

The Principles of Native Administration in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1956. By Ahmad Ibrahim AbouShouk and Anders Bjorkelo. Sudan: Abdel Karim Mirghani Cultural Center (Omdurman) and Center for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (Bergen) 2004, pp. 279.

Reviewer: Garoot Suleiman Eissa, Department of Political Science, International Islamic University Malaysia

This book is essentially a collection of documents pertaining to the evolution of the institutions of Native Administration introduced by the Colonial Administration of the Sudan. This institution was gradually reformed throughout what was known as the Condominium Rule in the Sudan established in the wake of the joint occupation of the country by British and Egyptian armies after they defeated the Mahdist forces in 1898.

The authors, Dr. Ahmad Ibrahim AbuShouk, an Associate Professor at the International Islamic University Malaysia and Professor Anders Bjorkelo of the University of Bergen, made use of voluminous documentary sources available at the Sudan government's National Records Office, the headquarters of Shaykan Province at El Obeid, the Public Records Office in London and the University of Durham. They sifted through the documents to extract materials pertaining to the issue of Native Administration in the Sudan, and then usefully arranged them in chronological but logically-meaningful order.

The book features an introduction and four parts. In the introduction, the authors put forth their own interpretation of the implications of the documents enclosed in the rest of the book. In the first three parts, documents corresponding to each phase of the three phases of evolution of Native Administration – as designated by the authors – are enclosed. The fourth and final part, however, contains all the codes, ordinances and legislations, which gradually helped establish an effective system of Native Administration in Sudan.

Ostensibly, the British were haunted by the specter of the Mahdist revolution throughout their colonization of the country, particularly

in the face of frequent rebellions occurring every now and then which were invariably swiftly and firmly nipped in the bud before they could spread to the rest of the country. Consequently, pacification and governance of the country had always remained their major preoccupation.

The policy of decentralization—on which they placed much emphasis—was part of a package of policies geared towards this end. Among other policies adopted was the introduction of a system of secular education that culminated in the establishment of Gordon's Memorial College, the predecessor of Khartoum University. This college was meant to imbue the Sudanese elite with modern Western values to counteract, among others, the influence of the religious establishment regarded by the British as a perpetrator of rebellion and, therefore, their arch enemy. It also aimed at preparing the Sudanese to man the civil service jobs to lower the cost of ruling the country through costly expatriates.

The theme of the authors' explanation of events—which gave the book its title—was the contention that the policy of indirect rule, of which Native Administration formed a part, adhered to the Lugardian Principles of Indirect Rule followed all over the British empire right from the outset (p. 21). They rejected a contending thesis put forth by Mudathir Abdel Rahim, Gaafer Bakhiet and others to the effect that the country was at first ruled directly through a British bureaucracy up to the point where Milner compiled a report in 1921 advising Sudan's colonial administration to shift to indirect rule. However, this interesting book does not provide evidence to support its authors' viewpoint. Abu Shouk and Bjorkelo based their argument on the basis of the experience of the Kordofan's. Dar Kababish was definitely the only exception rather than the rule. The leaders of two other nomadic tribes were practicing very limited judicial powers. This can be seen in the first three legislations enclosed between pages 211 to 218. These legislations clearly exclude almost all important judicial and administrative powers from delegation.

H.A. Mac Michael, who was probably the chief engineer of the system, made it quite clear in document No.7 on page 86 that the system was locally extemporized and was being “developed in light of experience gained.” In addition, R. Davies another engineer of the system made it quite clear when comparing the experience of

Kordofan and Fung Provinces that Fung as well as other tribal areas of the country had been administered directly without any delegation to leaders of important tribes such as Kenana and Rufaa (p.131). With the exception of Dar Fur, the rest of the country was ruled directly up to 1917 when very limited delegation was made. However, Native Administration gained real momentum only after the Milner's Report in 1921. The above critique notwithstanding, the authors have exerted unremitting efforts to dig out documents and neatly prepare them into a useful and informative text. The author's reading and explanation of events was defective because they sought to dissociate the system from its political and social context. If there is any guiding principle or policy underpinning this collection of documents, it must be the policy of divide and rule in lieu of the Lugardian Principles of Indirect Rule which were introduced only in the 1920s.

Turning to the documents themselves, it can be asserted that their content had consequences for the overall political situation in the country of which administrative arrangements were only the visible part. Thus, by virtue of those designs, the tribal dignitaries, the educated Sudanese and the religious establishment were to be kept apart and, if possible, to be set against each others to prevent them from joining hands against the British Colonialists.

Documents of the first phase of the evolution of Native administration were almost invariably related to the meetings of the Governor General's Council. Its decisions were aimed at maintaining the balance between the factions of Sudanese Society: the religious establishment, the tribal leaders and fledgling elite of secularly-educated Sudanese. Native Administration represented only one facet of the policy. It was clear that the British were hoping to win the goodwill and cooperation of the educated class of their Sudanese employees but such an elite disappointed them by showing more friendly attitude towards the Egyptians and hostility towards both the tribal leaders and the British. It is interesting to note that the educated elite, contrary to the British designs, gradually joined hands with the sectarian religious establishment to oppose the colonialists and eventually formed sectarian-based Sudanese political parties.

The religious establishment, on the other hand, was treated with absolute suspicion and was excluded from participation in either

Native Administration or Sharī‘ah courts. In Sharī‘ah courts, the Colonial Administration preferred to employ judges with formal education obtained in government institutes or in Egypt who were, unlike the traditional religious establishment, without followers and totally dependent on the government. The documents of this period unambiguously disclose that the British Colonialists were in favour of indirect rule but, because of the experience of Mahdism, remained ambivalent as to what measures were to be taken in order to implement such a policy. They finally decided to use the tribal organization and tribal chiefs as their approach to indirect administration. In the last document of this section (document No. 5, 1920) the governor of the Berber Province advises a policy of decentralization in the form of more powers to be granted to tribal chiefs and appointment of advisory councils in urban areas to “counteract the present preponderant influence of religious leaders in the Sudan”(p.79).

The most important document was an extract from the Milner’s report submitted in 1920 to help guide the British Colonial policy and administration towards the country. It should be emphasized that the report went along the same line as the general policy outlines being followed that far but gave shape and momentum to the policy of indirect rule in general and Native Administration in particular. However, the report appears to be influenced by the principles set forth by Lugard, i.e., to leave the administration of the country’s different parts “as far as possible, in the hands of native authorities, wherever exists, under British supervision.” This is meant to ensure “economy and efficiency”(p.83). Nevertheless, the Colonial Administration continued to pass legislations only to repeal them two or three years afterwards in order to enhance further the prestige and role of Native Administration. Eventually, such role enhancement resulted in an overlap between Sharī‘ah courts and shiekhs’ courts when the latter gradually encroached into judging family affairs in the light of Sharī‘ah. They understood tribal affairs on the basis of tribal customs to include such cases. The British settled this conflict in favor of tribal sheikhs limiting the authority of Sharī‘ah courts to urban areas and detribalized zones.

The third and final part of the documents covered the period between 1927 and 1937. This period witnessed the evolution of

Native Administration into its full-fledged form. On a series of legislations that helped give the system its final shape – legislations such as the Village Courts Ordinance 1925 and Powers of Shiekh's Ordinance were amended. But, without any doubt, the most important legislation was the Native Courts Ordinance 1932 which prevailed as the basic Law of Native Administration throughout the rest of the colonial period. It created a hierarchy of Native Courts vested with far reaching administrative and judicial powers to hear and settle Civil and Criminal Cases. This law can be truly seen as the apex of earlier legislations and a genuine manifestation of the Principles of Indirect Rule outlined by Lugard. It is useful to point out that the The Local Government Ordinance in Rural Areas 1937 laid the groundwork for Local government proper, and for the first time. Local government gradually gained momentum at the expense of native administration ever since.

In sum, this book will prove to be a very important and reliable source of information in areas as diverse as Sudanese politics, public policy, public administration and history. It serves well the authors' envisaged goal of documenting the administrative policies of the Colonial Administration and probably the most informative source thus far compiled.

Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies. By Ian Buruma, Avishai Margalit. Publisher: The Penguin Press, 2004, pp.165. ISBN: 159-420-008-4.

Reviewer: Ataullah Bogdan Kopanski, Department of History and Civilization, Intenational Islamic Univrsity Malaysia

The thin book with an eye-catching anti-capitalist Nazi agitprop poster is written in a fluent politically correct Newspeak. It is a Voltarian kind of philosophical spoof of the late Edward Said's monumental *Orientalism* (1980). Two champions of the postmodern liberalism, influenced by the Golden Age of the Americanized Occident, took revenge for the Palestinian author's meticulous deconstruction of