

History of Anyanya war in South Sudan 1955-1972

Prof Daniel Thabo Nyibong

University of Juba, School of Education, Department of History

*Corresponding Author: Prof Daniel Thabo Nyibong

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Article History	Abstract
<p>Original Research Article</p>	<p><i>The history of the Anyanya war in South Sudan commenced in 1955 in Torit Town in Eastern Equatoria in form of Mutiny by Equatorial corps, The First Civil War began and perpetuated until the signing of Addis Ababa Agreement. On 18 August of 1955, when the Southern troops in Torit were told to embark on trucks destined for Juba, subsequently to be transported to Khartoum by steamer, they rejected all orders. They then attacked the Northern officers and broke into the armory to secure arms and ammunition. The purpose of this study is to examine how Anyanya started and ended in Addis Ababa peace talks. The movement of 1955 in Torit was disorganized without clear leadership, the Anyanya movement was officially recognized as a movement in 1963 in Addis Ababa. This study is trying to identify the causes of divisions among Southern Sudanese in the movement and their responses to the Sudan Government positions. In 1958 Gen. Abboud took over the Sudan government. Assembly was closed and MPs were sent home. For six months the former leaders of the South planned to leave the Sudan.</i></p> <p><i>At the end of 1960 they crossed the border into Uganda. Sometime later, an even more eminent man came to join the refugees. William Deng crossed into Kenya by Land Rover. After him, many of those men became eminent in the political and sometimes the military struggle of the Southern peoples: Joseph Oduho, Father Saturnino, Nathaniel Oyet. Aggrey Jaden followed soon after. In 1961, the situation was a quiet year, by 1962; the situation was chaos in the South. School boy strikes burst out all over the South. Southern politicians, particularly William Deng, were travelling to foreign capitals in Europe and Africa, seeking for a peaceful solution to the problem of the Southern Sudan. At the same time, they were planning action. The school boys called out on a strike by William Deng in 1962 were not seeking a peaceful solution; they were called out to become soldiers of the new liberation army. Many Southern Sudanese students were disappointed as well. They expected to see, at any moment, units of a new liberation army appear. So in the month of September, 1963, they slipped into a camp near the post of Pachalla. The Southern politicians in Ethiopia promised those guns and other supplies. When a month had passed the men were completely out of food and were hungry. They managed to capture two guns from the police at the nearby post of Pachalla.</i></p> <p><i>Paul Ruot was the commander of this force of Pachalla. He decided to take action, guns or no guns. The hungry inexperienced group went to storm the Government post. After a three day battle the shops, prison, and police lines all fell to the rebels. All the Arab traders were killed, except for one woman, Umm Salama, who was kept prisoner and eventually returned to Akobo. Agola, the king of the Anyawak, supported the rebels. Agola, the Anywak king, brought seventy more guns plus ammunition to the insurgent forces.</i></p> <p><i>The Anyanya also began in Equatoria. Crossing over from Uganda, young rebels and old ex-army men began to fight both on the Eastern and Western sides of the Nile. Using dynamite which they slipped out of Uganda mines, the insurgent forces flew up a number of bridges and commenced to ambush Sudan army units. It was in Bahr al Ghazal that the most daring feat</i></p>
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was attempted. Bernardino Mau, the son of a Dinka chief made plans to capture the war armoury in January 1965. He almost succeeded. However, while approaching armoury guards saw them, and opened fire. Bernardino Mau was hanged for attempted rebellion. The Sudan army reacted, but it was unable to control the growing revolt in all three Southern provinces.

Although the rebels were very poorly armed, without any source of military supplies, without any control command, in September 1963, the Anyanya war began because some young men were determined to drive out the Arabs. In June 1964 Paul Ruot, the commander in Upper Nile, sent Paul Adung north along the Ethiopia-Sudan border to the Burun. After reaching the Burun, this Anyanya group turned West and reached the white Nile in the Renk-Melut area. Another group under the command of Paul Awel was sent towards Malakal, the province Headquarters for Upper Nile. Paul Awel spread the Anyanya control to the area South of Malakal especially to Panjak (Central Nuer). Gay Tut was sent to Lou Nuer. Daniel Chuol went to Nasir (Western Nuer), Daniel Chwogo was sent to the Shilluk area to inform people that the Anyanya was coming soon. As a result, the Sudan army has never had the ability to regain that part of the Southern Sudan which fell to the rebels in 1964. Soon after Daniel Chwogo was sent to the Malakal area, rumours began spreading that Anyanya had come. The Sudan army was called to attack the Atar School, south of Malakal about 25 miles. Southern Sudanese teachers at the Atar Intermediate School were carried off to Kodok. Kodok was the most notorious of the government prison camps in the Upper Nile Province. Suspects were beaten, tied by the ankles hoisted up in the air, and dropped again on their heads. A number of leading Southern Sudanese died at Kodok from their tortures these school boys mostly ran away when they heard the rumours of the coming of the army. There were a few Southern policemen and the school boys were able to get their guns. Much more critical though, was the Arab police officer. He was sleeping outside because the night was hot, and under his bed was a Bren gun. The students crept very quietly and managed to get the gun, but they did not know how to fire and the officer escaped. These strong boys found themselves in possession of guns a number of and ammunition without any experience of how those guns should be used. An urgent call for help brought Daniel Chwogo and other officers who soon trained the men and made them into a strong and effective Anyanya force.

The Southern Front came to dominate the politics of the Southern Sudan for the next few months. The ensured genuine Southern Sudanese opinion was represented at all levels of politics, and contributed to the political education of a politically unsophisticated people. Because the Southern Front was a Southern Sudanese political movement within the Sudan, it had to be careful. It never came out clearly for a policy of independence or separation from the north. It declared the need for a plebiscite to determine what the future of Southern Sudan would be. The second important development came immediately after the Abboud regime was overthrown. SANU was the political movement outside the Sudan representing Southern Sudan aspirations organized by William Deng Nhial. However, officially, SANU proclaimed the need for a peaceful solution and declared itself against violence. Aggrey Jaden and William Deng were struggling for power within SANU as well. Aggrey Jaden was the leader of one faction of SANU that refused completely to return to the Sudan.

Politically, the most important development for the Southern Sudan during the interim Government was the Southernization policy. This was the first time that any significant Southernization happened in the administration of the Southern Sudan. Many Southern Sudanese Officials were transferred to the South for the first time. Southern Sudanese had responsible positions in the Government. The impact of Southernization was that for the first time Southern Sudanese began to feel part of the Sudan. Anyanya could not react to the caretaker Government in the same way as the political movement did. Psychologically Anyanya was not prepared to talk peace. It was spreading rapidly in the South Sudan. Anyanya leaders had only a little more confidence in their own politicians than they had in Northern politicians. They were willing to wait and see what happened. The most significant change for the Anyanya

was the Cease Fire .The prime minister ,Sir al Khatim, called for a cease fire on November10,1964..On 12 November ,1964,Clement Mboro ,the minister of interior and a leader of Southern Front, made the call as well. 51 Southern Sudanese met on 28th of October 1965 and laid the foundation plan for the beginning of a Southern Sudanese political movement. It was called to settle the question of internal unity and leadership in 1967. Those who accepted the political leadership at that time agreed to move inside the Sudan. The new government formed called itself the Southern Provisional Government. It was led by Aggrey Jaden as the leader. In 1968, arms deals with Russia brought an even greater flow of arms into the Government hands. When Numeiri took over in 1969, he was forced to look North even more to the Arab World. The Mahdists feared his socialism, and tried to rebel. The rebellion was crushed, and Hadi el Mahdi, their leader, was killed. The Anyanya grew out of anger about the imposition of Islam on Southern Sudan. There was constant Struggles for power and dissatisfaction within the Government when another convention met in March 1969. A new leadership was chosen, but this was not accepted by all factions. An unsuccessful Coup d'état resulted in the division of Anyanya. The new government formed in 1969, which called itself the Nile provisional Government, finally disbanded in 1970. Late in 1970, when the Anyanya ambushed Army forces near Akobo, the Army returned to Akobo and shot the leading Southerners. Anyanya claim 180 was killed. The Peace deal was signed in Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972

Keywords: South Sudan, Sudan Government Torit mutiny, Anyanya movement, Military rulers, Coup d'état, Camps, three Southern Provinces Islamization Policy, Southernization Policy, Recognition of anyanya in 1963 and Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972.

INTRODUCTION

The period of the marked differences between the North and the South began to be set as far back as the 1820s, when Turco-Egyptian forces first established control over the Northern Sudan as they sought natural resources and economic expansion. The Southern Sudan remained isolated, as it had for many centuries, by the Upper Nile swamplands known as the Sudd and the forest and mountains farther south and east. In 1841, however, this isolation was broken when Turco-Egyptian steamers penetrated the interior of the South and exploitation of the animal and human resources of the region began. The Turco-Egyptians and Northern Sudanese Arabs first scoured the region for ivory but soon resorted to slaving, which provided them with great profits. Continued Turco-Egyptian exploitation and economic turmoil in the Sudan created conditions favorable to the rise of a Muslim holy man and zealot named Muhammed Ahmed Ibn Abdalla ,who in 1881 announced himself to be the Mahdi, an Islamic messianic figure whom Islamic tradition holds will arise before judgment day to restore the true religion of Islam over the world .Believing he had been divinely chosen to rid the Sudan of its Egyptians rulers, he gathered an army and by 1885 had driven the Egyptians and British (who had taken control of three years earlier) from most of

the Sudanese territory they had occupied. In that year, his forces captured Khartoum, and al-Mahdi established a theocratic Mahdist state¹ .Moreover, the British administration in Khartoum, fully aware of the exploitation of human and animal resources in the South by the Turco-Egyptians, their Northern Arab middlemen, and the mahdists during the nineteenth century, also had concerns about preserving the traditional ways of life of the people in the region²

History of the Anyanya War in South Sudan in 1955-1972

On 18 August of 1955, when the Southern troops in Torit were told to embark on trucks destined for Juba, subsequently to be transported to Khartoum by steamer, they rejected all orders. They then attacked the Northern officers and broke into the armory to secure arms and ammunitions. The Southern soldiers shot and killed the Northern officers, burned their houses, and looted their property³ The rebellion was put down⁴. On the same day, about 190 Southern troops mutinied at the Southern towns of Juba, Yei, Yambio, and Meridi. In the first wave of disturbances in the three Southern provinces, Seventy-five Southerners and 3 Northerners lost their lives.⁵ No one

¹ Scopas S.Poggio (2009)The First Sudanese Civil War, Africans, Arabs, and Israelis in the Southern Sudan,1955-1972.Palgrave Macmillan pp 21-22

² bid p.25

³ Report of the commission p.80

⁴ Daniel Thabo Nyibong, 2024. The impact of Change Agents on Southern Sudan History 1898-1973, Juba, p.134

⁵ Ibidp.45

knows when the Anyanya war began. Many Southern Sudanese claim they were born enemies of the Arabs⁶

The First Civil War began and perpetuated until the signing of Addis Ababa Agreement. (Whany 1968). There were the miserable days that South Sudan Civilians went through during the course of war. In popular fiction, the Anyanya War is said to begin in 1955. Although all of the Anyanya roots can be found in past history, the actual beginning was much more recent.

General Abboud in 1958

He took over the Sudan government. Assembly was closed and MPS were sent home. The representatives from Ekuatoria took the long trip by steamer from Kosti to Juba. On the boat they talked over the new turn of events. The political story of the Southern Sudan after 1958 had not been a happy one at all. Every attempt to turn the Sudan state into a federation had been turned down. Elia Lupe who was one of the politicians, he wanted to give army change Perhaps, the Army would impose Federation by force However, Ali Baldo who was the governor in Juba., he met those politicians when they arrived Juba by steamer with a joy which frightened them. Ali Baldo said to them that he was happy that the army had taken over. This, he said, he had been waiting for⁷ The Southern Sudan had not perceived the unity of the Sudan. From now on, Ali Baldo added, anyone acting contrary to Government policy would be severely dealt with. The Sudan no longer has a democratic constitution: the sooner the South learns to understand this better. In case the Southern politicians had not caught the point the commander in the South, Tana, stated that the Army would not tolerate trouble makers. The Southern parliamentarians felt considerably subdued. Nevertheless, the Anyanya movement was not yet conceived.

The events of 1960 were very upsetting. Attempts were made to force the Muslim religion on many parts of the South. Reports were out that the North intended to colonize the Southern borders bringing in one and a half million settlers so that South Sudan would be separated for ever from East Africa. When Northern merchants easily got their licenses and Southern merchants could get no licenses, Southerners became certain that the Economic exploitation was just beginning. Wherever the Southerner went, the shadow of the Northerner loomed over him. Northerner was the police, the administrator, the merchant and the school teacher. He was now trying to impose his religion and culture and language on the people. All these were fears in

the minds of the ex-leaders of the South. When they also heard rumours that their lives were in danger, the seeds of Anyanya were planted. For six months the former leaders of the South planned to leave the Sudan. At the end of 1960 they crossed the border into Uganda. Sometime later, an even more eminent man came to join the refugees. William Deng crossed into Kenya by land Rover. After him, many of those men became eminent in the political and sometime the military struggle of the Southern peoples: Joseph Oduho, Father Saturnino, Nathaniel Oyet. Aggrey Jaden followed soon after.

In 1961, the situation was a quiet year, by 1962; the situation was chaos in the South. School boy strikes burst out all over the South. One incident occurred; two Arab soldiers were killed at Kaji-Keji⁸ There was nothing that took place. Southern politicians, particularly William Deng, were travelling to foreign capitals in Europe and Africa, seeking for a peaceful solution to the problem of the Southern Sudan. At the same time, they were planning action. The school boys called out on a strike by William Deng in 1962 were not seeking a peaceful solution; they were called out to become soldiers of the new liberation army.

Pachalla Area

At first, nothing went right. The rumors of invasion not only misled the Sudan army and Government. Many Southern Sudanese students were disappointed as well. They expected to see, at any moment, units of a new liberation army appear. No such army materialized. Students hanging around Gambela, an Ethiopian town on the Sudan's Eastern border, became impatient. Ethiopian authorities frequently arrested them, and they were in danger of being returned to Sudan. So in the month of September, 1963, they slipped into a camp near the post of Pachalla. The recruits swelled out to several thousand-they claim as many as six thousand. -But they had at the most only four guns. Four men had experience in the police, one man had been a corporal in the army. These men trained the young school boys and other candidates for the army that they were forming. The Southern politicians in Ethiopia, promised them guns and other supplies. When a month had passed the men were completely out of food and were hungry. They managed to capture two guns from the police at the nearby post of Pachalla. The dry season was now approaching.

The role of Paul Ruot

He was the commander of this force of Pachalla. He decided to take action, guns or no guns. The hungry

⁶ Rev. William Anderson (1968) East Africa and the Nile valley Seminars Paper X. The Anyanya war p.1

⁷ Rev William Anderson p.1

⁸ Rev William Anderson p.2

inexperienced group went to storm the Government post. After a three day battle the shops, prison, and police lines all fell to the rebels. All the Arab traders were killed, except for one woman, Umm Salama, who was kept prisoner and eventually returned to Akobo.

The role of Agola, The Anywak King

He supported the rebels. The rebellion began to gain its own momentum, commencing first with four guns. They managed to get a few guns totaling eleven when they actually launched the attack. On the second day of the attack, the Anywak king brought fourteen guns. These guns were relics of World War II, and are kept by all people living on the Ethiopia-Sudan border.

A Company of Soldiers to recapture Pachalla

The Sudan Government had been expecting hostilities for a long time. After the capture of Pachalla, the Soldiers from Akobo were sent hoping to recapture the post. The company was ambushed and the Anyanya captured an automatic gun, ten boxes ammunition as well as some hand grenades. The army forces retreated to Pibor, reinforced themselves and occupied Pachalla. Agola, the Anywak king, brought seventy more guns plus ammunition to the insurgent forces. The Anyanya then occupied a little Island in the river near Pachalla making it impossible for the army occupying Pachalla to get water. They also cut the road. On the seventh day four jet fighters appeared over Pachalla as well as an ordinary Sudan Airways plane, which came carrying food and water. The Sudan Airways plane landed at the strip, but as it was coming down, it was struck by Anyanya gun fire, and burst into flames on landing. The jets returned to the base. That night the Anyanya evacuated Pachalla.

Anyanya in Ekuatoria

The Anyanya also began in Ekuatoria. Crossing over from Uganda, young rebels and old ex-army men began to fight both on the Eastern and Western sides of the Nile. Using dynamite which they slipped out of Uganda mines, the insurgent forces flew up a number of bridges and commenced to ambush Sudan army units. It was in Bahr al Ghazal that the most daring feat was attempted. Bernardino Mau, the son of a Dinka chief made plans to capture the war armoury in January 1965. He almost succeeded. However, while approaching armoury guards saw them, and opened fire. Bernardino Mau was captured and with two others he was hanged for attempted rebellion. Had the armoury father, rebels would have taken Wau, and the government situation in the province of Bahr al Ghazal would have been challenging indeed.

The Sudan army reacted, but it was unable to control the growing revolt in all three Southern provinces. Although

the rebels were very poorly armed, without any source of military supplies, without any control command, in September 1963, the Anyanya war began because some young men were determined to drive out the Arabs.

The growth of Anyanya war

The siege of pachalla was stopped by the Anyanya forces. Consequently, they opened one of the most crucial periods of Anyanya growth. The whole Southern Sudan came under Anyanya control within few months. Many volunteered to fight but only a few could be taken. The Anyanya then set up a coup in the remote swamps of Pibor. New soldiers were trained and the Anyanya was forming itself into companies. When the rain began to fall, making it impossible for the Sudan army to move as it had moved before, the situation changed dramatically. In June 1964 the commander in Upper Nile, Paul Ruot. Sent Paul Adung north along the Ethiopia-Sudan border to the Burun. After reaching the Burun, this Anyanya group turned West and reached the white Nile in the Renk-Melut area. Another group under the command of Paul Awel was sent towards Malakal, the province Headquarters for Upper Nile. Paul Awel spread the Anyanya control to the area South of Malakal especially to Panjak (Central Nuer). Gay Tut was sent to Lou Nuer. Daniel Chuol went to Nasir (Western Nuer), Daniel Chwogo was sent to the Shilluk area to inform people that the Anyanya was coming soon. The whole structure of the Sudan government administration collapsed. Everywhere people had welcomed the Anyanya, paid taxes, volunteered to fight. As a result, the Sudan army has never had the ability to regain that part of the Southern Sudan which fell to the rebels in 1964.

Soon after Daniel Chwogo was sent to the Malakal area, rumours began spreading that Anyanya had come. The Sudan army was called to attack the Atar School, south of Malakal about 25 miles. Southern Sudanese teachers at the Atar Intermediate School were carried off to Kodok. Kodok was the most notorious of the government prison camps in the Upper Nile Province. Suspects were beaten, tied by the ankles hoisted up in the air, and dropped again on their heads. A number of leading Southern Sudanese died at Kodok from their tortures

Escaping of the Atar School boys into the bush

These school boys mostly ran away when they heard the rumours of the coming of the army. About forty one students went out to look for Daniel Chwogo. They didn't find him, but they were determined to take action anyhow. They entered the post at night. There were a few Southern policemen and the school boys were able to get their guns. Much more critical though, was the Arab police officer. He was sleeping outside because the night was hot, and under his bed was a Bren gun. The students crept very quietly and

managed to get the gun, but they did not know how to fire and the officer escaped. Shooting drove other policemen from bed, who threw themselves into the Nile in order to escape. These strong boys found themselves in possession of guns a number of and ammunition without any experience of how those guns should be used. An urgent call for help brought Daniel Chwogo and other officers who soon trained the men and made them into a strong and effective Anyanya force.

The period of the care taker government

The Anyanya rebellion was brought about by foolish policies of Islamization that was used by the military rulers of the Sudan. These were the direct causes of the rebellion in Southern Sudan the Sudanese military rulers were not only unpopular in South Sudan. . .As the years went by, they became more and more unpopular in North Sudan. With the Southern rebellion spreading disastrously, the Abboud government asked for help. Dr. Hassan Turbi of the University College used the occasion to attack military rule. Rioters came out into the streets A young University student Qureishi, was shot down by the soldiers. In its place, a broad based coalition from many different factions in the Sudan was formed. The Prime Minister, Sir al Khattim, appeared to be a miracle choice. He was a man who understood the South Sudan having worked there many years.

The North Sudan showed enthusiasm for the new government. Freedoms were restored to them. A new spirit came into the country. For the South Sudan, the interim government of Sir al Khattim was also the beginning of freedom. In the first place, the new political climate brought about the formation of a Southern Sudanese movement within Sudan. While the riots were still going on against General Abboud, 51 Southern Sudanese met on 28th of October 1965 and laid the foundation plan for the beginning of a Southern Sudanese political movement.

The Southern Front.

This front came to dominate the politics of the Southern Sudan for the next few months. The ensured genuine Southern Sudanese opinion was represented at all levels of politics, and contributed to the political education of a politically unsophisticated people. Because the Southern Front was a Southern Sudanese political movement within the Sudan, it had to be careful. It never came out clearly for a policy of independence of separation from the north. It declared the need for a plebiscite to determine what the future of Southern Sudan would be. The second important

development came immediately after the Abboud regime was overthrown.

SANU

This was the political movement outside the Sudan representing Southern Sudan aspirations organized by William Deng Nhial. SANU was two sided. One side of it organized and supported as much as possible the militant Anyanya movement. However, officially, SANU proclaimed the need for a peaceful solution and declared itself against violence. The new developments had thrown SANU into confusion. The unity of SANU had always been precarious. A serious split occurred in the leadership soon after the October revolution. Some SANU leaders were interested only in negotiating the independence of the Southern Sudan. Others were ready to compromise, and thought that the demand for independence was unrealistic or would take too long to achieve. Anyhow SANU made the first positive move though divided as it was. SANU offered to return to the Sudan if three conditions could be fulfilled:

- a) An amnesty for all refugees and rebels.
- b) Recognition of SANU and freedom for it to function in the Sudan.
- c) A Round Table Conference be held between Northern and Southern representatives, including political parties, Judiciary, University and Trade Union Leaders⁹

SANU did not need to operate within the Sudan. This was because the Southern Front was more and more becoming an effective political agency. Southern Sudanese exiles were extremely suspicious of Northern Politicians. They preferred a conference to be held outside the Sudan. When outside the Sudan appeared to be unacceptable to the Northern Sudanese, SANU insisted that it should be. However as incident in Juba, caused some alarm in the north. The South, they declared would not be safe until Anyanya had laid down its arms.

Aggrey Jaden and William Deng

There was a struggle for power within SANU as well. Aggrey Jaden was the leader of one faction of SANU that refused completely to return to the Sudan. However, William Deng claimed to represent another group of SANU. He flew back to the Sudan, saying that he would start discussion as soon as they could be arranged. William Deng's initiated forced hand of the Sudanese, and the other reluctant SANU delegates finally decided to come home

⁹ M.O. Beshir, The Southern Sudan, pp 88-89

Discussions began on 16th March, 1965. Each of the various factions in the North, represented at the conference gave its view of the future of the Sudan all insisted on preserving Sudan's Unity. The Southern Sudanese replied, and the Southern Front pressed that the Southern Sudan should choose its own future in a plebiscite. Northern Sudanese politicians rejected a plebiscite as impractical or dangerous to the future unity of the Sudan, feeling that the South would vote for separation. Southerners presented no other programme. Instead the Southern Politicians attacked bitterly the North for all that had gone wrong in the South. This was a great shock to Northerners, who felt the British Colonialists were eagerly to blame for the South's woes in the end the Round Table Conference proved a failure. All the Northern solutions which attempted to preserve the unity of the Sudan were to have no idea of what they actually wanted to do¹⁰ The Southerners actually did have a programme. They had drawn up a draft constitution for a federation, giving the South Sudan a special position. However, they had agreed not to talk about Federation unless proposed by a Northerner First. The reason was this; the North had shown itself implacably hostile to federation in the past. They know if the South proposed federation, the Northerners would pressure them to compromise The Anyanya could only agree to a loose federation at the least, and every Southern Politician knew that the Anyanya had the final vote. This was why the Southern Politicians were silent

Politically, the most important development for the Southern Sudan during the interim Government was the Southernization policy. This was the first time that any significant Southernization happened in the administration of the Southern Sudan. Many Southern Sudanese Officials were transferred to the South for the first time. Southern Sudanese had responsible positions in the Government. Clement Mboro was the minister of the interior. Before Southern Sudanese were usually made ministers for animal resources. The impact of Southernization was that for the first time Southern Sudanese began to feel part of the Sudan.

Anyanya and the caretaker Government

Anyanya could not react to the caretaker Government in the same way as the political movement did. Psychologically Anyanya was not prepared to talk peace. It was spreading rapidly in the South Sudan. Anyanya leaders had only a little more confidence in their own politicians than they had in Northern politicians. They were willing to wait and see what happened. The most significant change for the Anyanya was the Cease Fire. The prime minister,

Sir al Khatim, called for a cease fire on November 10, 1964. On November 12, 1964, Clement Mboro, the minister of interior and a leader of Southern Front, made the call as well. Later he made a visit to Southern Sudan to try to persuade Anyanya to stop fighting. Both sides eventually agreed, and even before they agreed, the level of violence was reduced very much. However, there never seems to have been any document of cease fire signed. Both sides accused the other of bad faith and of violation of the cease fire. The lull in fighting was parallel by much easier communications between countryside and town. Anyanya used the situation to send their agents into the towns to buy arms. Their agents approached Arab soldiers, offering them money in exchange for arms and ammunition. They began a trade which has continued until today.

ARMS TRADE

This arms trade was begun by the Sudan Government itself. When a number of African states decided to give more military support to the Congo Simbas, many of the arms was sent through the Sudan. The Simbas proved to be less than determined freedom fighters. However, they were invaluable to the Sudanese rebels. Some of their arms was hijacked by the Anyanya when passing through Sudan. Many more were bought for cash. The mercenaries sold what they captured as well. Other arms were captured when the Simbas surrendered to the Anyanya thinking that they were to be the Sudan army.

During this period Anyanya was able to reorganize, to get itself much better arms, and to train more soldiers. It also kept spreading. In a number of places, still under government control, Anyanya took over. For instance, at Ler, in Eastern Nuer, a number of local people made plans to take the post. They contacted the Anyanya forces at Rumbek who sent back three men and five guns. With that, the local people overran the post killing Northern policemen and Arab merchants. The Anyanya ignored the cease fire when it was inconvenient. The army did as well. Paul Ruot, the commander in Upper Nile Province, was trapped and killed in battle during the cease fire. In a sense the cease fire was immaterial to the Anyanya. They did not expect the army to respect the cease fire just as they did not expect negotiations to lead to anything.

The violence which caused conflict in three towns of the Sudan.

These three towns were Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman. The riots were aimed at Southerners living in North Sudan. The Southerners themselves started the violence. A small riot occurred in the airport and on the road

¹⁰ M.O.Beshir, the Southern Sudan, p.86

to the city from the airport where the Southerners beat up a number of people on the streets. Northern Sudanese mobs roamed the streets beating and killing Southerners. Their clubs were sacked and burned. The police did little to cope with the riots first, although they later helped evacuate Southern Sudanese to the stadium where they were kept safe for a number of days. Northern Sudanese felt that Southerners had started the trouble and therefore deserved what they got. Southern Sudanese, who had always felt like strangers in the North now felt like refugees

How Southernization polices were executed.

There was even more serious drift in the South Sudan. Many Northern merchants deeply resented the Southernization policies. Every violation of the cease fire, whether by army or by Anyanya, made the Arab merchant community feel insecure. Joel Akec, a Southern police officer, was brought from the North and stationed at Bentiu in Eastern Nuer. When Joel Akec tried to put in force the Southernization of the police force, he met great opposition from his District Commissioner, and even mutiny by nine Arab police. The situation became intolerable when the Anyanya took Ler. Ler was under control of Bentiu, and Arabs bitterly criticized Joel as being the cause for Ler's capture. They pointed out that Southernization was followed by Anyanya take over and the massacre of the Arabs. At 8 O'clock one evening, Joel Akec was shot down in his house, killed by Northern police or officials. Southern policemen were all disarmed at Bentiu. Violence kept building up on each side, and each side was counting only atrocities of the other. The time of the caretaker government of Mahjoub took over. Two shocking massacres in July wiped out everything which had been done in the period. The massacre at Wau, the capital of Bahr al Ghazal, and at Juba, the capital of Equatoria were part of an attempt to finish all leaders of Southern Front in South Sudan. Those who were killed at the wedding ceremony at Wau on 11 July 1965 were reported over 70 people shot down. In Juba, a couple of days later Southerners claimed that as many as 1,400 people were slaughtered. When the smoke cleared, the Sudan was faced with solving its problems by military force.

The Anyanya

The Anyanya was well armed with Simba arms and ammunition, the Anyanya gave the army a good fight for a while. Actually the whole of the Southern Sudan with the exception of the main towns, fell into the hands of the Anyanya. The Situation has not changed since that time until today. In most parts of the Southern Sudan no kind of inter-tribe of political unity had ever existed before the Anyanya conquest in 1964.

Rival between Agola and Agada

These rival sections were among the Anywak Community. Agola was the Anywak king. the king armed and supported the forces Anyanya at Pachalla. He had a bitter rival with Agada. Agada sought arms from the Sudan Government as soon as the Anyanya revolt broke out. Anyanya sent a message to him, asking him to come and settle his case with his brother Agola. He refused. Agada's son was sent then with a small group of soldiers to be posted near Agada's village to gradually woo his father to the Anyanya side This little group was driven away. The Anyanya went on ignoring Agada, but in 1967 when he proved to be a nuisance to them, they attacked and crushed him. Agada himself fled to Akobo.

Revolts among the Nuer

There were groups from the Eastern Nuer who objected to Anyanya who objected to Anyanya for some reason or other. Gaajak Nuer were the most rebellious. In at least three places they fought Anyanya, mostly objecting to Anyanya taxes. The Gaajak Nuer live along Sudan-Ethiopia border and are found in both countries. The fighting with sections of Gaajak Nuer began in the middle of 1965. Early in 1966 one of the Nuer chiefs from Lou began to revolt against Anyanya. The name of this chief was Maker Thijok. He was probably influenced by a number of different things. For one thing he did not want to pay taxes to the Anyanya. He also probably believed that the Arabs could not be defeated. He lived close to the government centre, Waat. Many Nuer believe he became a rebel because this was prophesized by the great Nuer prophet Ngun Deng who died in 1908. He prophesized in a song that the son of a prostitute would come to oppose the Anyanya. And After Maker Thijok had killed two Anyanya soldiers who came to collect taxes and had interfered with expeditions going to Congo to seek arms, the Anyanya decided to crush him. Maker Thijok's men were given a hundred and seventy guns by the government reinforced by some soldiers. However, when the Anyanya attacked, the soldiers ran away, and although some of Maker's men fought bravely, the fight lasted only for three hours. Maker himself fled to Waat. Sometime later in November 1966 Anyanya made another attempt to get Maker when launched a full scale attack to Waat. Although they overran most of the town, they were not able to crush completely the garrison before they ran out of ammunition. But his rebellion So Maker was not captured. But his rebellion was crushed, and he has never attempted since then to rise in revolt.

There were other revolts and internal troubles in other parts of the Sudan as well. In Upper Nile Province, most of the troubles were confined to the Eastern Side. In Equatoria there were a few sections which refused to join the Anyanya, mostly because of traditional rivalry or conservatism. For instance the Turkan and Toposa at the

Sudan –Kenya border have never become involved in the fight.

Setting Up Anyanya Administration.

In 1964 Anyanya was able to gain control over large areas in South Sudan. Very soon after that the people insisted that the Anyanya should set up an administration. Men who had formerly had experienced in government administration were brought in to take care of the administration of areas now under the Anyanya control the main task of the administration was to collect taxes. The taxes consisted of cows, food and money. Cows are generally driven over the Ethiopian border and exchanged for guns or for other necessities. Money is used to buy things from the Arabs in the cities or to take into Uganda or other bordering Countries for the purchase of the things the movement needs. The rebellions show that there has been some resentment of Anyanya taxes. This is particularly because the Anyanya has been unable to defend people from attacks by the Sudan Army. Yet on the whole the Anyanya administration has gained the loyalty of Southern Sudanese to a very high degree. Famine was common in the past, but people now work hard and very few famines have occurred, and they are all very local

The Anyanya have therefore been able to establish effective control and have gained the effective loyalty of most of the people of Southern Sudan. This was the great accomplishment between 1964 and 1966. At the same time, the movement has been plagued by tribalism and by struggles for power from time to time. These divisions and disunities have for a time been very serious. Some of these divisions originated outside among politicians based in Uganda or Ethiopia who became agents for bringing supplies to the Anyanya, and who brought all the supplies to certain section of Anyanya. Other divisions were bound to take place. After the death of Paul Ruot in 1965, the Upper Nile command drifted into tribal units. Although the Anyanya army itself did not become divided tribally within the ranks, Nevertheless, in Upper Nile, where people were least educated and most tribal, tribalism has to a great extent been overcome. The main leaders were drawn from the tribe where they were operating, so they sometime became as such a big chief as a revolutionary leader. In Equatoria, where the Sudanese were the most educated and most developed, tribalism has been the most serious problem. Anyanya in Equatoria generally came to be organized on a tribal line/basis, each tribe operating within its own land. Each tribe has had its own sources of supply from outside, and this tended to fragment unity of the movement. For at a time, one of the leaders of the Anyanya in Zandeland ,Colonel Abujohn, was claiming for local autonomy for

Zandes .One group of Zandes intended to build a Zande state out Zandes living in the Sudan, Congo ,and the Central African Republic. This separate Zande movement has not become a very serious matter, and Col. Abujohn is at present second in Command among the Anyanya. But in Central and Eastern Equatoria, tribalism has remained a serious problem until today.

To build a great overall unity within the movement of Anyanya, the Anyanya took a number of steps to organize an overall political structure. Before 1967 the politicians who claimed to represent the Anyanya, or the Free South Sudan, lived outside the Sudan.

The Angundi Convention of 1967

It was called to settle the question of internal unity and leadership in 1967. Those who accepted the political leadership at that time agreed to move inside the Sudan. The new government formed called itself the Southern Provisional Government. It was led by Aggrey Jaden as the leader. There were constant Struggles for power and dissatisfaction within the Government when another convention met in March 1969. A new leadership was chosen, but this was not accepted by all factions. An unsuccessful Coup d'état resulted in the division of Anyanya. The new government formed in 1969, which called itself the Nile provisional Government, finally disbanded in 1970 Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal have not been affected by this as Equatoria. In fact Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal have remained politically united with one another and have strong links with most of the Anyanya movement in Western Equatoria. However; even Upper Nile had its problems. Daniel Chwogo was one of the great Anyanya leaders He was the Shilluk by tribe. He was assassinated in a plot in 1966.The cause of his death was because some leaders wanted to take over power. In 1970, in Upper Nile, Paul Nyingori was shot dead when they were fighting with the government army in Khor fus,Paul Nyingori from Anywak tribe was the commander of the Anyanya in Upper Nile. He was overthrown in a bloodless coup and replaced by the leadership. The Anyanya grew out of anger about the imposition of Islam on Southern Sudan. Late in 1970, when the Anyanya ambushed Army forces near Akobo, the Army returned to Akobo and shot the leading Southerners. Anyanya claim 180 were killed In 1968, arms deals with Russia brought an even greater flow of arms into the Government hands. When Numeiri took over in 1969, he was forced to look north even more to the Arab World. The Mahdists feared his socialism, and tried to rebel. The rebellion was crushed, and Hadi el Mahdi, their leader, was killed.

This stage engulfs the making of Addis Ababa agreement, was identified in three principal categories. According to (Swaka 2009) ‘‘ the real political contribution came from Inside. The country mainly from Southern Front.’’¹¹ (M. O. Basher, 1968.PP:101) cover the agreement as the opportunity of the Breakthrough and its establishment’’¹², The Decline of Addis Ababa Agreement, (Nyabeel 2014) the Mutiny of John Kuanen’s mutiny 1973 and its consequences’’¹³, the mutiny of John Kuanen, was a tragic political threat to the Agreement.’’¹⁴.The Regional Authority was established in 1973.¹⁵ Breidlid (Bridel 2011.PP : 175-177)’’ Regarding the Disturbances Inside and Around Juba (1974-1976) that the main reason was behind the transfer of 1974 and their refusal to the transfer’’¹⁶ (According to M. O.Basher,History of Sudan from the Coming of Islam to the Present. 1968) ‘‘Juba Airport Mutiny was the entire situation that became a real threat to the absorbers and felt insecure for they started to rebel since 1974.’’¹⁷ The Akobo mutiny of 1975 took place due to the refusal of transfer to the north Sudan and the news was spread following the arrival of the northern troop to Akobo and the garrison was attacked immediately’’¹⁸.

Conclusion

At the time of independence, there were two crucial developments in Sudan which overshadowed the immediate nationalist euphoria that had prevailed at least within the north when colonialism ended in 1956.The first was the mutiny of Southern Soldiers in the Equatorial corps at Torit a few Months before independence, in protest at arrangements that were being made about the future of a post colonial Sudan. The soldiers had heard rumors that the new Arab soldiers who had come to replace the British and Egyptian officers of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium were to form the local army in the South and Southern soldiers were to be transferred to the north. The 1955 Torit Mutiny was progressively escalating into a Southern-wide rebellion, and Abboud inherited this situation when he took power. His policy was to pursue the mutineers in the bush of South Sudan, and his army began to burn villages throughout 1958 and 1959 in an effort to confine the rebellion to the Southernmost region of Equatoria. These measures were so repressive that many South Sudanese, especially the educated few who were naturally suspected of supporting the mutineers, were forced to hide in the bush..Some joined with mutineers to set up what later became full scale guerrilla armies; others went into exile in

the neighboring countries of Uganda and Kenya, which was still British, ruled. Many more went into Congo when it became independent from Belgium in 1960. When civilians were arrested and tortured for the alleged role in the revolt, more and more of them joined the insurgency in order to escape the repression. The exiled politicians eventually organized themselves into a political movement called the Sudan African Nationalist Union (SANU). The Anyanya rebellion was caused by foolish policies of Islamization that was used by the military rulers of the Sudan. These were the direct causes of the rebellion in Southern Sudan. Peace Agreement is only useful when its provisions are implementable. The lack of cooperation between the two managers could only mean delay in expediting peace for the people of South Sudan and the reunification process would also be meaningless.

The Anyanya grew out of anger about the imposition of Islam on Southern Sudan.

In 1968, arms deals with Russia brought an even greater flow of arms into the Government hands. When Numeiri took over in 1969, he was forced to look north even more to the Arab World. The Mahdists feared his socialism, and tried to rebel. The rebellion was crushed, and Hadi el Mahdi, their leader, was killed. Late in 1970, when the Anyanya ambushed Army forces near Akobo, the Army returned to Akobo and shot the leading Southerners. Anyanya claim 180 were killed Addis Ababa Peace Agreement was signed between the Sudan Government and Anyanya leaders in 1972 in Ethiopian Capital town. The findings have demonstrated that the real political contribution to the Addis Ababa Agreement came from inside in the signing of Peace deals.

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