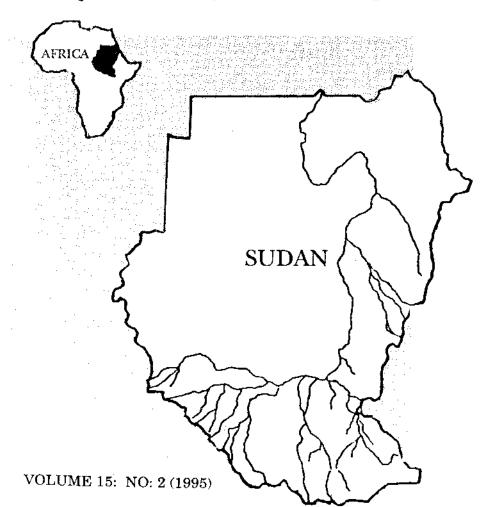
Editor
Dr. Constance E. Berkley
Program in Africana Studies
Vassar College
Box 316
Poughkeepsie, N.Y. 12601, USA

SSA NEWSLETTER

A PUBLICATION OF THE SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

نشرة جمعية الدراسات السودانية



T0:

President Nelson Kasfir

Department of Government

Dartmouth College

Hanover, NH 03755, USA Tel (603) 646-2549

email-NELSONKASFIR@DARTMOUTH.EDU

President-Elect Ahmed E. El Basher

801 Lanark Way

Silver Spring, MD 20901 Tel. (202) 274-5746 Fax (301) 593-1442

email-AMPH16A@PRODIGY.CDM

Editor Constance E. Berkley

Prog. in Africana Studies

Vassar College

Box 316, Poughkeepsie,

NY 12601, USA

Tel (914) 437-7487/7490

Fax (914) 437-7187

Executive Malik Balla

c/o African Studies Center

100 Center for International Studies

Michigan State University East Lansing, MI 48824-1035

Tel. (517) 353-6656 Fax (517) 432-2736

The Sudan Studies Association 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 has a cooperative relationship with the Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum. SSA works to foster closer ties among scholars in the Sudan, North America, Europe, the Middle East and other places.

ISBN 0899-3785

Director

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FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Peace and greetings to all of you, most of whom should now be preparing to dig into that manuscript which had to be put aside during those last hectic days of teaching.

Our recent meeting in Villanova was an intellectual and social success. Ann Lesch and her assistants were gracious hosts, and the Villanova campus is easily enjoyable. The Friday evening music was very special and it made us feel indeed welcome. The Editor and Publisher of Al Rai al Akher attended the entire conference, thus their 7 May issue is full of photos and reports concerning the conference. The pages of Al Rai al Akher also report a new discovery of oil in the Unity Well #16.

Al Rai al Akher is searching for information and ideas from members of the SSA; the paper includes several pages of English in its Arabic language editions. The newspaper reports also that Sadiq al Mahdi was re-arrested in mid-May. "The Sudan Human Rights Organization calls on all governments, human rights activists and organizations to exercise the maximum possible pressure on the Sudanese government to release Mr. Mahdi immediately or to bring him to trial before court, open to international observation." (20 May, 1995, Al Rai al Akher)

The African American community is becoming increasingly interested in social, historical and political affairs in the Sudan. The "New York Amsterdam News" (June 3, 10, 17, 1995) has just run a series of three articles by Yusef Salaam in which the writer states that there is no slavery currently being practiced in Sudan. Yusef Salaam was invited by Elombe Brath, of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, to speak at Harriet Tubman school, as part of a program stressing the importance of the connection between continental Africans and Africans of the diaspora. Yusef Salaam notes that the African and non-African people (some of them Sudanese) who swear to slavery existing in the Sudan are

attempting to gain support from diaspora Africans, for their own purposes. Yet those same people will not join an anti-police brutality demonstration involving African-Americans.

We wish to thank Heather Sharkey for her assistance with gathering data for the Newsletter and we wish her peace during her upcoming visit to Sudan, in the Fall.

Again, we solicit articles about current events in Sudan, Human Rights Issues in Sudan, scholarship on Sudan in progress, and book reviews of recent publications about Sudan. Please send all articles by fax or regular mail. The deadline for the Fall issue is 15 September or before.

13 June 1995

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Colleagues.

I congratulate all of you who were able to attend a most successful 14th annual meeting of the Sudan Studies Association at Villanova University last month. Many of you made great sacrifices to attend. I hope that everyone learned as much about as many issues as I did. For the smooth unfolding of the conference, we thank Ann Lesch and her devoted student staff. For making arrangements for the wonderful music after the banquet, we thank Ali Ali-Dinar. For an excellent luncheon speech, we thank Abdullahi an-Naim. We also thank the many officials of Villanova who contributed funds to underwrite the music, the conference rooms, and even the postage and telephone bills in arranging the conference. As a result, the SSA made a small profit on the conference.

The newly elected members of the SSA Board of Directors are Marilyn Fetterman and Abbanik Hino. We are pleased to have their counsel as we formulate our new policies.

I want to call your attention to some important decisions the Board and the members took during the conference:

Next year's conference will take place at HOWARD UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C. The dates will be Friday, 3 May through Sunday, 5 May 1996. Please take note of these dates. President-Elect Ahmed El-Bashir has agreed to be the local arrangements organizer. This is a difficult and time-consuming burden. As recently as our meetings at Michigan State University two years ago, he took on the task of program organizer. We are grateful for his willingness to take on one of the two major conference tasks again.

As you just noticed, the days of the week of the annual conference have been changed from Thursday to Saturday to Friday to Sunday. One reason for this change is to allow those members who are not academics to attend more of the conference without losing a working day. Another is to allow members who fly to the conference to take advantage of supersaver airfares by staying over a Saturday night without adding an extra night's hotel expense.

Next year all those who propose to give papers must preregister for the conference in order to have their paper listed in the program. This is another important decision taken by both the Board and the Business meetings. Unfortunately, some of the scholars who propose papers do not show up at the meetings. This is especially disappointing for those who have read the preliminary program and attend our conference hoping to hear their papers. It also places an extra burden on the program organizer. We hope that everyone who wants to propose a paper will continue to do so. We also hope the preregistration will encourage them to make an extra effort to come to the SSA conference and present their work.

Finally, I want to thank Ann Lesch for her excellent work as Secretary to the Board for the past three years. We will have trouble replacing her with someone as efficient and as helpful.

I look forward to seeing all of you in Washington next May! More details will be announced in our next Newsletter.

Yours sincerely,

Nelson Kasfir

14TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE MINUTES

OLD BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING, SSA VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY, 12:45 pm, 5 May 1995

<u>Present</u>: Neison Kasfir (President), Ahmed el-Bashir (President-Elect), Malik Balla (Executive Director), Ann Lesch (Secretary), Constance Berkley (Newsletter Editor), Ismail Abdalla (Member), John Voll (Member)

Absent: Victoria Bernal, Salaah Hassan, Robert S. Kramer, Mohammed al-Nur (Members)

1. Announcements:

Marilyn Fetterman and Abannik Hino were elected to the Board for three year terms, 1995-1998.

2. Minutes:

The minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors on 21 April 1994, as reported in the <u>Newsletter</u>, Vol. 14, no. 2, were approved.

3. Report of Independent Auditor:

Sarah Voll, former co-Executive Director, reported (a) on the financial situation as of 31 August 1994 when the office of the Executive Director moved to Michigan State University, and (b) on the report of Minot D. Hill, covering the period 1 August 1990 to 31 August 1994, the period during which John and Sarah Voll were co-Executive Directors. The auditor's report is attached. The Board recommended members approve the auditor's report at the Business meeting. The Board commended the Volls for their effective management of the Association's finances and to the Volls

and Malik Balla for the smooth transition to the offices of the new Executive Director.

4. Financial Report:

Malik Balla reported that he has placed \$10,000 in a twoyear certificate of deposit. The major expenses of the Association involve printing and mailing the Newsletter, even though those costs are reduced by the contribution from Vassar College. The possibility of preparing the text at Vassar, but printing it at MSU will be explored. Postage for mailings to members are absorbed by MSU. Malik Balla commented that membership renewal has been low. He will send reminders to tardy members. The board recommended approval of the current year financial report.

5. Report of the Newsletter Editor:

Constance Berkley said she seeks contributions of articles, analyses and book reviews from members. She noted that she and Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, book review editor, need to get more books from publishers for review. John Voll suggested that the Newsletter regularly publish lists of dissertations completed and in progress.

6. Site and date for 15th annual conference:

Ahmed el-Bashir announced that through the kind offices of Prof. Robert Cummings of the Department of Political Science, Howard University in Washington, DC has offered to host the 15th annual conference in May 1996. Tentative dates are 2-4, 3-5 or 9-11 May. The Board decided that this and future conferences be held from Friday to Sunday rather than the traditional Thursday to Saturday. Nelson Kasfir agreed to be program organizer. El-Bashir will examine the issue of costs to make sure that Howard will not charge for the meeting rooms and that there will be

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inexpensive hotel accommodations. The exact dates and theme will be announced as soon as possible.

7. Site for the 4th international conference:

Both the University of Bergen and the American University in Cairo have offered to host the 4th international conference to be held in 1997. A conference at Bergen would be held in a hotel: the registration fee could be kept relatively low, but the cost of hotel accommodation and airfare would be high. More Sudanese would be able and willing to attend a conference in Cairo, hotel costs would be low, and airfare from the US might be no higher than to Norway. The consensus favored Cairo on the basis of cost and the larger number of Sudanese present in Cairo who might attend.

8. Preregistration requirement for program participants:

The Board passed a resolution, offered by Constance Berkley, that program participants must furnish an abstract and pay the registration fee before they will be added to the program to present papers or participate as member of roundtables, or as chairs or discussants.

9. Board members who do not attend board meetings:

The Board authorized Nelson Kasfir to ask absent Board members whether they prefer not to serve on the Board. Kasfir noted that the constitution provides that Board members who constituted two consecutive board meetings can be removed.

10. SSA representation at certain other meetings:

The Board passed Malik Balla's motion that John Voll be authorized to represent the SSA at meetings of Executive Directors of Affiliated Organizations of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) and at MESA.

The meeting ended at 2:00 pm.

Respectfully submitted,

Ann M. Lesch Secretary

* * * * *

Sudan Studies Association

Reviewed Financial Statements
As of August 31, 1994
And for the Period August 1, 1990 - August 31, 1994

Report of Independent Reviewer

To Drs. John and Sarah Voll, Executive Directors, and the Board of Other Directors of the Sudan Studies Association:

I have reviewed the accompanying balance sheet of the Sudan Studies Association, (a non-profit organization assisting in the evolution of current and historical knowledge of the country of Sudan) as of August 31, 1994, and the related statement of cash receipts and cash disbursements for the period August 1, 1990 through August 31, 1994. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Association's management. My responsibility is to express a review opinion on these statements.

A review is substantially less in scope than an audit. My review procedures, which are more fully discussed in the notes to these financial statements, principally involved a thorough testing of the transactions of the Association from the period August 1, 1990, through August 31, 1994. My review also contains the results of inquiries posed to the Treasurer of the Association.

Jay Spaulding, Kean College, "Blue Nile Notables and the Mahdiyya: Revolutionaries or Vicars of Bray?"

Heather J. Sharkey, Princeton University, "Mahdism Viewed from Mecca: A Contemporary Arabic Source (1884 - 85)"

Discussant: Robert Tignor, Princeton University

II. The Human Rights Crisis

Chair: Ann Mayer, University of Pennsylvania

Mohamed Osman Obeid El-Faki, American University, Cairo, "Islam and Human Rights: The National Islamic Front in Sudan"

John Prendergast, Center of Concern, Washington, D.C. "Human Rights Advocacy and Humanitarian Action in Southern Sudan"

Mohamed Elgadi, The Sudanese Victims of Torture Group, USA Chapter, "Islamic Torture: New Dimensions for the Conflict in the Sudan"

Discussant: Ann Mayer, University of Pennsylvania

12:45 - 2 pm Lunch [Old SSA Board meeting]

Based on the results of my review procedures and questions posed to the Treasurer of the Association, nothing came to my attention to indicate that the Balance Sheet of the Association as at August 31, 1994, and the Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Period August 1, 1990 through August 31, 1994, were not in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Minot D. Hill, CPA September 14, 1994

SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION BALANCE SHEET AS OF AUGUST 31, 1994

ASSETS

TOTAL NON-RESTRICTED RESTRICTED

Current Assets

Cash - Checking Acct \$12,299.95 \$12,299.95 \$0.00

FUND BALANCE

Fund Balance

Restricted Non-Restricted	\$ 0.00 12,299.95	12,299.95	\$0.00
Total Fund Balance	\$12,299.95	\$12,299.95	\$0.00
	SEE ACCOMPANY	ING NOTES	

SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND CASH DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE PERIOD AUGUST 1, 1990 -AUGUST 31, 1994

TOTAL NON-RESTRICTED RESTRICTED

SEE ACCOMPANYING NOTES

	TOTAL	NON- RESTRICTED	RESTRICTED	DISBURSEMENTS:		. <u> </u>	
RECEIPTS:				Publications: Newsletter	6,659.62	6,659.62	0.00
Memberships:				Other - Khartoum	600.00	600.00	0.00
Regular	11,983.00	11,983.00		Conference:			
Postage	389.55	389.55		Facilities	400.00	400.00	0.00
Contributions	454.00	454.00		Meals	6,953.57	6,953.57	0.00
Book Orders	751.00	751.00		Guests	12,582.59	1,632.59	10,950.00
Conference:				Other	2,586.96	2,586.96	0.00
Registration	6,115.00	6,115.00		Secretariat:			
Meals	6,323.50	6,323.50		Mailings	1,570.84	1,570.84	0.00
Grants:	•	,		Other	603.23	603.23	0.00
Ford Foundation	10,050.00		10,050.00	. .			
Emory University	900.00		900.00				
Inst of Afr & Asian St				TOTAL DISBURSE-			
Khrtm	1,000.00	1,000.00		MENTS	31,956.81	21,006.81	10,950.00
Interest:				• •	• • • • •		
Checking/Savings	1,087.03	1,087.03					
Miscellaneous:				EXCESS OF RECEIPTS			
Other	515.00	515.00		OVER DISBURSEMENTS	7,913.96	7,913.96	0.00
Reimbursements:				ELBID DAL ANOE			
Ismail Abdalla	302.59	302.59		FUND BALANCE,	4.005.00	4.005.00	
-		-		AUGUST 1, 1990	4,385.99	4,385.99	0.00
TOTAL RECEIPTS	39,870.77	28,920.77	10,950.00	FUND BALANCE, AUGUST 31, 1994	12,299.95	12,299.95	0.00
					·		

Sudan Studies Association

Notes to Financial Statements
Period August 1, 1990 - August 31, 1994

Accounting Policies General:

The Sudan Studies Association is an association that networks not only present day historians and sociologists who are studying Sudan's daily activities and the problems it faces with those who are studying the ancient historical and archeological aspects of the country also. The Society sponsors conferences and other meetings in the United States as well as direct contact with the country of Sudan.

In March of 1994, upon appropriate application with the Ford Foundation, the Association received a Grant of \$10,050 from the Foundation. These funds must be used only for charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes. The Association's use of the funds will be for educational purposes, providing funds for travel, accommodations and conference costs here in the United States. This grant will cover the costs of five attenders from the country of Sudan.

Method of Accounting:

The Association keeps its records on the cash receipts and cash disbursement method. All revenues are recognized when they are received and all expenses when they are paid. The Association's activities are somewhat sporadic in nature, depending upon the frequency of conferences and/or other meetings. Therefore revenues are received promptly and all associated expenses are paid within days of being incurred.

Funds received for special purposes such as the Ford Foundation grant are considered restricted in nature and are so presented on the Association's Balance Sheet and its Statement of Cash Receipts and Cash Disbursements.

Other:

The period of time covered by this report is from August 1, 1990 through August 31, 1994.

REVIEW PROCEDURES UTILIZED BY THE SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION REVIEWER:

1. An overall proof of cash was the procedure utilized by the independent reviewer. Four years and one month were involved in the review period.

The overall proof of cash entailed the following:

- A. The checking account activity was summarized for the total period. These totals were reconciled to the annual (1991-1993) and 1994 eight month report financial reports prepared by the Association's Treasurer.
- B. A summary of the last five months of 1990 was prepared by the reviewer so that the financial information presented would cover the complete term of the Association's Treasurer.
- C. The reports of the Treasurer were complete and accurate. The only ways in which the reviewer's report is different from the Treasurer's, is that two transactions were grossed up and presented in a slightly different manner, so that the numbers would more closely resemble total bank activity.

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- D. The balances of the checking and savings accounts of the prior treasurer were brought forward and utilized as beginning fund balances. No other review of the prior treasurer's information was performed, although his ending balances were indeed correct.
- 2. The books of original entry were reconciled to the monthly bank statements and the canceled checks. They were also reconciled to the Association's Financial Statements as prepared by the Treasurer.
- 3. A large sample of original receipt documents covering the period August 1, 1990 through August 31, 1994, were checked to the books of original entry. No exceptions were found.
- 4. A large sample of original disbursement documents covering the period August 1, 1990 through August 31, 1994, were checked to the books of original entry. No exceptions were found.
- 5. All related notes and correspondence were reviewed and the appropriate/necessary inquiries were made of the Association Treasurer.

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING, SSA VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY, 5 May 1995

1. Announcements:

Nelson Kasfir. President, announced the election of Marilyn Fetterman and Abannik Hino to the Board of Directors for three year terms. He reported that the Board of Directors had decided at its meeting on 5 May to:

a. Schedule future annual conferences from Friday to Sunday.

- b. Require panelists to pay their preregistration fee in order to appear in the program.
- c. A representative of Amnesty International requested members of the Association volunteer to help Al with its current campaign on Sudan.

2. Approval of Minutes:

The minutes for the Business Meeting of 21 April 1994 as printed in the Newsletter, Vol. 14, no. 2, were approved.

3. Report of Independent Auditor:

Sarah Voll, the former co-Executive Director, presented the report of Minot D. Hill, the independent auditor, covering the period 1 August 1990 - 31 August 1994. Members approved the Board's recommendation that the auditor's report be accepted.

4. Report of Executive Director:

Malik Balla reported on the current financial and administrative situation. He informed the membership that he had placed \$10,000 in a certificate of deposit which would create income to replace the loss of annual membership income from life members. He thanked Vassar College and Michigan State University for their contributions toward the Association's expenses. Several members urged the association to seek additional contributions for special events and/or to build its endowment. Mahmoud Amin Siddig, the president of the new newspaper al-R'ay al-Akher offered to advertise the association in his newspaper, and urged SSA members to submit articles to it.

5. Report of the Newsletter Editor:

Constance Berkley urged members to send information and articles in the Word Perfect computer program so that they could be easily reproduced. She will give specific instructions in each issue of the <u>Newsletter</u>. More book reviews are needed as well as lists of dissertations recently completed or in progress. Members commented that improvements in style and content should be made. The use of desktop publishing could give a more professional look to the Newsletter.

6. Site of the Fifteenth Annual Conference:

Members welcomed the invitation from Prof. Robert Cummings of the Political Science Department, Howard University to host the 15th annual meeting in May 1996.

7. Site of the Fourth International Conference:

Members discussed the proposals from the University of Bergen and American University in Cairo to host the 4th annual international conference in 1997. For reasons of cost, the desire to hold the conference where many Sudanese could attend, and the historical connection of Egypt to Sudan, members expressed a strong preference to meet in Cairo. It might be possible to hold the conference in 2000 in Bergen. The specific dates of the meeting are flexible. January would be a good choice; there might be cheaper air tickets in May. Richard Lobban was willing to organize a side trip to Nubia.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 pm.

Respectfully submitted, Ann M. Lesch, Secretary

MINUTES FOR THE 1995 NEW BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING SSA, VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY, 6 May 1995, 8:25 am.

<u>Present</u>: Nelson Kasfir (President), Ahmed el-Bashir (President-Elect), Malik Balla (Executive Director), Ann Lesch (Secretary), Constance Berkley (Newsletter Editor), Ismail Abdalla (Member), Marilyn Fetterman (Member), Robert Kramer (Member), John Voll (Member)

Absent: Abannik Hino, Mohammed al-Nur (members)

1. Continuation of present Secretary:

Ann Lesch's term as secretary ended with the 1995 meeting. However, no election had been held for a replacement. The Board voted to extend her term until an election can be held to select a new Secretary.

2. Further discussion of the 15th annual conference:

Ahmed el-Bashir agreed to seek a new date from Howard University for the conference in order to change the timing to Friday through Sunday and avoid Howard's graduation. He also agreed to look into costs of conference rooms and hotel rooms.

The tentative theme for the conference is "Reinterpretations of the Sudanese Experience: New Visions." The purpose of the theme is to emphasize the cultural dimensions of the Sudanese experience and forms of discourse not usually central at SSA meetings.

Several members hoped that more papers presented at the conference would be based on original and new research and be of higher quality, even if that means fewer presentations or a shorter conference. Members also suggested that there be more panels created in advance so that the panel organizer can exert greater quality control over papers presented.

3. The Fourth International Conference:

The Board recommended that the position of the SSA on the international conference be represented as preferring Cairo, preferably in May 1997.

The meeting ended at 9:15 am.

Respectfully submitted, Ann M. Lesch, Secretary

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MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION
Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting
December 6-10, 1995 - Washington, D.C.

The Middle East Studies Association announces its 29th annual meeting, December 6-10, 1995, at the Washington Hilton and Towers in Washington, D.C. The five-day meeting will include more than 125 panels and a variety of special sessions on the politics, history, literature, and language of the Middle East, among other subjects. The meeting is complemented by an exciting film festival and book exhibit. Pre-registration rates for non-MESA members are \$40 for students and \$70 for all others; on-site registration rates are \$55 for students and \$88 for all others. Inquiries about the meeting, including a preliminary program or information on lodging and travel, may be directed to: Middle East Studies Association, University of Arizona, 1232 North Cherry Avenue, Tucson, AZ 85721 (520/621-5850; fax: 520/321-7752; e-mail: mesa@ccit.arizona.edu).

* * * * *

FROM THE MEMBERS

"Military Force as Part of the Islamist Agenda: 1977-1989"
Presented by GABRIEL WARBURG
to the 14th annual SSA Meeting, Villanova, 4-6 May 1995

The rapid rise of the Muslim Brothers, later the National Islamic Front (NIF), following the 1977 National Reconciliation with President Ja'far al-Numaayri, can only be explained by their shrewd exploitation of the advantages offered them by the regime. Instead of a small tolerated opposition they became an important ally of the regime both in formulating Islamic policies and in implementing them. In the financial field they received taxbreaks in order to establish so-called Islamic banks which enabled them to manipulate the economy to their political and financial advantage. This factor, in turn, enabled them to enhance their international financial contacts, primarily in the Arabian Peninsula. It also boosted their support within the Sudan by the means of aid to their followers. Their affluence enabled the Brothers to reorganize their movement at a rapid pace and to expand it beyond the universities and colleges, who were their main constituency before the Numaayri coup. A noteworthy outcome of the better organization and finances of the NIF, may be observed in the outcome of the 11986 elections in which the party came in as the third political force, after the two sectarian blocs. The NIF was thus in a position to play-off the Umma and the DUP parties against each other, both while in opposition and in government.

But most important, as far as the main theme of this paper is concerned, was the fact that the Brethren were put in charge of courses in "Islamic ideology and instruction" for senior members of the Sudan Defence Force (SDF) thus enabling them, for the first time since they were founded, to infiltrate into the army's officers' corps with government blessing. Consequently, four members of the military council which has ruled the Sudan since

the June 1989 coup, including its leader 'Umar Hasan al-Bashir, attended their courses (1). To this an additional dangerous element was added al-Bashir's regime, namely the establishment of a so-called Popular Defence Force (PDF), consisting of several thousand militarily trained volunteers which according to reports was almost entirely dominated by the NIF and was similar to the iranian Revolutionary Guards, namely a force to perpetuate NIF domination even if the army proved hesitant (2).

Dr. Hasan 'Abdallah al-Turabi, the ideological leader of the Muslim Brothers and the NIF, claimed on more than one occasion that the movement was basically democratic in origin and only "became revolutionary because there was very little option left. The domestic order denied them freedom of organization and freedom of expression..." Moreover, since Islamists view western democracy as corrupt and hypocritical, they do not believe that they can achieve power democratically. Indeed, even should they gain the majority in democratic elections they believe that they would not be granted legal recognition, let alone power. The cancellation of Algeria's December 1991 election results by the military, provided them with an illustration to that effect. To quote al-Turabi, "Islam seems to be inevitable" and "if you want to avoid Islam, you have to avoid the ballot box completely because if you resort to it, Islam will win (3). The alternative faced by Sudanese Islamists, according to Turabi, was to act by force, stage their revolution and impose their Islamic norms on society.

However, what Turabi and other radical Islamists seem to have ignored is the fact that the infiltration of the Muslim Brothers and later the NIF into the SDF, started long before the Algerian elections quoted above. In fact the Sudanese MUslim Brothers, like the Brethren in Egypt, started to infiltrate into the army's officers corps already in the mid-1950's. They first did so in 1955, in the wake of the 11952 Egyptian Free Officers' coup and with the active help of Abu al-maakarim 'Abd al-Hayy, and Egyptian officer who had commanded the units of the Egyptian

Brothers' Special Apparatus, and who escaped to Sudan after the assassination attempt on President Nasser. However, the attempted coup against General Ibrahim 'Abbud, on 9 November 1959, in which the Brothers' murshid, al-Rashid al-Tahir Bakr was caught red-handed, clearly indicates that this was a rather clumsy effort of a politically immature movement (4). However, it should be noted that the Muslim Brothers were not the first to view the army as a legitimate vehicle to attain power. Political parties such as the Communists or the Ba'ath, in several Middle Eastern countries, had done the same and both the Brothers and the Communists had been active in the Free officers in Egypt, who engineered the July 1952 coup against the Constitutional Monarchy.

Following President Numaayri "National Reconciliation" attempt, in 1977, the Muslim Brothers, led by Turabi, undertook a concerted effort with a definite political goal and succeeded in gaining a solid foothold within the military. First, they undertook, as mentioned, voluntary religious teaching and conducted prayers within the army, with the blessing of the SDF's high command; second, they urged their graduates to join the officers' corps, following the conclusion of their medical, engineering or accountancy studies. A third method entailed the search for ex-Muslim Brothers, or their relatives, serving in the SDF, in order to lure them back into the movement. All these efforts were undertaken during the years 1978-1985, when conditions within the Sudan, including the SDF, were ripe for revolt. Basically the Brethren had two aims: first, the creation of conditions within the army which would enable the Muslim Brothers to impose an Islamic state by force of arms if other methods failed; second, to lay the foundations of an Islamic army to as to supersede the SDF. This second reason was central, since the Brothers viewed the existing armies in the Muslim world as opponents of Islam and as bastions of secularism.

Al-Turabi's tacit support of the seizure of power by a group of Islamist adherents of the NIF within the SDF, on 30 June 1989, thus came as no surprise. Turabi and Bashir have continuously denied NIF complicity in the coup and Turabi's temporary arrest after the coup, was put forward as proof. However, the fact that since 1989 the NIF has succeeded to achieve top positions in government, banking, trade, the military and in the academia proves its complicity. They replaced nearly all university chancellors and many deans, with their adherents. In the armed forces more than six hundred army officers were purged and the most critical common positions were either put under the command of NIF members or under officers recommended by the NIF. A group of 28 officers was executive in April 1990, after a "trial" that lasted two hours. Following their execution al-Bashir stated: "There is no return to secular laws in Sudan, and the question of a secular state has been settled once and for all". All government employees and university students are now forced to undergo three months military training in the PDF. This was enforced, despite widespread opposition. According to students who went through this training, it amounts to brain washing and is carried out with utmost cruelty (5).

Whether or not Turabi himself was involved in the 1989 coup is thus irrelevant for it soon transpired that the NIF was the power behind Bashir's throne. Mr. Graham Thomas, a close and reliable observer of the Sudanese political scene, noted in his diary on 13 July 1989: "It is now certain that the new regime is more fundamentalists than anything else." Furthermore, according to Thomas, Turabi had specifically stated to him that the NIF was rapidly gaining force within the SDF and had "fourteen cells in the Army." (6) In a recent interview Turabi confirmed his support of the 1989 military coup. When asked: "How would you respond to the charge that Sudan is an Islamic dictatorship and where do you stand vis-a-vis the democratic process"? He responded that Islam is based on the shura (consultation) and hence it is neither a dictatorship nor a single party model (7).

According to Turabi, "a multi-party system in the Sudan would not be democratic because political parties or a government governed by the House of Khatmiyyah and the House of the Mahdi was a dynastic thing."(8) In addition Turabi claimed that no one rejected Bashir for his alleged dictatorial tendencies. He was welcome by the Sudanese masses as well as by the rulers of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the United States, when he assumed power. It was only when they realized that he was proceeding towards Islam, that they turned against him, since the West will never allow unacceptable views to gain power.

However, although Turabi condoned the assumption of power by force, in order to secure the Islamic state, he condemned terrorism and rejected its use by fellow-Islamists in Egypt and Algeria. "Islamization cannot be achieved by force...Because the Islam of force has nothing to do with true Islam and force should be used [only] for self-defence."(9) Yet when asked whether the killing of innocent Frenchmen in Algeria was morally justified, Turabi responded:

If I was in Algeria and the government was persecuting me...I would think that France is guilty of supporting these persecutors, this terrorist government, and I could attack France in any way whatsoever. But ultimately, I do not think it is correct to kill an ordinary Frenchman who is visiting the country (10).

END NOTES

- (1) 'Abdullahi A. An-Na'im & Peter N. Kok, "Fundamentalism and Militarism: A Report on the Root Causes of Human Rights Violations in the Sudan," (Unpublished, February 1991), pp8-9
- (2) <u>Ibid</u>. pp. 12-13, 28-29; see also below.

- (3) Arthur L. Lowrie, <u>Islam. Democracy. the State and the West.</u> a round table with Dr. Hasan Turabi, (Tampa FA., May 1992), pp. 18-21.
- (4) Haydar Taha, Al-Ikhwan wa'l-'Askar. qisat al-jabha al-Islamiyya wa'l-sulta fi al-Sudan, (Cairo: markaz al-hadara al-'Arabiyya li'l-i'lam wa'l-nashr, 1993), pp. 21-5, according to R.P. Mitchell, The Society of the Muslim Brothers, (London 1969), p. 162, Abu Makarim was sentenced to death, in absentia, for his share in the plot to assassinate Nasser. On the anti-'Abbud coup see also Abdelwahab El-Effendi, Turabi's Revolution, (London 1991) pp. 61-2, according to El-Effendi, al-Tahir acted on his own in contradiction to the views of his colleagues.
- (5) Raymond Bonner, "Letter From Sudan", <u>THE NEW YORKER</u>, 13 July 1992, pp. 80-81
- (6) Graham F. Thomas, <u>Sudan Struggle for Survival</u>, (London 1993), p. 108
- (7) "Inside Sudan Turabi Speaks", <u>Trends</u>, 5/5 (March 1994), The interviewer was Muhammad al-Turabi. The following passages are based on the above interview.
- (8) Lowrie, p. 26

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- (9) "Al-Turabi Criticizes Islamists' Violent Methods in Algeria and Egypt", <u>FBIS-NES-93-220</u>, 17 Nov. 1993, translated from al-Havat, 13 Nov. 93
- (10) <u>FBIS-NES-944-166</u>, 26 Aug. 1994, quoting from Olivier Rolin's interview with al-Turabi, <u>Le Nouvel Observateur</u>, 25-31 Aug. 1994

AHMED SHOUK is doing his PhD in conjunction with Khartoum and Bergen. The following excerpts explain his project.

TITLE: "The Bidayriyya nazirate: traditional leadership in a society in transformation".

THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:

This study is an attempt to give a descriptive analysis of the impact of the central government policies of administration (native administration and local government) on indigenous institutions in the Northern Sudan from 1921 to 1971 with a particular emphasis on the Bidayriyya Nazirate in the Northern Kordofan.

The study consists of six chapters and introduction. INTRODUCTION focuses on the development of traditional institutions in the northern Sudan with special consideration to the continuous interaction between the political elite in the centre and traditional leaders at the local level since the establishment of the Funj Sultanate in the sixteenth century up to the collapse of the Mahdist state in 1898. It also highlights the main objective of this study and its contribution to the network of research and the theoretical framework upon which the discussion will be based, with a brief survey of the important sources and literature. CHAPTER ONE "The Dar Bidayriyya: Environment and Origins" is an attempt to give a general survey of the history of the Bidayriyya in the northern Kordofan and their role in political arena of the central Kordofan through different historical eras since the establishment of the Funj Sultanate and up to the downfall of the Mahdist State.

CHAPTER TWO "The administration of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from above and below" gives a historical survey of the development of local administration in the Northern Sudan with special reference to the introduction of native administration and the stages of its implementation in the northern Sudan.

CHAPTER THREE "The creation of the Bidayriyya Nazirate" focuses on the development of the local situation in the central district of Kordofan after the collapse of the Mahdist government and the advent of the Anglo-Egyptian administration. It also discusses the establishment of the Bidayriyya Nazirate and the difficulties which faced its creation in the name of the Bidayriyya, and judicial and administration role of its traditional elite (nazir, umdas and village shaykhs).

CHAPTER FOUR "the judicial structure of the Bidayriyya Nazirate and litigation techniques" examines the judicial structure of the Bidayriyya Nazirate within the framework the judicial system of the whole country, the relationship between the Bidayriyya native courts and the ordinary courts of the central government. It also highlights the role of the Bidayriyya native courts in the light of the customary law and the government laws and ordinances. On the other hand, the combination of judicial and executive powers in the hands of the senior elite of the nazirate will be critically assessed in relation to the principles of justice and equity.

CHAPTER FIVE "From Shaykhs to Councilors: Native Administration under the Umbrella of Local Government: attempts to give a historical survey of the introduction of local government in the Sudan and the relationship between the local government and native administration institutions. It also discusses the establishment of the Bidayriyya Rural Council in northern Kordofan and shows how the traditional elite had effected the process of decision-making by their mechanic majority inside the chamber of the council and by their official and traditional influence outside the council, forcing the executive officers to rotate within their orbits. This chapter also answers the question whether the majority of the traditional elite inside the chamber of the council was an obstacle for technical elite to carry their duties or whether the experience of the traditional elite was advantageous power for them to master their duties?

CHAPTER SIX "Continuity and change in the local administration of the Sudan" is an attempt to uncover the reasons and the

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consequences of the abolition of native administration in the northern Sudan in 1971.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Allow me to respond to Ms. Stephanie Beswick's letter in SSA Newsletter, Vol. 15, #1, 1995:

Ms. Beswick is wrong to say that I attended the first panel on Southern Sudan in which Dr. Douglas Johnson spoke. I attended only the second panel, and Dr. Johnson was not there. So I do not see why Ms. Beswick expected me to have made reference to his contribution, even if I were not present in the first panel.

However, she is right that I failed to remember how many panelists there were in the second Panel on Southern Sudan. They were four not three. My apology to the fourth presenter, Ms. Marilyn Fetterman who spoke on the refugee problem in Uganda. But to insinuate, as Ms. Beswick does, that I did that out of maliciousness is outrageous. Again, I should not have described Ms. Beswick's own contribution in the panel on women in the SPLA as "marginally interesting" which seems to have infuriated her immensely. The contribution was valuable, even if I disagree with her contention that I did not "grasp the major argument: that of the Southern response to continued war in the Sudan and the change of leadership from that of men to women" (sic.) p. 61. I do not see any evidence either in the battle field nor in the academic circle that southern men leaders are being replaced by southern women.

Ms. Beswick is most unhappy about my criticism of the two papers presented by two southern intellectuals. But my question is this. Why did Ms. Beswick take it upon herself to be the defender of two well established academicians each of whom is perfectly capable of doing just that? Is it the sense of fairness to

them, or is it the same old European paternalism toward us; the Africans? Whatever the excuses, conference papers are conference papers. I have been privileged on many occasions to listen to well-rounded, well-researched presentations by southern intellectuals living in exile, presentations that were fresh, stimulating and provocative.

What is more, and unknown to Ms. Beswick, I am only too familiar with good other works of at least one of these panelists, my friend and colleague, Dr. Mom Arou. In fact, his chapter on "(t)he problems of national integration" in the Sudan has appeared in my own edited book, Perspectives and Challenges in the Development of Sudanese Studies. Furthermore, I still do carry with me Dr. Arou's most current C.V. to every major conference in an attempt to find him a job in the US> That was why I was disappointed with his paper in the panel in question. So much for Ms. Beswick's charge that I am insensitive to the opinions of my southern compatriots, and unwilling to give them the opportunity to express them, or of being callous about their plight in exile.

Ms. Beswick's ignorance of the facts and envy toward northern academicians teaching in reputable institutions here and in Europe becomes evident when she describes them as "privileged and comfortable complacent." She presumes that they got where they did because of charity, and not by their own qualifications and hard work. She believes that these northern academicians, like myself, have no feelings toward the civil war in the Sudan, more especially, toward the endless suffering inflicted on our people by all participants in the bloody conflict. Only a self-appointed guardian of the interests of the Sudanese people, paternal and condescending, would have entertained such preposterous ideas.

Having said that, I do commend Ms. Beswick highly for having succeeded in making visible the presence of southern academicians and politicians in the last SSA meeting. As a past president of SSA and program organizer in 1987 I tried but failed miserably to convince my brothers and sisters from the south that SSA was for everybody, not just for northerners, Americans or Canadians. I hope she continues to do so in the future.

On a separate note on the last SSA meeting in Villanova, I was pleased to see a significant presence of southern Sudanese intellectuals in the meeting, and appreciative of their contribution to the deliberations. Still, I thought there was too much preoccupation with the causes of the north-south conflict, causes that are too familiar to most of the conferees. If it is independent southern Sudan that people need, would it not be immensely useful to everybody that southern intellectuals critically wrote instead about the SPLA experience, say in Ethiopia? About SPLA leadership, ideas, hopes, plans for the future? Is it not awkward that the only meaningful piece on the SPLA leader, John Garang, was written by Mansur Khalid, a northerner? As a historian 1 would like to see papers by southern Sudanese on southern political leaders like the late William Deng, the late Joseph Oduho, Gordon Abyei, Oliver Albino, Joseph Lago, Major-General Emilio Tafeng, founder of the Land Freedom Army, later the name changed to Anyanya. These and other southern leaders are hardly mentioned at all. My friends from southern Sudan complain rightfully that there was a mis-information about the civil war in the Sudan, and about political movements in general there. But they seem to miss good opportunities to change that situation to their liking. Piling blame on the north may be tactically important in the short run. In the long run, however, southern intellectuals would do themselves and us a much needed service if they also write about their own leaders, and about the vision of the future. That vision would not be complete without a thorough understanding of southern leadership, of the internal and external circumstances under which this leadership operates, and the political, ethnic, regional and ideological factors that inform its decision and actions. Ismail H. Abdalla, William and Mary

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HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES The Roots of Humanitarian Disaster

There is a humanitarian disaster in Sudan. The abuse of human rights lies at its heart.

This disaster has been created by deliberate and ruthless assaults on civilians by all parties, the Sudan Government and each faction of the SPLA. Each has set out to gain military advantage by killing civilians, by driving them from their lands and by looting and destroying their property.

The infrastructure of the war zones has collapsed. Markets for grain and livestock, vital sources of food when crops fail from drought or flood, are shadows of their former extent.

War has reduced the capacity of people to survive. Health services have been all but destroyed. Villagers are exposed to epidemic diseases, which in some areas appear to have wiped out as much as 50 per cent of the population.

But it is often the gross abuse of human rights that has caused people finally to flee, reducing them to dependency on famine foods gathered in the wild and food relief provided, in the main, by the UN and non-governmental relief agencies.

In Upper Nile the rival factions of the SPLA have pillaged rural communities in their bitter war. Thousands have been killed; hundreds of thousands have fled.

Government forces have displaced hundreds of thousands of civilians. Over the past decade militia and soldiers have

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depopulated large parts of northern Bahr al-Ghazal. Much recent military action has been along the only railway line.

In the Nuba mountains a campaign of village destruction has killed thousands of defenseless civilians and put tens of thousands of others into government-controlled "peace villages".

The displaced have congregated in camps inside the war zones, where they have been bombed by the government, attacked by rival factions of the SPLA and become prey to SPLA demands for recruits and labour.

The international community has been left to pick up the pieces by providing emergency food and medical services. The UN estimated its 1994 emergency operation in Sudan cost \$US 200 million.

While vital relief aid feeds and sustains the victims, it cannot address the root causes of the humanitarian disaster in Sudan.

The international community should urgently invest in solving the human rights problems which have caused the disaster.

(Excerpted from Sudan: What future for human rights?, an Amnesty International Briefing, Spring, 1995, Amnesty International USA, 322 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10001

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INTERROGATING AL-MAHDI

As protests against Sadig al-Mahdi' detention continue, security sources in Khartoum have disclosed that the former prime minister was apparently aware of an agreement between his party's leadership in exile and the SPLA Main Street to stage

armed combat against Khartoum. Following on from the Chukudum Accord which was signed by the Umma Party (UP) and SPLA last year, it is said that 600 people were trained in southern Sudan and transported to Eritrea from where they were supposed to have crossed the border to hit several targets inside the Sudan. An official source in Khartoum responded to the declaration by Col Garang of the New Sudan Brigade that his troops would launch war activities in northern Sudan, by saving that his government takes the matter seriously.

Al-Mahdi was arrested on May 16, his interrogation seems to have led to the arrest of several members of his banned party's leadership, some of whom were subsequently released. UP sources attribute their leader's arrest to his criticism of the government and his call for a return to multi-party democracy. The government, however, rejects such an allegation as baseless after allowing al-Mahdi to address his public on several occasions. Advertisements calling upon the public to attend both his Eid khutbas were featured on the state-owned Radio Omdurman and Sudan TV. Al-Mahdi has repeatedly been calling for "civil strife", although he did say in a press release after his arrest in July last year that he was told by two of his aides about their links with an Egyptian intelligence officer regarding the latter's plans to carry out acts of sabotage against Khartoum. Denouncing violence of any kind, al-Mahdi said he instructed them not to continue with their plot. "We cannot be ridiculed," the state minister at the foreign ministry, Dr. Ghazi Salahul Din, told an audience from the Sudanese community in London (May 20). "Al-Mahdi is talking in terms of 'civil strife' and at the same time he is fueling violent resistance from behind the scenes," he added.

Sudanese opposition groups as well as non-Sudanese organizations have expressed their condemnation of al-Mahdi's detention and are calling for his release. The Western Europe branch of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), the Arab Bar Union and Liberty for the Muslim World have joined forces demanding the immediate release of al-Mahdi.

(Excerpted from *Sudan Focus*, Vol. 2, No. 16, June 15, 1995; Focus International, P.O. Box 3751, London N12 8TE, UK)

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BOOK REVIEWS

Abdullahi Ali Ibrahim, <u>al-Sira'bayna al-Mahdi wal-Ulama'</u> (Conflict between the Mahdi and the Ulama), Nobar Press for the Center for Sudanese Studies, Cairo, 1994. Second edition; pp. 103.

This short book, published first by the Khartoum University Press in 1968, was originally an honor thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the University of Khartoum. In its second edition under review here the author has included an article on the relationship between the Kababish and the Mahdiya that he read at a conference on the Mahdiya held in 1981. Thus, the first section of this book was a product of undergraduate student writing in the mid 1960s, the second, of an academician already teaching in the Institute of African and Asian studies in the 1980's. By comparing the two pieces one is immediately struck by the consistency and the sophistication of the author's style, the soundness of his methodology, and the thoroughness of his scholarship. Indeed there is hardly any noticeable difference between Abdullahi A. Ibrahim the student and Abdullahi the academician. This is said in all honesty not to detract from the scholarship of Abdullahi the academician, but to highlight the remarkable accomplishment of Abdullahi the undergraduate. It is a testimony to the kind of solid and effective teaching and tutoring university students at that time were fortunate to have.

The first edition of Ibrahim's book was favorably received

by all scholars interested in the history of the Mahdiya who did not hesitate to regard it as a land mark. This shows the strength of this work and the uniqueness of its subject matter. But it also demonstrates the poverty of scholarship in the intellectual history of the Mahdiya, which is what the book is about. The main stream narrative-driven event-focused historical writing about the Mahdiya was so dominant a discourse among historians of the Sudan that it was almost an embarrassment for researchers to investigate other equally important developments in that crucial period of Sudanese history. That undergraduate Abdullahi A. Ibrahim should have been the first to do the unthinkable under the supervision of Professor Mekki Shibeika, the father of old Sudanese historical discourse is in itself a revolution not less significant in its own right.

The need to produce a second edition of this short work almost three decades later not only re-affirms its central contribution to scholarship in the field of the intellectual history of the Sudan but, alas, it proves once more that Sudanese scholars at large have yet to free themselves from the shackle of the traditional and often stifling historical discourse, a discourse informed mainly by the event and imbedded in the narrative. The sphere of intellectual determinism of history, of metaphysics, of the role the esoteric knowledge played in Sudanese society, of histrocism of the kind so forcefully explored by Abdullah Laroui for the Moroccan history is still conspicuously absent from the debate. The inertia set in motion by historical works of pioneers like Theopold, Shibeika, and Holt all but killed any incentive among their successors to delve into the challenging but rewarding investigation o Sudan's intellectual history. (The only exception is perhaps Al-Haraka al-Fikriva fi al-Mahdiva (Intellectual movement during the Mahdiya) of Abu Salim, published in 1970.)

It is, however, unfortunate that Dr. Abdullahi A. Ibrahim has chosen to publish the new edition without himself revisiting

some of the interesting issues that he, as an undergraduate, raised but, for obvious reasons, were unable to explore fully. One of these is the old dispute between ahl al-zahir and ahl al-batin or the rivalry and conflict between Muslims intellectuals who give primacy to exoteric knowledge over the esoteric cognizance in explaining and determining space-time events, and the relevance this debate has had in the conflict between Mahdi and his adversaries. In his refutation of his antagonists' objection that, based on text, he could not have been the real Mahdi, the Mahdi insisted that Allah's freedom of choice could not be limited by text, no matter how authentic that text was. More importantly, he, through vision and dreams, was in direct communication with the Prophet Muhammad from whom he obtained the necessary authority and endorsement to act in the manner he did. What is not clear from Dr. Ibrahim's analysis of this central point in the debate between the Mahdi and his opponents is this. Did al-Mahdi's adversaries concede the existence and the relevance of the esoteric knowledge but denied him, in particular, that power? Or did they deny the very existence of such power as it contradicted the basic "rationalistic" teachings of the Azhar sunni university? If the Ulama denied the very existence of such power, not merely that Al-Mahdi himself did not possess that power, then the author is right in saying that Ulama's belief in this area was incongruous with that of the general Muslim population in the Sudan. They were thinking and acting in a philosophically and emotionally different plane. Resolving this point is critical to the author's argument if we are to determine the underling socio-political and or intellectual causes of the Mahdi/Ulama controversy.

This issue is complicated further by the fact that some of these Ulama, like Shaykh Ahmed al-Azhari ibn Ismail al-Wali, came from a sufi background. They must therefore have been acquainted very early in their lives with some of the claims the "Folk of Allah", as Ibn al-Arabi likes to call those Muslim ascetics, make regarding the knowledge of the unknown. If this was the case, and to all likelihood it was, then the controversy

between the Mahdi and the Ulama was not over whether or not metaphysics should have played a role in Sudanese politics. Rather, it was whether metaphysics should have given that role to a particular person by the name Muhammad Ahmed the Dongolawi. The theory was correct but its application was wrong. Does this fine tuning make any difference in the controversy in question? I think it does. It removes the esoteric knowledge as an arena of contention between the Mahdi and his antagonists and replaces it with his personality and his own qualifications to be a Mahdi, which the Ulama found wanting.

It is interesting to mention in this regard that Uthman Dan Fodio, the northern Nigeria religious reformer of the early nineteenth-century, claimed to have had very much similar power of communication with the Prophet Muhammad as well as with eminent Muslim saints. It is probably that some of Fodio's writings on the Mahdi and on Fodio's own ability to communicate directly with the Prophet must have been common place in the Sudan by the second half of the nineteenth century, thanks, in large measure, to Nigerian pilgrims passing through the Sudan. Likewise, Fodio was just as concerned about criticism coming from the Ulama in his country, some of whom doubted Fodio's visionary capability to communicate with the Prophet Muhammad.

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The merit of author's article on the nomadic Kababish included in this booklet is that it widens the scope and the nature of the opposition to the Mahdi. One can argue quite correctly that the Ulama resisted the Mahdiya on largely ideological grounds. The Kababish, on the other hand, did so for purely economic reasons, though, admittedly, the Mahdi's assault on some of the customs and traditions of these people did not endear him to them. The only problem I have with Dr. Ibrahim's refreshing analysis of the conflict between the Mahdiya and the Kababish is his contention that the Mahdi's manshur or circular on land tenure was meant to

undercut the Kababish's hold on non-Kababish living within their dar; the Kaja, the Kwahla, the Nuba and the like. interpretation is untenable. The manshur in question is clearly addressed to farmers in Kordofan and elsewhere and not to the nomadic Kababish, as Dr. Ibrahim believes. It was the Sudanese farmers who suffered most under the misrule of the Turkiya, and were, thus, the potential allies of the Mahdi. The language of this manshur leaves no doubt as to who the intended recipients were. It says "no two farmers should quarrel on their way to and from their plots, (also possible the alternative translation" should not quarrel on who has the right to cultivate a particular plot") and no one should claim farm land as inheritance from his father or grandfathers; (land) from which he collects rent, or on which he settles tenants for the same purpose" [The Sira', p. 81]. The nomadic Kababish whose control over dars occupied by non-Kababish nomads and cultivators was never secure, even during the Condominium, could not have been the group targeted by this manshur. Their "overlordship" was not recognized by the Kwahla, the Maganien, the Kaja and the Nuba, but specially the last two groups who were the original inhabitants of northern Kordofan. If there were any people who "inherited farm land from their fathers and grandfathers" it would be the Nuba and the Kaia cultivators, not the nomadic Kababish. It is true, however, that at present the dar al-Kababish includes the smaller dars of non-Kababish populations some of whom are very numerous. But this development came about only recently when the British administrators extended Kababish's suzerainty over others out of gratitude for their having helped Britain during the campaign against Ali Dinar in Dar Fur in 1916. But one can not say that the apparent hegemony the Kababish currently enjoy in northern Kordofan was there at the time of the manshur in 1883. Besides. we have no evidence that the Kababish ever "settled" any people in their dar for the specific purpose of securing rent from them, which was the subject of this manshur.

The points I am raising here about the *Sira'* should in no way mar the quality of Dr. Ibrahim's intelligent and fresh analysis of the Mahdiya's intellectual history, or his explanation of the underlying causes of the opposition to al-Mahdi's message. The *Sira'* will continue for the foreseeable future to occupy its unique rank in Sudanese historiography because Dr. Ibrahim's powerful and stimulating argument in this short work has ramifications that go far beyond the historiography of the Mahdiya.

Reviewed by Ismail H. Abdalla/The College of William and Mary

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T. Abdou Maliqalim Simone, In Whose Image? Political Islam and Urban Practices in the Sudan, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

This is a unique and very interesting treatment of the Islamist movement in the Sudan. Written by a social psychologist who was employed by the Sudan government for two years (just before the current Islamist regime came to power in 1989) to find ways to improve relations between Christians and Muslims in Khartoum, it is probably the first book in English, written by a Muslim, that is critical of the social effects of Islamist political practice. Perhaps as an American Muslim the author is more sensitive to the presence of racism as he skillfully presents the dilemma of the northern Sudanese 'Arab' who is both a victim of racism when working abroad in the petro-countries of the Arabian peninsula and a victimizer in his own country, when it comes to relations with southern Sudanese. Simone spent a great deal of his time in Khartoum's shanty towns and dares to give voice to some of its most victimized refugees. Without the historical depth of a more well-established ethnographer, Simone nevertheless understands the radical transformation that Khartoum has undergone as he shines an unflattering light upon the

contemporary primate city. He visited 125th Street in Gatati South where police fear to move and he interviewed displaced Nuba, Dinka, as well as Nigerian and Ugandan refugees who mingle and barely survive together. He tells of their conscious decision not to rise up against the government for fear that the state would use this as an excuse to wipe them out. He compares 125th Street Khartoum to 125th Street in Harlem, an apt analogy, without precedent in the current literature, but one stemming from his own unique, sympathetic view. He correctly sees how southern, non-Arab, and even how non-Muslim Khartoum has become, and that while the Islamists may be ready to write off the south they cannot dismiss Khartoum, which has ironically been fundamentally altered in character by them. It is among the many major contradictions that exist in the present Islamist-controlled Sudan that few perceive, but which the author not only sees clearly but confronts directly.

For example, Simone points out the great gulf between religious discourse and social practice noting that "a great deal of drinking, crime, and illicit sex does occur in Khartoum" which he traces to urban psychological stress, yet Islam is seen as the only way to defend the country. In saying so, Simone analyzes the National Islamic Front (NIF) and its sole reliance on Islam as a political tool which may, in fact, marginalize its ability to remain a long term political force. Interestingly, he notes that the Muslin Brotherhood is still active and independent of the NIF and may survive beyond the NIF.

In sum, this is a provocative work, at once highly ethnographic at a rock bottom grass roots level, and also analytical combining both philosophy and politics. Anyone with a concern for Sudan's future will find this a powerful read.

Reviewed by Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban/Rhode Island College (Originally reviewed for <u>International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies</u>)

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

Normal activities of the SSA include the publication of the Newsletter, organizing meetings for the exchange of ideas, and recommending research candidates for affiliation with appropriate institutions in the Sudan. The Association also sponsor panels and programs during the meetings of other academic organizations. It occasionally publishes the proceedings of its annual meetings in book form.

For information about membership, change of address, program information, or back issues of the SSA publications, please contact the Executive Directors listed inside the cover page.

For news releases, or information to be communicated to members, please write to the **Editor of the**Newsletter.

The SSA is legally incorporated as a non-profit organization and all contributions and donations are tax-exempt. Membership is for each calendar year which entitles the subscriber to receive four issues of the newsletter, and to discounted registration rates for attending the annual meetings of the Association.

These categories of membership are available:

Honorary	By recommendation of t	he Board
Regular member	-	\$30.00
Students		5.00
Non-profit Instit	30.00	
Profit-making Bod	ies	150.00
Life (payable in	3 Installments	200.00

SSA also welcomes exchanges with other newsletters and periodicals. As space allows, and as content is appropriate, limited advertising is accepted.