

throughout the inter-war period. Superseded and displaced by a spreading 'secular' nationalist movement in the successor states of the defeated Ottoman Empire (the last Islamic power), Pan-Islamism gave way to Pan-Arabism, Turkish and Persian nationalism. A new or at least different version of Pan-Islamic ideology informed the periodic (in fact spasmodic) new attempts at seeking solidarity among Muslims. Thus the era of the Islamic Conferences of the twenties and thirties and their successor inter-Muslim institutions after 1945, described by Martin Kramer in his book, *Islam assembled* (New York, 1986). But these are *ad hoc* institutions seeking to galvanize Muslims into united action and greater solidarity at state level, that is, the greater integration of Muslim states, or even simply the less ambitious co-operation between them in the cultural, political and economic spheres, and the protection of Muslim minorities throughout the world. The author emphasizes the relative success recently of this particular variant of Muslim activity in promoting Pan-Islam in the economic sphere (banking and finance), and the concern with 'Islamic economics', which also advanced the greater international presence and visibility of Islam. But this did not end disputes between Muslim states, or reduce at all the sharp rivalries for leadership of a Pan-Islamic movement or a community of Islamic states. The Gulf War is only the latest manifestation of deadly inter- and intra-Muslim conflict.

Scholars will appreciate Landau's detailed narrative of the several organizations, groups and movements constituting the Pan-Islamic phenomenon over the last hundred years. His discussion of individual actors in the Pan-Islamic movement may be captious in parts but is thoroughly documented. He is at his best when dealing with the formal adoption of Pan-Islam as a state policy by Sultan Abdul Hamid and the Young Turks, especially before and during the Great War. He has also unearthed what may have been obscure and ephemeral publications of various advocates of Pan-Islam, their propaganda activities and international connexions. While clearly conveying the magnitude of their failure at the time, Professor Landau argues for a link between—actually a continuity from—the activities of an earlier Pan-Islamic movement and the national and international manifestations of a revived movement for greater Islamic co-operation, solidarity and unity of the last three decades. 'After all', he concludes, 'Islam is still the most effective form of consensus within Muslim communities and could serve as the most available mode of commonality among their states, increasingly shaping all-Muslim solidarity. In other words, with Islamism having become a significant political factor in several major Islamic states, Pan-Islam may be seen as a potentially integrative force among these and other states. . . . Then as large parts of the world are moving towards more concrete forms of association, Pan-Islamists too may well turn a 120-years' old dream from what seemed a utopia into a political reality.' Yet Landau does not fail to indicate that the weakness common to both the earlier and later Pan-Islamic movements is the lack of a single leadership. While Muslims everywhere may still subscribe to the

ideal of a united *umma*, permeated and sustained by a sentiment of Islamic brotherhood, or the bond of solidarity, the reality is still very much one of division and confusion, generated to a great extent by the (irresistible?) attraction of secular modernity and the mundane requirements for the survival of independent territorial statehood.

One reservation about this careful and almost complete record of the ideological and practical organizational aspects of Pan-Islam is the overwhelming use of footnote citations whose sheer number could well demolish the reader who is new to the subject.

P. J. VATIKIOTIS

PETER WOODWARD: *Sudan 1898–1989: the unstable state*. xiv, 217 pp. Boulder; Lynne Rienner; London: Lester Crook Academic Publishing, 1990. £25.

The book under review is an analysis of the Sudanese state as it developed in the colonial period (1898–1956), and disintegrated since independence (1956–89). The book has three unifying themes: the history of Sudanese politics, the history of external political relations, and the history of economic and social change in the period 1898–1989. Woodward is at his best with the history of Sudanese politics, and he guides the reader quickly and competently through the maze of main events and the network of major players. Woodward decided not to draw on the Arabic Sudanese press, and therefore a regular reader of *Africa Confidential* would find little new information and no corroborating evidence in his account of the post-1985 period, either with regard to internal politics or external political relations. Nevertheless, as a brief survey of political events and personalities, this book will be a useful reference for specialists and non-specialists alike.

Woodward is weakest when dealing with the third theme, the history of economic and social change, in particular the state's impact on the development of ethnic identity, religion and class. The author's concept of ethnic identity is historical and—in comparison to his predecessors in the field of politics—sophisticated; there is no trace here of attempts to ascribe 'primordial' tribal instincts to the Sudanese. The author is less precise in defining the unit of analysis called 'religion', but in contrast to the Orientalists he does not reify it, nor see it as unchanging and monolithic. The problem lies with his concept of class, for which he gives no definition, and the use of which is ahistorical, vague and incoherent. First, while Woodward discusses 'the social inheritance' of pre-colonial Sudan in terms of (some, randomly chosen) ethnic groups and the main religious brotherhoods, he hardly mentions the Sudan's long tradition of state formation and ignores the recent literature on pre-colonial states and their class composition; the reader is led to believe that the Sudan entered the colonial period with ethnic groups and religious brotherhoods, but without classes. To analyse the impact of the Turco-Egyptian period (1821–82), the Sudan's first colonial period, Woodward

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