SSA

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From the Editor

Abdullahi A. Gallab

Given the rapid pace of the development of the technology of print journalism and computer-mediated communication, I feel that the Newsletter in its new era aspires for more than a face-lift. What that says about the Newsletter in its new arrangements and design is as significant as the available resource itself. I am grateful to Brigham Young University, which provided all the technological and professional assistance to reach that goal. My appreciation and thanks go to Sokphal Tun and Morgan Van Wagoner from the Communications Department for their professionalism, creativity and generous effort to give the Newsletter elegance in appearance and a professional touch in design. I am equally grateful to Scott Eldredge and Jeri Jump of the BYU Lee Library for making the Newsletter accessible and searchable through the World Wide Web. Last and not least I would like to thank my colleague Dr. Quint Randle of the Communications Department for his help and enthusiasm.

The next step along this road is to expand the areas of the Newsletter's activities, increase its pages and provide an on-line version that could be down-loaded and printed at any time. As a platform of discussion and exchange of ideas and information, the Newsletter will pay a special attention to the mode, method and efficiency of reaching wider readership.

It is clear that the impetus for creating this issue came from SSA members, who provided extended examples of creative and scholarly work that illustrate the substantive work the Newsletter is going to emphasize. Most of the material published here came out of the initiatives of its own writers rather than the Newsletter's plans. Some of these activities are brand new, while other, older ones are reintroduced in the hope that they might receive new meaning and an added value. But for the Newsletter to reinvent and add to its own image, its focus needs to go beyond what I already have addressed. Our new road map should include, but not limit itself to, the following:

a. In addition to the book reviews, new books, articles and interviews, other short articles about work in progress are invited. A variety of research and academic projects are underway. The Newsletter seeks to disseminate information about such activities to various academic and interested readers.

b. As the Newsletter operates in the field of Sudan studies, we would like to make this publication an attractive venue for scholars who might wish to contribute to this field. Some have already been doing this. Others are invited whenever they reflect on this multifaceted world of Sudanese life and experience to share with us some of their own ideas, research and perspectives.

c. As the Newsletter is the principal source of the Sudan Studies Association, more news about the organization, its plans and policies and the activities of its members are needed. Such an activity will develop in the coming days. We would like the Newsletter to disseminate such news, plans and activities.

d. Finally, we need our reader's input and critique. By your comments, letters to the editor and suggestions, the

our purpose

The Sudan Studies Association (SSA) is an independent professional society founded inthe 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. SSA works to foster closer ties among scholars in the Sudan, North America, Europe, the Middle East and other areas worldwide. Regular activities of the SSA include the pulication 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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Lako Tongun discusses his life and the situation in Sudan

The following is an interview with Lako Tongun, professor at Pitzer College, Claremont Colleges in Caifornia, U.S.A. The interviewer is Michael Kevane, SSA President and associate professor of Economics at Santa Clara University. The interview was conducted at Santa Clara, February 19, 2003.

Kevane- I would like to start by asking you about your background and where you are from in south Sudan and how you ended up in the United States.

Tongun- I left southern Sudan at the fist civil war, Anya Nya I, and we fled the country on November 22, 1962 and walked to Uganda.

Kevane- How old were you then?

Tongun- I was in junior secondary school, probably about 14 years old. That is an estimate!

Kevane- So what actually happened to you then?

Tongun- That period we had the military government of Ibrahim Abboud, and what happened was that we went on strike because Abboud's government had a Islamisation program, and one aspect of that was to change Sunday from a resting day to a working day and Friday as a resting day for everybody in southern Sudan and the strikes in August were rejecting that.

Kevane- Where were you in school?

Tongun- I was in one of the well-known schools actually- Okaru. The school was moved from Okaru to Palotaka. Palotaka is well known in the current conflict because there is now conflict in that area. Then the government moved it from Palotaka to Torit. And that was because the school was run by the Sacred Heart Brothers from Louisiana

Kevane- Was it really?

Tongun- Yes.

Kevane- They were from Louisiana?

Tongun- Yes, there were Americans running this school and so it was one of Abboud's policies to send them out of southern Sudan - the Missionary Act that basically sent all the missionaries out of southern Sudan.

Kevane- In your school, was there a lot of proselytization by these brothers?

Tongun- The Sacred Heart Brothers? Well actually, all the schools in the south were run by missionaries. So to go to school one had to be a member of that church group. What they did of course under the southern policy was to divide the Southern Sudan into different denominations so the Catholics had a certain region and the Protestants in different regions.

Kevane- Were your parents Catholic?

Tongun- No. My brothers were, just the kids who were going to school were.

Kevane- Did your parents take you to be baptized before you went to school?

Tongun- No, no. My going to school was by accident. My "nephew" (his mother and my father were siblings, but he is called my nephew), one day just plucked me out of my father's farm. He asked me to come, to see what he was doing. He was in elementary school, or rather what we used to call bush school.

Kevane- Were you scared?

Tongun- Well, I still remember very clearly. My nephew was older than myself, and I was so little and so what we did- we had to cross a river that was full with lots of flooding and the river was going very fast, and he was able to put me on his back and I crossed that way and walked to the school.

Kevane- And what happened the first day?

Tongun- The first day- I was looking around- we were learning under the tree- there was no blackboard, only for the higher level- there were 4 classes- from 1 to 2 learned outside on the ground. My nephew said come on go with those guys under the tree. So I joined them and the kids said you should continue, because I was copying exactly what they were doing. So I was taken to the priest, you know, the Catholics. They say OK let him start learning Catechism. That is the way it happened, by chance.

I left southern Sudan at the fist civil war, Anya Nya I, and we fled the country on November 22, 1962 and walked to Uganda.

Kevane- So then you continued in school?

Tongun- This was way back in 1954. They said OK, let him register. So I was registered. Kids came voluntarily or they were encouraged by relatives. My father said go ahead. Go ahead with your nephew. My nephew and I were very close. So, finally the priest said OK he has to be registered. I was registered and came regularly to that school. Then after that- in six months- I was baptized. I don't use that name right now. I don't use my Christian name. So in 1955 the first civil war broke out, the school was closed down and we ran away from our area and I was sent about 15 miles away to take care of our cattle. So we drove our cattle away so that they would not be close to Juba.

At that time there were northern troops coming- they occupied our area ,and there was fighting. I took care of the cattle with a bunch of other kids, my age- I was working with Dinkas too. Milk was our diet, for about 6 months that's what we had, then things quieted down, and the priests from Luri mission school went out there to gather us after things had quieted down and said, "You guys have to come back to school."

KEVANE- Who took care of the cattle?

TONGUN- We left the cattle with the Dinkas. The Dinkas were taking care of the cattle for the grazing area. They liked to do that. The problem was to count them after they were returned from grazing, so that you know yours, otherwise they get mixed up. They have to have their ears cut with clan markings so that they have your identity. I mean, it was a wonderful time... So the priest came and literally said come on and go back to school- we are re-opened now. I went back, but they decided to close that school down and we had to walk to another school! We had to go about 50 miles away to Terekeka in the Mandari area. So we had to walk. It would take the whole day.

KEVANE-So you would sleep in the school?

TONGUN- Right. All of our schools at the time were boarding, except the one in the village that one could walk. I was very good in school. I was the only one who passed from my class to go on to an academic intermediate school.

KEVANE- So then you went on strike in secondary school?

TONGUN- So then I went on strike (in the intermediate school). This is why my part was important: I was the person in charge of the food- that is, they divided up tasks for the students to do, so I was in charge of the kitchen, the cooks and the hygiene and so forth. One of the reasons which we gave for the strike, in addition to the changing of Sunday to working day, was that the food was not good, which was probably a government policy to make the lives of the students miserable, particularly at this school. This school was politically active- politically a problem for the government which is why they took it from Okaru to Palotaka and from Palotaka to Torit, so it would be close to them and they would have control over it. The first thing they did was on Sunday, the first time when we got to that site, where the school was located.

The Catholic church in the area was located across the town and so what we did, we went in the morning to the church and walked by the government headquarters. That was just unbearable for the government. The government tried to stop us several times, because that was the policy of the Abboud regime, to make it difficult for southerners to go to these churches. They operated alternative schools, khalwas, in all the affected towns of the south and wanted to steer us to those khalwas, but we resisted. This school in particular, Okaru was one of two troublesome schools in the south. The other was Loka. Loka was for the Protestants and Okaru for the Catholics. They were the troublemakers, politically. So we went on strike, they closed down the schools, and they sent us home. It was interesting in my school because the school was not far from the headquarters of the government. I don't know if you know this area, but it is a forested area and in the Imatong mountains. It is very beautiful, with big trees, like mahogany and so forth, and there was a government office there, and a technical school connected there to Katiri, an intermediate school, so that kids can learn, for example how to make furniture. And next to our school was a forest , a government forest. What they did in our school was to bring soldiers to force us to go to class. Because the school was built next to the forest, they forced us to line up in the morning, then we went in, and then jumped out the window and ran into the forest. They thought we were sitting down, but we were not really sitting down. It was a real problem for them. Finally, they gave up and sent us home. Later, they wanted to find out who were the kids responsible for the strike. They found out that there were five kids- the students who organized the whole strike- they did it at all the schools. So the deal was to arrest them while they were at home, not at school, and that would terrorize the parents, especially with the threat to execute their kids. They intended to do that. I was one of the five kids because I was the one who gave the reason that the food wasn't good. There were others as well like Samson Kwaje, who was very close to me. So they went after us, and we got the message from a friend that they were after us. They arrested one of us in Juba, so I decided to come to Juba to find out what happened to him, but at the same time, they were going to my village to get me. In fact it was funny- they were going in the military truck- I was going in the opposite direction. They didn't know how I looked like, but they were told where my village was and then to my house, my parents and so forth. I saw them going, I didn't know that they were after me, so when I came to Juba I went straight to my friend's house and they told me he was arrested, but his uncle was able to get him out on bail in the evening. So that evening, November 22, 1962- he was out on bail and right then we decided to leave the country.

What they did in our school was to bring soldiers to force us to go to class. Because the school was built next to the forest, they forced us to line up in the morning, then we went in, and then jumped out the window and ran into the forest. They thought we were sitting down, but we were not really sitting down. It was a real problem for them. Finally, they gave up and sent us home.

KEVANE- Just you and he?

Tongun- Yeah and then on the way we picked up the other three guys and then two others, who also joined us.

Kevane- Without talking with your parents?

Tongun- Without talking to my parents. My parents did not know for five years whether I was alive or dead. So we walked all the way... it was horrendous walking - and made it to the border of Uganda. We almost had a terrible, bad chance, because the government was already aware that we were running out of the country. Soldiers were patrolling at the border. So, that morning, the last leg of our trip, we tried to cross the border very early in the morning. But then, my first teacher I had in the first grade, suggested that we should wait first before we cross the border. We had spent the night in his house at the town of Kajokeji, near the border where he was at the school there. He said wait here before you cross this border. Wait and hide in the grass- at that time, remember, the grass is very high in southern Sudan. So he went and looked both ways at the border to see if military trucks were coming, a convoy. He came back and said it was alright now.

Kevane- Well, so then you went and stayed in school when you got there?

Tongun- Well, in Uganda it was very hard because this was 1962 and Uganda had just got independence that year. So they were not sure what to do with us. They wanted us to register with the administrator, the British. The commissioner was British.

Kevane- When you went across, did you present yourself to somebody? Or did you have relatives in Uganda? Where did you go?

Tongun- No, there was nobody. The idea was to get there and to locate our people, because some of our Anya Nya politicians had left the country. My headmaster was Joseph Oduho. I don't know if you know Oduho? He fled to Uganda before we did.

Kevane- I see, so you were going to try to find them?

Tongun- We found them. But it finally took us a long time, because the Uganda government wanted to deport us back. We had to run into Congo to avoid being sent back. Then there was an order from Kampala, the headquarters, that the southern Sudanese were to be treated as refugees, that they should not be sent back because this was against UN convention.

Kevane- In the meantime, though, how were you surviving?

Tongun- It was tough. Just to answer your question about how we presented ourselves, we were trying to avoid the actual government offices, when we arrived. So we were trying to sneak in and then find our way around. But apparently, the road that we took was going right over to the police station. So the police looked at us, at our wretched appearance. And I remember, I mean, we never did anything. I am leaving out a lot of details about how we survived for seven days. But they would see that we were not familiar faces, so they stopped us and say in Swahili, "Who are you?" We couldn't answer, and that was enough. (Laughing). That was enough. So, we were arrested. They took us to the police station and you know, because we entered Uganda illegally, they began to ask us questions. They asked for our passports. So when we didn't have them, they said, "You wait here." So they went to the British commissioner, district commissioner, who said, "Send them to my office." So we were taken from the police station to the district commissioner. The district commissioner said, "You have entered her majesty territory without a passport. Why?" (Laughing.). And remember that Uganda had become independent, but here was this British saying this thing. Now two of our guys were able to communicate a bit in English, I mean one from Rumbek, my cousin, and the other from Juba Commercial school. My cousin, because of that Sunday strike, he was imprisoned and almost executed by the Abboud's regime, actually he was one of the people scheduled to be executed. But world pressure, you know, from the US, I think, the Vatican and so forth, led to the commutation of his sentence. So he was released just like three days before we left. So he decided to join with us. He knew more English than all of us. Then there was another from my village, who had been in Uganda before and knew a little bit of Swahili, but not enough. So those two were the ones who communicated for the rest of us. When this district commissioner said, "You have entered her majesty territory without a passport. Why?" My cousin, who spoke English, told him that we could not get a passport because were running away from the enemy and the enemy was not going to give us a passport. Now, it was very logical. But for the British commissioner, you know, that was a challenge (laughs).

They took us to the police station and you know, because we entered Uganda illegally, they began to ask us questions.

Kevane- (Laughs.) Its like, if you are refugees, how are you going to get a passport?

Tongun- I mean, for heaven's sake, you know? He told the police, "Take them to jail." So, literally, we were kept there for three days. And they weren't even feeding us, for three days. They were then consulting with the main headquarters. You know, this is the province level, they have to report up, you know? The province headquarters said, "Let them come here, so that we can deal with them." We were taken to Arua, a town which was the provincial headquarters. So we got there and the provincial commissioner said, "We are going to send you back. You entered Uganda without a passport. We are going to send you back." And his wife who was his secretary, and who was standing right in front of him in the office looked at us, and having been walking for one week, you know, said to her husband, "How can you send these kids back. Is there a way to try to help them, or at least let them wait here awhile?" He said, "No, they must be sent

back. That is the order from Kampala, the capital of the country." This was in the morning, so in the evening, we fled into Congo. We left because we knew they were going to carry out that order. The following day, an order came from Kampala that they should not deport us. So when we heard that, we came back, okay, we came back to them. Then they said, "Okay, we are going to send you to Kampala." And that was when we had this long trip to Kampala.

Kevane- Did you walk?

Tongun- No, they took us in a bus. They didn't take us all the way to Kampala. They said, they we're not going to take us to the capital city, but to a refugee camp about twenty miles north of the Kampala, in a place called Bombo. We were the first to get there. They opened up what was actually military barracks, from WWII, military barracks that had been closed down because of demobilization. So they said, "We'll put them there." But then in six months, our number grew to six hundred refugees, mostly from high school or junior high school. They range from 8 years old to about 20, probably 21 years old. The problem was what to do with us. You have these young kids who need education. Um, John Garang was with us. We were together.

The headmaster liked me and wanted me to go on for further education.

Kevane- He was one of the refugees?

Tongun- We were refugees together in the same camp, John, myself, and another colleague, Hilary, who is a medical doctor now in Southern California. The guy in charge of the refugee camp found a school, a private school, for us to go there.

Kevane- Was the person in charge of the camp a British or Ugandan?

Tongun- No, he was a Ugandan, a Mr. Saboa. He became very rich because of the position he had.

Kevane- What was his position?

Tongun- He was in charge of getting the money from the UN, through the Ugandan government. But he was a ... really.... (laughs)

Kevane- Uh-huh. Some things haven't changed.

Tongun- Definitely, you know?. We used to eat only beans and porridge, you know? And the beans were not enough, you know? We used to say, you go fishing for them in the salted water, you know? That's all we had. Nothing else, you know? We developed what is called night blindness because we lacked some vitamins. Once in awhile, we drank cod liver oil, which helped. It helped! But, I'll tell you, it was so funny, when we had this night blindness, because you've got a mass of people bumping to each other when it was dark. I mean we didn't have electricity you know, and it was really dark. We would hit each other, I mean, we would bump into each other at night, especially when going to and trying to find the toilet. Sometimes we would miss because we couldn't see. But, anyway, there were roughly seven of us who were sent to the school

Kevane- So, there you finished high school.

Tongun- I was in second year, well, actually, I didn't finish first year of high school because of all this. So they put us in second year. John Garang, myself, Hilary, and then there were four others. I mean, there were seven of us. It wasn't a good school. It was private, you know, a commercial school, and you know, the teachers didn't teach us well. So we decided to leave. I think I was the first to have left because I had a problem, actually. There were only two people who were staying in the dorm, which was really a house donated by a family, and the rest were staying with families, and these families took advantage of us, you know? I mean, these Baganda families had shambas, you know, for coffee. In the morning I had to wake up and had to go and pick coffee before going to school. I thought about that and I looked at it and asked myself, "What is my future in this?" So that is when I decided to leave Uganda and went to Kenya, and John Garang went to Tanzania. We were going to go together, but I said there would be too many of us in one place, and our chances of going to school would be diminished- so it is better to get scattered so there are fewer of us. So I went to Kenya.

Kevane- Did you have someone you knew?

Tongun-Yes, in fact my cousin, the one that came over with me. He also went there before I did. He became a teacher. He said, "OK, Lako, you come." So I came there.

Kevane- When he said, "Lako you come"- are you getting a letter from him? How's he communicating?

Tongun- That's a good point. It was through a word of mouth. The other guy, who knew a little bit of Swahili, was living and working in an elementary school in Kampala- remember, we walked together. He knew that I was in Bombo. When I left that school, I went to put up with him. He had been in contact with my cousin. So, it was through him that I received word that I could come.

Kevane-So, you finished secondary in Kenya?

Tongun-I finished secondary in Kenya. And then- you see it was the British system, I entered the A-level, not high school, but like a junior college. Very specialized, and it was after I finished my high school and got my certificate. The headmaster liked me and wanted me to go on for further education. I was good in the sciences. When I left my cousin, I moved to Nairobi and joined the other refugees because that was the only way that I could have a chance to go to school. In Kenya, our number grew to 120, all of them were eligible to go to school. The problem was how to put us into the different Kenyan schools. Now, the Catholics were willing to take care of their own, and the same for the Protestants . So both got together and decided that they could deal with the problem of our education, by sending us to their own schools, that is the Catholics would be sending theirs to the Catholic schools in Kenya, and similarly, with the Protestants. So the idea was, to let us take an exam so that we can selected to enroll in the schools. So they gave us this exam. I was among the

first four who were taken by the Catholics. Two went to Mombassa and two of us were taken by a seminary school in Masai area. I was one of the two. Seminary school!

Kevane-They didn't want the smartest for the seminary school, they wanted the second smartest.

Tongun-They did! So, we asked the one in charge of the Catholic school, said he told us, "Don't worry, we are sending you there to go to study and then you sit for the Cambridge school certificate, and when you pass will then go on to the university". But the rector of the school did not have that idea. When we came there they thought we were there to become priests. Number two, the subjects which we have to study to take this certificate were not enough. We have to have six minimum for this Cambridge school certificate. The sixth in that school was Latin. We had no idea of Latin. So, we looked at this - we have only five, we can't qualify without six and we are third year, as juniors. We thought: we are going to leave this school. The Catholic secretary was so mad. We had to walk from Masai area to Nairobi on foot, because he refused to give us transportation. And we did that. There were some very nice Indian merchants along the way who give us rides. So, this is where my chance to come to America came into play. There was a family from Berkeley -they just went around the world. Probably they saved enough money. They went to Europe, to China, Japan and then went to Kenya, and then decided to stay in Kenya for one year. When we were refugees in Nairobi, in this refugee hostel, the wife used to come to teach us English. Her name is Louise Stoll from Berkeley. So, we talked about our story, about how we went to this school, and didn't know what was going to happen. When we left for that seminary school and then we came back , they asked us to come and to tell them what happened. We told them- husband and wife- two of us- they knew there was potential for our education. They said, "OK, don't worry go and apply to any school and we will pay your fees." So I applied to one school and my friend applied to another- both of us got accepted and it turned out they were Catholic schools. Because we were Catholics, the chances of getting admitted to a Catholic school were higher then to a school of other denominations. So we went to them and told them that we were accepted to these catholic schools, and they said wonderful, we will pay your fees. Now, we had to go to the Catholic secretary again- the one who was in charge of all the Catholic schools- and we told him that we got accepted, with our letters of acceptance, and he turned around 360 degrees- because we were accepted into some of their best schools. He said, "Oh this is wonderful, we will pay your school fees." The Stolls were also doing the same thing with John Garang in Tanzania. Gerhard Stoll went to Tanzania - he is a lawyer- he went to Tanzania and met John Garang there. So he also said he would help him. So, I went to the school, and they said, "If you do well, if you pass your Cambridge school certificate, we will bring you to the US." So, I did very well. Unfortunately, my friend who went to the other school, didn't do well. Mr. Stoll worked in the law office of Joseph Alioto, the former mayor of San Francisco. Alioto was a graduate of Saint Mary's College. So both decided that I should go to Saint Mary's instead of going to a big place like Berkeley. It was a very small college, but it was a great opportunity. Saint Mary's accepted me in August and I had to be there in September. They had to process the visa. I had no traveling documents, no passport, and no birth certificate. They had to do these things very quickly. The UN office had to give you an age. Then I had to get a UN traveling document. I left in September of 1967 and came to San Francisco, just like those guys from Kakuma. I went from Nairobi to Lagos, from Lagos to Monrovia, from Monrovia to Dakar, Senegal, then to New York, and then to San Francisco, 23 hours. When I got to San Francisco, I was so drowsy.

Kevane-Did someone meet you?

Tongun- Yes, Mr. Stoll, the sponsor, they were in the Berkeley area. They picked me up, and I was so sleepy!

Kevane- They took you straight to Saint Mary's?

Tongun- They took me to Saint Mary's after dinner. So, that's how I ended up here.

Kevane- That's an amazing story.

Tongun- (laughs). My colleague, who was studying for a public health degree, did a similar interview with me. One of the projects she was asked to do was to interview a refugee. So she interviewed me like this. She transcribed it and came out with something like 126 pages!

Kevane- (laughing) I don't think this will...

Tongun- No, no I don't want that! (laughing) . But when I looked at it she said- "This is just the skeleton, I didn't even write on all of it!"

Kevane- So now you find yourself in the US for a long time, working at one of the great universities in California, part of the Claremont Colleges. So now you have the time and experience to reflect on the larger political forces that are at work over the last five decades that ended up shaping your life and so where do you see the process right now?

Tongun- This is a challenging time for Southern Sudan and the Sudanese people, as well as for myself. It has been a human tragedy, in terms of the civil war. The first civil war we lost one million people. That was an estimate made by the United Nations. Many of my relatives were a part of that strife. Two

> The Sudan has seen 37 years of war.

of my uncles, my father's brothers had been killed in this war. Many back in my village. Our chief was killed by the government troops.

KEVANE- Your village is right outside Juba.

TONGUN-It is about six miles.

KEVANE- What's the name of it?

TONGUN-Its called Luri. The Sudan has seen 37 years of war. From 1955 to the present. So, for me, the tragedy is painful. I hope that the negotiations that are going on with this regime- the National Islamic Front regime, will bring an end to this tragic history of the Sudan. I have hopes as well as doubts about the peace talks, because the agenda of the government is completely different from the hopes that we entertain. But I think that, to me, this is where the challenge is. There is a quote that I was going to read, that I brought to show yesterday, but we did not have time. It is part of this book project that I am doing, I call it "planning the tragedy." This thing did not start with the people and the present leadership in Khartoum today, nor with the previous governments. This thing goes back to 1938. It goes back to the Graduate's Congress, the organization that started the nationalist movement in Sudan, the GC. The plan wasn't going to allow the British policy to continue the two regions as separate. They (the GC) developed an attitude that the south was this backward area that have to be brought in and Islamisize and to be made and oriented to the Middle East. There is a quote, I think from, Mohamed Beshir's book, The Problem of Southern Sudan, about that. And this was structured into the idea of what kind of education they will have for Sudan. I mean way back in 1938. So, all this war is an attempt to implement that vision they set up. The Graduate's Congress became the key organization that led to the independence of the country from which emerged all these other groups in the 1940s and so forth. So I have doubts as to whether these negotiations are going to be received by northern Sudanese. I'm not saying that this regime per se...

Giving up their identity will not be easy.

KEVANE- What I think you are saying is that it is an interesting phenomenon in Northern Sudan especially, the Muslims in Northern Sudan see Islam as the natural religion and see Christianity as a foreign religion. And that's the way they will think about it- that something foreign. And that mindset, about a religion being a natural religion- one is natural and the other is introduced... that's a mindset that has to be changed.

TONGUN- (laughs) I think that is absolutely right. The question is, how does that become politicized? This is where we should look at it from a political perspective. I think what the northern Sudanese have done is to appropriate Islam, not just as a religion per se, but for political purposes. I mean there are southerners who are Muslim, but that doesn't change everything, in this sort of interpretation of Islam. But what Islam actually does for Northern Sudanese is to serve them as a medium of identity, because, again, not many of them are Arabs, and they know that. Somebody from the State Department was once at a conference at UCLA- and he told me (not in the conversation with others- I was the only one there) that he was stationed in Khartoum during the Numeiri's time - and Numeiri said to him, "I'm just fed up with the Southern Sudanese- when I go to the Arab world, they call me abid, when I go to the South, the Southern Sudanese behave like they are different from us- and I'm fed up with that." Now his point was that he is in kind of an identity crisis, because Southern Sudanese don't accept him fully. They think of him as an Arab. When he goes to the Arab world they don't accept him as a full Arab- and so he said, "Southerners like to have this African cultural practices- they like to dance, they like to drink," that kind of thing, and they found it very difficult to deal with it. In fact, if you look at it, this is one of the things that undermined the Addis Ababa agreement, because the south (I was there in 1975 and in 1982-83) was becoming more African actually. The border trade was interesting because we were having more border trade with Congo (or Zaire then) and Uganda and Kenya. So there was this kind of cultural redirection in the south and it was really becoming uncomfortable for the Numeiri regime, even though, nearly every weekend, Nimieri would fly to Juba to have fun and the go back to Khartoum again. That was his weekend, go to the south. But he was also seeing this sort of a cultural development in the south that was making him more uneasy, in terms of Arab identity. I think you are absolutely right, I think that they are clinging to Islam because that is what can keep their identity. This is what Garang's challenge really is to many of them- that is those who think they are Arabs should stand up, and those who think they are Africans stand us. This has created problems. Now one thing that has saved them is the global transformation, the rise of Islamist movements. Garang, you might recall, when the SPLA had the radio station in Ethiopia- northerners were listening -

KEVANE-I remember listening to it in a little village in Kordofan at that time ...people in the village would listen regularly.

TONGUN-That's right, because SPLA, with that radio station at that time, was challenging who was really an Arab and who was what is called an African. And that, in fact, among the northern elite, was one of the key challenges. The first one was when the communists took over power in 1971, there was one moment when they also confronted this problem. The people in the west were becoming more assertive in terms of their African identity. There was a person, by the name of Father Ghaboush, who was accused of racial policy or racializing the Sudanese politics at

that time. They call it a "racial conspiracy" that was taking place in the Sudan. So in a way one can explain why this expropriation of Islam. So Turabi or the National Islamic Front, is hanging on to it, because that is what can give identity to the northern elites.

KEVANE-But this identity issue can't be resolved in the peace talks in Machakos or anywhere else- so what would you like to see- as somebody who is one step removed from this- what do you think would be the mechanisms, the real concrete mechanisms that could be put in place to entrench a peaceful resolution to the conflict? You aren't going to be able to mandate an identity, you have to have some institutions.

TONGUN-Unfortunately, this is where my pessimism comes in. That issue cannot be resolved, because it has become the issue, that is, the prized position in the north. There is no way that they will give up that. Because if they give it up, they have nothing.

KEVANE- But people... you are putting a primacy to identity that isn't really there. You can just be a person and just have your family and maybe you don't need to have an identity, maybe it's not that important....

TONGUN-I think the difference is when you have a political system where these identities are accepted. If no one identity is dominant then you could resolve it, if identity were not important in terms of the political process. But once an identity is important in the political process, it is not easy to get rid of that identity. I am saying this in contrast, lets say, to the U.S., that is, an immigrant society- in which the issue of identity may be different, you can be anything you want. There is a political process that would allow you to pursue your interests if you can. Interests, and so forth, which lead you to achieve your objective. Which means that the power levers are open, they are not closed, relatively speaking. At least there is a claim to it- you can make a claim that equality exists for anybody to have access to that power. Now in the case of the Sudan, it is a little different because first of all we are in our own land. The southerners are in their own territory. They have been there for thousands of years, so that's their home. So giving up their identity will not be easy.

You can make a claim that equality exists for anybody...

KEVANE-What you are saying right now is itself an identity claim. Any good historian will tell you about the transformations in identity which have been taking place over the last thousand years and those transformations are even greater today when you have an two million southerners right in Khartoum. So the whole landscape of identity -seems to me you can't talk about there being some kind of older identities that derive their legitimacy from their age. Because identities of most people in northern Sudan and southern Sudan - people talk about globalization speeding up and people's identities are just being sped up and recreated more quickly than they used to be in the past

TONGUN- That is what the modernization school was saying in the 1950s. They said modernization was going to bring about a transformation in identity, that people would identify with a nation-state rather with their own political group. That theory was argued against and I think that the globalization theory unfortunately is also showing an increasing influence of those identities that the modernization school thought that modernization would undermine. That is more now the situation. The Russian or the Soviet Union would not have collapsed if it were not for the emergence of these identities - Central Asians want to be Central Asians, Estonia wanted to be Estonian, not Russian. I think some are arguing that globalization processes are reawakening these identities.

KEVANE-That's my point in differing with you. I don't think that anyone is born with their identity gene that can be reawakened. That is, nobody has an identity to belong to a particular group that gets reawakened. The language of reawakening, for me at least, is not a good language. Instead, I would talk about the recreation of, and mostly of new identities. They may have the same old labels but bear very minimal relationship. So a person who is a Dinka from today living in Kakuma camp, says "I am a Dinka" would be a foreigner to someone from 200 years ago who said he was a Dinka. Someone that might not have been any 200 years ago, but suppose they said they were a Dinka. This old label, which may not be all that old, gets refashioned and recreated.

TONGUN- You are probably right there. Today, we can talk about multitude of identities. But at certain time, lets say in a person's political expression, those identifies might be what are called latent, they are not explicit- sometimes coming to the forefront when that individual confronts certain situations.

KEVANE-Like you were talking about before, right? When you say these latent identities- my point is, you have these latent labels in you, but you have to create, each person creates, maybe with some other people, creates the identity that is going to go with that label. You are walking around... each of us might have six labels inside of us. I'm partly Catholic, partly Irish, partly British, I'm partly from Bohemia in Czechoslovakia. But I don't know what it is to be Bohemian from Czechoslovakia, I have never been there. So, if I were to start asserting that identity, I'd have to recreate it.

TONGUN- See, you would have more steps to go through than

I. You can see the levels in which those identities are- how deep they go. Being like that in America is not a problem, but sometimes the racial identity might become important for you in the US. That is the one that will come to the forefront. So, we can't dismiss it- lets say you go to Ireland and you say you have this Irish identity and then you have the conflict with the British in Northern Ireland, I bet you, your Irish identity will come to the forefront, just like some of the American politicians, like Kennedy for example who work very hard to help the Irish in Northern Ireland.

Kevane- Let's step away from the identity issue for a little, give it a rest. Let's talk a little bit more about the peace process right now and Machakos . I'm curious, since you knew Garang, at least, maybe not intimately, but you knew him back then- What do you think he's thinking now? What do you think he's strategizing now with this peace process? What do you think he'd like to- I mean, obviously he has an ideal that he'd like to get, but given the current regime and given the way the world is right now, what do you think his strategy is to get a result out of this peace process?

Tongun-Well, remember that the SPLA came into being to proclaim the idea that it was fighting for the marginalized people of the Sudan. Again that notion of marginalized people means that they have been denied political access to the higher echelon of the government. One thing to take into account is that the Northern Sudanese constitute a political ruling class as well as an economic class. They control both aspects of societal power. That is why one can argue that there is no commercial class in the south. There isn't. So, for any peace, we have to address the question as to where power is located, both economic as well as political. So, when Garang was talking about marginalized people, this is the majority of the population of the Sudan that has no access to economic power, nor access to political power.

Kevane- So, what's his program for giving people access to economic power?

Tongun- Well, that is the distribution of wealth, of course!

Kevane-And how would that be brought- what do you think he ...

Tongun-That means the political has to be changed....

Kevane-But what is he going to take away to give to other people?

There has to be access to political power, because you cannot create a commercial class within a short time, but you can have people in decision making process who come from the marginalized, they can have access to political power so they can restructure the distribution of resources.

Tongun-There has to be access to political power, because you cannot create a commercial class within a short time, but you can have people in decision making process who come from the marginalized, they can have access to political power so they can restructure the distribution of resources.

Kevane-When you say restructure, how do you mean?

Tongun-The state of course.

Kevane-Doing what?

Tongun-The state can.... in terms of economic development, appropriate national resources to targeted areas by saying we are going to develop these areas, we are going to have education in these areas. We are going to have roads and we are going to expand health services in these areas. Which means the state has the power to shift the investment of national resources

Kevane- So you are talking about an infrastructure...

Tongun- Infrastructure, social investment, social capital, all those things have to be done by the state. This is true in third world countries. The private sector, like in most African countries, has no effective contribution.

Kevane-Do you really think that?

Tongun-Oh, yeah.

Kevane-Well, who do you think runs the private sector in south Sudan now?

Tongun-Private sector? Do you really think that there is a significant private sector really that has survived to have an impact on the lives of people in Southern Sudan?

Kevane-I think a lot of the relief organizations sub-contract lots of their activities to private operators- people who have trucks and lorries...

Tongun-Right, but that is just an aspect only. As an economist, you know, it is not just that. You have to have agriculture, you

have to have...

KEVANE-But farmers are better agriculturalists than bureaucrats.

TONGUN-But they have to be provided of course with some inputs.

KEVANE-Farmers know what the inputs they need are for their area better than the bureaucrats.

TONGUN-When you have drought...

KEVANE-Farmers know better what to save because they know the frequency of droughts in their area.

TONGUN-(laughing) Oh well that is possible in conditions where there are no wars.

KEVANE-But we are talking about after war has been resolved...

TONGUN-After that, we know... agricultural productivity in many African countries cannot match the demand for food by African countries, you can see that in the famines.

KEVANE-I'm sort of probing you... are we talking about whether this is what you think or this is what Garang's views are?

TONGUN-I'm saying this particularly in terms of- one of the reasons why we have this conflict, that there is this grievance that the marginalized people are not getting from the government the economic rewards that ...they are not getting

KEVANE-I can see that for infrastructure. Even for infrastructure, I'm not sure. One of my enduring images from Sudan is right outside of El Obeid there are about 50 giant white grain silos that the government arranged to have brought in- I think that they were actually a donation from the government of Italy- and they have never been used, because they are useless for that.

TONGUN-Because there is no grain!

KEVANE-No, not because there is no grain, because they are not appropriate for the circumstances of largely decentralized peasant based agriculture. So, when you get a government coming in and thinking that it knows how to do things better, you usually end up just wasting a lot of resources.

TONGUN-No, no. I think that would be useful for example for storage so that in periods, lets say, of drought, that food would become available. That's number one. Number two, there were these studies done on how much waste is done at the harvest, in many third world countries. Like in Indian, they say the rats eat close to 25% of output from agriculture, it is wasted.

KEVANE-Do you think a farmer who's taking care of watching his own or her own grain and storage would be more careful with their grain than some government official who oversees the big grain store... where do you think the grains going to go with the government officials taking care of it? It will be a rat, but a different kind, will be taking the 25%.

TONGUN-(laughing) At least he will be feeding his family (laughing). The rats won't be sharing it with anybody...But, no this is really interesting. I teach a class on agricultural economic development- this is one of some of the issues we discuss in this class. Without the state support of the agricultural sector, it can be very difficult for the small farmer to deal with certain waste they have no control over. I know when I was a child in the village, there were times when for example- beans- you put it up in the granary, and you cover it with mud and still some of these insects find their way through. And when you open it up, it's so useless, it's all eaten up inside, that kind of thing. If you have drought, you know, you have very serious consequences.

KEVANE-I think you are putting too much confidence in the government official to store your grain for you. Because, you know, if the government official is going to be storing the grain, that means that they have taken it away from you, right?... To put it in their storage...

TONGUN-Hopefully they can sell it and make money that can come back in a different form- like education. Or health services- that would be fine.

KEVANE- Like basic infrastructure

TONGUN- That's what I'm talking about here...education. You know that in the south, because of this war ...between our age group- those of us who came to this country during the first war and the next generation, there's a huge gap -that gap is part of the government policy, and one of the things that these people want to do. The quote that I indicated to you, by Mohamed Bashir, is built into the educational system that these people have set up. They say it is easier to rule people who are not educated. This is true- you look at Ethiopia during the time of Emperor Haile Selassie, the illiteracy rate was 90%. You look at the Afghanistan monarchy, the same thing. So that for the marginalized people in the south of Sudan, part of the problem is the lack of education. Health services: many of the deaths that have occurred basically because the government denies health, health services to the marginalized people.

So, if you are going to talk really of the reconciliation and peace, these attitudes have to change, because again the idea of development as you know does not just mean increasing growth rate, GDP, but it is how it is distributed, the inequalities that exist within the country. And I don't think that the people in that group really are concerned about that.

Now, because of this peace, whatever possibility, this idea of wealth sharing, which is pushed by foreigners - The National Islamic Front government is not really saying they are willing to do this- it is the Americans pushing it. The IGAD are pushing it. Wealth sharing, health sharing, really the roots of this war, is to say that the resources of the country have to be distributed in such a way that those people that have been marginalized for a long time must also benefit from it, and one thing that they want in this wealth sharing is the resources not be skewed.

If there is going to be peace, there has to be more resources going to the marginalized areas than to what the North has - the North has a certain level that it has achieved vis-a-vis these marginalized people. So, if they can agree to that, I think there is hope. But, let me say something about self-determination because I think this is one area that is going to be very critical. They have agreed that after about six years the south will be given the opportunity to vote on self-determination. If that vote is taken today, and the northern political elite knows, most southerners will vote for it. But I doubt whether the north will be willing here to implement that part of the agreement. Egypt is dead against it. The whole Arab world is set against it. And they are supporting the northern Sudanese, so they can't implement that part. So this says something about that identity that I am talking about. The Arab- the larger context of it- relates to the conflict.

Ismail H. Abdalla (PhD)*

The College of William and Mary

The Nile: A literary river trip

The Nile
Robert O. Collins

Yale University Press:
New Haven and London.
(Maps, charts, diagrams, colored pictures, bibliography and index.)
Price unknown

What is the connection between the Kikizi River in Burundi, the El-Nino weather phenomenon, the Garstin Cut in Southern Sudan, the Inter-tropical Convergence Zone, the nilometer, Pharaoh Ramses ll, and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia? It is the Nile, that majestic river the turbulent but interesting story of which is told by professor Robert Collins in his latest book with the same title; this river which is the longest and perhaps one of the oldest in the world.

The book follows an ambitious and successful plan to cover the history of the entire basin of the Nile from the pre-dynastic period to the 1990s. It treats the river over time as a natural phenomenon with its own dynamic regimes and fluctuations and as a physical place populated by various groups and controlled by different governments with differing and often irreconcilable demands on the waters of the river. Though written with an eye to the general reader, with wit and compelling, often poetic, style, The Nile can nevertheless stand its ground with any academic book on this river. The author has no doubt fallen in love with this fascinating river (he in fact worked on it more than once as a professional river guide) and has returned regularly, as popular proverbs in Egypt and the Sudan foretell, to drink from its sweet waters.

Though the period covered in The Nile is impressively long, with a complex subject matter, Collins's tenacity, discipline and meticulousness enable him, nonetheless, to pursue his multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional topic with elegance, competence and comprehensiveness. The result is a balanced and well reasoned narrative that is thorough and informative. The thirteen chapters that comprise this fun-to-read book follow more or less the flow of the Nile from its sources in what the medieval Arab geographers called the "Mountains of the Moon" on the Equator to its final destination in the Mediterranean Sea. Unlike any previous author on the subject, Collins is just as interested in the lives and hopes of the different ethnic groups who depend on it for a living as he in the main river and its waters. He thus carefully maps the course of the river, paying enough attention to its numerous tributaries, most of which he identifies, perhaps for the first time in a book of this nature, by name.

As the reader flows along with the waters of the Nile described by Collins, transversing in the process distinct but little understood ecological and geographic terrains, the reader forgets if the material he or she is reading is penned by a historian, an ecologist, a professional river tour guide promoting his trade, or a climatologist, so seamlessly woven is the narrative. The plenteous details the author provides on the volume of the waters, the swiftness and gradient of the current at different sections of the Nile, the evaporation pattern, the rapid sedimentation of the bottom of Lake Nasser in Egypt or behind Khashm El-Girba dam in eastern Sudan, on El-Nino or the Inter-tropical Convergence Zone effecting rainfall in Africa are just as impressive as his lucid explanation of the different plans to tame this mighty and unpredictable river.

Professor Collins's discourse is organized around the flow of the river and human interference with it over the centuries. It happens that such interference has been most intense and for a longer time span down the river than is the case in its upper reaches. The result, naturally, is that we have voluminous

data on human activities regarding the Nile in the lower riparian states but hardly anything of substance in the recently colonially constituted states around the sources of the river, with the single exception of Ethiopia.

Precisely because of the imbalance of data on the river, Collins's discourse unavoidably ranges from the descriptive when he talks about the Equatorial Nile to the rigorously analytic when he deals with the stretch of the river between Khartoum and the Mediterranean.

The river tour guide takes precedence in the cool high plateau of Equatorial Africa. But when it comes to Northern Sudan and Egypt the river guide is replaced by a competent and encyclopedic analyst firmly grounded in historical methodology, and equipped with massive information to paint a complete and realistic picture. In the lower Nile, the nilometer and the written evidence are supreme.

The ancient quest for controlling the Nile led the Egyptians to complete the Aswan High Dam in 1971; the "wrong dam in the wrong place" as Collins keeps reminding his readers. And it is. It was politics, not any rational policy of managing effectively the waters of the river that dictated to the Egyptians where to place the over-the-year storage system. It was also politics rather than sound management of the hydrology or the ecology of the Nile basin in Southern Sudan that delayed the digging of the Jonglei canal, the Garstin Cut, to bypass the Sudd swamps, a canal which would have saved billions of cubic meters lost to evaporation every year.

If this reviewer has any criticism of this work, it is the author's tendency to use sound but uncommon vocabulary to express his ideas, a tendency that the general reader may find cumbersome, as it requires the help of a dictionary to decipher meanings. One also wishes that Professor Collins had paid more attention to the river's constructive role to help create homogeneous cultures in both Egypt and for most of the Sudan.

> The reader forgets if the material he or she is reading is penned by a historian, an ecologist, a professional river tour guide promoting his trade, or a climatologist, so seamlessly woven is the narrative.

But this criticism apart, Collins has written a masterpiece on a beautiful river that renders all previous publications on the subject redundant and insufficient. With its clear and informative charts, maps and diagrams, its breath-taking colored pictures of the Nile scenic views and readable and often captivating prose, The Nile will remain for a long time to come a work of unsurpassed usefulness and utility alike to the academician and the non-professional reader. It is indispensable to anyone seriously engaged in issues of equitable distribution of international waters, civil wars, inter or intra-state relations or the socio-economics of the different peoples living along the extended banks of this ancient river.

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Richard Lobban (PhD)*

Rhode Island College

Edge of Empire; Edge of our Seats

At Empire's Edge: Exploring Rome's Egyptian Frontier

Robert B. Jackson

New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
xxv + 350 pp. 100 illustrations, 4 maps, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index, $37.50 (cloth) ISBN 0-300-08856-6.

Jackson focuses his up-to-date work on the period from 29 BCE to the end of the 5th century CE or the main period of the Roman occupation of Egypt until early Byzantine times and the collapse of the Roman Empire. He does briefly cover the late Ptolemaic times as an introduction. With this historical and regional framework he studies the frontier of Roman rule in general.

His writing is smooth, easy and engaging. It is a very solid survey that unified and explores the eastern and all of the oases of the western desert regions ranging from the quarries, strategic forts, tombs, temples, and villages, cemeteries, wells, desert tracks, coastal encampments and ports, riverine forts, ceramic traditions, petroglyphs, and funerary objects. These not only include the major sites, but also the much less known or visited sites to give a very thorough and comprehensive view.

The large number of photographs, pertinent maps and detailed site descriptions make this book as much of a regional history as it could also be a field guide for the sophisticated traveler.

Since I lead tours to Egypt and regularly teach about ancient Nubia and Egypt I figured this would be a very interesting read. However, as this region is at the edge of the new American Empire I kept reading this with a double perspective. For its historical sake alone this book should be on the shelves of all Egyptologists and Nubiologists since it is marvelously well written, systematic, comprehensive and thorough for the long Roman period along the Nile.

One should buy this book for this reason alone. Thus, the some one hundred photographs and four maps it is ratcheted up still a further notch as a reference book since this time period and the western and eastern desserts are generally some of the less-well known as visited times and regions in the vast history of Egypt and Nubia.

Nubia is often covered less well in Egypto-centric works. Not only is Lower Nubia very solidly covered but so also are parts of Upper Nubia. Thirty-four pages of detailed notes add even more substance to this work.

But writing this review amidst the grave threat of a modern regional war and instability I kept reflecting forward to the archaeological investigations of 2503 or 3003 when the ruins of American imperial ambitions will be explored. So it seems that empires also wither away first at their peripheries and the folks in the core are rarely privileged to have this vantage point. Indeed, the core of empire is typically preoccupied by demonized 'barbarians" at the gate, delusions of grandeur, and military "solutions" for all political problems.

So this point is inherently fascinating but the unique view of the Roman Empire from the periphery may provide some case material of the "canary in the mine" that is the first to recognize perceive dangers even while other areas remain blissfully unaware and while the wealth of empire states has dulled all in the illusions of indulgence.

Jackson also provides the historical texts and context for the very many sites he identified and discussed. Since, the anthropological preference for the analysis of archaeological evidence is context this must be considered as another superlative for this stimulating book.

My only perception of a deficiency is the lack of some summary or integrated conclusion. This is often the case for cautious descriptive archaeological studies and certainly the historical glue of each chapter makes up for this, but perhaps Jackson did so well I was keen to tap his experience in making some general conclusions about the period and region, as well as answer some of the large questions I posed about viewing the rise and fall of imperial states from their peripheries.

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Specialization of Sudanese Arabic

Mahgoub El-Tigani (PhD)*

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Spoken Sudanese Arabic: Grammar, Dialogues, and Glossary

Elizabeth M. Bergman

Dunwoody Press, 2002
393 pp.

This book is intended "for those who are familiar with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and with at least one other variety of spoken Arabic" (viii). The book is not "an elementary-level conversation manual or textbook" (ibid).

A variety of the Arabic language, which is one of the richest languages in the linguistic human family, the selected variety of SA is the 'Khartoum Arabic', or the 'Omdurman Arabic' - "Arabic of the region of the Sudanese capital, ... the metropolitan area that includes Khartoum, North Khartoum, and Omdurman ... 'the tripartite capital'."

The book provides in three parts a well-organized methodology of learning. This starts with a grammar sketch or an outline "rather than an exhaustive study" that "describes the distinguishing features of SA." The second part consists of "recordings by consultants, all first language speakers of SA from the region of the capital, or were broadcast by the Sudanese media." And the third part is a short glossary of the "list of words and phrases that occur in the audio selections, plus other items" in Arabic alphabetical order.

In this important work, a number of linguists and experts on Sudanese Arabic (SA) "meaning and nuance, grammar and lexicon" have helped the author, Elizabeth Bergman, to understand "the challenges of SA." The author, and her consultants have done a fine job: editing, consulting, and reviewing the book's presentation of the Omdurman Arabic.

Transcribing the Omdurman Arabic language in "a modified version of International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)," is a distinguished contribution to the task of preserving the Sudanese Arabic, as a significant component of the cultural diversity of Sudan. The grammar part, however, is a 'brief" description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the SA. Bergman also "recognizes that a grammar is not an easy read" (ix). There is "a lack of analysis," and "a detailed study awaits other researchers" (1).

Omdurman is the national capital of Sudan that has been a continuous receiver of Sudanese migrants since 1885. The city has been accumulating a special blend of the Sudanese Arabic, which is largely shared by the other parts of the country. Bergman's intriguing work should further help to produce a series of works on the other varieties of the Sudanese Arabic.

The audio performance is generally perfect. The selections, nonetheless, are sometimes speedy, without a reasonable motive, for example the speech on Artimiry Jezira. There are several spelling mistakes in the Arabic text of the selections. For example Selection 1 "second year" (67); Selection 2 "bitaaht annaas" (71); Selection 3 "twalatta" [was born] (79); "barza" for "bardu" (79); Selection 5 "bitaahtak" (93); "b-takush" (95); "bi-txalluuk" (95); Section 6 "kiima" (105) and so on.

The author emphasizes that "in our experience, speakers of one variety of Arabic can usually understand and respond to speakers of other varieties, even though this response can be difficult to understand, both for Arabic speakers of another variety and for non-native speakers of Arabic. Hence the present emphasis on listening rather than speaking" (viii).

This writer believes, however, that the Spoken Sudanese Arabic deserves another careful revision to perfect the second part of the book, which, consisting of "sample selections transcribed from audio recordings," is perhaps the most focal section of the book since "listening comprehension is the focus of the book" (viii). Hence, this writer addresses the book review at this point to the selections part, in particular.

TEXTUAL OBSERVATIONS

As is earlier mentioned, the second part consists of "recordings by consultants, all first language speakers of SA from the region of the capital, or were broadcast by the Sudanese media." The book has successfully incorporated the Khartoum or Omdurman Arabic in the collection. Nonetheless, the selections should have offered readers a human rights standpoint regarding the Sudanese cultural, religious, and political life, especially with respect to gender equality, war victimology, religious beliefs, and secular education, etc. The following section pays attention with a few examples to these aspects.

Selection 1 should have mentioned the beauty of the

city of Kadogli, not only "times" of childhood spent in it, since the Sudanese speaker spoke admiringly about the "very nice country of Brussels" (307). Selection 5 (311) did not accurately describe the Cairo University, Khartoum branch, which educated thousands of students who were not necessarily "people with Egyptian education," as stated in the selection; but were students from different educational institutions, Sudanese, Egyptian, as well as other backgrounds.

Selection 5 mentions the negative impact of civil war on education. The selection ignored the disastrous impact of the war on the war-affected population of the South and other regions. Equally important, the selection should have shown more sensitivity to gender issues in the discussion about compulsory service. If the time framework is the existing National Islamic Front's (NIF) Rule of Sudan (1989 to the present), it is not true "the girls don't have a problem" of compulsory recruitment like boys had. Indeed, the Sudanese girls and women have been facing increasing disaster of war, as the experience of women in the war-affected areas clearly indicate.

Selection 5 informs that "there's a very large segment of boys not finishing their education... in universities and so on, you find the percentage of girls is higher than boys" (313). Because the Sudanese women have struggled hard to insure girls' education throughout the 20th century, this statement suggests a false correlation between the two variables, i.e., the boys' doubtful future due to compulsory service and the girls' high enrollment in education.

In Selection 7 (316) there is unnecessary ambiguity about Adil's lonely and homeless uncle, one with "frightening looks" to whom Adil is "always, always" drawn with "a link" he "can't understand," thus arousing "the uncomfortable feelings" of Ms. Hoda! In Selection 9, a Jazira citizen refers to his mother as "you know, she doesn't work except at home" (320). However, the women of the Jazira agricultural community, as is well known, have always worked in the cotton picking and other field activities side-by-side with the men perhaps since the establishment of the Scheme in the 1920s.

Selection 20 (Marriage customs: 342-344) emphasizes the role a man plays in marriage customs: "men, after the man asks for the girl's hand... from her father, he has no role except to sign the marriage contract with, sign the marriage contract for ... for the girl." The role of a bride in marriage customs (that is ignored in the Selection) has witnessed a consistent change as more women consciously exercise the right to choose a spouse, which is a half-century's struggle by the Sudanese Women's Union.

Selection 22 speaks highly of a beloved woman as "pretty, nice, cheerful, beautiful glow about her... O mamma! If only the other girlies were so pretty!" (346). The beauty and the best status of the Sudanese woman would have certainly faired better if the selection cared to pay an equal (let alone more) attention to the beauty of women in terms of intelligent, powerful, full participants, and decision-makers in the social and political life.

A tragic viewpoint of Spoken Sudanese Arabic is included in Selection 27 on "Folk music in Sudan" that bluntly calls for female circumcision, a most horrific habit that the Sudanese Medical Council most recently firmly decided to penalize its practice by any medicinal worker:

"Fatima, daughter of the prophet
O sublime Muhammad
Fatima, daughter of the Prophet
I wish you, the one to be circumcised,
Wealth and children" (359)

First, Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad (peace and prayers upon him), was not circumcised. Second, female circumcision is a hurtful habit that must be prohibited in accordance with the Prophet's attitude towards his own daughters. Third, the book should not have adopted such a stand whereas it was possible to adopt a strong position against female circumcision even if the reference is made in the Selection to the folk music that supports the habit.

In Selection 6 (314), it could have been factual to mention the voluntary concerns of the Sudanese Muslim mother for her child's learning of the Qur'an, although the child might not have learned that much, as the speaker affirmed in light of the "fun" [!] of the 1964's schools. In fact, the 1964-1969 institutions of education enjoyed a climate of democracy and religious tolerance following the October Uprising 1964. Hence, the selection should have fairly referred to Christianity and African religions as well as the concerns of the non-Muslim mothers on equal basis with the Muslim ones.

The book provides in three parts a well-organized methodology of learning.

The so-called "fun of education," however, might be poorly reflective of the fact that Omdurman khalwai (Qur'anic schools) and elementary education have largely contributed with lively learning experiences to the enlightenment of the Muslim population through the beautiful stories of the Holy Qur'an and the meaningful parables they included, regardless of the damage of Sudanese education, religious or secular, by the present-time extremist government of Sudan.

The book's critique of Islamic education and the Holy Qur'an in the selections is further expressed in Selection 23, which says: "the present government [i.e., the NIF regime] concentrate very much on education in Qur'an schools...[since] they have made [a child] memorize twelve, thirteen, fourteen juzu of the Qur'an" (348) although the same passage emphasizes the deep rooted education of Islam in accordance with the Sufi tradition of the country (349).

This reader criticizes, in turn, the non-clarity of the selection's educational message because it fails to urge an expansion of secular education with due respect to the needs of the Muslim population to learn in religious schools, khalawi, or Sufi mosques as much as it refers to the Muslim population's commitment to obtain careful learning of the Holy Qur'an and the religion of Islam.

The book is additionally advised to show more sensitivity to some of the serious issues of Sudanese cultures and development concerns. Selection 13 "the Artimiry Island" is most likely government propaganda for the proposed dams in the northern provinces that have already aroused a popular protest from the Sudanese Nubians as well as the Manasir and other inhabitants of the northern region of Sudan.

The Nubians have been severely hit by the High Dam of Aswan since the early 1960s. The High Dam inundated the ancient treasures of Nubia, Africa's glorious civilization, forever without developing the lives of Nubians or enhancing their well-being. The new dams are not truthfully "about the good of Sudan," as the Selection propagates.

Selection 14 is possibly another government ill-advised propaganda. The speakers assert, "our brothers in the south of Sudan... have always been in revolt against the different Sudanese governments... from the first national government up to now, the current government" (329). The fact of the matter is that the authoritative Sudanese central governments, especially the NIF current regime, have arrogantly and wrongfully transgressed and underdeveloped the South and the other regions of the country with aggressive armed conflicts, cultural and ethnic cleansing, and many other gross human rights violations.

True, the dialogue endorses "democratic rule." The speaker affirms, "the present government, so long as it is an Islamic extremist one, cannot give a large share to the south as a part of Sudan that is Christian" (330). And yet, the Selection apologetically claims that, "Up to now, people have not been able to come to a solution" (329).

This statement wrongfully ignores the strenuous struggle of the People of Sudan to make peace by unifying the nation on the basis of a comprehensive national democratic solution since the October Uprising 1964, the March/April Uprising 1985, and the Sudanese Peace Agreement 1988 that was formally ratified by the democratic government of Sudan but violently abrogated by the NIF's escalated war since 1989.

The Macheko/IGAD endeavors comprise constructive steps in the path of peace; however, bilateral negotiations would not solve the Sudan crisis without sincere adoption of a comprehensive national democratic solution based on the full participation of all Sudanese political entities to handle the problems of Sudan via an all-Sudanese national constitutional conference.

Elizabeth Bergman, the author of this work, and her distinguished consultants have done a fine job producing this significant book from a linguistic point of view.

The South is composed of Christians and Muslims, as well as a sizeable population of believers in African religions. The democratic opposition of Sudan, the National Democratic Alliance, includes the majority of Sudan's civil society organizations, political parties and trades unions, in addition to the SPLA and the Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces military groups.

The Sudan's crisis is genuinely grounded on issues of social equality and justice with regard to authority, culture, and wealth. Ending the war and making the permanent and just peace is not based on a division of Sudan into a Muslim north and a Christian south. The book's adopted approach, as articulated in the selection, is seriously defaulting.

Whereas Selection 15 (331-333) reechoes some of the authenticated criticisms of the electoral constitution of 1986 that made it possible for the NIF, the only beneficiary of the repressive government of Ja'far Nimeiri in the late 1980s, to collect expatriate votes to sweep many constituencies in the 1988 elections, Selection 16 "The most active party was the Islamic Front" (334-335) amazingly stretches out a democratic picture of the NIF tyrant party, leadership, and rule!

Elizabeth Bergman, the author of this work, and her distinguished consultants have done a fine job producing this significant book from a linguistic point of view.

Since the selections are deeply touching upon Sudanese current affairs, the content of the book must be carefully revised to provide SA students with a text more representative of the country's current state of affairs, and the ongoing striving for development, social progression, and peace.

*** President, Sudan Human Rights Organization (SHRO-Cairo), in exile (1991 to the present) and editor-in-chief of the bilingual Sudanese Human Rights Quarterly; formerly head of the research unit of the African Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies, Banjul (The Gambia, 1991-1994); researcher, National Council for Research (Sudan, 1989-1991), and adviser of the ministry of social affairs and zakat (Sudan, 1986-1988). Editor and/or author of many works, including Sudan Laws and International Human Rights Norms, and Sudanese Thinkers: State and Religion in Sudan by the Edwin Mellen Press. Translator of Jamal Mohamed Ahmed's The Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism. His latest Arabic publication is Idarat Mayo al-Dictatoriya [The Administration of the May Dictatorial Rule] (Egypt, 2002). Forthcoming publications include Arabic translations of Islamic Law and Society in The Sudan by Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban and Nubia Corridor to Africa by William Y. Adams, among other works. He is currently sociology professor at the Tennessee State University, authoring an Encyclopedia of Black Thought and writing an Encyclopedia of Islamic Criminal Justice.*

A New Book

by Heather J. Sharkey(PhD)*

Living with Colonialism
Nationalism and Culture in the Ango-Egyptian Sudan

Publisher: Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003

In Africa and Asia during the early twentieth century, Britain maintained its empire cheaply by training and hiring local recruits for petty administrative jobs. In the short term, this policy provided an elegant solution to the main organizational dilemma of the colonial state: controlling vast populations with minute staffs. In the long run, this policy fostered the rise of a modern educated class whose members, increasingly frustrated by their social, political, and professional subordination to Britons, began to develop nationalist ideologies that challenged the colonial presence. At decolonization, control of the postcolonial state passed to these men, who soon faced obstacles in promoting their nationalist agendas and maintaining political cohesion.

This book examines the history of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1898-1956) and the Republic of Sudan that followed it, in order to understand how colonialism worked on the ground, affected local cultures, and influenced the genesis and substance of nationalism. Conquered jointly by British and Egyptian forces that went on to establish a nominal ruling partnership or "condominium", the Sudan took shape as the largest territory in Africa and a region of immense diversity.

The British in the Sudan implemented educational and employment policies that favored young men from high-status Arabic-speaking, Muslim families of riverain northern regions. They thereby showed a respect for extant elites as well as a pragmatic desire to co-opt them. Enrolling the most privileged in Gordon College at Khartoum, authorities cultivated a globally-minded, Western-influenced, confident male elite, and employed them at graduation in various administrative jobs. Driven by professional ambitions and by the practical needs of supporting families, these men made the colonial system work even as they privately railed against it. Meanwhile, although the Sudan's borders had been imposed arbitrarily by Europeans during the Scramble for Africa, budding nationalists increasingly sought and found meaning within them, by turning to their own Arabic and Islamic heritage to define a Sudanese nation.

Ultimately, British policies shaped an ethnically specific nationalist cadre but marginalized large ethnic and regional groups, including non-Arabic-speakers, non-Muslims, and the Arabized Muslim descendants of slaves. This trend had grievous consequences at decolonization, when nationalists tried to impose their Arab-Islamic agendas. The Sudanese civil war that began months before independence signalled a rejection of their vision on the part of non-Arabic-speaking and predominantly non-Muslim peoples. Raging again since 1983, the civil war has been a battle to define the nation-state: to assert its languages and religions, its system of law and government, even its division of resources, on the grounds of cultural heritage and claims to legitimate leadership.

For postcolonial countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, decolonization transformed colonial states into nation-states but did not mark a break with the past. Colonial legacies — among them inflexible borders, weak infrastructures, atomized multi-ethnic populations, and autocratic governing structures — persisted, hobbling their nation-state successors. Postcolonial countries like the Sudan are still living with colonialism, struggling to achieve consensus and stability within borders that a fallen empire left behind.

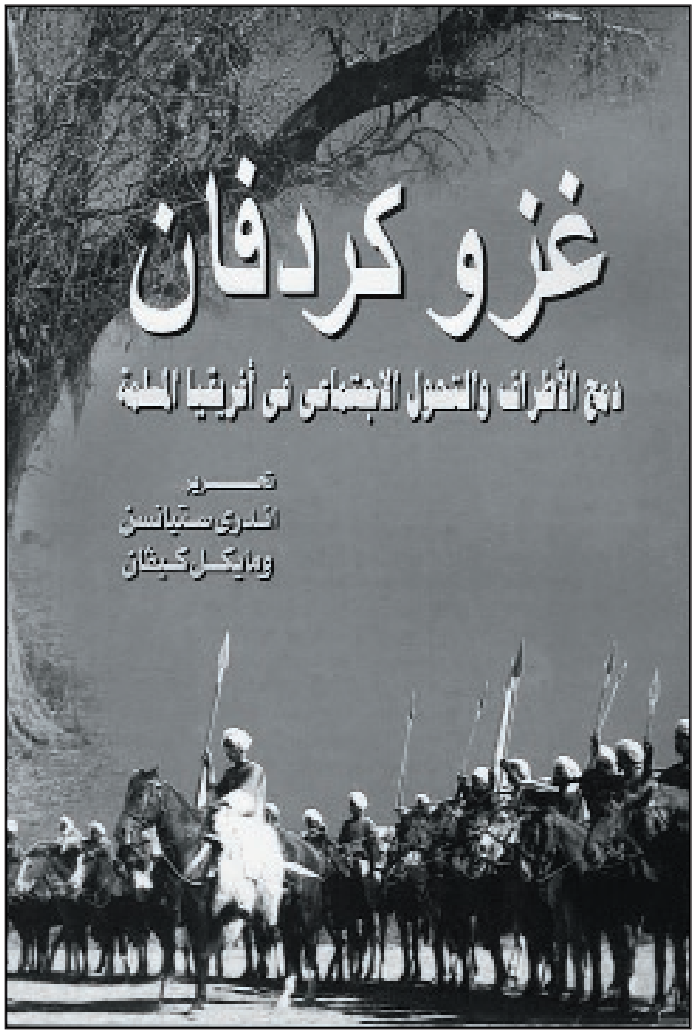
In conducting research for this book, the author drew upon both Arabic and English materials, including memoirs, journals, poetry collections, and government reports. She also extensively utilized collections located in the National Records Office in Khartoum, the Public Record Office in London, the Sudan Archive in Durham, and other libraries in Britain, Egypt, and Norway. Finally, she interviewed or corresponded with several Sudanese, British, and Lebanese individuals who had insights to share about the origins of Sudanese nationalism and the workings of the colonial regime.

This book aims to appeal not only to Sudanists but to readers interested broadly in comparative modern imperialism, nationalism, colonialism and postcolonialism in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. Because of its cultural content, it may also appeal to audiences interested in the history of Arabic literature, printing, and visual culture (e.g., photography, cinema) in the region.

** Heather J. Sharkey is an Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania (Department of Asian & Middle Eastern Studies). She has previously taught at Trinity College (Hartford), MIT, and the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. She earned a B.A. degree in Anthropology from Yale, an M.Phil. in Modern Middle Eastern Studies from Durham (where she had a Marshall Scholarship from the British Government), and a Ph.D. in History from Princeton. She has published articles on Sudanese history in the International Journal of Middle East Studies, the Journal of African History, the Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, and elsewhere. She is currently conducting research on the social impact, historical legacies, and enduring controversies of Christian missionary work among Muslim populations in Egypt and the Sudan.*

Kordofan Invaded:
Peripheral Incorporation and Social Transformation in Islamic Africa

Editors: Endre Stiansen and Michael Kevane



For people interested in Kordofan, the Sudanese Studies Center in Cairo has just published a translation of the edited volume by Endre Stiansen and Michael Kevane, entitled Kordofan Invaded: Peripheral Incorporation and Social Transformation in Islamic Africa, originally published by E.J. Brill, Leiden, in 1998. The book includes chapters by many SSA members, including Jay Spaulding, Heather Sharkey, M.W. Daly, David Decker, Stephanie Beswick, Martha Saavedra, and by researchers from Sudan, including Mustafa Babiker and Ahmed Ibrahim Abu Shouk and Awad al-Sid al-Karsani. Kurt Beck closes the book with a reflection on changing lifestyles of the nomads of northern Kordofan.

The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars

Douglas H. Johnson*

The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars will be published on January 3, 2003 by Indiana University Press. Douglas H. Johnson examines historical, political, economic, and social factors to come to a more subtle understanding of the trajectory of Sudan's civil wars. Johnson focuses on the essential differences between the modern Sudan's first civil war in the 1960s, the current war, and the minor conflicts generated by and contained within the larger wars. Regional and international factors, such as humanitarian aid, oil revenue, and terrorist organizations, are cited and examined as underlying issues that have exacerbated the violence.

> "The conclusion advanced here, then, is that the origins of the Sudan's current problems predate the unequal legacy of the colonial system in the twentieth century. They can be found in the ideas of legitimate power and governance developed in the Sudanic states of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were incorporated into the structures of the Turco-Egyptian empire, achieved new force in the jihad state of the Mahdiyya, and were never fully replaced but rather (as we shall see) occasionally adapted by the twentieth century colonial state (Section 2.3). The exploitative nature of the central state towards its rich but uncontrolled hinterland, the coercive power of the army in economic as well as political matters, the prerogative of the leader in redistributing revenues to the peripheries, the ambiguous status of persons who are not fully part of the central heritage all of these have re-emerged with force in the Sudan since independence, especially during the Nimairi period (Section 4.4). They are receiving a further impetus from the current Islamist reform movement, with its clear distinction between people with and without full legal rights, its move toward personal allegiance to the Imam as national leader, and the intensification of the commercial exploitation of the rural areas through modern Islamic banking and development institutions."
>
> *from Chapter One*

Book Information
256 pages, 2 maps, bibliography, appendix, index, 5x8
Cloth; 0-253-34213-9, $54.95 / paper; 0-253-21584-6 $24.95
Published Jan 3, 2003
Publisher: Indiana University Press

*Douglas H. Johnson teaches history at St. Antony's College, Oxford University. He has worked with various relief agencies and relief efforts in the Sudan.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Sudan Studies Association
http://www.sudanstudies.org

"Crossing Borders: Sudan in Regional Contexts"

22nd Annual Meeting of Sudan Studies Association
3rd International Conference of SSA, SSUK and IAAS
July 31st - August 2nd, 2003
to be held at

Georgetown University
Washington, DC

The fact that Sudan shares borders with nine countries (Chad, Libya, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire and Central African Republic) has allowed for the movement of people across the borders, and it has influenced cross-border cultural and political interaction. The nature of such relationships influences both the border zones and the country at large, particularly when wars and crises over natural resources occur along political boundaries. In addition, relationships between Sudan and its neighbors are not merely limited to border areas, but such influences could transcend borders such as in political, social, and economic trends.

The Sudan Studies Association (SSA) seeks proposals that address various issues (past and present) related to the relationships between Sudan and it's immediate neighbors, pertaining, for example, to issues in history, politics, culture, belief systems, literature, and relevant fields. SSA welcomes proposals not only from Sudan specialists, but from experts on neighboring countries as well.

The Sudan Studies Association has been organizing annual conferences of academics, policymakers, Sudanese citizens and other interested persons for over 20 years. Many previous conference proceedings have been published, with assistance from the Association and generous donors such as the Tannenbaum Foundation and the Ford Foundation. Small stipends are available for assistance to graduate students for travel. Abstracts of proposed papers (150-200 words) should receive the Conference Organizer on or before May 1, 2003. A preliminary program will be announced on May 15, 2003. Late proposals for papers will be considered only if space is available. Proposals and paper abstracts submitted earlier will receive preferential treatment in scheduling. Acceptance for presentation will depend on the quality of the abstract and the judgment of the program committee.

All abstracts for papers and panels should be sent and received by May 1, 2003 to: Dr. Ali B. Ali-Dinar, African Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania, 650 Williams Hall, Philadelphia, PA, 19149,USA. E-mail: aadinar@mail.sas.upenn.edu (Fax 215-573-7379, Phone 215-898-6610)

Program Organizer: Ali B. Ali-Dinar, African Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania, 650 Williams Hall, Philadelphia, PA, 19104, Phone 215-898-6610, aadinar@sas.upenn.edu

Local arrangements host: Meghan C. Hogge, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

Hotel Accommodation Information

"Crossing Borders: Sudan in Regional Contexts"
22nd Annual Meeting of Sudan Studies Association
3rd International Conference of SSA, SSUK and IAAS
July 31st - August 2nd, 2003
to be held at Georgetown University, Washington, DC

On-Campus Housing

Georgetown University has been kind enough to offer us 50 rooms (20 singles, 30 doubles) in Copley Residence Hall, on campus. The rooms are $50 per night, and are available on a first come first serve basis. Ten double rooms will be set aside to accommodate graduate students. The other double rooms should be double occupancy. Please do not request a double room if you are traveling alone-you will be hurting graduate students and scholars with limited funds who might be attending the conference and need reduced-rate rooms.

Email mkevane@scu.edu or fax (408) 554-2331 to make a request, after April 15. Rooms are available only from Thursday, July 31, 2003 through Saturday, August 2, 2003.

20 single occupancy rooms with suite baths in Copely Residence Hall @ $50/room/night for 3 nights

30 double occupancy rooms with suite baths in Copley Residence Hall @ $50/room/night for 3 nights

Linen is provided at no additional charge

Check-in may occur between 4:00 PM and 9:00 PM daily at the designated Check-in location will be announced over the summer. Date and time of departure: Sunday, August 3, 2003, BEFORE 10:00 AM.

Cost for housing is the nightly rental rate plus the combined sales & use and occupancy tax of 14.5%. More information about limitations on use of on-campus rooms

Members of SSUK can make payments to reserve rooms directly to SSUK (after confirmation from Michael Kevane that you have indeed room to reserve) in Sterling.

Conference Hotel

Georgetown Suites
Deadline: June 30, 2003
1111 30th Street NW, Washington, DC
www.georgetownsuites.com

Georgetown Suites has set aside 20 studio suites at $125 per night including complimentary breakfast. They are located a short walk (up a hill) from campus, along the beautiful Potomac River). Call them directly, before June 30, 2003, and reserve under the name 'Sudan Studies' to get the group rate.

Other Accommodations

Marriot Hotel
1221 22nd St.

This hotel is the next closest major hotel. It is about 30 minutes walk (Georgetown can be very hot and humid in August) and a 5 minute taxi ride. If more than ten persons with to book rooms here at $99 per room, I can make a group reservation. But SSA has to guarantee the reservations out of our own money, so I am not reserving the block until I find out more interest. Email me at mkevane@scu.edu, or fax at 408-554-2331.

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NOTE: THERE ARE GREAT HOTEL DEALS AVAILABLE ON THE INTERNET ALSO!

Sudan Studies Association

2003 Membership & Registration Form

Please print and fill this form to renew your membership in the Sudan Studies Association and to qualify to resister for the upcoming annual meeting. It is important that members renew as soon as possible in order to remain on the mailing list and to receive the SSA Newsletter.

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(Circle One)

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Note to Contributors

The Newsletter solicits the submission of news items of personal nature, announcements of upcoming scholarly events or anticipated publications, abstracts of dissertations or scholarly papers, panel proposals, articles, book reviews, bibliographical or historiographical esays, impressions about recent visits to the Sudan, research experiences in the Sudan, exchange programs with faculty in Sudanese Universities, Sudanese proverbs, anecdotes, etc. Articles and other submissions should be typed with full author's name and address. If at all possible, we prefer having submissions in diskette, or better still, through the electronic media (e-mail). The latter is fast and, for the most part, free. The Newsletter goes to the printer in the last day of January, April, July and October. All submissions should arrive at least three weeks before production deadline.

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