Three Insufficiently Known Pioneering Figures of Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism from the Sudan

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Abstract

This study is an attempt to shed light on three insufficiently known pioneering Figures of Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism from the Sudan. It started with a historical background about Sudan, showing the ancient civilizations that prove the role of Sudan in the past, present and future of Africa. The role of the contemporary Sudan in supporting the African liberation, unity and development. There were attempts to doubt the black African identity of the modern Sudan and to underestimate its role and commitment towards Africa, Three eminent Sudanese personalities in the Pan-African movement Felix Darfur, Muhammad Ali DOSSE or Muhammad Ali Al Sudani and Jamal Muhammad Ahmed.


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**Ambassador of Sudan in Senegal
Introduction :

Being the largest country in Africa, with an area of around 2,506,000 square kilometers, while neighboring 9 African countries, out of which 7 are sub-Saharan, having being the cradle of the ancient black African civilization, and having witnessed some of the earliest and strongest nationalist and anti-imperialist movements in the continent, as it was truly the first sub-Saharan African nation to obtain its independence on January 1st, 1956, the Sudan had indeed played a pioneering, substantial and undeniable role in enhancing the causes of Pan-Africanism and Black nationalism, as well as in the processes of liberation, emancipation, unity and development of Africa.

Thus, certain historical sources tell us for instance that a great part of the existing Sudan had offered suitable conditions for human settlements, and therefore, for the living of the first human beings since time immemorial. Archeological excavations conducted in such sites as: ancient Khartoum, Khor Abu Anja in Omdurman, Shahinab north of Omdurman, Kadruka and Kaddada in the Nile province and Wadi Hawar in northern Darfur have revealed evidences of the presence of human settlements that go back as far as to the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods.

However, if we put science and archeology aside, and have a look into such a famous classical work as the Iliad of Homer (around the 9th century B.C), we will discover that the ancient Greeks used to believe that the Ethiopians, a name that they had assigned to the inhabitants of northern Sudan had been the first men ever created on earth according to their belief, and the first men to have known gods, worshiped them and offered them sacrifices.

In actual fact, it seems that the ancient Greeks used to hold a considerable admiration to the Ethiopians or ancient Sudanese to the extent that they nicknamed them the "blameless Ethiopians" into whose country Zeus and the other deities would fly once every year in order to attend a magnificent holy feast.

The Sudan, or precisely a great portion of the northern part of this country used to be known to its contemporary ancient kingdoms by different names. The ancient Egyptians for instance called it respectively: Wawat, Ta-nahsi and Ta-sutti and this latter means the
land of bows and arrows, due to the marvelous ability of its people in using this arm, a reputation that will continue up to the time of the battle of Dongola that took place in the year 651 A.D between a Muslim army coming from Egypt commanded by Abdullah ibn Abi Sarh and the Nubians of Maqurra, when the Nubians pierced with their arrows the eyes of many of the Arab and Muslim soldiers, thus compelling them to sign the non-aggression and commodity exchange treaty known as the "Baqt."

As for the more common and widely used appellation (Nubia), this is in fact a relatively new name which was first used by Eratothenes of Cyrene in the 3rd century B.C to denote a specific race or ethnic group, and consequently, using the terms Nubia and Bubians while referring to periods before that time would be absolutely anachronistic.

The Bible on its part designates the names Kush and Kushites for the ancient Sudan and Sudanese respectively. The existence and usage of both terms are in fact attested by the ancient contemporary Egyptian as well as Assyrian records. However, the Holy Scriptures would have it that Kush was the son of Cham who was the son of the Patriarch, or prophet of Noah.

Thus the Bible mentions in Kings2, 19:9, and Isaiah 37:9 the name of Tirhakah king of Kush, identified by scholars with King Taharqa who also ruled over Egypt under the 25th dynasty, or so called "Ethiopian Dynasty", in connection with an alliance between his kingdom and the Hebrew kingdom in Palestine against Assyria in the 7th century B.C, while history informs us that this great black Sudanese and African monarch and the sole to be mentioned by his name in the Bible, was eventually driven out of Egypt by the Assyrians and was compelled to retreat into his homeland where he died and was buried under his pyramid near the present village of "Nori" in the northern province of the Sudan.

As for the different historically attested ancient kingdoms and cultures that had flourished inside Sudan, those comprise, in brief, and in accordance with the following chronological order:

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Dirasat Ifriqyya
The kingdom of Kerma or Kush, 2500 – 1500 B.C, the ruins of the capital of which have been discovered in 1994 near the modern town of Kerma by the Swiss archeologist, Professor Charles Bonnet.

This kingdom was contemporary with both the old and middle Egyptians kingdoms respectively, while the historians attribute its own downfall to a retaliatory Egyptian invasion which took place during the 16th century B.C against the back ground of some sort of diplomatic relations or alliance that Kerma had sought to conduct with the Hyksos in Egypt before these were Finally chased out by the famous Ahmoses.

The Egyptian occupation of Kerma lasted up to around the eleventh or tenth century B.C., when a new kingdom arose upriver to the south near the 4th cataract and Jebel Al Barkal under the name of Napata to which the famous black pharos of the 25th dynasty like Alara, Shebaka, Pie and Taharqa belonged.

Napata was succeeded by the kingdom of Merowe, quite known to the classical writers, which flourished further to the south and which lasted for nearly 1000 years, that is from the 6th century B.C until the 4th century A.D.

However, the middle ages witnessed the advent in Sudan of Christianity and Islam successively, while it was from its land that these two great monotheistic religions started to spread into inner Africa, thus culminating the major milestones in the history of the country.

Also the Sudan has always constituted a real microcosm of Africa, climatically racially, culturally and linguistically. From the ethnic point of view, representatives of almost all the African different races and ethnic groups are found on its land, while linguistically, all African language groups and families are present in it, except the click or Khosian language of Southern African.

In short, for all the aforementioned facts and realities, the Sudan has always had, and will always have a pioneering and unsurpassable role in the past, present and future of the African continent.

In fact these established historical facts that have shaped and influenced the role of Sudan in Africa, and which have constantly been
cited especially by the partisans of the so called Afro-centrism among certain black scholars and intellectuals in the USA and in the Caribbean islands, but also among certain theorists of black African culture such as the late Senegalese scholar Prof. Sheikh Anta Diop and his disciples, prove that the ancient Sudanese civilization is truly a civilization that had its special and original place amongst the other civilizations of the ancient world, and that it was indeed and evidently the product of a black skinned people, which has constituted a source of pride for the blacks all over the world.

The role of the Contemporary Sudan in supporting the African Liberation, Unity and Development:

Having acceded to independence relatively earlier than all its other sisterly sub-Saharan African countries, as we have indicated before, Sudan has sought to undertake right from the beginning to play a leading role in achieving the liberation processes of all the African territories then under colonial occupation or racial discrimination regimes, as well as in establishing unity and bringing about sustainable socio-economic development in Africa.

Thus Khartoum became since the late 1950s up to the late 1970s, a bee hive for virtually all the African liberation moments seeking political, diplomatic and financial support for their legitimate struggle.

It is within that period for example that Nelson Mandela and Oliver Thambo visited Khartoum in August 1962, where they were cordially received by the Sudanese leaders and offered Sudanese passports in order to facilitate their movement, as well as they were given some financial support.

Sudan was also a founding member of the Organization of African Unity in 1963, and has been playing ever since a remarkable role in enhancing the African common action in different fields.

It is worth to indicate here for instance that the first ever Executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) was a Sudanese named Mr. Mekki Abbas, while the real founder and the first president of the African Development Bank (ADB) was also a Sudanese called Mr. Mamoun Biheiry.4

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*Dirasat Ifriqyya*
Similarly, the Sudan took the initiative of the establishment of the Africa football Confederation, commonly known under its French acronym (CAF), which was founded in Khartoum in 1957, that is one year after Sudan's independence, starting with only three members: Sudan, Egypt and Ethiopia, while decidedly discarding the then racist state of South Africa.\footnote{5}

**Attempts to doubt the black African identity of the modern Sudan and to underestimate its role and commitment towards Africa:**

Despite the realities and facts cited here above, there had been unfortunately a trend among certain circles that tend to cast doubts over the obvious black African identity of the modern Sudan which does preclude or contradict its Arab identity as well.

Thus, the partisans of this purely racist, divisionist and exclusionist trend which was vigorously denounced and fought by the truly genuine pan-Africanist, kwame Nkrumah would raise their eyebrows in astonishment and maybe with some indignation when they hear or read for instance that the Sudan was the first sub-Saharan African nation to gain its independence.

Similarly, it is also astonishing not to refer for instance, to the Mahdist revolution and state lead and established respectively by Imam Mohamed Ahmed El Mahdi in the Sudan 1885-1898, and not to allude to its triumphant struggle against foreign domination, thus making of the Sudan the first African state which was able to wrest out its liberty through armed struggle, just one year after the sadly famous Berlin treaty on the partitioning of Africa amongst the European powers.

While reviewing the biography of the famous Haitian pan-African militant, Benito Sylvain, Oruno D.Lara writes in his book entitled: "La Naissance du Panafrikanisme: les racines caraibes, Americans et africaines du movement au XX siecle" that (Sylvain had migrated to Abyssinia where he became the advisor to Emperor Menelik the first African king after Hannibal to have defeated a European army). The author obviously alludes to the battle of Adwa which took place in 1896 between the Italians and the army of Emperor Menelik.\footnote{6}
However, this statement is absolutely untrue from the historical point of view. For we know that well before Menelik the Imam El Mahdi 1843-1885 had conquered the English general Hicks Pasha in the battle of Shikan in the west of the Sudan in 1883, while one of his famous generals, the Emir Osman Digna and his Beja men had defeated the British troupes in many battles in the East of Sudan, to the extent that the English poet Rudyard Kipling admirably immortalized their courage in his famous poem ( Fuzzy Wuzzy).

By all evidence, the Imam El-Mahdi was indeed more (African), at least in terms of colour and physical appearance than Hannibal, king of Carthage who must have definitely had a relatively whiter complexion and markedly so called Caucasian traits owing to his Phoenician or Semitic origin.

**Three eminent Sudanese personalities in the Pan-African movement Felix Darfur:**

In his book entitled *litterature de l'Afrique Noire de langue Francaise*, Robert Cornevin maintains that Francophone African Literature did not, as is widely believed, first see light in the writings of the pioneers of the negritude school after the Second World War, such as Aime Cesaire and Leopold Sedar Senghor.

He says: ( Historically, the first African-born writer to write a literary work in French was a Sudanese called Felix Darfur. The point is not that Felix Darfur is historically the first francophone (African) man of letters and first pioneer of the negritude movement orbiting within the pan-African Movement, but more important than that is that this Sudanese was the first martyr of the negritude movement and Pan-Africanism. He was executed by firing squad on 2 September 1822 on the distant island of Haiti. Felix Darfur, therefore, paid with his life for his political views in supporting the oppressed negroes against the ruling class of the big white and mulatto landowners.

Felix Darfur obviously took his name from the nowadays very famous Sudanese region he originally came from, while Felix is the name given to him by General Ardouin, the Frenchman who adopted him. One might think that perhaps Felix became a Christian, for he certainly would have had a different name originally.
So, Felix Darfur was taken to France by General Ardouin where Felix devoted himself to getting educated rather than seeking out his antecedents, from whom he was totally cut off. During his studies in France, his many academic, journalistic and literary talents rapidly became apparent, his intellectual and political interest emerged, and he showed an early concern for the cause of the black man in Africa and throughout the world.

Among his many concerns for the cause of the black man, the Republic of Haiti was well to the fore as the first black state to gain its freedom in 1804, following the great slave revolt on the island in 1801. Felix Darfur determined to set off for this young republic to make a contribution from within the new country to the task of completing the liberation of the black man throughout the world. He also chose to go to Haiti because it was the first region of the New World to which the Portuguese had shipped negroes from the coast of Africa in 1505.

Felix Darfur left Le Havre in 1818 aboard the ship (Levielle), headed for Port au Prince. He was given work by the Governor as soon as he arrived, and facilities were also made available to him to publish the newspaper (L'Eclaireur Haitien), which indicated his intellectual and political status. The Governor also granted him Haitian citizenship under article 44 of the constitution, by which any African who had spent more than one year in the country was made a citizen.

While in Haiti, Felix Darfur set up a newspaper which he called (L'Eclaireur Haitien) as mentioned before. This journal was later called (L'e Parfait Patriote). It came out three times a month, was edited by Felix Darfur himself and dealt with political, social and literary affairs.

Darfur gave considerable space to political and social criticism and to attacking the political and economic exploitation of the oppressed negro plantation laborers by the white and mulattos, who also controlled parliament. He took it upon himself to awaken national sentiments among the negroes of the land to urge them to act to change their situation. He also set himself the task of defending the real independence of the island of Haiti, representing as it did a symbol of the victory of black will in the struggle for freedom and independence.
In the course of this struggle, 1822 parliamentary elections resulted in a clean sweep for the mulattoes. Felix Darfur wrote a memorandum of protest to parliament, accusing the government of oppressing the rural negroes and failing to respond to their demands or to take practical steps to improve their low standard of living.

Felix Darfur's memorandum to parliament was politically so severe that it caused the mulatto to respond with action even more severe. They took a decision to form a military court which within a very few days condemned Felix Darfur to death. The sentence was carried out by firing squad on 2 September 1822. It is of note that Felix Darfur was accorded the high military honour of being shot. This accords with the justice of the cause he stood for and for which he died, the universal cause of the black man. It is worth pointing out that this was an honour granted to no one else in the entire history of the Pan-African Movement.

The arrival of Felix Darfur in the Caribbean in 1818 from Darfur (Sudan), in the heart of Africa, is indeed the first sign of solidarity of continental Africans with the Africans of the Diaspora.

Therefore, Felix Darfur, the Sudanese, appeared in Haiti before Sylvester Williams in Trinidad and Marcus Garvey in Jamaica. Darfur died for the cause of the black man in 1822 before the death of David Ealker by poison in 1830, yet African Americans regard the latter as the first martyr of Pan-Africanism.

So Felix Darfur was not merely the first Francophone African writer, journalist and man of letters in the history of Pan-Africanism and negritude. He was above all the first martyr for negritude and Pan-Africanism, and yet the name of this Sudanese does not appear in the literature of Pan-Africanism. While it is he who, nearly two centuries ago in the early 19th century, preceded everyone else as pioneer of African thought who established a considerable body of principles and ideas in the service of the cause of Pan-Africanism and of the black man in general.8

Muhammad Ali DOSSE or Muhammad Ali Al Sudani

Muhammad Ali Dosse, or Muhammad Ali Al Sudani was born in 1866 also in Darfur in western Sudan as the late abdelhadi el siddig was inclined to believe. Just like Felix Darfur, Dosse was also taken
from Sudan to Egypt as a young child, where he was raised by a French officer who before long sent him off to Europe. It was in Britain that he grew up was educated, and shown as a journalist, politician and thinker. He set up a newspaper in London named "the African Times".

Muhammad Ali wore the *tarboosh* (a red cylindrical shaped Turko-Egyptian head dress) throughout his life as a sign of a certain Turkish influence or affiliation due his earlier sojourn in Egypt. However, despite his cultural and intellectual debt to Egypt and Britain, his profound affiliation to Sudan becomes evident from his sympathy with the Mahdist Revolt. This was the moment when he turned against the Sultan of Turkey and took the side of his own people, criticizing the coercive and oppressive policies practiced by the Turkish regime against the Sudanese. Muhammad Ali described the Imam El Mahdi, as a national leader who was leading his country to freedom and independence, thus giving expression to his patriotism and national feeling as a Sudanese.

Furthermore, Muhammad Ali having declared his solidarity with Orabi's rebellion in Egypt and announced that he looked forward to the whole region being freed from the stain of colonialism in a framework of an early African solidarity. It was the Imam El Mahdi who entered Khartoum as a conqueror and liberator in 1885. It was then and there that he raised his standard over Gordon's palace, and announced the birth of the first independent African state to have won its independence through armed struggle before the ink was dry on the agreement signed at the Berlin Conference in 1885.

Muhammad Ali Al-Sudani was known from his youth for a thirst for knowledge and a passionate interest in history, among his many other intellectual and literary talents. In his early years he worked in the theatre, and among his productions were "Bermuda Lilly" and Cleopatra's Night". He then turned to journalism, and published" the African Times" and Middle East Review", which first came out in July 1912. This journal showed Muhammad Ali to be an active journalist hostile to colonialist policies. He played a part in the emergence of an African national identity or personality, through the Pan-African Movement. He emphasized the need for university
education to be made available in Africa and regarded it as a most pressing requirement that there be an African university education recognized in Britain. He urged the importance of disseminating African history and African culture so that the world, particularly the colonist states, would realize that Africa had its own glories, history and culture.

Muhammad Ali therefore raised the slogan look back to your great past among African students, and took great pains to give body to this slogan. His contributions in this field led him to oppose the European colonist campaign to spread the erroneous idea that the African was a being without history and without a civilization, that his history began with the entry of European colonialism into Africa, and that Africans would remain in dire need of European culture. Through Muhammad Ali, Marcus Garvey was able to find out about the real Africa, its history, and its present and its future potential.

Muhammad Ali’s considerable success in spreading knowledge of African history led to his being elected a member of the Negro Society for Historical Research, and later a member of the American Negro Academy. In fact, historians now regard him as the first to lay the foundation for a revolution in African education, and this made him one of the personalities about whom the pioneers of the Pan-African Movement were eager to learn and to whom they therefore celebrate the fact that the revolutionary shift from colonialist to African education was achieved by personalities among whom Muhammad Al-Sudani is one of the leading figures. He is credited with envisaging the concept of the African personality, which evolved in due course at the hands of Badmore and Nkrumah.

Muhammad Ali’s singular ideas came to prominence at the first congress organized in London by Sylvester Williams in 1900. Among these ideas the following were the most significant:

The emergence of a desire to study African history and culture, and to study and re-write African history through practical research, to reflect a true picture of Africa in the phase following the assault by the colonists:

**Dirasat Ifriqyya**
To gather Africans of the world-wide diaspora into one strong, unified community, and at the same, to establish close and friendly relations between them, and the people of Caucasian (Asian) descent.

We have dealt at some length with the first point about the study of African history. The second point raises two principles. The first concerns the setting up of an entity to bring together Africans of the diaspora, which is the idea that Marcus Garvey developed into the establishment of an African government and which later influenced the Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah in his vision of a government of a United States of Africa. The second principle is that of African-Asian solidarity. Muhammad Ali made "the African Times" into a beacon for African-Asian solidarity. He shared in organizing the first world congress of different races, which was held in London in 1911. The proceedings and resolutions of this conference included relations between white and coloured peoples and were aimed at encouraging greater understanding and cooperation between all peoples. Noteworthy here is the association of these principles with Muhammad Ali's interest in oriental and Asian Caucasian) peoples. Perhaps there is a link here with his affiliation to Turkey. It was he who founded European and American societies for Turkish and Asian affairs including the Asian-American Society in 1927. We cannot fail to mention here that Muhammad Ali who was the first to espouse the principle of fraternity between Africans and Asians is also regarded as the first to sow the idea of African-Asian solidarity which about ten years after his death took shape in the Algerian writer Malik Ben Nabi's concept of From Tangier to Jakarta, the concept which has taken its place in the Non Aligned Movement, born from the movement of the first (Afro Asian) solidarity in Bandung 1955.

The history of Pan-Africanism shows the major influence which the concepts of Muhammad Ali Al-Sudani had on the ideas and personality of one of the greatest leaders of the Pan-African Movement, Marcus Garvey, when political circumstances in Jamaica drove Garvey to come to Britain in 1912. To find out more about Africa he contacted African Students and journalists in London, and so established a close association with Muhammad Ali Al-Sudani. Garvey worked with Muhammad Ali Al-Sudani on editing the widely-
circulated "African Times", and accompanied Muhammad Ali to the United States. He worked with him there, editing the newspaper "Negro World", which Garvey set up in 1918.

Adib Rashid mentioned that Marcus Garvey became a loyal disciple of Muhammad Ali. He was also an astute one, for while Garvey was working on the African Times he absorbed a great deal about African geography, history, mineral resources and natural wealth and the Islamic religion in Africa. It was during this period that Marcus Garvey came to really know about Africa.

Muhammad Ali was very much African nationalist. He was not an African racist in the sense of being prejudiced in favour of the concept of negritude. This is evident from his attitude to fraternity with Caucasians (Asians), stemming from the fact that he was guided by the teachings of Islam which repudiate bigotry and stress equality and fraternity, in that Islam is a religion for mankind as a whole, subscribing to the concept of universalism, irrespective of language, culture, colour, sex or race, with no precedence for Arab over non Arab or white over black. So Muhammad Ali’s ideas emphasized the "Africanism of Islam", to which he was inclined more than "Arabism of Islam". It was this which made many Pan-Africanist leaders claim Islam as the religion of the African continent or the religion of the black man. Being aware of the depth of these Islamic teachings in the minds of Africans, Muhammad Ali DOSSE better appreciated the importance of the element of equality and brotherhood with respect to Africans.9

Jamal Muhammad Ahmed

He was teacher, diplomat, researcher, author, story writer, translator and journalist.

That was the great Sudanese intellectual Pan-Africanist of modern times, Mr. Jamal Muhammad Ahmed (1915-1986), who was also a veteran statesman and diplomat.

Jamal Muhammad Ahmed was born in (Surra Sharrq) village in the province of wadi Halfa, in the heart of old Nubia, and the northern most part of the Sudan.
He graduated from the Gordon Memorial College of Khartoum in 1937, and he completed his university studies in England where he obtained his B.A in 1946 from the University of Exeter. He also pursued post-graduate studies at the University of Oxford from which he obtained an M.A in 1954.

Immediately after his graduation from the Gordon Memorial College (G.M.C) in 1937, which was then the only secondary school in the whole Sudan, although it will evolve so as to become the Khartoum University College, and then the current University of Khartoum in the 1950s, Jamal Ahmed worked at the Educational Publication Bureau of the Ministry of Education under the British colonial administration of the Sudan.

He also worked as a teacher of English language at intermediate schools, as well as at the Bakht Al Ridha Teacher Training Institute during the 1940s.

Jamal Ahmed showed remarkable talents as a leader, but also as a man of culture and letters since his early youth. For example, he was elected president of the G.M.C students union in 1935, and then he became chairman of the cultural society at the college. Later, he was appointed secretary General of the House of Culture in Khartoum from 1947 up to 1956.

In 1956, the year of the independence of Sudan, Jamal Ahmed joined the diplomatic service of the then newly independent Republic of the Sudan, where he was among the first batch of Sudanese Ambassadors.

He therefore, worked as ambassador of Sudan in Iraq (1956-1959), then in Ethiopia (1959-1964), as Sudan's Resident Representative at the United Nations in New York (1964-1965), and finally in 1977, he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs under President Jaffar Nimeiry.

Moreover, Jamal Ahmed was for many turns, and until his death in 1986, the president of the Sudanese writers union.

Jamal Muhammad Ahmed was a real loving son of Africa, and had an ardent passion to its cause and destiny.
While assuming his post as Ambassador in Addis Ababa, he managed to exert his utmost efforts in order to consolidate the intra-African relations in all fields.

Thus in 1963 he was called upon to publish the first issue of the magazine "the Journal of Modern African Studies", and so as to arrange for the publication of the next issues.

In 1962, Jamal Ahmed took part in the preparatory meeting held in Accra, Ghana, aiming to launch the publication of "the Encyclopedia Africana".

This loving son of Africa, has left a great number of publications and books, most of which deal with African issues including: African history, culture, politics and diplomacy.

It is to be noticed however, that Jamal Ahmed was the first writer to take the initiative of translating into Arabic and publishing the voluminous work of Basil Davidson entitled: Old Africa Rediscovered".

Hereafter, are just some examples of the books authored by Jamal Ahmed:

1- The first and only translation into Arabic of Basil Davidson's "Old Africa Rediscovered".
2- The humanist element in the African evolution.
3- The intellectual roots of the Egyptian nationalism
4- Stories from Surra Sharq (Surra East).
5- African Researches.
6- The United States of the Nile
7- Contemporary African Culture.
8- The conscience of Africa.
9- Stories from Africa
10- African readings
11- Arabs and Africans
12- The African theatre.
13- The Sudanese Diplomacy.
Endnotes:


2- Dafaalah, Samia Bashir, in Arabic *Al Nuba AL Asl wa Al Tarikh*, (I.e the Nubians: The origin and the history), Khartoum, 1996, see the introduction.


6- D.Lara, Oruno, *La Naissance du Panafricanisme: les racines caribes, americaines et africaines du movement au xx siecle*, Edition Karthala, Paris, 2000 (Unfortunately the present author has only got hold of and read an Arabic translation of this book and not the original copy in French).


9- El Siddig, Abdelhadi, ibd, pp.142-151

10- Ismail, Mustafa Osman, Op.cit, pp.53-54