to be another of the many empty promises. As soon as they surrendered, they were all court-martialed, and the majority of them were executed. Only a small number were given long prison sentences. As a result of the revenge massacres in September 1955, those soldiers who did not surrender went into the bush and started the guerrilla war that has continued in the South for over thirty years now.

Fourthly, the Southern Sudanese had made every effort for the British not to leave the Sudan without guaranteeing the political rights of all citizens of the Sudan through a Federal Constitution. But the British were in such a hurry to leave the Sudan that they left this task to the northern politicians, who had assured them that “the question of Federation for the South will be given due consideration” after independence. No sooner were the British and Egyptian flags lowered and the Sudanese flag raised, than the National Unionist Party government of Prime Minister Ismail El Azhari, with the full backing of all Northern Sudanese Muslims, embarked on implementation of their slogan of “one nation, one language, one religion.”

The call for a federal system of government by the South was “considered” by the independence Assembly “and rejected as an Imperialist plot to separate the South from the North.” The British “Southern Policy” was still apparently lingering at the back of the minds of Northern Sudanese, and they must correct it. Sudanization had brought growing numbers of Northern civil servants and merchants into Southern Sudan. Promises of equal representation went unfulfilled. The process of islamization and arabization as a strategy for national unity was intensified. This resulted in further alienation of the Southern Sudanese.

When this strategy was met with resistance from the Southern Sudanese, the Northern officials blamed this on the Christian missionaries working in the South. Therefore decrees were issued in Khartoum in 1962 restricting the activities of the foreign Christian missionaries in the South. The Christian Missionary Societies Act of 1962 was triggered by the failure of the islamization and arabization policy intensified by the military government as from 1958.

From 1959 to 1963 the islamization program was championed by the Governor of Equatoria Province, Mr. Ali Baldo. Sunday was abolished as a day of rest in the South, and the Muslim day of rest, which is Friday, was substituted. In addition, pressure was put on school children and government officials, workers, and chiefs to convert to Islam or lose their government jobs. Mosques and Koranic schools (*khalwas*) were constructed for each local chief in Equatoria and Muslim teachers and prayer leaders appointed to these schools. Priority for acceptance in primary schools was given to pupils from the Koranic schools. School children were prohibited from Christian baptism without the consent of their fathers, who were themselves under pressure to convert to Islam.

The result of all this was further disturbances in the schools. School children refused to attend classes on Sundays. Students went on strike in all schools in the South, especially after the 1962 Christian Missionary Societies Act was implemented. This led to the issuing of another decree in 1964, expelling all expatriate Christian missionaries from Southern Sudan, because they were believed to be behind the school strikes and other unrest. The Northern Sudanese have never entertained the idea that the Africans of Southern Sudan are capable of thinking for themselves or of knowing what their rights are. Outside elements are therefore always blamed for any disturbances in Southern Sudan.

In a political rally for his Umma Party in Kartoum on January 13, 1966, Prime Minister El Mahdi, grandson of the nineteenth-century Muslim leader Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi and a well-educated Oxford graduate, declared: "Ninety percent of southerners know nothing about the southern problem, nor do they see there is any such problem! The other ten percent of southerners comprise Separatists, floaters, and ardent animists! The Separatists are the few missionary-educated southerners who have been indoctrinated by the missionaries to hate northern Sudanese."^{xix}

This unfortunately has been the attitude of the majority of Northern Sudanese on the genuine grievances of the Southern Sudanese.^{xx} Any resistance to the Northern policy of arabization and islamization or political and economic domination in the South is invariably blamed on the ubiquitous "imperialists" and the foreign missionaries and relief workers. Any resistance to the arabization and islamization or economic exploitation and political oppression was, to the Arab, an "imperialist plot" against the unity of the Sudanese nation perpetrated by the foreign agents, the missionaries.

When all the missionaries were expelled and yet the situation continued to deteriorate, the Khartoum Government turned to the next scapegoat, the Southern Sudanese intellectuals, instead of reexamining her own policies and motives and trying to find the causes there. Thus the "democratically" elected government of Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub turned its wrath and killing power in 1965 on the Southern Sudanese intelligensia and officials in the South. On July 7, 1965, the government soldiers in Juba town went on a shooting spree at 11:00 p.m. without any provocation. By the time the shooting stopped at 3:00 p.m. the next day, fourteen hundred innocent Southern Sudanese civilians were dead, and over one hundred admitted to the provincial hospital with various types of gunshot wounds. Some of these wounds were inflicted with short guns by Arab merchants who joined in the "hunt for the slaves."¹¹²

I was caught up in this melee while on a visit from my station some two hundred eighty miles west of Juba. As we worked on the casualties in the theater in the morning at 9:00 a.m., the soldiers stormed into the hospital compound "looking for the doctors."^{xxi} We

barely made it through the glass window of the operating theater, in full operating dress, when the soldiers stormed into the theater and murdered one of our patients on the operating table. Four days later, on July 11, 1965, in the second largest southern town of Wau, five hundred miles west of Juba, the new government policy was more successfully implemented. Over seventy-six Southern Sudanese officials, including some women, were shot dead by government soldiers and their bodies dumped into the nearby river. These unlucky Southern intellectuals were found at a wedding feast at 7:30 p.m. in a house. The house was surrounded and the people were systematically shot by the soldiers.

Both incidents were reported to Khartoum as successful encounters with rebels who had infiltrated into the towns. Similar incidents took place in other towns in the South during that month but involving fewer people or individuals. These incidents resulted in thousands of Southern Sudanese fleeing across the borders into Uganda, Zaire, Kenya, and the Central African Republic. The ranks of the resistance movement were further increased and the refugee population almost trebled overnight. It is not surprising to note that the resistance movement was spearheaded by students from the two senior secondary schools in Southern Sudan at the time. Most of these are now the leaders of the present SPLM/SPLA resistance movement.^{xxii}

To conclude this section, let me touch on two very important issues that may explain the behavior of the main players in the current Sudanese war drama. First of all, some Christian missionaries, especially former CMS missionaries, have wondered why there is this apparent hostility to the missionaries from former mission-educated Southern Sudanese. The truth is that most Southern Sudanese intellectuals, almost all of whom were educated in mission schools, are unhappy with the British people as a whole, rather than Christian missionaries. This is because of their disappointment over their treatment by the pre-independence British administration. The British first neglected the education and development of the South, in contrast to their interest in Northern Sudan, to prepare them for independence. At independence, the British abandoned the South to the mercy of the Arab Muslim Northerners without making any constitutional guarantees for the rights of the African Christians as they have done in their other former colonies, for example in Nigeria.

The second issue is even more important and has wider international implications. Both Southern Sudanese and Northern Arab Muslims look at the South as a barrier to the spread of the Arab culture and Islamic religion into Eastern, Central, and Southern Africa. The late Bishop Oliver Allison, the last expatriate Anglican Bishop of the Sudan, had this to say in 1948: "So in the providence of God, the Southern Sudan may become not only the Christian buffer-state of Central Africa, but a Christian outpost from which the Church may advance northwards."^{xxiii} The Northern Sudanese Islamic fundamentalists certainly see Southern Sudanese Christianity as an unwelcome barrier to their mission of spreading Islam into Uganda, Zaire, the Central African Republic, and Kenya -- and further southward to Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, and Southern Africa. Therefore, the Southern Sudanese resistance must be destroyed by all means. And Iran is obliging.

And while the forecasts of the late Bishop Allison may not be totally fulfilled, the South is now truly a buffer-state against the spread of Islam southward. At least that is how the Christians in Southern Sudan see it.^{xxiv} The displacement of Southern Sudanese Christians into Northern Sudan has brought strength and encouragement to the fledgling Church in

Northern Sudan. The Christian Revival movement, which is strong in the Episcopal Church in Equatoria, has been brought to the Diocese of Khartoum by revival members from Juba. It is catching on and spreading rapidly and is bringing the Gospel to towns in all parts of Northern Sudan. So perhaps Bishop Oliver Allison may be proved right after all. The Southern Sudanese exile in the North is thus bringing the Christian faith to Northern Sudan. And this takes place under the most oppressive conditions.

The Sudanese Christian Church and Her “Babylonian Exile”

The Growth and Development of the Christian Church in the Sudan under Islamic Persecution in the Twentieth Century

The Christian Church was a prime target of the government of Sudan’s islamization policy in post-independence Southern Sudan. With increasing resistance to this policy, especially in the Southern schools, the government turned its anger on the foreign Christian missionaries working in Southern Sudan. The expatriate missionaries and social workers were accused by Northern Sudanese government officials and teachers of being behind the increasing unrest in Southern Sudan in the 1960s. By imposing the Christian Missionary Societies Act in May 1962, the government under the military regime of General Ibrahim Abboud (1958-1964) hoped to put an end to Christianity in the South and replace it with Islam. This resulted only in the termination of educational and health services that were rendered by the Christian missionaries. Christian students were pressured by zealous Muslim teachers to give up the “religion of the Imperialists” and embrace “the national religion”, Islam. Government workers were pressured to convert to Islam or lose their jobs. This further aggravated the already tense political situation.^{xxv}

Earlier, the Sudanese Government had confiscated 803 schools with over 30,000 students and brought Arabic and Islamic religious teachers from the North to accelerate the islamization and arabization process.^{xxvi} It is to be noted, however, that some Northern Sudanese liberal Muslim teachers and government officials did not approve of many of the extreme islamization policies of the government. For example, in 1963 Equatoria’s Provincial Medical Offices of Health ordered all district medical officers in the district and rural hospitals not to deny any health official or worker his or her monthly salary on the grounds of refusing to convert to Islam. Many Northern Sudanese science and liberal arts teachers also refused to endorse the forcible Islamization policies.^{xxvii}

Instead of frightening the Christians into changing their religion and their Southern culture, the arabization and islamization policies of the government succeeded in driving the Southern students and some officials into the bush, thus swelling the ranks of the resistance fighters. This drove the Government to taking further repressive measures. In February 1964 all expatriate Christian missionaries were expelled from the Sudan, and Christian churches were required to obtain licenses to preach the Gospel. The result was further deterioration of the political and security situation in the South. Rather than squeezing out Christianity, however, these government policies succeeded only in increasing the growth of both the Southern Sudanese armed resistance movement and the Sudanese Christian Church.

The church most affected by the expulsions of the expatriate church workers was the Roman Catholic Church. It lost over seventy-five percent (about two hundred) of its clergy and social workers. The Church Missionary Society (Anglican Church), on the other hand, had introduced a policy of indigenization of the Church in the Sudan as political independence

was approaching. The expulsion order of 1964, therefore, found only six expatriate CMS missionaries in the whole Sudan, mainly in Juba, the Southern capital, and in Khartoum. The Episcopal Church was almost self-reliant in manpower and it continued to grow. Even when they were forced into exile in Uganda, Zaire, the Central African Republic, and Ethiopia, the Christians carried with them their vernacular Bible portions translated by the expatriate missionaries. These consisted mostly of the Gospels and some of Paul's letters, the Acts of the Apostles, and the first two books of the Old Testament, Genesis and Exodus. Liturgical and hymn books were also available to them in the vernacular languages. The church, therefore, flourished in the bush in Southern Sudan and in the refugee settlements abroad. The people most affected by this early conflict were the non-cattle-owning tribes of Equatoria Province, a population that was already conscious of the power of God and of Christianity in their lives. Most of them were Anglicans with the support of the churches of the Anglican Communion, especially the Anglican Church of Uganda. The Episcopal Church of the Sudan witnessed rapid development during this first exile. Training and ordination of clergy went hand-in-hand with translation of the Holy Bible into the main Southern Sudanese languages.^{xxviii}

By the time the refugees returned to the Sudan after the signing of the Addis Ababa peace agreement in 1972, the number of clergy for the main churches in the Sudan -- the Episcopal Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Presbyterian Church -- had increased five- to ten-fold (see Table 1 for the E.C.S., p.72). The brief period of self-rule in Southern Sudan (1973-1983), though it was only partial self-rule, also witnessed tremendous growth and development of the Christian Church in the Sudan in all denominations. New Christian denominations which had never before been heard of in Southern Sudan, such as the Pentecostal Church, the Seventh- Day Adventist Church, and Jehovah's Witnesses, started operating in Southern Sudan. Many of the expatriate relief workers, who came in to help in the rehabilitation and reconstruction program, were responsible for the introduction of these new denominations into Southern Sudan.

Southern Sudanese Christians voluntarily or involuntarily displaced by the war to Northern Sudan, like the Jews carried to Babylon in 597 and 587 B.C., also continued their Christian lives there. Evangelization among the non-Muslims from Southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains continued in Khartoum. The breakdown of the peace agreement and the resumption of the civil war resulted in the further influx of Southern Sudanese from their villages into Khartoum and other Northern Sudanese towns or into exile in the neighboring countries.

The current war has affected especially the cattle-owning tribes in Southern Sudan, the Dinka and the Nuer. Many Dinka and Nuer populations have been displaced into Ethiopia and internally into Khartoum and other parts of Northern Sudan and into Equatoria Province. When the civil war spread into Equatoria, the Dinka displaced there were forced to continue their journey, with their Equatorian brothers and sisters, into Uganda and Kenya. They are now resettled in refugee camps in Northern Uganda and Northern Kenya.

The Episcopal Church of the Sudan and the Current Civil War in Southern Sudan

The effects of the war and displacement of Christians of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan will be described as an example. These effects are especially marked, and the growth of Christianity among the Dinka Episcopalians is most clearly demonstrable.

However, it should not be assumed that there is no growth in the other Christian denominations. The Pentecostal Church, Roman Catholic Church, Presbyterian Church, and African Inland Church have all registered tremendous growth comparable to that of the Episcopal Church.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, The Most Reverend and Right Honorable Donald Coggan, flew into Juba, the capital of Southern Sudan, on October 11, 1976 -- in the midst of an epidemic in Equatoria of the ebola virus causing haemorrhagic fever -- to inaugurate the independent Anglican Province of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan. Though he was permitted by the Sudan government to spend only three hours in Juba -- and this was guaranteed by flying him in the presidential jet aircraft -- the Archbishop of Canterbury was able to conduct the service of the enthronement of the first native Sudanese Archbishop, the Most Reverend Elinana J. Ngalamu. The service was conducted in All Saints Cathedral in Juba and was attended by over five thousand worshippers. The number could have been even greater if the health authorities had not restricted movement of people from the main centers of Anglicanism in the Sudan (Yambio, Maridi, Yei, Kajo Keji, and Mundri) because of the epidemic outbreak.

At the inauguration of the Province of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan, the ECS had four Dioceses (Juba, Omdurman/Khartoum, Yambio, and Rumbek) with four Diocesan Bishops: The Most Reverend Elinana Ngalamu (Juba), The Right Reverend Yeremaya Dotiro (Yambio), The Right Reverend Butrus Shukai (Omdurman), and The Right Reverend Benjamin Wani Yugusuk (Rumbek).

In Juba in 1981, during a Partners in Mission Consultation, which the Archbishop gave me the honor to chair, seven new dioceses were proposed. These were approved by the ECS General Synod in the same year as follows: Meridi, Yei, Kajo Keji, Mundri, Bor, Wau, and Kadugli. In 1983, Assistant Bishops were appointed to take care of these new dioceses. In Khartoum in April 1993, the Episcopal Standing Committee, meeting in All Saints Cathedral, approved the creation of more dioceses at Port Sudan, Wad Medani, Torit, Lainya, Rokon, Rejaf, Malakal, Renk, Aweil, and Yirol. Thus, from the time of independence in 1956 there has been a rapid growth of the Church, as can be seen in the table below:

Table 1. The Episcopal Church of the Sudan: Dioceses, Bishops, and Clergy

Year	No. of Dioceses	No. of Bishops	No. of Clergy
1951		1 (expatriate)	9 (many expatriates)
1965	1	5 (4 native Archbishops)	44 (all native Sudanese)
1976 ^{xxix}	4	4 (all native Sudanese)	122 (all native Sudanese)
1993 ^{xxx}	22	21 (all native Sudanese)	530 (all native Sudanese)

Christian evangelists, bishops, and clergy are actively evangelizing in the refugee settlements and in the displaced people's camps. The regular ECS hymn book is being greatly expanded with additions of new hymns and songs. These new hymns and songs are based on Bible texts which reflect on the current situation of the people. The Bari hymn book, for example, has been expanded from one hundred sixteen hymns in 1978 to two hundred eighty in 1991. Most of the additional hymns are local compositions by the refugees during the exile. Others are relevant hymns translated from the Lingala hymn book from Zaire and the Kakwa hymn book from Uganda (West Nile). Most of the new hymns are composed by the youth. These express their feelings and quote prophets like Amos, Jonah, Isaiah of Jerusalem, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and his three friends, and Deutero-Isaiah. Many are based on Old Testament and New Testament verses that are relevant to Christian life.

The growth of the Church in the last decade has been especially marked among the Dinka tribes. Having lost all their treasured means of livelihood, their cattle, and their houses, many of the Dinka refugees and displaced are turning to God and to Christianity in increasing numbers. Many are discovering in the Bible, especially in the book of Psalms, Isaiah, and Lamentations, passages which very much speak to their present situation.

The Reverend Marc R. Nikkel has described this process clearly in his doctoral thesis, *The Origin and Development of Christianity among the Dinka of the Sudan*. A displaced Dinka priest explained the turning to Christianity by increasing numbers of African traditional religious believers:

In fact they are looking for safety. Whenever the government soldiers are coming they try to make some idols to move these Arabs not to come. And whenever they sacrifice to these [idols], whether five cows or bulls or what, the Arabs come and burn down their houses. And so they are fed up [with the idols]. As the Christians told them, the god they are worshipping will not protect them. The right God to worship is the Christian God. So they have tried all their gods and Satan [who] never protect them. So they are looking for safety. I am not sure myself if they are truly converted. The byword is really protection. They are looking for a God where they will find safety. Their consciousness is around their property. They defend their cows, their property. When they see their children [suffering], there are no more houses, no more milk. They are conscious of property. So the theme [the Christians tell them] is "Do not lose hope. This God will protect you."^{xxxii}

When they see miraculous escapes from the Arab bombings, like those happening to Bishop Nathaniel Garang, they readily believe in the bishop's God, the God of the Christians who can protect his workers from danger. It is reported that once Bishop Nathaniel Garang was holding a clergy meeting in a grass thatch church near Bor. Suddenly the people outside heard the Sudan Air Force Antonov plane approaching, and they dashed for cover. But the Bishop continued his meeting with his clergy inside the church. Suddenly shells began to fall all around the church injuring some of the people outside and burning the grass huts around the church. But no shells hit the church building or fell anywhere near it. So the bishop and his clergy escaped injury.

Marc Nikkel has found Dinka Christians drawing parallels between the sacrificial traditions of the Jews and the Dinka of Southern Sudan.^{xxxiii} They say both of these sacrificial traditions find fulfillment in Jesus Christ. According to Nikkel, some Dinkas talk

of the Dinka tribe as the “lost tribe” of Israel. The refugees and the displaced see their situation as similar to that of the Jews in exile or slavery. Hymns and songs are being composed, drawing much from the Old Testament poems of the Psalms, Lamentations, and Deutero-Isaiah. Right now, Nathaniel Garang, the bishop of the Dinka Diocese of Bor, is preparing some 700 new Dinka religious songs. Most of these will probably go into making the new Dinka hymn book. The growth of Christianity among the Dinka tribes has been especially marked during the last decade. This also happens to be the most difficult time for the Dinka tribe. The civil war now being fought in Southern Sudan has hit the Dinkas especially hard. Many more of them have been killed or displaced from their original homes. The Dinka have been especially targeted by the government forces as being the tribe from which the leader of the Southern resistance movement, Dr. John Garang, comes. It is, therefore, noteworthy that the Episcopal Church has grown faster in the two Dinka- dominated old Dioceses of Bor and Rumbek, than in any of the other nine dioceses.

The Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Church have also witnessed remarkable growth among the Dinka, both in Southern Sudan and in Northern Sudan.

The table below shows the increase in the number of churches and church workers in the E.C.S. Dioceses of Bor and Rumbek during the decade from 1982-1993:

**Table 2. The Episcopal Church of the Sudan:
Churches and Church Workers in the Years 1982 and 1993^{xxxiii}**

Name of Diocese	Number of Churches		Number of Church Workers			
	in 1982	in 1993	in 1982		in 1993	
			Clergy	Others	Clergy	Others
Bor Diocese	18	120+	?	?	80+	223+
Rumbek Diocese	9	260	?	?	120	150
TOTAL	27	380	44	N.A.	200	373

Another positive development in the Christian Church in the Sudan, both in government-controlled areas as well as in the areas under SPLA control, is the significant growth of ecumenism. This is also reported to be the case in the refugee settlements abroad. In the Southern Sudanese capital of Juba, united services are conducted regularly. Such services are also held in other towns in Southern Sudan, both in government-controlled towns and in those under the Southern Sudanese resistance forces. This harmony among the various Christian denominations has provided Southern Sudan with a credible, coherent, and reliable social structure.^{xxxiv} Church denominations that previously had been under intense competition are now coöperating with each other and rendering social services and relief to the displaced people and the refugees.^{xxxv} The Church is reported to be the only body that “represents coherence, integrity, and social relevance as well as an unbiased political posture.” As a result, the Church has witnessed an explosive growth over the last ten years, whereby four out of five persons now profess Christianity. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. George Carey, during his visit to Southern Sudan in early 1994, is reported to have estimated that over eighty percent of the population in Southern Sudan are now Christians. This is an increase of about twenty-five percent in the last decade. This church growth is taking place in spite of the increased government campaign of islamization of Southern Sudan. In this campaign, food is being increasingly used as a tool for Islamic evangelization, besides coercion and brute force when persuasion has failed to convert non-Muslims to Islam.

It is not difficult, in light of the above, to fall into the temptation to draw parallels between the period of Israelite exile in ancient Babylon and what is taking place today in Southern Sudan and in the refugee settlements abroad. Comparisons can easily be made between the work of the Deuteronomists and the Priests during the Babylonian Exile and the resurgence of Christianity in the Sudan. The translation of Scripture and collection of liturgical hymns, songs, and other worship material by the Christians in Southern Sudan and in exile certainly has some correspondence to the priestly work during the Jewish exile in Babylon. The loss of the treasured cattle and of the houses and land for the people of Southern Sudan as a result of the civil war is comparable to the loss for the Jews of the Temple at Jerusalem and of the Davidic Kingdom as a result of the Babylonian invasions in 597 B.C.E. and 587 B.C.E.

Bishop Nathaniel Garang’s work among the displaced Dinka, Bishop Daniel Zindo’s activities among the Azande, Bishop Joseph Marona among the Baka and Avokaya, Bishop Seme Solomona among the Kakwa and Fajelu of Yei, Bishop Manasseh Dawidi among the Kuku of KajoKeji, and Bishop Wilson Arop among the Acholi of Torit Diocese, all are probably as significant as the work of the Prophets Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah among the exiles in Babylon in the sixth century B.C.E. Similarly, Bishop Paride Taban and other Roman Catholic Bishops are performing ministries among the exiled and displaced Southern Sudanese comparable to the exilic prophets. They all have kept alive the hopes of the displaced Southern Sudanese for eventual return to their homeland. As shown in the new religious songs and hymns composed by the exiled and the displaced, the Southern Sudanese displaced people look forward to the day of the Lord, when God will come and lead them back in a new Exodus. Especially the cattle-owning tribes hope that, as in the case of Job, God will restore their cattle and property to them again in the not too distant future. And they will return to their homeland and to their farms alive, acquire more cattle, and rebuild their lives. Like Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, and the other priests in exile, Bishops Nathaniel Garang of the E.C.S. Bor Diocese, Bishop Paride Taban of the Catholic Diocese of Torit, and the other bishops and clergy working among the displaced and exiled Southern Sudanese

have strengthened the faith of the Christians in the triune God and have turned many others to Christianity. They have given the displaced people hope in the midst of death.

Conclusion

I have recounted the experiences of the people of Jerusalem and Judah who were taken into exile in Babylon, including their reaction to the destruction of two of their most important institutions – the monarchy and the Temple.

This exile and destruction were caused by the failure of the Israelites to keep the conditional Mosaic-Sinaitic covenant with their God. I have surveyed the causes of Israel's disobedience and her abandonment of the covenant relation with Yahweh. Although the prophets of Yahweh had warned them of the evils that would follow their rejection of Yahweh as their King and Ruler and their acceptance of earthly kings, the Israelites insisted on conforming to their Canaanite neighbors. They took more seriously the unconditional covenant with David about the monarchy and with Abraham about the land – both supposed to be established for ever (*le olam*) – and ignored the conditional Mosaic-Sinaitic covenant. Therefore the institutions they valued and which they relied on – the land, the kingdom, and the Temple -- were destroyed by the enemy in 587 B.C.E. Many of the civil and religious leaders were carried into exile in Babylon.

However, their period of exile was not altogether disastrous. It provided an opportunity for Israel to reexamine their faith in Yahweh and to reactivate their relationship with their God. In this process the priests and the prophets who were carried into exile played an important role.

Now that the Temple, the monarchy, and the land were no more, the Abrahamic-Davidic Covenant was also null and void. A new theology of Yahweh based on the Exodus and the Sinai Covenant traditions became necessary. Yahweh forgave Israel her transgressions and came down himself to lead them back to Jerusalem in a new exodus.

In the meantime, a new way of worship had to be developed among the exiles, based on the reading and teaching of the Torah and the singing of the Psalms. This replaced the Temple-dependent sacrificial worship that was practiced in Jerusalem. The priest-prophet Ezekiel and the poet-prophet Deutero-Isaiah played leading roles in the development of this new worship practice. The priestly and Deuteronomistic writers also undertook the compilation of the ancient traditions from the time of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the Exodus and the journey in the Sinai Desert, and even projecting it back to the time of creation. The result of this work was the production of the Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) and the collection of the Psalms. With the addition of the Wisdom literature and the Prophets by the post-exilic writers, the Hebrew Bible was thus constituted.

But the exilic prophets Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah also had other important tasks for which they are better known. They acted as transmitters of Yahweh's oracles of salvation to the Israelite exiles in Babylon. They informed the exiles, probably verbally during the worship services or in written messages, that Yahweh was coming to implement a new plan of salvation through King Cyrus.

The period of exile was therefore also a period of extensive development and revival of the Jewish faith and their covenant with Yahweh. Some of the results of this revival were the new synagogue worship style, with emphasis on teaching and reading the Torah, and the ordering and compilation of the Israelite traditions, laws, and psalter to constitute the Torah, and eventually the Hebrew Bible.

I have also looked at the history of a people in the Sudan who have been subjected to a prolonged period of struggle and social and political oppression, leading to exile. Although the two situations differ somewhat, and the Sudanese exile situation is not yet as long as the fifty years of Israelite Babylonian – and I hope it will not be that long – some similarities can be identified. Most noteworthy is the development and growth of religious faith.

The detailed Sudanese historical background may be seen as the cause or causes of the conflict that has led to the fleeing of the African population of Southern Sudan from their villages into exile. The causes of this exile may differ those of the Israelite exile, since in our case there is no overt breaking of a covenant. But some Christians do believe that they are being punished by God. One cannot blame them, when one looks closely at the behavior of some of the political and religious leaders.

What is important, however, is the fact that a tremendous growth and development of the Christian faith is taking place among the Southern Sudanese exile community, whether they are displaced within the borders of the Sudan (into Northern Sudan) or outside the Sudanese borders. The Episcopal Church of the Sudan, which is the second largest church denomination, for example, has grown from eleven dioceses (twelve bishops) and about one hundred forty clergy to over twenty-two dioceses (twenty-two bishops) with over four hundred clergy. Similar growth has been witnessed in the Roman Catholic Church (the largest denomination) and other church denominations in the last ten years. People who had never before been touched by the Word of God are now responding to the Gospel in large numbers. Churches are full to overflowing on Sundays. New hymns and religious songs are being produced. The translation of the Holy Bible into more indigenous languages is proceeding at a fast pace. New liturgy and hymnody are being developed in the exile, both inside and outside Sudanese borders.

It is therefore understandable for one to make a comparison between the Israelite Babylonian exile and the Sudanese “Babylonian exile”. In both cases, the exile has provided opportunities for growth and development of faith in God. The new liturgy, with its emphasis on the reading of Scripture and teaching and singing of Psalms, resulted from the work of the priests and prophets in exile. The Sudanese bishops and clergy in exile and displacement are producing new liturgy and hymns and are translating the Bible and teaching Christians and non-Christians.

I can see a great deal in common between the Israelite Babylonian Exile and that of the Sudanese.

Bibliography

- Ackroyd, Peter R. *Exile and Restoration: a Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century*. London: SCM Press, 1968.
- Anderson, B. W. *Understanding the Old Testament* (4th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968
- Boadt, Lawrence. *Reading the Old Testament: an Introduction*. New York: Paulist Press, 1984
- Conrad, Edgar W. "Second Isaiah and the Priestly Oracles", *ZATW* 93, 1981
- _____. "The 'Fear Not' Oracles of Second Isaiah", *Vetus Testamentum* 34, 1984
- Cook, A. R. *The Southern Sudan: Uganda Memories*, 1942
- Eckart, Otto, and Tim Schramm. *Festivals and Joy*. Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1980
- Gillo, Aldo. *Daniel Comboni: the Man and his Message* (2nd ed.). 1980
- González, Justo L. *The Story of Christianity*, vol 1. San Francisco: Harper, 1984
- Harner, Philip B. "The Salvation Oracles of Second Isaiah", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88, 1969
- Heaton, E. W. *The Hebrew Kingdoms*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988
- King, Martin Luther, Jr. *Strength to Love*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963
- Knight, George A.F. *The New Israel: a Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 56-66*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1985
- Metzger, B. M., and R. Murphy, eds. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible (NRSV)*. New York: Oxford, 1991
- Muilenberg, James, ed. *The Interpreter's Bible*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956
- Nikkel, Marc R. *The Origin and Development of Christianity among the Dinka of Sudan, with Special Reference to the Songs of Dinka Christians*. Doctoral thesis, Edinburgh University, 1993
- Peters, Ted. *Theology and Science in Concordance: Cosmos and Creation*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1989
- Prichard, J. B. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969

- _____. *Ancient Near East: Religions and Influence on Israelite Faith*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968
- Smart, James O. *History and Theology in Second Isaiah: a Commentary on Isaiah 35, 40-66*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965
- Soggin, Albert J. *Introduction to the Old Testament*. Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989
- VanDevelder, Frank R. *The Biblical Journey of Faith*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988
- Vantini, Giovanni. *Christianity in the Sudan*, Bologna, Italy: EMI. 1981
- Von Waldow, E. H. "The Message of Deutero-Isaiah". *Interpreter* 22, 1968
- Westermann, Claus. *Isaiah 40-66: a Commentary*. London: SCM Press, 1969

END NOTES to
II. Thought

^x Marc R. Nikkel, *The Origin and Development of Christianity among the Dinka of Sudan, with special reference to the Songs of Dinka Christians*, a doctoral thesis (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1993), p. 306 “Eight decades after the arrival of Archibald Shaw (the first CMS missionary to Southern Sudan, among the Dinka), the Bor and Tuic Dinka began to enter the Church in substantial numbers. New believers declared that ‘this is now our time Nyialic [God] has come among us and we did not know it.’ In this, Bishop Nathaniel Garang played a central role.... Nathaniel now comes as Christian Bishop preaching the message originally brought by Archibald Shaw.”

^{xi}The writer has been a personal witness of many of the developments in the political and Church life in the Southern Sudan. As a student, the writer followed and participated in many of the pre- and post-Independence activities. As a young medical officer, the writer narrowly escaped the massacre of Southern Sudanese in Juba. While working to save some of the casualties of the indiscriminate shooting of civilians by Government soldiers in 1965, the writer was forced to flee through the broken window of the operation theater in Juba Hospital to escape from the Government soldiers who were coming for him and his colleague as they worked on the casualties in the theater. This was because of false accusation of collaboration with the Southern Sudanese “rebels”. The writer now lives in internal exile in Northern Sudan and has worked among the Displaced Christians since 1991. The writer has observed first-hand the growth of Christianity in the Sudan since Independence in 1956.

^{xii} Giovanni Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan* (1981), pp. 37-39. With assistance from Empress Theodora, Julius was able to proceed with his work while the Emperor’s delegation were left to cool their heels at the king’s palace on orders from the empress. Vantini quotes from *Acta Sanctorum Sept. VI*, 221-225. He states, however, that there is no confirmation of this from Egyptian Church writers of the second and third centuries A.D.

^{xiii} Bishop Comboni, the Father of Christian Education in Africa, described the Sudan as “... that region twice the size of Europe oppressed by the gravest evils, inhabited by more than one hundred million descendants of Ham; the most abandoned and unfortunate souls in the world.” Giovanni Vantini, (1981), p. 56

^{xiv} The Christian missionary societies permitted to work in the South were the CMS Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission, the Roman Catholic Verona missionaries, and the United Presbyterian American Mission.

^{xv} *Church Missionary Intelligencer* 50 (1899), 156, quoted in Sanderson (1981) by Nikkel (1993), p. 96

^{xvi} Sanderson (1981), pp. 111, 121-124, 211; quoted by Nikkel (1993), p. 140

^{xvii} Nikkel, p. 290. Under the Passports and Permits Ordinance of 1922, it was a punishable offense for Southern Sudanese to be found in the Northern provinces without special permit.

^{xviii} Of the eight hundred civil posts that were Sudanized prior to independence, only four

(junior administrators) posts were given to Southern Sudanese, though there were many more qualified Southern Sudanese available.

^{xxix} Marc Nikkel, p. 285, quoting a note by G. M. Mayen of the Sudan Council of Churches to the AACC Conference in December 1966.

^{xx} During the army massacre of civilians in Juba in 1965, in which about 1,400 people died, Sadig El Mahdi, who was on his way from a visit to Uganda on the morning of the killings, was speechless when he was challenged by an elderly Muslim Southern Sudanese, by name Sadig. The elderly, uneducated Bari man confronted Sadig El Mahdi with the question, “Do you want to rule people or do you want only the land?” What better presentation of the Southern case for justice? And that from an “ignorant” Southern Sudanese.

^{xxi} All Southern Sudanese officials were accused of collaborating with the rebels. We were tipped a day before by a friendly Nuba soldier to watch our movements. We were to avoid being in big groups at the same time in public places because “accidental” shootings were expected these days.

^{xxii} Dr. John Garang and Dr. Riak Machar, who lead the two factions of the Southern Sudanese Resistance (Liberation) Army, are both Rumbek Secondary students who escaped to exile in 1962.

^{xxiii} O. Allison, *The Sudan: Yesterday and Tomorrow* (SAD G/S.992), quoted by Nikkel, p. 279.

^{xxiv} Nikkel, p. 320, states: “Reminiscent of the concept of a Christian buffer-state, they [the Dinka of Southern Sudan] see themselves and their territories along the northern frontiers as the first line of defense in both military and religious terms against the southward advance of Islam.”

^{xxv} Personal experience: The Governor of Equatoria Province, Ali Baldo, ordered all tribal chiefs in the province to become Muslim and built Islamic Koranic schools and mosques in each chief’s compound. Teachers and hospital workers in former mission facilities were ordered to convert to Islam or else lose their monthly salaries.

^{xxvi} Personal communication with Damazo Dut Majak, Ph.D.: “During religious classes teachers brought with them water containers, rosary, prayer mats, skull caps, and *jallabias*, a northern Muslim traditional dress. Before distribution of these items to the students, the students lined up, kneeling before the teacher with their heads bent downward for the teacher to wash away baptismal water first before proclaiming them to be Muslims.”

^{xxvii} One of the most regrettable and painful incidents resulting from these policies was the brutal killing by mutinous soldiers and local natives of two of our best Northern Sudanese geography and history teachers at the outbreak of armed resistance in August 18, 1955. We, the Senior Class, whom the teachers were accompanying for a tour of Northern Sudan, tried to argue that these teachers were innocent, but to no avail.

^{xxviii} A group of Sudanese clergy and lay Christians from the Bari tribal group (Bari, Kuku, Kakwa, Fajelu, Nyangwara) in Equatoria, assisted by a C.M.S. missionary, Miss Philippa Guillebaud, completed the translation of the whole Bible (Old and New Testaments and the Psalms) into the Bari language in Uganda. Translation of the Bible into the Zande, Moru, and Dinka languages was also undertaken during the exile. This was continued in

the Sudan after the signing of the Addis Ababa peace agreement between the Sudan Government and the Southern Sudanese insurgents in 1972. Unfortunately, the Sudanese Government, under pressure from the Islamic Front Party, abrogated this agreement in 1983.

^{xxix} The Anglican Church became an independent Province on October 11, 1976.

^{xxx} Figures give by E.C.S. bishops in Khartoum on the occasion of preparation for the Anglican Primates' Meeting in Capetown, South Africa and the E.C.S. Standing Committee meeting in Khartoum April 1993. Figures from dioceses in the "liberated areas" Yambio, Yei, Kajo Keji, Meridi, Kadugli, and Bor are incomplete. Accurate figures are not available.

^{xxxi} Nikkel, p. 293: "Among the Dinka, both in the Northern Sudan displaced by the war, and in refugee settlements inside and outside the Sudan, divested of cattle and the soil and religious framework of which they were a part, the spiritual inclination of the Dinka found release in new, Youthful community of faith. The hope of Messianic deliverance from oppression gave comfort to the socially deprived in an alien environment." And p. 316: "The Dinka life has been closely linked to their cattle. So they, having lost all their cattle as a result of the civil war, and being constantly harassed by government troops as supporters of the SPLA, and they cannot get protection even from their traditional deity, people are now seeking security in the Church."

^{xxxii} Nikkel, p. 322: "Increasingly, songs and sermons of E.C.S. Christians (in the S.P.L.A.-controlled areas) draw upon Old Testament imagery of liberation. As God led his chosen people in battle and liberated them from slavery, returning them to their homeland, so he will do the same for the Dinka." And for the rest of the Southern Sudanese scattered in displacement camps or in exile abroad.

^{xxxiii} Figures are from Nikkel, p. 307, and from a report prepared by a committee in Khartoum in 1992 for the Standing Committee of the E.C.S. meeting in Khartoum in April 1993.

^{xxxiv} In a report of the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury, The Most Reverend and Right Honorable George Carey, to Southern Sudan, he is said to have remarked, "The people have no social structures left except the Church. Church leaders are bravely standing up for human rights."

^{xxxv} Nikkel, p. 303, stated: "United services found churches packed with Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and E.C.S. worshippers. Episcopalians and Pentecostals, who had previously been intense competitors, now worship harmoniously together in the E.C. S. churches, and Presbyterian clergy ordain Episcopal ministers."

III. Faith

A Translation by Oliver M. Duku of Fitihap Parish Youth Songs in Local (Southern Sudanese) Arabic

Recorded at Fitihap Parish Church, May 31, 1994, Omdurman,
Sudan for Sunday School of Christ Episcopal Church,
Blacksburg, Virginia, USA

Order of Worship

1. Opening prayer (in Arabic) by Rev. Dr. Oliver Duku

We glorify your name, O God, for the gift of children and especially for these your children who have come here to praise you in songs.

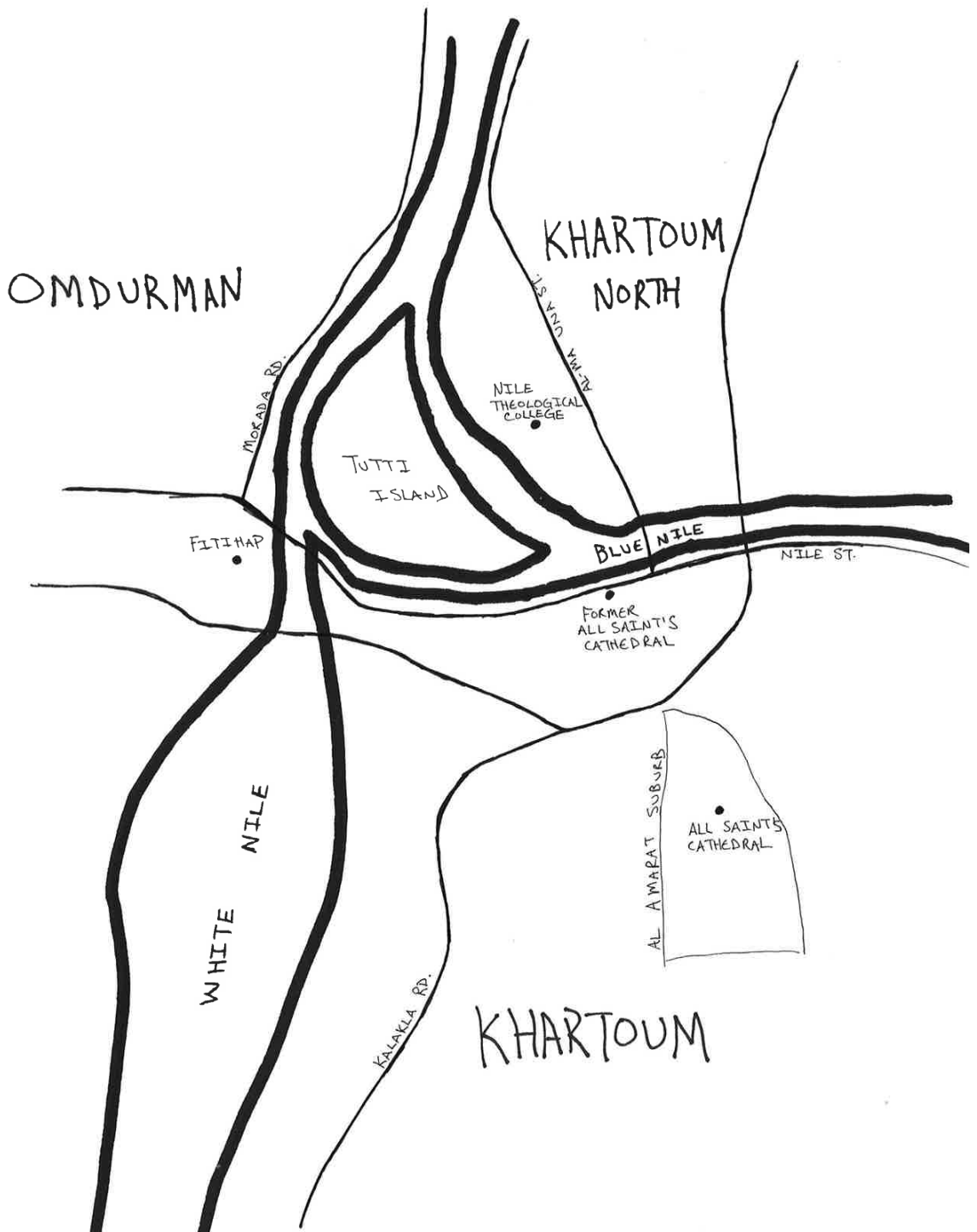
Come among us in your Holy Spirit and bless your children. Bless also the Christians of Fitihap Parish Church. Bless and keep our Bishop, Bulus Idris Tia, and our Archbishop.

We thank you for having chosen this day, and this home, for your children to come and praise you and sing to your glory. Be with them at this hour.

In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

2. An Introduction (in English) by Mr. Jacob Lumori, Youth Leader.

3. The Songs: A line by line (verse by verse) translation as they appear on the cassette.



Fitihap Parish, Omudurman

SONG NO. 1 (in Arabic)

Verse no. 1: *Guna li Rabuna bi farah.*

Sing to the Lord with gladness.

Chorus: *Nina guna.*

We sing.

Verse no 2: *Shukuru li Rabuna bi Farah.*

Give thanks to the Lord with gladness.

Verse no 3: *Aleluya Aleluya li Yesua bi Farah.*

Alleluiah alleluiah to Jesus with gladness.

Verse no 4: *Mokosutu Ashan Alla fi gelibi bi farah.*

I am happy because God dwells in my heart with gladness.

SONG NO 2: (in Arabic)

Guitar prelude

Verse 1: *Zol ta judam dabit ta jesi.*

The leper is an Army general.

Eisa alagu isim Namana.

Elisha hurried to call Naaman by name.

Chorus: *Namana ee –eh*

Namana e-i nesiya.

Naaman oh-h

Naaman this is the truth

Verse 2. *Eisa kelimu limana*

Elisha said to Naaman

Inta Namana dahal fi moya.

You Naaman go down to the water.

Verse 3: *Tala katiya bilahi kulu*

Bring out all your sins (the Christians)

Dom bita Yesua bi Kasulu inta.

The blood of Jesus will wash you.

Verse 4: *Jera ta Rabuna mutu fi selib.*

The Son of God died on the cross.

Rudu Yesua inta bi hayi.
Accept Jesus you will find life.

Verse 5: *Into shababu rudu Yesua.*
You young people accept Jesus.

Into be ligo mahal kwesi fi sama.
You will find a beautiful place in heaven.

SONG NO 3: (in Arabic)

Guitar prelude

Verse 1: *Dunia rudu Yesu bi mari fi sama*
Li sukuru Rabuna ma Malaika sawa.
If the world accepts Jesus they will go to heaven
To praise God together with the Angels

Chorus: *Fi samawat ayan mafi*
There is no sickness in heaven,

Mutu mafi, ila el haya
There is no death, only life.

Masihiiin be sukuru ma mahaba sawa.
Christians will give praise together with love.

Verse 2: *Dunia Rudu Yesu bi masi fi sama li magidu Rabuna.*
If the world accepts Jesus they will go to heaven to glorify God.

Verse 3: *Dunia rudu Yesu bi ligo faida bila haya al abadiya.*
If the world accepts Jesus they will find benefit and eternal life.

Verse 4: *Nasi al aba Yesu huwa indu mutu*
mutu al bita roho, mutu al abadiya.

Those who reject Jesus, they will have death
Spiritual death, everlasting death.

SONG NO 4: (In Vernacular – Bari)

N.B. D is pronounced like ng, as in “sing”, “king”. Ö is pronounced like the German ö, as in “kirk” or “church”.

Verse 1: *Temesi tin ηutu laga löpuggö, a ηo дума ko se logon a ηηga.*
The temptations of people who have repented, it is a great thing for those who persevere.

Chorus: *Aηun likanη, a baba likanη nye lo gaju yi i moresi*
O our God, O our Father, he who protects us from trials

Moriesi ti tiana
Trials of the moment,

Medi ta malo, pupureta kalwökönit lo pupureta
Look here he is! Praise him the Saviour, praise him,

A beggu mugun ko katoronyak murek.
Who was crucified with the two sinners.

Geleη gevigwier, geleη a renya, medi ta malo, pupureta.
One wept, one rejected, look here he is, praise him.

I paradiso nika na
In our paradise
Alelu, Aleluiah Amen.

Verse 2: *Dariesi ti ηutu laga löpuggö*
A ηo дума ko se logon a ηηga.

The difficulties of people who have repented
It is a great thing for those who persevere.

Verse 3: *Dongesi ti ηutu laga löpuggo*
A ηgo дума ko se loga a ηηga.

The sufferings of people who have repented
It is a great thing for those who persevere.

Verse 4: *Moriesi ti ηutu laga löpuggö*
A ηo дума ko se logon a ηηga.

The trials of people who have repented
It is a great thing for those who persevere.

SONG NO 5: (in Arabic)

(meaning unclear)

Verse 1: *Folora hibo bado kumba hata muhaba katiyahum.*
Folora love themselves but this love led to sin

Chorus: *Ana Alla malik salam*
I am God king of peace,

Ana Alla tarig al salam.
I am God the way of peace.

Verse 2: *Falora kudi salam kumba Alla salati katiyakum*
Folora gave peace, my prayer to God is sinful.

Verse 3: *Folora kudi rajai hata rajai afi yakum.*
Falora gave hope to me, till I obtained forgiveness from my hope.

SONG NO 6:

Chorus: *Alela mina jaa sukuru Rabuna.*
Today we have come to praise God.

Verse 1: *Nina ma jaa li suwata.*
We did not come to tell lies.

Verse 2: *Nina ma jaa li najafa*
We did not come for (?) cleaning.

Verse 3: *Rabuna Yakwani*
God, my brothers

Verse 4: *Nina limu saw*
We have come together

Verse 5: *Sukuru Rabuna.*
To praise God.

Verse 6: *Rabuna Alela*
God, today.

Verse 7: *Nina ma ja li dunia*
We do not come for the world

Verse 8: *Alela yakwani.*
Today my brethren.

SONG NO 7: (Arabic)

- Verse 1: *O – shababu sukuru Rabuna*
O youth, give thanks to God.
- Sukuru Rabuna ma geliba kulu.*
Praise God with all your heart.
- Chorus: *Sufu mahaba ta Alla*
See the love God
- Wodi le nina Yesu*
Gave us Jesus
- Sufu mahaba ta Alla*
See the love of God
- Jibu le nina Yesu.*
Brought us Jesus.
- Sufu hata inta jol bita katiya*
See even if you are a sinful person
- Ana be wodi kulu le Alla alela*
I will surrender all to God today
- Inta be wodi kulu le Alla alela*
You will surrender all to God today
- A –geliba, ge –liba, geliba*
Ah, my heart, my heart, my heart
- A –muhba, mu –haba muhaba*
Ah love, lo-ve, love
- A –muhaba, mu –haba ta Yesu.*
Ah love, lo-ve of Jesus.
- Verse 2: *Ye ye ye shababu sukuru Rabuna.*
Ye ye ye, young people give thanks to God.
- Megidu Rabuna ma geliba kulu.*
Glorify God with all your heart.
- Hefu mahaba ta Alla.*
See the love of God.

SONG NO 8: (Arabic) (Paul and Silas in prison)

Guitar prelude

Verse 1: *Paulu wa Sila ma seli*

When Paul and Silas prayed

(repeat)

Abuab ta sigin fi fata.

The gates of prison opened.

Verse 2: *Shababu taale takum seli* (repeat)

Young people come and pray.

Be geni ma kurato bi jere.

You will stand up on your feet and run.

Verse 3: *Paulu ma Sila kan seli*

When Paul and Silas pray

Abuab ta kobar fi fata

The gates of Kobar (local prison in Omdurman) will open.

Verse 4: *Paulu ma Sila kan seli*

If Paul and Silas pray

Abuab ta Kobar degiga bi fata.

The gates of Kobar will immediately be open.

Verse 5: *Lyali talela kan seli* (Repeat)

If the children of today pray

Sitani ma kura ta bi jere.

Satan himself will take to his heels.

Verse 6: *Lyali talela kan seli*

If the children of today pray

Sitani ma kura to hagiga bi jere.

Satan himself will actually run.

Verse 7: *Paulu ma Sila kan seli*

When Paul and Silas pray

Abuab bita sijn bi fata.
The prison gates will open.

Paulu ma Sila kan seli
When Paul and Silas pray

Abuab bita sijn hagiga bi fata.
The prison gates will actually open.

SONG NO 9: (Arabic)

Verse 1: *Dunia ma indu damana*
There is no guarantee in the world (for salvation and peace)

Verse 2: *Wagifu gowi fi muhaba.* (repeat)
Stand firm in love.

Verse 3:
Wagifu gowi fi injil.
Stand firm in the gospel.

Verse 4: *Wagifu gowi fi kelima.*
Stand firm in the word.

SONG NO 10: (Arabic)

Verse 1: *Alela yom kebiri, Alela yom ta farah.*
Today is a great day, today is a day of happiness

Nina limu sukuru Rabuna.
We gather to give thanks to God.

Ashan Yesu limu anina,
Because Jesus has brought us together,

Kanisa wahid sukuru Rabuna.
As one church praise the Lord.

Verse 2: *Alela yom kebiri.*
Today is a great day.

Alela yom ta farah.
Today is a great of happiness.

Nina limu sukuru Rabuna.
We gather here to give thanks to God

Ashan Yesu limu anina,
Because Jesus has brought us together,

Gabila wahid, sukuru Rabuna.
As one tribe, praise the Lord.

SONG NO 11: (Arabic)

Verse 1: *Dunia de batali kalan ketir*
This world is bad, it is full of problems.

Ya shabab keli balakum fi la kabata ta dunia
You young people take care, do not mix yourselves up in this world's
dubious life.

Verse 2: *Ya kwani sibu kalan ta dunia al wasaka.*
My brethren do not go after this world's dirty life.

Intu kulu rudu yesu al masia intu be hayi.
If you all accept Jesus Christ you will have life.

Verse 3: *Ya shabab masiya wodi shukuru lila.*
You young boys of Christ, give praise to God.

All wodi nina guwa, nina hasa awulad Alla.
God has given us power, authority to become sons of God.

Verse 4: *Ya banat masihiya wodi shukuru lila.*
You young girls of Christ, give praise to God.

Alla wodi nina guwa, nina hasa banat Alla.
God has given us authority to become daughters of God.

SONG NO 12: (in English)

Verse 1: Now, people of all Sudan, listen to what the Lord
Your God demands of you.

Verse 2: Now, people of all the world, listen to what the Lord
Your God demands of you.

An interview with Oliver Duku

Witness in Sudan

by Richard Lindsley Walton



AS A GERMAN-TRAINED medical doctor, Oliver Duku was director of health services for Southern Sudan until the government based in Khartoum forced him from his job. Duku turned to the Episcopal Church of Sudan for help. The church recognized his gifts for ordained ministry and sent him to Virginia Theological Seminary for formal training. Duku, a priest in the Episcopal Church of Sudan, is now the dean of Bishop Allison Theological College. The college was founded during Sudan's civil war and has been forced to relocate twice, once when the seminary was burned to the ground. The seminary is now located in northern Uganda and is raising funds to return to Sudan.

What gives you confidence that Sudan's peace agreement of 2005 can be implemented? What are the greatest threats to the peace agreement?

The comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) signed in January 2005 between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM and SPLA) was reached through international pressure, not through the victory of one party or the other. The CPA differed from earlier North-South peace agreements in that the security arrangements have been better. The SPLA remained intact and responsible for security in the South, and there are United Nations peacekeepers in the war-affected areas. As for challenges to the peace: First, the Khartoum government of Sudan has not given up its desire to control the economic and mineral resources in the South. Nor has it given up the plan of Arabizing and Islamizing the South. It is doing all it can to discredit and destabilize the government of Southern Sudan.

Second, the government is encouraging conversions to Islam by giving money to indigenous entrepreneurs, both in Southern Sudan and in neighboring countries like Kenya, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In order to build a peaceful, united and prosperous Southern Sudan, we need to put aside our tribal and ethnic differences.

What about the Darfur region? What impact can the church in Sudan and the church in the West have in bringing peace to Darfur?

The Darfur situation is different from the Southern Sudan situation, though the two regions share the same general problem of having been marginalized by the Khartoum government. Darfur is predominantly Muslim (over 95 percent). There is fear in the ruling circles in Khartoum and Darfur that if peace is brought to the region through the intervention of the West, there may be a reduction in the Islamic population and possible increase in the number of Christians. This is why churches both inside and outside of Sudan may not play a significant role in bringing peace to Darfur, in contrast to their role in Southern Sudan.

The second issue in Darfur is the fragmentation of the forces fighting for their rights. The CPA was possible because the main factions of the SPLM came together to face the Khartoum government forces as a united front. Unless the rebel factions in Darfur come together and confront the government, it will be difficult to achieve peace. The government in Khartoum is expert in the divide-and-rule strategy.

Equally important is the need for the international community, including the church, to act to forestall the activities of the government in Khartoum and its Janjaweed militias on the ground in Darfur. Foreign governments are in a better position than the churches to act decisively in Darfur, because any action by the churches would be viewed not only by Khartoum but by most people in the Arab-Islamic world as an attempt to convert the Darfurians to Christianity.

With atrocities still occurring in Darfur and millions of Sudanese still displaced, why is Bishop Allison Theological College seeking to resume operation in Sudan?

In spite of the tenuous security situation, we believe that the presence of the school inside Sudan is essential. BATC needs to be in Sudan to contribute to the rehabilitation and reconstruction effort, both spiritually and physically. Our presence will also build confidence in those of our people still in exile to think of returning to Sudan to participate in the physical and spiritual reconstruction, just as Nehemiah and the Israelite exiles once did. We need to offer a holistic ministry of seminars, workshops and capacity-building exercises, and we must address issues of environmentally sustainable agriculture, HIV/AIDS prevention and care, the development of skills, such as carpentry, and various forms of counseling.

Christian Century July 1, 2008

Civil authorities have rejected a call for a truth and reconciliation commission. What is the church's view?

The Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic Church have already set up a Justice, Peace and Reconciliation Commission. Even before the CPA was signed in 2005, this commission was working to bring peace, justice and harmony among the Christians and others in Sudan. The work of this commission needs to be expanded, and the government of Southern Sudan (and even the central government) needs to be involved in a more formal truth and reconciliation commission that will include Muslims and other religious groups.

The church can take the lead in this effort. The fear of revenge or retributive justice may not allow the perpetrators of crimes to come forward to confess. The possibility of honest confession and forgiveness is a better inducement for those who have wronged others and those who have been wronged to come forward and confront each other. This is not possible

when revenge or retributive justice is the norm. Hence the South African truth and reconciliation process or the Rwandan post-genocide processes offer a better model. This should not, however, rule out the possibility of payment of compensation for property damaged, although it can never compensate for the lives of murdered relatives.

If there is genuine confession, apology and forgiveness, the truth and reconciliation process can heal the wounds in the hearts of the victims and also remove the feeling of guilt from the perpetrators of the crimes.

Are the Christian community and the Muslim community able to work together?

As far as the Southern Sudanese are concerned, there is no problem for the two religious groups to coexist. As a matter of fact, before the introduction of Islamic Shari'a law and the intensification of the Islamization and Arabization policy, Muslims and Christians

lived together, even in one family, for decades without any tensions. And during the civil war, Southern Sudanese Christians and Muslims, and Muslims from the Nuba Mountains and southern Blue Nile regions, fought shoulder to shoulder against their oppressors. So there should be no problem for the two races and religious groups to work together, provided justice and equality is recognized and observed for all.

Are you fearful of being the target of reprisals in Sudan, especially since you have spoken of how BATC was persecuted?

Not at all. Jesus asked us to speak the truth, and the truth will set you free. All that I have spoken is the truth. And if I am victimized for speaking the truth, I am ready to suffer for it.

Richard Lindsley Walton is a priest in the Episcopal Church (USA) and the former director of the Anglican Theological Institute in Belmopan, Belize.

CC

Copyright © by the *Christian Century*.
Reprinted by permission from the
July 1, 2008 issue of the *Christian Century*, www.christiancentury.org.

Writings of Oliver Meru Duku

Israelite Exile in Babylon: Tragedy or Religious Revival?, unpublished M.T.S. thesis, 1995, Bishop Payne Library, Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Virginia, USA, website: www.vts.edu/library

“The Development and Growth of Mayo Congregations”, in *Land of Promise: Church Growth in a Sudan at War*, Andrew C. Wheeler, ed. (Faith in Sudan series). Nairobi: Paulines Publications of Africa, 1997

A History of the Church in Kajo-Keji: the Gospel Comes to the “Dreamland”. Khartoum: New Day Publishers, 2001.

Peacebuilding and Reconciliation in Post-Conflict South Sudan: the Implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 9th January 2005 (50 pp.). Juba: Catholic Press Institute, n.d.



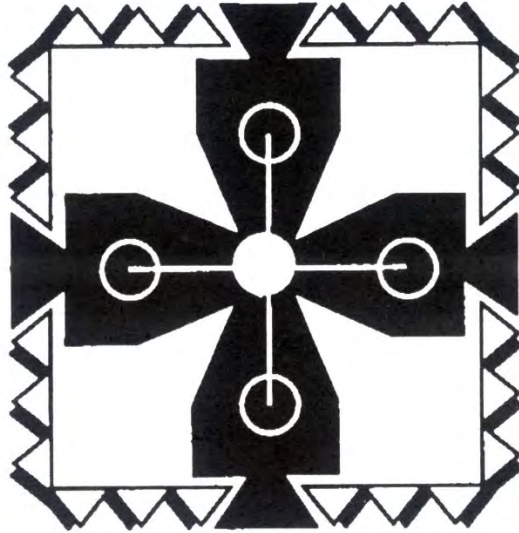
Sudanese Nativity by Marc R. Nikkel

This autobiography is more than a book to study in a class. It shows how God calls and uses individuals in the most resistant milieux of ministry. Duku's eyes were fixed on looking for available opportunities to serve, despite the discomforting reception his teaching ministry initially encountered. I am convinced this book can be useful for the Pastoral Dimension course taught at any Bible school or seminary.

The Very Rev. Samuel Galuak Marial
Principal, Bishop Gwynne College, Juba, South Sudan.

We will be interested in promoting this book. Oliver Duku's autobiography will contribute to our goal: to collect, preserve, and make freely accessible biographical accounts and church histories – from oral and written sources – integral to a scholarly understanding of African Christianity.

Dr. Jonathan J. Bonk
Director, Dictionary of African Christian Biography, Boston University, USA



Cross motif from *Land of Promise: Church Growth in a Sudan at War*,
Paulines Publications of Africa, Nairobi, 1997

