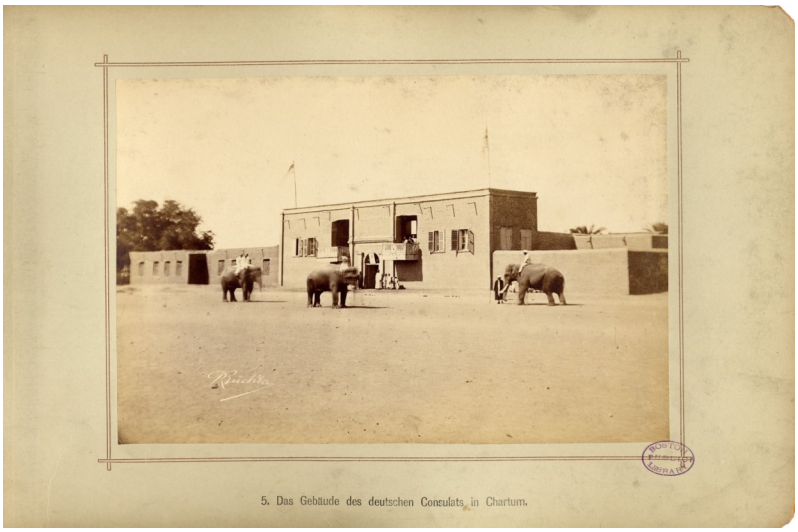
SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION BULLETIN, VOL. 28, NO. 2, Fall, 2010

SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

BULLETIN

نشرة جمعية الدراسات السودانية



Elephants in front of the German Consulate in Khartoum, c 1881,
Photo by Richard Buchta (courtesy Boston Public Library)
See related article on page 2

In this issue: More on the mysterious Kadi, T. Schmidinger; Tribute to Fr. G. Vantini, E. Fantusati; The Humphreys & Sword of Sultan Ibrahim Garrad, T. Elhadd; Honoring Manute Bol; Peacemaking in Blue Nile and Darfur, O.M. Osman; The Perception of Color in Sudanese Languages and Cultures, B.M. Miuhammad; Comment by M. Yaeger; Petroleum and Civil War in Sudan, 1955-2010, G. Warburg; SSA News and Notes: New Executive Director Sought; 2010 Annual conference program; Minutes of Business Meeting; Future meetings; REVIEWS: Sudan's Civil wars, S. Poggo, by Daiteje Green; Poison in Small Measure, A.Crighton-Harris, by M. Sharif & E. Ille FILM: Mother Unknown (Mygoma Orphanage), by W. Wallace and book Daughter of Dust on child raised in Mygoma, W. Wallace, by C. Fluehr-Lobban; meet the officers and Board of the SSA.

our purpose

The Sudan Studies Association (SSA) is an independent professional society founded in the United States in 1981. Membership is open to scholars, teachers, students, and others with interest in the Sudan. The Association exists primarily to promote Sudanese studies and scholarship. It maintains a cooperative relationship with the Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum and works collaboratively with the Sudan Studies Society of the UK. The SSA works to foster closer ties among scholars in the Sudan, North America, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and other places. Normal activities of the SSA include the publication of this Newsletter, organizing meetings for the exchange of ideas, and recommending research candidates for affiliation with appropriate institutions of higher education in the Sudan. The Association also sponsors panels and programs during the meetings of other academic organizations. It occasionally publishes the proceedings of its annual meetings in book form.

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Please note, after years of no change, our membership charges have increased according to the recommendation of the SSA Board and their acceptance by the members present at the 28th annual meeting at Michigan State University, May 23, 2009.

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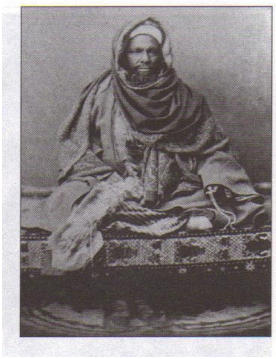
NEWS AND NOTES
More on the Mysterious 'Kadi of Khartoum'

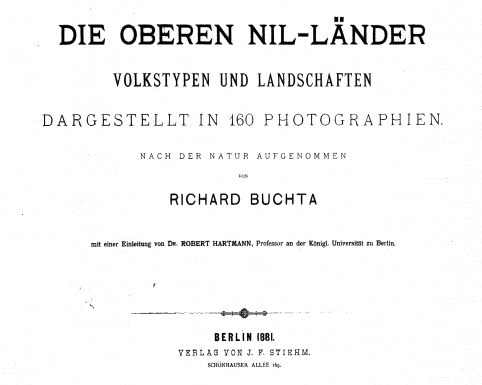


Richard Buchta and the Kadi of Khartoum

By Thomas Schmidinger *(Lecturer at the department for Political Science at the University of Vienna (Austria).*

(The pictures of the Austrian traveler Richard Buchta from Sudan, his lost publication and the debate in the SSA-Bulletin)

According to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie*, a bibliographic compendium that was published between 1875 and 1912, Richard Buchta was born on the 19th January 1845 in Rad³ów, a town in Galicia (Galizien), at that time part of the Habsburg Empire. Today Rad³ów is a small town in the south of Poland. Despite the fact that Galicia was one of the strongly Jewish inhabited regions of the Habsburg monarchy, there is no evidence that Buchta was Jewish. Since the thirteenth century Rad³ów was the residence of the bishop and Jews were prohibited from settling there. It was not until the nineteenth century that the first Jews arrived. Compared to other towns of Galicia the Jewish community in Rad³ów stayed small until its extermination by the Germans


DIE OBEREN NIL-LÄNDER

VOLKSTYPEN UND LANDSCHAFTEN

DARGESTELLT IN 160 PHOTOGRAPHIEN.

NACH DER NATUR AUFGENOMMEN

VON

RICHARD BUCHTA

mit einer Einleitung von Dr. ROBERT HARTMANN, Professor an der Königl. Universität zu Berlin.

BERLIN 1881.

VERLAG VON J. F. STIEHM.

SCHÖNHAUSER ALLEE 169.

after 1939. Nonetheless, it is still interesting that Buchta seems to be predominately German speaking and not Polish. His name is definitely German and he also wrote in German and not in Polish, something that was more in common for the Jewish inhabitants of Galicia at that time, then for the Polish. His family background is uncertain and would need more research.

According to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie*, he traveled to Egypt in the early 1870s and continued to the Egyptian Sudan until Equatoria. In 1877 he stayed there with Emin Pasha in Ladó. Emin Pasha, born as Isaak Eduard Schnitzer in a Jewish family in the Silesian town of Opole (German: Oppeln), was the governor of Equatoria and it seems that he supported Buchta in his travels around the region. Buchta traveled around the whole southern Sudan until the present Ugandan border and brought some of the earliest photographs from Sudan with him. When he returned to Europe he published a book with 160 photographs from Sudan: *Die Oberen Nil -Länder. Volkstypen und Landschaften. Dargestellt in 160 Photographien.* The book was published with an introduction by Robert Hartmann, a professor at the University of Berlin and friend of Heinrich

Barth. The picture "Der Kadi von Chartum" was published in this book as picture No. 10 and most probably the picture at the Boston Public Library comes from that book. It definitely is the same picture.

On the same page there is a picture of "Mussa-Bey" described as "Großscheich der Hadendawa", which means the supreme Sheikh of the Hadendawa. The description of the "Kadi of Khartoum" does not mention a name. But I would disagree with Bushra Babiker Altayeb (*SSA Bulletin* Vol. 27/Nr. 3-4 2009). "Der Kadi von Chartoum" definitely means "The Kadi of Khartoum" and not "The Kadi from Khartoum". "The Kadi from Khartoum" would be "der Kadi aus Khartoum" and if Buchta wanted to say that this is "a Kadi from Khartoum" he would have written "Ein Kadi von…" or "Ein Kadi aus Chartum" and not "Der Kadi von Chartum". That does not prove that the person in the picture really is Muhammad Khojali Hitayk, the last Qadi al-Umum al-Sudan of the Turkiyya-Period, but it shows that Buchta at least thought that this is *the* Kadi of Khartoum.

In Hartmann's introduction some of Buchta's pictures are described, but not the "Kadi von Chartoum". So the mystery is not solved in the book. Nevertheless the book is an impressive source not only for the 19th century Sudan, but also for the view of an Austrian traveler at that time on Sudan and the Sudanese. Hartmann's introduction is full of physical descriptions of what he calls "Nigritier" and other "races" in the sub-Saharan Africa. He seems to be fascinated by the bodies of the Sudanese, but we do not get any information about culture, language or society of the various tribes.

Also, the photographs show little of the cultural environment of the portrayed tribes. Many pictures are classic anthropological portraits of that time who were taken frontal and side view. These pictures are not described by a name, but by an ethnic group, like picture #88, the "Niam-Niam-Neger". Only few pictures show landscapes or buildings, like the Catholic Mission for Central Africa in Khartoum.

When Pope Gregory XVI established the Apostolic Vicariate of Central Africa in 1846, the Austrian-Hungarian Emperor Francis Joseph I took over the patronage of the mission and many of the missionaries came from Austria as well. So Buchta's connection with the mission is self-evident. Maybe his picture is the only picture of the mission before its destruction during the Mahdiya-period.

Other pictures show Sudanese prostitutes in a way that could inspire the male Orientalist fantasy. None of the pictures is contextualized. So there still would be a lot of mysteries to discover in his book.

In 1884 and 1888 Buchta published two further books with texts about his travels and the history of Sudan, but he does not describe the pictures from his earlier volume there. According to the the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie,* Buchta worked as an artist for the Bavarian King Ludwig II after his return to Europe. With the money he earned from his art he returned once more to Egypt in 1885, where he visited Fayum. After the death of King Ludwig in 1886 Buchta he moved to Vienna, where he died on the 28th of July 1894.

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Buchta, Richard: *Der Sudan und der Mahdi: das Land, die Bewohner und der Aufstand.* Stuttgart, 1884
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TRIBUTE TO FATHER GIOVANNI VANTINI

GIOVANNI VANTINI: A MAN, A SCHOLAR, A 'NUBIOLOGIST'

A tribute and memorial
by Eugenio Fantusati
University of Rome, Sapienza

Giovanni Vantini was born in Villafranca, a little village near Verona, on 1st January 1923. On 31 May 1947, aged 24, became priest in Comboni's order. After having studied Arabic in Lebanon, Father Giovanni reached Khartoum, his destination, on 9 July 1948: there he would spend 58 years in ascetic style of life.

An untiring worker, Father Vantini followed his missionary activity in Sudan and at the same time devoted himself to studying and spending a great part of his life among books and archaeological campaigns. His love for Nubia extends from 1960, when the construction of the great dam in Aswan required an international action to preserve the local ancient monuments destined to be submerged by the Nile.
Starting from that year, welcomed by a Polish mission, he began field activity in Faras destined to be concluded in 1964. Two years later he worked again in Lower Nubia with another mission, this time Italian, in various Christian sites.

During his long residence in Sudan Father Vantini was able to unite through archaeological practice the collection of the main sources concerning Nubia thanks to his exhaustive research in the main libraries of Europe, Africa and Middle East. In such way he reached a comprehensive and deep knowledge of the whole Nubian history becoming one of the most experienced and respected 'Nubiologist' in the world.

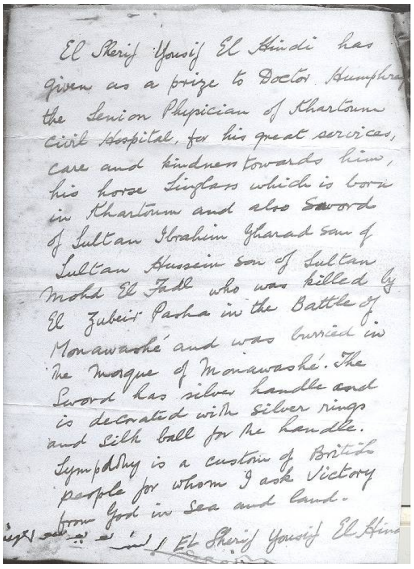
Beginning in 1970 he completed important editorial activity done in various languages. In 1972 he published *The excavations at Faras. A Contibution to the History of Christian Nubia*, then, in 1975, the monumental volume *Oriental Sources concerning Nubia* followed, in 1978, 1981 and 1985 by: *Tà rikh al-masihiyya fi-l maàlik al-nubiyya al-qadima wa-l-Sudan al-hadith,* and his classic work translated into English from the Italian *Christianity in the Sudan*,*"Il Cristianesimo nella Nubia Antica"*.

In 1973-1977 he taught "History of the Religions" in Asmara University. At the end of his ministry, in 2007, Abuna Hanna – in this way he was called by the Sudanese people – painfully left Khartoum owing to the venerable age and to serious health problems. Nevertheless during the last three years of life he continued in Italy the researches publishing his final book *Redescovering Christian Nubia which he* edited in 2009. Father Vantini passed away in Verona, where he retired, on 3 May 2010.

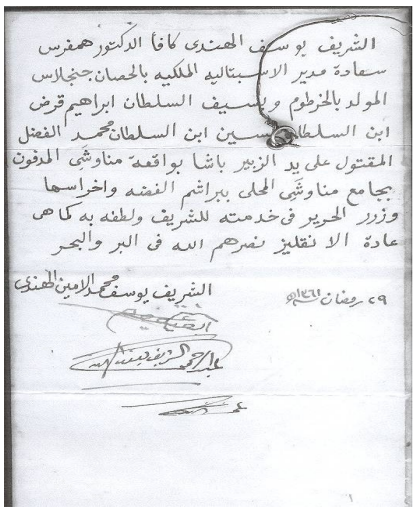
I met him for the first time in Khartoum. He was dressed with a long white habit and the inseparable colonial helmet. We felt immediately reciprocal sympathy destined, during the years, to become mutual respect and affection. Despite the physical distance we always maintained telephone contact and correspondence until his death, I met him for the last time in 2006 in Warsaw, on occasion of the XI International Conference for Nubian Studies. When I saw him I asked: "Giovanni, which kind of paper are you going to deliver this time?" He simply answered: "Eugenio, I'm here not to speak. I'm here to learn!".

With his departure we have lost a great man and a glorious page of Nubian history is closed for ever. His death distressed us all. May he rest in peace.

Editor's note: *A spontaneous memorial in honor of Father Vantini was held at the 2010 Annual SSA conference with remembrances and tributes made by Scopas Poggo, Jay Spaulding, Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban and Richard Lobban*


El Sherif Yousif El Hindi has given as a prize to Doctor Humphrey the Senior Physician of Khartoum Civil Hospital, for his great services, care and kindness towards him, his horse Sinjara which is born in Khartoum and also Sword of Sultan Ibrahim Gharad son of Sultan Hussein son of Sultan Mohd El Fadl who was killed by El Zubeir Pasha in the Battle of Monawashé and was buried in the Mosque of Monawashé. The Sword has silver handle and is decorated with silver rings and silk ball for the handle. Sympathy is a custom of British people for whom I ask Victory from God in Sea and Land.

El Sherif Yousif El Hindi


الشريف يوسف الهندى كافأ الدكتور همفرس
سعادة مدير الاسبتاليه الملكيه بالخمسان جنجارس
المولد بالخرطوم وبسيف السلطان ابراهيم قرض
ابن السلطان حسين ابن السلطان محمد الفضل
المقتول على يد الزبير باشا بواقعة مناوشى المدفون
بجامع مناوشى المحلى ببراشم الفضه واخراسها
وزرر الحرير فى خدمته للشريف ولطفه به كما هى
عادة الا نقليز نصرهم الله فى البر والبحر

الشريف يوسف محمد الامين الهندى

The Humphreys & the Sword of Sultan Ibrahim Garrad

by Dr. Tarik A Elhadd MD
Professor of Medicine & Endocrinology
Khartoum, Sudan

(*This story shows how the collaboration and friendship of doctors from the Sudan and Britain brought a precious jeweled sword back to its home in Khartoum.)*

The 1930's and the 1940's were the start of a glorious era of medicine in Sudan. Graduates of Kitchener School of Medicine (KSM) started to make their mark on their homeland's medical services. The first pioneers went on to be leaders of the developing medical services and education. The first batch that graduated in 1928 included Dr. Ali Badri who became the first Minister of Health in 1947. In 1954 Ali Badri was succeeded by Mohamed Amin Elsayed, his fellow graduate from KSM in 1928, as the second Minister of Health prior to Independence in 1956. Another early graduate of KSM was Dr. Ahmed Ali Zaki who took over as first Sudanese Director of the Sudan Medical Services, from the last British Director, Dr. H.H. Richards in 1954. Dr. Halim, the first Sudanese Physician and the first Sudanese Director of Omdurman Civil Hospital, took over from Dr. Buchanan to be this life in exile. Thereafter, the famous Ruof Halim, Ali Badri and their colleagues were mentored by several very prominent British physicians, including Dr. Roy Mervyn Humphreys. Halim *et al* kept life-long links with their mentors. When Paul Squire* died, a touching tribute was written in the BMJ in 1964 jointly by Halim & Ali Badri (1)*.

Here we shall touch on an interesting encounter which linked three historical eras in the Sudan. The pre-colonial era of the Turco-Egyptian Sudan, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and our present time. The encounter is centered around Dr. Roy Mervyn Humphreys. Dr. Humphreys was born in 1893 in Llianfair-Caeranion, near Brecon in Mid-Wales. He was trained at Oxford and St. Thomas Hospital and qualified BM, BCh in 1917. During the Great War he served in Gallipoli with the Royal Welch Fusiliers and with the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC). From 1918 he worked in Persia, Peshawar and Afghanistan with the RAMC, and witnessed the influenza pandemic in 1919. He joined Sudan Medical Department in March 1920. Humphries served in the Northern Province at Atbara, Blue Nile Province at Wadi Medani before moving to Khartoum. He became lecturer of Medicine at the Kitchener School of Medicine, where he mentored several Sudanese students, who later became friends and colleagues. Dr. Humphreys became the Senior Physician of Khartoum Civil Hospital from 1930 until he retired form Sudan in 1944. His son, Dr. Lister Mervyn Humphreys remembers the farewell party during which Halim delivered a humourous speech. Halim visited Roy Humphreys each time he came to Britain. After Roy Humphreys died in 1991, Halim continued to visit his son Mervyn till 2003. Mervyn recalled that during that summer he had to make special arrangement for Dr. Halim, who

was the first senior Sudanese Physician in 1952. and it reads as follows:

ElSheriff Yousif Elhindi gives as a prize to Dr. Humphreys, the Senior Physician of Khartoum Civil Hospital, for his great services, care and kindness towards him, his horse Ginglass, which is born in Khartoum and also the Sword of Sultan Ibrahim Garrad, son of Sultan Hussein son of Mohamed Alfadul°, who was killed by Zubeir Pasha Rahama in the battle of Munwashi and was buried in the Mosque of Munwashi. The sword has a silver handle and is decorated with silver rings and silk ball for the handle. Sympathy is the custom of the British people for whom I ask victory from God in Sea & Land.*

Ibrahim Garad was the Sultan of Darfur in the 1870s when the Turco-Egyptian Government decided to take energetic steps to embrace Darfur into its Empire. Darfur had defied all attempts to be conquered since the dawn of the conquest by Ismail Pasha and his brother-in-law, *Mohamed Bey Dafter-Dar* in 1821 when the Turco-Egyptian Sudan came into existence. The task fell to the lot of Zubier Pasha Rahma*, by then he was Governor of Bahr el-Ghazal on behalf of the Egyptian Khediev. Zubeir was powerful and astute, and had had well organized and strong 'Bashi-bazouks'(*Turkish name for soldiers*), his own 'Bazunger'. Their military expedition eventually brought an end (*temporarily)* to the Fur dynasty that reigned over Darfur since the 15th Century AD. The Fur Sultanate succeeded the earlier Kingdom of the Dago who reigned over Darfur from 4th to the 7th Century AD (2). They were then succeeded by the Tungur Kingdom who established their rule in Darfur and the adjacent part of the 'Sudan Belt' of West Africa from the 8th century AD and beyond. The forefather of the Fur dynasty is thought to be *Ahmed Almagoor*, who according to some legend tales is an Arab from the Moroccan hinterlands. Almagoor married a Tungur Princess in the 15th Century AD, and the actual. 'Fur Dynasty' is thought to be founded by his son/descendant; *Suliman Solong* (1630-1670 AD), followed by a long line of Fur Sultans ending up to the last one in 1916 (3, 4, 5).

Zubeir took the capital Alfashir in 1874, after he won the decisive Battle of Munwashi (Manwashi) at the foothills of *Jabal Marra*. Zubeir reigned supreme, Sultan Ibrahim Garrad was killed, and Zubeir took his sword as booty. However, Zubeir was summoned by the Egyptian Khedive shortly after those events and spent the rest of dolph Slatin Pasha was appointed as Governor of Darfur. After several attempts to re-establish their kingdom, the Fur eventually gave way to the rule of the 'Turks' till the dawn of the Mahdiyya when Slatin Pasha was captured and remained 'captive' till his famous escape which made the pre-text of the Re-conquest of Sudan. Even during the Mahdiyya era the Fur did not gave up their attempts to re-establish their dynasty over Darfur, however; eventually Ali Dinar their last Sultan remained the captive and prisoner of *Khalifa Abdullahi* till 1898. Following the re-conquest in 1898, *Ali Dinar*, the *grandson* of *Ibrahim Garrad*, fled Omdurman, and he re-established the throne of his forefathers in Darfur until he was killed by Hubert Huddlestone 'by sheer luck' in the Battle of '*Biringia'* in September 1916. If Ali Dinar had not declared sympathy & allegiance to Turkey and Germany during the Great War, the course of history may well have changed. How the sword of *Sultan Ibrahim Garad* came to the possession of Alsherif Mohamed Elameen Elhindi is not clear.

Dr. Humphreys' son Mervyn, was very excited about the whole matter, and realizing the historical significance of the gift his father received from his notable Sudanese friend, he felt that he would like to donate it back to Sudan National Museum. He recalled that his father was a very good friend of Alsherrif ElHindi, and the other two religious and political leaders of Sudan, Sayed Abdelrahman Almahdi & Sayed Ali AlMirghani. Mervyn recalled that one day during 'Eid Alfitr' in 1943 when he was 8 years old, he accompanied his father for dinner with Sayed Abdelrahman Almahdi. He remembered that '….. *it was a terrific party, there were lots of lights, a whirling Dervish and the chief 'Sephragi' (chief chef, who comes from Wadi Halfa) in white, going in sway from side to side with the whirling dervish'*. Mervyn, an irony, was the play-mate of Sayed Mohamed Osma ElMirghani in the late 1930 and early 1940s, and when he went to Oxford in the late 1950s, his College-mate was Sayed Alsadig Elmahdi.

After retiring from Sudan Dr. Roy Humphreys submitted his MD Thesis to St Thomas' Medical School. While still in Sudan he was given six months leave to write up his thesis on Bilharzia in the Sudan. He joined the Royal Infirmary, Gloucester, as Medical Superintendent until retirement in 1960. Humphreys was among the first Geriatricians in Britain, and certainly the first in Gloucestershire. In the New Year's Honours' list in January 1945, he was awarded OBE 'Order of British Empire', for his excellent services in

Mageidi from the King of Egypt, for distinguished services in Sudan (6)

A friend paid tribute to Roy Humphreys in the British Medical Journal one year before he died on 26th of June 1991 aged 98 (7).

Roy Humphreys provided a fascinating link with the past. Here was a man who had played rugby for the Barbarians before the First World War, survived Gallipoli in the Royal Welch Fusiliers, and been taught by Osler. The war had interrupted a promising athletic career, he had run the quarter mile and played rugby for Oxford University and had been selected for a Welsh trial. He later played Rugby for St Thomas.

His son, Lister Mervyn Humphreys, was born 1935, brought up in Sudan, and followed his father to Oxford University & St. Thomas' Hospital. He remembered the 'good old days' in Khartoum, when life was very lively where Humphreys Jr. was the play-mate of Sayed Mohamed Osman ElMirgani. Mervyn went back to Sudan in 1974 while working with the British Ministry of Defense. In the south near Wau the British and Sudanese Armies were doing a joint exercise followed by the British re-building one of the bridges. He flew south with the private pilot of President Numeri, and he could recall that it was 'Eid Elfitr' when he went there. Mervyn has now retired from medicine as general practitioner in Farendon. The third generation of the Humphreys includes his daughter, Miranda (b 1964) and Jonathan (b 1967). Mervyn could still fluently use several Arabic words in *'Sudanese accent'* and he commented those were from the memory of a very happy childhood years in the Sudan.

I am pleased to say that the sword of *Ibrahim Garrad*, the *Darfur Sultan*, will shortly be going to Sudan to be handed to the National Museum in a special ceremony.

Figures 1 & 2 are courtesy of Dr. Lister Mervyn Humphreys, 87 London Road, Farendon, Oxfordshire SW12. & Mrs. Miranda Waller, 76 London.

References:

(*) Herbert Chavasse Squires (Paul) was among the longest serving British doctors in Sudan 1906-1930. He then became consultant to the Sudan Office in London till 1954. In 1957 he published the first written document of the medical service in Sudan, *Sudan Medical Service, an experiment into social medicine*. He died in 1964.

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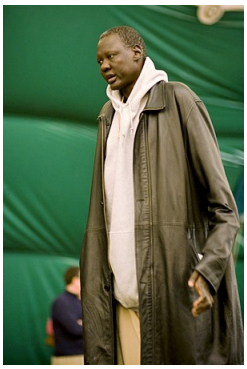

Remembering Manute Bol, founder of humanitarian aid and reconciliation group "Sudan Sunrise" and NBA player

HONORING THE MEMORY OF MANUTE BOL, HUMANITARIAN GIANT

The SSA remembers and pays tribute to the late Manute Bol, proud son of the Southern Sudan who in his later life devoted his energy and personal wealth to humanitarian aid and reconciliation through the NGO that he founded, "Sudan Sunrise."

Born in 1963, his grandfather gave him the name 'Manute' which means "special blessing." He came to the US in the early 1980s where his considerable height at 7.7 feet attracted the attention of basketball franchise to develop his talent. Playing first for the Rhode Island Gulls, he quickly advanced to the National Basketball League franchises of Washington, Philadelphia, Miami, and Seattle from 1985 to 1995. He was affectionately known as the "Dinka Dunker."

He was injured in a serious automobile crash and in his later years he suffered from severe kidney disease and a painful skin condition, "Stevens-Johnson Syndrome" that were ultimately the cause of his death, at age 47 in hospital in Charlottesville, Virginia. He is survived by his wife Ajok and 10 children.

FEATURED ARTICLE S

Efficiency of Community-Based Peacemaking: Cases from the Blue Nile and the Greater Darfur of Sudan

Dr. Osman Mohamed Osman Ali

Associate Professor of Social Anthropology, University of Khartoum

1. Introduction:

Peacemaking usually is a part of every society's culture, and in each society ordinarily some methods are favored over others in accordance with the current situation. This paper focuses on how traditional community-centered approaches to peacemaking become inefficient and how more efficient replacements are then tailored to the particular situation. Implicitly, the paper argues that when peaceful coexistence within or between communities breaks down there are better and worse ways of peacemaking and that there are several political and social factors, which could influence the efficiency of such ways.

In this paper we consider designs of community-based peacemaking as they have developed in the Blue Nile and the Greater Darfur. In these two regions there are a number of community institutions that often play key roles in bringing people together after a conflict and operate with a certain social nature.

2. Examples from the Blue Nile and the Greater Darfur: ***(1) The Blue Nile:***

The mechanisms of peacemaking and the related customs and traditions look alike in all Blue Nile areas. The elders, the native administrators, and the administration of justice are responsible for peacemaking inside or among the different tribal groups in these areas (the Ingessana, the Brun, the Berta, the Hamaj, the Watawit, the Dawala and other tribes).

If a person commits an offence other than one causing death (e.g., ravishment, adultery, stealing others' properties or wives, and assault), some male and female elders shall be summoned for a meeting to discuss and decide on this offence. The parties to conflict shall also attend this meeting. Some of these elders give details about the morals and the acts of conduct of this person since his or her youth. If the elders conclude that the person did not perpetrate the offence on purpose and that it was the first in his life, he will be forgiven or fined in the interest of the person(s) against whom his illegal act was done. Immediately after such decision, a bull is slaughtered as an offering to God. The blood of the bull has to flow into a hole dug in the ground. The conflicting parties hold each others' hands inside the blood, make peace with each other and ask each others' pardon by saying: "We forgive you for the Sake of God and His Prophet Mohammad; may God break promise with those who are dishonest!" Then the blood is buried in the hole in the symbolism that they bury a problem so not to rise out of the ground and appear again. The meeting preambles and decisions and the peace agreement are set down as documents that all parties to the conflict should sign. After doing this, these parties should enjoy their normal life, interact like relatives, and get rid of the feelings of injustice and hatred.

Worth mentioning, some ethnic groups (like those in the areas of El-Koamah and El-Ganzah) make judgments in the case of slaying, for example that a young virgin from the killer's family should be handed over to the relatives of the slain person in order to be taken as a wife by one of them. The relatives of the dead person may take, instead of a young virgin, a male relative of the killer to live in their homeland for a specified period of time. Such judgments are announced with the aim of making the conflicting parties feel assured that the feelings of injustice and hatred no longer exist and hence strengthening the friendly relations between them.

If the offending person is found to be an habitual offender and ill-tempered, he will be regarded as irredeemable criminal and consequently the *Sheikh* (or his representative) and his guards shall be sent to come and arrest him. Such arrest will also be requested if the elders do not manage to resolve the concerned problem in their meetings – may be because it is a complex or capital offence (like involving killing or great injury). The *Sheikh* takes that person to the *ᶜUmdah* of the tribal group. The *ᶜUmdah* usually deals with the conflict cases by either popular or legal methods of reconciliation. The popular method, which are the most

frequent means of conflict resolution in the Blue Nile areas, and which people always prefer, means that the *`Umdah* authorizes the *Sheikh* to resolve the particular case via the local customary laws. Here, the *Sheikh* returns to his local community and calls the conflicting parties to a meeting, which is also attended by an *Ajawiid* council that is usually appointed by the *ᶜUmdah* in such cases. The mission of the *Ajawiid* council is to trace out the conflict conjunctures, write down the proceedings of the meeting, and then provide the *ᶜUmdah* with a proposal on how to resolve the conflict. This is to say; the *ᶜUmdah* asks for aid from *Ajawiid* councils in conflict situations. The membership of such councils is temporary since it changes with the places and events and comes to an end with the resolution of the specific conflict. This means that every conflict requires a suitable membership of *Ajawiid* council. The members of an *Ajawiid* council should be chosen from among those who are influential, with respectable social status, aware of the local culture, and neutral in their relations with the conflicting parties.

If the *`Umdah* succeeds in resolving the problem by the popular method, a bull is slaughtered as an offering to God and a peace agreement is concluded in the same manner described previously. But if it is proved that the problem is too difficult to be resolved by the popular method, the case is returned to the *ᶜUmdah* to handle it legally at his court. Worth mentioning, the tribal *ᶜUmad* in the Blue Nile areas have small "Rural Courts" and legal authorities to pronounce sentences against perpetrators in the form of fines or compensations, imprisonment, flogging, and banishment from the whole land in the case of undesired persons. The fines or compensations differ according to the nature and the type of the concerned crime. If the crime is running away with the wife of another man, the offender is asked to give back the same amount of livestock or money that the husband gave to that woman as bride's marriage portion. It is usual that the husband leaves his wife to the offender forever. If the crime is slaying, the killer and his relatives are requested to pay blood money (*diya* singular of *diyyaat*) to the slain person's family. However, in many cases the dead person's families refuse the *diya* because of a common belief in most of the Blue Nile areas. According to this belief, the acceptance and the receipt of *diya* causes malignant skin diseases (such as leprosy) among the killed person's relatives. This leads people in many conflict cases to have recourse to either forgiveness or seeking other types of punishment.

If the *ᶜUmdah* does not manage to resolve the case, may be for the reason that it is above his legal authority, he will turn it over to the *Nazir*/ *Makk* of the tribal group. The *Nazir*/ *Makk* will turn the case over to the police if he finds it too difficult to resolve. As such, the conflict is taken away from the hands of the native administrators to be treated in the administration of justice by the criminal laws of Sudan. The *Nazir*/ *Makk* has a court known as "the Intermediate Court."

We gather from the above that there are three types of courts that deal with conflict cases in the Blue Nile areas. The first type depicts the Rural Courts that the *ᶜUmdah* heads. It has members who are appointed in agreement with its foundation statute – from among those *Sheikhs* and notables, who are aware of, or acquainted with the local tribal customary laws. If the conflict is not resolved at the Rural Court, it will be turned over to the Intermediate Court, which is superior as it concerns the authorities that are vested for each court type. The *Nazir*/ *Makk* heads the Intermediate Court, which is equal to the Supreme Court, but within the frame of efforts that the native administration spends in peacemaking in the Blue Nile areas. So, the Rural and Intermediate Courts are some apparatuses of the local native administration. The third type of courts portrays the Court of First Instance that a judge from the administration of justice heads. The judgments that the Intermediate Court announces, but the parties to conflict attack or reject and the conflict cases that the Intermediate Courts could not decide on are evoked in this third type of court. This court decides on all cases of conflict by means of the criminal laws of Sudan. Worth mentioning, the courts of the native administration, which are registered in the Blue Nile State amount to 25 Rural Courts and 5 Intermediate Courts. Besides, there are 5 *Nazirs*/ *Makks*, 39 *ᶜUmad*, 600 *Sheikhs*, and about 1200 Representatives of *Sheikhs*. This is to say; every *Nazir*/ *Makk* has an Intermediate Court, but not all *ᶜUmad* have Rural Courts. There are 14 *ᶜUmad* who have no Rural Courts.

Generally speaking, people in the Blue Nile areas prefer to be judged by the local tribal customary laws in their conflicts. These are the laws that often used at the meetings of elders and *Sheikhs* and in the Rural and Intermediate Courts that the native administrators head.

An example could be presented here to show how some mechanisms of peacemaking work in the Blue Nile areas. This example is related to a conflict case that took place in 2003 in "Al-`Azazah" village of Arruseiris *Mahalliyya* (Locality). This village is divided into two blocks, eastern and western. Each block is occupied by one subgroup from Kenana tribe. A quarrel between young men from the two Kenana groups broke at the market place in the village. Two men from the eastern block were killed in the quarrel. The vil-

lage *Sheikh* communicated the news to the police commander in the area and asked him to send, as first measures, a force that could arrest the perpetrators and keep peace in and outside the village by preventing the occurrence of any more clashes. The Makk of the whole Kenana tribe, who was in Arruseiris town at that time, was notified, and he promptly came to "Al-ᶜAzazah" in the company of a number of `*Umad* to offer their condolences to the killed persons' families. The Makk and the `*Umad* authorized the village *Sheikh* to resolve the conflict with their local tribal customary laws, and returned back to their own residential areas. The *Sheikh* called the parties to conflict and some influential elders from the two Kenana groups to a meeting. The Makk of the tribe and a number of `*Umad* also attended the meeting in response to an invitation from the village *Sheikh*. After three successive meetings these native administrators and elders arrived at some decisions. The first of these decisions was to put one of the perpetrators, who had been the cause of the quarrel, under obligation to leave, together with his family, Arruseiris *Mahalliyya* for "Agadi" village in Addamazin *Mahalliyya* on the other bank of the Blue Nile, and not to come once again to "Al-ᶜAzazah." Later on, the native administration was able, through its attempts with the State Ministry of Agriculture, to set apart some cultivable land in "Agadi" area for this family in compensation of its farm in "Al-ᶜAzazah." Monetary compensation was imposed on other two perpetrators in the interest of injured persons. Then, a bull was slaughtered as an offering to God and a peace agreement between the two parties to conflict was concluded. The trend of life in "Al-ᶜAzazah" village was in normal order once again.

In addition to the above mechanisms, there is a Peace Advisory Council, which is a government body, established in April 2002, in the Blue Nile State. Its main objective was to create a mechanism for peacemaking and to introduce peace culture in the Blue Nile areas. It was mainly established for materializing direct and indirect contacts with the rebels from these areas, mainly through Native Administration, which has proved to be an active tool of peacemaking.

(2) The Greater Darfur:

In the cases of major or large-scale tribal conflict the commonly used peacemaking mechanism everywhere in Darfur takes the form of a reconciliation conference, which is – in the usual course of things – held at the capital of the *Mahalliyya* in which the particular conflict took room and most members of the conflicting parties make their dwelling. A reconciliation conference comes after a ceasefire agreement that the parties to conflict sign under the supervision of the local authorities. It ordinarily continues to one or two weeks according to agreed-upon agenda for its sessions.

A reconciliation conference is customarily attended by about 300-400 persons, a number that increases or decreases in accordance with the magnitude of the conflict. Among these attendants is a higher preparatory committee, which includes representatives of the federal and local governments and the local regular police and security bodies. The main work of this committee is confined to reducing the tension, estimating the losses, which the conflicting parties should have already registered at police stations, preparing for the conference, following up the performance of the *Ajawiid* council and the other committees, smoothing away difficulties, and pushing the conflicting parties towards reconciliation. An *Ajawiid* council with a considerable number of members within and without the region is appointed by the local authorities, the conflicting parties, or a volunteering third party from among those who are experienced, influential, trustworthy, qualified, advanced in age, wise, well-informed with the local conflict situation and the ᶜ*Urf* (local custom and *Rawakiip*), and neutral in their relations with the conflicting parties. The chairman of this council, who should be of an influential personality, heads the conference. The decisions and recommendations of this council are final, binding and enforceable for both parties to conflict by an executive mechanism, a committee appointed at the end of the conference. Appointed also is one, or more (according to the nature, the type and the magnitude of the particular conflict), technician committee of scholars having interest in the affairs of Darfur region, ex-heads of courts, native administrators, or directors of the local police and security units. Examples of such committee could be: the committee for security and administration affairs, the committee for pastures, nomadic routs and water sources, and the committees for damages, *diyyaat* and compensations. The *Ajawiid* council is supposed to benefit from the knowledge and the experience of the members of such technical committees in the discussion of relevant reports and documents and the formulation of decisions and recommendations in separate, closed-door sessions. Delegates equal in number from among the native administrators and the educated members of the conflicting parties, some of the locally influential religious men and some notables of the communities in Darfur are always among the attendants. The attending religious men usually have specific roles to play: to act as a religious reference for the conferees regarding the provisions of the Islamic *Shari`a*, to give moral and

reconciliation and peace. The district attorney is invited, in his capacity as specialist, to clear up legal codes or to provide legal opinions that the conferees could follow in their discussions.

Any tribal reconciliation conference is held in steps. First, is an opening organizational session in which both the *Ajawiid* council and the technician committee(s) declare, by making an oath before the chief of judiciary in any of the three States in Darfur and the negotiators, that they will carry out what they have been charged with honestly and neutrally and will keep secret the conference proceedings before they are publicized. This is also done for building trust on the part of the parties to conflict. Few representatives of each delegation – equal in number – are identified at this organizational session as negotiators on behalf of their party; however, they have the right to return during the conference to the other delegates for consultation. These representatives of delegations are chosen from among those who are wise, patient and advanced in age. Some members of the *Ajawiid* council and the representatives of each delegation of the parties to conflict are distributed in this session to the technician committees. After all these measures, the delegates of the conflicting parties have to consider an authorization document for the *Ajawiid* council carefully and then sign it if accepted. Second, is a public session in which the parties to conflict have to show their interest in negotiation and reconciliation. This second session is consecrated to listening to the argumentation of the negotiators of each conflicting party, which should have already been submitted as hard written copy to the chairman of the *Ajawiid* council. In such argumentation each party presents a detailed record of events from its own viewpoint, a summary of its human losses and material damages resulting from violence, and its recommendations for resolving the particular conflict. All attendants are then given the chance for interjections. The leaders of the delegates close the session by shaking hands. Third, the *Ajawiid* council holds a closed-door session to draw up a whole work plan, including ways of treating any potential difficulties. Fourth, the *Ajawiid* council holds another closed-door session with the representatives of each party to conflict. In this session the *Ajawiid* council aims at specifying the laws from which decisions shall be sought. It goes over the *ᶜUrf* each of the conflicting parties has in resolving conflicts. The attending religious men contrast and check up the *ᶜUrf* with the Islamic *Sharii*ᶜ*a*. The local *ᶜUrf* is accepted only if it seems beneficial to the reconciliation process or not in variance with any Islamic *Shari`a* laws. Fifth, some successive sessions in the form of separate caucuses with the representatives of the conflicting parties or face-to-face meetings are devoted to investigation, discussion and weighing of petitions and evidences that the different parties provide as to their claims, losses and damages. Between these sessions the *Ajawiid* council holds meetings, which are attended only by its members, to evaluate observations, and in which it may investigate some police inspectors and prosecutors. Sixth, the *Ajawiid* council holds a closed session to evaluate the evidences, causes, impacts, losses, and damages and come out with decisions and recommendations, including the *diyyaat* and the compensations. Finally, the head of the *Ajawiid* council reads the decisions and the recommendations in a closing session attended by all participants in the reconciliation conference. Notably, the system of *diyyaat* and compensations, according to which money is paid to those whose relatives have been killed or injured or those who lost property, has been adopted in tribal reconciliation conferences for a long time in the region. According to cultural traditions, *diyyaat* and compensations could be paid either in cash or in kind, mainly in the form of cattle, according to the decision of the reconciliation conference and in installments (mostly three installments). The collection of the *diyyaat* and the compensations is one of the functions of the tribe's *Dimlig*.

But if the conflict is considered as minor, other peacemaking mechanisms are used. The *`Umdah/Amir* of a tribal sub-group usually deals with conflict cases by either popular or legal methods of reconciliation. The popular method means that the *`Umdah/Amir* authorizes the concerned tribal *Sheikh* to resolve the particular case via the tribal *ᶜUrf*. The *Sheikh* calls the parties to conflict to a meeting, which is also attended by an *Ajawiid* council that is usually appointed by the *`Umdah/Amir* from among those who are influential, with respectable social status, aware of the local culture, and neutral in their relations with the conflicting parties. The mission of the *Sheikh* and the *Ajawiid* council is to trace out the conflict conjunctures, write down the proceedings of the meeting, and then provide the *ᶜUmdah/Amir* with a proposal on how to resolve the conflict. If it is proved that the case is too difficult to be resolved by the popular method, the *ᶜUmdah/Amir* handles it legally at his court. Worth mentioning, the tribal *ᶜUmad/'Umara'* in Darfur heads small courts (known as "the Rural Courts"), which have members who are appointed in agreement with its foundation statute – from among those *Sheikhs* and notables, who are aware of, or acquainted with the local *ᶜUrf* and have legal authorities to pronounce sentences against perpetrators in the form of fines or compensations, imprisonment and flogging. If the *ᶜUmdah/Amir* does not manage to resolve the case, may be for the reason that it is above his legal authorities, he will turn it over to the *Sultan* who will turn it over to the police if he finds it too difficult to resolve. As such, the conflict is taken away from the hands of the native administrators to be treated in the administration of justice by the criminal laws of Sudan. The *Sultan* heads a court known as "the Intermediate Court," which is superior to the Rural Court regarding the authorities vested for each. The Intermediate Court is equal to the Supreme Court within the frame of efforts that the native administration

spends in resolving conflicts. In brief, the Rural and Intermediate Courts are apparatuses of the native administration, which receive cases that could be treated by the *ᶜUrf*. Some religious men (from any Muslim group), whose main role is to act as religious reference in contrasting and setting right the *ᶜUrf* with the Islamic *Sharii*ᶜ*a,* are always members of these two types of court beside the native administrators. The third type of court portrays the Court of First Instance that a judge from the administration of justice heads. The judgments that the Intermediate Courts could not decide on, or announces, but the parties to conflict reject, are evoked in this third type of court.

In addition to the above peacemaking mechanisms, a popular committee has been established in Geneina town since 1980 with a mandate to resolve the minor tribal conflicts within the urban setting using the local *ᶜUrf* and the Islamic *Sharii*ᶜ*a* as substitutes for the criminal laws of Sudan. The membership of this committee is made of religious men, one native administrator from each main tribe in the area, and the notables of the town community. The main role of the religious men is to act as reference to the Islamic *Sharii*ᶜ*a*.

Conclusion:

The peacemaking mechanisms in the Blue Nile areas-- which also show up in somewhat similar character in the case of minor conflicts in Darfur and which advance gradually from the efforts of the elders and the tribal *Sheikhs* to the efforts of the *ᶜUmad* at their Rural Courts, to the efforts of the *Nazirs*/ *Makks* at the Intermediate Courts, and then to the Courts of First Instance in the administration of justice – all can be considered as effective peacemaking mechanisms. Some indications of this effectiveness could be stated shortly as follows. First, peaceful coexistence has been observed for a long time among the various tribal groups in these areas. Second, many informants during field visits to different areas in the Blue Nile State repeated their own estimations saying that more than 90% of the local grassroots conflicts are brought to an end before they reach the state-run judicial systems. Even, the few remaining conflicts are mostly capital crimes (like slaying), which overleap the bounds of the authorities of the native administration courts. Third, the conflicts – from antiquity – have not transgressed their individual character to appear in tribal form like what has been going on in Darfur. Fourth, the act of slaying is repudiated in the local communities of the Blue Nile. "The killer secedes from the Faith Community," some informants argued. To hide a perpetrator and to adopt his criminal behavior as the responsibility of the whole group, and then to collectively pay the *diya*, as commonly practiced everywhere in Greater Darfur, is a trend that does not exist in the Blue Nile areas. Even, the tribal groups in the different areas of the Blue Nile State exchange, through their native administrations, persons who are charged with offences. For example, if herds of a pastoralist break into a farm and damage its plants, the farmer will communicate the news to the *Sheikh* of his tribal group. This *Sheikh* is expected to contact the *Sheikh* of the pastoralist's tribal group requesting him to arrest that pastoralist and to hand him over so as to be put under the suitable measures.

In Darfur the reconciliation conferences, which constitute a phenomenon that is lacking in the Blue Nile, may be due to the type and nature of conflicts in the area, and have been the prime method through which Major or large-scale tribal conflicts are resolved. However, such conferences have not been able to address the root causes of conflicts. In some cases fighting resumed soon after a conference has ended. Many conferences also failed to resolve conflicts. Thus tribal reconciliation conferences are considered as short-lived mechanisms for peacemaking.

Why then is the grassroots approach to peacemaking efficient in the Blue Nile areas and not in the local communities in Greater Darfur where they become more sophisticated technically? Has this something to do with the nature and type of the existing conflicts, or the socio-political situation in the particular region, or both? The answer to the latter question seems to be rather positive for all the cited possibilities.

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Abdu Mukhtar Musa of Omdurman University traveled from Khartoum to present at the SSA annual conference in Purdue University, Indiana

The Perception of Color in Sudanese Languages and Cultures

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The literature on the perception of color in Sudan is meager. This paper is the outcome of an intensive study of a variety of art genres in Sudan, which include basketry, house decoration, beadwork, needlework, literary art as well as plastic and performing arts (e.g., Muhammad, *Attashkeel fi 'A'mal Al- Ibra fi Mantiqat Omdurman*: Design in Needlework in Omdurman, 2008; Muhammad, "Manawashai Basketry: Famine, Change and Creativity," Ph.D. dissertation, 2001; and Muhammad, "The Sudanese Concept of Beauty, Spirit Possession, and Power," 1996; and information on artistic objects from Southern Sudan in the website of the Pitt River Museum, University of Oxford's Museum of Anthropology and World Archaeology (http://southernsudan.prm.ox.ac.uk/). More studies need to be conducted to contribute to our understanding of Sudanese perception of color.

Introduction

Present day Sudan with its large, pervasive area and varied environments is a home for diverse ethnic groups. Yet, despite Sudan's ethnic heterogeneity, one can argue that its cultures are interrelated and interconnected. Culture for its own merit transcends language barriers and reaches beyond ethnic boundaries. Numerous studies show that throughout the history of Sudan people moved, traded, exchanged, intermixed and intermarried (e.g., Al Naqar, 1972, Hurreiz, 1977, Al-Hajj, 1977, and Muhammad, 2001). This no doubt enables these people to borrow and exchange cultural traits. There are more similarities, therefore, than differences between Sudanese cultures, especially in the artistic modes of expression, both literary and visual. One of the artistic forms that stands out and exemplifies the interconnectedness of Sudanese cultures is the way people use, interpret and perceive colors. This paper explores the commonalities of such underlying symbolic values of colors in Sudanese cultures.

According to Western thought color is perceived and understood as "pigment or light consisting of three variable properties: hue, value, and intensity" (Drewal, 1998:20-21). In Sudanese cultures, however, as in other parts of the world, perception of color not only encompasses the human brain's and the psyche's interpretation of information from visible light reaching the eye (Birren, 106:1976), but also embraces values and attitudes that reflect the identities of cultural groups, who perceive color in different terms. This inquiry lends itself to a complex cultural system that dictates the way people perceive color in their daily lives.

Hope MacLean in her study, "Sacred Colors and Shamanic Vision among the Huichol Indians of Mexico," emphasizes that color symbolism is often part of "religious vocabulary, such as the colors associated with the cardinal directions in the North American Plains Indian medicine wheel" (2001: 307). The Tibetan Buddhists also use colors of the four directions in their own depiction of celestial grounds in ritualistic artwork. Henry John Drewal in his article, "Youruba Beadwork in Africa," states that Yoruibas identify three chromatic groups: *funfun*, *pupa* and *dudu*, which are translated, respectively, as white, red and black. Each of these chromatic groups includes a range of colors and hues as well as various values, such as shades, tint and intensities that characterize each color. In addition, temperature and temperament of human activities are important factors in distinguishing one chromatic group from another (1998:21). While these three examples show how religion and culture influence and dictate the way people perceive colors, some colors have universal associations based on common earthly elements. Reds, for example, are universally considered "hot" (associated with fire) or "angry/ violent" (associated with blood), while blues (associated with water) are "cool."

Perception of Color in Sudanese Cultures

In Sudanese cultures, and by large, the perception of colors revolves around four major hues: white *(abyad),* red (*ahmar*), green (*akhdar)* and black (*azrag*), which may vary in terms of texture and intensity. These groups of colors are mostly perceived in metaphorical terms. Each color has its significance, and it may carry different connotations simultaneously with regard to different contexts. Although other colors such as yellow (*asfar*), orange (*burtuqali*) and (purple (*banafsaj*) are exhibited, they appear in limited degrees, and have less impact on the aesthetic taste and value of Sudanese people.

perceive as "red."

In Sudanese perception of color, white represents power, dignity and purity but also encompasses tragedy. Green stands for productivity, fertility and abundance, while red represents danger, vigor as well as eroticism and fertility. Black, in particular, has a powerful connotation in Sudanese cultures, as it represents splendor, strength and potency (Muhammad, 2008: 94-98).

The Color White (*Abyad*)

The color white figures prominently in Muslim Sudanese perception of color. Following the tradition of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), who recommended the white color for dress as well as coffins, Muslim Sudanese men wear white cloth, especially during religious festivities such as *'Eid al-Adhha* (sacrificial ritual), *'Eid Ramadan* (month of fasting) and *Jumma,* (Friday congregation prayer), where most of the attendees of both sexes wear white clothes. Among the headdress that men wear is *al-taqiyya* (headgear) and the *imma* (turban), which are also white. This type of *taqiyya* is made out of cotton and decorated with white embroidery, which uses three main properties: repetition, similarity and multiplicity (Muhammad, 2008: 95-96).

Unlike Westerners, who generally wear black to express grief, the Sudanese mourn the dead by wearing the color white, as do the Japanese. In northern, western and eastern Sudan women wear white cloth as a sign of grief. In addition, the deceased is wrapped in a white coffin and carried on a bed covered with a white mat. In southern Sudan, women of the Dinka group mourn the dead by wearing white animal skin strips. To prepare these skin strips, a white bull is slaughtered, and the skin is cut into long strips and hanged until it dries. The strips are worn by women for four days, as a sign of mourning, during which they abstain from drinking milk due to its color. The white bull, the white strips and the milk underscore the fact that the white color among the Dinka is an expression of grief and sorrow. Yet, among the Dinka the color white is also a symbol of purity and dignity. A Dinka man wearing a hat made of plant fiber, cowries' shell, glass, beads, textiles, and cotton yarn plant is largely white, yet it includes red and black. (see http://southernsudan.prm.ox.ac.uk/).

In southern Sudan, the utilization of white objects as a means of social and cultural expression is also seen in the Lotuko, Shilluk and Nauer groups, who also wear white objects as a sign of dignity and purity. The Nauer warrior wore a headdress dating back to circa 1867 made of beads imported from Europe, described by Col. Lane Fox: "It resembles the Egyptian very closely and is ported from Europe, described by Col. Lane Fox: "It resembles the Egyptian very closely and is composed of cylindrical white beads, fastened together with a kind of string (see http://southernsudan.prm.ox.ac.uk/). Another example from the Shilluk is a necklace worn by a warrior, which is made of white beads separated by a few yellow beads at the top. (see http://southernsudan.prm.ox.ac.uk/).

In *zar* rituals (spirit possession used for healing, practiced all over Sudan), white cloths are worn by the *Daraweesh*, a dervish Sufi group, to represent purity, peace, and serenity. As Sufis are generally peaceful and very religious, the *zar* possession ritual that they utilize is mild and the spirits involved are easy to pacify (1996:56).

In Sudanese cultures, the verbal art is rich with associations and usages of the term "white" in different contexts. In northern Sudan, in wedding procession songs, white is usually used to emphasize good omens. For example, *Ya adila ya beda ya malayka seri ma'a alayla sar be qudart Allah*, this is an invocation to God to make the groom's path to his wedding destination white. White in this context stands for straightness, not crooked, hence a procession without troubles.

White is also used as a substance in the custom of *jertiq*, a ritual conducted for weddings, circumcisions and other occasions, and it is practiced in many regions of Sudan. People use milk in the *jertiq* for its color to invoke purity and fertility. In wedding ceremonies, at the end of the ritual, the bride and groom spray each other with milk from their mouth. Milk, in fact, has its roots in ancient Sudanese civilization. In wall paintings of Meroitic kingdom, a royal mother, wife, sister or daughter is depicted behind the crowned king playing a religious music with one hand while pouring milk with the other (Al-Zaki, 1982). This wall painting shows the significance of milk in ancient royal ceremonies, which extends to the present with different connotations. In some parts of Sudan, especially western Sudan, cultured milk is used with porridge as an offering to God to protect from misfortune or calamities.

Sudanese folklore is full of sayings and wisdom that emphasize the significance of white, such as, *Nitu bayda* (his intention is white / the one with pure intention); *Ayna bayda* (her eye is white, a reference to a young woman without shame) and *Shasho abyad* (the one with thin white cloth, a reference to one susceptible to the "evil eye").

The Color Red (*Ahmar*)

The color red dominates Sudanese rites of passage, such as circumcision, weddings and childbirth, where it is usually associated with blood. People

believe that the use of mostly red objects, such as *birish ahmar* (red mat), *bartal ahmar* (red lid), *firka hamra* (red cloth) along with red beads and strands of red silk (objects called *ahmar* in Arabic and *undo* in the language of the Fur of western Sudan), have the power to stop any harm that might result from the anticipated bleeding in such events. But the term "red" here is used metaphorically and does refer exclusively to "true red" but may include other colors that are less dominant, or when combined look reddish from a distance. The red color may actually be a deep orange or deep purple, and the people perceive as "red."

Along with white, the color red is associated with the *zar* spirit possession groups. The *Habash* (Abyssinians), as they represented in *zar* rituals, wear red cloth to symbolize glamour and eroticism; this group is known for its playfulness and seduction in performances. In southern Sudan, Kuku girls wear "true" red waist beaded ornaments along with a fringe apron as explicitly erotic expressions designed to invoke desire. The color red is also associated with fertility, where the Sudanese use it in the *Jertiq,* which in this context is a fertility ritual performed in wedding ceremonies. In Sudan, farmers use the color red to improve the productivity of plants. They clothe a tree with strands of "red" silk (actually deep purple in color) wrapped in dung.

Interestingly, the way Sudanese use red color as a means to fertility and healing has its equivalent in European tradition. In his book, *Color Psychology and Therapy* (1957), Faber Birren states that, "The color red has strong impact on growth of trees, and also affects the lower animals by strengthening their sex hormones, enabling them to multiply. In addition, the color red has been known to promote healings" (quoted in Henri Atierlin, 1981:57).

In verbal art, the use of embedded red color has different meanings. The Sudanese say, for example, *'aino hamra* (the one with red eyeballs) to indicate courage and aggressiveness, attributes of an individual who refuses to be humiliated. People also refer to the live stock as *mal ahmar* (red wealth), a sign of a hard work need to obtain the animals, which involves sweat and blood. While white *taqiyya* (head gear) is associated with the elderly, young men in many parts of Sudan often wear red *taqiyya* (head gear). The color red represents vigor, strength and playfulness, characteristics which are likely associated with young men. This red *Taqiyya* is also worn by the groom in wedding ceremonies to protect from the evil eye, for the color red has the potential to deflect any harm.

The Color Green (*Akhdar*)

The color green symbolizes productivity, prosperity and fertility. In Sudanese perception of colors, a fertile land despite its dark gray color is called "green," a metaphor for a promising outcome, a symbol of productivity and abundance. Another example of this meaning is found in the Sudanese phrase, *Yakhadir dura'ak*, which may translate as an invocation by the individual asking God to make ones' arm green, a sign of productivity and hard work.

Green is well represented in Sudanese rites of passages as a good omen. In the riverian area in Northern Sudan, the groom accompanies his male peer groups to the bank of the River Nile, where the date tree grows, to cut a number of green date branches. Then during the wedding procession from the groom's to the bride's house, the men wave them in the air as a good omen and a sign of productivity. In addition to white, in *zar* rituals green is worn specifically by dervishes represented in the possession trance by two spirits, *Sitti Khadra al-Maghribiyya* (My respected Khadra, the Moroccan) and *Sheikh Abdel Qadir Al-Jilani* (the leader of *Qadiria* Sufi sect) who are thought to favor the color green, which has the same positive connotations as the color white.

Responding to Sudanese cultural perceptions of color, the Sudanese Sufi sects also use green for clothes and banners for its spiritual significance, where they recognize a hierarchy of colors including black, white, red, yellow and green. For example, Muhammad Ahmed Al-Mahdi, a Sudanese Muslim leader of late 19th century, placed his army under different-colored banners that emanate from the Sufi palette, except for the green color which is prominent in Sudanese awareness. He gave his first deputy, Abdullah Al-Ta'aishi, a black banner (*al-Raya Al-Zarqa*), the most powerful color in Sufi perception, a white banner (*al- Raya Al- Abyda)* for himself, a red banner (*al-Raya Al-Hamra)* for deputy Al-Hilo, and a green banner (*al-Raya Al-Khadra)* for deputy Abu Garja. Although the yellow banner (*Al-Raya Al-Safra)* was among the group, the color is not favored by the Sudanese, and the leader Al-Mahdi never utilized it (Abu Saleem, 1969:17).

Unlike baby boys, whose placenta is placed on the grounds of the mosque, in many

parts of Sudan, when a pregnant woman delivers her baby girl, they dig a hole in the house courtyard and place the placenta inside with a green branch from the *dom* palm tree (Hyphaene Thebaica), grains, coffee beans and dates, where they offer an invocation for the newborn's long and joyful life. While all the rest of these objects remain buried in the ground, part of the green palm branch stands outside to represent good omens.

One color used for the *taqiyya* headgear is green, referred to as "Zeinab's color" (*Loan Zeinab*), after the color of a woman's skin. Sudanese refer to the skin color that falls between black and white as "green" in this case. This color is worn by elderly people and young boys for its association with dignity and purity. In Sudanese folktales the color green is also meaningful in terms of its positive effects, as in the story of *Al-Tair Al-Khudari* (The Green Bird), a legendary bird which has an ability to bring the unattainable (Muhammad, 2008:97).

The Color Black (*Aswad*)

While black is often conflated with blue under certain circumstances, black in its true form has a very limited usage in Sudanese culture, but it is exceptionally powerful and influential, and represents splendor, strength and potency. In Nubian culture, and when a woman gives birth to a baby boy people place an egg plant *(bazengan aswad*) along with other objects beneath the mother's bed to protect the baby from the mythical *buma*, an enchanted owl, who is believed to be a spinster before being turned into an owl by God for rejecting what He granted her in life. She had been angry for not finding a husband, and she now appears to the newly born baby boy to inflict him with idiocy. For this reason people protect the baby boy with the power embedded in the color black that deflects the evil doing of the *buma*. There is also a black stone called *hajar al-dam* (blood stone) that is used for its potency to stop bleeding in many places in Sudan, in particular for *jertiq* rituals.

Human Skin Colors in Sudanese Perception

In Sudanese perception "black" and "white" are not used to identify human skin color as in Western culture, and instead categorizes them as blue, green and red. The term *azrag* (blue) is A black person with deep skin tone is referred to as green. In his B.A. thesis, "Perception of Skin Colour in Sudanese colloquial Arabic" (1979), Ahmed El-Bedawi Mustafa Omer El-Tinay states that the Sudanese usage of blue and green originated in Arab's tradition and culture, and cites some evidence from Arabic literature to validate his inquiry (quoted in Bender, 19-20:1983). But the Sudanese come from diverse cultures, and tracing cultural origins within one tradition, such as that of the Arabs, does not acknowledge the heterogeneity of the Sudanese people. And in the case of the colors blue and green, their use in Arabic culture may be due to earlier influences. As Bender Loni contends, the Arabic roots *aswad* (blue/black) and *ahkdar* (green) are not found in Hebrew, Syriac, Ugaritic or in South Arabian languages, nor are they seen in Afro-asiatic cultures. He suggests that these color terms may instead owe their origins to "early Arab encounters with black Africa" (1980:27). Lucia Muffi in her study, "Somali Color Term Evolution: Grammatical and Semantic Evidence," argues that in Somali language the term *madow/madow* originally refers to the color black that also includes dark shades of other colors, in particular green and blue (1990: 325). The concept of black with an embedded blue color or the usage of "blue" as an alternative to "black" in the African context may thus be attributed to these Somali and other African groups.

In *zar* rituals there is a group called *al-Zurug*, derived from *azrag*, hence black, who represent many ethnic groups with African origin. They are known for their aggressiveness, strength and power. The kind of healing ritual results in a form of illness in the devotee or patient is difficult to cure unless full rituals are conducted, unlike other spirits who can be mollified by small offerings. In their theatrical dance, *al-Zurug* wear black dress and accessories associated with African tradition, such as, tiger skin, shields decorated with shells and beads and fine stick made of ivory and ebony (Muhammad, 1996:57-58).

In Darfur, western Sudan, a woman who is proud of her son's black color praises him in public to attract young women's attention by saying, "*Da azrag Kuti can arasti nurti wa can abati burti le youm al-qiyama"* (This black man is from the Kuti region; if you accept his marriage proposal you will glow and shine, and if you refuse him you will never get

married until Judgment Day).

In northern Sudan, when people refer to someone as "dark green" (*akhdar zay alkudundar)* that person is said to have a skin color that resembles a specific kind of dark green beetle, mostly found in henna trees. Sudanese songs and sayings are full of expressions that praise green skin, such as, "*Khadari ma bakhali alala ween ya akhdar lono zari"* (I never leave the green one whose skin color is like the flourishing plant).

In the Mahdiyya period of the late 19th century, there was a famous term, *Al-humra al abaha Al-Mahdi* (The red color that is disliked by Al-Mahdi). *Al-humra* (red skinned) is derived from the term *ahmar*, hence white when it comes to skin color. Al-Mahdi is the Muslim leader who defeated the Turks and their allies, the British, the occupants of Sudan in late 19th century. Since they were the enemy, his dislike extended to their skin color. Thus his attitude was shared by the rest of the Sudanese and became a common phrase for referring to light-skinned people. A phrase that praises blue and green while undermining red (referring to white skin in this context), *Al-humra fi altalih fi* (the redness is found in *talih* wood), is used by women who are proud of their dark skin. They refer to white skin as not genuine because they can turn their dark skin to red (white) by using *dukhan*, an aromatic smoke infusion that changes skin color from burning *talih* wood.

In conclusion, this study shows that despite Sudan's ethnic heterogeneity, one can argue that its cultures are interrelated and interconnected, and may transcend ethnic differences in a range of contexts. The emotionally and traditionally charged associations with colors in Sudan are seen to be metaphorically constructed or deconstructed along non-literal or symbolic lines, where the power of colors manifest in folklore and artistic creation are used for specific tasks that involve the world of the spirit and personal identity as well as physical objects. Color is thus not restricted to its aesthetic values, but encompasses universal associations and proactive acts such as protection rituals, enhanced plant productivity, rites of passage, and religious practices.

The author, Baqie Badawi Muhammad listening to another paper at the 2009 SSA conference.

Note on colors and Nubian Language, by Marcus Yaeger

The following lexicon on color meanings in Nubian from the *Kenzi-Dongolawi-Arabic-English Dictionary* was submitted by Nubian linguist Marcus Yeager to the Bulletin in response to Baqie Badawi's paper:

Aro: white, *abyad* (Arabic)
Desse: dark green, blue, brown, the color of an un-ripened date and "beautiful" for ladies
Geele: red colored, Nubian reference for white people
Korgoz: Nubian, yellow, *isafr* (Arabic)
Nabri: red-brownish, *hamri* (Arabic), used to describe beauty in a woman
Rume: black, *aswad* (Arabic)
Urume: black, dark—Dictionary note: *Nubians do not like to be called 'black'- Arabs call them black [while] they think of themselves as desse.*

Marcus Yaeger & wife Eliane with Nubian friends 2009

Petroleum and Civil War in Sudan: 1955-2010

by Gabriel Warburg, University of Haifa

Did lack of oil in 1955, hasten the conflicts between north and south Sudan? Or will the fact that large quantities of oil were discovered in southern Sudan, prevent the Comprehensive Peace Agreement [CPA], signed in 2005, from being finalized by a Referendum in 2011? This would enable southerners to decide whether they want to remain in an undivided state, or to establish a state of their own? In the years 1899 - 1955, following Sudan's re-Conquest, when Sudan was under the Colonial rule of the Condominium, Great Britain had forced its junior partner Egypt, to pay all the debts the two rulers incurred in their co-ruling of this poor country. Sudan thus became an independent state, on first of January 1956, and has been conflict ridden ever since.

In Iraq, signs of oil were discovered as early as 1912, by the Turkish Petroleum Company (TPC). Following the Great War (1914-1918), and the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, the region granted to the TPC became a British mandate, ruled by king Faysal the first, and the assets of TPC passed to the large oil companies which continued to explore in Iraq, with each one of them receiving a percentage, leaving five percent to an Armenian oil expert, Calouste Gulbenkian, who had helped them negotiate the final agreement which enabled them to reach the "Red Line Agreement" in 1928 and to found the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC). British Petroleum (BP) as it is presently known, made both its shareholders and Iraq relatively rich country fully dependant on its oil revenues.

Returning to the Sudan, where on the first of January 1956, Great Britain and Egypt ended their rule as co-domini, and granted it independence; not one drop of oil had as yet been discovered. The Gezira Cotton Scheme, sugar (the Kenana Sugar Company was not yet founded), gum arabic and a few lesser agricultural ventures, provided the main income of this rather impoverished country. The first signs of oil were discovered in Sudan as late as 1979, by Chevron oil, in the southern part of western Sudan. Previously many northern politicians had regarded the southern Sudanese, a drain on Sudan's impoverished economy and would probably have been delighted had they seceded. Now that there were signs of oil in the south, there were real concerns in the northern, Muslim Sudan that the South would secede. This so-called discovery, as yet not fully realized, brought about acute suspicions in the South; since Ja'far al-Numayri, then president of Sudan, was set on building a refinery in northern Sudan, to which an oil pipeline would transfer southern oil to the northern Muslim Sudan.

The "Voice of America" broadcast to the world that "commercial quantities of oil had been discovered in the southern part of western Sudan, to be piped 900 miles to Port Sudan for the international markets… The South exploded in protest." Khartoum reacted by replacing the southern garrison at Bentiu, where the oil had been discovered and replacing its commander, Captain Salva Kiir Mayardit who later became president of the Autonomous Southern Sudan.

The first sign of what lay ahead was a decree in July 1980, announcing the redrawing of the boundary between North and South Sudan, was that the new oil fields as well a large grazing lands would be taken from Bahr al-Ghazal and the Upper Nile, in the southern Sudan, to become part of southern Kordofan, which would thus annex it to the Muslim North. Massive student protests and claims that Numayri was violating the Addis Ababa Agreement, forced the president to rescind his decree. Ever since oil was discovered in southern Sudan, the Sudan's ethno-religious war which had been fought since 1955 became a war in which oil and its financial benefits played an ever-growing role.

However, until 1999 not much happened since Sudan had no financial means to undertake a project of this size on its own. Following endless negotiations, a consortium of "Asian Tigers" (China, Malaysia, and India later joined by Canada, Qatar and the UAE), came to its rescue and led by China they signed an agreement with Sudan's Islamist government. In May of that year President Bashir opened a new tanker terminal not far from Port Sudan, destined to become the terminal for the pipeline, being built by the "Asian Tigers", from the southern oil fields. The building of a refinery in Khartoum, and the laying of a 1,000 mile pipeline from the oil wells in Abu-Jabra, in the southern Sudan, reaching the northern Port Sudan. Thus, on 31 May 1999 President Bashir officially opened the new tanker terminal at Marsa Bayashir, south of Port Sudan enabling oil exports both for crude and refined oil from Sudan. Thereby, a country on the brink of bankruptcy, for the first time since independence, recorded a trade surplus and an economic growth of 6% for the fiscal year 1999-2000.

In 1992, Sudan had adopted a federal system, which comprised twenty-six states: each of them divided into provinces, and has its own government. The CPA envisaged three levels of governance: the government of national Unity [GNU); the government of southern Sudan (GOSS); and finally all states and a number of country-wide councils. Financially, it was agreed that 50% of all central government revenues, would be transferred to GOSS and to the states, while in addition the GNU would transfer to them some of the central government responsibilities, including taxing and other levies.

Under the title: "Other New Developments", the "Kenana Handbook" informs us that "The Nile Petroleum Corporation", a consortium of companies from Sudan, China, Malaysia, India, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, is the principal producer of oil. Whilst Sudan is presently producing about 270,000 barrel a day, "it is planned to reach 450.000 bbl/d by 2005…Two major refineries in Khartoum and Port Sudan…in addition to three small ones, all planning to double their designed capacities."

We are thus confronted by a complete vitalization of Sudan's economy; however, since the referendum has not yet occurred, we have no knowledge so far, with regard to its possible implications. In the recent general elections, announced in April 2010, Omar al-Bashir declared his victory as Sudan's legitimate and democratically elected President. In the same elections Salva Kiir Mayardit received 92.99% of the votes and became the democratically elected president of the southern region. Consequently, since president Mayardit and the SPLM seem to be determined to divide the Sudan, it is doubtful whether the northern Sudanese will be prepared to hold the referendum as agreed in the CPA, on January 2011.

Two of the main opposition parties in the North are also opposed. The Democratic Unionists, led by Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani, and the Umma led by al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, "favor the option of unity over separation." Some southern leaders mistrust Mayardit for having too close relations with northern leaders, on the one hand, and for winning the elections undemocratically, on the other hand, ("a candidate getting 93% of the vote is never heard of in a democratic elections.") However, should a referendum take place and a majority votes for the splitting of Sudan,

> The possibility of the secession of South Sudan from the Sudanese state and its colonially-inherited boundaries would be a crucial precedent for the continent…It would not be the first time that a new nation would be born in post-colonial Africa. Yet the case of Eritrea splitting off from Ethiopia was quite different, as Ethiopia was not occupied by the colonial powers during the process of Africa's partition…As such, the breakup of Sudan into two sovereign states could be considered as the first direct challenge to the sanctity of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each member state. …As Irit Back rightly states, "the upcoming referendum on the future of South Sudan promises to put to the test the opposing commitments of African leaders: their traditional respect for the sanctity of state sovereignty and regime legitimacy, and their newer concern with democratization and self-determination. "

Under the tile: "THE ENIGMATIC SUDAN, IS IT A POORHOUSE OR THE LAND OF MILK AND HONEY?", Mr. Shawki makes the following observation: "Sudan is caught in major downward-spiraling crises from various natural limitations to largely man-made degradations of the food and poverty crises, tribal conflict and civil unrest, displacement and refugee problems, economic and debt crises, political and economic sanctions, and the environmental crisis." This wide potential of likely crises, hardly allows for a normal, or peaceful co-existence in this conflict ridden vast country. However, looking into the future, Shawki seems rather more optimistic and makes the following suggestion:

Sudan is not basically poor. It is still a land of promise, the land of milk and honey. Its vast reservoir of natural resources has, throughout history, attracted and continues to attract the world's giant entrepreneurs, investors, speculators and tourists. It is theoretically capable of supporting the exploding population of the whole world.

It is now fully dependant on the promised referendum, if it is held in 2011, and as expected the South will request an independent sovereign state, the hopes that the Sudan will flourish and will supply the needs of the whole country will go down the drain. If on the other hand, the military will interfere as they did in the past, the south will be ruled by northern Sudanese Muslims and the civil war will prevail, both in the south and in Darfur.

In the concluding chapter of this impressive book [Ch. 55, pp.811-821], Mansour Khalid and Luka Biong Deng declare:

The CPA stands a better chance for success than previous peace agreements, which were either discarded or brazenly dishonoured. For all that, one would not expect either party to venture to unilaterally abrogate any term of the CPA, through omission or commission, for they may lead to a constructional collapse which force the South to declare a unilateral declaration of independence.

I fully agree that the "CPA stands a better chance of being implemented fully than previous peace agreements; however, it too may be discarded as have others before it. In case it is, Sudan's future may remain rather gloomy, and a future of civil wars seems more than likely. Thus in addition to ethnic and religious conflicts, we may add an additional cause for conflicts in the future, one based on oil, minerals or other sources of income.

Robert O. Collins. *A History of Modern Sudan,* (Cambridge: University Press, 2008), pp.122-3
Ibid. pp.228-32
The Kenana Handbook of Sudan,(London: Kegan Paul Ltd, 2007): 594
Ibid. 597
Irit Back, "Elections in Sudan: Sudanese and African Perspectives," Dayan Center: Tel Aviv Notes, (Tel Aviv, June 22, 2010: 3
Ibid
The Kenana Handbook of Sudan, p.774
Ibid, p.777
Ibid, pp. 820-21

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SSA NEWS AND NOTES

OPPORTUNITY!!

Sudan Studies Association
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR Position

The position of Executive Director of the SSA is open for loyal SSA members in good standing. According to the SSA Constitution (see our website: www.sudanstudies.org) the position of the Executive Director is appointed by the SSA President under the guidance of the SSA Members of the Board. For our previous three decades this has been a voluntary position, but a modest annual honorarium can be considered upon application to the President and approval by the SSA Board. The main responsibilities are maintenance of the membership list and of SSA communications. As a consequence the Executive Director must make annual reports about membership an finances to the President at the annual business meeting and to the State of Rhode Island where we are officially incorporated as a 501©3 tax exempt non-profit organization. The Executive Director coordinates with the SSA Bulletin Editor to provide up-to-date mailing labels for distribution of this publication. While these are the minimum responsibilities there are other tasks that present an on-going public face of our unique association devoted to the discourse and education about the Sudan as it enters a particularly complicated period in which we welcome all individual views, but take no organizational positions on the affairs and concerns of the Sudan. As the website indicates the contact information of the Executive Director it is usually the first point of contact.

Requirements: the successful candidate should be prepared to make a two year commitment at least and it is highly desirable that they have an on-going academic appointment that may offer some advantages to the Association such as modest office space, or perhaps off-load, but these are not required. Also it is expected that the candidate will be an SSA member in good standing with a history of understanding our mission in Sudan studies.

Rights and Advantages: This position is excellent for SSA members in *career-building stages* of their careers. The position reflects the views of the President and the Board of the SSA. The position is also excellent in *Sudanist networking* in receiving inquiries about sources, speakers, consultants and overall coordination of our mission that typically provides continuity over multiple Presidential terms of office. The SSA "Council of Elders" and past Presidents provides back up and advice about such needs.

Please send a message of your interest to: rlobban@ric.edu and sfbeswick@bsu.edu

SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION, 29th Annual Conference

Sudan's Elections and the Referendum:

Choices, Last Chances, A Time For Change?

May 28 – 30, 2010, **Purdue University,** West Lafayette, Indiana, USA

PROGRAM

FRIDAY, MAY 28th, 2010

Conference Opening: 9:00 a.m. to 9:30 a.m., Stewart Center 322

PANEL #1 **Data Analyses of Sudan's Reality**
9:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m., Stewart Center 322
CHAIR: Richard Lobban

"Mapping Socio-Cultural Networks of Sudan from Open-Source, Large-Scale Text Data"
Jana Diesner and Kathleen M. Carley, Carnegie Mellon University

"When Ideologies Meet Reality: Understanding the Nature of Major Political Landscape Changes Using Computer Based Science Techniques"
Adam Gerard, Rhode Island College

"Network Analysis of Natural Resource Conflict in Sudan"
Jeffrey C. Johnson and Tracy Van Holt, East Carolina University

PANEL #2 **Ancient Sudan**
1:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., Stewart Center 322
CHAIR: Jay O'Brien

"Investigating Napatan Identity and State Development at the Third Cataract"
Michele R. Buzon, Purdue University

"Abu Erteila Excavation Report: A Meroitic temple site."
Richard Lobban, Rhode Island College

"Colonial Entanglements: 'Egyptianization' in Egypt's Nubian Empire and the Nubian Dynasty"
Stuart Tyson Smith, University of California, Santa Barbara

"Radius of Action in Neolithic and A-Group Nubia"
Bruce Williams

PANEL #3 **Conflict, Justice and Reconciliation**
3:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322
CHAIR: Randall Fegley

"'A Tree Under Whom I Seek Shelter': Royal Justice, Slavery and the Right of Sanctuary in Sinnar"
Jay Spaulding, Kean University

"Transitional Justice and State-Sponsored Violence in Sudan"
Mohamed I. Elgadi, Group Against Torture in Sudan

"Politics, Power and Knowledge in Sudan's Media and Educational Institutions: Implications for Peace and Unity Pursuit"
Guta Hala-Asmina, Ohio University and Loisa Kitakaya, MDF- South & East Africa

PANEL #4 **Roundtable Discussion on Numayri's Administration**
5:30 to 6:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322
Scopus Poggo, Richard Lobban, Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Randall Fegley

Reception 6:30 to 8:30 p.m., PMU Anniversary Drawing Room
7:30 (during the Reception) - **A Memorial to the Late Dr. Lazarus Leek Mawut** – Scopus Poggo

Board Meeting 8:00-9:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322

SATURDAY, MAY 29th, 2010

PANEL #5 **The Sudanese Electoral System**
9:30 to 11:30 a.m., Stewart Center 322
CHAIR: Stephanie Beswick

"Electoral Systems and Political Behaviour: Challenges Facing Democratization in the Sudan"

Abdu Mukhtar Musa, Omdurman University
"Alternative Voting: The Mechanics of Elections in Systems Characterized by Low Literacy"
Randall Fegley, Pennsylvania State University
"The Referendum Game, Where Are the Women?"
Suzan Christopher Lasu
"Elections and Popular Consultation in Blue Nile State"
Hajmusa Attaegeed

PANEL #6 **Sudan's Election Season (2010-11)**
1:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322
CHAIR: Ali Ali-Dinar

"Institutionalized Technologies of Domination: The 2010 Election in the Sudan and Prospects of Change"
Enrico Ille, Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg
"The 'SPLM/SPLA' and the CPA-prescribed 'Mid Term' General Elections: An Insider's Perspectives and Analysis"
Elias Nyamlell Wakoson, State Minister of International Cooperation, GONU, Khartoum
"The 2010 Democratic Elections and the 2011 Referendum: What Next for Sudan?"
David de Chand, Senior National Expert, The Presidency, Khartoum

Business Meeting 3:30-4:30 p.m., Stewart Center 322

Banquet/Dinner: 5:00 p.m., PMU Anniversary Drawing Room
Keynote Speaker: Peter Bechtold

SUNDAY, MAY 30th, 2010

PANEL #7 **Post-Election Possibilities**
9.30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m., Stewart Center 322
CHAIR: Ali Ali-Dinar

"The Post Referendum Scenarios"
Ayok Chol Ahow, Barrister and Solicitor, Juba, Southern Sudan
"Immediate Post-Referendum Programs for Southern Sudan"
B. Yongo-Bure**,** Kettering University
"Language as an Element of Unity in Multi-Lingual Post-War Sudan"
Ahmed Gumaa Siddiek, King Saud University

PANEL #8a **Colonialism and Independence**
12:00 Noon to 2:00 p.m., Stewart Center 322
CHAIR: Sam Laki

"Elite Domination, Fragmentation at the Center, and the Politics of Crisis in Post-Independence Sudan"
Miklos Gosztonyi, Northwestern University
"The Impact of British Racism on the Sudan"
Kim Searcy, Loyola University
"Between National Unification and Cultural Imperialism: History Teaching and Language Policy in Late Colonial Sudan, 1946-1956"
Iris Seri-Hersch, IREMAM-Université de Provence
"The Mysterious Kadi of Khartoum"
Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Rhode Island College

PANEL #8b **Darfur**
12:00 p.m. to 2:00 p.m., Stewart Center 310
CHAIR: Lako Tongun

"AMIS and the Darfur Conflict: Sudanese Responses to the African Union Intervention"
Irit Back, Tel Aviv University
'Aid in Darfur? The Political Over-determination of the Aid Architecture?'
Jide Martyns Okeke, University of Leeds

Luncheon: 2:00 p.m., PMU Anniversary Drawing Room
Keynote Speakers: Richard Lobban and Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, "Recollections of the Numeiri Years"
Closing Comments by SSA Officers

Banquet speaker, Peter Bechttold (Foreign Service Institute,, retired) making a point about the media's frequent misrepresentation of Sudan

ANNOUNCEMENT OF 2011 CONFERENCE

ISSUES IN SUDANESE UNITY AND SEPARATION AFTER 2011 (tentative title)

The 2011 annual meeting of the SSA will take place at Ohio State University, Athens, Ohio from May 11-14, 2011. Panel suggestions and paper titles and abstracts welcome: Please contact: Randall Fegley (raf8@psu.berks.edu) & Laura Joseph (joseph.184@osu.edu)

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Richard Lobban has been apaproved as a new member of the International Society for Nubian Studies at its 2006 General meeting in Warsaw, and confirmed this year at tis general meeting in London at the British Museum.

MINUTES OF THE 2010 SSA BUSINESS MEETING

SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
29th ANNUAL MEETING
PURDUE UNIVERSITY
BUSINESS MEETING MINUTES
Saturday 29 May 2010, 3:30 – 4:30 PM

The meeting was called to order by President Stephanie Beswick.

INTRODUCTION OF TEMPORARY OFFICERS
Richard Lobban will continue to serve as Executive Director
Jay Spaulding will act as Secretary

TREASURER'S REPORT
Executive Director Richard Lobban submitted his treasurer's report.
The TIAA/CREF endowment account contains $16,521.61
The running expenses account contains $3,557.88 and the Purdue conference cost was $2,222.65

MEMBERSHIP REPORT
Executive Director Richard Lobban submitted his membership report.
SSA membership has declined slightly to about 150 as inactive former members were purged. (The SSA had a maximum membership of about 300, but not all of these were ever in good standing.)

THE SSA BULLETIN
It was announced that the plan is to shift the SSAB to an online format, to be available through the SSA website. Hardcopy will continue to be supplied to libraries, and to individuals swilling to negotiate the appropriate arrangements and pay a surcharge.
The nature of the SSAB was discussed. It is an academic publication open to all disciplines, and a useful tool for younger Sudanists seeking entrée into the world of publication.
The relationship of the SSAB to the University of Khartoum and other Sudanese institutions was discussed.
The possibility of an Arabic edition was discussed.

THE SSA WEBSITE
Ways in which to augment and improve the SSA website were discussed.

FUTURE MEETINGS

The 2011 annual meeting will be hosted by Ohio State University at Columbus, OH
The 2012 annual meeting will be hosted by Arizona State University at Tempe, AZ
Plans for the next international meeting, perhaps in Germany, remain at the discussion stage.
The meeting was adjourned.
Respectfully submitted,
Jay Spaulding
Acting Secretary

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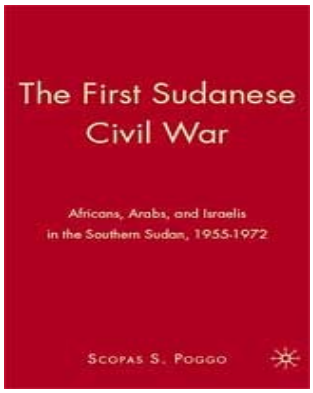
BOOK REVIEWS



Poggo, Scopas S. ***The First Sudanese Civil War: Africans, Arabs, and Israelis in the Southern Sudan, 1955-1972,*** Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009.

Reviewed by Dateije Green, independent film maker, Toronto, Canada

On January 9, 2005, the late Dr. John Garang de Mabior, Chairman and Commander-in-Chief of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army, delivered his victory speech upon signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement for Southern Sudan. From the podium in Nairobi to the Sudanese people, Africans, Arabs and the world community at large he declared:

> *With this peace agreement, we have ended the longest war in Africa - 39 years of two wars since August 1955 out of 50 years of our independence. And if we add the 11 years of Anyanya II, then Sudan had been at war within itself for 49 years, which is the whole of its independence period. [...]*
>
> *The war we are ending today first broke out in Torit on 18 August 1955. Four months before independence. And so the south, like other marginalized parts of the Sudan, were really not part of that independence. With this peace agreement we begin the process of achieving real independence by all Sudanese people and for all the Sudanese people.*

Garang's tribute to the Torit mutiny of August 1955, as the spark that initiated southern Sudanese resistance to post-colonial domestic domination, stands as a powerful public act of recollection and remembrance. It is also the starting point of Sudanese historian Scopas Poggo's new book on Sudan's first civil war, also known as Anya Nya I. In his 2005 address Garang recalled his own initiation during this period when, as a teenager in 1962, he first "left Sudan for the bush" to join the south's original liberation struggle waged by a fledgling guerilla force that, eight months later, would name itself the Anya Nya movement.

In *The First Sudanese Civil War: Africans, Arabs, and Israelis in the Southern Sudan, 1955-1972,* Scopas Poggo chronicles this nascent period of Sudan's nation formation from the underrepresented perspective of the peoples of the south. With this comprehensive and original work the author makes an essential contribution to historical scholarship on the politics of Sudan's armed conflicts and peace agreements. He duly responds to the need to bear witness to the complex agency of peoples who have, for more than

fifty years, been consumed with the exigencies of war and exile. Poggo provides extraordinary detail in documenting southerners' resistance to, and experiences of, repression, violence and collective punishment at the hands of Sudanese government leaders and their security forces. He puts on record the events that led to half a century of widespread insecurity, destruction and suffering in each of the regions of the south. And he contextualizes the consequent flight of hundreds of thousands of southern refugees, including the author's own family, across Sudan's borders with Uganda, Ethiopia, Congo (DRC), Central African Republic, and Kenya.

Through extensive use of oral accounts given by southern Sudanese political and military protagonists, testimonials from foreign missionaries, and rare archival documents gleaned in private collections scattered across the world, Poggo has produced a text that writes the turbulent and uneven process of southern Sudanese identity formation into the larger body of African political history.

Synopsis

The story opens with the Torit mutiny of 1955, led by Latuko soldiers of the colonial Equatoria Corps. The author unfurls the narrative of this first collective armed act of defiance against the Northern Arab elite that was colonially groomed to inherit national power. The mutiny was insufficiently organized and swiftly defeated by the joint military assaults of the departing British and the incoming Sudanese administration. But it was an unmistakable signal of a desire for self-determination among southern Sudanese - one that had yet to find its form and be clearly and collectively articulated.

Poggo shows how the confrontation initiated by the Torit mutineers was keenly observed by other southern battalions and communities that held identical resentments about past abuses and exploitation at the hands of Ottoman, Egyptian, and British colonizers, as well as Arab slavers. However, at the time, southerners were still largely preoccupied with internal differences and harbored mistrust amongst themselves. This was in sharp contrast to the Northern Sudanese regime, which saw the southern Sudanese as a unitary, albeit infantilized, collective threat.

In defense of their new authority and supremacist plans for a wholly Arabized and Islamic national society, the powers in Khartoum acted quickly and preemptively on their fear of more southern uprisings. They initiated a series of repressive, violent, deceptive and divisive measures that would wreak havoc on the villages and people of the south for years to come. Where politicians promised amnesty and inexperienced southerners surrendered, government forces were ordered to respond with summary executions, mass arrests and wholesale relocation of villages to controlled "peace camps." Such acts were followed by arbitrary detentions, forced replacement of local security forces, and calculated massacres - all waged by government military. These were accompanied by religious repression and persecution meted out through the expulsion of Christian missionaries and the Arabization of the education system. Under the guise of "nationalizing" education and bringing more schools to the south, this program pledged access only to those children of families that renounced their indigenous and Christian beliefs.

As the author points out, it was through this collective experience of persecution that the disparate peoples and regions of the south would eventually come to see themselves as a singular entity in opposing their northern adversaries. While this would become a collective commitment to armed resistance as the priority means of struggle, it did not easily translate into agreement on military and political leadership, nor a common vision of what victory would look like, beyond an end to subjugation. In a region deliberately underdeveloped for more than a century, southerners had more than enough will for the battle, but only a handful had the training, resources or skill to effectively lead the struggle. Poggo's work introduces us to a number of those key leaders, their roles, alliances, key contributions, as well as the conditions and environments from which they arose. He brings to life the very land of southern Sudan, systematically naming villages previously known only to local inhabitants. He describes the topography, draws the political landscape and maps some of the changing relationships between ethnic groups of Equatoria, Bahr Al-Ghazal and Upper Nile.

Poggo puts on the historic record horrific massacres by the Sudanese Army in the villages of Haforiere in 1955 and Nyikwar in 1963. These broaden the picture of the severity of repression

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Poggo puts on the historic record horrific massacres by the Sudanese Army in the villages of Haforiere in 1955 and Nyikwar in 1963. These broaden the picture of the severity of repression felt by the southern Sudanese people, adding to the more widely known pogroms of Juba and Wau in July 1965.

Innovative Method

Unlike other historical takes on this period of Sudan's national history, Poggo does not adopt a linear-time approach to the telling of events. In his method he works like an artisan carving a piece of wood, diligently chipping away at layers of the same story from many different sides, multiple viewpoints and varied interests. Thus, he permits a repeated re-examination of history by exploring the processes of repression, rebellion, counterinsurgency, protest and guerilla resistance that take place within the same relative period one layer at a time. He defies a common tendency among documentarians to default to a singular or, at best, bi-polar framing. His method necessitates more equitable authority of remembrance among the disparate and sometimes competing voices in the struggle for a southern political unity. As such Poggo's text gives a more democratic treatment of his informants whether they be Joseph Lagu, Clement Mboro, Gordon Muortat Mayen, John Ukech Lueth among others whose contributions were important in the development of the southern resistance.

Indeed, his cyclical methodology is compelling in that it permits the retelling of the same event several times. This facilitates a complex encounter with the forces at play, the protagonists and victims involved and other local and global forces each with their own interests at stake. Through this technique, we gain critical insight into formal and informal, internal as well as external multi-scalar engagements with both the southern resistance and Khartoum's state-led campaigns of repression. This provides a necessary regional and international context which helps flesh out the character of southern Sudan that could only be revealed by the author's unique method, choice of organization, and his decision not to compromise on even the smallest of details gleaned in his research. By the final chapter, a fuller story of the potent and compelling place of the southern Sudanese people, and this seventeen-year, period of their struggle, stands recovered and redrawn into the modern history of Africa and the world.

Poggo's book contains three timely achievements. First, it puts the detailed and active agency of southern Sudanese people on the scholarly record. Second, it discloses the complex relationships, rivalries, obstacles and interests among southern Sudanese people, as they were faced with starting a movement from scratch, and breaking a long isolation from each other and from global political and socio-economic influences. Third, it situates the first Sudanese war in a sub-national, national and international context of contestations between Marxism and capitalism, political Islam and colonial Christianity, Arab and Anglo-American interests, and the growth of arms flows endemic to that era.

Poggo's account nonetheless falters on some of the all-too-common limitations of war histories. *The First Sudanese Civil War* is, once again, a story of whole people told through the voices of men. While it may be true that men have predominantly sought and competed for the formal political and military leadership positions, it is never the case that they are the only protagonists in such struggles. Significant Sudan scholars such as Beswick (among others) have documented women's military participation against colonial forces as well as their active subversion and mobilization in communities and everyday life. Yet the stories of women in the time of Anya Nya, and indeed, the SPLM/A are still to be told. Unfortunately Poggo's text gives scant attention to the socio-political aspects of the Sudanese war. The few women, girls and families of his male informants who appear in this text are most often rendered as victims of repression, bystanders to events, targeted relatives of pursued southern leaders, or simply backdrops as members of communities who faced mass disruption. Their agency and their names are effectively absent. In the case of southern Sudan, like many other war-ravaged jurisdictions, finding reliable and informative documentation is difficult. But historians of liberation struggles must take up the challenge against all erasures, and push their research beyond gender norms and assumptions. This is an ongoing imperative of all engaged scholarship.

the awkward, sometimes contradictory responses of neighboring African countries, as well as the cold-war utilitarian interests of the U.S. and Soviet Bloc, and the seemingly unlikely, but critical intervention of Israel and its defense forces which viewed Sudan as an extra-territorial extension of the Middle East Conflict.

Through the middle of the book, one begins to sense the multi-dimensional, living character of southern Sudan that could only be revealed by the author's unique method, choice of organization, and his decision not to compromise on even the smallest of details gleaned in his research. By the final chapter, a fuller story of the potent and compelling place of the southern Sudanese people, and this seventeen-year, period of their struggle, stands recovered and redrawn into the modern history of Africa and the world.

Conclusion

In many ways the story of southern Sudan, its wars and the people's undying desire to find the right recipe for peace is a critical conundrum of our times. Scholars, politicians, soldiers, diplomats, faith agents, relief agents and peacemakers have each taken their turn at explaining, and even intervening in, the "southern problem." As each new generation of interested parties confronts the question of Sudan, the true way forward will open to those who seek most to understand the past. This understanding will not arise from conjecture or rhetoric, no matter how passionate, but from the careful examination of historical events and experiences, in all their painful and sometimes unsightly complexity. Scopas Poggo's, *The First Sudanese Civil War*, serves as a foundational text in this regard. It should be recommended reading for all students and scholars of Africa, the Middle East, peace and development, and any who wish to understand, engage with or otherwise liberate the people of Sudan.

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MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION

Please send your articles, news and notes on Sudan studies to the editor at: cfluehr@ric.edu

We are looking for a new book review editor(s) for the Bulletin, Please VOLUNTEER!

"BALLOT" by Acclamation

Recommended as new Board Members:
Scopas Poggo, Ohio State University
Salma Muhammad, Purdue University

Please express your support or rejection by 31 December 2010 to the Executive Director.

After 1 January 2011 the Executive Director will announce the whether these two nominees have been approved for a two year period of service from 2011 to 2013.

HELP GROW THE SSA

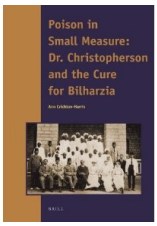
The SSA is nearing its 30th year, and its membership is aging too. Please help us grow by recommending to the Executive Director, or the SSA President the names and contact information of potential new members from anywhere in the world. Although based in the US, we have always been an international organizations—Sudanese Studies without Borders! If you are already a member, please do not forget to renew your membership. The SSA Bulletin and running annual conferences are expensive, and require the support of our members.

Crichton-Harris, Ann: *Poison in small measure: Dr. Christopherson and the cure for bilharzia*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009.

Reviewed by: Mariam Sharif, B.A. & Enrico Ille M.A.

Ann Crichton-Harris' publication is the result of eight years research about Dr. John Brian Christopherson, who lived 1868-1955. In the introduction, she clarifies that her regard for Dr. Christopherson is not just because he was her uncle, but also because his life story represents "one man's experience in Africa when tropical medical was coming into its own, a time seen retrospectively as the 'golden age of tropical medicine'" with "[o] pportunities for discovery, treatments, cures." The book is not only a biography of his professional life; its narrative is also embedded into the development of health systems in the colonized countries that Christopherson worked in, like Sudan. In the latter country, he worked for two decades from 1902, and in 1917 he found there the cure for bilharzia (schistosomiasis). The author documents some aspects of the establishment of tropical medicine as a discipline during his working life, and relates his input to other physicians' contributions, for example discoveries of diseases like bilharzia, malaria, and smallpox, and remedies for them.

Crichton-Harris discusses these topics on 415 pages, divided into fifteen chapters. She derived her data from official and personal letters, and official reports, written by him and others. Additionally, she included published papers about his work in general and bilharzia in specific, available records, interviews with physicians and relatives, as well as pictures. To get access to these materials, she accumulated over the years a numerous body of contacts and connected herself to a network of institutions interested in her research. Appendixes show furthermore an analysis of Christopherson's dosing, and a list of his publications and letters.



The cure for bilharzias & its connection to Sudan

In the introduction, the author prepares three perspectives. She outlines the source of her interest for Christopherson as a person and describes first encounters with comments and writings about him. Subsequently, however, she introduces also main aspects of the development of tropical medicine in Britain and of the relations inside the colonial system, especially in Sudan. While the text is organized in general chronologically around Christopherson's life, these other two aspects pervade the whole narrative through excursions and side lines.

Crichton-Harris presents the discovery of the cure of bilharzia as central moment of Christopherson's life, which she calls the 'aha' moment. In Chapter One, she sets off with a seemingly historiographical question, namely, if he indeed discovered it as 'the first', enabling him to claim priority in the official history of medical biosciences. She discloses, however, from the beginning the ambiguity and challenging quality of this claim, and opens thus the interesting and exciting observation, of how a scientific 'fact' is developed. In this way, she avoids simplifying the process of 'discovery' as an individual achievement, but introduces the reader into the complex interaction of manifold actors and institutions involved in it.

The author travelled to the sites of Christopherson's life, now she roves with us through the text from his homeland to all countries he worked in, standing on a present place and taking us to the past by memory. She follows his stages from being a tanner, a clergyman in rural north Lancashire to the life in the drawing rooms of the gentry of Newcastle, Hartlepool, and London as physician. Superseding his first professional background, he succeeded to graduate from Cambridge and worked in Bartholomew's Hospitals, London. He moved on to the best-equipped field hospital in the Boer war, and spent two decades since 1909 as director of the civil hospitals in Khartoum and Omdurman.

This was also his most productive and also most troubled period. Christopherson arrived in Sudan in 1902 and was appointed Director of the Sudan Medical Department in 1904, several troubles about the appointment followed. In 1908 the Council of Secretaries started an investigation in the Department; Christopherson was removed, but started to work for the civil hospitals of Omdurman and Khartoum. Again he caused financial problems by additional expenses for improvements he tried to make, and in 1911 he was summoned before a Court of Enquiry. In 1915, Dr. Leonard Rogers and

others accomplished successful treatment of leishmaniasis by antimony injections in India, and Christopherson, who began to use the same treatment, transferred it successfully to cure bilharzia in May 1917. From 1918 onwards, he published about his findings, and was nominated in 1920 for the Nobel prize for medicine, which was finally awarded to August Krogh. During the First World War, he had also short periods in Serbia and France for wartime duty. After his return to England, he was in charge of the bilharzia clinic of the Ministry of Pensions and worked finally in consulting rooms near Harley Street in London.

This long way had many windings. In Sudan, the first challenge was his relation with the Government, especially during Wingate's Governor-Generalship. In 1904, Wingate still showed himself interested in Dr. Christopherson's successful management of the outbreak of smallpox. But in a letter of 1908, he stated that Christopherson had "excellent qualities" but "he has altogether failed to obtain the friendship or confidence of any of his profession […] and I am afraid that theses defects, or whatever they may be called, had a good deal to say to his want of success in South Africa and other places" (67-68).

What Wingate expresses here as a personal flaw of Christopherson, appears in Crichton's differentiated description as conflict of two contradictory biomedical policies. Christopherson followed the line of the British government concerning smallpox, whereby the vaccination policy of the British homeland was merely transferred to the colonies. But when he started to extend the logic of prevention to diseases, which were by official definition tropical diseases, he was at odds with the dominant strategy of powerful actors like the Wellcome Research Laboratories under Sir Andrew Balfour and Henry Wellcome, which were much nearer to the administrative priorities of the Sudan Government. This strategy prioritized the prevention of the spread of diseases like malaria and bilharzia among the British staff, but included no larger budget for the systematic fight against these diseases among the 'indigenous' population.

But Christopherson's personal relation to most of the British community was indeed a further challenge. Crichton represents his intention for work in Africa with the words: "Doubtless he saw the opportunity to work in Africa as exciting and a chance really to make a difference, to help 'civilize' the indigenous population, and to enhance the Empire". (97) But at the same time, he 'lacked' what was important to most of the other ex-pats and their social environment. On the one side, he spent little time with his British colleagues in the Sudan Club in Khartoum, on the other side, 'local' colleagues like Egyptian, Sudanese and Syrian physicians had his support and friendship.

This does not mean that each side existed as a homogenous block, and Christopherson had a few friendships on both 'sides'. But the author indicates that the uncertainty of his stand increased "the exclusionary politics of his being 'not one of us' that surfaced from time to time to his disadvantage. He seemed not to see race as a bar to promotion and recognition." (44) Furthermore she points at the problematic relation with 'local' colleagues, which included all people not coming from Europe and were treated as lower category not only in the government's hierarchy, but also in the public space.

In this direction, Crichton-Harris adds critical questions about the colonial health policy concerning bilharzia, which migrated also through the new cotton irrigation canals from Egypt to Sudan, and from North Sudan to South Sudan: How much did the British know of the risk? Did they weigh the risk of infection for thousands of their workers against the financial gain of income from the Lancashire cotton mills?

There is much, which can be learned from this narrative. The manifold picture of inner workings of the colonial body contributes to a differentiated historical debate about the nature of colonial rule and its post-colonial legacy. The variety of intentions to engage oneself in the colonies becomes as apparent as the diversity of moral positions. Medical history materializes also not just as a single evolutionary line, but is observed additionally as the interaction of knowledge of diseases and treatments among both British physicians and the indigenous population.

However, some questions may be added. The ethical aspect of the sources of biomedical research would lead to more consideration of how human bodies are used as material to test drugs: Whose body is used based on whose awareness about the process? Who is the beneficiary of the results, and who decides about their credibility and reliability?

Overall, Ann Crichton-Harris wrote a readable, very detailed and insightful account of a particular, but nevertheless important part of medical history, and contributes a valuable chapter to the colonial historiography of colonial Sudan.

Taghreed Elsanhouri interviewing Darfuri women for her first film, *All About Darfur*

FILM REVIEW

Mother Unknown

Reviewed by Wendy Wallace, London, UK, author of *Daughter of Dust* (also reviewed in this issue)

Mother Unknown, an independent film by Taghreed Elsanhouri, provides an illuminating insight into one of Sudan's most pressing – if least discussed – social problems. Sex outside marriage is illegal in Sudan, punishable by flogging for both men and women. Despite this, births outside marriage occur in large numbers. In practice, it is the women who face the shame and terror of public flogging and who are left holding the babies that result from the illicit relationships.

Elsanhouri's sensitive and enquiring film takes views from a spectrum of parties. Dr Jumaibay is director of Mygoma orphanage, an institution which has existed in Khartoum since at least the 1960s, although few know of its whereabouts in the backstreets. It is Mygoma orphanage that receives the daily harvest of newborns abandoned on the street, in the backs of rickshaws, by shuttered shops. But, says Dr. Jumaiby, these are the children (or rather, grandchildren) of 'stable, well-educated' families. Not the war-affected, the displaced, the destitute - who also contribute to Sudan's abandoned children.

Jumaibay tried to institute a mother and baby room at the orphanage. Mothers who breast-feed, he reasons, bond with their babies and work harder to somehow find a way of incorporating them into their lives. The ministry ordered the closure of the mother and baby room. The subject of unwed mothers is always deeply political in Sudan and commitment from the Ministry of Social Welfare towards fledgling adoption and fostering programmes waxes and wanes, as do the fortunes of the agencies trying to implement these programmes.

The film opens with horrific photographs of three baby girls. One was the victim of stabbing – a dozen wounds were inflicted on her, Jumaiby surmises by the mother or her family. Another newborn had been partially eaten by dogs after her abandonment on the street. Her head was stitched together but she died days later. A third baby girl had been discovered in a pit latrine. This stark opening tells a truth that Sudanese society prefers to deny. It is the dark side to the famous traditional kindness and warmth of the civil society. As one unmarried mother put it: 'sometimes, the Sudanese lose their sense of mercy.'

Elsanhouri herself adopted a child from Mygoma orphanage, which perhaps partially accounts for the trust her subjects accord her. She does not betray it. The film follows the stories of a young mother – interviewed anonymously, for her own safety, who took a job as a nanny at the orphanage in order to remain close to her daughter while she waits in hope for the father of the child to come back to her. 'No matter how far you go from Sudan', she told her lover, one of the many Sudanese who seek work abroad, 'you can't flee from God.'

Fleeing is exactly what most of the fathers do, however. They change their mobile numbers, disappear, deny all knowledge of the women and generally try – and usually

succeed to evade their responsibilities.

Not all of them, however. Adam, a rickshaw driver, made efforts to be a father to the daughter he had with his girlfriend, despite attempts by her family to distance themselves conclusively from the baby.

'I also felt pregnant,' says this young man. He visited his girlfriend's mother to try to tackle the problem. She begged him not to tell her husband, saying the husband would divorce her and send her back to her parents. It is a measure of the extent of the fear felt when family honour, as understood in northern Sudan, is under threat.

Whatever the human agonies of the women, the system does not encourage either men or women do to more than dump their baby at Mygoma and flee. Contemplating collecting his daughter from her foster family, Adam is made to understand he must face his 80 lashes in order to get the paperwork to take the child to her grandmother in the countryside. He first visits the baby, taking a gift. But new pink pyjamas do little to alter the sad and listless demeanour of the child he finds, lost in a foster family in a poor neighbourhood.

This is the real tragedy of the situation. While the society exacts a cruel punishment on the women who fall pregnant, the fate awaiting their infants – if they live – is far worse. In Mygoma orphanage, comments Elsanhouri – 'infection spreads fast and only the fittest survive.' Her own son had lost his sight by the time she adopted him, after infection following surgery.

Mygoma orphanage looks better than when I first went there, in the 1980s, and saw pitiful, under-nourished babies lying two to a cot, with bottles propped in their mouth, flies circling. It looks better even than it did three years ago, the last time I went there. There are new cots, new tiles in place of concrete on the floors, western-style car seats in which the babies are rocked by nannies.

But the essential problem – of the child's unmet emotional needs – remains.

Even those children who survive and grow to maturity face enormous struggle to make any kind of life for themselves. 'She has lived the same loneliness I have lived,' says the young mother whose story is told in the film, of her baby. 'And when she is grown, she is going to face many social problems. She's not going to be able to face society.' In Sudan, where family is all, those without family face a life time of marginalisation, with little prospect of marriage, employment or belonging.

All of modern-day Khartoum is in this film. The glittering river and newly-bristling skyline. The seas of plastic bottles, on waste ground, the feral, roaming dogs. The *tobe*-clad matriarchs who uphold the cruel moral judgments, talking on their mobile phones in the street. The sharply-dressed young men sitting by the roadside eyeing girls, sweet talking them while considering them prostitutes. The lines of pious worshippers, outside the central mosque.

The stories are interspersed with recitations from the Qur'ran, including one relating to Mary, and the immaculate conception. 'Would that I had been a thing forgotten and out of sight,' she laments. The agony in this is echoed in the voices of the young women pregnant outside marriage, through very real conceptions.

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'You feel entirely alone,' one explains. 'That there's no one beside you. That everyone's against you.'

The situation shames not the young women who according to Sudanese mores make a mistake in their lives but the men who deceive them, the society that casts them out without compassion and the system that makes no provision for them to maintain a relationship with their babies but instead requires they be publicly flogged.

The film over-uses footage of 'normal' children at the funfair, and the stories of the young mothers seem to run into each other somewhat at the end. But this is a fine and important film which ought to be seen widely in Sudan as well as outside, as part of changing social attitudes.

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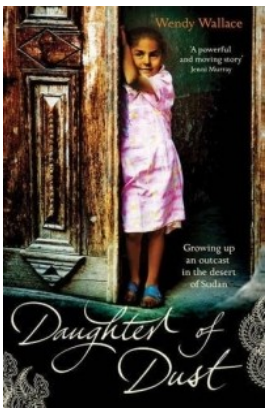

A remarkable book about one of Sudan's most challenging subjects, its orphans of war and social disruption

***Daughter of Dust*, by Wendy Wallace, Simon and Schuster, UK, 304 pgs, 2009.**

Reviewed by Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban

The author and her inspiration, Nour Hussain, Khartoum, 2007. (photo cfl)

Daughter of Dust is a novella based on the life story of a remarkable woman whose frank telling of her story details a life defined by northern Sudan's most taboo subject, children abandoned due to alleged illegitimacy. In reality Sudan's orphans result from serious dysfunction in families unable to cope with the catastrophes of war, social dislocation, and the stresses of life in Sudan over the last quarter-century. At the outset I must inform the reader that I am one of the best insider reviewers for the work, and perhaps one of the least objective. The author was my roommate in 2007 when I was conducting research for my latest book and I came to know the subject of her novella based on the life of a strong woman with a powerful story. Wendy and I had many absorbing conversations about our experiences of life in Sudan, and we discussed this project at length, the details of the story, its mission, the ethical implications of its telling and we shared the insights of British and American women, each of whom has had significant experiences in Sudan. It was through Wendy and the telling of this story of one Sudanese woman that I came to know the world of Sudan's abandoned children and of

the story, documentary style, of Mygoma.

Unlike the film's title "Leila Aziz" knew her mother and was placed in Mygoma as a child with her siblings due to her mother's diagnosed mental illness. Her abandonment was emotional by the circumstances of her mother's illness and her father's absence in her life. She was a resilient youth who nonetheless suffered questions about her personal identity that nearly every child growing up outside of the bounds of the traditional nuclear or extended family experiences. A strong student and a leader among the children at Mygoma, Leila longed for the "normal" life her friends at school knew, some of whom referred to her as "bint haram" (daughter of sin). Her best friend Amal from a middle class family gave her a realistic picture of this normal life she was deprived. Given the stigma of presumed illegitimacy from abandonment, Leila's older sister Zulima was considered fortunate to have been "married off" to an older gentleman. However, the sense of family constructed by the caring Nannies and other children at Mygoma is vibrant in Wallace's telling, and Leila is at times little or big sister, or a substitute mother to many younger than herself.

Leila was born in the Sudan of 1969 and grew up during the Numieri years. Connections with this history dot the book's narrative and add to the authenticity of the story. One highpoint of Leila's young life was meeting and performing a song for president Ja'afar Numeiri who was so impressed with her performance that he gave her a fine present and she had her picture taken with him. Apparently Numeiri—who never had any children-- took an interest in Mygoma and fancied himself something its most iconic symbol, Mygoma Orphanage in Khartoum. The film *Mother Unknown*, reviewed in this issue, tells

of a patron.

The story of Leila is told in rich detail of the sensory experience of Sudanese daily life in the greater Khartoum area. Its sounds and smells, the habits and expressions of ordinary people, and the routines of days and seasons are vividly woven into Leila's story. For anyone familiar with northern Sudanese culture, in this respect, the book is a sheer joy to read.

The author became acquainted with Nour as she was preparing a BBC Radio 4 feature on Khartoum's abandoned babies, and on Mygoma orphanage. She found Nour's story of abandonment, survival, and eventual transformation compelling and proposed the idea of a book. The book also resulted in a film and public acknowledgment of the identity of Leila Aziz as Nour Hussain. The book's sales have been divided between the author and her subject, and Nour has founded her own NGO to work more broadly with the social issue of Sudan's orphaned and abandoned children. Today Nour lives in Khartoum as a single mother of two biological children and two children adopted from Mygoma.

Wendy Wallace has not only successfully partnered with a single mother from Khartoum, but she has brought to life, both for the scholar and general public, a story emblematic of thousands. This is the real 'new Sudan' that has emerged in the last several decades where war, conflict, and major social disruption have created real stories like that of Leila Aziz.

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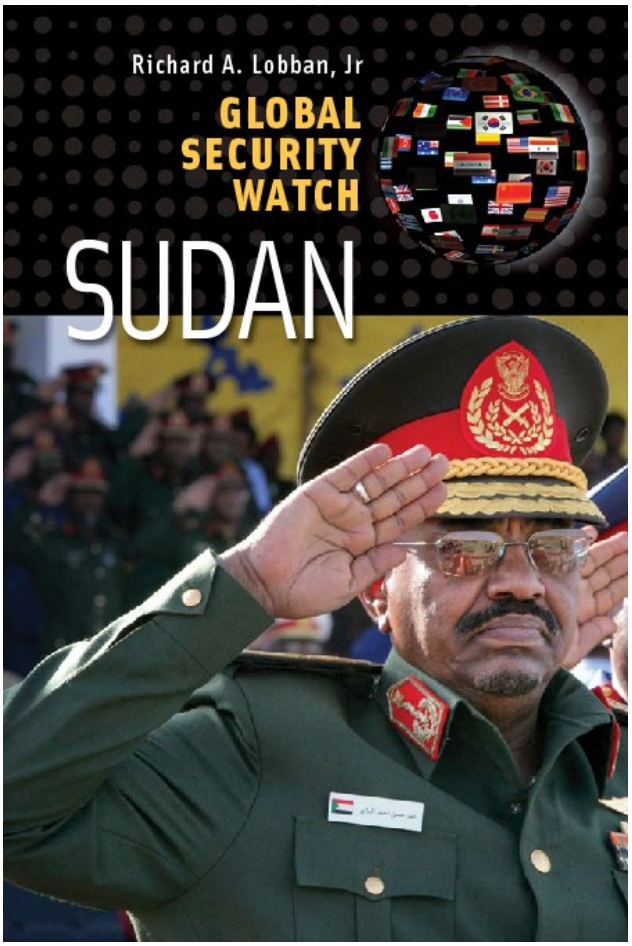

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Richard Lobban is Executive Director of the SSA and is Adjunct Professor of African Studies at the Naval War College in Newport, RI. He is co-author of *Historical Dictionary of Sudan*, and of Historical Dictionaries of Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau along with *Middle Eastern Women and the Informal Economy* and *Cape Verde, from Criolu Colony to Independent Nation*

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Meet your SSA Officers and Board Members from those present at the 2010 Annual conference at Purdue University ***THANK YOU to all who serve the SSA!***

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Top row, l-r: Sam Laki (Board), Jay Spaulding Book review co-editor, Ali Dinar, former president, C. Fluehr-Lobban, SSA Bulletin editor, Beniah Yongo-Bure, past president, Randall Fegley, President-elect

Manute Bol, legendary Basketball player and humanitarian, son of South Sudan passed away on June 19, 2010. The SSA honors his memory. *(see p. 8)*

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