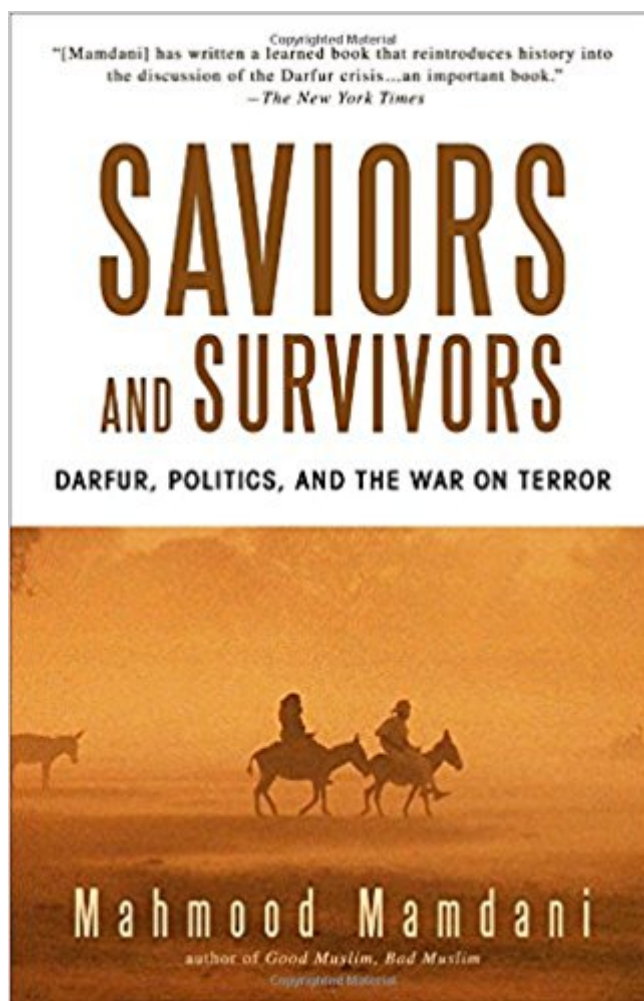




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Saviors And Survivors: Darfur, Politics, And The War On Terror



Synopsis

From the author of *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim* comes an important book, unlike any other, that looks at the crisis in Darfur within the context of the history of Sudan and examines the world's response to that crisis. In *Saviors and Survivors*, Mahmood Mamdani explains how the conflict in Darfur began as a civil war (1987-1989) between nomadic and peasant tribes over fertile land in the south, triggered by a severe drought that had expanded the Sahara Desert by more than sixty miles in forty years; how British colonial officials had artificially tribalized Darfur, dividing its population into "native" and "settler" tribes and creating homelands for the former at the expense of the latter; how the war intensified in the 1990s when the Sudanese government tried unsuccessfully to address the problem by creating homelands for tribes without any. The involvement of opposition parties gave rise in 2003 to two rebel movements, leading to a brutal insurgency and a horrific counterinsurgency but not to genocide, as the West has declared. Mamdani also explains how the Cold War exacerbated the twenty-year civil war in neighboring Chad, creating a confrontation between Libya's Muammar al-Qaddafi (with Soviet support) and the Reagan administration (allied with France and Israel) that spilled over into Darfur and militarized the fighting. By 2003, the war involved national, regional, and global forces, including the powerful Western lobby, who now saw it as part of the War on Terror and called for a military invasion dressed up as "humanitarian intervention." Incisive and authoritative, *Saviors and Survivors* will radically alter our understanding of the crisis in Darfur. From the Hardcover edition.

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Book Description From the author of *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim* comes an important book, unlike any other, that looks at the crisis in Darfur within the context of the history of Sudan and examines the world's response to that crisis. In *Saviors and Survivors*, Mahmood Mamdani explains how the conflict in Darfur began as a civil war (1987-89) between nomadic and peasant tribes over fertile land in the south, triggered by a severe drought that had expanded the Sahara Desert by more than sixty miles in forty years; how British colonial officials had artificially tribalized Darfur, dividing its population into "native" and "settler" tribes and creating homelands for the former at the expense of the latter; how the war intensified in the 1990s when the Sudanese government tried unsuccessfully to address the problem by creating homelands for tribes without any. The involvement of opposition parties gave rise in 2003 to two rebel movements, leading to a brutal insurgency and a horrific counterinsurgency—but not to genocide, as the West has declared. Mamdani also explains how the Cold War exacerbated the twenty-year civil war in neighboring Chad, creating a confrontation between Libya's Muammar al-Qaddafi (with Soviet support) and the Reagan administration (allied with France and Israel) that spilled over into Darfur and militarized the fighting. By 2003, the war involved national, regional, and global forces, including the powerful Western lobby, who now saw it as part of the War on Terror and called for a military invasion dressed up as "humanitarian intervention." Incisive and authoritative, *Saviors and Survivors* will radically alter our understanding of the crisis in Darfur.

Exclusive: Mahmood Mamdani on *Saviors and Survivors*

Saviors and Survivors invites the reader to rethink the lesson of Rwanda in light of Darfur. It is a warning to those who would act first and understand later. Part One discusses the nature of Save Darfur advocacy. Like the War on Terror from which it has borrowed its assumptions and coordinates, Save Darfur has turned into a lavishly funded and massive ad campaign spreading and sustaining a lethal illusion, consistently exaggerating the level of mortality and racializing the reasons for it. Why has Save Darfur not lost credibility even though its information is increasingly divorced from reality? A part of the answer lies in its ability to turn activism around Darfur into a domestic "feel good" issue while obscuring the context of the violence in Darfur. Part Two of the book explains this context, starting with correcting the widely-held assumption that Arab tribes of Sudan are settlers from the Middle East, when they actually comprise local tribes that adopted the Arabic language and identity in the course of forming local states. The book locates the roots of the current conflict in colonialism, ecology, and the Cold War: colonialism introduced into Darfur a system of local discrimination based on tribal identity; an ongoing ecological crisis has led to the

expansion of the Sahara by a hundred kilometers in four decades, igniting a conflict between nomadic and peasant tribes over fertile land in the mountains of the south; and, finally, the Cold War confrontation in Chad between Gaddafi (with Soviet support) and the Reagan administration (allied with France and Israel) spilled over into Darfur and militarized the conflict. Part Three explains the Darfur crisis. Rather than a willful attempt by the government to eliminate particular groups--genocide--the present phase of the conflict stems from a land-based ecological confrontation at the local level and a struggle for power at the central level, exacerbated by the ongoing War on Terror. The urgent need today is not to punish those responsible for the mass killings of 2003-04 but to arrive at a political solution that will reform the land system in Darfur and political power in Sudan. (Photo © Elena Seibert) --This text refers to an out of print or unavailable edition of this title.

Mamdani (Good Muslim, Bad Muslim) continues to challenge political and intellectual orthodoxies in his latest book, a bold, near brilliant re-examination of the conflict in Darfur. While acknowledging the horrendous violence committed in the region, Mamdani contends that Darfur is not the site of genocide but rather a site where the language of genocide has been used as an instrument. The author believes that the war on terror provided an international political context in which the perpetrators of violence in Darfur could be categorized as Arabs seeking to eradicate black Africans in the region. Challenging these racial distinctions, Mamdani traces the history of Sudan and the origins of the current conflict back past the 10th century to demonstrate how the divide between Arab and non-Arab ethnic groups is political rather than racial in nature. The author persuasively argues that the conflict in Darfur is a political problem, with a historical basis, requiring a political solution--facilitated not by the U.N. or a global community but rather by the African Union and other African states. The book's introductory and closing chapters are essential reading for those interested in the topic. (Mar.) Copyright © Reed Business Information, a division of Reed Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved. --This text refers to an out of print or unavailable edition of this title.

I'm about half way through this book, and it's nice to be reading a different argument on Darfur. I'm actually living and working in Southern Sudan, and I've found the world is a little naive when it comes to Darfur and genocide. This is a violent country, has been for centuries; Darfur is just one blip on that map. It's nice to see someone writing about that. However, I think the author is going a little overboard trying to tie Darfur and the ICC indictment so closely to the War on Terror. I also think it's a little insensitive of him to have the attitude that because this isn't genocide (in his

opinion), the Save Darfur movement is not important. Regardless of whether Darfur is genocide, there are still millions dead and even more displaced, starving, in need of medical services, etc. and Darfur IS a crisis. His writing however is blunt, short and to the point, and offers a very candid view of an over-politicized situation. It's worth the read, even if you don't agree with what he says.

While studying Darfur in my master's thesis, I was tired of reading biased books and essays. Mr. Mamdani's book made me relief. I have grasped the matter better and I absolutely recommend you to read it if you want a clear mind about what has happened in Darfur.

the book was used and marked.

This book follows Prof. Mamdani's landmark article "The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency" which appeared in the London Review of Books of March 2007. The author is an expert on African post colonial political history and international relations. The media and political elites of all sides of the political spectrum in the west have focused keenly on Darfur and continues to present an oversimplified narrative that seems to characterize its complex dynamics within rather narrow parameters defined by such diverse realities or perceptions such as the west's guilt over Rwanda, 19th century slavery in America, 20th century race relations in the US, cosmic battles between good and evil and missionary zeal, genuine concern for human rights, excuse to engage in exploiting Sudanese resources etc. The reaction in America to Darfur has spurned the strangest bedfellows. The congressional black caucus and the Republican party see eye to eye on Darfur. Despite the very real suffering of people in Darfur, the concerns expressed in the west which range from genuine to thinly veiled hypocrisy and many are truly left without the proper context to the dynamics of the conflict and the accuracy and geopolitical implications of naming such a conflict as genocide. This book fills that urgent need and provides the historic and contemporary geopolitical perspective on the conflict and analyzes the international reaction to the Darfur crisis. Again kudos to Prof. Mamdani for this eye opener. This book should be a must read for anyone seriously needing to understand not only the conflict in Darfur, but also the politics of humanitarian intervention, post colonial African politics, consequences of climate change etc.

I began reading the introduction to this book and thought it would be very informative. Up to chapter 3 it had been. Chapter 3 is titled 'Writing Race into History.' The author invokes the 'Ham' myth to explain how so called Negroes became black. It is unbelievable that anyone writing in the 21st

century could site this. At first I took it as some type of straw man that the author would use to prove a later point. Yet the author continues to use terms like 'Negroid'. What the heck is 'Negroid'? Terms like Negro and Negroid were invented by colonists. There were no Negroes or Negroids before colonialism. After establishing the 'fact' of Negroids, the author attempts to show that these Negroids and Arabs are somehow the same people. In speaking about Ancient Egypt the author states that the Ancient Egyptians divided their world into four parts: the west was Libyans, the east was Asians, to the south was the land of the blacks and then the Ancient Egyptians themselves. Really? So the Ancient Egyptian had no concept of north? And it is only the blacks who are known by their skin color and not by the land they inhabit. Which raises another point: The assumption is that everyone is white and that we must somehow explain where black people came from. The Ancient Egyptians called themselves Kemites which means land of the blacks. The author gives no references for what he is saying. His whole point seems to be to prove that somehow Arabs are indigenous to Africa including Egypt which is obviously false. That is why they are Arabs! To make this work he must steal the identity of the people who are indigenous to the area in question. Ironically, this is the exact thing Palestinians are accusing Israelis of doing. I have not completed this book and maybe I will be enlightened further down the road. However, if the authors point is that the conflict in Darfur is not race based but is political, or economic he is doing a poor job of doing so by using colonial language. In fact, unless the author changes course in the remainder of the book, I will use the book myself to prove the opposite of what his intentions are. Obviously the author has been living in some sort protective bubble of scholarship where he is not aware of the debates which have taken place with Martin Bernal, "Black Athena", and the entire Afrocentric school.

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