

# **SSA NEWSLETTER**

A Publication of the Sudan Studies  
Association of North America



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# The Sudan Studies Association

Founded in 1981

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

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Membership is for each academic calendar year which entitles the subscriber to receive all the issues of the SSA Newsletter, and to discounted registration rates for attending the annual meetings of the Association.

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# From the Editor

**A**s the new Editor for the Sudan Studies

Association Newsletter, I would like to thank my predecessor Dr. Ismail Abdallah for his deep commitment and enthusiasm during his brief editorship of the Newsletter. Dr. Abdallah has managed to improve the look and the content of the Newsletter, and we thank him and his editorial assistants for their great effort.

One of my main objectives during my term as Editor is to continue the tradition of improving the quality and increasing the quantity of information of interest to Sudanists. Furthermore, what I want to achieve with my colleagues on the Editorial Board is to enhance interactions among Sudanists, not only those in the US, but also in the rest of the world. I believe that receiving contributions from Sudanists in the US as well as abroad will be a great asset to the Newsletter. This will help to make the flow of information and resources bidirectional instead of unidirectional, and hence all those who are interested in Sudan Studies could benefit from sharing resources with a wider audience. Such contributions from researchers in the social sciences and the humanities could include short articles, recent publications, book reviews, job opportunities, and information on conference and workshops. This goal however, is difficult to attain without an active involvement of Sudanists around the globe. With the advent of e-mail capability, it would be of great help if we could share our resources and engage Sudanists in dialogue with their colleagues worldwide. Although the circulation of the Newsletter in paper format is part

of the SSA membership benefits, an abbreviated version of the Newsletter could be made available from the SSA web page. In the future we hope to archive all the past issues of the SSA Newsletters in electronic format.

Due to limitations in the publication of a newsletter in terms of size and goals, long articles are not suitable for this medium. We hope the SSA in the future will be able to establish its own journal which could handle such kind of articles and thus serve as another venue for furthering the discourse on Sudanese issues.

I thank you for your patience in receiving this issue of the Newsletter, and I look forward to your contributions and suggestions.

*Ali B. Ali-Dinar*

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## **DISCLAIMER**

**SSA NEWSLETTER IS A FORUM OF FREE EXPRESSION. ALL OPINIONS PUBLISHED HERE ARE THEREFORE THE SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AUTHORS, AND ARE NOT NECESSARILY THOSE OF THE SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OR OF ITS OFFICERS**

## The IMF and the Sudan's International Debt

*Endre Stiansen* (Nordi Africa Institute ) and  
*Michael Kevane* (Santa Clara University )

The international debt of the Sudan now totals around \$20 billion. Most of the debt, 80%, is owed to governments or international agencies; only 20% to commercial banks and other private sources of financing. Major government creditors are Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United States, England and France; the IMF and World Bank are owed close to \$3 billion. The interest and principal on this debt come to about \$1 billion per year. This means that every year every Sudanese family would have to pay about \$300 in taxes just to service the debt. Because the current regime pays less than \$100 million per year to creditors, almost all of the debt is in default, and the unpaid debt service is rolled over as arrears. Recent reports in the news of the International Monetary Fund re-opening offices in Khartoum prompt this review of the important issue of the Sudan's foreign debt. We will briefly summarize some facts and debates, and comment on how future government can deal with the debt issue.

### The Origins of the Debt

The Sudan started borrowing internationally (on a large scale) in the first part of the seventies. Popularly stated, the aim was to exploit the huge agricultural potential and make the country the "Breadbasket of the Arab World". Projects included importing tractors for mechanized farming, building pumps for schemes along the White and Blue Niles, constructing highways to link different regions, and the construction of the infamous sugar plantation at Kenana. Loans also financed processing factories and the extension of cotton growing schemes.

The rhetoric of economic nationalism of the (early)

Nimayri government rationalized what would probably have happened anyway; the Sudan was, after all, only one of many countries that accumulated a large foreign debt in this period. Yet the Sudan became a special case. Not only did the international debt grow larger (as a percentage of GDP) than for most developing countries, the circumstances of the debt negotiations were often politically charged and of all crisis-ridden African countries only the Sudan has been faced with the possibility of expulsion from the IMF. How did the debt get out of control and why was it possible? We would like to suggest several interconnected factors.

After the tripling of oil prices in 1973, banks receiving deposits of Middle Eastern oil receipts (the so-called petrodollars) needed to make loans. More significantly, loan officers in banks had incentives to negotiate large complex deals that frontloaded commissions, fees and interest payments. This enabled the officers to claim high short-term profits and reap rewards accordingly, even though there were strong reasons to suspect that further down the road the loans would not be repaid. The inadequacy of domestic accounting procedures, lack of supervision, cronyism and blatant corruption made matters worse. The first phase of the Sudanese debt history, therefore, was not very different from the recent experience of Thailand and Indonesia.

On this background it is not surprising that few of the projects generated revenues sufficient to enable repayment. But even if all of the loans were legitimate and financially sound, structural features of the Sudan's economy would have also impeded successful absorption of the large inflow of capital. For instance, the investment bonanza led to dramatic increases in demand for project inputs like skilled labour, transport services, and urban land, all in short supply. At the same time, inflation became a problem. Partly caused by the factors mentioned above, partly by lack of fiscal discipline, the domestic price inflation started to pick up speed as the money

supply increased. This made imports more attractive at the fixed exchange rate, and the Sudan's balance of trade deteriorated. The Bank of Sudan, hampered by political interference, could do little to redress the situation. Moreover, by the late 1970s friendly countries and the multinational institutions seemed to be willing to continue lending even without serious fiscal and monetary discipline.

Cold War politics definitely contributed to the Sudan's escalating debt crisis. Both Superpowers used economic measures such as soft loans or technical assistance to forge and maintain strategic alliances. The Sudan's controversial decision not to break relations with Egypt after the Camp David accords was followed by a strong commitment of the United States to support Nimeiri. The international community was not, however, always guided by political opportunism. During the famine of the early 1980s and after the popular uprising of 1985, there was an outpouring of sympathy for the plight of the Sudanese people and Sadiq al-Mahdi's government benefitted from fresh loans. The 1989 coup, however, had the opposite effect as most government and international institutions want to keep the Islamists at arm's length.

The current regime has pursued different policies towards the international debt. After consolidating power during 1990, the government made several gestures towards continuing repayments and began a campaign of selling state corporations. Among the many goals of the privatization program was to curry favor with the IMF which has always viewed state enterprises with disfavor. But by 1993 the government was failing in attracting foreign funds, whether in the form of private investments or loans from the international institutions, and in 1995 the establishment of the Khartoum stock exchange was all but a complete failure. Other factors contributed to deepen the economic crisis: the civil war continued to drain heavily on the state's revenue and prevented better use of the domestic resources, falling efficiency

in the cotton industry both reduced exports and brought prices further down, and mismanagement of the public sector increased transaction costs for the private sector. Obviously the cumulative effect reduced the state's foreign exchange earnings, the government was unable to honor its commitments to the IMF and the other donors. In February 1994, the executive board of the IMF voted to begin procedures to withdraw the Sudan's membership after Khartoum refused to co-operate with a strategy to correct the country's economic problems. New talks put the expulsion proceedings on hold, and the regime promised to implement IMF sanctioned reforms. However, throughout the 1990s the relations between the two parties have been strained and only last year the regime faced fresh threats of expulsion. Today the regime is making token payments to the IMF, and a few other creditors; reports that the IMF is considering re-opening an office in Khartoum may be interpreted as evidence that it still hopes to recover the outstanding loans with interest.

### **The IMF and International Debt**

Why does the IMF have so much power over the financial future of the Sudan? The basic answer is that international lending to sovereign nations, or institutions under the control of sovereign nations, is unlike domestic lending because of the de facto absence of courts that can enforce repayment. Long gone are the days of gun boat diplomacy to protect the interest of bankers! Basically the only significant threat that lenders can make to a sovereign country that refuses to repay is to refuse to lend any more. A crisis between lenders and a borrower in default will invariably disrupt international trade, but in the case of the Sudan this penalty is of minimal importance.

The contrast to private domestic lending is stark. The principle of seniority ensures that domestic bankruptcy is an orderly and effective process. Every category of lender--from the most senior to the

uncollateralised shareholder--has its turn in trying to recover assets or renegotiate the debt. In international lending there is no principle of seniority, and so every lender, from the smallest to the latest, has equal incentive and ability to cut a deal with the government. In this vacuum the IMF steps in, and asserts a privilege as senior lender. In practice one is not allowed to cut a deal unless the IMF is satisfied first, because the IMF is backed by major international players such as the US and the European governments.

Until recently the IMF had a policy of no forgiveness of debt. Probably this reflected both the growth optimism of an earlier era and confidence in own abilities, but the debt crises of the late 1970s and 1980s forced the international community to rethink the issue of default by sovereign nations. The first initiative was the Baker Plan, named after the US Treasury Secretary James Baker, and aimed at rescheduling and rolling over debts with new loans while at the same time implementing stringent economic reforms. After some time, it became clear that this approach did not have the desired effect and it was replaced with the Brady Plan, also named after the incumbent US Treasury Secretary. The novel feature of the Brady plan was that the size of the debt itself was recognized as a major obstacle to economic progress, and it opened the way for different debt reduction schemes.

Being a severely indebted country, the Sudan has since the 1980s been an obvious candidate for debt relief. However, so far it has not benefitted from the IMF and World Bank debt reduction initiative known as the Initiative for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) that has already significantly reduced debts for Uganda, Cote d'Ivoire, and several other countries by \$1.5 billion. Two considerations help explain this situation. First, any debt reduction scheme implies some amount of good-will by the creditors. As the present regime is violating international conventions with regards to human rights, major governments already ill-disposed toward the regime will do nothing that

can be seen as supporting the Islamists. Secondly, since the Sudan does not produce commodities of strategic value, and economic chaos does not create international economic instability, the world community has much less incentive to put together an aid package than in the case of Mexico or Thailand. Knowledge that the continued economic crisis causes untold human misery is not, unfortunately, sufficient to force a solution to the problem.

### **The Debt in the Future --The Future of the Debt**

What should future democratic leaders do about the debt? One option is to accept the debt obligations. But with more than \$1 billion due every year, the Sudan has no chance of keeping up with payments to the IMF and the other foreign creditors. The only realistic position is to insist on debt reduction. While radical, there is some precedence for this position and two factors will lend support to the case. First, it is a fact that most of the foreign debt was contracted by unelected military governments. Second, creditors continued to lend even after it had become evident that the loans would not be repaid. Establishing now a position of repudiating part of the debt will serve other purposes as well: a) it will give opponents to military rule the 'moral high ground' by differentiating themselves from past dictatorships; b) it will strengthen the future negotiating position of democratic regimes vis-a-vis the IMF and other institutions; c) it makes it even harder for the current regime to contract more debt; and finally d) it gives a financial incentive to new democratically-oriented leaders to disassociate themselves from old-guard leaders formerly affiliated with military regimes. Any talk of debt reduction is, however, likely to meet stern opposition from the IMF and the international community. But the fact of the matter is that the Sudan's obligations to foreign creditors are crippling to economic growth, and serious discussion about the issue should begin sooner rather than later.



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## Educational Reforms in the Sudan

*Abdullahi Beraima, Ph.D*

### Overview of the Educational System:

During the colonial rule, the school educational system in Sudan followed a 4-4-4 pattern. In 1970, the organization changed to a 6-3-3 ladder; and in 1992 the system was changed for the second time to become an 8-3 - that is eight years of basic schooling followed by three years of secondary education. Children are enrolled in the first grade of the basic school at the age of six. Schooling is open for all children, however, fewer than 60 percent of seven-year-olds are enrolled in school (Ministry of Ed., 1986), with lower rates for the rural areas and Southern Sudan. After eight years of schooling, children are eligible, if they successfully pass the basic school examination, to advance into secondary education.

Currently, there are very few kindergartens in Sudan. Most of those in operation are private and are located in the Khartoum area. Some children between the ages of four and six attend the Khalwas i.e., Koranic schools. Pupils learn to read and write Arabic as a means to learn the Koran.

Arabic is the language of instruction in the North at all school levels. In the South, however, indigenous languages are used as the medium of instruction in the first part of primary school (Massialas, 1993). As students progress through the upper primary and intermediate grades, Arabic is used increasingly, while in secondary schools English was used as the language of instruction.

The intake ratios as well as the rates of transition from primary to secondary school tend to favor males. In 1985-86, the enrollment rates by level of education and gender were as follows: primary education, 58.0% male, 41.2% female;

Intermediate, 31.2% male, 25.1% female; Secondary, 19.5% male, 13.5 female (Ministry of Ed., 1987). Although there has been considerable improvement during the last three decades toward narrowing the gap between boys and girls' enrollment, a significant difference still exists in the rural areas.

The distribution of education provision among the various states is uneven. For example, the northern states have higher enrollment rates than the southern states. Moreover, access to education in Khartoum province, Northern State, and Central State is significantly higher than that for the rest of the country. Urban children are more likely to have access to education than rural children are. The quality of urban schools is much better than that of rural schools.

The overall student-teacher ratio for primary schools in 1985-86 was reported to be 35:1. However, this ratio varies depending on the state, school level, and school setting. Primary school teachers were trained in secondary school-level institutions, and secondary school teachers are educated in post secondary or university level institutions. Secondary school graduates who work in teaching are trained for one or two years in teacher training institutes, normally after teaching for several years.

Recently, the Ministry of Education began to recruit college graduates to teach at the basic schools. However, there are major problems with providing an adequate body of teachers at all school levels. First, more than 40% of the basic schoolteachers are untrained. Second, there is a shortage of teachers due to the emigration of qualified teachers, the reluctance of capable persons in the teaching profession, low salaries, and the lack of respect given to teachers

## **Recent Reforms to the Educational Structure:**

### **(1) The 1970 Educational Reforms**

Educational policy has been a matter of

concern during the post independence period. National and international committees were set up to review the educational system and policies. These committees emphasized the need for change in the educational system, policies, and content (Omer, 1988). Unfortunately, very little was done about these committees' recommendations. That was probably due to a lack of vision on the part of decision-makers and the fact that ministers of education were replaced at short intervals, in addition to the lack of financial resources.

The first serious attempt to reform education was initiated in the educational policy of 1970. According to Omer, the major objectives of that policy were:

- 1) The expansion of education at all schools levels, particularly primary and technical education;
- 2) The introduction of compulsory education in the nomadic areas;
- 3) The diversification of secondary education to produce more specialists;
- 4) The expansion of girls' education;
- 5) The provision of education to the extent that it can be a basic human right for all Sudanese.

Obviously, the most important feature of this educational reform was the reorganization of the educational system and the extension of the retention period for primary school leavers from four to six years. This measure was received with overwhelming support from the public (Omer, 1988). This support was reflected in the voluntary contribution that used to build the two additional classes in every primary school. Unfortunately, over the years this public contribution became mandatory. In other words, if a community approached the authorities with a request for a school, the official response would be that if the community established the school buildings, the government would provide the school with teachers. This government attitude was responsible for the inequity in access to education in the rural areas and the poor states.



The second important feature of this educational reform was the introduction of technical secondary education with various specialization - agriculture, commerce, industry, home economics, or teacher education. The original plan was designed to make technical education 50% of the secondary education. However, because of the high cost, the traditional public attitude toward technical education, and shortage of qualified teachers this goal was not fulfilled.

The third important feature of this educational policy was the change in curricula and the replacement of the old textbooks with new ones. Because the decision to change the curricula was made in an extremely short period of time and no studies were done to evaluate the existing curricula at that time, the new curricula were born handicapped. Many, if not all, of the textbooks were printed abroad and some of them were imported from Egypt and England. Thus, the content of those books was not appropriate for Sudanese students.

The major problem with those reforms was that they were implemented despite the wide range of opposition. Other than the Education Conference of October 1969, which recommended a 6-4-2 educational ladder instead of 6-3-3 and a careful review of the curricula and content, those reforms were superimposed with no feedback from the educators, politicians, or the masses (Omer, 1988).

## **(2) The 1992 Educational Reforms**

The overthrow of the third democracy in Sudan on June 30, 1989 represented a turning point in our educational system. In its 1992 General Education Strategy, the military government of General Omer Elbashir affirmed its fundamental belief in the role of education in social change and in the reconstruction of the society as well as the individual. The strategy rejected the dualism in

education that separates religious education from modern education. Moreover, the strategy emphasized the need for a comprehensive school, a school that includes academic, religious, and technical education and training.

Accordingly, the government has focused on several major goals in its new educational policy. These goals are the (1) inculcation of Islamic faith and values; (2) promotion of patriotic values and attitudes; (3) construction of a self-sufficient society; (4) the protection of the environment; and (5) strengthening the national unity.

In order to achieve these goals, the new educational strategy suggested, among other things, the following:

- 1) The replacement of the 6-3-3 educational ladder with an 8-3 educational system - eight years of basic education followed by three years of secondary education, i.e., the primary and intermediate schools were combined and their time was reduced to eight years of schooling instead of 9 years;
- 2) The extension of pre-school and basic education to all children by the year 2000;
- 3) The replacement of the existing secondary school with a comprehensive school in which technical education represents 60% of the content;
- 4) Increasing secondary schools' enrollment by four times;
- 5) The selection of basic school's teachers from university and colleges' graduates;
- 6) The development of curricula that achieve the educational strategy's goals;
- 7) The provision of all secondary schools with computers by the end of the strategy;
- 8) The introduction of Koranic recitation in the pre-schools (kindergarten & Khalwas).

The main decisions that have been made as a result of this policy were the: (1) replacement of the 6-3-3 educational ladder by an 8-3 system; (2) replacement of the old textbooks by new ones; and

(3) imposing religious instruction on all students at all school levels.

One of the major problems with the new educational strategy is that despite the two year increase in basic schooling for those who do not advance to secondary education, the quality of their learning experience will not be improved. That is because of the shortage of qualified teachers, lack of financial resources, closing of boarding schools, and the hostile school environment. In the rural areas, for example, students walk several miles to school with their stomachs empty, following the shutdown of the boarding schools around the country. Moreover, some parents are unable to take their children to school because they can't afford it or because they want them to help raise their younger siblings. In addition, schoolteachers are underpaid and overworked.

The introduction of comprehensive secondary education, in which technical schooling represents 60% of the, will leave little time for academic education, if we take into consideration the time allocated for religious education. In an educational system where all subjects are compulsory, this type of education will not provide students with the appropriate knowledge that they need to succeed in college. As technical education favors the urban sector of the society where 25% of the population live, the questions that we should ask ourselves are we really need 60% of our educational content to be technical. And if we do, do we have the market for graduates trained in this way?

The 1992, educational reforms paid no attention whatsoever to the importance of the educational quality. The reforms did not address issues such as standards of education, educational technology, libraries, laboratories, and revision of the evaluation and measurement techniques that have been in place since the beginning of the century. All that matters to the reformers were the number of schools, the size of enrollment, and type of education.

In summary, over the years that followed the 1970 educational reforms, we have been witnessing a decay in the educational system, one that ill serves the country and our children. Even today after more than five years from the adoption of the new educational policy, our children's education continues to decline. The dropout rate remains flat or rising. Teacher turnover rate is on the rise. And shadow or remedial education (after school classes, private lessons, Summer Schools, Teacher Union Schools, etc.) is the largest growing activity at all levels of education.

### Conclusion

Education is an important means of shaping the cultural and socio-economic forces of the future and determining the direction of their growth. Education has also been a major role to play in accomplishing social goals and alleviating socio-economic problems of deprivation, poverty, and marginalization. Social equity is thus an important educational goal in order to ensure that every person has access to equal quality of education. This involves more than enrolling children from disadvantaged environments; it calls for the type of education and care that they need by reason of their deprivation. As education becomes future-oriented, we as a nation need to develop a clear and realistic vision of our future educational goals and objectives. It is important that the major objectives of the school or unit of instruction be clearly identified if time and effort are not to be wasted on less important things and if the work of the school is to be guided by some plan.

In the process of reflecting on educational goals for the future, one must face the questions: what kind of future society do we wish to create and by what type of education; and what characteristics of the individual will contribute to a desirable society? I do believe that we need educational objectives that

modify the present but also aim at shaping the future of our society. They have to be envisioned as choices relative both to the social purposes and responsibilities and to individual development. In addition to the issues addressed by previous policies, our educational objectives should also address issues such as global knowledge, human and social development, our cultural and ethnic differences, the environment, and social equity, human rights, and freedom.

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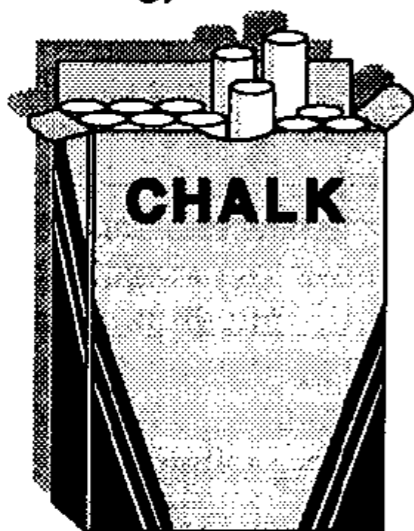
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## Sudan Studies Association

Conference: 8-10 May 1998

University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, PA

### Opening Session:

[Friday, May 8, 1:30 p.m., Smith-Penniman room, Houston Hall]

Welcome by officials of the University of Pennsylvania and officers of the Sudan Studies Association

**Panel#1: HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW** [Friday, 2-3:45 p.m.]

Chair: Adam Abdelmoula, Georgetown University

Mahgoub El-Tigani, Tennessee State University and President, Sudan Human Rights Organization (Cairo branch): "Human Rights: Present and Future Commitments"

Nuraddin Abdulmannan, President, The Kushite Nubian League, Washington DC Chapter: "Save Nubia"

Abdullahi Ibrahim, University of Missouri: "A Passion for Justice: The Mad Courts of Instantaneous Justice in Sudan"

Adam Abdelmoula, Georgetown University: "An Ideology of Domination, and the Domination of an Ideology: Islamism and the Constitution in the Sudan"

**Panel#2: THE DEBATE OVER NATIONAL IDENTITY** [Friday, 4-5:45 p.m.]

Chair: Leigh Swigart, University of Pennsylvania

Anwar Osman A-Magid, Centre for Development Studies,

University of Bergen: "The Process of Nation Building in the Sudan: An Archaeological Perspective"

Souad T. Ali, Hiram College: "Modern" and "Traditional" Forces in Sudanese Politics'

Yehudit Ronen, Tel Aviv University: "The Conflict in Sudan: A Struggle of State and Society Over Their Identities, Political Power, and Economic Resources (1972-1989)"

**RECEPTION: Houston Hall (Ballroom), 6:30 p.m.**

**Panel#3: RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS** [Saturday, May 9, 8:30-10:15 a.m.]

Chair: Mohamed Mahmoud, Tufts University

Robert Kramer, History Department, St. Norbert College: "Adventures in Reputation": Sayyid Abd al-Rahman and the Lessons of the Mahdiyya'

Barbara Degorge, PhD candidate St. John's University: "Political Sufism: A Case Study of the Khatmiyya and Mahdiyya in the Sudan"

Gabriel Warburg, Haifa University: "Different Views on an Islamic State in Sudan"

**Panel4a: GEMS OF WISDOM: SUDANESE PROVERBS** [Saturday, 10:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.]

Chair: Ismail Abdalla, College of William and Mary

Ismail Abdalla, College of William and Mary: "Gems of Wisdom: Sudanese Proverbs and the Status of Women"

Bushra A. Hamad, Johns Hopkins University: "Reflections on a Selection of Sudanese Proverbs"

Abdullahi Ibrahim, University of Missouri: "Reflections on a Selection of Sudanese Proverbs"

Ahmed Osman, Embassy of Qatar: "Reflections on a Selection of Sudanese Proverbs"

**Panel #4b: LESSONS FROM HISTORY** [Saturday, 10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.]

Chair: Robert Collins, University of California (Santa Barbara)

Richard Lobban, Rhode Island College: "Mapping the Ancient Nile: Meroe during Ptolemaic Times"

David Decker, University of South Carolina (Sumter): "Tricks of an Anti-Slaver: Gordon in Equatoria and Kordofan"

Peter P. Garretson, Florida State University: "Sudanese-Ethiopian Relations: As Seen Largely From An Ethiopian Diary (1899-1949)"

David Sconyers, Franklin University: "Fading Voices: The End of British Rule in the Sudan"

**LUNCH: 12:30-2 p.m. [Board meeting during lunch]**

**Panel #5: THE CONTESTED POLITICAL SCENE** [Saturday, 2-3:45 p.m.]

Chair: Lee Cassanelli, University of Pennsylvania

Abdullahi A. Gallab, Department of Communication, Hiram College: "Sudan: Dialectic of Hope and Despair: The Sudanese Middle Class and the Nation State"

Amin Hamid Zeinelabdin, University of Khartoum: "Democracy and the Constitutional Prospects in Sudan"

Tagelsir H. Elrayah, Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences in America: "Arabic and English in the Sudan: History and Policies, 1821-1985"

Ann M. Lesch, Villanova University: "Reconciling Territorial and Ethnic Nationalism: An Impossible Task?"

**Panel #6: FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES** [Saturday, 4-5:45 p.m.]

Chair: Ali B. Ali-Dinar (University of Pennsylvania)

Ted Dagne, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress: "U.S. Policy toward the Sudan"

Ahmed Elamin Elbashir, University of District of Columbia: "U.S. Sanctions against Sudan: Scarecrow Tactics"

**DINNER AT THE PALLADIUM RESTAURANT, 36th and Locust Walk, 7 p.m. (\$25.00)**

**Speaker:**

Representative Donald M. Payne, Democrat, Newark, NJ: "US Policy toward the Sudan"

**Panel#7: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS**  
[Sunday, May 10, 9-11 a.m.]

Chair: Ahmed Shariff, University of Pennsylvania

Hala El-Ahmadi, Women's Studies, University of Nijmegen, Netherlands: "Globalization, Islamism, and Gender Identity: The Case of Sudanese Women's Groups"

AbdelRahman Ahmed AbdelRahman, Visiting Scholar, Michigan State University: "An Assessment of Market-Oriented Agricultural Reforms in the Gezira Scheme"

Sam L. Laki, International Center for Water Resources Management, Central State University, "Management of Water Resources of the Nile Basin"

Ahmed Elyas Elameer, PhD candidate, Development Economics, Universiti Putra Malaysia: "How the Sudanese Economy Can be Industrialized in Line with Malaysian Experiences: Lessons for the Future"

Ahmed el-Tayeb el-Gaili, Economic Development Studies, Harvard University: "Development Policy-Making and the Democracy Paradox: The Case of Sudan"

**BUSINESS MEETING:** [Sunday, 11 am - 12 noon]

**Panel #8: POLITICAL SOLUTIONS** [Sunday, 12 noon-1:45 p.m.]

Chair: Ann Lesch, Villanova University

Elias Nyamlell Wakoson: "The Sudan and the Sudanese: The Politics of Signification"

Mohamed Zeinelabdin Mohamed: "The Southern Sudan between Addis Ababa Agreement 1972 and the Current Agreement: What Lessons Have We Learned, Any Way?"

Steven Wöndu, SPLM representative, Washington DC: "New Sudan: Too Good for Sudanese"

## **Abstracts of Recent Ph.D. Dissertations**

compiled by  
*Michael Kevane*

**CONCEPT OF FREEDOM IN LOCKE AND MARX WITH  
RELATION TO SUDAN** AUTHOR: HASSABELNABI,  
MOHAMEDELHASSAN ABDALLA YEAR: 1997  
INSTITUTION: MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY; 0128

SOURCE: DAI, VOL. 58-05A, Page 1749, 157 Pages

ABSTRACT: The purpose of this research is to examine the concept of freedom in the works of John Locke and Karl Marx with reference to the Sudan case. The plan of the research will be to set forth the problems confronting Sudan as an underdeveloped but modern postcolonial African country and a point of departure for consideration of concepts of freedom in regard to the future of Sudan, and then to discuss minimum requirements for a society in a postcolonial state, with a view toward determining the kind of national development that might ensure the stability of freedom in that country. The point was made that negative and positive formulations of freedom, articulated by Locke and Marx and explicated by Isaiah Berlin, are not unfamiliar to the Sudanese governing elite but that such formulations are pointedly filtered through, and subsidiary to, the screen of Islam. Locke's and Marx's negative and positive conceptualizations of freedom were discussed, respectively, as the foundation for the proper structure of civil society. Locke's negative view that freedom is the property of the members of civil society and that legitimate civil authority both protects that property and refrains from interfering with those who have acquired it. Marx's positive view, that property is not freedom but slavery and oppression of the many by the few, conceives of freedom as a consequence of a society transformed by the revolutionary destruction of property. For the Sudan case, both negative and positive formulations of freedom in the Western tradition were problematic.

**EPIDEMIOLOGY AND CLINICAL COURSE OF ADULT  
DIABETES MELLITUS IN SUDAN** AUTHOR:  
ELBAGIR, MURTADA NOREIN YEAR: 1997  
INSTITUTION: UPPSALA UNIVERSITET (SWEDEN);

0903 SOURCE: DAI, VOL. 58 03C, Page 0974, 93  
Pages

ABSTRACT: The prevalence of diabetes mellitus is increasing to epidemic proportions, particularly in developing countries, becoming a major public health problem. This study addressed the epidemiology of glucose intolerance among adults in northern Sudan, investigated the clinical course and quality of life of insulin-treated patients, and evaluated the classification of young patients with new-onset diabetes. The crude prevalence rates of diabetes mellitus and impaired glucose tolerance (IGT) were 3.4% and 2.9%, respectively in the general population, and 8.3% and 7.9% in a small community, the "Danagla" tribe. Age-adjusted prevalences and 95% CI were 4.5% (2.9-6.0) and 3.8% (2.5-5.2), respectively, in the general population, and 10.4% (7.7-13.1) and 9.8% (7.2-12.5), respectively, in "Danagla" tribe. Diabetes prevalence was highest in northern and central parts, and lowest in western Sudan. Undiagnosed diabetes mellitus was almost twice as prevalent as previously known diabetes. Family history of diabetes mellitus and obesity were more common among the diabetic subjects. Glycaemic control, evaluated by HbA<sub>1c</sub>, was poor in most insulin-dependent diabetic patients. Insulin shortage and inadequate diabetes knowledge led to poor compliance and lack of optimum control. Small and large vessel disease were present in 67% of a group of insulin-treated patients. Retinopathy was the most common complication (43%), and cardiovascular disease was present in 28% of the patients. Patients with complications were older, had longer disease duration, and had higher blood lipid concentrations. Glycaemic control was not related to these complications. Health-related quality of life (HRQL) of insulin-treated patients was worse in patients with good metabolic control than those with poor control. Patients with late complications rated HRQL lower than in those without complications. Older age and late complications were important predictors for HRQL. Body mass index (BMI), islet cell antibodies (ICA) and fasting C-peptide were found to be useful in classifying young (25-45 years), newly diagnosed Sudanese patients. Low BMI (<22 kg/m<sup>2</sup>), ICA positivity, and low fasting C-peptide (<0.30 nmol/L) predicted insulin treatment in 73%, 90% and 77% of the patients, respectively. Diabetes mellitus is common among adult populations of northern Sudan, and is associated mostly with poor metabolic control, a high prevalence of complications, and a low quality



of life. Strategies that improve life-style, awareness of diabetes, and health care delivery are urgently warranted.

**DISCUSSING "HUMAN RIGHTS": AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPOSITION ON "HUMAN RIGHTS" DISCOURSE** AUTHOR: BAJOR, WILLIAM J.

YEAR: 1997 INSTITUTION: UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS (UNITED KINGDOM); 0636 ADVISER: Supervisor: LADISLAV HOLY SOURCE: DAI, VOL. 58-07A, Page 2714, 412 Pages

**ABSTRACT:** This thesis examines how the displaced Sudanese in Egypt, Kenya, and the United Kingdom discuss the topic of "Human Rights". Whereas many studies on "Human Rights" are primarily concerned with the opinions of outsiders, an attempt is made here to provide an alternative perspective in that the focus of this dissertation is on how the displaced Sudanese, themselves, discuss "Human Rights" in view of their situation as exiles. The thesis begins historical evolution of the 'Western' concept of "Human Rights" and investigating the historical relationship between Anthropology and "Human Rights". Attention is paid to the role of the doctrine of "cultural relativism" in the discipline of Anthropology. After briefly looking at Sudan's geographical and social makeup, I explain the difficulties I encountered as an independent scholar conducting research on "Human Rights" and Sudan. This is followed by descriptions of the fieldwork locations. What comes next is the heart and soul of the thesis. After giving brief descriptions of the interviewees, I analyse how the interviews were conducted and explain how the issue of "Politics" dominated practically every discussion with the interviewees. Next, excerpts from nineteen interviews are presented for the reader to get acquainted with the conversations between the interviewees and myself. Finally, an examination is made of how "Human Rights" is employed as a manipulative device (or tool) by the interviewees. This is essentially the crux of the study. The chief aim of the thesis is to present various ways the notion of "Human Rights" can be (and is) interpreted and utilised by the displaced Sudanese in the context of their own circumstances as exiles.

**DIVIDING THE NILE: THE FAILURE TO STRENGTHEN EGYPTIAN SUDANESE ECONOMIC BONDS, 1918-1945** AUTHOR: MILLS, DAVID EUGENE

YEAR: 1997 INSTITUTION: THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH; 0240 SOURCE: DAI, VOL. 58-05A, Page 1876, 346 Pages

**ABSTRACT:** Much of the scholarship on the Condominium period of Sudanese history has focused on the imperial role of Britain. Whether in directing local Sudanese development or representing Sudanese interests in the international arena, historians have justifiably portrayed Britain's domineering presence. However, the other "partner" in the administration established in 1899, Egypt, theoretically had an equal participatory role in the country and historical claims of sovereignty over the region. The official separation of Egypt and the Sudan in 1956 has frequently been attributed to the emergence of local Sudanese groupings that opposed Egyptian interference and were favorable to British guidance. This study has sought to examine underlying factors, specifically Egyptian-Sudanese economic developments, that influenced the eventual choice of independence. The general focus of this work was Egyptian-Sudanese economic relations between 1918 and 1945. Ministerial and parliamentary records, publications of private organizations, and local newspapers and journals have been used to assess the extent of Egyptian interest and actual activity in the Sudan. The first broad category of Egyptian involvement examined was the variety of "investments" in Sudanese development. Financial commitments required of Egypt for increased Nile river utilization, the establishment of Sudanese infrastructure facilities and those associated with military and administrative personnel in the Sudan were a significant drain on the state's resources. Furthermore, agreements reached concerning these investments, such as those on debt repayment or apportioning new water resources, tended to imply a separation of Egypt and the Sudan. In the second section of this study analysis shifts to determining the extent to which Egyptians obtained a return on their investments through examination of landholding opportunities and, especially, commercial activities. Although Egypt's emerging entrepreneurial class and official agencies were anxious to increase the exchange of goods along the Nile valley and their role in this activity, neither objective was achieved. Egyptian efforts to augment commercial relations with the Sudan were late in appearing and frustrated by Condominium administrative policies, foreign competition and Egypt's own overall economic goals during the interwar period. Both Egypt and the Sudan

had followed a development path that included heavy dependence on international markets. The failure to create strong Egyptian-Sudanese ties during the interwar period and subsequent independence of the two countries were primarily due to an inability to overcome this well-established linkage to foreign economies.

**PSYCHIATRIC DISORDERS IN SUDAN: AN EXPLORATORY BIOSOCIAL STUDY** AUTHOR: AWADALLA, ABDEL WAHID YEAR: 1997 INSTITUTION: CALIFORNIA SCHOOL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY - FRESNO, 0444 ADVISER: CHAIRMAN, DONALD I TEMPLER CHAIRMAN, TEMPLER, DONALD I SOURCE: DAI, VOL. 58-08B, Page 4435, 77 Pages

**ABSTRACT:** The purposes of the present exploratory study with the Sudanese schizophrenic patients were to (a) determine the epidemiology and symptom structure of schizophrenic patients and (b) determine the nature of symptoms in conversion disorder patients. The findings of the schizophrenia part of the research provide confirmation of the Park, Templer, Canfield, and Cappelletty (1992) concept, cumulative biological risk, insofar as febrile illness onset, visual hallucinations, and schizophrenic family history were associated with indices of unfavorable prognosis. Discussion focuses on febrile schizophrenia illness, which has been virtually absent from English language literature. The conversion disorder part of the research indicated that a large percentage of patients with this diagnosis had classical symptoms and that a large percentage of conversion disorder patients had symptoms that could have neurological etiology.

**FOR GOD AND COUNTRY: W. T. STEAD AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW JOURNALISM IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN, 1883-1885**

AUTHOR: GUERTY, PHILLIP MICHAEL DEGREE: MA. YEAR: 1997 INSTITUTION: FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY; 0119 ADVISER: Adviser: HEATHER FRAZER SOURCE: MAI, VOL. 35-06, Page 1644, 119 Pages

**ABSTRACT:** Since the late nineteenth century, scholars and historians have attributed the growth of a sensational press in Britain to long-term societal changes such as the rise of capitalism. What has been ignored, however, is the importance of individual initiative, mainly that of W. T. Stead of the Pall Mall Gazette. During the Sudan Crisis of 1883-1885, Stead

introduced a new type of journalism to England that combined typographical innovations, such as maps and striking headlines, with a lively literary style. At the root of this new type of reporting were Stead's deep felt convictions about spreading Christianity, extending the empire, and improving the world through newspapers.

**RECOVERY OF FUELWOOD AND NUTRIENTS IN ABANDONED MECHANIZED FARMS IN EASTERN SUDAN** AUTHOR: SATTI, KAMAL MOHAMED OSMAN YEAR: 1996 INSTITUTION: COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY; 0053 SOURCE: DAI, VOL. 58-01B, Page 0012, 113 Pages

**ABSTRACT:** The study was carried out in the eastern region of the Sudan to measure nutrients and biomass recovery in abandoned mechanized farms. Thirty-five abandoned farms in four mechanized farm areas and 11 forest sites in three forest reserves were selected. Each farm and forest site was sampled for seed availability, wood biomass, soil nitrogen, phosphorus and soil organic carbon. The results showed that the clearance of millions of hectares of natural forest in the eastern region of the Sudan for cultivation reduced tree seed banks in abandoned farm below the recommended level for reforestation. The mean annual increment (MAI) of biomass was very low or absent in both forest and mechanized farms. No evidence was found to link the absence of regeneration to soil fertility or seed availability as suggested by the World Bank (1986). No correlation was found between biomass regeneration and intensity of cultivation or years since farm abandonment. The main reason of lack of regenerations was overgrazing. Overgrazing resulted from blocking of traditional nomadic movement by mechanized farms that led to confining the livestock in a small area during the cropping period. Soil nitrogen and phosphorus were lower in abandoned mechanized farms compared with mature forest stands. Both nutrients showed no sign of reduction after farms were abandoned, and no recovery to original level under mature forest. Abandoned farms will probably remain below the original productivity of pre-farm forest. The study findings reflect a very serious fuelwood problem for the eastern region of the Sudan. Under the current situations, fuelwood cutting will consume the remaining forest in eastern regions within a few years. The addition of the eastern region to other areas in importing fuelwood will increase the fuelwood transportation cost and reduce its energy efficiency.

## **Recent Publications in Academic Journals**

**Compiled by**  
*Michael Kevane*

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Gibson, M. The Sudan - Exposition of North African, ancient Egyptian art. CONNAISSANCE DES ARTS, FEB, 1997 N536 :75+.

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### **About Michael Pearce's Novels**

*Heather J. Sharkey*  
Department of History  
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Sudanophiles who appreciate mystery or detective stories should take a look at the novels of Michael Pearce, who was born in the Sudan in 1933. Pearce spent much of his childhood in Atbara, where his father was a Sudan Railways employee. Since 1989 he has been publishing detective novels that are set in Egypt around 1910, during the British Occupation. His sleuth is a Welsh official named Gareth Owen, better known as the "Mamur Zapt." Responsible for political crimes, the Mamur Zapt is frequently called in to investigate murders that have political motives. Angry young nationalists, the Khedive's sons, or corrupt politicians are always involved in the intrigue. Nine Mamur Zapt novels have been published (see below). In all of them, Michael Pearce captures the political mood and tensions of Egypt under the Occupation, and brings the history to life.

Michael Pearce occasionally weaves Sudanese characters or themes into his novels, and acknowledges that his own childhood experiences in the Sudan have inspired his portrayals of the British in Egypt. Although he has not visited the Sudan in recent years, he has maintained a keen interest in the region, particularly through his involvement in Amnesty International. In 1987, he published a novel for children called *The Hostages*, using the pen name Michael Smith. This story deals with the civil war in the south, and is written from a



child's point of view.

Critics and mystery fans have given Michael Pearce high marks for his novels. Readers should "investigate" for themselves, by looking for the books in public libraries, or by ordering them through bookstores. (The American distributor of these novels is Mysterious Press, a division of Warner Books.)

The Mamur Zapt Novels by Michael Pearce:

The Mamur Zapt and the Night of the Dog (1989).

The Mamur Zapt and the Return of the Carpet (1989).

The Mamur Zapt and the Donkey-Vous (1990).

The Mamur Zapt and the Men Behind (1991).

The Mamur Zapt and the Girl in the Nile (1992).

The Mamur Zapt and the Spoils of Egypt (1992).

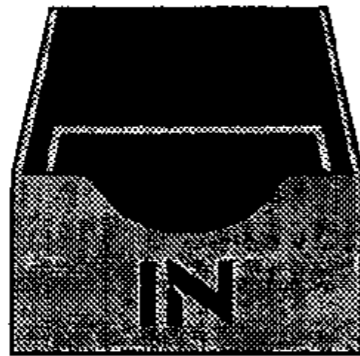
The Mamur Zapt and the Camel of Destruction (1993).

The Snake-Catcher's Daughter: A Mamur Zapt Mystery (1994).

The Mingrelian Conspiracy: A Mamur Zapt Mystery (1995).

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### To the Editor:



## An Open Letter to American Friends of the Sudan

(March 27, 1998)

While we applaud President Clinton's courage and honesty in publicly acknowledging the United States' passivity during the Rwanda Genocide of 1994, we remain cautiously skeptical. Furthermore, we will remain skeptical until we see concrete evidence of the administration's willingness to honor

President Clinton's implicit promise that genocide will not be tolerated wherever it occurs. "Wherever" should include the Sudan, where a so-called Arab-Islamic military junta is unabashedly waging "jihad" (Islamic Holy War) against the largely non-Muslim, African civilians of the South, the Nuba Mountains and the Ingessena Hills of the Sudan. What the people in these regions share in common (and which pits the government directly against them) is their pursuit of self-determination and national respect for their African identity and cultural traditions. Both aspirations are at root of the conflict--Africa's longest--which has waged more or less constantly between the latter and successive Arab-Islamic oriented Sudan governments, since the Sudan's independence from Britain in 1956. Numerous human rights groups as well as United Nations organs, committees and officials have variously alerted the world community to the genocidal nature of the Sudan government's war against its own people in the South, Nuba Mountains and Ingessena Hills. The southern Sudanese community in the United States has, time and again, resounded similar alarm. Thus far, scant positive action to protect threatened civilians (overwhelmingly women and children) has been taken by the United States and the rest of the world community. Geopolitical considerations notwithstanding, this apparent indifference astounds us. Since 1983, more than 1.5 million civilians have perished in the recent phase of the conflict, a figure likely exceeding those of the Somali, Rwandan and former Yugoslavian conflicts combined. At such a large scale, it is no longer acceptable for the U.S. or the world at large to maintain a hands-off stance on the ground that the conflict is an internal one. Genocide (which we believe adequately describes the Sudan government's behavior) is not an internal matter--anywhere. As Clinton



noted, "[n]ever again must [the United States] shy in the face of the evidence."

Therefore, let the United States now take the necessary and timely lead in initiating long overdue multinational humanitarian intervention in the genocide-vulnerable areas of the southern Sudan and Nuba Mountains, in particular. Such intervention might involve, for example, the establishment of safe-havens in these areas so as to protect civilians from the recent onslaught of bombing by the regime, and to facilitate the distribution of sorely needed food aid. It should also involve heightened scrutiny of the regime's treatment of the internally displaced in the vicinity of Khartoum in the North. Such treatment includes banishment of the internal displacees to remote desert concentration camps where they are subjected to a range of dehumanizing treatment (including severe religious and racial discrimination) by the Sudan government.

If the United States would take such an initiative, President Clinton's implicit promise that the United States will not tolerate genocide anywhere will acquire more than rhetorical meaning for many in the southern Sudanese community. Let our American friends take the lead to "embrace the common humanity we all share."

Sincerely,

Laura Nyantung Beny  
Harvard University

# The Sudan Studies Association Newsletter

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**Note to Contributors:**

The Newsletter solicits the submission of news items of personal nature, announcements of up-coming scholarly events or anticipated publications, abstracts of dissertations or scholarly papers, panel proposals, articles, book reviews, bibliographical or historiographical essays, 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 it is 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.

**Former SSA Presidents**

		1986-87	James Sultan
1994-96	Nelson Kasfir	1985-86	David Sconyer
1990-91	Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban	1984-85	Carolyn F-Lobban
1989-90	Constance Berkley	1983-84	James Hudson
1988-89	Ismail Abdallah	1982-83	Richard Lobban
1987-88	Jay Spaulding	1981-81	Ahmed El-Bashir