

Racialisation in Sudan

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Introduction

Sudan is the largest continent in Africa, and is made up of many different geographical regions. This vast size brings with it diversity and complexities. Sudan constitutes 500 different ethnicities. 'Unity within Diversity' in Sudan has resulted in conflict rather than a common identity (Obert, Potts, 18985) This essay will outline three main key dimensions that are of particular importance to the understanding of the racialisation process in Sudan. First a historical overview will be provided which talks of the Arab settlers who intermarried with the Sudanese local women which created a cultural hybrid of an African-Arab race. An influx of Turkish-Egyptian slave traders also entered Sudan, the era of slavery in the country continued even under the British rule. This was mainly due to strong public opinion of the Arab north who were opposed the abolition of slavery as they wanted to continue to assert their power on the marginalized African Southerners. After the country gained independence in 1956, the successive governments adopted Pan Arabist- Islamist regimes, and sought to create a mono cultural state. The northern governments of Sudan adopted ruthless methods of assimilation into the hegemonic Arabization and Islamaization cultures of the north. This was met by southern resistance, and these conflicting views led to the Civil war of Sudan. The second dimension of racialisation in Sudan can be lent to the crisis of identity in the north. The northern Arab in Sudan represents the bridge between Africa and the Arab world, and have shown a struggle to balance these two identities. They have adopted methods of racialization in order to deal with this conflict of identities. The third dimension is the Darfur conflict, which involves Arab supremists groups such as the janjaweed who have been accused of carrying out tactics of 'ethnic cleansing' and 'racial genocide'. The racialisation carried out by bodies of northern Sudan, leads to a fundamental re-thinking of a whole new approach to understanding global racialisation , as we reveal that acts of racialisation that govern this country are not only carried out by the dominant Western Europe. 'The rest' ideology does not only represent the western world vs. the Orient, but there are also modes of this system of representation inherent in Islamic countries (Deng, 1994).

Identities can offer groups of people a sense of belonging; give them dignity, a sense of social solidarity and security, and generally offer them social cohesion. Deng defines identity and how individuals and groups identify themselves and others as based on "race, ethnicity, religion, language, culture or region" (Deng, 1994, pg vii). However social scientists have argued increasingly that although identity is based upon these objective factors, what one thinks he is more important than the objective factors which make him what he is. Thus ones 'self perception' is a strong determining factor which makes up ones identity. Deng identifies a problem in this view of identity, not with what individuals may see themselves to be, but when these potentially distorted views and perceptions of the ruling elite is projected in public policy and becomes a part of the collective framework of the state (Deng, 1994). Sudan's main composition is made up of two main divisions which are the North and South. Inhabitants of the North and South possess racial characteristics which are very similar. Indeed, the name of the country 'Sudan' when translated into Arabic means 'The Blacks'. The North of the country which makes up two-thirds of the land as well as population belongs to the Northerners. The dominant of this group intermarried with the Arabs when an influx of Arab traders came to settle in Sudan. This resulted in a mixed genetic makeup of an African-Arabic cultural Hybrid. In addition with the advent of Islam in the 17th C the North of Sudan became a land of Arab Sudanese Muslims. The Sudanese Arabs see themselves as primarily Arabic and strongly associate with the Arabic culture. Ironically, regardless of their dark skin colours and physical features, the northern Sudanese deny African roots, and

distance themselves from indigenous African cultural practices. The Arab Sudanese view the African South as the race which descended from the slaves and thus label them the 'negroid' race. Northerners have successfully assimilated into, what they believe to be the superior Arabic-Islamic identity, thus they wish to be viewed by the rest of the world as an Arab state not Black Africa (Deng 1994). Indeed Aguda argues "*the greatest achievement of Arabism in the Sudan has been the unquestioned acceptance by the whole world that this is an Arab state, in spite of the fact that only 40 per cent of the population is Arab*" (Aguda, 1994, pg 177).

Stuart Hall's theory of the 'West and the Rest' can be applied to the Sudanese context. The 'west' taking the form of Northern Sudan and the 'rest' in the form of Southern Sudan. The 'enlightened' Arab Sudanese look exclusively to their culture for political aspirations and view the southern culture as one followed by backwards people who are ignorant to what is 'right'. "*The majority of Sudanese Arabs seem to be unaware that other Sudanese might feel for their cultural heritage what they feel for their Arabness*" (Aguda, 1973, pg 188). This is reminiscent of how the Western world views the Orient. This 'system of representation' which serves to divide the civilized and uncivilized can be seen in the Sudanese context, which shows us that these systems of racialisation are adopted not only by the western world but also by third world countries, who also have within them separations of 'developed' and 'undeveloped' entities. This thinking gives us a different perspective of global racialisation (Aguda, 1973).

The south of the Sudan has resisted assimilation into the dominant process of Arabization and Islamization and associate themselves with Africanism. To the southerners Africanism encompasses racial, national and cultural connotations. It is these connotations exactly which northerners wish to distance themselves. In the context of Sudan, the more the North attempt to assert their Arabness, the more the South asserts its Africaness as a counter identity (Deng, 1994).

Taking into consideration the identity formations of the North and South of Sudan and the self perceptions which have helped shape these identities, Deng points out a problem "*In both North and South identity factors have moved from the realm of benign self perception to the politically contested stage of national symbolism with associated implications of shaping and sharing power, wealth, and other national values*" (Deng, 1994, pg 4).

When studying racism skin colour is usually the easiest way of classifying people. However as mentioned earlier all those in Sudan have African blood, regardless of North or South, therefore the skin colour of the Sudanese is largely similar. Most, if not all, Sudanese people have dark skin. Thus, people of the western world or in fact anywhere around the world would classify all Sudanese people as 'Black' and thus under the same racial category. Therefore the racial structure in Sudan is not as clear cut as it is in for example the United States. However where the real division comes into play is within the social structure of Sudan. With the polarization between the Northerners claim to the Arabic culture and Southerners to the African, it can be said that Sudan is a case of cultural racism. In Sudan racism is based on the racial categorization people put themselves in (Jok, 2001). Aguda (1973, pg 179) explains this when he says "*The claim to Arabness is basically dependent upon the degree to which a person has absorbed Arab-Islamic culture, and is in any case somewhat subjective. Thus the term 'Arab' holds more cultural significance rather than racial or biological. 'Arabism is not a racial bond which unites members of different ethnic groups together. It is a cultural, linguistic and non racial link that binds together numerous races-black, white and brown*" (Abd-al Rahim, 1970, pg 237). If the Sudanese were to claim to be Arabic in racial terms this would complicate matters "*If Arabism was in fact a racial matter the whole of Sudan would cease to be 'Arabs'. This means that 'Africanism' is also non racial and in fact, geographical, cultural and political*" (Abd Al Rahim, 1970, 275). However regardless of whether issues in Sudan are not biological and merely are cultural this does

not mean because everyone's colour is similar distinctions and divisions between people are less clear, "*Distinctions between Arab and Non Arab in Sudan, whether culturally determined or biologically expressed, is as obvious as the colours of the Sudanese flag*" (Jok, 2001, pg 90).

These divisions can even be seen in the Arabic language spoken by Northern Sudanese. For instance the derogatory term which is used by Arab Sudanese, and still is used in present date, '*abeed*'. This term is used by Northerners to refer to the 'negroid' southerner's and means 'slave'. It is used to describe those of lower social class who lack morality. It has also become associated with poverty and people with filthy physical appearances (Jok, 2001). Deng (1994) argues the term '*abeed*' has the exact same meaning of '*nigger*' which is a highly contentious word which was used amongst the American population to describe slaves in the antebellum south. While Northerners refrain from using this word in public spaces "*it is frequently used intimate circles and more openly in jocular conversations*" (Deng, 1994, pg5).

In order to understand issues of racialisation in Sudan, a historical perspective will be provided. Examining the influence that the British colonial rule and the Anglo-Egyptian condominium have had in shaping racialisation that exists in Sudan now. Also looking at the state of racism in Sudan after the country gained independence in 1956 and revealing whether outside forces should take the full blame for dividing the country on racial lines, or actually whether the divisive process of racialisation are indeed inherent in the governments of Sudan. We will see that although, British and Egyptian rule did divide the country on racial lines, the Sudanese played a key role in this too which will change our understanding of the globalized racialisation process. We will also see how the African-Arabic division in Sudan has led to a national identity crisis. Process of racialisation adopted by the post-independence northern governments have taken up violent assimilation order in the form of Islamic fundamentalism. The historical process which we will talk of has been the driving force which has separated the Arab North and African South. Assimilation Processes such as Arabism and Africanism are said to have favoured the Northern Arab region over the South (Jok, 2001).

Geographically, Sudan is located so that it is separated from Arabia by the Red sea, it also directly borders on Egypt and the two are separated by the Nile. Thus the country's close connection to the Arab world is unsurprising. The Sudanese participated in interactions with The Arab world many years ago, dating back to before Christ. The Sudanese and the Arab traded in commerce such as gold and ivory. The Arab traders then settled and integrated within indigenous Sudanese people. The Arabs were wealthy and of high class, attributes in which the Sudanese wanted to associate themselves with. The process of Arabization was then intensified with the coming of Islam in the seventh century. Although these Arabs were merely traders and not rulers "*their privileged position, their more cosmopolitan and universalizing religious culture, and their superior material wealth combined with the liberal assimilationist Arab-Islamic tradition, opened gates to universal brotherhood and made them an appealing class of intermarriage with the leading Sudanese families*" (Deng, 1994, pg 10). The Arab settlers did not come to Sudan with wives and thus married the daughters of traditional tribal rulers and other local women in the community. Islam does not permit for Muslim women to marry non-Muslim men as the religion teaches that the child is to take after his father's religion, thus the father must be Muslim. So intermarriage was one way street. The patriarchal system of the time meant that the line of Arab Muslim males was growing more and more (Obert, Pottis, 1985).

Arab settlement in the South of Sudan was much less common. This was due to geographical barriers, the difficulty of living conditions and the heat of the tropical climate as well as the resistance of Arab influence from the indigenous African Nilotic tribe.

In the 1820's Turkish and Egyptian forces invaded Northern Sudan. These slave traders used the land of the Northerners as a base so they could carry out their slave raids in the South. Both the North and South resisted this and a revolt which began in 1881 successfully took place, it was headed by Ahmed al-Mahadi. Al-Mahadi gained power in 1885. This leader used Islam as a way of generating support and unifying the country. The southerners although rejecting Islam were in favour of this government in the beginning as they saw what he was doing as a mechanism of liberation from the Turkish-Egyptian power. However to the southerner's disappointment, slavery in their region did not come to an end. Thus southerners viewed Islam negatively and with hostility. This became a strong divisive element which further separated North and South (Deng, 1994).

Slavery in Sudan had been taking place for as old as the country is itself. Slavery in Sudan dates back to the time of 2900 B.C.E. Under the rule of Pharaoh Djer in Egypt, Sudanese from Nubia were sent down on Egyptian ships as slaves. The Turkish and Egyptian slave traders who came into Sudan along with the Mahdist government did little to abolish this dehumanizing movement. In 1899-1955 Sudan was ruled under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium which was led by the British. The study of slavery in Sudan is obscure and harder to map out (Jok, 2001).

The assumption is that the British, when colonized Sudan, ended slavery, however this is a misconception. Rather than actually abolishing slavery the British merely changed its forms. The British indeed came into Sudan with the intention of ending slavery, backed by groups such as 'The British Anti-Slavery Society, and general British public opinion was opposed to slavery. However when the Sudan colonial authorities initially started to implement policies to end slavery, the Sudanese Arab North complained. The British colonial officers became confused as under their impression the whole country wanted to see the back of such practices. The British were not able to fully enforce measures to stop the raiding of the south due to the vast terrain of Sudan. The Arabs continued to raid the South and capture slaves. Jok thus poses the question "*How British were these racist colonial policies?*" No one is claiming that the British colonial officers did not hold any racist views as they did embark on an unofficial agreement with the Arab North which allowed them to capture Southerners as slaves and release them into the colonial system. However the British colonial officials in Sudan had to respond to the opposing public opinion of the Northern Arabs who opposed the abolition of slavery. The Arab North wanted the continuation of slavery as they held discriminatory views against the 'negroid' South and justified slavery on these views. Also "*The Arabs wanted to maintain their economically dominant position over the rest of the Sudanese in their own way, and that included the continuation of slavery, while the colonial government was instructed to carry out the abolition*" (Jok, 2001, pg 91). Thus colonial officers had to uphold their anti slavery stance while accommodating to the demands of the Arabs that some form of slavery should be allowed to continue. Jok (2001) says that the British anti slavery culture became one of an 'Arab-British culture'. British colonial officers allowed the Southerners papers which gave them their official 'free' status. However there were conditions to this 'freedom'. When the '*abeed*' failed to comply with these 'conditions' the Arab North used this as a way of propagating the myth that the Black Southerners were good for nothing else and should be tamed from their animalistic nature and thus maintaining the view that slavery was the best thing for the '*abeed*'. Similar to the case of the Antebellum South where in which slavery was justified through racist ideologies. Thus, while merely abolishing slavery on paper the British colonial officers made allowances to cater to the Arab North so as to maintain Arab support for the government and to keep the country in order.

Jok (2001) presents us with a letter from the Arab community addressed to the British colonial officials, which illustrates the Arabs support of the continuance of slavery, "*We beg most respectfully to state that the best help the government could give us is to allow us to keep our black servants, male and female..what is going on at present is the entrance of*

soldiers to the house with Dervish Blacks, has caused the greatest confusion in the town-many Arabs, because of their black complexion, have also been taken with the black as blacks” (Jok, 2001, pg 94). This then suggests that “The Northern Sudanese resistance to British conquest was directed toward the British Anti- Slavery policy than toward the conquest itself” (Jok, 2001, pg 93). This point is central to the argument of this essay as although the British position of anti slavery was clear and it wanted to abolish it, a large population of the Northern Arabs were opposed to this. This leads us to re-think the dominant view that all racism is held by the western world and that all ethnics are completely opposed to their racist views.

Although Northern Sudanese governments have regularly blamed Colonial interference of the British for the state of division in their country, the history of slavery proves otherwise. Although it is commonly believed by many scholars and historians that racism in Sudan was embedded in the divisions created by the British, it can be in fact argued to be embedded in Northern Sudan’s racialisation processes and cultural chauvinism. Referring to the Civil war, Jok argues *“The war merely provided a stimulus and pretext for something the North of Sudan has always wanted” (Jok, 2001, pg 10).*

When the British colonized Sudan, they adopted a ‘Divide and rule’ strategy and governed the North and South of Sudan on different terms. The Colonial administrated a considerable effort in the development of the North, socially, politically, economically, and culturally. The South which was associated with ‘backwards’ African inhabitants was isolated and secluded and left undeveloped by the British. Furthermore *“Swamps, flies, tropical humidity, and the fierce resistance of the tribes kept contact marginal” (Deng, 1994, pg 69).*

The British then reversed their policies of separatist development, however did not have the time or political conviction to do this within the constitutional arrangement of the country. The governments of Sudan after independence employed violent domination strategies of assimilation through Arabization and Islamization. The Northern governments wanted to unify the country through this twin process and did so vigorously in a ruthless manner. *“The virtual concentration in the North-Central Sudan of developments in administration, education, economics and communications created a sharp division between this advanced region and the rest of the country” (Aguda, 1973, pg 185).* The South of Sudan saw the domination and oppression of the northern governments as merely a replacement of the British colonial rule, *“For the south the assimilation process of Arabization and Islamization was a tantamount to replacing British colonialism with Arab Hegemony” (Deng, 1994, pg 12).*

Only two years after independence, as a result of the aggressive assimilation strategies of the North and the increasing Southern resistance, in 1958 these conflicting views led to a civil war. The civil war was characterized by the conflict of Sudanese oppressive governments and their Islamist political regimes against Liberation groups in the South such as the ‘Southern Sudanese Liberation Movement’. *“Self perceptions in the North and South have consolidated racial, cultural, and religious identities and attitudes that are basically sustained by confrontation and conflict” (Deng, 1994, pg 14).*

Even after the Civil war in Sudan, Sudanese governments continued to implement their Islamization and Arabization regimes. The government of Jaafar Mohammed Al Nimeri is a prime example of this. Nimeri took office in 1969, and made his Arabist views clear from the beginning. He implemented Islamist policies and the Shaaria law onto the country and saw Islam and not merely a religion but a ‘way of life’. Nimeri was an Islamist and held very strong views on Sudanese Nationalism, in that he did everything he could to maintain and spread the Arab-Islamic culture. He believed in order to do this political and economic power was to be retained within the hands of the Arab Sudanese. Nimeri’s government wanted to create mono-cultural state. His Pan-Arabism views can be seen through educational systems, cultural programs and foreign relations. In terms of the education system, the

Northern Arabs are of great advantage. The dominant language spoken in Sudan is Arabic, the language of the Northerners, and thus they have vast cultural resources behind them. This comes in the form of media, books and educational material. The Arabic language was seen as a powerful tool in Sudan as it was the language spoken by the wealthy Arabs, and was seen as a key to superior Arab world. The use of the language gave the Northern Sudanese an opportunity to integrate and make connections in the advanced Arab world. *“Education should be orientated towards the Arabic and Islamic culture, but not the African”* (Aguda, 1994, 184). The Sudanese Arabs argued that the educational system in the South of Sudan was not valid under the Christian missionary system and was not credible as it wasn't taught in the Arabic language. (Salam, De Waal, 2002)

The Arab Northern assimilationist identity has been demonstrated through their eager internalization of the Arabic culture. Although the northerners have strongly asserted their cultural and racial pride, this is not to say that the African Southern region have lost all their cultural identity in the midst of their resistance of Arabization and Islamization. When the Arab invaders took over the South, they did so partly in the justification that the Southerners lived in a 'World of Darkness' and had no coherent cultural system or spiritual system worth recognition. The case is in fact the polar opposite. Traditional indigenous communities in South Sudan have maintained social cohesion and solidarity regardless of the pressures of assimilation of the Arab North. The Dinka tribe in South Sudan is said to be one of the most religious of the country. They are said to have *“a deep sense of pride in their race and culture which fosters in them a conservative approach”* (Deng, 1994, pg 50). In fact the southern people, who hold strong Christian values, felt morally superior to the Arab slave raiders as they believed their practices of slavery were morally wrong. An effective way of building the Southern identity was through Christian school songs sung by pupils, *“they marched, drilled and glorified in singing in which they exalted their newly acquired skills, wisdom and status with exhibitionist self esteem”* (Deng, 1994, pg 51). It can be said then that *“the traditional identity and western influence have combined to consolidate and strengthen a modern southern identity of resistance against Islamization and Arabization”* (Deng, 1994, pg 91).

When writing on the roots of the war people generally look to the North South conflict. However the deeper root causes of the war can be found in conflict 'within' the northern identity, which underlies conflict between northern and southern identities. There is argued to be a disparity between Northerners self perceptions of themselves and others perception of them. While Northerners generally believe themselves to be Arabic, the 'real Arabs in the Middle East and the Arab world see these northerners as merely 'abeed'. Sudan is seen as a bridge between the Arab world and Africa, and is referred to as the 'Darker continent'.

The Arabs *“occupy the centre stage of this identity and enjoy power of legitimizing and de-legitimizing the peripheries claims”* (Mukthar, 2001, pg 11). The Northerners represent the periphery and the outer circle of this Arab identity. Many Northern Sudanese who have visited the Middle East have some sort of discrimination against them. We can use Charles Taylor's theory of misrecognition to the case of the Northern Sudanese Arabs. Taylor writes *“a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirrors back to them a confining or demeaning picture of themselves”* (Mukthar, 2001, pg 13). Northern Arabs use the Arabic language, Arabic culture and Arabic symbolic system, and thus embody the centre. However they merely embody the centre and cease to actually become it.

In terms of physical appearance, the Northern Arab are aware that lighter skin complexion and softer hair is a mechanism of strengthening your claim to Arabness. Thus Sudanese women use skin bleaching creams as a way to get closer to the Arab centre, while men use marriage as a way of compensating for their dark skin through marrying lighter skinned

women. Northern Sudanese definitely suffer from great anxiety regarding their skin colours, and thus use defence mechanisms as a way of dealing with this. For example in order to refer to a dark skinned person in Northern Sudan the word used to describe them is 'akhdar' which literally means green. However when describing a dark Southerner the word used is 'aswad' which means black. 'Akhdar' is a polite way of describing dark Northerners. Although both terms mean black, they have been used as a mechanism by the North to divide the North and South and to avoid being referred to by the same colour as people from the South are referred to. Thus distancing themselves as much as possible from the African south, even through the discourse of language (Mukhtar, 2001)

The Northern Sudanese overemphasise their Arabic identity. Political figures and Northern elites have commonly used throughout their speeches phrases such as, 'I am Arab' 'I am Arab culturally and nationally'. Those of the North of Sudan feel because physically they lack the appearance of an Arab they must compensate this by what they say verbally. Charles Taylor argues this marginality consciousness presents the North as having internalised their inferiority and showing signs of self depreciation and 'crippling self hatred'. W.E.B. Du Bois theory of 'Double Consciousness' can be applied to the context of Sudan. Du Bois argued that African Americans viewing themselves individually and as a collective through the eyes of society. In this case African Americans represent the Northern Sudanese and the Americans representing the Arabs. Du Bois says "*Always looking at oneself through the eyes of others, measuring ones soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused and contempt pity*" (Mukhtar, 2001, pg 15). Du Bois call this the twoness, the American and the African. In the Sudanese context it would be the African and the Arab. This represents the struggle of the Sudanese balancing both identities. They want to secure their Arab identity so as to not face opportunities being shut in their face, however at the same time they cannot define their African appearances (Mukhtar, 2001).

Arabic culture and the symbolic system of representation presents the Black colour as negative while standardizing the white colour and presents it with positive connotation such as wealth and beauty. This colour consciousness and inferiority complex can be seen in Arabic poems written by dark skinned Northern Arabs of the time. For example the poem written by Sahim Abd' Bani Al- Hassass which reads "*Had i been rosy white the women would have adored me, but my god has cursed me with black skin*" (Mukhtar, 2001, pg 20). Also the Arabic proverb, speaks for itself, "*the negro, if he is hungry, steals, and if his stomach is full he commits adultery*" (Mukhtar, 2001, pg 17). However, even though the northern Sudanese have been marginalized from the Arabic identity it is nonetheless a position which they construct a dominant position over the Southern Sudanese. Deng explains this, "*A deep seated inferiority complex, or, to put in reverse a superiority complex as a compensational device for theory obvious marginality as Arabs*" (Deng, pg 78).

In terms of the current crisis of Sudan, Darfur has dominated the headlines. Darfur, even in the earlier periods of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was marginalized and left undeveloped by British forces. After the country gained independence, the Northern Sudanese governments were too preoccupied with their conflict with the South and did not pay attention to the undeveloped and marginalised region in west Darfur. Referring to the northern Sudanese governments, "*the regimes main concern was not with the distant and troubled West, but rather with the power struggle developing in its own ranks. Little did it realize that the two would soon violently merge*" (Prunier, 2008, pg 100).

The majority of Darfurians are in fact Muslims and speak Arabic, however there do exist many Non Arab groups. The case of Darfur presents us with the theory of 'Islamic false consciousnesses. As even though the Darfurians were largely Muslim and assimilated into the Islamic religion properly, they saw no benefits for their assimilation and were still marginalized by Northern Sudanese governments. This 'Islamic false consciousnesses

prevented the Dafurinas from gaining self consciousness. Dafurinas in the past neglected their indigenous practices of dancing, singing, and drinking alcohol, for the new orthodoxy of the Arabic culture, and started dressing the Northern dress, which was the *tauub* for the women and *Jallabiya* for the man. However, Dafurinas did not have any complaints about their assimilation into the Northern Islamic culture, there only complaints rested with the fact that Northern governments did not treat them as full civilians, merely second class Muslim citizens. Prunier (2008) argues that Dafurinas, although assimilated into Islamic religion, had little or no Arab blood. They were neither 'Northerners' or 'Southerners' are therefore due to this ambiguity were never considered as subjects of political analysis. The Janjaweed militias are a group of Arabs who have seek to eliminate all non Arab communities in Darfur. The Janjaweed are a group of Arabic supremists and possess the ideology of Pan- Arabism, in that they believe Arabism is superior to any other culture, they have overpowering sense of racial pride. They believe the Non Arab blacks are inferior to them and possess a high level of cultural chauvinism. The Janjaweed, while attacking people, have been said to should racist slurs, such as "*We must crush you, as you are Black, you are like slaves. The entire Darfur region will be the Land of Arabs*" (Prunier, 2008, pg 51). The janjaweed Militia are said to be using rape as a method of making the land predominantly Arabic. Sawela Suleiman, a 22 year old girl, was raped by the janjaweed militia and reports them shouting at her "*Black girl. You are too dark. You look like a dog. We want to make a light baby*"(Wax, 2004, pg 1). The case in Darfur is so serious it has been labelled one of 'Genocide' and ethnic cleansing' (Prunier, 2008).

In terms of the current position of the South of Sudan, it gained independence and has become an entity of its own named 'The Southern Sudan'. The Southern Sudan gained independence on July the 9th 2011. When the referendum was distributed on whether or not the southerners wanted to break from the Northerners into an entity of their own, the supporting vote was a large 99.9%. This large vote implies how unhappiness of the southerners and that they had enough of the subordination they faced from the North. The North South divide in Sudan can also be seen as a testimony to how the Arab world failed Sudan. The Pan Arabist movement in the Arab world and indeed Sudan is incapable was incapable of realizing the racialisation problem in Sudan. Northern governments and even those of the Arab league failed to recognise the true nature of their problem. "*The unwillingness of the Arab leadership in Sudan to embrace a very rich, diverse culture that connects the Arab world with Africa underscores the urgency of reconsidering not only the Arab political systems, as the Arab Spring has done, but also the failure of prevailing political ideologies and political parties to adequately address the rights of ethnic and religious sects and groups*" (Andoni, 2001, pg 1).

In conclusion, the Sudanese case can be said to offer us a different understanding of global racialisation process. We have talked of the British Anti slavery movement which was opposed by Arab slave traders from the north, this example shows us that, although the British are to hold some of the responsibility of the Sudanese slave trade, it is the Arab who wanted to see the continuance of slavery the most in order to assert their power. The northern crisis of identity has revealed that indigenous preferences for whiteness are not necessarily linked to aspiration towards a European/Western ideal of beauty. In the northern Sudanese case, it is in fact aspiration to Middle Eastern forms of beauty. Thirdly, in the case of Darfur and Southern Sudan, many have claimed the Arab league has failed them, and ignored their pressing issues. These issues have led us to re think the dominant globalized perception that systems of racialization are only processed by the western world; because in this case we can see that in fact the Arab world has been the dominant enforcer of racialisation process. This essay provides a different approach to what a lot of material at the moment is focused on which is the 'West vs. the Orient', and the Islamic world being maraganilized. This essay presents a case study in which we can see the opposite happening and the Orient as the oppressor and marginalizer.

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