

# FARMERS AND HERDERS IN THE BLUE NILE AREA

CONFLICT OR SYMBIOSIS?

[Al-Amin Abu-Manga, Günther Schlee and Elhadi Ibrahim Osman]



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**DEPARTMENT 'INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT'**  
FIELD NOTES AND RESEARCH PROJECTS XXVI

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Cover Photo: Fulbe leaving Damazin area and heading southwards,

June, 2013, © Al-Amin Abu-Manga

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# SERIES EDITOR'S PREFACE

(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

## ABOUT THE SERIES

This series of *Field Notes and Research Projects* does not aim to compete with high-impact, peer-reviewed books and journal articles, which are the main ambition of scholars seeking to publish their research. Rather, contributions to this series complement such publications. They serve a number of different purposes.

In recent decades, anthropological publications have often been purely discursive – that is, they have consisted only of words. Often, pictures, tables, and maps have not found their way into them. In this series, we want to devote more space to visual aspects of our data.

Data are often referred to in publications without being presented systematically. Here, we want to make the paths we take in proceeding from data to conclusions more transparent by devoting sufficient space to the documentation of data.

In addition to facilitating critical evaluation of our work by members of the scholarly community, stimulating comparative research within the institute and beyond, and providing citable references for books and articles in which only a limited amount of data can be presented, these volumes serve an important function in retaining connections to field sites and in maintaining the involvement of the people living there in the research process. Those who have helped us to collect data and provided us with information can be given these books and booklets as small tokens of our gratitude and as tangible evidence of their cooperation with us. When the results of our research are sown in the field, new discussions and fresh perspectives might sprout.

Especially in their electronic form, these volumes can also be used in the production of power points for teaching; and, as they are open-access and free of charge, they can serve an important public outreach function by arousing interest in our research among members of a wider audience.

# INTRODUCTION

GÜNTHER SCHLEE

## FROM CONFLICT TO SYMBIOSIS

In spite of industrialized chicken or pig or even sheep production (see pictures) and large scale monocultures of crops which form an important part of the source of our food, people in the temperate zone and many of the more ‘traditional’ rural areas in the tropics still think of a farm as an integrated system of plant and animal production. Animals are fed on products and by-products of plant production and the manure is recycled into this very plant production.



Photo 1: Sheep are classical pasture animals with a high range of mobility, even in Europe, where mobile forms of pastoralism are not so common. Even they, however, can be produced industrially with zero grazing, spending their lives in huge sheds on a metal grid through which their dung can fall. Awad Karim from the Department of Animal production of the University of Sennar, Sudan, has brought these pictures from a site visited as part of a ‘Training Program of Modern Agricultural Engineering Technology’ at Yangzhou University. (AWAD KARIM TIJANI, 2017)



Photo 2: Life on a grid.

(AWAD KARIM TIJANI, 2017)

This exchange of substances contributes to the ecological sustainability of agriculture and is a decisive factor for the success of agriculture in human history, which became the source of almost all of our food. Fish may be the only domain in which a substantial part of our food is still caught from the wild (however with the importance of 'domestic' fish from fish farming increasing). In all other domains of our diet, most of us ceased to be hunter-gatherers thousands of years ago and now are exclusively dependent on agriculture (comprising plant and animal production) with integrated agriculture still being the classical variant.

The spatial separation of animal production and plant production has not happened for the first time in modern industrial mass animal husbandry and crop monoculture. There has been another such separation, first thousands of years ago and since again and again in different places.

In certain ecological zones, animal production has separated from plant production and specialized herders have separated from mixed farmers, to exploit niches which cannot be profitably used for plant production but where mobile herds thrive well. One of these regions is the arctic where reindeer nomads traverse wide areas which are too cold to grow any domestic crops. Apart from the high Andes, the dry belt of the old world, spanning from the African savannahs and deserts to the steppe of eastern Europe and Inner Asia, is the other region where animal husbandry has split from mixed agriculture and developed mobile forms to extend into environments not suitable to the plough (Schlee 2005). In the New World, mobile ranching on the open range has developed and been replaced again by stable ranches within a few decades or a century.

Large areas of Africa are suitable for mobile animal production. Many of these until recently have not been suitable for farming, but with changing technology, mechanized farming has in recent decades penetrated into them. Maybe it has overextended the limits within which it can be practiced in a sustainable way, without causing irreversible ecological damage. Be that as it may. For the time being, in the area under study, along the Blue Nile in Sudan, we have different systems of food production practiced by different people, mobile herders and sedentary agriculturalists, competing for the same land. The interviews rendered in these two volumes show ugly, violent and cynical forms which this competition has taken.

The economic history of Africa shows that this does not need to be so. There is a broad range of overlap or interpenetration of the agricultural and the pastoral zones in Africa, and in many cases farmers used to welcome the herds of nomads on their fields free of charge to eat the stubble and other crop residues. The dung of those herds was considered to be enough benefit received in return. So here we had, on a larger scale, on the level of different ethnic groups (because in Africa economic differentiation often coincides with ethnicity), a

form of symbiosis as we have it on a family farm on a smaller scale: Interaction of plant and animal production to the mutual benefit.<sup>1</sup>

The interviews reproduced in these two volumes deal with the problem how to overcome conflicts between herders and farmers and how to reach a state of regulated co-existence with the mutual recognition of interests or even a form of symbiosis with enhanced overall productivity through the integration of the production systems.

The interview with Ab-Saas, the senior Range and Fodder Management Officer of Blue Nile State, in the present volume gives a good overview of the expansion of mechanized agriculture in the region, starting with the increased demand for food for the army in World War II. The aggravation of land competition in recent years needs to be understood against a number of events which we and others have treated more fully elsewhere:

Since 2009 the dam at Roseiris, which provides much of Sudan with electricity, has been heightened by 9 metres, and as the reservoir behind it filled up in the subsequent years, huge areas have been submerged. (For pictorial illustrations see Schlee and Osman 2012, for some social consequences Osman and Schlee 2014, Schlee 2015).

In July 2011 South Sudan seceded from Sudan. In the subsequent period many pastoralist who were said to be ‘northerners’, because they used to spend different proportions of the year in northern Sudan (now: Sudan), fled South Sudan or were expelled from there (Osman and Schlee 2014, Schlee 2015). Blue Nile State and Sennar State of Sudan absorbed many of these migrants and increased competition for land was the result. In fact in Sennar State (like in Gedaref State) mechanized agriculture had hardly left any space to accommodate these nomads and their herds. The situation in Blue Nile State will be the subject matter of the interviews in these volumes.

In December 2013 a civil war broke out in South Sudan which affected different nomadic groups who tried to move back into South Sudan in different ways in different periods (Schlee 2020).

It is against this background that Ab-Saas describes ecological changes brought about by submerging large areas under the waters of the expanding reservoir. Another concern is to open the livestock corridors again, which have been there since the colonial period but which have been disregarded and have filled with licensed and unlicensed farms. In spite of this determination and partial successes, he states that even after all measures to re-open the corridors and to equip them with watering points and other facilities have been implemented, there will not be enough pasture in the state to support the livestock population and that arrangements for herds to move seasonally into South Sudan are a necessity.

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<sup>1</sup> For examples see Diallo and Schlee 2000 and Fricke 1969, 1979

The two interviews with Ab-Saas, one from 2013 and one from 2016, form the longest of three such pairs of interviews and fill the first of this set of two volumes on ‘Farmers and Herders in the Blue Nile Area: Conflict or Symbiosis?’ In the second volume the views of two more research partners will be presented in a similar fashion, each with two interviews which are years apart, Omda (member of the Local Administration, senior to a Sheikh) ‘Usmaan al-‘Arabi’ with interviews from 2013 and 2016 and ‘Abd al-Rahmaan Hasan Ahmad Adam, Jirewa, the chairman of a pastoralists association, likewise with an interview from 2013 and one from 2016.

The interviews were carried out and are presented in this way in order to show developments in this phase of dramatic change with a time depth to capture these changes. The second interviews are also a ‘reality check’ for the first set of interviews. Where we find plans, new policies and good intentions described in the earlier set of interviews, in the second set we can check what actually has come of these plans and intentions.

At the end of the second volume there will be a synopsis of the three sets of interviews with a systematic comparison of what they have to say on which topic. ‘Synopsis’ here is not used in the colloquial sense where it means an abstract or a short version of something, but in the theological sense. When theologians compare the gospels, they put Mathew, Mark, and Luke<sup>2</sup> side by side and compare which topics are the same and which differ and in what they differ or agree when they address the same topics. That is what they call the synoptic approach.

At the end of the present volume there is an index of terms and geographical names used in the interviews.

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<sup>2</sup> Why they leave John out is of no concern to us here.



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<p><b>Legend</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● State Capital</li> <li>○ Town</li> <li>— Paved Road</li> <li>— Secondary</li> <li>— Locality Boundary</li> <li>— State Boundary</li> <li>— Int. Boundary</li> </ul>	<p>Map data copyright: Admin. Boundaries: UN/FAO/WHO/UNEP, SIMI Topography: The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area, or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its borders or boundaries.</p>	<p>Map Date/Issue: 01/ Sudan Blue Nile Administrative ARI 03 as of 03 October 2011 Location/Scale: Roseires/Damazin 1:50,000 OCHA Sudan is funded by: Common Humanitarian Fund (CHF), Ireland, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Australia, Canada, ECHO, Germany, Switzerland, USAID/OFDA</p>	
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Map: Blue Nile State – Administrative Map (UN OFFICE FOR THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS, 2012)

# FIRST INTERVIEW: AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD

## AL-°AWAD °ALI AB-SAAS

ASH-SHIGLA (GEZIRA), 57 YEARS

### DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

June 17, 2013; Damazin

INTERVIEWER: Al-Amin Abu-Manga & Elhadi Ibrahim Osman

LANGUAGE: Arabic

TRANSCRIPTION (ARABIC AND LATIN CHARACTERS): Al-Amin Abu-Manga

TRANSLATION: Al-Amin Abu-Manga

*Q1: We want you to tell us about the institution in which we are (sitting) now and of which you are the director, and its tasks.*

[It is] Range and Fodder Directorate, and I have been its director since 2000. In fact, I worked in [the field of] range and fodder since 1979 in different areas: delimitation of corridors, range improvement, fodder packing, and in the economic and social studies on the nomads in the Blue Nile [area]. I [also] worked in the American Project, which gave me a good opportunity to learn more and more about the nomadic groups found [in the Blue Nile area].

Idaarat al-Maraa°ii wa l°Alaf, wa ana mudiiraa munzu 2000. Be l-ḥagiiga ana ishtaghalta fi l-Maraa°ii wa l-°Alaf munzu °aam 1979 fii majaalaat mukhtalifa, fii taḥdiid al-masaaraat, fii taḥsiin al-maraa°ii, fii ḥazm al-°a°laaf, fi d-diraasaat al-°iqtisaadiyya wa l-°ijtimaa°iyya le r-ru°a fi n-Niil al°Azraq. °Amalta fi l-Mashruu° al-°Amriiki ataaḥ ley furṣa kooysa fii innu it°arraf aksar wa aksar °an al-majmuu°aat ar-ra°awiyya l-mawjuuda.

س1: عايزك تقول لينا اسم المؤسسة اللي نحن فيها هسع وإننت مديرا ومهاما.

إدارة المراعي والعلف، وأنا مديرها منذ 2000. بالحقبة أنا اشتغلت في المراعي والعلف منذ عام 1979 في مجالات مختلفة، في تحديد المسارات، في تحسين المراعي، في حزم الأعلاف، في الدراسات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية للرعاة في النيل الأزرق. عملت في المشروع الأمريكي أتاح لي فرصة كويسة في إنو أتعرف أكثر وأكثر عن المجموعات الرعوية الموجودة.

*Q2: What is the task of the institution in which you are now?*

س2: إيه المهمة بتاعة المؤسسة الإننت فيها هسع؟

The Range and Fodder [Directorate] is one of the directorates of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Wealth and Forestry. Its concern is administration of the range land, including corridors, dry-season stop-overs, water points' administration and pasture improvement in them, general policies of pasture exploitation, finding of new modern alternative systems of the [traditional] migratory nomadism, profiting from the farms' residues, green fodder cultivation, and all what is useful for the sustainable land administration.

Al-Maraa'ii wa l-'Alaf waḥdi min al-'idaaraat bitaa'at al-wazaara bitaa'at az-ziraa'a wa s-sarwa l-ḥaywaaniyya wa l-ghaabaat. Muhimmataa idaaarat arḍ al-maraa'ii min masaaraat, maṣaayif, idaaarat nigaat al-miyaah, taḥsiin al-maraa'i 'aleeha, as-siyaasaat al-'aamma li stighlaal al-maraa'ii, iijaad nuḥum ḥadiisa wa badiila le r-ra'i t-tirḥaali, al-'istifaada min al-mukhallafaat az-ziraa'iiyya, ziraa'at al-'alaf al-'akhḍar, wa kullu maa yufiid 'ala asaas annu idaaarat al-'arḍ idaaara mustadaama.

المراعي والعلف واحدي من الإدارات بتاعة الوزارة بتاعة الزراعة والثروة الحيوانية والغابات. مهمتها إدارة أرض المراعي من مسارات، مصايف، إدارة نقاط المياه، تحسين المراعي عليها، السياسات العامة لاستغلال المراعي، إيجاد نظم حديثة وبديلة للرعي الترحالي، الاستفادة من المخلفات الزراعية، زراعة العلف الأخضر، وكل ما يفيد على أساس أنو إدارة الأرض إدارة مستدامة.

*Q3: We heard that these corridors have essentially been there since long time ago but for one reason or another they were not exploited; what are the reasons that made people to turn to them in the last [few] years?*

The corridors have essentially been there since the era of the Funj Kingdom (1452–1821) and there was an agreement between the nomadic tribes and the tribes living in the[se] areas: when to go in them and when to come back to them. The matter was institutionalized during the colonial era in 1951 under the Law of the Local Administration;

Al-masaaraat asaasan kaanat mawjuuda munzu Mamlakat al-Fuunj, wa kaan fi l-'ittifaagaat been al-gabaayil ar-ra'awiyya wa l-gabaayil as-saakna fi l-manaatig, yimshu minnaa miteen wa yijuuha miteen. Itqannat al-mas'ala fii 'ahd al-'isti'maar fii 'aam 1951 taḥt qaanuun al-ḥukm al-maḥalli; al-li huwa l-'awaamir al-maḥalliyya

س3: نحن سمعنا إنو المسارات دي أصلاً كانت موجودة من زمان لكن حصل إنو لأي سبب من الأسباب ما استغلت؛ إيه الأسباب اللي خلت الناس تقوم عليها في السنين الأخيرة؟

المسارات أساساً كانت موجودة منذ مملكة الفونج، وكان في الاتفاقات بين القبائل الرعوية والقبائل الساكنة في المناطق، يمشوا منها متين ويجوها متين. اتقننت المسألة في عهد الاستعمار في عام 1951 تحت قانون الحكم المحلي؛ اللي هو في الأوامر المحلية تحت الجزء (أ)، والغرض منها الملاءمة والمواعمة بين الأنشطة الاقتصادية المختلفة. وضحت المسارات ومواعيد

that is, the Local Orders under Part II, and their purpose is harmonization between the different economic activities. They (i.e. the orders) indicated the corridors and the time when the nomads were found in them every area, the way the nomads' movements themselves were administered, and the way of damage estimation. All these matters were included in the local orders in the Blue Nile here or [let us say] the entire Funj region,<sup>1</sup> North and South Funj, Senar or [let us say] the Blue Nile. This is part of the flat clay plain of the Sudan. Even you don't find a big difference between the nomadic tribes found in it; there is a 'big' (intensive) intermingling. The northern part, North Funj, is considered as the area of the *makhraf* (wet season area) and the South Funj as the dry season area. Before the introduction of the mechanized farming and the irrigated farming and all 'matters' (things) like these, [this area] used to be considered the western *Butaana* of the Sudan. This western *Butaana* was there; the eastern *Butaana* is the one

taht aj-juzu' (A), wa l-gharaḍ minnaa al-mulaa'ama wa l-muwaa'ama been al-'anshiṭa l-'iqtiṣaadiyya l-mukhtalifa. Waḍḍaḥat al-masaaraat wa mawaa'id tawaajud ar-ru'aa fii kulli mantiga, kayfiyyat idaarat taḥarrukaat ar-ru'aa zaataa, kayfiyyat taqdiir at-talaf. Al-masaa'il di kullaa kaanat fi l-'awaamir al-mahalliyya mawjuuda fi n-Niil al-'Azrag hina aw iqliim al-Fuunj kullu, Shimaal wa Januub al-Fuunj, Sinnaar aw an-Niil al-'Azrag. Di juzu min as-sahl aṭ-ṭiini l-munbasit min bitaa' al-'control clay plain' fi s-Suudaan. Wa ḥatta l-gabaayil ar-ra'awiyya l-mawjuuda l-fiha maa bitash'ur innu fiiha farig kabiir; fi tadaakhul beenaatum kabiir jiddan. Fa yu'tabar aj-juz' ash-shimaali, Shimaal al-Fuunj, al-mantiga bitaa'at al-makhraf, wa Januub al-Fuunj al-mantiga bitaa'at al-maṣyaf. Fa gabli dukhuul az-ziraa'a l-'aaliyya wa dukhuul az-ziraa'a l-marwiyya, wa l-masaa'il az-zey di kullaa kaan bitu'tabar al-Butaana l-gharbiyya bitaa'at as-Suudaan. Mawjuuda

تواجد الرعاة في كل منطقة، كيفية إدارة تحركات الرعاة ذاتا، كيفية تقدير التلف. المسائل دي كُلا كانت في الأوامر المحلية موجودة في النيل الأزرق هنا أو إقليم الفونج كلو، شمال وجنوب الفونج، سنار أو النيل الأزرق. دي جُز من السهل الطيني المنسبط من بتاع ال Control clay plain في السودان.

وحتى القبائل الرعوية الموجودة فيها ما بتشعر إنو فيها فرق كبير، في تداخل بينايم كبير جداً. فيعتبر الجزء الشمالي، شمال الفونج، المنطقة بتاعة المخرف، وجنوب الفونج المنطقة بتاعة المصيف. فقبل دخول الزراعة الآلية ودخول الزراعة المروية، والمسائل الزي دي كلها، كان بتعتبر البطانة الغربية بتاعة السودان. موجودة البطانة الغربية دي، والبطانة الشرقية بتاعة أبوسن. وفي البطانة بتاعة البقارة المعروفة، اللي هو بمشوا شمال كردفان وشمال دارفور وبرجعوا لغاية بحر العرب ومنطقة أبيي. كانت المسألة دي موجودة. بدت الحوجة

<sup>1</sup> The Funj region north starts roughly from as-Suki to Rossieris/Damazin and south from Rossiris/Damazin to the Ethiopian border on both sides of the Blue Nile.

of Abu-Sin.<sup>2</sup> And there is the known Baggara *Butaana*; that is, in which they go to North Kordofan and North Darfur and then go back up to Bahr al-Arab and the area of Abyei. This matter was there. The need started in the world after the World War II – during the World War II, the Allies were in need of food for the their armies; so, the mechanized farming started; before, there was *hariig* (burning) farming but the space was not big. The mechanized farming was introduced in Gedarif in 1944; in the Blue Nile here, North and South Funj, it was introduced in 1958 and in the area of Dali and Mazmum in 1969.<sup>3</sup> The mechanized farming was introduced in the Blue Nile area in what is known as ‘Eastern Agadi’, ‘Western Agadi’, ‘Southern Agadi’, and ‘the State Farm’. That was followed by the planning of agricultural schemes consequently. After the Inqaz Revolution and the presentation of its motto ‘we eat from what we cultivate’, this became the destructive ‘calamity’ that hindered the existence of any corridor.

l-Buṭaana l-gharbiyya di, wa l-Buṭaana sh-shargiyya bitaaʿat Abu-Sin. Wa fi l-Buṭaana bitaaʿat al-Baggaara al-maʿruufa, al-li huwa bimshu shimaal Kurdufaan wa Daarfoor wa birjaʿu laghaayit Baḥar al-ʿArab wa mantigat Abiyey. Kaanat al-masʿala di mawjuuda. Badat al-ḥawja fi l-ʿalam baʿad al-ḥarb al-ʿaalamiyya – asnaaʿ al-ḥarb al-ʿaalamiyya t-taaniya al-ḥulafaaʿ muḥtaajiin le ghizaaʿ le j-juyuush bitaaʿatum, fa badat az-ziraaʿa l-ʿaaliyya; kaanat fi ziraaʿat al-ḥariig wa misaahataa maa kabiira. Fa dakhalat az-ziraaʿa l-ʿaaliyya fi l-Gaḍaarif sanat 1994; fi n-Niil al-ʿAzrag hina, Shimaal wa Januub al-Fuunj dakhalat ʿaam 1958, fii mantigat ad-Daali wa l-Mazmum ʿaam 1969. Dakhalat az-ziraaʿa l-ʿaaliyya l-mantiḡa bitaaʿat Januub al-Fuunj bi maa yuʿraf bi “Agadi sh-Shargiyya”, “Agadi l-Gharbiyya”, “Agadi j-Januubiyya”, wa “Mazraʿat ad-Dawla Agadi”. Wa baʿad daak talaahu t-takhtiiṭ bitaaʿ al-mashaariiʿ az-ziraaʿiyya ja tibaaʿan. Baʿad Sawrat al-

في العالم بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية – أثناء الحرب العالمية الثانية الحلفاء محتاجين لي غذاء للجيش بتاعتم، فبدت الزراعة الآلية؛ كانت في زراعة الحريق ومساحتها ما كبيرة. فدخلت الزراعة الآلية في القصارف سنة 1944؛ في النيل الأزرق هنا، شمال وجنوب الفونج دخلت عام 1958، في منطقة الدالي والمزموم عام 1969. دخلت الزراعة الآلية المنطقة بتاعة جنوب الفونج بما يعرف بـ «أقدي الشرقية»، «أقدي الغربية»، «أقدي الجنوبية»، و «مزرعة الدولة أقدي». وبعد داك تلاه التخطيط بتاع المشاريع الزراعية جا تباعاً.

بعد ثورة الإنقاذ وطرحها

<sup>2</sup> Butaana plain includes most of Gedaref State plus parts of the states of Kassala, River Nile, Gezira and Sennar.

<sup>3</sup> To our best knowledge, mechanized farming was introduced in the Dali and Mazmum areas in the same year; in 1969 it might be in Gerabin.

They distributed the (Blue Nile) land there [in Khar-toum] for political ‘circumstances’ (considerations); people wanted to be independent in their political decision and things like this. This was distributed in this [way] and all the conventional corridors since long ago were closed.

‘Inqaaz wa tarḥaa shi‘aar “naakul mimmaa nazra” hi bigat aṭ-ṭamma l-li maa khallat ayyi masaar. Wa wazza‘o l-‘arḍ min hinaak li zuruuf siyaasiyya; an-naas daayriin yistaghilla be qaraarum as-siyaasi wa ḥaajaat zey di. Fa wazza‘ di fii di wa gafalat kulla l-masaaraat al-muta‘aaraf ‘aleeha qadiiman.

شعار «أكل مما نزرع» هي بقت الطامة اللي ما خلت أي مسار. ووزعوا الأرض من هناك لظروف سياسية، الناس دايرين يستغلوا بقرارهم السياسي وحاجات زي دي. فوزع دي في دي وقلت كل المسارات المتعارف عليها قديماً.

*Q4: In your ‘estimation’ (opinion), is this not a big mistake?*

This is a mistake in that, when you come to plan, you consider all the rights of the other: villages’ extension, citizens’ traditional farms (rainfed plots), the schemes approved by the councils, the existing forests, all these grazing lands should be excluded. This is what the Mechanized Farming [Corporation] used to do when it came to plan in the beginning; it used to find the villages and outline and exclude their extensions; it used to find out the corridors and [then] plan. While planning, it would examine the soil itself and diagnose it and find out the kind of crops it could fit for. This matter did not happen since the period from 1989 to 1990; the lands were distributed, even if someone was

Hu da khaṭa’ fii innu asaasan inta lamma taji takhaṭṭiṭ bitshuuf kulli ḥuguug al-gheer: ḥurmaat al-qura, bildaat al-muwaaṭniin, al-mashaarii° al-muṣaddaga fi l-majaalis, al-ghaabaat al-mawjuuda, arḍ al-maraa‘i l-mawjuuda di kullaha l-mafruḍ taṭla°. Di kaan bita‘malu z-ziraa‘a l-‘aaliyya fi l-‘awwal lamma taji takhaṭṭiṭ; bitshuuf al-qura bitṭalli° al-ḥurmaat bitaa‘ataa, bitshuuf al-masaaraat bitṭalli°aa wa bitkhaṭṭiṭ. Bitkhaṭṭiṭ ya‘ni ḥatta l-‘arḍ zaataa bita‘mal leeha taḥliil wa tashuuf bitaṣluḥ lee yaatu noo° min al-maḥaasiil. Al-mas’ala di min 1989 wa 1990 maa ḥaṣalat; tamma tawzii° araadi ḥatta z-zool law gaalo leehu ta‘aal azra° maa bitaṣliḥ; law itzara‘at kaan

س4: في تقديرك دا مش كان خطأ كبير؟

هو دا خطأ في إنو أساساً إنت لما تجي تخطط بتشوف كل حقوق الغير: حرمت القرى، بلدات المواطنين، المشاريع المصدقة في المجالس، الغابات الموجودة، أرض المراعي الموجودة دي كلها المفروض تطلع. دي كان بتعملو الزراعة الآلية في الأول لما تجي تخطط؛ بتشوف القرى بتطلع الحرمت بتاعتا، بتشوف المسارات بتطلعا وتخطط. بتخطط يعني حتى الأرض ذاتا بتعمل ليها تحليل وتشوف بتصلح لي ياتو نوع من المحاصيل. المسألة دي من 1989 و1990 ما حصلت؛ تم توزيع أراضي حتى الزول لو قالوا ليه تعال أزرع ما بتصلح؛ لو اتزرعت كان ممكن تسبب تدهور للتربة والبيئة والحاجات دي كلها. فالمسألة دي واضحة في إنو نحن ... الحرب صاح أنو سيء جداً لكن واحدي من محاسن الحرب إنو وقفت القطع بتاع الأشجار جنوب دندرو.

told to come and cultivate, it would not be good [for cultivation]; had it been cultivated, it would have caused degradation of soil, environment and all these things. So, this matter is clear that ...; it is true that the war is very bad but one of its advantages is that it stopped trees' cutting south of Dindiro. Anybody who goes to Kurmuk after the Peace Agreement will feel that its atmosphere is different; the trees are found there in a good manner. After the Peace Agreement... started to appear; people started to cut trees and go. That is, there are people who were given schemes [but] they don't work in farming; they take charcoal and go away. So, all these are matters that are incorrect in planning regarding agriculture. They were supposed to sit down on the ground, solve its problems and then afterwards examine the degree of the seriousness of the serious person and then give 'him' (them) the warrant. These are the mistakes that accompanied this matter. The knowledge (i.e. skill) of the citizens themselves; they used to cultivate by the *salluuka*,<sup>4</sup> *jarraaya*<sup>5</sup> and *hariig* (burning)<sup>6</sup> farming,

mumkin tasabbib tadhawur le t-turba wa l-bii'a wa l-ħaaajaat di kullaa. Fa l-mas'ala di waadħa fii annu niħna ... Al-ħarb řaah innu sayyi' jiddan laakin waaħdi min maħaasin al-ħarb innu waggafat al-gaṭe° bitaa° al-'ashjaar januub Dindiro. Wa ayyi zool ba°ad ittifaagiyyat as-salaam faat al-Kurmuk bish°ur be annu j-jaw bitaa°aa mukhtalif jiddan; al-'ashjaar mawjuuda fiiha be řuura kooyisa. Badat tařhar ba°ad ittifaagiyyat as-salaam... an-naas bado yigṭa°u l-'ashjaar wa yimshu. Ya°ni ħatta fi naas bidduuhum mashaarii° maa bishtaghlu ziraa°a; yishiilu faħam wa yimshu. Fi naas bidduuhum sharikaat bishiilu l-'i'faa' aj-jumruki wa bimshu. Fa di kullaa kaanat masaa'il maa řaħiiħa fi t-takħtiit be n-nisba le z-ziraa°a. Kaan mafruuḍ yigo°du fi l-'arḍ tiħit yiħillu ishkaalaataa ħatta ba°ad daak az-zool aj-jaaddi wa yishuufu j-jiddiyya bitaa°tu ħatta yidduuhu t-tařdiig. Di l-'akħṭaa' al-mashat fi l-mas'ala. Al-ma°rifa bitaa°at al-muwaatniin zaatum; kaano bizra°u be s-salluuka wa j-jarraaya wa ziraa°at al-ħariig, wa misaahaat basiitaa. Min 1969

وأى زول بعد اتفاقية السلام فانت الكرمك بشعر بأنو الجو بتاعا مختلف جداً؛ الأشجار موجودة فيها بصورة كويسة. بدت تظهر بعد اتفاقية السلام ... الناس بدوا يقطعوا الأشجار ويمشوا. يعني حتى في ناس بدوهم مشاريع ما يشتغلوا زراعة؛ يشيلوا فحم ويمشوا. في ناس بدوهم شركات يشيلوا الإعفاء الجمركي ويمشوا. فدي كلها كانت مسائل ما صحيحة في التخطيط بالنسبة للزراعة. كان مفروض يقعدوا في الأرض تحت يحلوا إشكالاتها حتى بعد داك الزول الجادي ويشوفوا الجدية بتاعتو حتى يدوهم التصديق. دي الأخطاء المشت في المسألة.

المعرفة بتاعة المواطنين ذاتم؛ كانوا بزراعوا بالسلكة والجرأية وزراعة الحريق، ومساحات بسيطة. من 1969 لغاية الليلة في مسألة بتاعة أربعين سنة المعرفة بتاعة الناس بالزراعة

<sup>4</sup> A traditional tool for seeds sowing like a spear but with a long handle (ca. 2 meters).

<sup>5</sup> A traditional tool for seeds sowing like a hoe but with a long handle (ca. 2 meters).



and on small surfaces. From 1969 up to now there is a period of 40 years [in which] the peoples' knowledge of farming and disk became very considerable. The peoples' need itself increased in that, by Allah, I want to improve my level [of technical know-how]. So, since the knowledge has increased and there is the land, people started cultivating on new surfaces. The secession of South Sudan has a big effect. It is true that since so early we have been calling for the corridors to be opened and so, but the effect of the secession of the State of South Sudan is in that there is fear. That is, in the period of the referendum a big number of nomads came back to us; what is the reason? Because [in South Sudan] they were exposed to unreasonable levies: that is, they were made to pay grazing taxes; they were made to pay livestock taxes; they were made to pay this and that; however, people used to come and take unreasonable payments from them. When they felt that this is an act of robbery against them ...; recently, in addition to that – according to what I heard about a month ago – every nomad

lahgaayit al-leela fii mas'ala bitaa'at arba'iin sana al-ma'rifa bitaa'at an-naas be z-ziraa'a wa d-disk bigat kabiira jiddan. Al-ḥawja bitaa'at an-naas zaataa zaadat fii innu ana Wallaahi daayir aḥassin al-mustawa bitaa'i. Fa maa daam al-ma'rifa zaadat wa l-waṭa'a fi, an-naas bigo yizra'u misahaat jadiida. Infiṣaal aj-Januuḥ leehu asar kabiir jiddan; ya'ni ṣaaḥ min badri binnaadi innu tinfatih al-masaaraat wa kida, laakin infiṣaal Dawlat aj-Januuḥ asaru fii innu fi takhawwuf. Ya'ni fi l-fatra bitaa'at al-'istifta joona kimmiyya bitaa'at ru'a raaj'iin; as-sabab shinu? La'annu hum bit'arraḍu lee ataawaat gheer mubarrara: ya'ni bidfa'u ḍariibat mar'a, bidfa'u guṭ'aan, bidfa'u kida, laakin biju n-naas yishiilu minnahum ataawaat gheer mubarrara. Wakit sha'aro be annu di 'amaliyya bitaa'at nahb be n-nisba leehum ... Be l-'iḍaafa akhiiran – ḥaṣab maa simi'ta gabli shahar wu kida – ayyi raa'i yiguul leek, "Wallaahi bahaayimna kaan jan min aj-Januuḥ taani maa birja'an". La'annu bit'arraḍu le l-qatl wa n-nahb wa s-salb wa l-ḥaajaat di kullaa. Fa di

والديسك بقّت كبيرة جداً. الحوجة بتاعة الناس ذاتا زادت في إنو أنا والله داير أحسن المستوى بتاعي.

فما دام المعرفة زادت والوإطاة في، الناس بقوا يزرعوا مساحات جديدة. انفصال الجنوب ليه أثر كبير جداً؛ يعني صاح من بدري بننادي إنو تتفتح المسارات وكدا، لكن انفصال دولة الجنوب أثرو في أنو في تخوُف. يعني في الفترة بتاعة الاستفتاء جونا كمية بتاعة راجعين؛ السبب شنو؟ لأنو هم بتعرضوا لي أتاوات غير مبررة: يعني بدفعوا ضريبة مرعى، بدفعوا قطعان، بدفعوا كدا، لكن بجوا الناس يشيلوا منهم أتاوات غير مبررة.

وكت شعروا بأنو دي عملية بتاعة نهب بالنسبة ليهم... بالإضافة أخيراً – حسب ما سمعت قبل شهر وكدا – أي راعي يقول ليك، «والله بهايما كان جن من الجنوب تاني ما يرجعن». لأنو بتعرضوا للقتل والنهب والسلب والحاجات دي كلها.

فدي كدست الحيوانات الموجودة

<sup>6</sup> The first growing grass is burnt and afterwards the seeds are sown or scattered.

says to you: “By Allah, if our animals come back from the South [Sudan], they will not go back”. Because they are exposed to killing, robbery, and all these things. So, this made the animals that are here in the north become too many. In the Blue Nile, we started the corridors perhaps after the Local Orders of 1951. In 1976, we renewed the Local Orders when the Blue Nile Province came into being. These Local Orders, we had a committee called some time ago ‘Committee for the Ideal Exploitation of the Natural Resources’; it made suggestions for corridors and designed the maps and so. Before that, there were attempts to delimit these corridors but without success. When the state came into being, a resolution was issued by the Minister of Agriculture, [Resolution] No. 15 for reopening of the corridors. He (i. e. the Minister of Agriculture) formed a committee. The committee formulated a frame document for these corridors in the entire state with the agreement of the Native Administration, on top of whom was the *Nazir* being in the committee [beside] the General Director of Agriculture, the Survey [Department], Rural Water,

kaddasat al-ḥaywaanaat al-mawjuuda hina shimaalan. Fi n-Niil al-’Azrag niḥna badeena l-masaaraat di yimkin ba’ad al-’awaamir al-maḥalliyya 1951; 1976 niḥna jaddadna l-’awaaamir al-maḥalliyya lamma gaamat Mudiiriyyat an-Niil al-’Azrag. Haazihi l-’awaamir al-maḥalliyya ‘indana lajna fi n-Niil al-’Azrag hina zamaan kaan isimaa “Lajnat al-’Istighlaal al-Amsal le l-Mawaarid at-Ṭabii’iyya” ‘amalat muqtaraḥaat le masaaraat, ṭalla’at khuraṭ, ṭalla’at kida. Fi muḥaawalaat tammam li taḥdiid al-masaaraat di gabli kida maa kutib leha n-najaḥ. Lamma gaamat al-wilaaya ṣadar qaraar min waziir az-ziraa’a raqam 15 bi i’aadat fath al-masaaraat. Wa kawwan lajna. Al-lajna ‘amalat wasiigha iṭaariyya le l-masaaraat di fi l-wilaaya kullaa bi muwaafaghat al-’idaara l-’ahliyya, ‘alaa ra’sihim an-Naaḥir kaan hu fi l-lajna, wa mudiir ‘aam az-ziraa’a, al-misaaha, miyaah ar-riif, al-maraa’i, ash-sharikaat, Ittiḥaad al-Muzaari’in, Ittiḥaad ar-Ru’a, wa tawaafaqu ‘alaa wathiiqa khatto fiiha sharteen asaasiyyeen ‘inda l-muruur be ḥaramaat al-qura wa l-ḥallaalaat: ḥaqq al-’ubuur faqaṭ, ya’ni l-masaar yuḍaaf le haramaat

هنا شمالاً. في النيل الأزرق نحن بدينا المسارات دي يمكن بعد الأوامر المحلية 1951؛ 1976 نحن جددنا الأوامر المحلية لما قامت مديرية النيل الأزرق. هذه الأوامر المحلية عندنا لجنة في النيل الأزرق هنا زمان كان إسما «لجنة الاستغلال الأمثل للموارد الطبيعية» عملت مقترحات لمسارات، طلعت خرط، طلعت كدا. في محاولات تمت لتحديد المسارات دي قبل كدا ما كتب ليها النجاح. لما قامت الولاية صدر قرار من وزير الزراعة رقم (15) بإعادة فتح المسارات. وكوّن لجنة. اللجنة عملت وثيقة إدارية للمسارات دي في الولاية كلها بموافقة الإدارة الأهلية، على رأسهم الناظر كان هو في اللجنة، ومدير عام الزراعة، المساحة، مياه الريف، المراعي، الشركات،

اتحاد المزارعين، اتحاد الرعاة، وتوافقوا على وثيقة ختوا فيها شرطين أساسيين عند المرور بحرمتات القرى والحللات: حق العبور فقط، يعني المسار يضاف لحرمتات القرى وإلا حق العبور فقط، يعني الراعي ما عنده حق يقعد، يعني يعبر لحدّي ما يعبر الحرم بتاع

Range, the companies, the Farmers Union, and the Pastoralists Union. They agreed on a document and put two basic conditions when passing through the villages' extensions: right of passage only; that is, the corridor is to be added to the villages' extensions and [the pastoralists] have the right of passage only; that is, he (i.e. the herder) has no right of staying; that is, he passes until he crosses the village's extension as a public road for everybody. Number Two, at implementation there should be commitment to the detailed description by the references; that is, the people who know the exact location in the village as well as the nomads; they agree upon it. Afterwards, all these things might have happened. And then the CPA<sup>7</sup> came and the need for agricultural lands increased and the sugar schemes in Kenana and Asalaya were established. All these (things) affected [the situation and] made the people lose control. The climate change reduced the movement of the nomads to the north; formerly, they used to leave us here in the begin-

al-qura wa illa haqq al-  
 'ubuur faqaṭ, ya'ni r-raa'i  
 maa 'indu haḡ yigo'od,  
 ya'ni ya'bur laḡaddi maa  
 ya'bur al-ḡaram bitaa' al-  
 ḡilla di ka haḡ bitaa' tariiḡ  
 'aam be n-nisba le ayyi  
 zool. Nimra itneen, 'ind at-  
 tanfiiz al-'iltizaam be l-waṣf  
 at-tafṣiili min al-'irriifiin,  
 ya'ni n-naas al-bi'arfu  
 l-mawqi' be z-zaat fi l-qura  
 wa min ar-ru'a wa yittafigu  
 'aleehu. Wa ba'ad daak  
 yimkin al-masaa'il di kullaa  
 ḡasalat. Wa ittifaagiyyat as-  
 salaam ash-shaamil ja, wa  
 l-ḡawja le l-'araaḡi  
 z-ziraa'iyya zaadat, wa  
 Dawlat aj-Januub gaamat,  
 wa gaamat mashaarii' as-  
 sukkar fii Kinaana wa  
 'Asalaya. Di kullaa assarat  
 wa khallat an-naas bigat  
 jaayṭa. At-taghyiir al-  
 manaakhi khallat al-ḡaraka  
 bitaa'at ar-ru'a shimaalan  
 maa katiira; ya'ni zamaan  
 biṭṭa'u minnana hina fii  
 awwal saba'a bikuunu barra  
 d-Damaaziin; ya'ni  
 muntaṣaf saba'a da bikuunu  
 fi l-Garabiin mashshiin  
 Sinnaar. Bidaayat  
 tamaaniya yikuunu hinaak  
 fi n-Niil al-'Abyaḡ fi  
 l-mantḡiga be d-ḡabṭ al-  
 mawjuud fiiha hassa' al-  
 maṣna' bitaa' Mashruu'

الحلة دي كحقوق بتاع طريق عام  
 بالنسبة لأي زول. نمره اتنين،  
 عند التنفيذ الالتزام بالوصف  
 التفصيلي من العريفين، يعني  
 الناس البعرفوا الموقع بالذات  
 في القرى ومن الرعاة ويتفقوا  
 عليه. وبعد داك يمكن المسائل  
 دي كلها حصلت. واتفاقية  
 السلام الشامل جا، والحوجة  
 للأراضي الزراعية زادت، ودولة  
 الجنوب قامت، وقامت مشاريع  
 السكر في كنانة وعسالاية. دي  
 كلها أثرت وخلت الناس بقت  
 جايطه. التغيير المناخي خلت  
 الحركة بتاعة الرعاة شمالاً ما  
 كتيرة؛ يعني زمان بطلعوا مننا  
 هنا في أول سبعة بكونوا بره  
 الدمازين؛ يعني منتصف سبعة  
 دا بكونوا في القرابين ماشين  
 سنار. بداية تمانية بكونوا هناك  
 في النيل الأبيض في المنطقة  
 بالضبط الموجود فيها هسع  
 المصنع بتاع مشروع كنانة،  
 بسموها هم الكجامير، وهم  
 عندهم ليها حاجة؛ بقولوا ليك،  
 «نحن بهايما لما تمشي تشرب  
 الموية دي بتكثير صوفا،  
 الديدان الفيها بتمرق لأنو وإطاتا  
 مالحة». هي ما لأنو وإطاتا  
 مالحة، هي بقدر الإمكان  
 بتمشي القش هناك علاه ما  
 كتير، الأمطار ما كتيرة، هو  
 بتغزى بقش fresh بأثر في  
 التغذية بتاعته، طوالي بغير  
 الشكل بتاع الحيوان بتاعو.  
 بعد الانفصال والهجرة بتاعة  
 الزراعة الآلية بقت لابد إنت  
 تقنن المسألة بتاعة المسارات،  
 بقت ضرورة ماسة في إنك داير

<sup>7</sup> CPA stands for "Comprehensive Peace Agreement" signed by the central Government and SPLM/SPLA (Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Sudanese People's Liberation Army) under the leadership of John Garang in November 2006 to stop the civil war that was going on for decades.

ning of July and come to outside Damazin; that is, by mid of July they would be in Garabin heading to Sennar. In the beginning of August they would be there in the White Nile (area), exactly in the area where the [sugar] factory of Kenana Scheme stands; they (i.e. the nomads) call it *al-Kajaamiir*, and they have (i.e. believe) something about it; they say to you: “When these animals of ours go there and drink this salty water, they ‘break’ their wool; the worms that are in them will come out, because its land is salty”. [In fact] it is not that because its land is salty but they (i.e. the animals) try their best to go because the height of grass is not that much; the rain is not that much; they feed on fresh grass, which affects their nourishment, which immediately changes the shape of his (i.e. the nomad’s) animal. After the secession [of South Sudan] and the encroachment of the mechanized farming, it becomes a must that you legalize the issue of the corridors; it became a necessity that you want to keep this nomad in a certain location during the wet season, as [in the same time] you want the farmer to yield you [good] productivity. If the farmer has not

Kinaana, bisammuuha hum al-Kajaamiir, wa hum ‘indahum leeha haaja; biguulu leek, “nihna bahaayimna lamma tamshi tashrab al-mooya di bitaksir suufaa, ad-deedaan al-fiiha bitamrug la’annu waataataa maalha”. He maa la’anu waataataa maalha; he be gadr al-’imkaan bitamshi l-gash hinaak ulaahu maa katiir, al-’amtaar maa katiira, hu bitghazza bee gash ‘fresh’ bi’assir fi t-taghaziya bitaa’u tawwaali bighayyir ash-shakl bitaa’ al-haywaan bitaa’u. Ba’ad al-’infihaal wa l-hajma bitaa’at az-ziraa’a l-’aaliyya bigat laabudda inta taqannin al-mas’ala bitaa’at al-masaaraat, bigat daruura maassa fii innak daayir tahfaz ar-raa’i da fi mawqi’ fii l-fatra bitaa’at al-khariif, wa inta aayiz al-muzaari’ yiddiik intaaj. Fa law al-muzaari’ maa addaak intaaj akkalu l-haywaan biduun taqniin, hatta mahmaa yitgharram hatazhar leek fajwa fi l-hubuub al-ghizaa’iyya. Law al-haywaan inta maa addeet al-haywaan fursha wa faat ba’ad shuwayya hayazhar leek fajwa fi l-mawaad al-borotiiniyya wa kulli muntajaat al-haywaan. Fa di kullaa khallat ad-dawla tafakkir fii innu tahfaz al-mas’ala di. Saa’adatna fi

تحفظ الراعي دا في موقع في الفترة بتاعة الخريف، وإنبت عايز المزارع بيديك إنتاج. فلو المزارع ما أذاك إنتاج، أكلو الحيوان بدون تقنين، حتى مهما يتعزّم، حتظهر ليك فجوة في الحبوب الغذائية. لو الحيوان إنت ما أدت الحيوان فرصة وفات بعد شوية حيظهر ليك فجوة في المواد البروتينية وكل منتجات الحيوان. فدي كلها خلت الدولة تككر في إنو تحفظ المسألة دي. ساعدتنا في المسألة دي أنحن يمكن بعد اتقاية السلام الشامل كتبتنا برنامج رفعااه في الاتقاية للمجموعة بتاعة المانحين في إنو نعيد فتح المسارات نعمل فيها نقاط موية، نعمل فيها خدمات بيطرية، نعمل فيها تحسين مراعي، نعمل فيها كل الخدمات دي وتبقى موجودة على أساس إنو تبقى جاذبة للرعاة. في النيل الأزرق هنا نحن محظوظين جداً استجابت لينا بعض الجهات. يعني عندنا الاتحاد الأوربي عندو برنامج اسمو «إعادة تاهيل وبناء القدرات المنتجة»، هو جاي نتيجة إنو بعد 1989 وقّف منا الصادرات الزراعية، فجابوه لينا في البرنامج.

yielded you [good] productivity and [the crop] has been eaten by the animal, however he (i. e. the nomad) is fined, a gap in nourishment grains will appear to you. If you don't give the animal a chance [to feed] and it has left, after a while you will have a gap in proteins' materials and in all the animal products. So, all this made the government to think of this problem. We were helped in this matter by that, after the CPA, we wrote a programme and raised it in the Agreement (i. e. CPA) to the group of the donors that we [want to] re-open the corridors and make water points in them; we introduce veterinary services in them; we make range improvement in them; we make all these services available in order to make them attractive to the nomads. We were very lucky here in the Blue Nile that some bodies responded [positively] to us. That is, the European Union has a project called 'Rehabilitation and Building of Productive Capacity'; it (i. e. the programme) emanated from that, after 1989 it (i. e. the European Union) stopped providing us with agricultural exports; so, they brought it [back] to us in this programme. In fact

l-mas'ala di aniḥna yimkin ba'ad ittifaagiyyat as-salaam ash-shaamil katabna barnaamij rafa'naahu fi al-'ittifigaayya le l-majmuu'a bitaa'at al-maanihiin fii innu na'iid fath al-masaaraat na'mal fiiha nigaaṭ mooya, na'mal fiiha khadamaat beytariyya, na'mal fiiha taḥsiin maraa'i, na'mal fiiha kulla l-khadamaat di wa tabga mawjuuda 'ala asaas innu tabga jaazba le r-ru'a. Fi n-Niil al-'Azrag hina niḥna maḥzuuziin jiddan istajaabat leena ba'ad aj-jahaat. Ya'ni 'indana l-'Ittihaad al-'Urubbi 'indu barnaamaj ismu "'T'aadat Ta'hiil wa Binaa' al-Quduraat al-Muntija"; hu jaayi natiija innu ba'ad 1989 waggaf minnana ṣ-ṣaadiraat az-ziraa'iyya, fa jaaboohu leena fi l-barnaamaj. Al-barnaamaj fi l-ḥagiiga lamma n-naas kaan bita'mal al '*brain storming*' wa hinaay yimkin aakhir idaara da'ooha bi i'tibaar innaa maa 'indaa ahammiyya kabiira, maa 'indaa ...; ya'ni niḥna maa kunna '*visible*' be n-nisba le s-siyaasiyyiin, be n-nisba le l-fanniiyyiin. Fa lamma gaddamna l-waraga bitaa'atna fi al '*brain storming*', lamma l-khawaajaat daraso l-mas'ala di fi l-'Ittihaad al-'Urubbi gaamo jaabooha

البرنامج في الحقيقة لما الناس كان بتعمل ال brain storming وهناني يمكن آخر إدارة دعوها باعتبار إننا مانعدها أهمية كبيرة، ما عندنا ... يعني نحن ما كنا visible بالنسبة للسياسيين، بالنسبة للفنيين. فلما قدمنا الورقة بتاعتنا في ال brain storming لما الخواجات درسوا المسألة دي في الاتحاد الأوروبي قاموا جابوها priority number one؛ يعني من كانت المشروع الكم وأربعين جات المشروع رقم واحد. فجات اتعملت وبدينا ننفذ في المسارات. بداية التنفيذ عملنا مؤتمر جامع في

when the people were making the ‘brain storming’ for this programme, the last administration they invited was perhaps ours upon that it was not very important. That is, we were not ‘visible’ to the politicians and to the technicians. When we presented our paper in the ‘brain storming’ [meeting], when the Europeans studied this matter, they brought it as a ‘priority number one’; that is, among the ca. forty-one programmes, it was listed number one. So, it came and we started to implement the corridors. At the beginning of the implementation, we organized a comprehensive conference in the Blue Nile. That is, we invited all the *omdas* who are affected by the corridors; we [also] invited 75% of the *shaikhs* who are affected by the corridors. We invited the Executive Office of the Pastoralists Union, the Executive Office of the Farmers Union, the three officers of the pastoralists and farmers’ unions in each locality; we invited the Wali, the Minister of Agriculture, the physical planning, and the commissioners. We presented different papers in it; We presented [papers] on the historical aspect (background) about the corridors: from the time they started

‘priority number one’; ya<sup>ni</sup> min kaanat al-mashruu<sup>c</sup> al-kam wa araba<sup>iin</sup> jaat al-mashruu<sup>c</sup> raqam waahid. Fa jaat it<sup>c</sup>amalal wa badeena nanaffiz fi l-masaaraat. Bidaayat at-tanfiiz <sup>c</sup>amalna mu<sup>tamar</sup> jaami<sup>c</sup> fi n-Niil al-’Azrag. Ya<sup>ni</sup> kulla l-<sup>c</sup>umad al-mut<sup>’assiriin</sup> be l-masaaraat da<sup>c</sup>enaahum; 75% min ash-shuyuukh al-mut<sup>’assiriin</sup> be l- masaaraat da<sup>c</sup>enaahum.

النيل الأزرق. يعني كل العمدة المتأثرين بالمسارات دعيناهم؛ 75% من الشيوخ المتأثرين بالمسارات دعيناهم.

Da<sup>c</sup>eena al-maktab at-tanfiizi bitaa<sup>c</sup> Ittihaad ar-Ru<sup>a</sup>, al-maktab at-tanfiizi bitaa<sup>c</sup> Ittihaad al-Muzaari<sup>iin</sup>, aq-dubbaa<sup>t</sup> at-talaata min kulli ma<sup>h</sup>alliyya le ittihaad ar-ru<sup>a</sup> wa l-muzaari<sup>iin</sup>; da<sup>c</sup>eena l-waali, waziir az-ziraa<sup>a</sup>, at-takhtii<sup>t</sup> al-<sup>c</sup>umraani, al-mu<sup>c</sup>tamadiin. Gaddamna fihu awraag mukhtalifa; gaddamna fihu naa<sup>h</sup>iya taariikhiyya <sup>c</sup>an l-masaaraat badat min miteen, al-masaaraat al-gadiima;

دعينا المكتب التنفيذي بتاع اتحاد الرعاة، المكتب التنفيذي بتاع اتحاد المزارعين، الضباط الثلاثة من كل محلية لاتحاد الرعاة والمزارعين؛ دعينا الوالي، وزير الزراعة، التخطيط العمراني، المعتمدين.

قدمنا فيه أوراق مختلفة؛ قدمنا فيه ناحية تاريخية عن المسارات بدت من متين، المسارات القديمة؛ قدمنا فيه ورقة عن الاستثمار الزراعي وأثر المسارات عليهم؛ قدمنا

and the old ones; we presented a paper on the agricultural investment and the effect of the corridors on it; we presented [a paper] on the water and its effect on animals rearing; we presented in it (i. e. the conference) [a paper] on the veterinary services and their effect; we presented [a paper] on the role of the Native Administration in solving problems between the nomads and the farmers. This conference took place precisely on March 15, 2010 in Malik (Aggar) Hall and the Wali, Malik, himself [attended it]. This conference approved for us to open all the old corridors without restriction or conditions and the state said that it was committed to that the corridors should be opened because that was part of its stability. Immediately after this conference, the state put the corridors in the position of ‘top governmental resolution’; in their national strategic plan; they put the corridors in the position of ‘top governmental resolution’, because this will stop the conflicts between the Arabs (i. e. nomads)<sup>8</sup> and the farmers; so, it was positioned top. Then we started the implementa-

gaddamna fiihu waraga ‘an al-’istismaar az-ziraa‘i wa asar al-masaaraat ‘aleeu; gaddamna l-mooya wa asaraa ‘ala tarbiyat al-ḥaywaan; gaddamna fiihu l-khadamaat al-bayṭariyya wa asaraa; wa gaddamna door al-’idaara l-’ahliyya fii ḥalḥalat al-mashaakil maa been ar-ru‘a wa l-muzaari‘iin. Al-mu’tamar da tamma be ḍ-ḍabṭ yoom 15 shahri talaata alfeen wu ‘ashara fii qaa‘at Maalik [‘Aggaar] hina, wa kaan al-waali zaatu Maalik [‘Aggaar], wa ḥaḍarooḥu. Al-mu’tamar da ajaaz leena gaal i‘aadat fath al-masaaraat al-gadiima kullaa biduun qayd aw sharuṭ, wa l-wilaaya gaalat hiya mutkaffila laazim tinftiḥ la’annu da juzu min al-’istiqraar bitaa‘aa. Wa ṭawwaali ba‘ad al-mu’tamar da al-wilaaya khattat al-masaaraat fi l- hitta bitaa‘at as-sayaada; fi l-khuṭṭa bitaa‘atum al-’istiraatiijiyya al-qawmiyya khattat al-masaaraat fi l-hitta bitaa‘at as-sayaada, la’annu di bitwaggif al-’ishkaalaat been al-‘Arab wa l-muzaari‘iin; fa itkhattat foog. Fa badeena at-tanfiiz, ya’ni nafazzo ma‘aana l-masaaraat min Wad-

الموية وأثراً على تربية الحيوان؛ قدمنا فيه الخدمات البيطرية وأثراً؛ وقدمنا دور الإدارة الأهلية في حلحلة المشاكل ما بين الرعاة والمزارعين. المؤتمر دا تم بالضبط يوم 15 شهر ثلاثة ألفين وعشرة في قاعة مالك هنا، وكان الوالي ذاته مالك، وحضره. المؤتمر دا أجاز لنا قال إعادة فتح المسارات القديمة كلها بدون قيد أو شروط، والولاية قالت هي متكفلة لازم تتفتح لأنو دا جُز من الاستقرار بتاعا. وطوالي بعد المؤتمر دا الولاية ختت المسارات في الحطة بتاعة السيادة؛ في الخطة بتاعتم الإستراتيجية القومية ختت المسارات في الحطة بتاعة السيادة، لأنو دي بتوقف الإشكالات بين العرب والمزارعين؛ فاتختت فوق. فدينا التتفيذ، يعني نفذوا معنا المسارات من ود دبوك لغاية ميلكن عرض اتنين كيلو، فيهو نُزّل، عملوا فوقو حفير. ختينا فوقو الحجارة سنة 2011، المزارعين محصورين، وزارة الزراعة مفروض تتولى التعويض؛ ما اتعوضوا.

<sup>8</sup> The use of “Arabs” as synonym to “nomads” is usual in many parts of the Sudan, irrespective of their actual ethnicity; e. g. the Beja nomads in eastern Sudan are also regarded by the other ethnicities as “Arabs”.

tion; they implemented with us the corridors from Wad Dabok up to Melkan, two kilometers wide with a resting point and a *hafir*. We put the [delimitation] stones in 2011 and the farmers were listed. The Ministry of Agriculture was supposed to bear the compensation; they (i.e. the farmers) were not compensated.

Dabook laghaayit Melkan ‘arḍ itneen kiilu, fiihu nuzul, ‘amalo fogu ḥafiir. Khatteena l-hijaara sanat 2011, al-muzaari‘iin maḥsuuriin, Wazaarat az-Ziraa‘a mafruuḍ titwalla l-ta‘wiid; maa it‘awwaḍo.

*Q5: Didn't the lack of compensation paralyse your project?*

Because of this, I am bringing you to another stage. We put [delimitation] stones in this corridor and dug one *hafir*. This is the project of ‘Rehabilitation of the Productive Capacity’. The corridor from the Rosseiris bridge to Menza was also ‘made’ (opened); this one is 80 km long; 70 km up to the Park’s hospital. The stones were put and three water spots were made in it, in addition to the one made for us by the people excuting the projects accompanying the heightening of the [Rosseiris] dam. They became 4 water spots so that this animal may not have water problem along the the corridor. They made for us the corridor from Rosseiris to ad-Duwema on the eastern side [of the riv-

‘Ashaan kida ana bajiik lee marḥala taaniya. Niḥna khatteena ḥijaara fi l-masaar da ‘amalna ḥafiira waahdi. Da l-mashruu‘ bitaa‘ “‘Aadat Ta’hiil wa Binaa’ al-Quduraat al-Muntija”. Aṭ-tariig min kubri r-Ruṣeeris laghaayit Menza barḍu ‘amalooḥu, da ṭuulu 80 kiilu mitir; laghaayit mustashfa l-ḥaziira fi 70 kiilu mitir. Itwaḍa‘at al-ḥijaara it‘amalat fiihu talaata nigaat bitaa‘at mooya, araba‘a nigaat be l-‘amalooḥu leena naas al-mashaarii‘ al-muṣaaḥba le t-ta‘liya. Bigat 4 nigaat bitaa‘at mooya ‘ala asaas innu l-ḥaywaan da ṭuul al-masaar maa ‘indu ishkaaliyya bitaa‘at mooya. ‘Amalo leena l-masaar bitaa‘ kubri r-Ruṣeeris – ad-Diweema be sh-sharig

س5: وعدم التعويض دا ما عطل تنفيذ مشروعكم دا؟

عشان كدا أنا بجيك لي مرحلة تانية. نحن ختينا حجارة في المسار دا عملنا حفيرة واحدي. دا المشروع بتاع «إعادة تأهيل وبناء القدرات المنتجة». الطريق من كبري الروصيرص لغاية مينزا برضو عملوه، دا طولو 80 كيلومتر؛ لغاية مستشفى الحظيرة في 70 كيلومتر. اتوضعت الحجارة اتعملت فيهو ثلاثة نقاط بتاعة موية، أربع نقاط بالعملوه لينا ناس المشاريع المصاحبة للتعلية. بقت 4 نقاط بتاعة موية على أساس إنو الحيوان دا طول المسار ما عندو أي إشكالية بتاعة موية. عملوا لينا المسار بتاع كبري الروصيرص-الدويمة بالشرق هناك ماشي على كريدوس Karduus، ملاصقة الحظيرة. وأهلوا لينا النقطة بتاعة الموية بتاعة موفا Mufa؛ جوا ناس المشاريع المصاحبة للتعلية عملوا لينا نقطة بتاعة موية في شنفور Shanfuur؛ ناس حصاد المياه عملوا لينا نقطة



er] going to Karduus adjacent to the Park. They rehabilitated for us the water spot of Mufa; the people of the dam heightening accompanying projects came and made for us a water spot in Shanfur; the people of Water Harvesting made for us a water spot in Khor Wuhedu; the people of the World Bank made for us a [water] spot in Hifeera. We tried to make a dam in ad-Diwema, because we noticed that it was not possible to dig a *hafir* in it; we tried to make (build) a dam but we didn't get funds. So, this is what has been made (achieved).

hinaak maashi 'ale Karduus, mullaṣga l-ḥaziira. Wa ahhalo leena n-nugṭa bitaa'at al-mooya bitaa'at Mufa; jo naas al-mashaarii' al-muṣaaḥiba le t-ta'liya 'amalo leena nugṭa bitaa'at mooya fii Shanfuur; naas ḥaṣaad al-miyaah 'amalo leena nugṭa bitaa'at mooya fii Khor Wiḥedu; naas al-bank ad-duwali 'amalo nugṭa fi Ḥifeera. Ḥaawalna na'mal leena sad fi d-Diweema la'annu laaḥazna maa mumkin yibga fiiha ḥafir; ḥaawalna na'mal leena sad maa ligiina tamwiil. Fa di l-li t'amalat.

بتاعة موية في خور وحيدو Wuḥedu، ناس البنك الدولي عملوا نقطة في حفيرة Hifeera. حاولنا نعمل لنا سد في الدويمة لأنو لاحظنا ما ممكن يبقى فيها حفير؛ حاولنا نعمل لنا سد ما لقينا تمويل. فدي اللي اتعملت.

Q6: *And then?*

س6: *وبعدين؟*

The people of the 'Rehabilitation and Productive Capacity Building' rehabilitated for us the *hafir* of Bagis in the direction of the Ingasana Hills, because we opened the corridor from Abu-Garin, Bagis, Midyam up to Bulang at the Kurmuk-Bau border on Khor Ufud (Ufud Stream). This is what the project of 'Rehabilitation and Productive Capacity Building' made for us. All these corridors are two kilometres wide and there are resting points. The Wad Dabok – Melkan corridor has a resting point

Naas al-barnaamaj bitaa' I'faadat al-Ta'hiil wa Binaa' al-Qurduraat al-Muntija ahhalo l-ḥafiira bitaa'at Bagiis barḍu fi n-naaḥiya bitaa'at Jibaal al-'Ingasana, la'annu fataḥna l-masaar min Abu-Gurin, Bagiis, Midyam laghaayit Bulang fii ḥuduud al-Kurmuk – Baaw 'ale Khor Ufud. Da l-'amalu leena Barnaamaj I'faadat at-Ta'hiil wa Binaa' al-Quduraat al-Muntija. Al-masaaraat di kullaa 'arḍaa itneen kiilu, wa fi nuzul. Wa l-masaar bitaa' Wad Dabook-Melkan fiihu nuzul fi l-ḥafiira l-'amalnaahaa di

ناس البرنامج بتاع إعادة التأهيل وبناء القدرات المنتجة أهلوا الحفيرة بتاعة بقبس برضو في الناحية بتاعة جبال الإنقسنا، لأنو فتحنا المسار من أبوقرن، بقبس، ميديم، لغاية بولنق Bulang في حدود الكرمك – باو على خور أفد Ufud. دا العملو لنا برنامج إعادة التأهيل وبناء القدرات المنتجة. المسارات دي كلها عرضا اتنين كيلو، وفي نُزُل. والمسار بتاع ود ديوك-ملكن فيهو نُزُل في الحفيرة العملناها دي 2×4؛ يعني بدل ما يبقى 2 كيلو × 2 كيلو أضفنا ليه تاني اتنين كيلو بقت 4 على أساس دي حطة يستريحوا فيها شوية وياكلوا شوية، ووجود

of 2x4 km at the *hafir* that we made (dug); that is, instead of 2x2 km, we added two kilometres making it 4 considering that this is a place for them (i.e. the nomads) to have a little rest and eat (feed their animals?) a little as there are farms' residues. In Humara here we also have a resting point 4x6 km, according to circumstance. The purpose of the resting point itself is that it should be on a stream where water is available and we protect the natural resources themselves which are found there. That is, if we allow people to cultivate, the earth will be exposed to erosion. The World Bank came to us and also worked with us within the framework of the 'Programme of Animal Product Improvement and Experimental Marketing' undertaking for us the [implementation of] the corridor that enters to us (the BN state) from Sennar, from at-Tirus, Abu-Gilesiib, al-Gireḍ, and Um-Ushush up to Khor Um-Gar and after that further towards Ulu; the length of this one is 110 km. At-Tirus *hafir* was dug in it (i.e. the above corridor) by the Project of Water Harvest and it became now

2X4; ya'ni badal maa yibga 2 kiilu x 2 kiilu aḍifna leehu taani itneen kiilu bigat 4 °ala asaas di ḥitta yistariiḥu fiha shuwayya wa yaaklu shuwayya, wa wujuud al-mukhallafaat az-zira'iyya. Fi l-Ḥumara hina barḍu °indana nuzul 4 kiilu x 6 kiillu, °ala ḥasab az-zuruuf ya'ni. Ḥatta n-nuzul zaataa al-hadaf minnaa takuun fii mantiga bitaa'at khor, titwaffar fiha l-mooya, niḥna naḥmi l-mawaarid at-ṭabii'iyya zaataa l-mawjuuda; ya'ni law khalleena n-naas zara'at bitabga °urḍa le ta'riyat at-turba. Jaana l-Bank ad-Dawli barḍu ishtaghal ma'aana min khilaal barnaamaj Taḥsiin al-'Intaaj al-Ḥaywaani wa t-Taswiiq at-Tajriibi al-li huwa masak leena l-masaar al-bikhush °aleena min Sinnaar min at-Tirus, Abu-Gilesiib, al-Gireḍ, Um-°Ushush, laghaayit Khor Um-Gar – wa inta maashi °ale Uulu ba'ad da; da tuulu 110 kiilu mitir. Iḥafarat fihi l-ḥafira bitaa'at at-Tirus be waasṭat Mashruu° Ḥaṣaad al-Miyaah wa bigat hassa° zey al-qariya. Iḥafarat fihi al-ḥafira bitaa'at al-Gireḍ – kaanat gadiima marduuma, it'ahhalat al-gadiima wa

المخلفات الزراعية. في الحفرة Humara هنا برضو عندنا نُزُل 4 كيلو × 6 كيلو، على حسب الظروف يعني. حتى النُزُل ذاتا الهدف منها تكون في منطقة بتاعة خور، تتوفر فيها الموية، نحن نحمي الموارد الطبيعية ذاتا الموجودة؛ يعني لو خلينا الناس زرعت بتبقى عرضة لتعرية التربة. جانا البنك الدولي برضو اشتغل معنا من خلال برنامج تحسين الإنتاج الحيواني والتسويق التجريبي اللي هو مسك لينا المسار البخش علينا من سنار من التروس، ابوقليسيب، القريض، أم عشوش، لغاية خور أم قر – وإنْت ماشي على أولو بعد دا؛ دا طولو 110 كيلومتر. اتحفرت فيهو الحفيرة بتاعة التروس بواسطة مشروع حصاد المياه وبقت هسع زي القرية. اتحفرت فيهو الحفيرة بتاعة القريض – كانت قديمة مردومة، اتأهلت القديمة وحفرنا فيه واحدة جديدة، وحفرنا حفيرة في غلاب. جا البنك الدولي برضو من خلال مشروع إسمو «تعزير السلام والتنمية» فتح لينا مسار من القرابين لي أقدي للدمازين بطول 80 كيلومتر وعمل لينا فوقو حفيرتين، وحصاد المياه عملت لينا فيه حفيرة. جا البرنامج برضو عمل لينا حفيرة في أم عضام في المسار من رورو لغاية بوك: عمل لينا في أم عضام، عمل لينا في رورو. هسع حالياً مع حصاد المياه عملنا حفيرة توأم تاني هناك في المسار بتاع كبري الروصيرص-مينزا

like a village. The al-Gireḍ *hafiir* was dug in it – formerly, it was old and filled up with earth; the old one was rehabilitated and we dug a new one; we [also] dug a *hafiir* in Ghallab. The [World] Bank came again within the a project called ‘Peace and Development Consolidation’ and opened for us an 80-km long corridor from al-Garabin to Aga-di to Damazin and ‘made’ (dug) for us two *hafiirs* in it and the Water Harvest [project] ‘made’ (dug) [also] a *hafiir* in it. The Project [of ‘Peace and Development Consolidation’] also ‘made’ (dug) a *hafiir* for us in Um-<sup>c</sup>Udam in the corridor from Roro up to Buk; it ‘made’ [a *hafiir*] in Um-<sup>c</sup>Udam and in Roro. Now, together with the Water Harvest [Project], we ‘made’ (dug) another twin *hafiir* there in the corridor of Rossieris Bridge – Menza in a place called Fafarandi; we also made a twin *hafiir* in Um-<sup>c</sup>Udam and they became three. We ‘made’ again [a *hafiir*] east of Roro and we have one near al-Garabin. That year, we dug 5 *hafiirs* in addition to the old ones. The number of the *hafiirs* became about 25 in the corridors alone.

ḥafarna fiihu waahda jadiida, wa hafarna hafiira fii Ghallaab. Ja l-Bank ad-Dawli barḍu min khilaal mashruu<sup>c</sup> ismu “Ta<sup>c</sup>ziiz as-Salaam wa t-Tanmiya” fataḥ leena masaar min al-Garabiin lee Agadi le d-Damaaziin bi tuul 80 kiilu mitir wa <sup>c</sup>amal leena foogu ḥafirteen, wa Ḥaṣaad al-Miyaah <sup>c</sup>amalat leena fiihu ḥafiira. Ja l-barnaamaj barḍu <sup>c</sup>amal leen ḥafiira fii Um-<sup>c</sup>Uḍaam fi l-masaar min Roro laghaayit Buk: <sup>c</sup>amal leena [hafiira] fii Um-<sup>c</sup>Uḍaam, <sup>c</sup>amal leena fii Roro. Hassa<sup>c</sup> ḥaaliyyan ma<sup>a</sup> Ḥaṣaad al-Miyaah <sup>c</sup>amalna ḥafiira taw’am taani hinaak fi l-masaar bitaa<sup>c</sup> kubri r-Ruṣeeriṣ – Menza fii ḥitta biguulu leeha Faafarandi, wa <sup>c</sup>amalna ḥafiira taw’am fi m-<sup>c</sup>Uḍaam bigat talaata. <sup>c</sup>Amalna taani sharg Roro, wa <sup>c</sup>indana waaḥdi janb al-Garabiin. As-sana diik ḥafarna 5 ḥafaayir be l-’iḍaafa ila l-ḥafaayir al-gadiima. <sup>c</sup>Adad al-ḥafaayir bigan zey 25 ḥafiira <sup>c</sup>ala l-masaaraat faḡaṭ.

في حثة بقولوا ليها فافرندي  
Faafarandi، وعملنا حفيرة  
توأم في أم عظام بقت ثلاثة.  
عملنا ثاني شرق رورو، وعندنا  
واحد جنب القرابين. السنة  
ديك حفرنا 5 حفاير بالإضافة  
إلى الحفاير القديمة. عدد  
الحفاير بقن زي 25 حفيرة على  
المسارات فقط.

Q7: Can you remember the total length of all the corridors in kilometres?

The total length of the corridors in the state is 1000 x 2 km. The opened ones are between 45 and 55%; this is what has been opened from them and we fixed in it the survey signs. These are the ones that have been opened and the farmers in them have been listed. [Then] another problem occurred; that is, after we had [surveyed and] fixed the survey stones and said that the corridors had become passable, another problem occurred. It was not with regard to the big farmers who have warrants from the Ministry of Agriculture, but the small farmers who do not have papers and their 'work' (i.e. ownership of the land) is by "hand-laying"<sup>9</sup> and this (i.e. land) is their means of livelihood [exploited in] cultivation and rearing of a few animals. So, how the problem of these ones should be solved? It became a real problem. ECOM<sup>10</sup> organization conducted for us so-

Tuul al-masaaraat fi l-wilaaya hawaalii alf kiilu mitir x 2. Al-lifatah minnaa maa been 45 % wa 55 %; da l-lifatah minnaa wa sabbatna fiihu 'alaamaat al-misaaha. Di l-'ithafarat wa ithaasar al-muzaari'in fiiha. Jaat zaharat leena ishkaaliyya taaniya; ya'ni ba'ad maa hajjarna wa gulna khalaas al-masaaraat di bigat saalka zaharat ishkaaliyya taaniya.

Maa l-muzaari'in al-kubaar al-'indahum taasaadiig ma'a Wazaarat az-Ziraa'a, bal al-muzaari'in as-sughaar al-li maa 'indahum warag wa sh-shoghol bitaa'um be waḍe' al-yad, wa da subul kasbi al-'eesh bitaa'um, az-ziraa'a wa tarbiyat shuwayyat haywaan. Fa deel bigo keef yithallu. Bigat ishkaaliyya hagiigiyya 'indana. Munzammata IKOM adaarat leena huwaaraat mujtama'iyya, 'amalat leena mu'tamaaraat be gharad innu najid badiil aw

س7: تذكر المسارات كلها جملة تكون كم كيلو؟

طول المسارات في الولاية حوالي ألف كيلومتر  $\times 2$ . اللاتفتح منها ما بين 45 % و 55 %؛ دا الاتفتح منها وثبتنا فيهو علامات المساحة. دي الاتفرت واتحصر المزارعين فيها. جات ظهرت لنا إشكالية ثانية؛ يعني بعد ما حجرنا وقلنا خلاص المسارات دي بقت سالكة ظهرت إشكالية ثانية.

ما المزارعين الكبار عندهم تصاديق مع وزارة الزراعة، بل المزارعين الصغار اللي ما عندهم ورق والشغل بتاعهم بوضع اليد، ودا سبل كسب العيش بتاعهم، الزراعة وتربية شوية حيوان. فديل بقوا كيف يتحلوا. بقت إشكالية حقيقية عندنا. منظمة إيكوم أدارت لنا حوارات مجتمعية، عملت لنا مؤتمرات بغرض إنو نجد بديل أو نجد كيفية لمعالجة المشكلة دي. فالحوارات والمؤتمرات خرجت لنا بأنو جات توصية من الحوارات والمؤتمرات دي في إنو والله تقلص حيازات الزراعة الآلية المصدقة كلها

<sup>9</sup> "hand-laying" refers to the act whereby a vacant piece of land is occupied and exploited by somebody without the customary official procedure of land allocation. It is one of the recognized ways of land possession, but still regarded as uninstitutionalized; full right of its possession needs regularization by the land authorities.

<sup>10</sup> ECOM is an American organization that implements the projects of the American development aid; it has an office in Damazin and Khartoum.

cial dialogues, organized for us conferences to enable us find an alternative or a way of solving this problem. These dialogues and conferences made recommendations that the land that was approved (distributed to farmers) by the Mechanized Farming [Corporation] should be shrunk for the interest of the corridors. These recommendations were taken by the state's government. Also, among the recommendations, they said that a law should be made for the protection of the corridors and range development. These recommendations were taken up by the Ministry of Agriculture and passed up to the state's government; it (i. e. the state government) approved it and submitted it to the Constitutional Council, which also approved it. So, a law of range came into being; a law was issued stipulating shrinking of the 'surfaces' (i. e. farming schemes) by 20% per scheme. This is with regard to the individuals. For the companies that are approved by the state, the shrinking is 25%. A clear resolution was made to that effect. The main purpose of these [deducted] surfaces is to compensate out of them the farmers who cultivate in

najid kayfiyya le mu<sup>ca</sup>alajat al-mushkila di. Fa l-<sup>hu</sup>waaraat wa l-mu<sup>t</sup>amaraat kharajat leena be annu jaat taw<sup>si</sup>ya min al-<sup>hu</sup>waaraat wa l-mu<sup>t</sup>amaraat di fii innu Wallaahi taqlii<sup>sh</sup> hiyaazaat az-ziraa<sup>ca</sup> l-<sup>aa</sup>liyya l-mu<sup>sh</sup>addaga kullaa <sup>ca</sup>ala asaas innu ni<sup>h</sup>na na<sup>h</sup>il ma<sup>h</sup>allu le l-masaaraat. Haazihi t-taw<sup>si</sup>yaat shaalataa <sup>h</sup>akuumat al-wilaaya. Wu ba<sup>ca</sup>deen min at-taw<sup>si</sup>yaat bar<sup>du</sup> gaalo yi<sup>t</sup>amil qaanuun li <sup>h</sup>imaayat al-masaaraat wa tanmiyat al-maraa<sup>ca</sup>ii. At-taw<sup>si</sup>yaat di shaalataa Wazaarat az-Ziraa<sup>ca</sup> rafa<sup>ca</sup>ataa le <sup>h</sup>akuumat al-wilaaya, ajaazataa wa gaddamataa le l-Majlis at-Tashrii<sup>ca</sup> ajaazaa. Biga qaanuun bitaa<sup>ca</sup> maraa<sup>ca</sup>i; <sup>ta</sup>la<sup>ca</sup> qaannun bi taqlii<sup>sh</sup> al-misaa<sup>h</sup>aat bi 20% min misaa<sup>h</sup>at al-mashruu<sup>ca</sup>.

Da be n-nisba le l-<sup>af</sup>raad. Le sh-sharikaat al-mu<sup>sh</sup>addaga wilaa<sup>ca</sup>iyyan 25% min al-misaa<sup>h</sup>a. <sup>ta</sup>la<sup>ca</sup> beeha qaraar waade<sup>h</sup>. Al-misaa<sup>h</sup>aat di l-ghara<sup>h</sup> al-<sup>asa</sup>asi minnaa yi<sup>ca</sup>awwi<sup>du</sup> l-muzaari<sup>ca</sup>iin az-zaari<sup>ca</sup>iin fi l-masaaraat, wa taw<sup>si</sup>i<sup>ca</sup> <sup>h</sup>aramaat al-qura, wa <sup>ca</sup>amal

على أساس إنو نحن نحل محلو للمسارات. هذه التوصيات شالتا حكومة الولاية.

وبعدين من التوصيات برضو قالوا يتعمل قانون لحماية المسارات وتنمية المراعي. التوصيات دي شالتا وزارة الزراعة رفعتا لحكومة الولاية، أجازتا وقدمتا للمجلس التشريعي أجازا. بقي في قانون بتاع مراعي، طلع قانون بتقليص المساحات بـ 20% من مساحة المشروع.

دا بالنسبة للأفراد. للشركات المصدقة ولائياً 25% من المساحة. طلع بيها قرار واضح. المساحات دي الغرض الأساسي منها يعوضوا المزارعين الزراعيين في المسارات، وتوسيع حرمانت القرى، وعمل الغابات. فهسع حالياً بقي المال كان حجر عثرة قدامنا. مع مجلس السلام،

the corridors, expansion of the villages' extensions and developing of forests. Now, money has become a constraint for us. Through the "Peace Council", the people of the Department of Conflicts Resolution of the UN accepted to supply fund for this matter. We, at the Ministry of Agriculture, with our poor resources, evacuated the corridor from Rosseiris Bridge up to Menza, because there are big farmers in this one, and it is a matter of contracts and it is easy to implement the "shrinking" on them; [additionally], most of the people (farmers in this corridor) do not have only one scheme but rather two or three. So, the total surface deducted from them (i.e. the farmers) is about 500 or 600 [feddan]. So, the corridor became open without a problem.

*Q8: Are the animals already now using the corridor you have mentioned?*

The corridors, even though they are under cultivation, the animals move in them as corridors.

*Q9: [What happens] if the scheme's owner files a complaint?*

al-ghaabaat. Fa hasa<sup>c</sup> ḥaaliyyan biga l-maal kaan ḥajar<sup>c</sup> asra giddaamna. Ma<sup>a</sup> Majlis as-Salaam, gaddamo naas al-'Umam al-Muttaḥida, Qism Takhfiif Ḥiddat aṣ-Ṣiraa<sup>c</sup>aat, an-naas waafago <sup>c</sup>ale tamwiil al-mas'ala. Niḥna fii Wazaarat az-Ziraa<sup>a</sup> wa l-Ghaabaat be l-'imkaanaat al-basiitaa l-'indana farraghna al-masaar min kubri r-Ruṣeerīṣ laghaayit Menza la'annu da fiihu muzaari<sup>c</sup>iin kubaar, wa mas'ala bitaa<sup>c</sup>at <sup>c</sup>uguudaat, wa saahil jiddan innak ta<sup>c</sup>mal leehum taqliiṣ wa hinaay kida, wa aghlab an-naas maa <sup>c</sup>indu mashruu<sup>c</sup> waahid, <sup>c</sup>indu mashruu<sup>c</sup>een wu talaata.

Fa itshaalat minnu 500 wa 600 wa kida, fa bigat al-misaaha l-muqallaṣa minnahum. Fa biga faatiḥ al-masaar maa <sup>c</sup>indu ishkaaliyya.

قدموا ناس الأمم المتحدة قسم تخفيف حدة الصراعات، الناس وافقوا على تمويل المسألة. نحن في وزارة الزراعة بالإمكانات البسيطة العندنا فرغنا المسار من كبري الروصيصر لغاية مينزا لأنو دا فيهو مزارعين كبار، ومسألة بتاعة عقود، وساهل جداً إنك تعمل ليهم تقليص وهناي كدا، وأغلب الناس ما عندو مشروع واحد؛ عندو مشروعين وتلاتة.

فاتشالت منه 500 و600 وكدا، فبقت المساحة المقلصة منهم. فبقى فاتح المسار ماعندو إشكالية.

س8: هل المسار القلتو هسع دا هل خلاص البهايم بقت تمشي فيهو؟

المسارات بي إتأ كانت مزروعة البهايم بتمشي فيها كمسار.

س9: والزول إذا اتظلم، سيد المشروع؟

Well, compromises ‘happen’ (are made) from time to time. Let me give you an example in (from) the Agadi-al-Garabin [corridor]: a resolution was issued; the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Animal Resources came and sat down, each ministry alone. They said: “Oh people, by Allah it is true that this is a corridor; the Mechanized Farming [Department] decided that it is a corridor and the farmers ‘decided’ (consented) that it is a corridor, but these people (i.e. the farmers) have no [other] place and this is their means of livelihood, and this matter was in June”. They ‘said’ that the width of the corridor is two Kms; they (i.e. the farmers) should leave 500 meters from this side of the road and 500 meters from the other side to become a corridor for the animals. So, compromises happen (are made) during the [rainy] season. Last year, I had two teams present in the bush from July until October. [They remained] until the nomads passed and came back then afterwards they (i.e. the two teams) came back. One [team] from Wad Dabok up to Melkan and one from But up to at-Tirus. They used to go with these people (i.e. the nomads) to-

Ṭayyib, daa’iman bitaḥṣal mu’aalajaat min waktu le aakhar. Ya’ni baḍrab leek masal fii Agadi-al-Garabiin; ṭala’ qaraar, ja ga’ad waziir az-ziraa’a, waziir as-sarwa l-ḥaywaaniyya, al-wazaarten kullu wazaara baraaha. Gaalo yaa jamma’a Wallahi ṣaaḥ da masaar; az-ziraa’a l-’aaliyya muqarririin leehum masaar, wa l-muzaari’iin muqarririin leehum masaar, laakin an-naas deel maa ‘indahum ḥitta, wa da akil ‘eeshum, wa l-mas’ala di fii shahr sitta. Gaalo l-masaar ‘arḍu itneen kiilu; ma’a sh-shaari’ al-maashi yikhallu bee hina 500 mitir wa bee hina 500 mitir ‘ashaan tabga masaar le l-bahaayim. Fa kaanat bitaḥṣal mu’aalajaat fi l-mawaasim. As-sana l-faatat kaan ‘indi tiimeen kaano fi l-khala mawjuudiin min shahri saba’a laghaayit shahri ‘ashara. Ar-rawaa’iyya faato wa jo raaj’iin ḥatta l-’atyaam di jo raja’o ba’adum. Waahid min Wad-Dabook laghaayit Melkan, waahid min Buut laghaayit at-Tirus. Fa kaano biṭla’u ma’a n-naas deel ma’aahum ash-shurṭa ma’aahum al-’idaara l-’ahliyya giddaam al-bahaayim tamshi. Wa ma’a l-muzaari’ da: “al-ḥitta ka’aba..., la inta ta’aal fi l-masaar, amrug”; ḥaajaat

طيب، دائماً بتحصل معالجات من وقت لآخر. يعني بضرب ليك مثل في أقدي-القرابين؛ طلع قرار، جا قعد وزير الزراعة، وزير الثروة الحيوانية، الوزارتين كل وزارة براها. قالوا ياجماعة والله صاح دا مسار؛ الزراعة الآلية مقررين ليهم مسار، والمزارعين مقررين ليهم مسار، لكن الناس ديل ما عندهم حطة، ودا أكل عيشم، والمسألة دي في شهر ستة. قالوا المسار عرضو اتنين كيلو؛ مع الشارع الماشي يخلو بي هنا 500 متر وبي هنا 500 متر عشان تبقى مسار للبهائم. فكانت بتحصل معالجات في المواسم. السنة الفاتت كان عندي تيمين كانوا في الخلا موجودين من شهر سبعة لغاية شهر عشرة. الرواعية فاتوا وجوا راجعين حتى الأتيام دي جوا رجعوا بعدم. واحد من ود دبوك لغاية ملكن، واحد من بوط لغاية التروس. فكانوا بطلعوا مع الناس ديل معاهم الشرطة معاهم الإدارة الأهلية قدام البهائم تمشي. ومع المزارع دا: «الحطة كعبة... لا إنت تعال في المسار، أمرق»؛ حاجات زي دي لغاية ما مرقوا الناس السنة الفاتت. فالمسألة دي بقت ما ممكنة؛ يعني كل سنة أنا أزرع يتلف لي، أزرع ما أنتج، أسوي كدا... فبقيت في المسألة بتاعة التعويض. الوزارة بدت؛ يعني بدينا نحن من أقدي-القرابين بالإمكانات البسيطة. لأنو المسار دا أساساً كان فيهو كم حادث قتل. فلو خليناه الرواعية الزول الميت ما بخلوا المزارع، والمزارع زول الميت ما بخلوا الرواعية البجوا ماشين. ففي الأول نحن فكرنا

gether with the police and the Native Administration in front of the animals and with the farmer as well [directing him]: “This place is bad ...; no, you, come in the corridor, go out”; something like this until they enabled the people end the last year [safely]. So, this matter became unbecoming; that is, every year I cultivate and it is damaged; I cultivate and do not produce ... So, I remained with the problem of compensation. The ministry has started; that is, we started from Agadi – Garabin corridor] with the simple capabilities. Because in this corridor there were many killing incidents. If we leave it [like this], the nomads whose relative is killed will not leave the farmers and the farmer whose relative is killed will not leave the nomads who come passing. So, in the beginning, we thought of solving the problem of these [people]; first, we evacuate them (i.e. the farmers) in order to stop the conflict between them so that no problem happens. So, with our simple capabilities and through our children,<sup>11</sup> who are themselves engineers; they went around with us; that is, with our simple abilities we did

zey di laghaayit maa marago n-naas as-sana l-faatat. Fa l-mas’ala di bigat maa mumkina; ya’ni kulli sana ana azra<sup>c</sup> yitlaf ley, azra<sup>c</sup> maa antij, asawwi kida... Fa bigiit fi l-mas’ala bitaa<sup>c</sup>at at-ta<sup>c</sup>wiid. Al-wazaara badat; ya’ni badeena nihna min Agadi-al-Gaabiin be l-’imkaanaat al-basiita. La’annu l-masaar da asaasan kaan fiihu kam haadis qatl. Fa law khalleenaahu ar-rawaa<sup>c</sup>iyya az-zool al-mayyit maa bikhallu l-muzaari<sup>c</sup>, wa l-muzaari<sup>c</sup> zoolum al-mayyit maa bikhallu r-rawaa<sup>c</sup>iyya l-biju maashiin. Fa fi l-’awwal nihna fakkarna fii ḥall al-mushkila bitaa<sup>c</sup>at an-naas deel; fi l-’awwal nafaḍḍiihum <sup>c</sup>ashaan nafikk al-’ishtibaak al-beenaatum maa taḥṣal ishkaaliyya. Fa bee imkaanaatna l-basiita, bee awlaadna zaatum muhandisiin, ya’ni faato laffo ma<sup>c</sup>aana, ya’ni be imkaanaat basiita jiddan ishtagharna sh-shaghalaana di. Badeena bardu fii masaar taani, jooona naas Majlis as-Salaam; al-barnaamaj da mafruud yabda shahri waaḥid 2013, laakin al-maanihiin ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an ḥarakatum katiira wa n-’no objection’ wa ashyaa’ zey

في حل المشكلة بتاعة ديل؛ في الأول نفصّيهم عشان نفاك الاشتباك البيناثم ما تحصل إشكالية. في إمكاناتنا البسيطة، بي أولادنا ذاتم مهندسين، يعني فاتوا لّفوا معنا، يعني بإمكانات بسيطة جداً اشتغلنا الشغلانة دي. بدينا برضو في مسار تاني، جونا ناس مجلس السلام؛ البرنامج دا مفروض بيدأ شهر واحد 2013، لكن المانحين طبعاً حركتم كثيرة .... وال No objection وأشياء زي دي، أخذت وكت طويل جداً. لغاية ما قلنا في مجلس السلام ذاتو – أنا عضو في مجلس السلام بحكم الوظيفة بتاعتي مدير للمراعي والعلف – فقلنا ليهم، «نحن ما دايرين قروشكم دي، لأنو إنتو خلونا نموت برانا، لكن ما ممكن تجيب لي قروش إنت في شهر سبعة تقول لي تعال اشتغل بيها؛ دا ما وكت شغل. داير تجيب لينا قروش في البرنامج دا كدا خلاص جيبا ...» فجابوها لينا. نحن كان مفروض تكون شغالين تيمين اضطرينا عملنا أربعة أتيام – الأتيام دي هسع دي بتحصّر المزارعين بالواحد. والمساحة بتاعتو بتقيف تقيف على جيرانو الأربعة، ومساحتو الحقيقية قدر شنو. قعدنا المراعي والعلف والإدارة الزراعية والمدير العام واتحاد الرعاة واتحاد المزارعين وختينا ضوابط في إنو نعوض الناس كيف. ختينا الضوابط وقلنا بغض النظر ... يعني قبل ما نبدأ أي تعويض، الضوابط دي تسري على الجميع، ماعارفين أبوساس عندو مشروع

<sup>11</sup> “children” in this context stands for youth or non-elderly people, but always in association with some kind of affiliation [to a tribe, region, etc.].



this ‘work’.<sup>12</sup> We also started with another corridor; the people of the Peace Council came to us; this programme was supposed to start in January 2013, but, of course, the doners are slow... and the ‘No objection’ and things like this; so, it took a long time. This is until we (i. e. I)<sup>13</sup> said at the Peace Council – I am a member in the Peace Council in my position as Director of the Range and Fodder Directorate: “We don’t want your money; let us die alone; it is unbecoming that you bring me money in July and tell me to come and work with it; this is not the time for work. If you want to bring us money within this programme, bring it...” So, they brought it to us. We were supposed to be working in two teams; we were compelled to make four teams. These teams are now identifying and listing the farmers one by one. To delimit his space, we stand at the corners that join with his four neighbours. We sat down: the Range and Fodder Directorate, the Pasto-

di, akhadat wakit ṭawīil jiddan. Laghaayit maa gulna fii Majlis as-Salaam zaatu – ana ‘uḍu fii Majlis as-Salaam bi ḥukm al-wazīifa bitaa‘ti mudiir le l-maraa‘ii wa l-‘alaf. Fa gulna leechum, “niḥna maa daayriin guruushkum di, la’annu intu khalluuna namuut baraana, laakin maa mumkin tajiib ley guruush inta fii shahri saba‘a taguul ley ta‘aal ishtaghil beeha; da maa wakit shoghol. Daayir tajiib leena guruush fi l-barnaamaj da kida khalaas̄ jiiibaa...” Fa jaabooha leena. Niḥna kaan mafruuḍ nakuun shaghaaliin tiimeen ittarreena ‘amalna arba‘a atyaam – al-’atyaam di hassa‘ di bitaḥsir al-muzaari‘iin be l-waahid; wa l-misaaha bitaa‘tu bitgiif tagiif ‘ala jeeraanu l-’arba‘a, wa misaah̄tu l-ḥagiigiyya gadur shinu. Ga‘adna l-Maraa‘ii wa l-‘Alaf wa l-’Idaara z-Ziraa‘iyya wa l-Mudiir al-‘Aam, wa Ittihaad ar-Ru‘a wa al-Muzaari‘in wa khatteena ḍawaabiṭ fii innu na‘awwiḍ an-naas keef. Khatteena ḍ-ḍawaabiṭ wa gulna bi

وللا أبومنة عندو مشروع وللا دا عندو مشروع. ختينا ضوابط أديناها الوزير اطلع عليها أذاها حكومة الولاية وافقت عليها وبقينا شغالين بيها. فبتحصر الناس بعد دا تشوف المساحة المقلصة: بنجمع، ناس عشرة عشرة لامن يحصلوا 200 فدان نقول ليهام دا محكم نسلّم ليهام.

<sup>12</sup> The term “work” (in this and other interviews put between ‘...’) is a recent development in the socio-political jargon in the Sudan, which does not necessarily mean ‘work’ in the sense of physical activity; it may refer to a plan, initiative, arrangement and activities of this kind. In other words, it does not have a fixed meaning; its reference is determined by the context in which it is used.

<sup>13</sup> Unlike in the Modern Standard form of languages, in Sudanese Arabic “we” is sometimes used in place of “I” as a sign of humbleness; i. e. in avoidance of giving the impression, “I, and not someone else”.

ralists Union, and the Farmers Union and formulated regulations on how to compensate these people (i.e. the farmers whose land is in the corridor). We formulated regulations and said that before we begin with any compensation, these regulations should apply on everybody, irrespective of whether Ab-Saas has a scheme or Abu-Manga has a scheme or so and so has a scheme. We formulated regulations and gave them to the minister, who went through them and forwarded them to the state government, which agreed on them, and now we are working according to them. So, you identify and list the people and see the reduced space: we gather them; people who have ten feddan each, when they reach 200 feddans we tell them, “this is your place”; we hand it to them. One of the matters we had in consideration is that these small farmers have no means of transport; so, if you take him from a location which is near [to his residence] to a distant place, this means that he will not produce; he will either let it to someone else or sell it. Since he is unable to get his means of living, he will resort to other solutions. One of the bitter solutions is that a woman

ghaḍḍ an-nazar..., yaʿni gabli maa nabda t-taʿwiid, aḍ-dawaabiḥ di tasri ʿala j-jamiiʿ, maa ʿaarfiin Abu-Saas ʿindu mashruuʿ walla Abu-Manga ʿindu mashruuʿ walla da ʿindu mashruuʿ. Khatteena ḍawaabiḥ addeenaaha l-waziir iṭṭalaʿ ʿaleeha addaaha hakuumat al-wilaaya waafagat ʿaleeha wa bigiina shaghaaliin beeha. Fa bitaḥṣir an-naas baʿad da tashuuf al-misaaha l-muqallaṣa: binajmaʿum, naas ʿashara ʿashara laamin yiḥaṣṣilu 200 faddaan naguul leehum da maḥallakum nasallimum leeha. Waahda min al-masaaʿil al-khatteenaaha fii baalna fii innu l-muzaarʿiyya ṣ-ṣughaar deel maa ʿindahum wasaaʿil biḥarraku beeha. Fa law inta shiiltu min al-mawqiʿ bitaaʿu l-gariib wa waddeetu baʿiid maʿnaata maa ḥayantij; yaa ajjaraa lee zool yaa baaʿaa lee zool. Maadaam maa jaab aklu ʿindu ḥuluul taaniya yiljaʿ leeha. Waahdi min al-ḥuluul al-mara mumkin tamshi tasawwi mariisa, mumkin taaaris daʿaara; ar-raajil mumkin yabga rabbaaṭ, yibga jangaawi yagṭaʿ al-ḥaṭab wa ḥajaat zey di. Fa niḥna ʿaayzinu yistamir fi n-namaṭ bitaaʿ al-ʿintaaj bitaaʿu da. Fa ṣ-ṣughaariin deel be gadr al-ʿimkaan

واحدة من المسائل الختيناها في بالننا في إنو المزارعية الصغار ديل ما عندهم وسائل بتحركوا بيها ... فلو إنت شيلتو من الموقع بتاعو القريب ووديتو بعيد معناتا ما حينتج، يا أجرا لي زول يا باعا لي زول، مادام ما جاب أكلو عندو حلول تانية يلجأ ليها. واحدي من الحلول المزة ممكن تمشي تسوي مريسة، ممكن تمارس دعاة، الرجل ممكن يبقو رباط، يبقو جنقاوي يقطع الحطب وحاجات زي دي. فنحن عايزنو يستمر في النمط بتاع الإنتاج بتاعو دا. فالصغارين ديل بقدر الإمكان ختيناهم قريبين للحلة على أساس إنو ما يكون بعيد كدا، فيمشي ينتج. فواحد من العملناها في إنو كل زول لو سلمناه فدان واحد نعمل ليهو عقد على أساس الواطة تبقو ... هو عقد بتاع منفعة إنو هو داير الواطة دي عشان

may go and brew local beer; she may practice prostitution; the man may become a robber; he may become a wood cutter and things like this. So, we want him to continue with this pattern of production of his. So, we did our best to locate these small farmers near the village in order not to be far so that he may go and produce. One of the things we did is that, if we hand one feddan to anybody, we make a contract that the land remains ...; it is a contract of 'benefit', that he wants this land in order to exploit it and not to ...; formerly, with 'hand-laying', some may come and quarrel with him [on his right of possession]. We don't give [land] to anybody who we don't find in his land; this is unless he proves and his neighbours and the *omda* prove [his possession of this land]. All these are proofs we required; that is, his *omda*, the Farmers Union and the neighbours witness that, this land is yours then we register you. Any land we find to be a forest is not yours, because you do not cultivate in it. So, we did all this and then started. In the area of But we completed the identification and listing and we are now distributing the land. In the area of Aga-

khatteenaahum gariibiin le l-hilla 'ala asaas innu maa yikuun ba'iid kida, fa yimshi yintij. Fa waahdi min al-'amalnaaha fii innu kullu zool law sallamnaahu faddaan waahid na'mal leehu 'aqd 'ala asaas al-waata tabga...; hu 'aqd bitaa' manfa'a innu hu daayir al-waata di 'ashaan yistaghilla, 'ashaan maa tabga... Zamaanik waqad al-yad biji z-zool yishaaku yisawwi hinaay kida. Zool maa ligiinaahu fii waataatu maa binaddiihu, ya'ni illa ba'ad daak yisabbit wa yisabbitu jeeraanu wa 'umdatu...; di kullaa isbaataat niḥna taalbinnaa, innu l-'umda yashhad, wa Ittihaad al-Muzaari'iin yashad, aj-jeeraan yashhadu innu di waataatak ḥatta niḥna nasajjilak. Ayyi waata ligiinaaha ghaaba di maa ḥaggatak la'annak inta maa gaa'id tazra' fiha. Fa kullaa 'amalnaaha wa badeena. Ya'ni hassa' fii mantigat Buuṭ tammeena l-ḥaṣr wa binwazzi' fi l-waata; fii mantigat Agadi-l-Garabiin niḥna tammeena tawzii' al-waata, faḍalat leena mantigat Agadi-d-Damaaziin, niḥna shaghaaliin fiha. Hassa' attiim al-mawjuud da mawjuud fiha. Ar-raajil al-mujtami'iin ma'aahu da (kaan fii ijtimaa' ma'a

يستغلا، عشان ما تبقى ... زمانك وضع اليد بجي زول يشاكلو يسوي هنائي كدا. زول ما لقيناهو في واطاتو ما بنديهو، يعني إلا بعد داك يثبت ويثبتوا جيرانو وعمدتو...، دي كلاً إثباتات نحن طالبنا، إنو العمدة يشهد، واتحاد المزارعين يشهد، الجيران يشهدوا إنو دي واطاتك حتى نحن نسجلك. أي واطاة لقيناها غابة دي ما حقتك لأنك إنت ما قاعد تزرع فيها. فدي كلها عملناها وبدينا. يعني هسع في منطقة بوط تتينا الحصر وبنوزع في الواطاة؛ في منطقة أفدي - القرابين نحن تتينا توزيع الواطاة، فضلت لينا منطقة أفدي - الدمازين، نحن شغالين فيها. هسع التيم الموجود دا موجود فيها. الرجال المجتمعين معاه دا (كان في اجتماع مع شخص) الباشمهندس حمدو، ديل ناس الأمم المتحدة (السلام). فيجي بنقعد نشوف اشتغلو شنو، بنكتب الواطاة المتأثرة، الواطاة الأثووا، عدد المزارعين المتأثرين، مساحاتكم، وعوضوهم كم. الناس الماكليين المال دا عايزين feed-back. عشان شغالين نعمل register، نعمل اجتماع، الناس القاعدين في الاجتماعكم، بنكتبكم.

di – Garabin we completed the land distribution; we are left with the area of Agadi – Damazin and now working on it. Now, the team which is there is found in it. The man with whom we are holding a meeting,<sup>14</sup> Engineer Hamdu, these are the people of the UN [Peace]. He comes; we sit down and see the work they did; we write down the land that has been affected, the land they distributed, the number of the affected farmers, the sizes of their lands and how they have been compensated. We want ‘feed-back’ on the people who spent this money; we hold a meeting and register the people who attend; photograph the person who fills the form and the person to whom we hand the land. This is in order to submit to them all these things, including the expenditure. Among the things we required from them (the UN), apart from the compensation, are water spots, farmers’ schools, schools for nomads, veterinary services and social services in farming. We expect them to fund all these things for us and the work moves forward.

shakḥ), al-Baashmuhandis Ḥamdu, deel naas al-’Umam al-Muttaḥida (as-salaam). Fa biji binago<sup>o</sup>od nashuuf ishtaghalo shinu, binaktib al-waṭa l-mut’assira, al-waṭa l-’addooḥa, ‘adad al-muzaari<sup>o</sup>iin al-mut’assiriin, misaḥaatum kam, wa ‘awwaḍoohum kam. Annaas al-maakliin al-maal da ‘aayziin ‘feed-back’. ‘Ashaan shaghaaliin na<sup>o</sup>mal ‘register’, na<sup>o</sup>mal ijtimaa<sup>o</sup>, an-naas al-gaa<sup>o</sup>diin fi l-’ijtimaa<sup>o</sup> kam, binaktibum. Az-zool al-bimla l-’urneck binṣawwiru, az-zool ad-daayriin nasallimu l-waṭa binṣawwiru ‘ala asaas al-ḥaajaat di kullaa nasallimaa leehum al-maal fiha. Min ḍimn al-’ashyaa’ al-waad<sup>o</sup>innaa leehum, min gheer at-ta<sup>o</sup>wiiḍ bitaa<sup>o</sup> al-muzaari<sup>o</sup>in, nigaat mooya, madaaris muzaari<sup>o</sup>iin, madaaris le r-ruḥḥal, khadamaat beytariyya, khadamaat mujtama<sup>o</sup> al-li hiya fi z-ziraa<sup>o</sup>a. Al-masaa’il zey di kullaa mutwaqqi<sup>o</sup>iin yimawwiluuha leena ash-shaghalaana tamshi lee giddaam.

الزول البملا في أورنيك  
بنصوّرو، الزول الدايرين نسلمو  
الواطة بنصورو، على أساس  
الحاجات دي كلها نسلّمها ليهم  
المال فيها. من ضمن الأشياء  
الواضعنها ليهم، من غير  
التعويض بتاع المزارعين،  
نقاط موية، مدارس مزارعين،  
مدارس للرحل، خدمات بيطرية،  
خدمات مجتمع اللي هي في  
الزراعة. المسائل زي دي كُلا  
متوقّعين يمولوها لينا الشغلانة  
تمشي لي قدام.

<sup>14</sup> When we came to record, we found someone holding a meeting with the interviewee.

We started in 2005.

Badeena sanat 2005.

بدينا سنة 2005.

Q11: Is there practically any corridor which is now passable for the nomads to go through without any problem?

س11: هل أبدأ عملياً حتى الآن في مسار خلاص بقي سالك الرعاة يمشوا فيهو بدون أي إشكال؟

By Allah, I expect this year the corridor from Menza up to Damazin and going out from Damazin until it reaches Garabin to be without a problem with the farmers; there will remain only one problem, that of water [in the corridor] between Agadi and Damazin and we are trying to solve it. We are even working on pasture improvement on some lands. Last year we spread seeds in 23.000 feddan along the Rosseiris Bridge – Menza corridor and 5.000 feddan along the Damazin – Agadi corridor; there were already 18.000 Feddan [with pasture improvement] along this corridor. We even went farther than spreading seeds and are making ‘soil conservation’ and water harvesting through terraces: crescent-shaped terraces, triangular terraces and straight terraces so as to harvest water and increase the degree of water penetration into the soil in

Ana Wallaahi bitwaqqa° as-sana di l-masaar min Menza laghaayit maa yihaşşil ad-Damaaziin, wa yaţla° min ad-Damaaziin laghaayit maa yihaşşil al-Garabiin maafi mushkila ma°a muzaari°; bitabga fi mushkila waaḥdi bas bitaa°at mooya maa been Agadi wa d-Damaaziin wa saa°iin naḥillaa. Ba°aḍ al-’araaḍi zaatu anihna shaghaaliin taḥsiin bitaa° maraa°i. Ya°ni nihna s-sana l-faatat °amalna 34 alf faddaan nasarna fiha buzuur fi l-masaar bitaa° kubri r-Ruṣeeriş-Menza, wa l-masaar bitaa° ad-Damaaziin-Agadi fiihu zey khamisa alf faddaan, wu da kaan fiihu 18 alf faddaan. Bal nihna masheena ab°ad min nansur fiihu bizra, bal na°mal fii ‘soil conservation’, na°mal fii ḥaşaad miyaah, na°mal turuus: turuus hilaaliyya, turuus musallasaat, turuus mustaqiima °ala asaas innu naḥşid al-mooya wa naziid

أنا والله بتوقع السنة دي المسار من مينزا لغاية ما يحصّل الدمازين، ويطلع من الدمازين لغاية ما يحصّل القرابين، مافي مشكلة مع مزارع؛ بتبقى في مشكلة واحدي بس بتاعة موية ما بين أقدي والدمازين وساعين نجلّا. بعض الأراضى ذاتو أنحن شغالين بتاع مراعي. يعني نحن السنة الفانت عملنا 23 ألف فدان نثرنا فيها بذور في المسار بتاع كبرى الروصيرص – مينزا، والمسار بتاع الدمازين – أقدي فيه زي خمسة ألف فدان، ودا كان فيه 18 ألف فدان. بل نحن مشينا أبعد من نثر فيه بذرة، بل نعمل في soil conservation، نعمل في حصاد مياه، نعمل تروس: تروس هلالية، تروس مثلثات، تروس مستقيمة على أساس أنو نحصد الموية ونزيد نسبة تغلغل الموية في التربة عشان نغيّر ال... نزيد الكمية، نزيد النوعية، على أساس إنو بقدر الإمكان عايزين نتحفظ الحيوانات دي في المسارات بالضبط كدا من الزراعة لغاية الحصاد.

order to change..., that we increase the quantity, increase the quality so that the best is done to keep these animals in the corridors, precisely, away from the cultivation until the harvest time.

nisbat taghalghul al-mooya fi t-turba ‘ashaan naghayyir al..., naziid al-kimmiyya, naziid an-noo‘iyya, ‘ala asaas innu be gadr al-’imkaan ‘aayziin tithafiḡ al-ḡaywaanaat di fi l-masaaraat be ḡ-ḡabṡ kida min az-ziraa‘a laghaayit al-ḡaṡaad.

*Q12: These are the corridors. Well, what is the situation of the pasture, the birdi<sup>15</sup> grass, the extent of benefiting from it and the extent to which it has been affected by the dam elevation?*

By Allah, the *birdi* is one of the residues of the irrigated cultivation. Actually, after the [dam] elevation, we had very big spaces that were under water, in which the *birdi* grow. Whether the nomads used to buy it (i. e. the *birdi*) from the farmers or the farmers used to allow them graze their animals on it [free of charge], these spaces have now been inundated and the water took away big spaces. These spaces have been registered and the watering points have been registered in order to be delimited. A team went out from us together with the people of horticultural gardens and delimited

Wallaahi l-birdi waahid min mukhallafaat az-ziraa‘a l-marwiyya. Ḥaqiqatan ba‘ad at-ta‘liya, niḡna ‘indana misaaḡaat kabiira jiddan kaanat maghmuura bitguum fiha l-birdi; iza kaan ḡatta r-rawaa‘iyya kaano bishtaruuha min al-muzaari‘iin aw al-muzaari‘iin bikhalluum yir‘uuha aw ḡittaatum fiha, ba‘ad at-ta‘lyā inḡamarat be l-mooya wa shaalat misaaḡaat kabiira. Al-misaaḡaat di tamma tasjiilaa, wa l-maashari‘ tamma tasjiilaa ‘ala asaas innu tithaddad. Wa ṡala‘ tiim minnana niḡna ma‘a naas al-basaatiin wa haddadna l-mawaaqi‘

س12: دا المسارات. طيب وضعية الأعلاف، البردي، الاستفادة منو، ومدى تأثر البردي بالتعليية؟

والله البردي واحد من مخلفات الزراعة المروية. حقيقة بعد التعليية، نحن عندنا مساحات كبيرة جداً كانت مغمورة بتقوم فيها البردي، إذا كان حتى الرواعية كانوا يشتروها من المزارعين أو المزارعين بخلوهم يرعوها أو جتأتم فيها، بعد التعليية انغمرت بالموية وشالت مساحات كبيرة.

المساحات دي تم تسجيلها، والمشاريع تم تسجيلها على أساس إنو تتحدد. وطلع تيم منا نحن مع ناس البساتين وحددنا المواقع بتاعة الرعي، حددنا المشاريع على أساس دي مشاريع كانت موجودة قديمة حتى في الأوامر المحلية دي على أرض

<sup>15</sup> *Cyperus papyrus*, a species of aquatic flowering plant belonging to the sedge family Cyperaceae.

the locations of grazing. We delimited the watering points on the basis that these are old watering points that were in existence even [referred to] in the Local Orders [and] on the ground. In all our works, when we come to implement, we go ahead to the Native Administration, because it is the one that knows [better] and supposed to look after the interest of [both] the farmers and nomads; it should cater for the interest of both of them, because in the end we are after the peaceful co-existence between all these components.

bitaa'at ar-ra'i, haddadna l-mashaari' 'ala asaas di mashaari' kaanat mawjuuda gadiima hatta fi l-'awaamir al-mahaliyya di 'alaa arḍ al-waaqi'. Niḥna fii kulli ashghaalna lamma naji nanaffiz binamshi ṭawwaali le l-'idaara l-'ahliyya la'annu hi l-'aarfa wa hi l-mafruuḍ tar'a ḥuguug al-muzaari' wa ḥuguug ar-raa'i, wa kullahum tar'a ḥuguugum 'ala asaas innu l-mas'ala fi n-nihaaya taṭla' fii innu kullana 'aayziin at-ta'aayush as-silmi been al-mukawwinaat di.

الواقع. نحن في كل أشغالنا لما نجي ننفذ بنمشي طوالي للإدارة الأهلية، لأنو هي العارفة وهي المفروض ترعى حقوق المزارع وحقوق الراعي، وكلهم ترعى حقوق على أساس إنو المسألة في النهاية تطلع في إنو كلنا عازين التعايش السلمي بين المكونات دي.

*Q13: Well, after the elevation of the Rosseiris dam, do you expect the amount of the birdi to increase or to decrease?*

By Allah, the *birdi* itself is a water plant; since the water increases, the *birdi* too will increase. But the question is that: When is it possible to benefit from it? I think that if I am to benefit from it in June or July, this means that it 'has no sense' (i.e. useless), because by then the rainy season has already come. In former time, this *birdi* used to hold the animals in February, March and April, in a critical period. Afterwards, the rain

Wallaahi l-birdi zaatu nabaat maa'i, maadaam al-mooya bitziid al-birdi biziid. Laakin bitabga hal al-'imkaamiyya bitaa'at al-'istifaada minnu miteen? Ana biftakir innu ba'ad daak iza ana bistafiid minnu nihaayat sitta aw saba'a yibga maa 'indu ma'na, la'annu ba'ad daak al-khariif yikuun ja. Ana zamaanik al-birdi da bimsik al-ḥaywanaat deel shahri itneen talaata arba'a – fii fatra ḥariija. Ba'ad daak al-maṭar biji. Ba'ad al-

س13: طيب إنت تتوقع بعد تعلقة الخزان كمية البردي تزيد وللا تنقص؟

والله البردي ذاتو نبات مائي، ما دام الموية بتزيد البردي يزيد. لكن بتبقى هل الإمكانية بتاعة الاستفادة منو متين؟ أنا بفكر إنو بعد داك إذا أنا بستفيد منو نهاية ستة أو سبعة يبقى ما عندو معنى، لأنو بعد داك الخريف يكون جا. أنا زمانك البردي دا بمسك الحيوانات ديل شهر اتنين ثلاثة أربعة. في فترة حرجة. بعد داك المطر بجي. بعد المنشاق البجي المخلفات بتاعة الجروف دي ذاتا بتطلع بشتروها. المخلفات بتاعة الحوض بتكون طلعت، إذا كان باقي بامية، باقي بطيخ، باقي

‘comes’. After this ‘activity’ (i. e. grazing on *birdi*) come the residues of the *juruuf*,<sup>16</sup> they come out and they (i. e. the nomads) buy them. The residues of the basin would be out, whether the remains of okra, the remains of the watermelon, remains of the cucumber, or remains of maize. They (i. e. the nomads) try to benefit from all these [things]. So, if the period in which the *birdi* is out is in May, it becomes of not much benefit. Apart from the benefit of the *birdi*, very many streams emerged; for example, Bubuk stream, from being near ar-Rigeba, it went beyond the place of Midyam Masalit opposite to the original Maganza. So, when it is November there, this one undergoes ‘recessing’ [and] the relative humidity affects [positively] the ‘vegetation’ around it. This is in addition to that the animals themselves find water to drink; that is, no cultivated space is found here in December, January and February. One of the things that hinder its use is lack of water. The stream has gone away, water is far away, and the animals eat these residues and get moisture from them. These are the advantages of the [dam] elevation.

<sup>16</sup> Farms on the bed of the river.

minshaag al-biji al-mukhallafaat bitaa°at aj-juruuf di zaataa bitatla° bishtaruuha. Al-mukhallafaat bitaa°at al-ħooḍ bitkuun ṭala°at, iza kaan baagi baamiya, baagi bittiikh, baagi °ajjuur, baagi °eesh riif; fa di kullaa bitatla° wa yistafiidu minnaa. Yibga l-fatra l-bitla° fiha l-birdi, law biga shahri khamisa yibga maa °indu faa°ida kabiira. Gheer al-faa°ida bitaa°at al-birdi, ṭala°at kheeraan katiira jiddan. Ya°ni masalan Khoor Bubuk min kaan janb ar-Rigeeba, faat al-ħitta bitaa°at Madyam Masaaliit muqaabil lee Maganza l-°asliyya. Fa yibga da lamma yikuun shahri ħidaashar hinaak wa l-mooya bitaħṣal leeha ‘recessing’ ar-ruṭuuba n-nisbiyya bit°assir °ale l-‘vegetation’ al-ħawlaa, be l-°idaafa lee innu l-bahaayim zaataa bitkuun laagiya leeha mooya tashrab, ya°ni maafi misaaħa ziraa°iyya hina mawjuuda fii shahri itnaashar wa waħhid wa itneen. Waħhid min al-ħaajaat al-bithid min istikhdaamaa °adam wujuud al-mooya. Al-khoor masha fii mooya ba°iid, al-bahaayim bitashrab bitaakul fi l-mukhallafaat di. Di maħaasin ya°ni le t-ta°liya.

عجور، باقي عيش ريف، فدي كلها بتطلع ويستقيدوا منها. يبقى الفترة البطلع فيها البردي، لو بقي في شهر خمسة يبقى ما عندو فائدة كبيرة. غير الفائدة بتاعة البردي، طلعت خيران كثيرة جداً. يعني مثلاً خور بُبُك Bubuk من كان جنب الرقية، فات الحتة بتاعة ميديام مساليت مقابل لي مقنزا الأصلية. فيبقى دا لما يكون شهر حداشر هناك والموية بتحصل ليها

recessing الرطوبة النسبية بتأثر على الـ الحولا، بالإضافة لي إنو البهايم ذاتا بتكون لاقية ليها موية تشرب، يعني مافي مساحة زراعية هنا موجودة في شهر اتناشر وواحد واثنتين. واحدي من الحاجات البتحد من استخداما عدم وجود الموية. الخور مشي في موية بعيد، البهايم بتشرب بتاكل في المخلفات دي. دي محاسن يعني للتعلية. فيبقى ماشي. بعد دك بعد شوية ممكن يبقى فيه بردي. الزول حتى لو زرع جروف - في ناس زرعوا جروف - بيديني



So, it (the stream?) continues moving. After a while there may be *birdi* in it. If even the person cultivates *juruuf* – there are people who cultivated *juruuf* – it (i.e. the *jurruf*) will produce green residues that benefit this matter.

Fa yibga maashi. Ba<sup>°</sup>ad daak ba<sup>°</sup>ad shuwayya mumkin yibga fiihu birdi. Az-zool ḥatta law zara<sup>°</sup> juruuf – fi naas zara<sup>°</sup>o juruuf – biddiini mukhallafaat ziraa<sup>°</sup>iyya khaḍra bitfiid al-mas<sup>°</sup>ala.

مخلفات زراعية خضرا بتفيد المسألة.

*Q14: Well Ustaz, I understand that you have opened about 500 Kms [of corridors]. Suppose you have opened the 'maximum', do you think that this will solve the problem of all the animals in the state? Will this save them from being obliged to go to the South [Sudan]?*

Well, we don't have only corridors; we have corridors, streams and dry-season stop-over stations. [However], even with the streams, the dry-season stop-over stations and everything, and the state has become without cultivation and [the land] left for the animal wealth, still it is not sufficient for it (i.e. the livestock population). There should be [an additional] pasture meal [for the animal]. Even with the pasture, the farms' residues and the forests, there is still a pasture gap for the number of animals that are found in the state. Even now there is

Ṭayyib, maa niḥna maa <sup>°</sup>indana masaaraat wu bas; <sup>°</sup>indana masaaraat wa kheeraan wa maṣaayif. Wu ba<sup>°</sup>ad da ma<sup>°</sup>a l-kheeraan wa l-maṣaayif wa kullu shi wa l-wilaaya di kullaa maa fiiha ziraa<sup>°</sup>a wa khalleenaaha le s-sarwa l-ḥaywaaniyya barḍu maa bikfiha. Laazim takuun fi wajba <sup>°</sup>alafiyya. Al-<sup>°</sup>a<sup>°</sup>daad al-mawjuuda fi l-wilaaya, araadi l-maraa<sup>°</sup>i wa l-mukhallafaat az-ziraa<sup>°</sup>iyya wa l-ghaabaat al-li yimkin yiḥtaaj minnaa barḍu fi fajwa <sup>°</sup>alafiyya mawjuuda. Hassa<sup>°</sup> ḥaaliyyan mawjuuda, laakin maa kabiira. Laakin al-

س14: طيب يا أستاذ فهمت إنكم فتحتوا زي 500 كيلو. هب إنكم فتحتوا ال maximum هل تفكر دا بجل مشكلة كل المواشي الموجودة في الولاية دي؟ هل دا بغنيهم يسيروا يلجأوا للجنوب؟

طيب، ما نحن ما عندنا مسارات ويس، عندنا مسارات وخيران ومصايف. وبعد دا مع الخيران والمصايف وكل شي والولاية دي كلاً ما فيها زراعة وخليناها للثروة الحيوانية برضو ما بكفيها. لازم تكون في وجبة علفية. الأعداد الموجودة في الولاية، أراضي المراعي والمخلفات الزراعية والغابات اللي يمكن يحتاج منها برضو في فجوة علفية موجودة. هسع حالياً موجودة، لكن ما كبيرة.

لكن المسألة هسع بنسعى

[a pasture gap], but it is not big. Now, we are striving to profit from the farms' residues but [we are not doing it] in the ideal way. Now, we are striving to profit from the farms' residues; we pack them – that is, we have the work of farms residues' packing, something like 'pilot' to show the people that instead of leaving it (i.e the residue) standing in its place as stalks, or chop it and bring it [home], we started to show the beneficiaries how to pack it, [telling them], "you can add to it some organic things and improve its nutritional value and make a supplementary fodder out of it".

mas'ala hasa° binas°a  
 l-mukhallafaat az-  
 ziraa°iyya l-istifaada  
 minnaa maa be ş-şuura  
 l-muslaa; niḥna binas°a  
 l-mukhallafaat az-  
 ziraa°iyya nistafiid minnaa,  
 binaḥzimaa – ya°ni °indana  
 ash-shoghol bitaa° ḥazm al-  
 mukhallafaat az-ziraa°iyya  
 ḥaaja zey 'pilot' fii innu  
 nawarri n-naas inta badal  
 mukhalliihu gaşab waagif  
 fii maḥallu walla taskubu  
 tajiibu, ya°ni badeena  
 nawarri l-mustafidiin,  
 binaḥzimu, wa mumkin  
 taḍiif leehu ba°ḍ al-ḥaajaat  
 al-°uḍwiyya taḥassin al-  
 qiima l-ghizaa°iyya bitaa°tu  
 wa tabga fihu °aliiga.

المخلفات الزراعية الاستفادة  
 منها ما بالصورة المثلى، نحن  
 بنسعى المخلفات الزراعية  
 نستفيد منها، بنحزما – يعني  
 عندنا الشغل بتاع حزم  
 المخلفات الزراعية حاجة زي  
 pilot في إني نوري الناس  
 إنت بدل مخليه قصب واقف  
 في محلو وللا تسكبو تجيبو،  
 يعني بيدنا نوري المستفيدين،  
 بنحزمو، وممكن تصيف ليهو  
 بعض الحاجات العضوية  
 تحسن القيمة الغذائية بتاعو  
 وتبقى فيهو عليقة.

*Q15: (ELHADI) This is a correct thing. The purpose of the corridor itself is not for the animals to settle, but to facilitate their passage.*

*(ABU-MANGA) But the animals to go where? To the South [Sudan]?*

They must go to the South [Sudan]. If I were in the place of the State of South Sudan – now it is under war conditions – if I were in the place of the State of South Sudan, if I were installed today as ruler of the State of South Sudan, I would not fight the nomads, because the type of my soil is more

Laazim tamshi j-Januub.  
 Ana law fii maḥal Dawlat aj-  
 Januub – hasa° zuruuf  
 bitaa°at ḥarb – ana law fii  
 maḥal Dawlat aj-Januub,  
 law naşabooni l-leela  
 ḥaakim le Dawlat aj-Januub  
 ana maa baḥaarib ar-  
 rawaa°iyya la'annu noo° at-  
 turba bitaa°ti bitaşluḥ le  
 r-ra'i aktar mimmaa hiya

س15: (الهادي) دا كلام سليم.  
 المسار ذاتو ما مهمتو البهايم  
 تستقر، مهمتو تسهيل للبهايم  
 تمر.

(أبومنقة) لكن تمشي وين  
 البهايم؟ تمشي الجنوب؟

لازم تمشي الجنوب. أنا لو في  
 محل دولة الجنوب – هسع  
 ظروف بتاعة حرب – أنا لو  
 في محل دولة الجنوب، لو  
 نصبوني الليلة حاكم لدولة  
 الجنوب أنا ما بحارب الرواعية  
 لأنو نوع التربة بتاعتي بتصلح  
 للرعي أكثر مما هي تزرع.  
 بسنقبلم ويقدم ليهم كمان  
 مساهمات تخليهم يجوا، عشان  
 حاجة واحدي: السودان عندو

suitable for grazing than cultivation. I would receive them and even offer them contributions (incentives) that make them come. This is because of one thing: Sudan has animal wealth and I don't have. I would compete with them (i.e. the Sudanese) on this animal wealth itself; I would facilitate its coming; my soil is not useful for rain-fed agriculture; [my land is] either an irrigated place or forests.

tuzra<sup>c</sup>. Bistaqlibum wa bagaddim leehum kamaan musaahamaat takhalliihum yiju, <sup>c</sup>ashaan haaja waahdi: as-Suudaan <sup>c</sup>indu sarwa haywaaniyya ana maa <sup>c</sup>indi. Ana banaafisum fi s-sarwa l-haywaaniyya di zaataa bitaa<sup>c</sup>atna, ana asahhil leeha taji, ana waataati maa saalha le z-ziraa<sup>a</sup> l-ma<sup>c</sup>ariyya, yaa hitta marwiyya yaa ghaabaat.

ثروة حيوانية أنا ما عندي. أنا بنافسهم في الثروة الحيوانية دي ذاتا بتاعتنا، أنا أسهل لها تجي، أنا واطاتي ما صالحة للزراعة المطرية، يا حنة مروية يا غابات.

*Q16: Well, these people on the eastern side of the river who come out from a place like Mashayish; what is their situation? Are they settled? Do they go [to the South] normally? Isn't there any problem?*

There are some attempts with them and some problems happen from their side with Ethiopia. So, they go... they (i.e. problems) are solved by the Native Administration; it (i.e. the Native Administration) goes [and] the Pastoralists Union goes; they release the nomads who are exposed to problems and so. We also have attempts in the Dindir [reserved area] Protectorate (Park) and its extension; we conducted many dialogues and convened a conference, brought

Fi ba<sup>c</sup>d al-mu<sup>h</sup>aawalaat ma<sup>a</sup>aahum wa bitah<sup>h</sup>sal ba<sup>c</sup>d al-'ishkaalaat minnahum ma<sup>a</sup> Dawlat Isyuubiya. Fa bimshu... bihillaa l-'idaara l-'ahliyya, gaa<sup>c</sup>da tamshi, Ittihaad ar-Ru<sup>a</sup> gaa<sup>c</sup>id yimshi yihillu r-ru<sup>a</sup> l-bitah<sup>h</sup>sal leehum ishkaalaat wa kida.

س16: طيب الناس البي الشرق ديل البطلعوا من حنات زي ناس مشايش. ديل وضعيتهم كيف؟ مستقرين؟ بمشوا عادي؟ مافي مشكلة؟

في بعض المحاولات معاهم وبتحصل بعض الإشكالات منهم مع دولة إثيوبيا. فبمشوا... بحلها الإدارة الأهلية، قاعدة تمشي، اتحاد الرعاة قاعد يمشي يحلوا الرعاة البتوصل ليهم إشكالات وكدا.

Laakin bar<sup>h</sup>du <sup>c</sup>indana mu<sup>h</sup>aawala fii Ma<sup>h</sup>miyyat ad-Dindir wa l-'imtidaad bitaa<sup>a</sup>aa, wa <sup>c</sup>amalna fiiha kam hiwaar wa <sup>c</sup>amalna mu<sup>t</sup>amar jaami<sup>c</sup> wa jiiibna

لكن برضو عندنا محاولة في محمية الدندر والامتداد بتاعا، وعملنا فيها كم حوار وعملنا مؤتمر جامع وجيبنا ناس سنار وجيبنا ناس القصارف هنا وقعدنا وعملنا توصيات

the people of Sennar [State] and brought the people of Gedarif [State] here [in Damazin]. We sat down and made recommendations that the protectorate (park) with its new boundaries is not comfortable for the people (nomads) and that the boundaries should be clear; they should make some things (demarcations) (along) them. We came out with some recommendations hoping that the state government takes these recommendations instead of [waiting until] a problem breaks out with the protectorate. [We hope that] it takes the recommendations and go to the Bureau of Federalism, bring the Minister of Interior, bring the Presidency and sit down together and agree on a form [of solution].

naas Sinnaar wa jiiibna naas al-Gaḍaarif hina wa gaʿadna wa ʿamalna tawṣiyaat bi annu l-maḥmiyya be ḥuduudaa j-jadiida di maa murayyiha n-naas, laazim tabga waadḥa, yaʿmalu fiiha kida. Talaʿat baʿd at-tawṣiyaat, nitmanna ḥakuumat al-wilaaya tashiil at-tawṣiyaat di, badal maa tabga fi mushkila maʿa l-maḥmiyya, tashiil at-tawṣiyaat tamshi Deewaan al-Ḥukm al-ʿIttihaadi yijiibu waziir ad-daakhiliyya yijiibu riʼaasat aj-jamhuuriyya yigoʿdu wa yiṣalu lee šiigha yittafgu fiiha.

بأنو المحمية بحدودها الجديدة دي ما مريحة الناس، والحدود لازم تبقى واضحة، يعملوا فيها كدا. طلعت بعض التوصيات، نتمنى حكومة الولاية تشيل التوصيات دي بدل ما تبقى في مشكلة مع المحمية، تشيل التوصيات تمشى ديوان الحكم الاتحادي يجيبوا وزير الداخلية يجيبوا رئاسة الجمهورية يقعدوا ويصلوا لي صيغة يتفقوا فيها.

*Q17: There was an expert, a European – whose nationality I don't know – who thinks that this park in its [present] large size, the government cannot develop it and make it attractive to tourists. So, he suggests shrinking it to a reasonable size that enables the government to build roads and hotels in it, and keep the animals in it. What is better*

س17: في واحد خبير خواجه ما يعرف جنسيتو شنو، يرى إنو الحظيرة دي بحجمها الكبير دا الدولة ما بتقدر تطورا لامن تبقى جذابة للسواح. فهو يقترح أنو تتقلص لي مساحة معقولة، الدولة تقدر تنشئ فيها طرق وتعمل فيها فنادق وتحفظ الحيوانات فيها. شنو الأصلح للرعاة، التوسعة وللا التضييق؟

*for the nomads, the expansion or the shrinking?*

One of the results of the conferences is that the Native Administration said that it will not give a *shibir* (a hand span) [of land] beyond the 1935 border; that is, the protectorate should stop at the 1935 border. The rest of the space is to be used as follows: the nomads and the traditional farming; the government should not approve [land] for mechanized farming. These are recommendations of the conferences and not resolutions; in fact, the conferences have no power of issuing resolutions. One of the recommendations of the conference is that the Park is to return to the 1935 borders. The space is to reduce; the mechanized farming should not be given [land] between the 1935 and 1986 borders, but to give it to the villages' citizens, everyone near his village. The citizens of the villages are to be helped in their farming to develop it, whether it is irrigated or rain-fed. The rest is to be developed and not left like this; it is to be developed to become pasture to receive animals, and to become a border between the wildlife and farming.

Al-mu'tamaraat waaħid min nataa'ijaa gaalo l-'idaara l-'ahliyya gaalat shibir wara ħuduud 35 maa bitaddi l-ħakuuma, ya'ni l-maħmiyya tagiif fii ħuddud 1935. Mutbaqqi l-misaħa da yistakhdimuuha ka l-'aati: ar-ru'a wa z-ziraa'a t-taqliidiyya; maafi ziraa'a aaliyya tašaddigaa l-ħakuuma. Di tawšiyaat bitaa'at al-mu'tamar, maa qaraaraat; ma l-mu'tamar maa min šalaahiyyaatu yišdir qaraaraat. Al-mu'tamar waaħdi min tawšiyaatu gaalo l-ħaziira tarja' lee ħuduud 1935.

Al-mišaaha tanguş, wa maa been ħuduud 1986 wa 1935 da taani maa yiddu z-ziraa'a l-'aaliyya, laakin yidduuhu le muwaaŋniin al-qura, kullu zool janb qaryatu, wa yisaa'adu l-muwaaŋniin bitaa'iin al-qura deel fii ziraa'atum yiṭawwiruuha izaa kaanat marwiyya aw maŋariyya. Al-mutabaqqi yatim tatwiiru maa yikhalluuhu kida, yitim ṭawiiru 'ashaan yabga maraa'i tistaqbal al-mawaashi, 'ashaan yikuun ħad faašil maa been al-ħaya l-barriyya wa been az-ziraa'a.

المؤتمرات واحد من نتائجها قالوا الإدارة الأهلية قالت شبر وارا حدود 35 ما بتدي الحكومة، يعني المحمية تقيف في حدود 1935. متبقي المساحة دا يستخدموهو كالأتي: الرعاة والزراعة التقليدية، مافي زراعة آلية تصدقا الحكومة. دي توصيات بتاعة المؤتمر، ما قرارات؛ ما المؤتمر ما من صلاحياتو يصدر قرارات. المؤتمر واحدي من توصياتو قالوا الحظيرة ترجع لي حدود 1935.

المساحة تنقص، وما بين حدود 1986 و1935 دا ثاني ما يدوا الزراعة الآلية، لكن يدوهو لمواطنين القرى، كل زول جنب قريتو، ويساعدوا المواطنين بتاعين القرى ديل في زراعتهم يطوروها إذا كانت مروية أو مطرية. المتبقي يتم تطويرو ما يخلوهو كدا، يتم تطويرو عشان يبقى مراعي تستقبل المواشي، عشان يكون حد فاصل ما بين الحياة البرية وبين الزراعة.

ELHADI

[Do you mean that] the worry of these people is the big schemes?

الهادي

يعني ديل تخوفم المشاريع الكبيرة؟

*Q18: These [nomads] were telling us yesterday that they prefer the land to be within the Park, because [they say], “we enter the Park, and its fines, however they may be, are less than when we enter a scheme of somebody”. Because if they (i.e. the Park’s people) catch them, they take away 50% of the animals and afterwards they sell them back to them for a ‘light’ price. But the farmers – they say – fine them 20 times the [actual] cost of the damage.*

س18: هم (الرعاة) ديل أمس بقولوا نحن بنفضل الأرض تبقى تبع الحظيرة عشان نحن بندخل الحظيرة، وهي تسوياتنا مهما يكون أقل لينا مما لو دخلنا مشروع بتاع زول، لأنو هم لو مسكوهم بياخدوا 50% من البهايم وبعد دا ببيعوها ليهم بسعر شوية متهادن. لكن المزارعين – بقولوا – بغرموهم أشياء عشرين مرة قدر التلف.

Let me tell you something; even in this, we are trying to find ways of making people not exaggerate in the matter of [damage] settlements. We trained people, the villagers, and we brought the people of the damage committees and so, also under the patronage of ICOM people. We showed them how to know the real amount of the damage in a scientific, good and simple way. In this field (farm), there are many things which are not included; you have estimated the number of the

Aguul leek haaja; di zaataa ‘indana muhaawalaat fii innu n-naas maa yishtattu fi t-taswiyaat. Wa darrabna naas, naas al-qura, wa jiiibna naas lijaan at-talaf wu kida, wa barðu be ri‘aaya bitaa‘at naas IKOM. Warreenaahum fii innak keef hagiigatan ta‘rif at-talaf al-hagiigi gadur shinu be tariiga ‘ilmiyya be suura kooyasa wa mubassata. Fi l-bilaad da fi ashyaa’ katiira maa daakhla fiihu, inta qayyama ‘adad shawwalaat bitaa‘at ‘eesh, laakin al-‘eesh da maa itħaşad, maa gaṭa‘oohu,

أقول ليك حاجة؛ دي ذاتا عندنا محاولات في إنو الناس ما يشتطوا في التسويات. ودرّينا ناس، ناس القرى، وجيينا ناس لجان التلف وكدا، وبرضو برعاية بتاعة ناس إكوم. ووريناهم في إنك كيف حقيقة تعرف التلف الحقيقي قدر شنو بطريقة علمية بصورة كويسة ومبسطة. في البلاد دا في أشياء كتيرة ما داخلة فيه، إنت قيّم عدد شواتل بتاعة عيش، لكن العيش دا ما اتحصد، ما قطعوه، وما دقّوه واتخيّط، ما دّفعت ليهو زكاة، ما دّفعت ليهو ضريبة. قمنا ضربنا ليهم مثل قلنا الشوال تمنو كم؟ بتقطع بي كم؟ وبتدقّ

sacks of the sorghum but this sorghum has not yet been harvested, not yet cut, not yet threshed and put in sacks, no *zakat* (tax) has been paid for it, no [state] tax has been paid for it. We calculated for them and said, for example, how much does the sack cost? How much do you pay for the cutting? How much do you pay for the threshing? What is the price of the empty sack? How much do you pay for the transport? I was responsible of this matter. We said to them (i. e. the farmers), “if the sack costs 150 SDG, I will deduct these costs, be they [to the amount of] 20, 50 or 60 SDG. If you fine me 100 sacks and the sack costs 150 SDG in the market, and if the [production] cost of the sack until it reaches the market is 50 SDG, then you (have to) fine me 100 sacks x 100 SDG; you [have to] fine me 10 thousand SDG [only] and not 15 thousand; because if you fine me [the nomad] 15 thousand, that means you have taken 5 thousand from the nomad and given it to that one (i. e. the farmer), and this is wrong.

wa maa daggoohu wa itkhayyaṭ, maa dufi<sup>c</sup>at leehu zaka, maa dufi<sup>c</sup>at leehu ḍariiba. Gumna ḍarabna leehum masal gulna sh-shawwaal tamanu kam? Bitgaṭi<sup>c</sup> bee kam? Wa bitdagga bee kam?

Al-kheesha tamanaa kam? Wa bitraḥḥal bee kam? Ana kunta maasik al-mas’ala di. Gulna leehum law ash-shawwaal 150 (Jineeh) baṭraḥ minnaa t-takaaliif di, jaabat 50, jaabat 60, jaabat 20 (jineeh). Khalaas ana tagharrimni 100 shawwaal, ash-shawwaal 150 (jineeh) fi s-suug, takaaliif ash-shawwaal laghaayit maa yiḥaṣṣil as-suug min al-bilaad 50 jineeh, khalaas gharramtani 100 shawwaal x 100 jineeh, gharrimni 10 ‘alf; maa tagharrimni 15 ‘alf, la’annak izaa gharramtani 15 ‘alf ma<sup>c</sup>anaata shilta 5 ‘alf min ar-raa<sup>c</sup>i da addeetaa le z-zool da, wu da l-khaṭa’.

بي كم؟

الخيشة تمنا كم؟ وبترحل بي كم؟ أنا كنت ماسك المسألة دي. قلنا ليهم لو الشوال 150 (جنيه) بطرح منها التكاليف دي، جابت 50، جابت 60، جابت 20 (جنيه). خلاص أنا تغرمني 100 شوال، الشوال 150 (جنيه) في السوق، تكاليف الشوال لغاية ما يحصل السوق من البلاد 50 جنيه، خلاص غرممتني 100 شوال x 100 جنيه. غرممتني 10 ألف، ما تغرمني 15 ألف، لأنك إذا غرممتني 15 ألف معناتا شلت 5 ألف من الراعي دا وأديتنا للزول دا، ودا الخطأ.

Q19: This is why it is said that some people cultivate with the hope that they (i. e. nomads) come and spoil for him, because (as such) he will be the winner.

One of them is [...]; this one sows in September. He lives here, yet he sows in September [and] close the corridor, so that when the animals are coming back, his sorghum [plants] is 'siwsiiw' (newly-hatched chicken = about 5–10 cm high); he then comes and starts shouting. First, he takes (borrows) money from the bank and 'eats' it; he goes and writes cheques; when animals come and cause damage for him, he fines the herders and goes to the people of the cheques [and says]: "I couldn't find the animals". He exploited his intelligence and knowledge of the law in a bad way while he is somebody who studied law and was once a policeman (officer); you can exploit it in a good way that benefits your relatives. Whoever this herder may be, be he a Kinaani, a Fallaati or what [it is still improper to do that]. This is his habit, he and [...]; they shout a lot and we know all these things. Why do these people (i. e. the nomads) go to the protectorate (Park)? They interact with the police in

Waaḥid minnahum [...], da bizra<sup>ε</sup> shahri tis<sup>ε</sup>a. Gaa'id hina. Bizra<sup>ε</sup> shahri tis<sup>ε</sup>a wa bizra<sup>ε</sup> gariib le l-masaar ḥatta lamma l-bahaayim taji raaj<sup>ε</sup>a <sup>ε</sup>eeshu siwsiiw, wa yiji yikoorik. Awwal ḥaaja bishiil guruush al-bank biyaakulaa, bimshi yi<sup>ε</sup>ammir fi sh-sheeka, jo l-bahaayim kharabat leehu gharram ar-rawaa<sup>ε</sup>iyya, raah le naas ash-sheekaat: "ana l-bahaayim maa lammeet fiha". Istaghalla z-zakaa' bitaa<sup>ε</sup>u wa ma<sup>ε</sup>rifu le l-qaanuun be ṣuura maa kooyisa fii ḥiin innu hu zool gaari qaanuun wa inta kunta shurṭi, inta mumkin tistaghilla istighlaal kooyis tafiid beehu ahalak.

Ya<sup>ε</sup>ni mahmaa yikuun ar-raa<sup>ε</sup>i da, kaan Kinaani walla Fallaati walla kaan hinaay. Hu ṭabii<sup>ε</sup>tu, hu wa [...], kawaariikum katiira wa l-ḥaajaat di kullaa niḥna <sup>ε</sup>aarfinnaa. An-naas (ar-ru<sup>ε</sup>a) deel bimshu l-maḥmiyya lee shinu? Bit<sup>ε</sup>aamalu ma<sup>ε</sup>a sh-shurṭa be ṭurug [multawiya];

س19: عشان كذا قالوا في ناس بزرعوا وبتمئوا يجوا يخرىوا ليهو عشان يكون كسبان.

واحد منهم [...], دا بزرع شهر تسعة. قاعد هنا دا. بزرع شهر تسعة، وبزرع قريب للمسار، حتى لما البهايم تجي راجعة عيشو سويسيو، ويجي يكورك. أول حاجة بشيل قروش البنك بياكلا، بمشي يعمر في الشيكات، جوا البهايم خربت ليهو غم الرواعية، راح لناس الشيكات: «أنا البهايم ما لميت فيها». استغل الذكاء بتاعو ومعرفتو للقانون بصورة ما كويسة في حين إنو هو زول قاري قانون وإنك كنت شرطي، إنت ممكن تستغلو استغلال كويس تفيد بيهو أهلك.

يعني مهما يكون الراعي دا، كان كناني وللا كان فلاطي وللا كان هناي. هو طبيعتو، هو و[...]، كواريكم كتيرة والحاجات دي كلاً نحن عارفيناً. الناس (الرعاة) ديل بمشوا المحمية لي شنو؟ بتعاملوا مع الشرطة بطرق (ملتوية)، ما الشرطي بتاع المحمية ما عندو ماهية بتأكلو.



[dodging] ways; the policeman of the protectorate has no salary that sustains him.

ma sh-shurtī bitaa° al-maḥmiyya maa °indu maahiyya bit°akkilu.

*Q20: They (i. e. nomads) protest that if you want to take the police to estimate the damage, they will tell you that they want incentives. I said to them, “who relies on salary?” It is not necessarily that to give me incentive I must do injustice to the other, but you have to give me out of what I estimate for you; I am in need.*

But [regarding] those there (i. e. the protectorate’s police), he (i. e. the herder) will find the policeman sitting and will arrange with him; all these people who enter [the protectorate do that] under arrangement [with the police], from the General down to the policeman. After that, when they (the police) feel that they are pressed, they do something. Additionally, he (i. e. the herder) spends two or three months grazing (his animals) in the rainy season; the water is near; the animals are comfortable and don’t go far. Therefore, he says to you, “I pay half of them (i. e. the animals as fine) and when I come out, I will come out with all of them, [bargains].

Laakin deelak (shurtat al-maḥmiyya) bilga sh-shurtī gaa°id bittafig ma°aahu, kulla n-naas al-bikhushshu deel be l°ittifigaat, min al-liwa lee aṣghar °askari. Ba°ad da lamma yash°uru innu ma°suuriin bi°malu ḥaaja.

Be l°iḍaafa hu biyaakhud leehu shahreen talaata biyaakul fi l-khariif, al-mooya janbu, al-bahaayim murtaaḥa, maa bimshi ba°iid. Fa °ashaan kida biguul leek ana badfa° nuṣṣahin lamma atla° batla° beehin kullahin (musaawamaat).

س20: هم (الرعاة) بحتجوا أنو لو داير تسوق الشرطة لي تقدير التلف بقولوا عايزين حوافز، قلت ليهم منو المنتظر على الماهية؟ ما بالضرورة عشان تديني لازم أظلم الآخر، لكن الشي البقرو ليك لازم تديني منو، أنا محتاج.

لكن ديك (شرطة المحمية) بلقى الشرطي قاعد، بتقق معاه، كل الناس اليخشوا ديل بالاتفاقات، من اللواء لي أصغر عسكري. بعد دا لما يشعروا إنو معصورين بعملوا حاجة.

بالإضافة هو بياخد ليهو شهرين ثلاثة بياكل في الخريف، الموية جنبو، البهايم مرتاحة، ما بمشي بعيد. فعشان كذا بقول ليك أنا بدفع نَصْهَن لما أطلع بطلع بيهن كلهن (مساومات).

*Q21: This is in fact what they said about the Dindir Park. They said: “Even though we know that when they catch us, they will fine us, but when we don’t enter, we will lose more”.*

ELHADI

Ours here, those [nomads] of Barankawa call the police from here on telephone and talk to them, “when do we come?” They coordinate with them.

By coordination; and “to which pond do we go? To what place do we go?”

*Q22: Well, you have said that after the opening of all the corridors, still this will not be sufficient for the animals. Then where do the animals go? Suppose the South [Sudan] says that these nomads should not come to us. You have but said if they are “wise”; suppose they become unwise, what is the solution?*

As our strategy at the Range and Fodder Directorate, we first identify/delimit our lands: the corridors and the dry-season grazing area. After that, the next step is to undertake a socio-economic study of all the nomadic groups: what corridors they follow and in what place

Nihna ḥagginnana bitaa<sup>ci</sup>in Barankawa deel ya<sup>ni</sup> biḍrabu min hina be t-telafuun le l-booliis bitkallamu ma<sup>a</sup>aahu, naji miteen? Binassiqu ma<sup>a</sup>aahu.

Be t-tansiiq, wa “namshi yaati may<sup>a</sup>? Namshi yaatu maḥal”?

Nihna ka istiraatiijiyya bitaa<sup>at</sup>na fi l-Maraa<sup>ci</sup> wa l-<sup>Alaf</sup> naḥaddid al-’araaḍi bitaa<sup>at</sup>na awwal ḥaaja: al-masaaraat wa l-maṣaayif. Ba<sup>ad</sup> daak al-khaṭwa t-taaniya mafruuḍ tit<sup>am</sup>il diraasa iqtisadiyya-ijtimaa<sup>ci</sup>yya le l-majmuu<sup>at</sup> ar-ra<sup>aw</sup>iyya kullaa, wa hi

س21: ما دا الكلام القالوهو بالنسبة للدندر. قالوا بعد دا يعني نحن بنمشي وعارفين لو قبضونا بغزّموننا لكن لو ما خشينا بنكون خسرايين أكثر.

الهادي

نحن حقيّنا بتاعين برنكوا ديل يعني بضرىوا من هنا بالتلفون للبوليس بتكلموا معاھو، نجى متين؟ بتيقوا معاھو.

بالتسيق، و «نمشي ياتي مية؟ نمشي ياتو محل؟»

س22: طيب إنت قلت بعد المسارات كلها ما تفتح برضو ما بكفي البهايم. طيب البهايم تمشي وين؟ هب إنو الجنوب قال الرواعية ديل ما يجونا، ما إنت قلت لو «عاقلين»، هب إنهم بقوا ما عاقلين، الحل شنو؟

نحن كإستراتيجية بتاعتنا في المراعي والعلف نحدّد الأراضي بتاعتنا أول حاجة: المسارات والمصايف. بعد داك الخطوة الثانية مفروض تتعمل دراسة اقتصادية - اجتماعية للمجموعات الرعوية كلاً، وهي بتمشي بي ياتو مسار وبتصيّف في ياتي حتة. بعد داك نبدأ الخطوات بتاعة ال communal

they spend the dry season. After that we start the steps of the ‘communal ranches’ and then opportunities are to be availed for the private ranches as well as those of the big companies with the understanding that the current pattern, i.e. the ‘open range system’ in its current situation is harmful to the ranges; it is created for a kind of animals’ breeds found only under these conditions.<sup>17</sup> So, I want to preserve the ‘genetic constitution’; that is, the animal from its birth up to the age of five years would walk ca. 15.000 km. That means it walks 3 to 4 Km a day, and yet it is productive. You find the cow carrying a heap of ticks that weighs one Pound, and yet it is productive. So, the pattern that was prevailing yielded to me all these things. Then, how do I preserve its ‘genetic constitution’, what do I do? This is while not all people accept from the beginning to settle down and yield me the modern pattern. There are many ‘ranches’ moving up and down; this is their corridor which they follow; so, it is their responsibility. I identified [the land] for him, “by Allah, this is the

bitamshi bee yaatu masaar wa bitşayyif fii yaati hitta. Ba<sup>°</sup>ad daak nabda l-khatwaat bitaa<sup>°</sup>at al-‘communal ranches’ aj-jamaa<sup>°</sup>iyya, wa yitfatiḥ majaan le r-‘ranches’ al-khaaṣṣa aw bitaa<sup>°</sup>at ash-sharikaat al-kabiira ‘ala asaas innu n-namaṭ as-saa’id hassa<sup>°</sup>, al-‘open grazing system’ be ḥaaltu di hu ḍaar be n-nisba le l-maraa<sup>°</sup>i, khuliq le noo’iyya bitaa<sup>°</sup>at sulaalaat bitaa<sup>°</sup>at ḥaywaanaat maa mawjuuda illa tiḥt az-zuruuf di, zuruuf ar-ra<sup>°</sup>i t-tirḥaali. Yibga ana ‘aayiz aḥaafiz ‘ala al-‘genetic constitution’, ya<sup>°</sup>ni ḥaywaan min wildoohu laghaayit maa yibga ‘umru khamasa siniin bikuun gaṭa<sup>°</sup> leehu quraabat al-15 alf (kiilu); lamma taḥsibu innu yoomi bigṭa<sup>°</sup> leehu 3, 4 kiilu, ba<sup>°</sup>ad da kullu muntij. Al-bagara talgaaha shaayla leeha koom bitaa<sup>°</sup> guraad yijiib leehu raṭul wa ba<sup>°</sup>ad da muntija. Yibga n-namaṭ al-kaan saa’id da ṭalla<sup>°</sup> ley al-ḥaajaat di. Ana keef aḥaafiz ‘ala j-‘genetic constitution’ bitaa<sup>°</sup>u da wa keef a‘mal. Wa maa kulla n-naas yigbalu min al-’awwal yistaqirru wa yidduuni n-namaṭ al-ḥadiis. Fa fi kam min ar-‘ranches’

ranches الجماعية، ويتفتح مجال للرanches الخاصة أو بتاعة الشركات الكبيرة على أساس إنو النمط السائد هسع، ال open grazing system ال بحالتو دي هو ضار بالنسبة للمراعي، خُلِق لنوعيات بتاعة سلالات بتاعة حيوانات ما موجودة إلا تحت الظروف دي، ظروف الرعي الترحالي.

يبقى أنا عايز أحافظ على ال genetic constitution، يعني حيوان من ولدوهو لغاية ما يبقى عمرو خمسة سنين بكون قطع ليهو قرابة ال ٥١ ألف (كيلو)؛ لما تحسبو إنو يومي بقطع ليهو ٣، ٤ كيلو، بعد دا كلو منتج. البقرة تلقاها شايبة ليهو كوم بتاع قراد يجيب ليهو رطل وبعد دا منتجة. يبقى النمط الكان سائد دا طلع لي الحاجات دي. أنا كيف أحافظ على ال genetic constitution بتاعه دا وكيف أعمل. وما كل الناس يقبلوا من الأول يستقروا ويدوني النمط الحديث. ففي كم من ال ranches ماشين وجايين، دا مسازم اليمشوا بيهو، تبقى المسئولية عليهم. أنا أحدد ليهو «والله دي واطاة المراعي بصفة عامة»، بعد دا أجي ...

<sup>17</sup> By “these conditions”, he means where the animals are too many to be kept as ranches; they need to spend the rainy season in an area and the dry season in another area; and they have to move from an area to another in avoidance of the tse-tse fly.

grazing land in general”; after that I come ...

maashiin wu jaayiin, da masaarum al-bimshu beehu, tabga l-mas'uuliyya 'aleehum. Ana aḥaddid leehu, “Wallaahi di waḥaḥaat al-maraa'i be ṣifa 'aamma”, ba'ad da aji ...

*Q23: Now, Elhadi has said that the corridors are for the animals to pass. Did you 'delimit' a place for the animals to graze in?*

But Doctor, the matter is as follows: as a strategy, I don't have land for the herder, neither [for] a corridor nor a dry-season station or anything; I don't come and say: “Come Jafun and establish a grazing farm” (a ranch); where do I establish it for them? A person who grew up as nomadic, who doesn't pay money except for medicine or buying sugar or clothes, or sells one or two *jakhases* (full grown/mature oxen) to go to pilgrimage. If you come and ask him to come and buy farm's residue, does he buy it? So, as a first step, let him know the corridors, and we are working on them. I will come and conduct a 'socio-economic' [study] to see their 'habitat': where do they go? They go to do what? After that I let him take the 'responsibility'. By Allah, these are Jafun,

Maa niḥna yaa Diktoor al-mas'ala ka l-'aatii: Ka khuṭṭa istiraatiijiyya ana maa 'indi waḥaḥa be n-nisba ley ana ka raa'i, laa masaar, laa maṣyaf, laa da, laa da, maa baji aguul: “ta'aalu yaa Jaafun a'malu ley mazra'ara'awiyya”; ha'a'malaa leehum ween? Wa zool gaam badawi maa bidfa' guruush illa lee bitaa' ad-dawa, walla guruush yishtari beeha sukkar, walla guruush yishtari beeha huduum, walla yibii' jakhaṣeen yimshi beehin al-ḥaj. Da law jiit gulta leehu ta'aal ishtari mukhallafaat zira'a'iyya bishtariha? Yibga ana khaṭwa uula Wallaahi ya'rifu l-masaaraat, wa l-masaaraat niḥna maashiin fiha. Ḥa'aji a'mal 'socio-economic [study]' ashuuf al-'*habitat*' bitaa'um, al-'*attitude*' bitaa'um, maashiin 'ale ween? Yimshu yisawwu shinu? Ba'ad da addiihu

س23: هسع الهادي قال المسارات دي عشان البهايم تمر. هل حددوا حتة للبهايم ترعى فيها؟

ما نحن يا دكتور، المسألة كالاتي: كخطة إستراتيجية أنا ما عندي واطاة بالنسبة لي أنا كراعي، لا مسار، لا مصيف، لا دا، لا دا، ما بجي أقول: «تعالوا يا جافون أعملوا لي مزرعة رعوية»؛ حأعملا ليهم وين؟ وزول قام بدوي ما بدفع قروش إلا لي بتاع الدوا وللا قروش يشتري بيها سكر، وللا قروش يشتري بيها هدم، وللا يبيع جخصين يمشي بيهن الحج.

دا لو جيت قلت ليهو تعال اشتري مخلفات زراعية يشتريها؟ يبقي أنا خطوة أولى والله يعرفوا المسارات، والمسارات نحن ماشين فيها. حأجي أعمل socio-economic أشوف ال habitat بتاعتم، ال attitude بتاعتم، ماشين على وين؟

يمشوا يسووا شنو؟ بعد دا أيهو يبدأ ياخذ responsibility.

Malle, Masallamiyya and Uweda; they take the corridor from at-Tirus up to Yabus; “we will not do anything else for you. If this corridor of yours comes to the end, you will not go anywhere again; you go and hire [land]. So, you have to improve the pasture in it; increase the water in it; you go and work in it”. He starts to spend money to improve [the pasture]. After a while, he will have in mind, “by Allah, this animal, the more I spend on it, the more income it yields to me”. He will think that, instead of coming to me from Yabus, continuing to Kenana and coming back again in four months, he will say to me, “by Allah, brother, there is no need to reach up to Yabus; I will stop here in Gule”.

yabda yaakhud  
 ‘responsibility’. Wallaahi  
 deel Jaafun, Malle,  
 Masallamiyya, wa Uweeda  
 yimsiku l-masaar min at-  
 Tiruus laghaayit Yaabuus,  
 “taani maa hanishtaghil  
 leekum fii ayyi shi. Law  
 masaarkum da intaha taani  
 maa bitamshu ayyi hitta,  
 tamshu ta’ajjiru. Yibga  
 tabdu tahassinu l-mar’a  
 fiihu, taziidu l-mooya fiihu,  
 tamshu tishtaghlu fiihu”.  
 Yabda yikhush be guruushu  
 ‘ashaan yiṣalliḥ, ba’ad  
 shuwayya yibga fii baalu,  
 “Wallaahi ana l-ḥaywaan da  
 kullumaa addeetu guruush  
 kullumaa addaani ‘aayid.”  
 Yifakkir badal maa yijiini  
 min Yaabuus wa yimrug lee  
 Kinaana wa yijiini taani  
 raaje fii arba’a shuhaar,  
 yiguul ley, “Wallaahi yaakhi  
 maafi daa’i aḥaṣṣil Yaabuus,  
 ana ḥaddi bas hina Guli”.

والله ديل جافون، ملى، مسلمية،  
 وعويضة يمساكوا المسار من  
 التروس لغاية يابوس، «تاني  
 ما حنشتغل ليكم في أي شي.  
 لو مساركم دا انتهى تاني ما  
 بتمشوا أي حطة، تمشوا تأجروا.  
 يبقى تبدوا إنتو تحسنوا المرعى  
 فيهو، تزيدوا الموية فيهو،  
 تمشوا تشتغلوا فيهو». ييدا  
 يخش بقروشو عشان يصلح،  
 بعد شوية يبقى في بالو، «والله  
 أنا الحيوان دا كلما أدتو قروش  
 كلما أداني عايد». يفكر بدل  
 ما يجيني من يابوس ويمرق  
 لي في كنانة ويجيني تاني  
 راجع في أربعة شهور، يقول  
 لي، «والله يا أخي ما في داعي  
 أحصل يابوس، أنا حدي بس  
 هنا قولي».

*Q24: That is, improving his herd is one of the solutions! I want to see what do you, as people of the [Ranges and] Pasture, advise them to do as a solution for the problems which they are facing? Because they have herds and there is no [enough] land.*

We have animals that have genetic tendency to yield us meat more than milk. So, I, as government, will look

‘Indana ḥaywaanaat ‘indaa  
 ittijaah jiini be innu taddiina  
 lahma aktar mimmaa  
 taddiina laban. Yibga ana

س24: يعني يحسن القطيع  
 بتاعو واحد من الحلول! أنا  
 داير أشوف إنتو باعتباركم  
 بتاعين أعلاف ترشدوهم يعملوا  
 شنو كحل للمشاكل اللي  
 بواجهوها، لأنو عندهم قطع  
 ومافي واطاة.

عندنا حيوانات عندنا اتجاه  
 جيني بانو تدينا لحمة أكثر  
 مما تدينا لبن. يبقى أنا طوالي  
 كحكومة أشوف الحيوانات

for these animals and start cross-breeding them...; I bring them breeds that will produce, that will increase meat, and make cross-breeding with them so as the weight of my ox may reach 500 kilo; the ox abroad reaches 8.000<sup>18</sup> kilo in one and a half year. After entering this ‘work’ (system), I want my ox to sell in 600 instead of 300 kilo. He (the nomad) will know the difference and will start desiring to settle down instead of migrating [to South Sudan].

ṭawwaali ka ḥakuuma ashuuf al-ḥaywaanaat di wa abda ahajjinaa... Ajjib leehu s-sulaalat al-li bitantij, bitziid min al-laḥam di, wa aʿmal hajiin beeha, ʿashaan ma t-toor bitaaʿi waznu ḥayiḥaṣṣil 500, wa t-toor barra ḥay baʿad sana wu nuṣ yibga 8 alf kiilu. Ana t-toor bitaaʿi daayru baʿad akhush fi sh-shaghalaaniyya di, baʿad sanateen badal yibiiʿu ley bee 300 kiilu yibiiʿu ley bee 600 kiilu. Yaʿrif al-farig, wa yabda badal hu ʿaayiz yamish yabda yistaqir.

دي وأبدا أهجنا. أجب ليهو السلالات اللي بتنتج، بتزيد من اللحم دي، وأعمل هجين بيها، عشان ما التور بتاعي أنا وزنو حيصّل 500، والتور بره حي بعد سنة ونص يبقى 8 ألف كيلو. أنا التور بتاعي دايرو بعد أحش في الشغلانة دي، بعد سنتين بدل يبيعو لي بـ 300 كيلو يبيعو لي بـ 600 كيلو. يعرف الفرق، ويبدأ بدل هو عايز يمش يبدأ يستقر.

*Q25: Well Ustaz; now, I want to know to what extent will these corridors one day become a reality? And what are the constraints they are facing? And do you think that they (i.e. these constraints) will be surmounted in the near future?*

I think that what we did as corridors has become a reality; people (i.e. nomads) move in them and I have two experiences which I cite as a proof. The first experience; when the security in the Blue Nile went a little out of control in September 2011, the Agadi – Garabin corridor and the Roro – But corridor held for me a big

Ana biftakir innu maa ʿamalnaahu min masaaraat biga waaqiʿ, an-naas bitamshi beehu, wa ʿindi tajribteen bistadilla beehum. At-tajriba l-ʿuulamamma l-ʿamni shuwayya jaat fi n-Niil al-ʿAzrag fii 2011 shahri tisʿa nihna l-masaar bitaaʿ Agadi-l-Garabiin wa l-masaar bitaaʿ Rooro-Buuṭ istawʿabo ley

س25: طيب يا أستاذ، هسع أنا عايز أعرف إلى أي حد المسارات دي في يوم من الأيام تصبح حقيقة؟ وإيه المعوقات الواقفة أماما؟ وهل تفكر يمكن تتحلّ كدا في القريب العاجل؟

أنا بفكر إنو ما علمناهو من مسارات بقى واقع، الناس بتمشي بيهو، وعندي تجربتين بستدل بيهم. التجربة الأولى لما الأمن شوية جاط في النيل الأزرق في 2011 شهر تسعة نحن المسار بتاع أدي-القرابين والمسار بتاع رورو-بوط استوعبوا لي كميات كبيرة من بهائم الامبرورو اللي كانوا في منطقة ود دبوك.

<sup>18</sup> It seems that he means 800 kilo.

number of the animals of the Mbororo who were in the area of Wad-Dabok. This is in addition to the animals of the Arab Company.<sup>19</sup> So, had these corridors not been there, they (i. e. the animals) would have not been held. They held the animal wealth until the security got restored. Of course, the nomads are more adventurous than the farmers; they were able to go back to those areas of theirs. Last year also, even with the problems that were there and these things, we were able to hold the animals that came from the South [Sudan] in the beginning of the rainy season; that is, we absorbed the animals that came from the South [Sudan] more than Sennar [State] did. When people (i. e. nomads) went to Sennar [State] and became pressed and did not find [a space], they came back to the Blue Nile. While the rain was falling, instead of going to that direction [towards the north], the rain was falling and yet they came towards us here (agreement by Elhadi). There are worries; I have worries indeed that the corridors in Sennar [State] do not open and the corridors in Gedarif [State] do not open and the corridors in

kimmiyyaat kabiira min bahaayim al-'Umbororo al-li kaano fii mantigat Wad-Dabook. Be l-'idaafa le l-bahaayim bitaa'at ash-Sharika l-'Arabiyya. Fa law deel kaan maafiishaat maa kaanan istw'aban leena. Fa istaw'aban leena as-sarwa l-haywaaniyya laghaayit ma l-'amni taani istatabba. Ar-ru'a taba'an aksar mujaasafatan min al-muzaari'iin; gidro taani raja'o 'ale mugaata'aatum diik wa faato leeha. As-sana l-faatat barðu, be r-raghmi min al-'ishkaalaat al-mawjuuda wa l-haajaat di, niĥna gidirna istaw'abna l-bahaayim aj-jaat min aj-Januub fii faşl ar-rushaash; ya'ni niĥna imtaşşeenaa l-bahaayim aj-jaat min aj-Januub aktar min naas Sinnaar. An-naas lamma faato lee Sinnaar hinaak wa iđdaayago wa maa ligo bigo yiju raaj'iin an-Niil al-'Azrag. Badal hum al-khariif şaabbi yimshu kida (naĥw ash-shimaal), al-khariif şaabbi wa hum jaayiin 'aleena hina (ta'yiid min al-Haadi). Wa fi makhaawif, ĥagiigatan 'indi makhaawif innu l-masaaraat fii Sinnaar maa tinfatih wa l-masaaraat fi l-Gađaarif maa tinfatih wa l-masaaraat fi n-Niil al-'Abyađ maa

بالإضافة للبهائم بتاعة الشركة العربية. فلو ديل كان مافيشات ما كانن استوعبن لينا. فاستوعبن لينا الثروة الحيوانية لغاية ما الأمن تاني استتب. الرعاة طبعا أكثر مجاسفة من المزارعين؛ قدروا تاني رجعوا على مقاطعاتم ديك وفاتوا ليها. السنة الفانت برضو، بالرغم من الإشكالات الموجودة والحاجات دي، نحن قدرنا استوعبنا البهائم الجات من الجنوب في فصل الرشاش؛ يعني نحن امتصينا البهائم الجات من الجنوب أكثر من ناس سنار. الناس لما فاتوا لي سنار هناك واتضايقوا وما لقوا بقوا يجوا راجعين النيل الأزرق. بدل هم الخريف صاتي بمشوا كدا (نحو الشمال)، الخريف صاتي وهم جايبين علينا هنا (تأييد من الهادي).

وفي مخاوف، حقيقة عندي مخاوف إنو المسارات في سنار ما تنفتح والمسارات في القضارف ما تنفتح والمسارات في النيل الأبيض ما تنفتح؛ إذا كانت أنانية من المزارعين، إذا كانت عدم جدية حكومة؛

<sup>19</sup> The Arab Company for Agricultural Development (Agadi).

the White Nile [State] do not open. Whether it is selfishness on the part of the farmers; lack of seriousness on the part of the government; or the states do not find funds to work with [I don't know], [I am afraid that] these [corridors] do not open. I am practicing the system of 'open grazing'; I have no power of preventing the herder from Sennar [State] or Gedarif [State] or the White Nile [State] from coming here. So, they will cause a concentration of animals here; so, if any of the endemic diseases spreads, that means I have done with the sector to a great extent. This is one. The other thing; it (i.e. the animals' concentration) will cause degradation to my lands; with all the improvement I am doing with these things, it will cause degradation in them (i.e. my lands) and in all the natural resources. So, instead of being a blessing, it will become a curse. I think that [the issue of] these corridors and lands needs a movement not only at the states but at the centre's level. This is because there is no corridor that stops in one state, and the state does not get within it [both of] the dry-season and the rainy-season grazing areas; the state has either the dry-sea-

tinfatih; izaan kaanat anaaniyya min al-muzaari'in, izaan kaanat 'adam jiddiyyat hakuuma; izaan kaan maa laagiin maal al-wilaayaat tishtaghil beehu, di maa bitinfatih. Wa ana shaghaal be nizaam ar-ra'i l-maftuuh; maa 'indi sulfaat amna' ar-raa'i min Sinnaar walla min al-Gadaarif walla min an-Niil al-'Abyad yiji hina. Fa bi'malu takdiis le l-haywaanaat; fa law hasal ayyi tafashshi bitaa' maraḍ min al-'amraḍ al-wabaa'iyya ma'naataa ana intaheet min al-qitaa' be suura kabiira jiddan. Di waaḥid. Ash-shi t-taani biya'mal ley tadahwur fii araadi l-maraa'i bitaa'ti, be t-taasiin al-ba'malu be l-haajaat di bita'mal ley tadahwur fiiha wa be l-mawaarid at-tabii'iyya kullaa. Fa badal tabga ni'ma hatabga naqma. Ana biftakir innu l-masaaraat wa araadi l-maraa'i di muhtaaja lee haraka maa 'ala mustawa l-wilaayaat, 'ala l-mustawa l-markazi. La'annu maafi masaar bigiif fii wilaaya waaḥdi, wa l-wilaaya maa bitalga fiiha l-maṣyaf wa l-makhrif; al-wilaaya yaa maṣyaf yaa makhrif. Fa bibga ba'ad daak al-mas'ala titwallaaha l-hakuuma l-'ittihaadiyya, kaan Deewaan al-Hukm al-

إذا كان ما لاقين مال الولايات تشتغل بيهو، دي ما بتفتح. وأنا شغال بنظام الرعي المفتوح؛ ما عندي سلطات أمنع الراعي من سنار وللا من القضارف وللا من النيل الأبيض يجي هنا.

فيعملوا تكديس للحيوانات، فلو حصل لي أي تقشي بتاع مرض من الأمراض الوبائية معنات أنا انتهيت من القطاع بصورة كبيرة جداً. دي واحد. الشئ الثاني بيعمل لي تدهور في أراضي المراعي بتاعتي، بالتحسين البعملو بالحاجات دي بتعمل لي تدهور فيها وبالموارد الطبيعية كلاً. فبدل تبقى نعمة حتبقى نقمة. أنا بفتكر إنو المسارات وأراضي المراعي دي محتاجة لي حركة ما على مستوى الولايات، على المستوى المركزي.

لأنو مافي مسار بقیف في ولاية واحدي، والولاية ما بتلقى فيها المصيف والمخرف؛ الولاية يا مصيف يا مخرف. فببقى بعد داك المسالة تتولاها الحكومة الاتحادية، كان ديوان الحكم الاتحادي، كان الوزارات الاتحادية، تعمل برنامج بالنسبة للمسارات دي، وما تبقى فيها قش بس ولا موية بس؛ يعني



son or the rainy-season grazing area. So, the matter should be adopted by the Federal Government, whether the Bureau of Federalism or the ministries; they [should] make programmes for these corridors, and not to have just grass nor just water; I make an integrated life [in them]. I want to change these nomads from the state of grazing their animals on the traditional line to change it into grazing farms (ranches). As strangers [in the state], they will not do it for me. We need a record; we need what (i.e. other things) to be in them, including mobile school, midwife, TV, counselling [extension work]; all these things.

'Ittihaadi, kaan al-wazaaraat al-'ittihaadiyya, ta'mal barnaamaj be n-nisba le l-masaaraat di, wa maa tabga fiiha gash bas walaa mooya bas; ya'ni ana a'mal haya mutkaamla. Ana daayir aghayyir ar-ru'a deel min innu saarhiin be l-khatt at-taqliidi yighayyiru le l-mazaari' ar-ra'awiyya. Wa hum dukhalaa' maa haya'maluuha ley. Binihtaaj lee dafaatir, binihtaaj lee shinu tabga fiihum, bimaa fiihum al-madrasa l-mutrahhila, bimaa fiihum ad-daaya, bimaa fiihum at-tifizyoon, al-'irshaad, al-haajaat di kullaa.

أنا أعمل حياة متكاملة. أنا داير أغير الرعاة ديل من إنو سارحين بالخط التقليدي يغيروا لي للمزارع الرعوية. وهم دخلاء ما حيعملوها لي. بنحتاج لي دفاتر، بنحتاج لي شنو تبقى فيهم، بما فيهم المدرسة المترحلة، بما فيهم الداية، بما فيهم التلفزيون، الإرشاد، الحاجات دي كلاً.

*Q26: I have been asking: Did the animals walk in the Rosseiris-Menza corridor and everything?*

The animals walked in it last year; it doesn't have even a single problem; there is water and there are rest points in it; this corridor doesn't have any problem.

Al-bahaayim mashat fiihu s-sana l-faatat, maa fiihu wala mushkila waahdi, wa fiihu mooya wa fiihu nuzul; al-masaar da maa fiihu ayyi mushkila.

س26: أنا بسأل من قبيل، المسار بتاع كيري الروصيرص-مينزا البهايم مشت فيه وأي شي؟

البهايم مشت فيه السنة الفاتت، ما فيهو ولا مشكلة واحدي، وفيهو موية وفيهو نزل؛ المسار دا ما فيهو أي مشكلة.

ELHADI

This is a model corridor.

Da masaar namuuzaji.

الهادي

دا مسار نموذجي.

AB-SAAS

Not only that [but] I have a committee called "Commit-

Mush kida, ana 'indi fi lajna isimaa "Lajnat Himaayat

أبوساس

مش كدا، أنا عندي في لجنة إسمها «لجنة حماية المسار»

tee for the Corridor Protection” composed of the people of al-Azaza; not the Arabs [alone], by the way; the Arabs and the tribes of the west (i.e. Western Sudan) that are living with them. That is, now, when someone comes and cuts a tree there, they will report it to me and tell me that a tree in a such-and-such a place is cut. After that, I will go and apply my law; I will take the police, ‘open’ (register) a procedural [police] report, go and see and catch the person, and come and file a case against him. They are working with me very well.

al-Masaar” mukawwana min naas al-°Azaza; ma l-°Arab bas be l-munaasaba; al-°Arab wa l-gabaayil bitaa°at al-gharib al-gaa°da ma°aahum. Ya°ni hassa° di lamma yiji zool yig°ta° shadara hinaak biju yiballighuuni yiguulu ley fi shadara fi l-°hitta l-fulaaniyya mag°tuu°a. Ana ba°ad daak bamshi ba°abbig qaanuuni, basuug naas ash-shur°ta, bafta°h balaagh ijraa°i wa bamshi bashuuf bagbu° az-zool baji bafta°h fiihu balaagh rasmi. Shaghaaliin ma°aay shoghol tamaam.

مكوّنة من ناس العزازة؛ ما العرب بس بالمناسبة؛ العرب والقبائل بتاعة الغرب القاعدة معاهم. يعني هسع دي لما يجي زول يقطع شجرة هناك بجوا ببلغوني يقولوا لي في شجرة في الحطة الفلانية مقطوعة. أنا بعد داك بمشي يطبق قانوني، بسوق ناس الشرطة، بفتح بلاغ إجرائي وبمشي بشوف بقبض الزول بجي بفتح فيه بلاغ رسمي. شغالين معاي شغل تمام.

*Q27: Well, the hafirs which you dug, you dug them essentially for the interest of the nomads; correct? Well, who runs them and how are they run?*

Well; first of all, these hafirs legally belong to the Water Corporation. Well; for any hafir we dug, we made something called “Association of the Water Users” composed of a group of people who are profiting from the water found, irrespective of whether they are nomads or farmers; a nomad, farmer, wood cutter; anyway, this water is for everybody to profit from. There is a writ-

Ṭayyib, awwal haaja l-hafaayir di qaanuunan milk li Hay°at Ṭawfiir al-Miyaah. Ṭayyib, ni°hna jiina ayyi hafir hafarnaahu gumna °amalna haaja isimaa “Raabi°at Mustakhdimii al-Miyaah” bititkawwan kaan raa°i kaan muzaari°, majmuu°a min an-naas al-mustafidiin min al-mooya, al-mooya l-mawjuuda. Raa°i, muzaari°, ha°taabi; al-muhim al-mooya di

س27: طيب الحفائر الحفرتوها دي، حفرتوها لمصلحة الرعاة في الأساس. صح؟ طيب، منو البستيرا، كيف بتتسير؟

طيب، أول حاجة الحفائر دي قانوناً ملك لهيئة توفير المياه. طيب، نحن جينا أي حفير حفراهم قمنا عملنا حاجة إيسا «رابطة مستخدمي المياه» بتتكون كان راعي كان مزارع، مجموعة من الناس المستفيدين من الموية، الموية الموجودة. راعي، مزارع، حطّاي؛ المهم الموية دي موقعا أي زول يستفيد منها. الرابطة دي في اتفاقية مع ناس الهيئة بموجبها مكتوب الهيئة تتنازل طوعاً لهذه الرابطة على أساس إنو مقابل كذا؛ يعني في اتفاقية

ten agreement that the Corporation cedes willingly [these *hafiiirs*] to the Association to run them against so-and-so (payment!!); that is, there is a financial agreement and things like this. They (i. e. the people of the Association) make the small reparations and spend on the ‘running cost’ out of the daily flow (i. e. income). The water is not free of charge. In any *hafiiir* we ‘made’ (dug), we installed a pump to draw the water; we made troughs<sup>20</sup> for the animals to drink. For the nearby villages, we made a tank (water tower) for the people (i. e. the villagers) to fetch water from it and there is place for the troughs of the animals so that there may not be intermingling between the human being and the animal. There are fees on that [spent] as follows: running/operating [the pumps]; big maintenances; salaries of the workers, supervisors and guards; small maintenances; fuel, machinery and all the things; if they need anything, they buy from it (i. e. the daily income).

mawqi<sup>c</sup>aa ayyi zool yistafiid minnaa. Ar-raabiṭa di fi ittifaagiyya ma<sup>c</sup>a naas al-hay’ a bi muujibaa maktuub al-hay’ a titnaazal ṭaw<sup>c</sup>an li haazihi r-raabiṭa <sup>c</sup>ala asaas innu muqaabil kaza; ya<sup>c</sup>ni fi ittifaagiyya maaliyya wu ḥaajaat zey di, yidiiru. Al-’a<sup>c</sup>taal aṣ-ṣaghiira, al-’*running cost*’ bi<sup>c</sup>maluuḥu ṭawwaali n-naas deel min al-’iiraadaat al-li bitarid leehum yoomi. Al-mooya maa majjaanan. Ayyi ḥafiiir niḥna <sup>c</sup>amalnaahu <sup>c</sup>amalna fiihu baabuur yijurr al-mooya, <sup>c</sup>amalna fiihu aḥwaaḍ li shurb al-ḥaywaan. Al-ḥitta l-gariiba lee qariya <sup>c</sup>amalna fi l-hinaay da ṣihrii yishiilu minnu n-naas, naas al-qariya, wu di l-ḥitta bitaa<sup>c</sup>at al-’aḥwaaḍ bitaa<sup>c</sup>at al-bahaayim, <sup>c</sup>ashaan maa yikuun fi ikhtilaat been al-’insaan wa l-ḥaywaan. Wa fi <sup>c</sup>alecha rusuum. Ar-rusuum di ka l-’aatii: minnaha t-tashghiiil, minnaha ṣ-ṣiyaanaat al-kabiira, yiddu minnaha l-’ummaal murattabaatum, al-mushrifiiin, al-ghufara, aṣ-ṣiyaanaat aṣ-ṣaghayra ṣaghayra, al-waquud wa l-’aaliyya wa l-ḥaajaat kullaa; iḥtaajo le ayyi shi bishtaru minnaa.

مالية وحاجات زي دي، يديروا.

الأعطال الصغيرة، الـ running cost بعملوه طولالي الناس ديل من الإيرادات اللي بتترد ليهم يومي. الموية ما مجاناً. أي حفير نحن عملناه عملنا فيه بابور يجر الموية، عملنا فيه أحواض لشرب الحيوان. الحتة القريبة لي قرية عملنا في الهناي دا صهرج يشيلوا منه الناس، ناس القرية، ودي الحتة بتاعة الأحواض بتاعة البهايم، عشان ما يكون في اختلاط بين الإنسان والحيوان. وفي عليها رسوم. الرسوم كالأتي: منها التشغيل، منها الصيانات الكبيرة، يدوا منها العمال مرتبائهم، المشرفين، الغفرا، الصيانات الصغيرة صغيرة، الوقود والآلية والحاجات كلاً؛ احتاجوا لأي شي بشتروا منها.

<sup>20</sup> The troughs here are larger than the ones used elsewhere in order to allow a big number of animals to water at a time.

*Q28: I, personally, know this. I told them (i. e. Usman al-Arabi and Daoud) and said to them, “the people who operate the pump, the fuel, etc.; who pays them?” There are people who protest against being made to pay [for the water].*

They but have in mind that the government [should do everything for them].

End

Maa hum fii baalum innu l-ḥakuuma [taʿmil leehum ʿayyi ḥaaja].

An-nihaaya

س28: أنا شخصياً أنا بعرف الكلام دا. كلمتهم قلت ليهم الناس البشغلو البابور والوقود ... البدفع ليهم منو يعني؟ في ناس محتجين كيف يشيلوا منهم قروش.

ماهم في بالهم إنو الحكومة (تعمل ليهم أي حاجة)

النهاية

# SECOND INTERVIEW: AHMAD MUHAMMAD AL-<sup>c</sup>AWAD <sup>c</sup>ALI AB-SAAS

ASH-SHIGLA (GEZIRA), 57 YEARS

## DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

February 11, 2016; Damazin

INTERVIEWER: Al-Amin Abu-Manga & Elhadi Ibrahim Osman

LANGUAGE: Arabic

TRANSCRIPTION (ARABIC AND LATIN CHARACTERS): Al-Amin Abu-Manga

TRANSLATION: Al-Amin Abu-Manga

*Q1: We want to know what happened in the matter of corridors since 2013. We want to know what is new; please do not go back?*

In fact, perhaps in 2013 you found that we had started evacuating the corridors of the state from the farmers and they (i. e. the corridors) had become secure. Additional water spots were made (dug); in the period from 2013 upto now 3 water stations [have been installed] and 6 *hafiirs* [have been dug].

*Q2: Well, we want [to know] the corridors that have been completely evacuated and became passable; mention them to us.*

The at-Tirus-Abu-Gileesiib-Um-Gar [corridor]. This corridor has been evacuated completely, with its rest points, and has become

Ḥaqiiqatan yimkin fii 2013 ligiitu <sup>c</sup>indana bidaaya bitaa<sup>c</sup>at tafriigh al-masaaraat bitaa<sup>c</sup>at al-wilaaya min al-muzaar<sup>c</sup>iin wa bigat aamna. Tammam idaaafat nigaat al-mooya; fi l-fatra min 2013 laghaayit di l-wakti ḥawaalii 3 maḥaṭṭaat bitaa<sup>c</sup>at mooya wa ḥawaalii 6 ḥafaayir.

Masaar at-Tirusu-Gileesiib-Um-Gar. Al-Masaar da tamma tafriighu tamaaman be n-nuzul bitaa<sup>c</sup>tu wa saalka, wa da yimkin

س1: دايرين نعرف التّمّ شنو في موضوع المسارات من 2013. دايرين نعرف الجديد؛ ما نرجع لي ورا.

حقيقة يمكن في 2013 لقيتوا عندنا بداية بتاعة تفرغ المسارات بتاعة الولاية من المزارعين وبقّت آمنة. تمت إضافة نقاط الموية؛ في الفترة من 2013 لغاية دي الوقت حوالي 3 محطات بتاعة موية وحوالي 6 حفائر.

س2: طيب عاوزين المسارات اللي تم تفرغها تماماً وبقّت سالكة؛ اذكّرنا لينا.

مسار التروس- قليسيب - أم قر. المسار دا تم تفرغه تماماً بالنزل بتاعتو وسالكة، ودا يمكن استوعب لينا السنة الفاتت كمية كبيرة من الثروة الحيوانية

passable. Last year this one almost held for us a big amount of animal wealth that had spent the dry season in the South [Sudan]; that was in the area of Gileesiib going towards Senaar State.

istaw<sup>ab</sup> leena s-sana  
l-faatat kimmiya kabiira  
min ath-tharwa  
l-ḥaywaaniyya al-li  
ṣayyafat fi j-Junuub fii  
l-mantīga bitaa<sup>at</sup> Gileeb  
wa maashsha lee Wilaayat  
Sinnaar.

اللي صيَّفت في الجنوب في  
المنطقة بتاعة قليب وماشة لي  
ولاية سنار .

*Q3: Have the farmers been compensated?*

The evacuation was done as follows: the farmers who cultivated in the corridor were compensated in other lands; they were compensated by other alternative lands equal to the size of his land or part of it was deducted according to the resolution of land shrinking; that is, if you have a thousand Feddan, you will not be given a thousand Feddan; you will be given 800 Feddan. So, the evacuation ran at this level. After all this; that is, after the *hafiirs* had been made at the stations that had been made, 10 [additional] *hafiirs* were dug by the people of Water Harvest and we decided their locations. [Not only this], but 4 of them were studied by the people of Water regarding the source of the water: where the water enters, the amount of the water and the location of the *hafiirs*. There is a *hafiir* put in the west of Gule im-

At-tafriigh tamma ka  
l-'aatii: al-muzaar<sup>iin</sup> az-  
zaar<sup>iin</sup> fi l-masaar tamma  
ta<sup>wiḍum</sup> fii misaaḥaat  
ukhraa, tamma ta<sup>wiḍum</sup> be  
misaaḥaat ukhraa badiila  
mumaasla le l-misaaḥa  
bitaa<sup>tu</sup> aw yustaḡta<sup>c</sup> minnaa  
juzu nafs al-qaraar at-ṭala<sup>c</sup>  
be t-taqliis; ya<sup>ni</sup> iza kaan  
'indak alf faddaan maa  
bisallimuuk alf faddaan;  
bisallimuuk 800 faddaan. Fa  
t-tafriigh tamma 'ala haaza  
l-mustawa. Ba<sup>ad</sup> da kullu,  
ya<sup>ni</sup> ba<sup>di</sup> maa l-ḥafaayir  
ita<sup>amalat</sup> fi l-mahaṭṭaat al-li  
ita<sup>amalat</sup> tamma ḥafr 10  
ḥafaayir ma<sup>a</sup> naas Mashruu<sup>c</sup>  
Ḥaṣaad al-Miyaah wa  
ḥaddadnaaha be l-mawqi<sup>c</sup>,  
bal fi minnaa 4 tammāt  
diraasataa min naas al-  
mooya, asaas al-maṣdar  
bitaa<sup>c</sup> al-mooya: al-mooya  
takhush ween, wa  
l-kimmiyya bitaa<sup>at</sup> al-  
mooya, wa l-mawqi<sup>c</sup> bitaa<sup>c</sup>  
al-ḥafaayir. Fi ḥafiira  
itwaḍa<sup>at</sup> fii gharb Guli  
mubaasharatan ma<sup>a</sup>

س3: آها، المزارعين عوّضوهم؟

التفريغ تم كالآتي: المزارعين  
الزارعين في المسار تم  
تعويضهم في مساحات أخرى،  
تمّ تعويضهم بمساحات أخرى  
بديلة ماثلة للمساحة بتاعتو أو  
يُستقطع منها جُز نفس القرار  
الطلع بالتقليص؛ يعني إذا كان  
عندك ألف فدان ما بسلّموك  
ألف فدان؛ بسلّموك 800 فدان.  
فالتفريغ تم على هذا المستوى.  
بعد دا كلو، يعني بعدما الحفاير  
اتعملت في المحطات اللي  
اتعملت تم حفر 10 حفاير  
مع ناس مشروع حصاد المياه  
وحددناها بالموقع، بل في منها  
4 تمت دراستا من ناس الموية،  
أساس المصدر بتاع الموية:  
الموية تخش وين، والكمية  
بتاعة الموية، والموقع بتاع  
الحفاير. في حفيرة اتوضعت  
في غرب قلي مباشرة مع نهاية  
المسار، في حفيرة اتوضعت في  
أبوقليسيب، في حفيرة اتوضعت  
في خور إسمو أبوغرية، أقرب  
لي بوط على أساس إنو تخفّف  
على السد. في حفيرة اتختت في  
أبوعشوش، في حفيرتين إتختت  
في طريق أقدى -

mediately with the end of the corridor; there is a *hafiiir* put in Abu-Gileesiib; there is a *hafiiir* put at a *khorr* (dry stream) called Abu-Garba, nearer to But, in order to decrease pressure on the dam; there is a *hafiiir* put in Abu-Ushush. There are two *hafiiirs* put on the Agadi-Damazin road, as one of the things that hinder our exploitation of the available resources in this area is scarcity of water. A *hafiiir* was made (dug) in Roro at a hill called Ab-Rimma or Abu-Ramta, something like this, in order to decrease pressure on the dam and for the nomads who came and stayed at the southern side of Roro; this is in order for the water to be near to them as people who settled; to serve them and their animals.

nahaayat al-masaar; fi hafiiira itwada<sup>a</sup>t fii Abu-Gileesiib; fi hafiiira itwada<sup>a</sup>t fii khor ismu Abu-Garba, agrab lee Buut<sup>a</sup>ala asaas innu takhaffif<sup>a</sup>ale s-sadd; fi hafiiira itkhattat fii Abu-Ushuush; fi hafiiirteen 'itkhattan fii tariig Agadi-Ad-Damaaziin<sup>a</sup>ala asaas innu waa<sup>h</sup>di min al-haajaat al-li takhalliina maa nistakhdam al-mawaarid al-mutaaha fi l-mantiga di hu ash-shuh bitaa<sup>a</sup> al-miyaah. If<sup>a</sup>amalat hafiiira fii Roro fii jabal ismu Ab-Rimma aw Abu-Ramta, haaja be sh-shakli da, ashaan yikhaffif ad-daght<sup>a</sup>ala l-khazzaan wa be n-nisba le n-naas ar-ru<sup>a</sup> al-li jo ga<sup>a</sup>ado n-naahiya j-junuubiyya min Roro; al-mooya tabga be n-nisba leehum gariiba be n-nisba ka naas istaqarro, istaqarro lee bahaayimum wa leehum hum.

الدمازين على أساس إنو واحدي من الحاجات اللي تخلينا ما نستخدم الموارد المتاحة في المنطقة دي هو الشح بتاع المياه. اتعملت حفيرة في رورو في جبل إسمو أب رمة أو أبورمته، حاجة بالشكل دا عشان يخفف الضغط على الخزان وبالنسبة للناس الرعاة اللي جوا قعدوا الناحية الجنوبية من رورو؛ الموية تبقى بالنسبة ليهم قريبة بالنسبة كناس استقروا، استقروا لي بهاييم وليهم هم.

*Q4: Well, what about the fees on the hafiiirs?*

س4: كويس، مسألة الرسوم على الحفائر؟

Let me add again; since 2013, we have been working collecting... natural pasture; we are doing plants increasing.

A<sup>h</sup>diif taani, nihna min 2013 laghaayit di l-wakti nihna shaghaaliin binjammi<sup>a</sup>... maraa<sup>i</sup> tabii<sup>i</sup>yya, bina<sup>a</sup>mil iksaar bitaa<sup>a</sup> nabaataat.

أضيف تاني، نحن من 2013 لغاية دي الوكت نحن شغالين بنجمع ... مراعي طبيعية، بنعمل إكثار بتاع نباتات.

*Q5: You were supposed to make (build) dams.*

س5: كان مفروض تعملوا سدود.

With regard to the dams, in consultation with the Pastoralists Union, the people of

Be n-nisba le s-suduud, be t-tashaawur ma<sup>a</sup> Ittihaad ar-Ru<sup>a</sup>, naas ar-ru<sup>a</sup>

بالنسبة للسدود، بالتشاور مع اتحاد الرعاة، ناس اتحاد الرعاة بفضّلوا السد والمحطة، وآخر

the Pastoralists Union prefer dams and [water] stations; their last choice is *hafiiir*. But then comes the [problem] of funding. That is, we have – as I told you – we want to put a *hafiiir* in Abu-Gileesiib, but we have already planned a dam [in it] since 2010. The cost of dams is high.

bifaḍḍilu s-suduud wa l-mahaṭṭa, wa aakhir khiyaar be n-nisba leehum al-ḥafaayir. Bibga baʿad daak at-tamwiil. Yaʿni ʿindana, zey maa gulta leekum, Abu-Gileesiib daayriin nakhut fiha ḥafiiir, laakin niḥna khaattiin fiha sad min 2010; as-suduud taklifitaa ʿaaliya.

خيار بالنسبة ليهم الحفير. ببقى بعد داك التمويل. يعنى عندنا، زي ما قلت ليكم، أبوقليسيب دايرين نخت فيها حفير، لكن نحن خاتين فيها سد من 2010، السودو تكلفتنا عالية.

*Q6: The question is that: since 2010 upto now, has any dam ever been implemented?*

No, there isn't. The idea is still there and we still aspire. [The benefits of] dams are many, because for us the dams serve for the animal to water and the human being to drink. And then, in the urban area the dam becomes a place for growing vegetables.

La, maafi. Al-fikra qaayma, wa lissaʿ ʿashmaaniin. [Fawaaʿid] as-suduud katiira la'anna s-saduud bitakhdim leena yaa shurb al-ḥaywaan, yaa shurb al-'insaan. Baʿdeenik fi l-mantiga l-ḥadariyya bitabga as-sad ḥitta bitaaʿat naas tazraʿ khaḍrawaat.

س6: السؤال: من 2010 لي هسع أبداً في سد أتتفذ؟

لا، مافي. الفكرة قايمة، ولسع عشمانيين. (فوائد) السودو كتيرة لأن السودو بتخدم لينا يا شرب الحيوان، يا شرب الإنسان. بعدينك في المنطقة الحضرية بتبقى السد حطة بناعة ناس تزرع خضروات.

*Q7: There are some people who were thinking that they (i.e. the hafiiirs) have been dug and nevertheless they (i.e. the people) are charged for the water; is there any 'renovation' (change) in the system of their operation or are the people convinced that nothing can be done apart from the existing system?*

Well, the essential idea – this is even for the organizations that worked with us –

Ṭayyib, al-fikra asaasan ḥatta l-munazzamaat al-lishtaghalat maʿaana, al-

س7: في بعض الناس بفتكروا أنو اتحفرت ويشيلوا منهم قروش لي مويता؛ هل في أي تجديد في طريقة تشغيل ولا اقتنعوا الناس بأنو الشي الموجود دا مافي غيرو؟

طيب، الفكرة أساساً حتى المنظمات اللي اشتغلت معانا، الحفاري دي أو نقاط موية، كان



behind these *hafirs* or water spots is that: first, the areas of water [facilities] should not be run by the government; the government is only to supervise; but they are to be run by the community for the interest of the community; this is in order that in the end they generate income with the understanding that if the station stops or the *hafir* is filled up with earth, there will be no money [for maintenance]. So, there must be fees on this water, an income that can be generated from the water. There is no special body to administer the *hafirs* on the corridors; whenever we thought of entrusting them to somebody, we didn't find [one]. We agreed with the Pastoralists Union and the Water 'people' (authorities) to let them take over the assignment, and in every area to the one who knows the nomads who come in it. That is, in the east, in the near from al-Azaza, they (i.e. the *hafirs*) are to be given (in tender) to the people of al-Azaza, because most of the nomads come and water [their animals] in al-Azaza; so that he may not pressurize them. When he is given it in tender, they fix for him the price of the barrel or the trough [of water]; he should not charge more

ḥafaayir di aw nigaat mooya; kaan al-fikra bitaa'ataa 'awwal ḥaaja l-manaatig bitaa'at al-mooya maa bitishtaghil be waastat al-ḥakuuma. Al-ḥakuuma 'aleeha ishraaf, laakin yidiiraa l-mujtama' li maṣlaḥat al-mujtama', fi n-nihaaya 'ashaan ta'uud be 'aayid, law wagafat al-maḥaṭṭa aw al-ḥafir itradam maa ḥatitlagi guruush. Yabga laazim yikuun fi fees 'ala l-mooya di; fi 'aayid 'ala asaas innu mumkin ta'uud minnu. Al-ḥafaayir 'ala l-masaaraat khiṣṣiṣan maafi jiha [tadiiraa]; kullu maa taguul taddiiha lee zool ligiina maafi.

Ma'a Ittiḥaad ar-Ru'a wa naas al-mooya ittafagna yidduuha fii 'ataa'aat wa fii kulli mantigā le z-zool al-bi'rif ar-ru'a l-biju fiiha. Ya'ni fi sh-sharig gariib le l-'Azaza yidduuha naas al-'Azaza la'annu aghlab ar-ru'a biju yishrabu fi l-'Azaza, 'ashaan maa yiḍaayguuhum.

Lamma yidduuhu leehu fii 'ataa' yihaddidu leehu si'r al-barmiil aw si'r al-ḥoḍ, maa yaakhud aktar minnu, law akhad aktar minnu z-

الفكرة بتاعتنا أول حاجة المناطق بتاعة الموية ما بتشتغل بواسطة الحكومة. إشراف لكن يديرا المجتمع لمصلحة المجتمع، في النهاية عشان تعود بعائده، لو وقفت المحطة أو الحفير اتردم ما حتتلقني قروش. يبقى لازم يكون في fees على الموية دي، في عايد على الموية على أساس إنو ممكن تعود منو. الحفاير على المسارات خصيصاً مافي جهة (تديرا)، كلما تقول تديها لي زول لقينا مافي.

مع اتحاد الرعاة وناس الموية اتفقنا يدوها في عطاءات، وفي كل منطقة للزول البعريف الرعاة البجوا فيها. يعني في الشرق قريب للعزازة يدوها ناس العزازة لأنو أغلب الرعاة بجوا يشربوا في العزازة، عشان ما يضايقوهم.

لما يدوهو ليهو في عطاء بحددوا ليهو سعر البرميل أو سعر الحوض، ما ياخذ أكثر مئو، لو أخذ أكثر مئو الزول السنة الجاية ما بنديهم. وبنديهم

than that; if he charges more than that, he will not be given it the following year. And we notify them (i.e. the nomads) about this price: [i.e.] the cost of the trough in that year; at least we notify part of them. This year precisely a complaint came to us that in the area of Roro there is a *hafir* there; the people came and said: “This year, they sold us a barrel [of water] for such and such [an amount]”. When we regarded the sums they pay for this water in order that it [the money] return to them as services in maintaining the *hafirs*, in maintaining the pumps and in increasing the troughs from which they drink, this matter became acceptable. There are many people...; I sat down with one [of them] who was a former nomad having more than 500 heads of sheep; he was speaking saying to me: “We drink (i.e. water our animals) for nothing”. They reached the conviction that for the water to continue [being available], he must pay and drink (i.e. water his animals). They became convinced.

zool as-sanna j-jaayya maa binaddihu. Wa binballighum as-si'ir, al-ḥoḍ bee kam as-sana di, 'ale l-'agal binballigh juzu minnahum. Wa s-sana di be t-tahdiid jaatna shakwa innu fi l-mantiga fii Rooro hinaak fi ḥafira hinaak jo n-naas gaalo s-sana di baa'o leena l-barmiil be s-si'ir al-fulaani – fa lamma jiina shuufna l-mabaaligh al-bidfa'uuha humma le l-mooya di 'ala asaas innu taani tarja' khadamaat fii ṣiyaanat al-ḥafaayir, fii ṣiyaanat aṭ-ṭurumbaati, fii ziyaadat al-'aḥwaad al-bishrabu minnaa, al-mas'ala di bigat magbuula. Fi naas kutaar ya'ni, ga'adta ma'a waahid gabli kida raa'i 'indu aktar min 500 raas bitaa' daan; bitkallam gaal ley: “niḥna binashrab majjaan”. Waṣalo lee qanaa'a 'ashaan tistamirr al-mooya di laabudda hu yidfa' wa yishrab. Iqtana'o.

السعر، الحوض بي كم السنة دي، على الأقل بنبلغ جُز منهم. والسنة دي بالتحديد جاتنا شكوى إنو في المنطقة في رورو هناك في حفيرة هناك جوا الناس قالوا السنة دي باعوا لنا البرميل بالسعر الفلاني – فلما جينا شوفنا المبالغ البدفعوها همّ للموية دي على أساس إنو تاني ترجع خدمات في صيانة الحفائر، في صيانة الطرمبات، في زيادة الأحوض البشربوا منها، المسألة دي بقت مقبولة. في ناس كتار يعنى، قعدت مع واحد قبل كدا راعى عندو أكثر من 500 رأس بتاع ضان؛ بنتكلم قال لي: «نحن بنشرب مجان». وصلوا لي قناعة عشان تستمر الموية دي لايد هو يدفع ويشرب. اقتنعوا.

*Q8: Formerly, you said that you had an idea of breed improvement; have you ever attempted to do something regarding this matter?*

س8: كان اتكلمت وقلت إنو عندكم فكرة بتاعة تحسين سلالات؛ هل أبداً قمتوا بمساعي تجاه الكلام دا؟

By Allah, now we have a centre of sheep breed improvement in Damazin; this centre came into being in 2013 after you had left.

Wallaahi hassa<sup>c</sup> ‘indana markaz hina bitaa<sup>c</sup> taḥsiin sulaalaat aq-ḍaan mawjuud fi d-Damaaziin; al-markaz da gaam nihaayat 2013, ba<sup>c</sup>adi maa intuu fuuttu.

والله هسع عندنا مركز هنا بتاع تحسين سلالات الضان موجود في الدمازين؛ المركز دا قام نهاية 2013، بعدما إنتو فوتوا.

*Q9: Is this work clear and moving forward?*

It is moving forward. In the beginning they (i. e. the nomads) have 10 cows; all of them happened to give birth and have calves out of them. The people living in the town here reached us; there are some nomads who came asking for this matter, precisely, the people who stayed and sell milk; they came and asked for this matter.

Maashi lee giddaam. Awwal ḥaaja hum ‘indahum ‘ashara bagaraat deel kullahum ḍaago wildo wa ‘indahum ‘ujuul minnaa. An-naas al-fi l-madiina hina wasaloo hum, fi ba<sup>c</sup>ḍ ar-ru<sup>c</sup>a jo yaṭlubu l-mas’ala di, be z-zaat an-naas al-ga<sup>c</sup>ado bibii<sup>c</sup>u fi l-laban; fa jo ṭalabo l-mas’ala di.

س9: الشغل دا واضح ماشي لي قدام؟

ماشى لي قدام. أول حاجة هم عندهم عشرة بقرات ديل كلهم ضاقوا ولدوا وعندهم عجول منها. الناس الفى المدينة هنا وصلوهم، فى بعض الرعاة جوا يطلبوا المسألة دى، بالذات الناس القعدوا ببيعوا فى اللين، فجوا طلبوا المسألة دى.

*Q10: Well, what about fodder cultivation and packing? [Before], you had the idea of growing fodder in the corridors and had a project of fodder packing.*

In the last two years, we made (had) a space of ca. three thousand Feddan with natural pasture seeds. In 2015, we spread seeds in a space of seventeen thousand Feddan, and in 2014 we worked on fodder packing and brought it to the centre here and took a small part of it to the export market for ‘price’ (i. e. sale). This year,

Niḥna fi s-sanateen al-li faato ‘amalna misaaha zey talaata alf faddaan buzuur maraa<sup>c</sup>i ṭabii<sup>c</sup>iyya; 2015 niḥna bazarna buzuur fii misaaha bitaa<sup>c</sup>at saba<sup>c</sup>taashar alf faddaan; 2014 ishtaghalna ḥazm a<sup>c</sup>laaf wa jiiibnaahu l-markaz da, waddeena minnu juzu basiit suug aṣ-ṣaadir le l-qiima. As-sana di j-juzu

س10: الزراعة بتاعة العلف وحزمو. كنتو عندكم فكرة تزرعوا علف فى المسارات، وعندكم مشروع بتاع حزم العلف.

نحن فى السنيتين اللي فاتوا عملنا مساحة زي ثلاثة ألف فدان بتاعة بذور مراعى طبيعية، 2015 نحن بذرنا بذور فى مساحة بتاعة سبعتاشر ألف فدان، 2014 اشتغلنا حزم أعلاف وجيبناهو المركز دا، ودينا منو جُرُ بسيط سوق الصادر للقيمة. السنة دى الجُرُ الودينا سوق الصادر فى زول جا أجر مننا حُرْامة عديل وساقا اشتغل بيها على أساس إنو

[on the basis of] the part we took to the market, there was someone who came and hired a packing machine from us; he drove it and worked with it in order to work his [animal] fattening; he even brought someone who we think has a good and long experience in this area, our brother Dr. Yahya, to work fattening for him as somebody who is an animal rearer. There are many people who come and ask about services and we have to tell him, “you must do this and that”. The matter started to take the direction of that, by Allah, there are people who have the desire. This made that in 2013, when you came, the people did not have the practice of using husk; now today, the sorghum’s husk has become a basic thing in the supplementary fodder [for animals] of the Blue Nile; anybody who has a fence, you find that he has a number of sacks of husk. We also have the farm of seeds increasing for fodder; that is, we are working on it but unfortunately last year we were working in 50 Feddan [only], and apart from clytoria and philynsara, we brought *abu-saba’in*<sup>21</sup> and brought... Our idea is to in-

l-waddeenaahu suug as-  
 ʃaadir fi zool ja aʃjar  
 minnana ʃazzaama ʻadiil  
 wa saagaa ishtaghal beeha  
 ʻala asaas innu yishtaghal  
 at-tasmiin bitaaʻu, bal hu  
 jaab zool, biniftakir innu  
 leehu khibra wa baaʻ tawiil  
 fi l-majaal da, akhuuna  
 Diktoor Yahya, ʻala asaas  
 yishtaghal leehu tasmiin ʻala  
 asaas yibga zool ka  
 murabbi. Fi naas kutaar biju  
 bisʻalu min khadamaat innu  
 laazim naguul leehu laazim  
 tasawwi kida; al-masʻala  
 bigat taakhud manʃa bitaaʻ  
 Wallaahi fi naas ʻindahum  
 raghba. Di khallat zaatu  
 nihna min 2013 an-naas  
 lamin jiitu an-naas maa  
 kaan bistaʻmilu buttaab;  
 hassaʻ al-leela l-buttaab  
 bitaaʻ al-ʻeesh da biga ʃaaja  
 asaasiyya fi l-ʻalaayig  
 bitaaʻat an-Niil al-ʻAzrag;  
 ayyi zool ʻindu zariiba talga  
 ʻindu kam shawwaal bitaaʻ  
 buttaab. Barḍu ʻindana  
 l-mazraʻa bitaaʻat iksaar al-  
 buzuur bitaaʻat al-ʻalaf;  
 yaʻni bigiina shagaaliin  
 fiha laakin *unfortunately*  
 as-sana l-faatat shaghaaliin  
 leena fii 50 faddaan, wa  
 gheer klaytoria wa flinsara  
 jiiibna Ab-Sabaʻiin wa  
 jiiibna... Wa fikratna  
 nadakhkil al-ʻalaf al-  
 ʻakhḍar fi l-bidaaya, be  
 z-zaat be n-nisba le n-naas

يشتغل التسمين بتاعو، بل هو  
 جاب زول، بنفتكرو إنو ليهو  
 خبرة وبيع طويل في المجال  
 دا، أخونا دكتور يحيى، على  
 أساس يشتغل ليهو تسمين  
 على أساس يبقى زول كمربي.  
 في ناس كتار بجوا بسألوا من  
 خدمات إنو لازم نقول ليهو  
 لازم تسوي كدا؛ المسألة بقت  
 تاخذ منحنى بتاع والله في ناس  
 عندهم رغبة. دي خلت ذاتو  
 نحن من 2013

الناس لمن جيتوا الناس ما كان  
 يستعملوا بُتَاب؛ هسع الليلة  
 البُتَاب بتاع العيش دا بقي حاجة  
 أساسية في العلايق بتاعة النيل  
 الأزرق؛ أي زول عندو زربية  
 تلقى عندو كم شوال بتاع بُتَاب.  
 برضو عندنا المزرعة بتاعة  
 إكتار البذور بتاعة العلف؛  
 يعني بقينا شغالين فيها لكن  
 unfortunately السنة الفاتت  
 شغالين لينا في 50 فدان،  
 وغير كلايتوريا وفلينسار جيبنا  
 أبوسبعين وجيبنا ...

وفكرتنا ندخل العلف الأخضر  
 في البداية، بالذات بالنسبة  
 للناس البريوا الحيوان للين  
 - زرنا زي 50 فدان فيها

<sup>21</sup> A fodder plant that reaches its maturity in 70 days.

roduce the green fodder in the beginning, especially for the people who raise the animal for milk. We grew in ca. 50 Feddan clytoria, philynsara and jarauya; thanks to Allah, it yielded us a good amount of crop. Even this year, we collected seeds and we are [still] working in collection upto now; we are targeting 25 tons, but upto now we ‘made’ (collected) about 11 or 12 tons; we are continuing with this ‘work’ (matter). We are also continuing with fodder packing.

al-birabbu l-ḥaywaan le l-laban – zara‘na zey 50 faddaan fiiha kaaytooya, fiiha abu-baṣaara, fiiha jarauya, wa l-ḥamdu li l-Lillah jaabat leena maḥṣuul kooyis. As-sana zaatu jama‘na buzuur shaghaaliin fi j-jami‘ laghaayit di l-wakti, mustahdifiin najma‘ leena 25 ṭan, laakin laghaayit di l-wakti ‘amalna zey 11, 12 ṭan wa mustamirriin fi sh-shaghala. Al-ḥazm barḍu mustamirriin fiihu.

كايتويا، فيها أبوصارة، فيها جراويا والحمد لله جابت لينا محصول كويس. السنة ذاتو جمعنا بذور شغالين في الجمع لغاية دي الوكت، مستهدفين نجمع لينا 25 طن، لكن لغاية دي الوكت عملنا زي 11، 12 طن ومستمرين في الشغلة. الحزم برضو هسع مستمرين فيهو.

*Q11: I am asking: Do you feel that this matter will bring [positive] results in the future? Will this work spread, generalize and benefit the community in the Blue Nile [area]?*

By Allah, regarding the packing, it started taking [momentum]; the awareness of the people [has started to] expand. Formerly, people leave the husk and go away; they [now] pack and bring it [home] as a source of cash; this is also something that shows that the matter is moving forward. [Regarding] the matter of broadcasting seeds in the corridors for pasture improvement, we think that the nomads have started to be aware of it indeed. Last year, there was

Wallaahi ana be n-nisba le l-ḥazm bada yaakhud [daf‘a]; al-fikra bitaa‘at an-naas titwassa‘. Al-buttaab zamaan an-naas bikhalluuu saay wa yifuutu; bigo n-naas yi‘abbuuu wa yijibuuhu ‘ala asaas yibga hadaf maali; barḍu di ḥaaja bitwarri innu l-mas‘ala di maashsha lee gidzaam. Al-mas‘ala bitaa‘at nasr al-buzuur ‘ala l-masaaraat li taḥsiin al-maraa‘i, niḥna biniftakir innu r-ru‘a bigo biw‘u beeha khaalīs; as-

س11: أنا بسأل: حاسي إنو المسألة بتجيب نتائج في المستقبل؟ شغلکم بينتشر يعني وبتعمّم ويفيد المجتمع في النيل الأزرق؟

والله أنا بالنسبة للحزم بدأ يأخذ (دفعة) الفكرة بتاعة الناس تتوسع. البُتاب زمان الناس بخلوهو ساي ويفوتوا؛ بقوا الناس يعبّوهو ويجيبوهو على أساس يبقي هدف مالي، برضو دي حاجة بتوري إنو المسألة دي ماشة لي قدام. المسألة بتاعة نثر البذور على المسارات لتحسين المراعي، نحن بنفكر إنو الرعاة بقوا بوعوا بيها خالص؛ السنة الفانت في واحد من الرعاة ديل جا من الكدالو جا لقي حتة كدا منثرة قعد. فبالصدفة لاقيتو قال لي: «السنة دا القش دا غريب ما شوفتو. كثير، بقي كثير».

someone of these nomads who came from Kadal and found a place with broadcast seeds and stayed. I met him by chance and he said to me: “This year, this grass is strange; I haven’t seen it [before]; it is abundant; it became abundant”. So, even the people in al-Azaza, the nomads of al-Azaza or the Pastoralists Union speak saying: “We want pasture improvement”. So, the culture of the importance of seeds broadcasting for pasture improvement has started to spread in the state. So, we feel that it is moving forward.

sana l-faatat fi waahid min ar-ru’a deel ja min al-Kadaalu ja liga hitta kida mansuura ga’ad. Fa be ş-şudfa laageetu gaal ley: “As-sana da al-gash da ghariib maa shuufu. Katiir, biga katiir”. Fa bigo haṭṭa n-naas al-fi l-ʿAzaza, ar-rawaaʿiyya bitaaʿiin al-ʿAzaza aw Ittihaad ar-Ruʿa bitkallamu ʿala asaas “niḥna daayriin taḥsiin maraaʿi”. Fa yibga badat tintashir as-saghaafa bitaaʿat ahammiyyat nasr al-buzuur fii taḥsiin al-maraaʿi fi l-wilaaya. Fa binashʿur be innaa bitamish lee giddaam.

فيقوا حتى الناس الفي العزارة، الرواعية بتاعين العزارة أو اتحاد الرعاة بتكلموا على أساس «نحن دايرين تحسين مراعي». فيبقى بدت تنتشر الثقافة بتاعة أهمية نثر البذور في تحسين المراعي في الولاية. فبتشعر بإنها بتمش لي قدام.

*Q12: There is disagreement between the nomads and the farmers in the matter of damage estimation; have you made a new system? How is the system going? Where have you arrived with this system? How many trained groups do you have? Since when have you started implementing the new system?*

It is not a matter of new system or old system; it is a matter of a scientific way of estimating the damage; instead of [doing it] by sight, [it is to be done] by something called 'cross-cutting'. The Peace and Development people trained for us a

Hi maa mas’alat nizaam jadiid walla gadiim; al-mas’ala innu tariiga ʿilmiyya fii innak taqaddir at-talaf; badal maa be l-ʿeen, be waasṭat ḥaaja isimaa *cross-cutting*. Naas as-Salaam wa t-Tanmiya darrabo leena majmuu’a

س12: دا المسارات. طيب وضعيئةالمسألة بتاعة تقدير التلف فيها خلاف كبير بين الرعاة والمزارعين: عملتوا نظام جديد؟ النظام ماشي كيف؟ وصلتوا وين في النظام دا؟ هسع عندكم كم مجموعة مدرّية؟ ومن متين بديتوا تنفذوا النظام الجديد؟

هي ما مسألة نظام جديد وللا قديم؛ المسألة أنو طريقة علمية في إنك تقدر التلف، بدل ما بالعين، بواسطة حاجة إسما cross-cutting. ناس السلام والتنمية دربو لنا مجموعة فيها أكثر من 50، ناس مشروع تخفيف الصراعات دربو مجموعة فيها أكثر من

group including more than 50 [people]; the people of Conflicts Reduction Project trained a group including more than 100 [people]; the people of ECOM also trained a group of people during the last two years. The damage [estimation] committee should include representatives of the nomads, representatives of the farmers and the Native Administration. In damage estimation, for each sack they have to estimate for how much it is cut, for how much it is 'hit' (threshed);<sup>22</sup> for how much it is transported, how much does the [empty] sack cost; how much is paid for *zakat* (Islamic tax); all these are not involved when the animal ate it; so, they have to exclude them. If it is not treated in this way, it will be treated in another way; that is, through negotiation and bargain with the aim of coming to a lower [fine].

*Q13: Abu-Saas, the question is as follows: All of this information was there when we came last time; but there are some people who said that this exists only theoretically, but it has not been implemented practically. If the farmer has damage, he*

<sup>22</sup> A 'hitting' here refers to threshing by a flail = threshing stick.

fiiha aktar min 50; naas Mashruu<sup>c</sup> Takhfiif aî-Şiraa<sup>a</sup>at darrabo majmuu<sup>a</sup> fiiha aktar min 100; naas EKOM barðu khilaal as-sanateen darrabo majmuu<sup>a</sup>. Fii lajnat talaf laabudda yikuun fi mumassiliin le r-ru<sup>a</sup> wa mumassiliin le l-muzaari<sup>iin</sup> wa l-'idaara l-'ahliyya. Fii taqdiir at-talaf, ash-shawwaal laazim yiqaddiru bitgaṭi<sup>c</sup> bee kam, bitdagga bee kam, bitraḥḥal bee kam, bitzakka bee kam, al-kheesha bee kam; di ḥaajaat lamma l-bahiima akalataa maa dakhalat fiiha; humma laazim yiṭalli<sup>c</sup>uuha barra. Bigat tit<sup>a</sup>aalaj law maa be ṭ-ṭariiga di asaasan, be ṭariiga taaniya, fii innu law qaddaro khamsiin faḍlak faḍli <sup>c</sup>ala asaas yarmu lee <sup>c</sup>adad agalla.

100، ناس إيكوم برضو خلال السننتين دربووا مجموعة. في لجنة تلف لابد يكون في ممثلين للرعاة وممثلين للمزارعين والإدارة الأهلية.

في تقدير التلف، الشوال لازم يقدروا بتقطع بي كم، بتدق بي كم، بترحل بي كم، بتزكي بي كم، الخيشة بي كم. دي حاجات لما البهيمة أكلتا ما دخلت فيها؛ هم لازم يطلعوها بز. بقت تتعالج لو ما بالطريقة دي أساساً، بطريقة ثانية، في إنو لو قدروا خمسين فضلك فضلي على أساس يرموا لي عدد أقل.

س13: يا أبوساس السؤال كالاتي: كل المعلومة دي وكت جينا المرة الفاتت كانت في؛ لكن في ناس قالوا الكلام دا موجود نظرياً، لكن عملياً ما طبق؛ المزارع عندو تلف بجيب عساكرو يمشوا يعملوا التقدير. متين بديتوا تنفذوا تقدير التلف بالنظام الهسع قنتو

*will bring his policemen to go and do the estimation. When did you start implementing the damage estimation in accordance with the system you have just mentioned to me? We want to know the situation with regard to the implementation.*

But who implements? It is the person who goes and estimates the damage. Well, when someone whose damage has been estimated comes and complains to us, we will go back and see who did the estimation. This is because in every village we have people who we trained; if the estimation is done by people other than these, we will go back and say “no”, because even [in] the training we engaged the Senior Prosecutor and he participated with us. Nobody came [and complained] to me, but since 2013 I have trained the people and they are supposed to do it. That is, they (i.e. complaints) didn’t come to us, but there are many people who say to you: “By Allah, when they estimated for me, they came and said to me, ‘we exclude for you the cost of the ‘cutting’, and the cost of the ‘hitting’ (threshing) and of the [empty] sack...”. The people in Haroun [village]

Maa hu l-binaffiz minu? Maa yaahu z-zool al-bimish yiqaddir at-talaf. Tayyib, lamma yajiina zool faato qaddaro leehu t-talaf, ya’ni ja ishtaka binarja<sup>c</sup> nashuuf al-qaddar minu, la’annu fii ayyi qariya ‘indana naas darrabnaahum; law qaddaro gheer an-naas deel binarja<sup>c</sup> naguul “la”, la’annu hatta [fi] t-tadriib jiibna ma’aana Wakiil an-Niyaaba l-’a’laa wa ishtarak ma’aana. Ana maa jaani zool, laakin min 2013 ’ana darrabta n-naas wa min al-muftaraḍ taguum beehu. Ya’ni maa jaatna laakin fi naas kutaar ya’ni yiguul lak: “Wallaahi ana lamma qaddaro ley, jo gaal ley al-gaṭi<sup>c</sup> naṭalli<sup>c</sup>u leek wa ḥagg ad-dag wa ḥagg al-kheesh naṭalli<sup>c</sup>u...”. An-naas al-fi Haaruun wa n-naas al-fi s-Siraajiyya wu kida gaalo khalaas niḥna binishtaghil beeha, wu bado, humma bado yiṭalli<sup>c</sup>u...

لي؟ نحن دايرين نعرف موقف التنفيذ.

ما هو البنفذ منو؟ ما ياهو الزول البيمش يقدر التلف. طيب، لما يجينا زول فاتوا قَدروا ليهو التلف، يعني لو جا اشتكى بنرجع نشوف القدر منو، لأنو في أي قرية عندنا ناس درناهم؛ لو قَدروا غير الناس ديل بنرجع نقول «لا»، لأنو حتى (في) التدريب جينا معنا وكيل النيابة الأعلى واشترك معنا. أنا ما جاني زول، لكن أنا من 2013 أنا درت الناس ومن المفترض تقوم بيهو.

يعني ما جاتنا لكن في ناس كتار يعني يقول لك: «والله أنا لما قَدروا لي، جوا قال لي القطع نطلعو ليك وحق الدق وحق الخيشة نطلعو...». الناس الفي هارون، والناس الفي السراجية وكدا قالوا: «خلاص نحن بنشتغل بيها»، وبدوا، همّ بدوا يطلعوا...



and Sirajjiyya said: “Well, we will adopt it (i. e. the new system of damage estimation)”, and they started; they started excluding ...

*Q14: Are there any people who complained that there is still despotism in damage estimation?*

By Allah, there are people [who do that]; last year they came to us and [the case] reached the court. By the time it reached the court, it (i. e. the damage) was not even limited. It was about residues of crops’ remains and he (i. e. the farmer) claimed a very big amount of damage. The nomad came and said that he would complain; we said to him: “Brother, go to the court, to the Senior Prosecutor and ask him to send people along with you for damage estimation”. So, when he came and wrote to the [Ministry of] Agriculture, officials went together with a nomad and a farmer. They went and sat down with the person (i. e. the farmer): “How much do you want from this man?” He said that he wants 50 thousand [SDG]; that was just for remains of sesame and the space was not more than 50 or 60 Feddan; that is, ca. 10 thousand [SDG] for Fed-

Wallaahi fi naas. Wa s-sana l-faatat jooṇa, waṣalat al-maḥkama. Lamma waṣalat al-maḥkama hi maa kaanat zaataa maḥṣuura; kaanat baqaayaa mukhallafaat maḥaasiil wu ja ‘amal talaf kabiir. Ar-raa‘i ja gaal bishtaki, guulna le: “Yaakhi amshi l-maḥkama, Wakiil an-Niyaaba guul leehu ṭalli‘ ley naas lee taqdiir talaf”. Fa lamma ja wa katab le z-ziraa‘a faato afaandiyya, saago raa‘i wu saago muzaari‘ faato ga‘ado ma‘a z-zool: “Az-zool da daayir minnu kam?” Gaal daayir 50 alf, min baqaya bitaa‘at simsim wa l-misaaha maa aktar min 50 walla 60 faddaan; ya‘ni daayir 10 alf fi l-faddaan tagriiban. Lamma n-naas faato wu ga‘ado ma‘aahu wu shaafu sh-shi l-haasiil wa qaddaro l-gash gadur shinu wa qaddaro bee 10 alf waddooha l-maḥkama gibil. Hatta r-raa‘i ba‘ad da gaal al 10 alf katiira, gaal khalaas khalleeṭ leek alf. Wa shuuf

س14: هل في ناس شكوا بأنو ما زال في تعسف في تقدير التلف؟

والله في ناس؛ والسنة الفاتت جونا، وصلت المحكمة. لما وصلت المحكمة هي ما كانت ذاتا محصورة؛ كانت بقايا مخلفات محاصيل، وجا عمل تلف كبير جداً. الراعي جا قال بشتكي، قلنا لي: «يا أخي أمشي المحكمة، وكيل النيابة قول ليهو طلع لي ناس لي تقدير تلف». فلما جا وكتب للزراعة فاتوا أفندية، ساقوا راعي وساقوا مزارع، فاتوا قعدوا مع الزول: «الزول دا داير منو كم؟» قال داير 50 ألف، من بقايا بتاعة سمسم والمساحة ما أكثر من 50 وللا 60 فدان؛ يعني داير 10 ألف في الفدان تقريباً. لما الناس فاتوا وقعدوا معاها وشافوا الشئ الحاصل قدروا القش قدر شنو وقدروا بي 10 ألف وئوها المحكمة قبل. حتى الراعي بعد دا قال الـ 10 ألف كتيرة، قال خلاص خليت ليك ألف. وشوف زول من 50 ألف، لما الناس فاتوا بصفة علمية نزل لي 10 والـ 10 ذاتا خلّ للزول ألف. ولو دورتوا حتى الزول الفات ذاتو بجيبوا ليكم، واحد من أولادكم هنا.

dan. When the people went and sat down with him, saw what happened, estimated the grass, estimated [the damage] for 10 thousand [SDG], and took it [back] to the court, he accepted. Still the nomad said that the 10 thousand [SDG] is too much; he said, “well, I have removed one thousand [SDG] for you”. Imagine, a person from 50 thousand [SDG], when the people went in a scientific way, he came down to 10 [thousand], even from the 10 [thousand] he removed one thousand for him. If you want, I can bring you the person (i. e. estimator) who went; he is one of your children (i. e. a Fulani).

zool min 50 alf, lamma n-naas faato be şifa ʿilmiyya nazal lee 10 wa l-10 zaataa khalla le z-zool alf, wa law durtu ḥatta z-zool al-faat zaatu bajiibu leekum, waaḥid min awlaadkum hina.

*Q15: What did you do during the last two years to lessen the tension between the farmer and the nomad? Are there any new attempts in these two years that you feel to be actually successful and useful?*

By Allah, one of the things in this matter, when we put them [together] in the matter of conflict resolution, this made... They were trained not only in damage estimation, but [also] in how to resolve conflicts among themselves, how to [make] peace among themselves. We think

Wallaahi awwal ḥaaja waaḥda min al-ḥaajaat lamma khatteenaahum fii ḥitta waaḥda bitaaʿat faḍ nizaʿaat khallat yaʿni... Humma itdarrabo tadrriibaat maa kaan taqdiir talaf bas, yafiḍdu n-nizaʿaʿ keef maʿa baʿaḍ... as-salaam beenaatum. Niḥna biniftakir

س15: عملتو شنو خلال السننتين الفاتوا لتخفيف حدة التوتر بين المزارع والراعي؟ في مساعي في السننتين ديل جديدة حسيتوا إنوا فعلاً ناجحة ونافعة؟

والله أول حاجة واحدة من الحثّات لما ختّيناها في حنة واحدة بتاعة فض نزاعات خلّت يعني ... هُمّ اتدربوا تدريبات ما كان تقدير تلف بس، يفوضوا النزاع كيف مع بعض، إنو ... السلام بيناّهم. نحن نفتكر إنو الشغل بتاع الندوات والمحاضرات، الشغل التّم نحن في لما نجى نعوّضو ... دا

that the ‘work’ of the colloquia and lectures, the work we did on how to compensate him (i. e. the farmer)... this raised the awareness of the people and made their tension less [acute]; this made each of them to understand the other. But our problem is not the nomads who are living here but the nomads who come from yonder. In the circumstances of drought and these circumstances that happen...; last year, the rain came in August; the nomads came to us from all the states of the Sudan and entered; in the *darat* [season],<sup>23</sup> the nomads from Gedarif came through to us. This is the corridor not more than a Kilo[meter] distant with grass broadcast in it and water available, [still] they entered the schemes. Our people have started to understand the matter of *buur*;<sup>24</sup> those who are staying here have bought it from the people (land owners); these [from outside the state] entered people’s schemes. This is what creates us problems. This is creating us problems and increasing their (i. e. the farmer and the nomad) tension.

innu sh-shoghol bitaa° an-nadwaat wa l-muḥaadaaraat, ash-shoghol at-tamma niḥna fii lamma naji na°awwiḍu... da wa°a n-naas wa khallat at-tanshana bitaa°atum bigat agalla, bigo kullu waahid yifham at-taani. Laakin al-mushkila °indana niḥna ma r-rawaa°iyya l-gaa°diin, ar-ru°a l-biju min ghaadi; ya°ni fi z-zuruuf bitaa°at aj-jafaaf wa z-zuruuf al-bitahṣal di... ya°ni s-sana l-faatat al-maṭar ja shahri tamaaniya; ar-rawaa°iyya joona min kulli wilaayaat as-Suudaan, wa jo khaashhiin, wa fi d-darat joona r-rawaa°iyya bitaa°iin al-Gaḍaarif bee hina. Da l-masaar maa ab°ad min kiilu wa mansuur fiihu gash wa mooya mutwaffira khashsho l-mashaarii°. Naasna bado yitfahhamo l-mas°ala bitaa°at al-buur, al-gaa°diin hina ishtarooaha min an-naas; fa deel khashsho mashaarii° an-naas. Di l-bitakhlig leena l-°ishkaaliyya wa taziid at-tanshana bitaa°atum.

وعى الناس وخذت التنشنة بتاعتم بقت أقل، بقوا كل واحد يفهم الثاني.

لكن المشكلة عندنا نحن ما الرواعية القاعدين، الرعاة البجوا من غادي؛ يعني في الظروف بتاعة الجفاف والظروف البتحصل دي... يعني السنة الفانت المطر جا شهر ثمانية؛ الرواعية جونا من كل ولايات السودان، وجوا خاشين، وفي الدرت جونا الرواعية بتاعين القصارف بي هنا. دا المسار ما أبعد من كيلو ومنثور فيه قش وموية متوفرة خشوا المشاريع.

ناسنا بدوا يتفهموا المسألة بتاعة البور، القاعدين هنا اشتروها من الناس؛ فديل خشوا مشاريع الناس. دي البتخلق لينا الإشكالية نحن. دي قاعدة تخلق إشكالية وتزيد التنشنة بتاعتم.

<sup>23</sup> This is the period that follows the harvest.

<sup>24</sup> This is a piece of land in a scheme or a farm left uncultivated in order that it regains its fertility in the subsequent years.

*Q16: Do you feel that in these two years the tensions became less than in the past years? Or do they move in the same manner?*

By Allah, it is not a matter of tension but rather a matter of crops' damage. This matter has a positive thing, especially in Tadamun Locality. In 2012 we had 1300 case reports [by the police]; in 2013 they came down a bit to 400 and plus; and in 2014 they lowered to about forty or fifty. This year, I am now sitting in this office, no case report of damage by people has reached the police; that is, no case came to the police that was too difficult to solve and to which we were called to [come and] see what was happening. This season, no case at all has come to us; you can ascertain this by the police in Tadamun [Locality]. One of the people of Peace Council belonging to the police ascertained this piece of information, because [the Peace Council] funded the matter of [corridors'] evacuation and came and saw as *monitoring* – they saw our records by the police in But and here [Damazin].

End

Wallaahi hi maa kaanat zey tawattur be gadri maa hiya talaf le l-maḥaaṣiil. Al-mas'ala di fiiha ḥaaja iijaabiyya, be z-zaat fii Maḥalliyyat at-Taḍaamun. Ya'ni niḥna fii 2012 kaan 'indana 1300 balaagh; fii 2013 khaffat shuwayya lee 400 wu ḥaaja; wa fii 2014 nazalat lee kam wu arba'iin aw kam wu khasmiin. Wa s-sana di l-wakti ana gaa'id fi l-maktab da maa jaani balaagh bitaa' innu fi naas atlafu waṣal ash-shurṭa case; ya'ni maa ja case le sh-shurṭa wa biga musta'ṣi wa jaaboona 'ala asaas innu niḥna nashuuf al-ḥaaṣiil shinu. Al-muusim da maa waṣalna balaagh khaaliṣ; al-mas'ala di mumkin tit'akkadu minnaa min ash-shurṭa fi t-Taḍaamun. Waahid min naas Majlis as-Salaam min naas ash-shurṭa deel akkad al-ma'luuma di, la'annu fi ... mawwal al-ḥitta bitaa'at at-tafriigh wu ja shaafu ka *monitoring*, shaafu sijjillaatna min naas ash-shurṭa fii Buuṭ wa fii hina.

An-nihaaya

س16: هل تحس في السنتين الفاتوا دليل التوترات بقت أقل من السنوات المضت؟ وللا ماشة بنفس الوتيرة؟

والله هي ما كانت زي توتر بقدر ما هي تلف للمحاصيل. المسألة دي فيها حاجة إيجابية، بالذات في محلية التضامن. يعني نحن في 2012 كان عندنا 1300 بلاغ، في 2013 خفت شوية لي 400 وحاجة، وفي 2014 نزلت لي كم وأربعين أو كم وخمسين. والسنة دي الوكت أنا قاعد في المكتب دا ما جاني بلاغ بتاع إنو في ناس اتلفوا وصل الشرطة؛

يعني ما جا case للشرطة وبقي مستعصى وجابونا على أساس إنو نحن نشوف الحاصل شنو. الموسم دا ما وصلنا بلاغ خالص؛ المسألة دي ممكن تتأكدوا منها من الشرطة في التضامن. واحد من ناس مجلس السلام من ناس الشرطة دليل أكد المعلومة دي، لأنو في ... مؤل الحتة بتاعة التفرغ وجا شافو ك monitoring. شافوا سجلاتنا من ناس الشرطة في بوط وفي هنا.

النهاية





Photo 4: Interview with Ahmad A. A. Ab-Saas, Damazin, June. (AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)



Photo 5: A *hafir* on the Rosseris Bridge-Menza corridor, June. (AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)



Photo 6: Al-Amin Abu-Manga is taking notes from the *hafir*'s guard on how it operates, June (ELHADI I., 2013)



Photo 7: Fulbe leaving Damazin area and heading southwards, June (AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)



Photo 8: Rufa'a Arab children in the neighbourhood of a Fulbe settlement (Al-Azaza), February  
(AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2016)





Photo 9: Fulbe youth on their way from Al-Azaza village to Rosseiris market, February  
(AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2016)

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