

The Sudan's Incorporation into the Capitalist World-Economy through Modern Cultivation and Trade of Cotton

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Abstract: Before the 19th century, the Sudan had a distinctive social system in which decentralized kingdoms held the political power. The article assumes that this intersocietal system entered a process of incorporation into the capitalist world-economy in the 19th century. Early modernization policies pursued in the Sudan during the Turco-Egyptian administration between 1821-1885 period, known as the Turkiyya. This rule shifted to the Anglo-Egyptian administration in 1899, after British forces defeating the short-lived Mahdist rule. Upon establishment of the new condominium government, the Sudan became a peripheral supplier of the expanding world economy. Throughout the peripheralization, the British gained control of raw materials such as gum arabic and cotton from the Nile valley, which were then transported to factories located in the mainland England. This article investigates economic incorporation process of the Sudan, specifically focusing on the Gezira Scheme, established with a colonial mentality, and mainly based on cotton production. The effect of this process was evident during the 1930s, when the country had been seriously impacted by the global economic crisis of 1929.

Keywords: Sudan, Capitalism, World-Economy, Colonialism, Hegemony

Introduction

There were two kingdoms in the Sudan before the 19th century: The sultanates of the Keira in Darfur and the Funj in Sennar. Sultans played a major role in controlling and governing these kingdoms, despite also exploiting them. Sultans in both kingdoms administered trade with the outside world and controlled much of the supply within the sultanate until the introduction of coins, at the first half of the 18th century (O'Fahey & Spaulding, 2017, p. 56). The sultan also enjoyed a significant degree of control over subsistence production with his provincial magnates (Edwards, 1998, p. 180). On the other hand, Sultans maintained a relatively large army to protect themselves, their kingdoms, and their subjects. Within both Sultanates, military power was a key element in the maintenance of the state. Raiding and plundering in the periphery and taxation in the more productive core of state became a policy. Through raiding Sultans used slaves to reinforce royal possessions and incorporated them into their armies (Edwards,

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1998, p. 181). Moreover, they controlled long-distance trade, which provided them excessive power. El Zain (1996) introduces the idea that the Funj Sultanate was established around 1504 through an alliance between the Funj and the Arabs. "The alliance formed a political and administrative system based on the division of power between the Funj kings in Sennar and the tribal leaders in their territories" (El Zain, 1996, p. 524). Consequently, the kingdom cannot be described as a centralized state in terms of power relations; according to El Zain (1996), it was a confederal state between ruler Africans and subaltern Arabs. For instance, the Funj Sultanate was founded by tribes that were non-Muslim, non-Arab and, originated from the south. The state they established followed traditional African patterns of kingship (Kramer et al. 2013, p. 63). Later Arabs from the north became shareholders in governance. Sufism became the main provider of a sense of unity among the people and stability throughout the region. It can be inferred from that there had been an "intersocietal system" with its unique features existed in Sudan until 1821. On the other hand, one recent study supposes autonomy of frontier polities were one of three characteristics of the "16-18th century-Ottoman international system", in which the Funj sultanate pursued independent policies having limited interaction with Ottoman capital, Istanbul (Balci and Kardaş, 2023, p. 4, 24).

Small scale trade had existed in Sudan, in which mainly based on barter under the Funj Sultanate (Warburg, 1989, pp. 778-779). Over time, the sultan's role of organising international trade was gradually taken over by profit-seeking merchants (Niblock, 1987, p. 4). Their influence and power grew as they became more involved in trade. Niblock describes that, by the end of the 17th century, a variety of foreign currencies were used in trade, with the Spanish dollar becoming the standard currency in the next century. Consequently, the Sultan was no longer able to control prices effectively. It became evident that foreign influence began to exert a significant impact on Sudan through merchant trade in "the long sixteenth century". The Turco-Egyptian regime, which lasted from 1821 to 1885, established a new political system that implemented centralized governance. Therefore, the Sudan split from its tradition of kingship during the Muhammad Ali regime of Egypt (1805-48), when modern form of centralized government was introduced. I argue that the Sudan's integration into the global capitalist system began under this centralized government and continued throughout the rule of his son Khedive Ismail (1863-79). The Sudan possessed abundant resources when the Egyptians arrived, but it was needed to improve its internal infrastructure through central administration and explore external markets to sell its raw materials. British merchants became the primary purchasers of Sudan's raw materials in the Turkiyya period. Ottoman domination of the Sudan persisted until the late 19th century when the British Empire began to exert its own influence in the region especially after the opening of Suez Canal in 1869.

Britain had previously been a hegemonic power in the mid-19th century, and its domination stemming from political, economic, and military power, continued worldwide, as it competed with other European colonial powers, such as France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy, particularly in Africa. Khedive Ismail was deposed by the Sultan in 1879 because of increasing pressures of the European Powers. Due to mismanagement administration of the Khedivate and outbreak of the Mahdist rebellion, Britain intervened into Egyptian affairs, suppressed Urabi revolt of 1882 and created dual government in Cairo. Moreover, Britain was not indifferent to events occurring in the Sudan secured its 'influence' over the country during the Berlin Conferences of 1884-85. The Mahdist forces, which had risen against the Ottoman administration in 1881, were defeated by the British and Egyptian forces in the Battle of Omdurman in 1898. This victory marked the beginning of the British control over the Sudan, a control that lasted until Sudan gained its independence in 1956. After the end of the Mahdist rule, British diplomats successfully persuaded Belgian and Italian negotiators and eventually 'convinced' the French after the Fashoda Crisis and left the Sudan to Egyptian governance under British guidance (Abdel Rahim, 1987, p. 28). Subsequently, Britain established their own colonial administration in the region. When the British agreed to the condominium agreement in 1899, the existing system persisted, and Sudan's level of incorporation into the world-system was further solidified through the establishment of large-scale long-staple cotton production schemes near the Nile River. This article argues that the intersocietal system of the Sudan was fully incorporated into the modern world-system as a peripheral unit, especially during the time of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Government. What particularly appealed to the British in the Sudan was cotton. It was determined that the climate along the Nile River was suitable for cotton cultivation. In this regard, the Gezira Scheme was initiated to harvest cotton in raw form, and it became one of the largest systems in Africa. Muslim nomads, semi-nomads and rain land farmer had already transformed into tenants, wage workers, seasonal immigrants in the commercialized territories of the region. In fact, when the global financial crisis occurred in 1929, Sudan's economy was severely affected. These serve as clear evidence of Sudan's level of incorporation into the modern world-economy.

How the intersocietal system in the pre-modern Sudan incorporated into expanding capitalism and its peripheralization in this process is the main concern of the research. The study delves into the incorporation and peripheralization of the country in the modern world-economy through the lens of world-systems theory. To understand degree of colonization during the condominium government and sufferings of the country hit by world wars and global economic crises, several statistical data and one map were used: Comparisons on world export numbers of gum arabic under different regimes and with different African states to illustrate integration of the raw into global markets, annual state revenue and government expenditure during the condominium government to show impacts of those war

and crises, the role of British loans for facilitating the scheme and managing director Arthur Gaitskell's map depicting the Gezira Scheme on the map of England for revealing colonial mentality and commercialization of the land, volumes on irrigated cotton areas and production between 1925-52 and financial returns to the government, the syndicate and tenants to demonstrate proletarianization of the labour, finally, Sudan's cotton export value and its proportion in total exports in 1920-38 to crystallize irreversible incorporation of the country as a peripheral country. Before the conclusion, structural issues of post-independent Sudanese economy, problems sourcing from monoculture production traditionally on cotton and recently oil after US hegemony will be briefly discussed.

World-Systems Theory, Economic Imperialism, and Peripheralization

World-Systems Analysis (WSA) emerged in the 1970s to explain the global political economy by examining historical development and ongoing interactions between the core and the periphery. The emergence of this analysis can be evaluated as a response to the dominance of modernization theory in the social sciences, offering a different perspective on the same phenomena. The theoretical foundations of the analysis can be traced back to Fernand Braudel and the Annales History School. Braudel aimed to create a new study discipline that encompasses all social sciences. He (2009, p. 171) emphasized this goal with a simple statement: "There is a general crisis in the human sciences... they now need to work collectively". The Annales School symbolizes the pursuit of a new human science, led by its most renowned scholar, Braudel. He criticizes narrow focus of each discipline on its specific area of expertise. For example, historians often focus solely on the narrative of the past, while geographers confine to studying mountains, rivers, lakes, and so on. Braudel argues that scholars should adopt a methodology that encompasses all disciplines, including sociology, history, geography, political science, anthropology, ethnography, mathematics and even statistics. This approach advocates for interdisciplinary studies that draw from neighbouring disciplines. In this context, Braudel criticizes episodic narrative of historians (of event history), which is a traditional teaching method in history at conventional schools. In contrast, the Annales School emphasizes the significance of the long duration (*la long durée*) rather than focusing solely on short-term events from a narrow perspective. Braudel introduces the concept of 'structural history', referring to the extended time frames of a dozen years and the underlying structures that shapes human societies and economies within a limited geographical space over extended periods. Scholars of World-System Analysis have been influenced by Braudel's innovative approach to the social sciences, using it to analyse the roots of inequalities within the world-system and develop their critical stance toward modernization theory. Chase-Dunn and Grimes' (1995, pp. 388-389) article on World-Systems Analysis defines the modern world-system:

'It is understood as a set of nested and overlapping interaction networks that link all units of social analysis – individuals, households, neighbourhoods, firms, towns and cities, classes and regions, national states and societies, transnational actors, international regions, and global structures.'

According to Wallerstein (1974a), the world-system concept encompasses culturally diverse societies interconnected through exchange of food and raw materials. Consequently, Europe-centred modern world-system is recognized as the first capitalist system in history. Wallerstein argues that previous systems evolved into 'world empires', where an empire absorbed both core and peripheral regions, as seen in the cases of Rome and China. However, the modern world-system has not experienced this type of empire-building. Instead, certain core countries establish hegemony over other regions, a phenomenon known as "hegemonic sequence", which has been achieved by only three states: The Netherlands, Britain, and the United States. Moreover, the modern world-system has started to incorporate other societal systems, including the Ottoman Empire and China. Additionally, the tributary mode of production has transitioned into the capitalist mode of production. Population growth, technological advancement, expansion of firms, state formation and commodification are all significant factors in this transition process, as described by Chase-Dunn and Grimes (1995).

Wallerstein (1974b, p. 391) analyses the emergence of modern world-economy in the sixteenth-century Europe, a period that witnessed the development and economic predominance of market trade. Braudel refers to this century as the "long sixteenth century" spanning from 1450 to 1640. Wallerstein identifies a discontinuity in economic and political institutions during this century. In his essay (1997), "The inequalities of core and periphery", he examines the emergence of a world-system in Europe. In the northwest of Europe, referred as the core, Wallerstein observes existence of absolute monarchy, bureaucracy, and standing armies. In contrast, Poland is described as the periphery, where there was a lack of a strong state and existence of the second serfdom. He also analyses decline of state authority in Spanish America and Christian Mediterranean, which became semi-peripheral regions within the world-system. The modern world-system exhibits a power hierarchy between core, periphery, and semi-periphery. The concepts of core and periphery describe uneven distribution of wealth, power, and resources in the global economy. Core countries are characterized by high levels of economic development, advanced technological capabilities, and strong political influence. In contrast, periphery countries are less developed, possess limited technological capabilities, and have weaker political standing. "Core" societies tend to dominate and exploit weaker and less affluent "peripheral" societies (Chase-Dunn & Grimes, 1995, p. 389). Semi-periphery occupies an intermediary position between core and periphery. These are the fundamental features of world-system analysis as articulated by scholars as Immanuel Wallerstein, Andre Gunder Frank,

Christopher Chase-Dunn and Peter Grimes. It is worth noting that Giovanni Arrighi, Perry Anderson, and Samir Amin have also contributed to this perspective.

The article is written in the perspective of World-Systems Analysis, and it aims to analyse Sudan's incorporation into the modern world-system as a periphery country and its integration into global markets. In this context, incorporation refers to "the outward expansion of the capitalist world economy" (Wallerstein, 1997, pp. 145-146) and Sudan's position within this framework will be examined. Sudan's integration into global markets occurred primarily through the export of its raw materials, especially cotton and gum arabic, which will be discussed. The article will examine the Gezira Scheme, a significant cotton production system established in the Sudan. It will draw upon interpretations from major works on the Sudan and include relevant statistical data about the country. The influence of the British Empire on Sudan's incorporation will also be studied because Britain was the hegemonic power in the 19th century and maintained its domination until the beginning of the Second World War. During their economic hegemony, each of these core states achieved a high level of productivity and capital accumulation relative to other regions (Chase-Dunn, 1978, p. 160). Hegemonic powers established a new set of rules and norms for the international system, based on their own values and interests. Capital accumulation reached its peak in the middle of 18th century for British traders, however, the country's high level of productivity persisted throughout the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. Arrighi (1999) primarily focused on the concept of the hegemonic sequence and analysed the establishment of the global market by Britain for these reasons.

Britain played a pivotal role in maintaining the balance of power system, which contributed to long periods of peace in Europe. Concurrently, the British promoted trade liberalization in the Western world and expanded their dominance in colonies while perpetuating their expansion into other regions. In the non-Western world, this expansion was often achieved through coercion and the British Empire's ability to forcibly extract resources from non-Western peoples (Arrighi, 1999, pp. 219-223). Cotton held significant resource for the British and after defeating the Mahdist forces, newly established Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Government explored that Sudan's climate was well-suited for cotton cultivation. Therefore, I will explain that there was no discontinuity with the condominium and the previous administrations. Before the Mahdist forces seized the power, Turco-Egyptian administration under the leadership of Muhammad Ali initiated the process of integrating the country into to the modern world-system. Although this process was interrupted during the Mahdist period, it was accelerated by the condominium government, which was established in 1899.

Chase-Dunn and Hall expand the world-systems concept even further. They (2018, p. 7) define world-systems as intersocietal networks in which interactions such as trade, warfare, intermarriage play a crucial role in reproducing the internal

structures of the composite units and significantly influence changes occurring in the local structures. The article argues that there was a world-system in the Sudan before the Egyptians and British invaded the region. Touched upon in the introduction part, the intersocietal system in the region had been existed through intersocietal hierarchies and the administration of the empires. When the Egyptian troops invaded the region and established a central administration, the Sudan began to be incorporated into the modern world-system hierarchically as periphery. The European core powers sought raw materials from undiscovered regions of the world, so-called terra incognita, by absorbing unknown world-systems. After the establishment of the British hegemony on the Sudan, a large scheme was established for cotton cultivation. The features of the Gezira Scheme as a great project on the Nile basin will serve as an example of how capitalist mode of production are embedded in its operation. The production within the scheme and the 'growth' of the Sudanese economy will be analysed, thus, the country's integration into capitalist world-economy can be assessed.

The Sudan in Modern Times: The Turco-Egyptian Rule and the British Colonization

The Ottomans first established a presence in the Sudan in the early 1820s through Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt, when they intervened in a local conflict between rival factions for control of the region. Initially intended to be temporary, the Ottoman intervention soon revealed that Sudan represented a valuable territory with access to resources and trade routes. Under Turco-Egyptian rule, the Sudan was organized as a province of the empire, with a local governor appointed to administer the region. The Ottomans implemented their own system of taxation and governance, resulting significant social and economic changes in the Sudan. The Turco-Egyptian rulers introduced various Egyptian and Ottoman coins; therefore, taxes were collected in cash (Warburg, 1989, pp. 779-780). Additionally, the Ottomans introduced new technologies and innovations, such as modern weapons and agricultural techniques, which contributed to the modernization of the region. According to Warburg (1991, p. 198), Muhammad Ali pursued imperial expansion primarily to secure a cheap labour force and warrior force, with his secondary goal being access to Sudan's natural resources.¹ Richard Hill (1959, p. 7), in his balanced study, clarifies those natural resources and includes "obtaining gold" among Muhammad Ali's objectives. However, regardless of his intentions, Muhammad Ali failed to achieve his goals (Warburg, 1991, p. 213). By accepting the misreading of the agricultural infrastructure as "pharaonic civilization" had trapped, he changed his policy near the end of his rule and began to decentralize control over water and land (Verhoeven, 2015, p. 47). However, outcome of the invasion was that transformation of the Sudan under centralized government, known as the "Turkiyya", and opening of the Sudan to global markets for the first time in its history. This transformation included establishment of a civil and

military administration with Khartoum as the strategically chosen capital in 1833. A bureaucratic structure emerged, featuring provincial and district officers responsible for land registration and tax collection, as well as central services for river steamers, postal services, and telegraphs (Kramer et al., 2013, p. 66). Other developments in the region included construction of a railway system by the Egyptians in a strategic area near Whadi Halfa, close to borders of Sudan and Egypt. This railway made it easier for goods from Sudan to reach the Egyptian delta. Harbour facilities were also improved, and new trade outlets were established for ocean-going vessels.

Additionally, the Egyptian state increased its influence in the Sudan, and established a monopoly over its external trade. However, after 1838, Egypt's economic domination declined, and European traders began to play a prominent role in the region. This shift could be attributed to the Treaty of Balta Liman signed between the Ottomans and the British. These European traders, particularly British, Austrian, and Italian traders, were mainly interested in acquiring ivory, gum arabic, and ostrich feathers (Niblock, 1987, p. 9). Their activities in the Sudan expanded in the following years, and to secure their economic interests, they established consulates in Khartoum. A chamber of commerce was founded, and there was an attempt to create the Banque du Soudan. Moreover, gum arabic emerged as a primary source in Sudan by 1880, as it was crucial producing confectionary and paper in Europe, with Britain being its largest user. Egyptian administrators recognized its importance and sought to establish it as a significant global market resource. Khedive Ismail pursued "civilizing mission" in the Sudan, on the belief that Egypt's superior civilization and adoption of modern technology by attributing the Sudan as the "southern province" during his rule (Warburg, 1989, p. 782). In the 1860s, a large quantity of gum arabic export had started from developing port Suakin in the Red Sea that created prosperity with the opening of the Suez Canal especially after 1869. However, the Egyptian general bankruptcy in the 1870s, failure of creating internal connections with the Port, and emergence of the Mahdist rebellion in 1881 halted those prospects. Finally, the Turco-Egyptian political power was overthrown by the Mahdist forces in 1885, leading to a further decline in promises related to gum arabic trade and the onset of economic deterioration for the Sudan.

El Tigani Mahmoud's (1981, p. 81) analysis on the Mahdist state provides information about authoritarian rule, a highly centralized administration, and the Khalifa's extensive political and executive powers. The centralization process was initiated by the Egyptian administrators and reached its peak under the Mahdist rulers. The short-lived Mahdist state in Sudan (1885-1898) fought against different internal and external forces. It fought with the Turco-Egyptian army after the siege of Khartoum in different times and places, Italian troops coming from Ethiopia, Belgian troops within southern regions and, finally, internal uprisings (Collins,

1976, p. 5). Britain decided to conquer the Sudan with Egyptian troops protecting her interests on the Nile waters and her investments in Africa. The Mahdist resistance took two years, and finally it was crushed. Although resistance movements emerged against Anglo-Egyptian troops, political control over the Sudan shifted to joint administration during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium period started in 1899 and ended with Sudan's independence in 1956. During the condominium government rule, the Sudan was fully incorporated into the global world system as a peripheral unit. The British colonization of the Sudan can be viewed as an extension of 'Türkiye colonization' (El Zain, 1996, p. 525).²

Under the British rule, the Sudan was governed as a colony, with a governor appointed by the British government to oversee the region. The British implemented their own system of governance, which relied on indirect rule, enabling them to maintain control while reducing their direct involvement in local affairs. They also introduced new technologies and innovations, including modern transportation and communication infrastructure, contributing to the modernization of the region. The Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1899, Article III:

"The supreme military and civil command of the Sudan shall be vested in one officer, termed the 'Governor-General of the Sudan'. He shall be appointed by Khedivial Decree on the recommendation of Her Britannic Majesty's Government and shall be removed only by Khedivial Decree, with the consent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government." (Abdel Rahim, 1987, p. 234)

The agreement designated Egypt as the sovereign decision-maker over the Sudan. However, Egypt had been under the British control since 1882, therefore, sovereignty over the Sudan was effectively constituted by Britain. Lord Cromer, a British agent and the consul-general in Egypt between 1883-1907, devised a hybrid form of government that was supervised from Egypt in alignment with British interests (Holt, 1961, pp. 110-111). According to the agreement, an officer was selected by the Egyptian administration to govern the country by taking desires of the British government into consideration. British soldiers such as Kitchener (1899), Wingate (1900-16), and Sir Lee Stack (1917-24) served as Governors-General in the Sudan between 1899 and 1924. In sum, the dual sovereignty of the administration could be summarized as the senior partner Britain and junior partner Egypt (Gaitskell, 1959, p. 30). On the other hand, the British hegemony over the Sudan was established and maintained through various means. The British Empire leveraged its superior military and economic power to quell local rebellions and maintain order across the region. Additionally, they forged robust trade connections with other nations in the area, ensuring a steady inflow of resources and wealth into British hands.

As mentioned before, the Muhammad Ali regime realized significance of gum arabic production in the Sudan. The regime's aim was to make it a global resource, but it failed due to the Mahdiyya revolt. The Sudan economy of 1898, at the end of the

Mahdist rule, was a subsistence economy with a little gum, ivory and ostrich feathers (Gaitskell, 1959, p. 32). The ultimate transformation of the subsistence economy into the capitalist economy and the integration of gum arabic into world markets were achieved successfully by the earlier condominium regime. Gaitskell (1959, pp. 36-37) notes that the lack of rail transport made a deadening effect on ‘inexhaustible’ and ‘valuable’ product of gum in Kordofan in the beginning of new century under the Wingate rule. Therefore, in 1900, its share in world markets was only 32 percent, however, as of 70 per cent in 1904 gave Sudanese gum dominance (Tignor, 1987, p. 186). In 1911, the construction of the railway line to Kordofan was finished, enabling convenient access from gum gardens of Kordofan to the Port Sudan (Mollan, 2020, p. 6). When the World War started in 1914, country’s gum arabic export was 12,372 tons. Its production and export were increased due to its usage in making explosives and reached 15,490 tons in 1918 (Daly, 1987, p. 459). The Table 1 shows the distribution of gum arabic among producers, including Sudan, French West Africa, Nigeria, and Tanzania. In the 1926-29 period, Sudan had a 79.2 percent share of total gum arabic exports on a global scale. When the 1954-57 period is compared, Sudan increased its share to 85 percent, doubled the export amounts within thirty years. French West Africa had the similar world export numbers, but its share decreased to 9.9 percent, which was half of what it was thirty years before. Nigeria and Tanzania had a relatively small share of world gum arabic exports about 2 per cent. The Table 1 illustrates integration of gum arabic production in the Sudan into the world markets. It became a significant Sudanese resource in the global market, following cotton, during the time of the condominium government.

Table 1

World Exports of Gum Arabic (in tonnes with percentages in brackets; four-year averages)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Sudan</i>	<i>French West Africa</i>	<i>Nigeria</i>	<i>Tanzania</i>	<i>Total</i>
1926–29	20 890 (79.2)	4 850 (18.4)	75 (0.3)	575 (2.2)	26 390
1930–33	19 175 (76.8)	4 705 (18.9)	375 (1.5)	700 (2.8)	24 955
1934–37	21 485 (76.4)	5 330 (19.0)	525 (1.9)	775 (2.8)	28 115
1938–41	22 005 (72.0)	6 765 (22.1)	575 (1.9)	1 200 (3.9)	30 545
1942–45	14 980 (72.1)	3 035 (14.6)	1 450 (7.0)	1 300 (6.3)	20 765
1946–49	31 365 (78.2)	6 100 (15.2)	1 450 (3.6)	1 200 (3.0)	40 115
1950–53	37 950 (84.0)	3 990 (8.8)	1 760 (3.9)	1 485 (3.3)	45 185
1954–57	43 220 (85.0)	5 050 (9.9)	1 090 (2.1)	1 470 (2.9)	50 830

Source: A. A. Bishai, *Export Performance and Economic Development in Sudan* (Ithaca Press, London, 1976), p. 103.

Source: Niblock, 1987, p. 56.

In 1898, when the war was over, the annual revenue of the Sudan under ongoing embargo during the Mahdist period was only £E35,000 (Gaitskell, 1959, p. 32). When the rule of condominium government embarked on and releasing from economic embargo limiting exports by the Anglo-Egyptian administration, Sudan's annual revenue in 1899, was £E126,596 and its expenditure was £E230,238 (Niblock, 1987, pp. 337-338). By 1913, just before the outbreak of the First World War, the government revenue had increased to £E1,568,352 with the government expenditure reaching £E1,533,063, however, still showing characteristics of primitive economy without new sources of production. These numbers rose sharply to, after cotton integrated to world markets, £E6,981,590 in revenue and £E6,610,274 in expenditure by 1929 just before the world economic crisis struck the economy. Sudan's economy experienced its deepest decline in 1933, with revenue falling to £E3,693,570 and expenditure diminishing to £E3,521,957. These figures, especially for the period of 1929-33, provide evidence of the impact of world crises on the Sudan and underscore the country's level of integration into the capitalist world-economy. The numbers indicate that the Sudan had become a periphery under the Anglo-Egyptian rule, with revenue and expenditure remaining below £E6 million until the end of the Second World War. After the war, numbers began to rise again, particularly in 1950. This year marked nationalization of the scheme, with the syndicate yielding profits to the government. In the 1950/1 period, government revenue reached £E46,299,658, while expenditure was £E23,596,510 in the same period.

Peripheralization: The Function of the Gezira Scheme

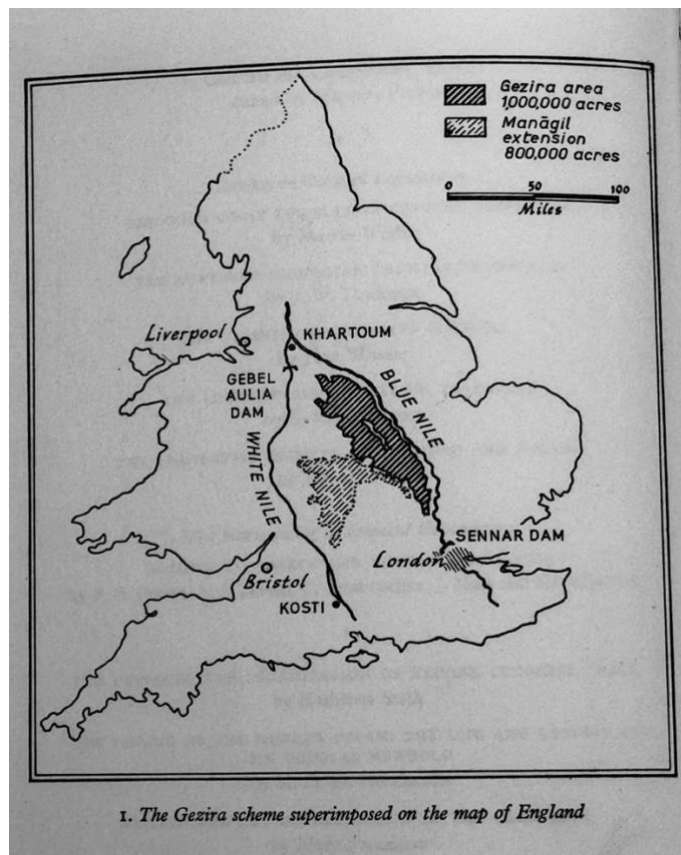
“Africa's task, in the world of colonization, had been to produce the raw materials needed by machines and factories in the advanced (that is, industrialised) countries” (Davidson, 1994, p. 220). The Sudan, located in north-eastern Africa became the British colony, and its primary objective, rather than strategic considerations, was to supply discovered raw materials from the region to machines and factories established in Britain. Initially, the condominium government had to plan for greater integration of the country. In this regard, the railway system was expanded, and a new port, Port Sudan, near the Red Sea was constructed in 1909. The Gezira Scheme, a large agricultural project, began production of long-staple cotton. Gezira refers to the land between the White and the Blue Nile, and the scheme in Gezira cultivated cotton and sugar cane for textile factories in Lancashire.

The map depicted by Arthur Gaitskell (The Figure 1), who served as the managing director of the Gezira Scheme for many years, displays the scheme's layout on Great Britain, with the Sennar Dam representing London and Gezira in the place of Lancashire. As Gaitskell had developmentalist idea, it can be inferred from the map that the British 'civilization' permeated the Sudan and transferred its values to the

region. In this context, Sudan might have been considered a core country after planning of development and 'introduction to civilization' according to modernization theory. The values of rationality, discipline, and order are evident in the structure of the scheme. Additionally, this map can be interpreted as reflecting commercialization of land in the Sudan. Two law making attempts on the Sudanese territory, Title to Land Ordinance of 1899 and Land Settlement Ordinance of 1905, attempted to transform previously communally owned lands used by tribes converting into a commodity with a cash value based on labour power of peasants for lower wages (Collins, 1976, p. 10). Furthermore, Sudan had the potential to efficiently utilize its waters and farmlands through advanced organizational techniques, which could have propelled it to achieve economic development levels like core countries during the process of economic modernization. However, despite a century passed since the establishment of the scheme, the country remained a peripheral entity in the world-system.

Figure 1

The Gezira map depicted by Arthur Gaitskell



Source: Gaitskell, 1959, p. 5.

The outcome of Niblock's analysis on Sudan's economy during the colonial period indicates that the economy was shaped to meet Britain's needs. Furthermore, Britain's primary economic requirement at that time was cotton, and diversifying the longer and the finer cotton sources for Lancashire spinners. To boost cotton production throughout the country, the Sudan Experimental Plantation Syndicate was established in 1904 and registered in London. Later, it was discovered that the terrain and climate of the region were suitable for the cultivation of long-staple cotton. As an explorer and founder of the syndicate, entrepreneur Leigh Hunt searched for capital and investors (Mollan, 2020, pp. 84-86). When Hunt's interest waned as he was interested in other investments around the world, businessman Frederick Eckstein became Chairman of the renamed Company as the Sudan Plantations Syndicate in 1907. Moreover, the failure of American and Egyptian crops in 1909 increased the significance of irrigated cotton at Zeidab (Gaitskell, 1959, p. 54). The successful experience at Tayiba field in 1911 and 1912 attracted attention of the British government and investors. The assistance provided by colonial powers, in other words, the support of core countries to Africa, Davidson (1994, p. 58) argued that the continuity of aid for development signified the perpetuation of colonial exploitation. The condominium government borrowed £3 million from the British government in 1913, using it to finance the construction of a dam on the Blue Nile. However, development plans of facilities for great project to grow cotton was stalled because of the sudden start of the First World War. Eventually, the Gezira Scheme re-started to facilitate, became profitable investment at the end of the war and the British loan increased to £6 million in 1919. Confidence grown during the war years between the Sudan government and the Sudan Plantation Syndicate and two became ready to develop the scheme. By 1924, the British loan had increased to £14.92 million, and the dam construction (Sennar) on the Blue Nile was completed in 1925.³ However, colonial relations between the two governments were deepened and the country became increasingly dependent on the London market, one of the centres of global capitalism.

"The Gezira Scheme represented the triumph of modern civilization over nature and ignorant traditions, which, in practice, meant the imposition of colonial order on the Sudanese landscape and society" (Bernal, 1997, p. 451). Although the process of integration into modern world-system began during the Muhammad Ali Regime, the Sudan was an economically underdeveloped country at the beginning of the 20th century and was on the verge of becoming a periphery. The Gezira project, as such a massive scheme, could only be planned by the British at that time, as they were the former hegemonic power with substantial financial resources. Moreover, construction of the largest scheme in the Gezira Plain can also be explained in the context of British imperial ambitions of controlling the Nile as insurance against Egypt (Young, 2018, p. 35). Furthermore, Britain required raw cotton for its textile industry in Lancashire and "aimed to save it from dependence on American cotton", prompted experimentation in the region and the idea of

constructing the scheme (Tvedt, 2004, p. 21). Britain had the necessary financial means to invest in the area, including the construction of dams, railways, roads, and other expenses. However, establishment of such a project involved reshaping the nature by human planners who applied techniques of the modern civilization.

Modern capitalist world in the beginning of the 20th century did not hold a deep respect for nature; instead pursued the policy of mastery over nature. This new mode of human domination realized with relevant technology overcoming natural challenges and cultivating land for economic purposes. In contrast, the local people inhabiting the area held mystic beliefs about the nature, which were disregarded by the 'civilizing' human. Prior to dam's construction in the 1920s, the people of the region comprised of nomads, semi-nomads, and rain land agriculturalists (MacLoughlin, 1963, p. 180). These local people were expected to work regularly and in a disciplined manner to provide the needed labour force. Local resistance to the British control was substantial, particularly among groups that felt marginalized or excluded from the benefits of colonialism. Additionally, the British administration was often perceived as oppressive and exploitative, leading to widespread dissatisfaction among the population. "The Gezira Scheme represented an attempt to create a (colonial) Sudanese society: a homogenous society of hardworking and disciplined peasants" (Bernal, 1997, p. 453). In fact, this implies the process of proletarianization of labour. Marx's approach to the capitalist system which causes alienation of man, overuse and degeneration of land, that prevents bioregional production meant only meeting the needs of the region (Ekmekcioglu & Dere, 2023, p. 150). Thus, the scheme served as a symbol of the transition from the tributary mode of production to the capitalist mode of production, as indicated with the features mentioned above. The process of commercializing the Sudanese land for 'supra-regional' objectives will be discussed and supported by statistics further below.

The Table 2 illustrates the increase of irrigated cotton areas and production between the years of 1925 and 1952, along with the financial returns to tenant, the government, and the manager. It is evident that both irrigated areas and production increased approximately fourfold, reaching significant figures. In 1925-26, irrigated areas covered 83,072 acres; and by 1950-51, they had expanded to 226,618 acres. Over the same period, cotton production grew from 38,096,790 in pounds to 137,605,311 in pounds. Regarding the financial returns, tenants earned ££936,246 in 1925-26 era, which rose to ££17,500,267 in 1950-51. The government also received ££17,500,267 in 1950-51, compared to ££713,417 in 1925-26. Meanwhile, for the manager, earnings increased from ££622,008 to ££8,750,134 over the twenty-five-year-period. However, 1930/31 cotton production data shows dramatic fall which created economic disaster for the incorporated Sudan into capitalist world-economy in the first half of the 1930s following the Great Depression. Manchester's consumption of cotton was also at its

lowest in 1931 between 1924-1938 (Mollan, 2020, p. 149). In the long term, the Table 2 suggests a significant increase in cotton irrigated areas and production. Financial returns also increased for both tenants and the government by a substantial amount. However, it is worth noting that tenants required more labour force as the area under irrigation and production expanded, which may explain why the total earnings for tenants did not show a significant change over the indicated years.

Table 2

Areas, Cotton Yields, and Financial Returns of the Gezira Scheme in Selected Years, 1925-1952

(Areas in acres. Production in pounds. Financial returns in £E.)

SEASON	TOTAL AREA COM-MANDED ^a	IRRIGATED AREAS ^a		COTTON PRODUCTION		FINANCIAL RETURNS ^b		
		Cotton	Other crops	Total	Per acre	Tenants	Government	Manager
1925-26	311,400	83,072	42,834	38,096,790	459	936,246	713,347	622,008
1930-31	695,460	198,965	199,529	26,381,274	133	157,575	150,016	211,653
1935-36	695,460	192,817	117,342	68,112,723	353	831,143	790,104	556,506
1940-41	871,920	222,806	161,077	87,914,502	395	1,180,897	1,147,076	709,871
1946-47	871,920	222,895	217,090	82,053,425	368	2,715,870	2,696,510	1,465,512
1947-48	871,920	225,442	198,590	69,380,761	324	4,700,999	4,703,604	12,447,716
1948-49	871,920	225,358	201,309	87,164,594	406	5,527,932	5,527,932	2,763,967
1949-50	871,920	225,856	208,091	93,753,797	437	6,412,343	6,412,343	3,206,172
1950-51	882,300	226,618	195,774	137,605,311	648	17,500,267	17,500,267	8,750,134
1952	929,278							

Sources: E. Mackinnon: Blue Nile Province, in *Agriculture in the Sudan* [see text footnote 3], pp. 762-809, reference on p. 787; "The Gezira Scheme" [see text footnote 1], p. 3; J. S. R. Duncan: *The Sudan: A Record of Achievement* (Edinburgh and London, 1952), p. 224; Ferguson, *op. cit.* [see text footnote 9], p. 99; *Sudan Almanac 1952* [see text footnote 15], pp. 92 and 94; "Gezira Board's First Year" [see text footnote 41], p. 3.

^a Approximate. In some bases figures include Abd el Magid area, administered separately from the main Gezira.

^b One £E = \$2.87 (1952).

Source: Hance, 1954, p. 262.

The administration of the scheme was consisted of three main entities: the government, the syndicate (referred to as the manager in Table 2), and the tenants. According to revised agreement in 1929, the Anglo-Egyptian government received 40 per cent of the total share and was responsible for constructing canals and dams (Daly, 1987, p. 425). The syndicate, responsible for the general administration of the scheme, received 20 percent of the share. The Sudan Plantation Syndication Ltd. and Kassala Cotton Company managed the scheme until its nationalization in 1950. There were approximately 30,000 tenants (with families 140,000 persons) in Gezira who received 40 percent of the share (MacLoughlin, 1963, p. 182).⁴ Tenants owned the land, but the distribution of feddan (for example, 40 feddan per tenant) led to inequality among tenants, as those with more land received a larger share within unequal framework. "Large landowners were able to obtain a significantly larger share in the scheme than smaller landowners or those without land" (Niblock, 1987, p. 15). While there was already inequality in the Sudan under the sultan's rule, the establishment of the modern scheme in the region deepened this inequality.

This can be observed in the distribution of shares among the three partners. Furthermore, it can be argued that the distribution of land to tenants created additional inequality among landowners. The tenants employed nearly 450,000 workers on the cash crop lands, but these workers received a very low share in the scheme.

Sudan’s cotton export value and its proportion in total exports of the country can be inferred from the Table 3. The year 1922 in the table demonstrates the minimum value of cotton exports as £E405,233. The same year signifies the least proportional value for cotton export in total exports of the country (18 per cent). Due to the opening of the Gezira Scheme, the value of cotton exports increased dramatically to £E4,981,732 nearly tenfold in the year 1929 as the percentage of total exports tripled and represented by cotton from 18 percent (1922) to 76 per cent (1929). The numbers on the value of cotton exports in the year 1929 were even higher the value of all exports during the years 1920-1928. While the year 1929 represents highest value and percentage, the year 1931 shows sharp decrease in both currents as the Sudanese economy hit by global economic crisis. The Table 3 clearly demonstrates Sudan’s dependency on, vulnerability to cotton production, its export to world markets and the country’s irreversible incorporation into the modern world-economy as a peripheral colony. The incorporation also influenced the producers in the field, they might use hedging system like manufacturers and traders, buying future contracts to cover unsold portions of their crop, and to tackle with floating market (Gaitskell, 1959, p. 184). Furthermore, Liverpool Cotton Association followed protective policy starting from mid-1930s and created several contracts for the Egyptian and Sudan crop that made the market, especially marketing of Gezira cotton, manipulative to speculators (Gaitskell, 1959, p. 187).

Table 3

Sudan Cotton Exports, 1920-1938

Year	Value of all exports (£E)	Value of cotton exports (£E)	Percentage of total exports represented by cotton (%)
1920	4,712,652	1,693,006	36
1921	2,057,230	444,892	22
1922	2,298,770	405,233	18
1923	2,562,000	529,423	21
1924	3,562,000	1,617,660	45
1925	2,801,000	1,756,053	63
1926	4,876,000	3,091,359	63
1927	4,965,000	3,549,704	71
1928	5,635,000	3,987,964	71
1929	6,526,000	4,981,732	76
1930	4,953,000	3,252,076	66
1931	1,734,000	641,718	37
1932	3,798,000	2,341,314	62
1933	2,605,000	1,576,716	61
1934	3,849,000	2,173,557	56
1935	4,567,000	2,736,579	60
1936	5,581,000	3,665,630	66
1937	8,130,000	5,906,675	73
1938	5,490,000	3,659,614	67

Source: Mollan, 2008, p. 97.

Hance (1954, p. 262) pointed out that Gezira supplied about one-quarter of the revenues before the Second World War, but later it contributed to close to three quarters. This change in the numbers demonstrates the government's increasing dependency on Gezira. Thus, in the end, the government not only became more dependent but also profited from the scheme as Britain prepared to withdraw from Sudan, and world domination shifted entirely to the United States after the Second World War. With Britain's withdrawal process, her share in Sudan's total foreign trade weight dropped from its peak of 66.52% in 1951 to 32.95% in the year of independence in 1956 and to 26.09% in 1959 (Mollan, 2020, p. 206). At the aftermath of the nationalization of the Gezira Scheme and the post-independence period, state of Sudan faced difficulties in marketing its cotton due to loss of its primary market, which was London. "Most of the cotton [was] marketed in the United Kingdom; small quantities went to India and other countries, particularly in Western Europe" (Hance, 1954, p. 263). Moreover, foreign trade became heavily dependent on core countries. "About 75 percent of its exports went to Western Europe and North America and more than 50 percent of imports came from those areas" (Niblock, 1987, p. 47). The core-periphery economic relations between developed countries and Sudan were fully established when it became an 'independent' state de jure. Barnett (2019, p. 19) stresses two structural issues on post-independent Sudanese economy: On the first glance, the Gezira Scheme could be viewed as success after fifty years, but Sudan stayed an exporter of primary products and an importer of manufactured products even basic foods. The other issue was that dependence upon "cotton monoculture" placed Sudan in an unstable economic position. External buyers could fix price for Sudanese cotton; therefore, its price was not determined by internal costs of production. AbdelRahman (1998, p. 95) indicates having "monoculture economy" dependent on cotton production, Sudan experienced acute balance of payments crises that allowed room for dependency syndrome in the 1970s and 1980s. Furthermore, the state suffered from its centralized political system, which derived from the Turkiyya and the British legacy. In fact, the country became increasingly dependent on cotton production as the population grew, satisfying need for labour force. The scheme also became more valuable because it provided food for the growing population and expanded with the Managil extension constructed from 1956 to 1969. Gaafar Nimeiry's top-down mechanized capital-intensive agriculture policy, "breadbasket strategy", followed he held power in 1969, shifted Sudan into agricultural superpower of Africa and the Middle East for a limited period in the 1970s and the 1980s, however, famine reverted to Sudan while food was exported to outside (Verhoeven, 2015, p. 63, 70). When famine occurred in the 1980s, the Sudanese people paid a heavy price for their dependency on capitalist modernization implemented in the first half of the century and socialist modernization strategy in the second half of the century on the scheme pursued by the condominium government and the Nimeiry regime.

The United States, the new hegemon from 1945 to 67, had searched for different raw materials in the region, primarily oil, as a valuable resource, especially after losing access to Iranian oil. This quest for oil became significant after the OPEC crisis in the 1970s. Sudan's eleven-year-peace period from Addis Ababa Agreement signed in 1972, which provided limited autonomy to southern Sudan, ended with oil discovery in these regions. The commercial exploitation shifted to Sudan's oil resources since the 1990s, at the same time, meant for a vast transformation of the country's economy. It should be noted that oil became the country's dominant export commodity instead of formerly mentioned raw materials. The OPEC crisis experience, and the rise of the centrifugal powers and quest for becoming a regional power in the multipower world resulted both diversification of discovery for oil resources and competition on these sources. Once again, Sudan became the focus of foreign investment flows on the increasing petroleum sector. The country was satisfied from considerable duration of peace between northern and southern groups in the first decade of the 21st century. As a result, oil in 2008 became accounted for 96 per cent of Sudan's total export revenue (James, 2008, p. 145). However, the economic downturn in 2008 and sharp drop in oil prices again demonstrated Sudan's vulnerability in a time of global economic crisis. As the former cotton example demonstrated, due to volatile prices of oil in global markets, Sudan has had high risks because of vulnerability sourcing from dependence upon a single commodity which had been completely incorporated into the capitalist world-economy.

Conclusion

Sudan has become a peripheral country in the modern world-system, which is essentially a capitalist world-economy according to World-Systems Analysis (WSA). The WSA provided the theoretical background in the writing process of this article, and as a result, the article was not intended to create a 'new' historical narrative for Sudan. Instead, it tried to analyse the structure and fixed relations within the country. In this context, I explained the existence of an earlier intersocietal system in the Sudan, which was subsequently incorporated into the modern world-system. The Turco-Egyptian Government had different characteristics compared to earlier times and introduced new features to the country. The most significant change was the establishment of a centralized system that aimed at the internal and external integration of the country. When the British defeated the Mahdist rulers, entire structure of the country underwent a complete transformation in preparation for colonization. The political relations were shaped by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement, which solidified British domination over the Sudan. In terms of economic relations, the Gezira Scheme serves a prime example, and both the numerical aspects and the underlying logic behind it was analysed as rooted in colonial mentality and the capitalist mode of production.

The concept of hegemonic sequence is instrumental in understanding the long duration. Although Britain held hegemonic power, particularly in the 19th century, its military and economic dominance persisted until the conclusion of the Second World War. Consequently, it was one of the foremost colonial powers when it entered the Sudan. It is essential to recall that Britain was the first industrialized nation and rose to the status on the hegemonic power within the international system. This context helps explain Britain's objectives for Sudan and its economy's need for raw materials. She possessed considerable military strength, enabling it to enforce its policies without consent from other countries. As mentioned, Britain legitimized its domination over the Sudan through the Egyptian administration via the condominium agreement. Thus, the 'infrastructure' of exploitation was laid through British loans. Establishing the Gezira Scheme, spearheaded by British efforts, facilitated cotton production, and subsequently led to the country's integration into global markets. The statistical data on irrigated areas, cotton production, and financial returns to tenants, government and managers provided evidence of land commercialization and transformation of labour into proletariat. Dependence upon cotton monoculture created instability for its inhabitants and placed Sudan in an unstable position in the world of trading countries and treated as an unequal partner.

For future studies, Sudan's extensive oil reserves present an intriguing avenue for exploration, particularly, in the realm of oil politics under post-colonial conditions. The ascent of the US hegemony, as delineated in Arrighi's research, began the Second World War aftermath. The US in the 1970s sought to fill the power vacuum stemming from British decline in the region. During this era of US hegemony, oil assumed a pivotal role, akin to the significance of cotton as a raw material for the British industry and their hegemonic endeavours. Consequently, it would be beneficial to investigate oil politics within Sudan after the US hegemony through the lenses of the multipolar world and its subsequent phases. The 2011 referendum, Sudan's separation process into two, Asia-Pacific and Gulf Region's increasing influence, and consortium agreements also offers a rich area of analysis within the context of core-periphery relations, including dimension of hegemony in the period of new colonialist conditions. The quest for oil in the Sudan coincided with US sanctions against Sudan in the multi-polar world in which China, India, Malaysia, and the Gulf States became influential in Sudanese politics and competitive in oil extraction in the new century.

Notes

1. In this study, Warburg clarifies conflicting Sudanese and Egyptian narratives of historians on the pre-independent Sudan.
2. Türkiye usage here by El Zain mainly refers to the Turco-Egyptian governance by Muhammad Ali Pasha and other hereditary rulers from his blood ties. I might say that it refers to foreign rule for the locals.

3. Another resource indicates the overall levels of debt reaching to £13 million (Mollan, 2020, p. 176).
4. Unofficial numbers estimate closer to 50,000 (MacLoughlin, 1963, 182).

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