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Caught Between Two Worlds:
Clash of Civilizations in Salih's *Season of Migration to the North*

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Dedication

To the ones I cherish most...

Rayane

Dedication

To Mustafa Sa`eed and to all those who fell victims to the clash of civilizations...

AbdeSsamede

Abbreviations

SoM: Season of Migration to the North

Abstract

Ever since its inception, Islam has always been and remains to this day in conflict with the West. Samuel P. Huntington argues through his controversial article, “The Clash of Civilizations?”, that this conflict emerges from the incompatible nature of the two cultures, and therefore presents the latter as the most important source of conflict in the post-Cold War era. The following research aims to delineate how *Season of Migration to the North*, through the character of Mustafa Sa’eed, preludes and echoes Huntington’s theory. By using an eclectic approach that combines Edward Said’s Orientalism and the New Historicism theory, this research unveils the disruptive politics embedded in colonialist education and how it constitutes a threat to native identity. Furthermore, the study shows that the actions of Mustafa Sa’eed are the harvest of an inescapable long-standing clash between Islam and Christianity. In a nutshell, this study highlights the role of cultural identity in dictating international relations.

Keywords: Tayeb Salih; clash of civilizations; post-colonialism; Orientalism

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Introduction

Brave new world, this is what the great philosophers and thinkers identify our age as, a new and hopeful period in history resulting from major changes in society. When in fact the drums of war never stopped for a second, and the signs of an impending war are all around, a war that involves all but between two distinct sides. Given their substantial differences, they continue on raging wars in efforts of holding dominion over the world. In the same vein, it has been said that the great political ideologies of the 20th century are all products of Western civilization. No non-Western civilization has generated a significant political ideology. The West, however, has never generated a major religion; these are all products of non-Western civilizations, and in most cases predate it. As the world moves out of its Western phase, religious and cultural means of identification and commitment are replacing ideologies, and are intruding international affairs (Simon and Schuster 53-54). The on-going war on terror, the surge of ISIS, and America's constant presence in the Middle East all serve to drive the narrative of a war between civilizations, between the West and Islamic world. This civilizational conflict, the ebb and flow between the East and the West, became a worldwide phenomenon, and so a roadmap is much needed to further its understanding. Samuel P. Huntington, among many, is a pioneer in this field

Samuel P. Huntington explains in his thesis, "Clash of Civilizations", the relationship between the Western world and the non-Western world, that dates back to thousands of years ago, and sheds light on certain facts that are behind the shaping of the world in its current state. Huntington claims that culture is going to be the core of the coming world conflicts, as he argues that "The most important distinctions among peoples are [no longer] ideological, political, or economic. They are cultural" (Huntington 21).

Moving on to post-colonial sphere, one cannot deny that more than three-quarters of the population living today have their lives moulded by the experience of colonialism. A heinous crime,

that has been practised for the last couple decades. Colonialism has long inflicted horrors across the globe, creating numerous crises on both domestic and international levels. Also worth noting is the fact that most colonizers are Western countries and most of their victims are non-Western countries. This, in turn, led the East to issue a response through the rise of Post-colonialism along Edward Said's *Orientalism* in which he examines how the West perceives the Orient, he examines the historical, cultural, and political views of the East that are held by the West, how they developed and where they came from. He aims to unfold the facts, raise the curtain and denounce the white man's false burden. Freeing one's land is not enough, one must free his identity, ideology, and must decolonize the mind from the Western shackles of incarceration. To that end, there appears to be a link between Edward Said's *Orientalism* and Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*, as a matter of fact, the former was the ground on which the latter is founded. Huntington relies on *Orientalism* to explain that culture plays a significant role in the making of the new world order, and the borders that separate countries of the world are no longer geographical but cultural.

Throughout history, the horrors of colonialism, painted by the brush of the white man, scattered across Asia, Latin America and Africa, in which countless countries like Sudan, an African country, fell victim to British Colonialism. Literature was one of the methods the Sudanese people used to fight the colonizer, even after gaining independence literature was strongly present during the post-colonial era. Amongst the writers who took the challenge sits Tayeb Salih, Sudan's most illustrious literary figure, known across the world as the "genius of the modern Arab novel", who explicitly and implicitly fought against colonialism and rejected Westerns Imperialism and its quest of civilizing the Eastern world. The author produced several literary works but was most famous for *Mawsim al-Hijraila al-Shamal* or *Season of Migration to the North*, a masterpiece that was later translated to many languages.

The novel owes its success to its portrayal and personification of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, the East and the West, a clash of two ideologies, and narrates the

story of two Muslim characters, who lived a great portion of their lives in England and their return to their rural traditional land. The unnamed storyteller takes a great interest in this new mysterious figure, Mustafa Sa'eed, and his mysterious rectangular room, eventually he bursts into this room seeking answers, but to his surprise, the room held the problems to his world.

Huntington is not the first to acknowledge the existing of a clash; in fact, Bernard Lewis (1990), a British Orientalist, is the first to claim there is a "clash between civilizations", in a speech at Johns Hopkins University in 1957. He argues that Islam and the West had differing values which would only be resolved following conflict. Leading to the emergence of Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" and his model of "Two Worlds- Us and Them". To that end, this study investigates the manifestation of Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" theory in TayebSalih's *Season of Migration to the North*, and the consequences of this clash. TayebSalih was able to tackle the theme of clash of civilizations long before Huntington, making our novel an avant-garde piece of work. In the same vein, an examination of TayebSalih and Huntington and Edward Said is in order; how can three geniuses that lived in separate periods, led different lives, and somehow managed to meet in one shared point.

One can describe the relationship between the three of them as three people sitting in one table, Edward Said and Huntington are police officers and TayibSalih is a victim whose beloved dies in the novel (Mustafa Sa'eed). Salih tells the two officers the story of Mustafa and his demise, and implore them to find the culprit and the reasons behind his death. The two officers comply and find both the culprit and the reasons that lead Mustafa to his final destination.

This study aims to develop an understanding of the different aspects of Huntington's "Clash of Civilization". The research will provide an insight into this clash, reasons for its emergence and its rendition into the real world. The main objective of our study is to use this theory on TayibSalih's *Season of Migration to the North*, and to scrutinize the representation of Mustafa

Sa'eed as a grape of the conflict, as a modern crusader. While the novel is an avant-gardist work, it is crucial for this research to establish a link between the modern era with the crusades and their campaign centuries ago. Moreover, it is of great significance to our study to install a link between the colonizer and the colonized, to investigate Western cultural hegemony on that is seen throughout the novel.

This dissertation seeks to provide answers to the following main question: To what extent was the novel an Avant-gardist attempt to approach the relation of the West/East in terms of a cultural clash.

In order to answer this question, this study will attempt to answer sub-questions: in what sense does the clash of civilization theory constitute a promising departure toward understanding the conflict and interrelationship between the East and the West? What encouraged the Arab thought to benefit from modernism? In a world of conflicting civilizational values, how does the novel represent Mustafa Sa'eed to the reader. In a world of clashing cultural values, how does the novel represent culture to the reader?

TayebSalih's *Season of Migration to the North* is considered by many as a quintessential postcolonial novel, in which the vestiges of British colonialism in rural Africa are explored together with the scars left by the Empire on the Sudanese culture and identity. The novel has sparked the interest of several researchers who have sought to unveil the aftermath that resulted from the clash of those two civilizations.

Among the researchers who have shown interest in Salih's portrayal of the "Clash of Civilizations" is James Tar Tsaaior in his article "Geospatial politics and the trope of migration in TayebSalih's *Season of Migration to the North*". The study discusses the encounter between Africa and Europe during the Imperialist venture and the literary corpus that resulted from that clash. The author states that said knowledge has been circulated by Europe as standard and has now become

part of their dogma of universal truth-telling that creates binary oppositions between the West and the “Others”, and how the latter strives to rupture the biases and prejudices embedded within colonialist writing and attempts to revolt and break free of the yoke of the Empire. But *Season of Migration to the North*, as a counter-text against British hegemony is a failure in the eyes of Tsaaïor, as its characters who represent the rebellious personality of the colonized and their engagement against the imperial enterprise lack the traits and the agency to undertake such a historic task, as is the case of Mustafa Sa’eed who views himself as a “conqueror” and therefore becomes the monster he swore to destroy. This long-standing opposition, the article claims, sets the tone of the novel as it is constructed upon conflictual tendencies of North and South, colonialism and nationalism, patriarchy and feminism, traditions and modernity amongst other things. Tsaaïor also notes that the novel is self-critical as it condemns the African and Sudanese condition of harbouring the same “germs” it accused the colonialists of by addressing the corruption plaguing governments and calls for the rejection of the savage traditional practices of the Sudanese people by addressing gender representations and gaps between the sexes. However, the review fails to acknowledge the fact that Mustafa Sa’eed is merely a pawn in the long-standing clash of civilizations, a victim infected with a thousand years old germ, and thus should not be blamed for his violent ways.

Another researcher who has attempted to delineate the engagement between the West and East in Salih’s novel is Dr. Afaf Ahmed Hasan Al-Saidi. Through her research under the title “The Crisis of Identity: The East and the West. Racial Conflict in EI Tayeb Salih's *Season of Migration to the North*” she discusses the conditions of identity crises during the postcolonial period. The author states that colonial consciousness and discourse is often employed in the novel as a means to distinguish oneself from an opposing race. This unavoidable racial categorization of the colonial period is brought forth by Mustafa and his European partners who both engage in this practice in different ways, the former catalogues his lovers as part of the oppressive west to justify his actions, while the latter uses it to overcome the racial tensions and continue the Western tradition of

obsessing over all that is “other” and exotic. The article further delineates Mustafa's struggle to find his identity and free himself from the shackles of the Oriental mindset that imposes clichés and labels as he tries to distance himself from “Othello”, who he views as a product of Orientalism. The author further notes that *Season of Migration to the North* attacks colonialism's janiformity and accuses it of sowing the seeds of violence in the colonized heart. Despite succeeding in portraying the issue of Mustafa's interracial relationships abroad, the research fails to address the role of Islam as a new source of identity and meaning for the colonial subject.

In the same sphere, M. Elamran dedicated his research entitled “Reversing as a Post-colonial Technique: A Critical Study of Tayeb's *Season of Migration to the North*” to studying how “reversing” colonialist works like Joseph Conrad's *Hearts of Darkness* is used as a post-colonial technique to denounce colonial ideologies and to write back to the Empire through the telling of their own stories. The author of the article makes use of comparative literature to contrast the theme and the narration of Conrad and Salih's novels. The article delineates how Salih reverses the theme of the European sailor who journeys into Africa by that of the African who travels to London. The article also suggests that the plot was also reversed, as Conrad portrays the West attacking the East while Salih portrays the East, through the character of Mustafa, attacking the West. The researcher concludes by stating that Salih's novel owes its success to its “counter-attacking” style of writing and its vengeful textuality. The paper focuses on the literary side of the confrontation between West and East but fails to take into account the disrupting effects of colonial education or the role of the Arabic equivalent of modernism, El-Nahda.

Through this review, it is evident that researchers and critics have approached *Season of Migration to the North* from different, and often limited perspectives. The paper will focus on the corrupting nature of colonial education, highlight the role Islam plays in the context of civilizational clash and how it preserves native identity by providing a sense of meaning, and discuss the role of the Nahda in the modern Arabic postcolonial novel, in addition to how several historical, socio-

cultural and political conditions contribute to the clash between the East and the West in post-colonial Sudan. Furthermore, this dissertation will focus on the character of Mustafa Sa'eed, and how he finds himself in the middle of an identity crisis torn between a Western contagion and the callings of his native Islamic roots, a cultural clash that inescapably puts him on a violent warpath that predates his very existence, paved by two civilizations that Huntington claim are inherently incompatible, making his Clash of Civilizations theory the key to understanding this cultural contact.

This part of the research proposal is dedicated to the proposed research design and methodology. The research seeks to describe, analyse and interpret TayebSalih's portrayal of the Clash of Civilizations. To achieve its aims, the study will use an eclectic approach in which Huntington's Clash of Civilization theory will be employed as a primary theoretical source to back up the novel's analysis. The approach also combines the New Historicism theory with Edward Said's Orientalism to uncover the politics that characterise that time period and the biased perceptions that result from it. In his 1992 article, entitled "The Clash of Civilizations?", Huntington states that "The fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural." He claims that world history is now in a shifting phase, where Western conflicts, or "Western civil wars" as Lind coined them, are no longer considered the centre-piece of world politics but are in the process of being replaced by the interactions between the West and non-Western civilizations, as the latter have freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism and now play a vital role as "shapers of history." Therefore, the world stands divided, once again, into two polar opposites by a new curtain, that Huntington labels as the "Velvet Curtain" of culture, that has come to replace the traditional Iron Curtain of ideologies.

The binary opposition that has ensued from the descent of the Velvet Curtain has produced a myriad of Western literary and artistic works that view the East through a scope of condescension,

where non-Western civilizations, Arabic-Islamic in particular, are viewed as either the merely inferior, primitive and backward “Other” devoid of any civilizational trait and culture, or the exotic mysterious peoples of *Alf Laylawana-Layla*, while the Western civilization is depicted as superior, and often utopic. All of the aforementioned depictions boil down to mere stereotypes and prejudices that have no basis in reality but nonetheless contribute to stroking the Western ego and support the rhetoric of the “white man’s burden” and the “civilizing mission” that provide a stage for the West to flaunt and strut its superiority. Huntington states that this desire to induce people to adopt Western ideas can only produce counter-reactions and revolts for the simple reason that they differ fundamentally from those relevant in other civilizations and are at odds with their particularism, as Triandis, the author of several of “Cross-cultural Studies of Individualism and Collectivism” puts it: “The values that are most important in the West are least important worldwide”. Edward Said discusses this issue in his book *Orientalism* that offers the tools used to delineate the Clash of Civilizations present in Salih’s *Season of Migration to the North*.

Season of Migration to the North is also a product of its time, as the writing of the novel began four years after Sudan’s independence from British colonialism. Therefore, this study concerns itself with the historical, social and cultural conditions that surrounded its author at the time of its writing. Guerin and others (2005) consider texts primarily as reflections of their time. This research will use Stephen Greenblatt’s New Historicism theory to demonstrate how Salih tainted his literature with his own culture and environment, and with the light of Said’s Orientalism, this study will endeavour to explore the above-mentioned paradigms and to delineate Huntington’s long-standing Clash between the “West and the Rest.”

This work will be divided into two main chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the theoretical framework and the socio-historical context. The first sector is devoted to concepts and key terms relating to the Clash of Civilizations. The second sector tackles Edward Said’s Orientalism, as one cannot discuss the clash of civilizations without referring to this concept. The

third sector examines the New Historicism theory, and how this theory opens up new possibilities in literary criticism. The fourth and fifth sectors shed light on Modernism and the rise of the Arab novel. Last but not least, the sixth sector revolves around the delineation of the Clash of Civilizations within modern Arabic literature. Furthermore, the second chapter is devoted to the analysis of the novel, applying the Clash of Civilizations theory , to unveil the seeds of colonialism planted in the Orient. The chapter also addresses Mustafa Sa'eed, as a study case, who represents a modern Muslim Crusader living in the colonisers' world, and his inability to escape a clash that would lead to his demise.

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical Framework and Socio-Historical Context

With the release of *Season of Migration to the North*, Tayeb Salih cemented his position of a literary pioneer using his keen originality that embarks native characters in a Conradian journey towards the foreign country of the white coloniser to explore the mysteries of the human condition, specifically that of an Eastern Identity clashing with a polar Western one. The author, having undertaken that journey himself, has perfected the assimilation of Arabic and Western cultures and gifts us in *Season* a caricature of the East and West clash of cultures. Exposing in the process, in an unflinching manner, the vile nature of European Imperialism and the dehumanising of the Third World peoples, breaking all romantic illusions through the tragic figure of Mustafa Sa'eed, as he explained in an interview: "I have redefined the so-called east-west relationship as essentially one of conflict, while it had previously been treated in romantic terms" (Mahjoub, Friday 20 February 2009). But to fully understand the politics inherent in Salih's *magnus opus*, one must familiarise himself with select concepts that the following chapter will endeavour to introduce, namely Edward Said's Orientalism, Huntington's Clash of Civilizations, the effect the Arab equivalent of the European Renaissance, Al-Nahda and Sudan's history, which over the last century has been nothing short of turbulent, witnessing a myriad of conflicts ranging from Anglo-Egyptian colonialism and military coups to civil wars.

1. Clash of Civilizations: A New Vista on International Relations:

A rising discourse on the role of cultural factors in world conflicts has come to the forefront of foreign policy, where ethnicity, as Holtsi (1997) claims, has become the key to understanding the post-Cold War world, leading some authors to proclaim that animosity between different ethnic groups is starting to rival nuclear weapons as the most serious threat to world peace. Samuel Huntington's "A Clash of Civilizations?" thesis which he later elaborated into a full-fledged book is arguably the most popular articulation of this idea and a centrepiece of modern foreign policy. The thesis argues that the end of the Cold War and the removal of the Iron Curtain has put an end to the ideological and economic world conflicts paradigms and has now been replaced by a new cultural Velvet Curtain, giving birth to a new division amongst mankind which unravels in the fault lines between civilizations, as he stated it unequivocally:

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world [the post-Cold War era] will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future. (22)

Huntington claims that the increasing interactions between different civilizations thanks to the globalization catalyst, the indigenization of elites in non-Western countries coupled with the surge in power and economic strength of the East, especially Asian and Islamic states, only intensify "civilization consciousness", and the fact that more people start to identify themselves through ethnic terms thanks to the global resurgence of religious identities at the expense of state-based identities continues to widen the "us" versus "them" rift.

The promotion of cultural factors in world politics spawns from the idea that "states define threats in terms of the intentions of other states, and their perception is powerfully shaped by cultural considerations" (34). The "Clash of Civilizations?" thesis insists that governments "are

much more likely to see threats coming from states whose societies have different cultures and hence which they do not understand and feel they cannot trust”, and as a result, states are more prone to “cooperate with and ally themselves with states with similar or common culture and are more often in conflict with countries of different culture”. Cultural identity is thus the central factor in forming a country’s associations and rivalries, “the question, ‘Which side are you on?’ has been replaced by the much more fundamental one, ‘Who are you?’” and for Huntington, every state must have an answer.

According to Huntington (1996), a civilization is “the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have” and it is “the biggest ‘we’ within which we feel culturally at home as distinguished from all the other ‘thems’ out there” (43). He further claims that a civilization’s composition is diverse and can include “a large number of people, such as Chinese civilization, or a very small number of people such as the Anglophone Caribbean” (43.) But to Huntington, the element that defines a civilization the most is religion, therefore, “the major civilizations in human history have been closely identified with the world’s great religions” (42). A cultural trait such as language can be learned and taught to members outside one’s civilization, the same thing however cannot be said about religion due to its exclusivity, “a person can be half-French and half-Arab simultaneously a citizen of two countries but it is more difficult to be half-Catholic and half-Muslim” (27). Henderson (1997) notes that religious differences and their exclusivity stem from their divergent philosophies on fundamental issues of human existence like the origin of life, death, salvation and the ordering principles of self, family, and society. Huntington views religion as “the most profound difference that can exist between people”, and affirms that inter-civilizational clashes are religious in essence due to the sacred status religion occupies in civilizations, and thus should be the basis of the Clash of Civilizations thesis. Civilizations are then “the ultimate human tribes, and the clash of civilizations is tribal conflict on a global scale” (207).

As stated by Saddik, Huntington's view about the long-standing clash between Islam and Christianity is focal to his Clash of Civilizations thesis. The author claims that the roots of this conflict is not necessarily related to "transitory phenomena such as twelfth-century Christian passion or twentieth-century Muslim fundamentalism", but rather "flow from the nature of the two religions and the civilizations based on them", further stating that "Islam remains Islam and the West remains the West", and as a consequence the "fundamental conflict between these two great civilizations and ways of life will continue to define their relations in the future even as it has defined them for the past fourteen centuries" (Huntington 1997). Therefore, Huntington predicts an inevitable clash between Islam and the West in the post-Cold War era, insisting on his vision that "Islam's borders are bloody and so are its innards" (258), and goes as far as attacking the heart of the Islamic religion by stating that:

...the underlying problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam, a different civilization whose people are convinced of the superiority of their culture and are obsessed with the inferiority of their power. The problem for Islam is not the CIA or the U.S. Department of Defense. It is the West, a different civilization whose people are convinced of the universality of their culture and believe that their superiority, if declining, power imposes on them the obligation to extend that culture throughout the world. These are the basic ingredients that fuel conflict between Islam and the West. (Huntington 217)

This debate has pushed some historians to seek insight from the medieval Christian crusades against Muslims of the Middle East, as one of the earliest manifestations of Huntington's theory, to better understand the current status-quo as the French historian Joseph François Michaud said: "The history of the Middle Ages has no more imposing spectacle than the wars undertaken for the conquest of the Holy Land". It all started in 1095 when Pope Urban II kick-started a bloody military campaign to conquer Jerusalem, one that would last for centuries to come. According to the Bible, Jerusalem is the centre of the earth and therefore Christianity must be its sole religion instead of the novel Islam. The Crusades in their minds were a clash between Christendom and Pagandom.

Undoubtedly, the Crusades have impacted the development of medieval societies, and their discourse still echoes in the contemporary world, it can be seen for example in Iran's Supreme Leader speech stating that "the latest chain of the crusade against Islam started by America's Bush", or in a briefing by the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding entitled "The Crusades Then and Now". Egyptian President Nasser was often compared to Saladin and the Suez expedition by the French and English was depicted as a crusade, while pamphlets in Libya portrayed the Americans as crusaders. Furthermore, recent experiences of colonialism, coupled with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, has led some Muslim scholars to reinterpret the crusading phenomenon.

In the same vein, Huntington attributes the failure of Islamic nations to assimilate and absorb western ideologies and become part of a new world order to religious differences between West and East or rather to the "the inhospitable nature of Islamic culture and society", and to back his argument he introduces the following statement:

Wherever one looks along the perimeter of Islam, Muslims have problems living peaceably with their neighbors. The question naturally rises as to whether this pattern of late-twentieth century conflict between Muslims and non-Muslim groups is equally true of relations between groups from other civilizations. In fact it is not. Muslims make up about one-fifth of the world's population but in the 1990's they have been far more involved in intergroups violence than the people of any other civilization. (1996)

Huntington's thesis was unveiled during the deconstruction of the Soviet Block in Eastern Europe and central Eurasia which served as a catalyst for an era of globalization and the rise of the so-called "New World Order". The thesis also coincided with the horrendous events of September 11th, 2001, which strengthened and echoed the ideas of far-right radical thinkers who brought forth an argument about the end of history and an Islamic holy war against the West. The threat of radical Islam was then essential in supporting the Clash of Civilizations hypothesis on which Western

discourse was built since the 1990s, and the perfect starting ground to replicate the attitudes of the Cold War. Furthermore, Huntington's thesis concerning the unwillingness of the Arab-Islamic world to be absorbed into a globalized culture has roots in Orientalist and Imperialist narratives planted in Western policies and continues to define the cultural chasm between the two civilizations.

2. Orientalism: The Other Under the Western Monochromatic Lens:

Arabic literature seems to be going through a war, on one side, a national war where writers fight for their freedom of speech which allowed the Arab novel to rise to the surface, as mentioned above, and on the other side, an international war, a clash between the Eastern world, the Islamic world, and the Western world, the Christian world. Samuel Huntington confirms by stating that: "The violent nature of these shifting relationships is reflected in the fact that 50% of wars involving pairs of states of different religions between 1820 and 1929 were wars between Muslims and Christians" (Huntington 201). Huntington argues that there is a certain Western hegemony, a certain dominance that the Westerners took upon themselves to impose on all that is non-Western.

However, Huntington was not the first to address this problem; in fact he drew inspiration from the famous book of Edward Said *Orientalism*. Said sets the very foundation of the relationship between the colonized Muslim East and the colonizing Christian West. While Huntington focuses more on the cultural side, "In the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions among peoples are not ideological, political or economic. They are cultural", Edward Said focuses on the political side, and identity crises. Evidence of Western Orientalist views of the East can be found in what Arthur James Balfour said:

First of all, look at the facts of the case. Western nations as soon as they emerge into history show the beginnings of those capacities for self-government . . . having merits of their own. . . You may look through the whole history of the Orientals in what is called, broadly speaking, the East, and you never find traces of self-government. All their great centuries—and they have been very great—have been

passed under despotisms, under absolute government. All their great contributions to civilisation—and they have been great—have been made under that form of government. Conqueror has succeeded conqueror; one domination has followed another; but never in all the revolutions of fate and fortune have you seen one of those nations of its own motion establish what we, from a Western point of view, call self-government. That is the fact. It is not a question of superiority and inferiority. I suppose a true Eastern sage would say that the working government which we have taken upon ourselves in Egypt and elsewhere is not a work worthy of a philosopher—that it is the dirty work, the inferior work, of carrying on the necessary labour. (Said 32)

This is considered as one of the first milestones of Orientalism, that sets the very foundations of Western views of the East. The quote mentioned above is strongly present in the case study of this thesis, *Season of Migration to the North*, which will be closely examined in the second chapter of this thesis. Both Edward Said and Samuel Huntington stemmed their ideas from this quote, for it marks the birth and the growing presumption of a West that enjoys a never seen before superiority, reducing Easterners to mere mimics that follow the footsteps of the leading West. Balfour continues his quote by saying:

“Is it a good thing for these great nations—I admit their greatness — that this absolute government should be exercised by us? I think it is a good thing. I think that experience shows that they have got under it far better government than in the whole history of the world they ever had before, and which not only is a benefit to them, but is undoubtedly a benefit to the whole of the civilised West.... We are in Egypt not merely for the sake of the Egyptians, though we are there for their sake; we are there also for the sake of Europe at large”.

Balfour presents brave words, an attempt to justify the cruel colonization of Egypt and other parts of the world, including the homeland of TaybSalih, Sudan, which was a British colony, but presents no solid evidence for the necessity of occupying the East, empty words that are believed only in the Western Block of the world, and rejected in the Eastern Block. Said argues that “since presumably any Egyptian who would speak out is more likely to be the agitator [...] than the good native who overlooks the difficulties of foreign domination”. Egypt is always considered as the first

line of defence against any hostile force that aims to disturb the peace and well-being of its citizens. Egypt was the first to take up arms against the uprisings, and against occupying forces. But the moral of this story is not just about Egyptians, it's about the Orient East as one block, especially the near East. The Sudanese writer, TayebSalih, was no different than Egyptians, he confronts and exposes this so called superiority through his novel, in which he takes the war to their very homeland.

An order of sovereignty is set up from East to West, a mock chain of being whose clearest form was given once by Rudyard Kipling: "Mule, horse, elephant, or bullock, he obeys his driver, and the driver his sergeant, and the sergeant his lieutenant, and the lieutenant his captain, and the captain his major, and the major his colonel, and the colonel his brigadier commanding three regiments, and the brigadier his general, who obeys the Viceroy, who is the servant of the Empress". This monstrous chain of command pushes Orientalism to a whole new level, this is a clear indication of the belief in the strength of the West and the weakness of the East. Furthermore, it divides the world into two large divisions, which produces nothing but tension and perhaps can't possibly coexist with each other. This is not an exclusive worry for Said only, many intellectuals, in the light of Orientalism, raised the question: "Can one divide human reality, as indeed human reality seems to be genuinely divided, into clearly different cultures, histories, traditions, societies, even races, and survive the consequences humanly? By surviving the consequences humanly, I mean to ask whether there is any way of avoiding the hostility expressed by the division, say, of men into "us" (Westerners) and "they" [Easterners]" (Said 45). Samuel Huntington may have an answer to this dilemma, but it may not appeal to a great number of the audience, he argues and points out to the inability of both East and West to coexist with each other, and a war is rather inevitable, for wars come in different shapes and sizes, TayibSalih echoed the idea long ago, by choosing Mustafa Sa'eed as the front-line soldier, who may as well represent all Muslims living in the Eastern block, and how all of their feelings are manifested and generated through his character of an eager being

wanting to break the wheel. Similarly to Huntington, Said presents us with his own answer to this problem: “the result is usually to polarize the distinction—the Oriental becomes more Oriental, the Westerner more Western—and limit the human encounter between different cultures, traditions, and societies” (Said 46). Edward Said speaks the truth to a decent extent, but as the world is shifting and as the rays of modernism are ever shining upon our world, a further analysis is needed, to link what was and what is and what is likely to be, setting up the new world order.

3. New Historicism: What Bounds Texts with Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts:

To further uncover the politics present in *SoM*, the research uses New Historicism, a theory that aims to uncover meaning in a certain text by taking into account the context and the historical era in which it was produced, as Mukesh (2003) puts it: “[to] reposition the text in the original discursive reality of the age in which it was produced” (118). The theory was first introduced in the twentieth century by Stephen Greenblatt, who was mainly interested in the the political aspects of a literature and the complex ideas through which cultures defines themselves. Bressler (2003) states that New Historicists seek to comprehend literature from a historical perspective, an element that other schools of criticism fail to address.

Greenblatt and his peers view history as an intricately woven description of human reality rather than a mere series of events that took place in the past. A literary work may conceal the factual aspects of the world from which it emerges, however it will always unveil the ways of thinking of a particular era. Sharma (2004) claims that it is in the same vein that a literary work should be considered a “product of its time, place and circumstances of its composition” rather than an “isolated creation of genius”. Furthermore, researchers like Howard (1986) point that the cultural and political perspectives provided by this theory in the interpretation of literary works emboldens other studies to reconnect the social world link that originally gave rise to it.

New Historicists further suggest that a people cannot be understood solely by the activities of the political or cultural system to which they belong but rather by the mundane activities and conditions of day to day life that allow us to comprehend the belief system of a certain time period. Bressler (2003) notes that each discourse of a cultural community must be unveiled and studied to highlight how it interacts with other discourses, institutions and people. This take on history by New Historicism, Mukesh claims, shifted the attention “from closed systems perpetuating fixed meanings to open systems creating significance”, which in turn helped define how meaning is produced as well as destabilize prominent discourses. In turn, the interactions between the different discourses shape a culture and connect other human activities.

Furthermore, New Historicism believes that the interconnectedness of literary text with non-literary ones proves that a literary work is a product of a relationship with extra-literal texts rather than resulting from a single author. And since literature is bound to a specific historical time period, the systems of power prominent at the time of the text’s emergence are reflected and reinforced. Ukkan (2004) states that New Historicism gives equal importance to literary and non-literary texts of the same period as they “work as sources of information and interrogation with each other”. This practice of parallel reading brings forth the notion of intertextuality that Julia Kristeva uses to unveil the interdependence of literary texts with all those that have preceded it, claiming that a literary text is not an isolated phenomenon but rather a metamorphosis of another.

Moreover, New Historicists argue that no analysis of a text is definite, and thus present multiple possible readings to a text rather than a conclusive idea, and it is through this approach that New Historicism contend that a “work is not an autonomous body of fixed meanings, but represents a diversity of dissonant voices and unresolved conflicts in a specific culture’ (Ukkan 2004). New Historicism looks for a text’s meaning within the interconnected discourses of its author, the text and its reader as well as the “three areas of concern: the life of the author, the social rules and

dictates found within a text, and the reflection of a work's historical situation as evidenced in the text" (Bressler 2003).

New Historicism, like other schools of thought, has received its share of criticism. Critics claim that the theory's take on history from a neutral position as well as its universal notion of power leave little room for freedom. New Historicists were also criticized for reducing literature to a mere step of history and for not caring about the nuances of literature. However, one cannot overlook the role New Historicism played in contemporary literary studies as a useful way of constructing exchanges between different texts in a certain historical period. Speaking of contemporary literature, one must put modernism into perspective.

4. Modernism: Introduction and Background:

Modernism is often characterised by a deliberate and a radical deviation from traditions, and consequently by the use of new and innovative forms of expression, furthermore, the style in art and literature from the late 19th and early 20th centuries is different from the one before the 19th century. In the wake of modernism, many thinkers saw the traditional approaches to art, literature, religion, and many other aspects of our life as outdated, they sought to revolutionize the old world. Amidst the rapid social changes that the world was going through, modernists found themselves stripped of Victorian values and conventions, in a world where radical changes require radical solutions, modernists seek to shape and influence their environment through experimentation, technology and science, to replace the old with the new. Modernism can be taken as a response by artists and writers to several things, including industrialisation, urban society, WW1, technological change and new philosophical ideas (Tavoosy 1-5).

Modernism as a literary movement reached its peak in Europe between 1900 and mid-1920, it is first and foremost a reaction against the Victorian culture and aesthetic, which had prevailed for

most of the nineteenth century. The general thematic concerns of Modernist literature are well-summarised by the sociologist George Simmel: “The deepest problems of modern life derive from the claim of the individual to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in the face of overwhelming social forces, of historical heritage, of external culture, and of the technique of life” (*The Metropolis and Mental Life* 1903). WW1 and WW2 are considered to be the catalyst that pushed modernism to the surface.

Unlike previous literary movements, Modernism gives rather little care for nature, in a turbulent world, nihilism and absurdism dominated all sort of literary genres, and their obsession and emphasis on radical individualism, this can be seen in Richard Huelsenbeck’s *First German Dada Manifesto* of 1918, “Art in its execution and direction is dependent on the time in which it lives, and artists are creatures of their epoch. The highest art will be that which in its conscious content presents the thousand fold problems of the day, the art which has been visibly shattered by the explosions of last week. The best and most extraordinary artists will be those who every hour snatch the tatters of their bodies out of the frenzied cataract of life, who, with bleeding hands and hearts, hold fast to the intelligence of their time”. Modernist literature also attempts to give up the old realism storytelling style, to introduce a rather new style, of disjointed timelines and meta-narratives. Peter Childs attempts to define modernism and give it a dynamic frame stating that, “paradoxical if not opposed trends towards revolutionary and reactionary positions, fear of the new and delight at the disappearance of the old, nihilism and fanatical enthusiasm, creativity and despair” (19). Modernist literature often features a marked pessimism, a clear rejection of the optimism apparent in Victorian literature, instead they portray an alienated, dysfunctional individual within a predominantly urban and fragmented society. Moreover, modernist literature, often moves beyond the limitations of the Realist novel with a concern for larger factors such as social or historical change, and this is particularly prominent in “stream of consciousness” writing, a fine example of this would be the writings of Virginia Woolf and James Joyce. While modernism has indeed

modernized and altered literature, the Arab literature stem their ingenuity from both the past and the present

5. The Roots of the Arab Novel:

Arabic literature is considered as one of the few literatures that is so closely associated with its people and their way of life. The tedious nomadic life, the rise of Islam, the different glorious Arab conquests, the royal luxury of the early caliphates empires like the Abbasids empire and their eventual decline, the cross interaction and fertilization with Spain and other civilizations, leading up to the cultural stagnation period, the aggressive reactions of the colonialism period, and the eventual reawakening of the Arab world from all of the vivid, vibrant independent states of today. These are truly reflected in Arabic literature. The ebb and flow of which the fortunes of the Arabs are written.

The Fihrist, written in 988 AD by Ibn Al-Nadim, catalogues all known books in Arabic on many different subjects: philology, history, poetry, theology, law, philosophy, science, magic, foreign religions, fables and alchemy. This remarkable work, in the words of Gibb, sheds light on the greatness the Arab literature enjoyed following the dawn of Islam, and reveals how enormous was the output of Arabic literature in the first three centuries of Islam, and how very little has been preserved. Of the many authors we possess only small fragments, and the great majority would otherwise have been completely unknown to us even by name (Bushruet al.).

Classical Arabic literature was directly influenced by the historical events of its time. As with other literature from regions belonging to the Silk Road. Although, concrete evidence that writes on the early stages of development of the Arabic literature is somewhat lacking. Nonetheless, it is widely known that the literary heritage of the classical period embodies numerous collections of poetry, maxims and proverbs commonly known as *amthal*, narrative genre, and rhetorical prose. We can divide the development stages into two separate phases. The first phase dates before the 7th

century CE, and includes what authors have referred to as *Jahiliyya*, or the period prior to Islam, while the second phase dates from 660.

The first phase was merely an orally transmitted literature that talked about bravery, cowardice, and mythical creatures that they passed down through generations, and it is safe to say that during this period, the Arabic literature enjoyed little significance. The second phase however, is highly influenced by the emergence of Islam, as the latter held and continues to hold a primacy of place in Arabic literature, thus making the Eastern world far superior to the Western world, for the Westerners who used to read the bible in its different variety of translations, found the Quran quite challenging. Literature during those remote times flourished across the Middle East in a form of prose and poetry, commonly known as *Al Qasida*. Arabic literature reached its peak with the appearance in the Middle East of the world's greatest collection of narrative, *Alf laylahwalaylah* (*The Thousand and One Nights*), in addition to one of the greatest libraries, Bayt al-Hikmah ("House of Wisdom"), which was unfortunately sacked by the Mongols in 1258. And just like everything else, the Arab literature went through several transitions, a fleeting phase known as: post-classical period.

a. Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period:

Roger M.A. Allen explains that, "the term 'post-classical period' has not been frequently used in order to delineate a specific period in the development of the heritage of Arabic literature. Its use as the title of this volume is intended as a form of shorthand for what might otherwise have been dubbed (were it not for the cumbersome nature of the result) 'the post-classical and pre-modern period' " (01). Meaning, this substantial central segment in the history of Arabic literary creativity suffers the fate of everything that is characterized by being in the 'midst, that is what pushed Allen to choose this name for the last series of the volumes entitled *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*. Western scholars have already labeled this period of Arabic literary history as

“the period of decadence”, known to the Arab world as *Asr al-Inhitat*. The history of literature seems to break down into a series of cultural periods of varying lengths, each dominated by certain conventions (Allen and Richards 05), like the Umayyad dynasty (660–750), and the Abbasid dynasty (750–1258), an era of five centuries that is often further subdivided into two or three periods – 1258 being the date of the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols. However, this is followed by a rather undivided five centuries of literature creativity and sublime under the Ottoman Empire which brought out this new concept of modernity, a break from the traditional dynastic pattern. Literature during Ottoman empire was mainly poetry, Ottoman poetry of the 15th and 16th centuries represented a fusion of the three major Islamic languages—Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. If the ‘post-classical’ era is seen to be one of decline from the lofty heights of a golden age, then the period that follows the Ottoman conquests (1516 in the case of Egypt) emerges from literary histories as the nadir of Arabic literary creativity (Allen and Richards 25), characterized by a certain awakening, a renewed period that opens doors toward Al-Nahda.

b. AL-NAHDA – Renaissance of Arabic Literature:

Al-Nahda comes to open doors toward a renewal period, the modern. “The nature of ‘the modern’ in the context of Arabic literary history involves twin processes, the first process being the renewed contact with the western world, which was fairly accelerated by the European imperial intervention during the 19th century. The Westerners primarily focus on this very process, to ensure their dominance and hegemony. It can be witnessed that during the 19th century, a phase of mimicry, a translation movement appeared which ultimately led to the introduction of the new genres in Arabic literature that were not there before, best examples would be genres such as the novel, the short story, and the drama. The second factor is the renewed relationship with the classical heritage of the Arabic language and Islam, a dire need to incorporate the new genres with the classical heritage of the of the Arab past was demanded at once, as many talented promising writers strove to

find unique inspiration, and yet to find a middle ground for the two clashing forces of the West and their own. In the light of re-establishing the link between the classical heritage, “the society of [Umm al-Qura] is faithfully concerned with the religious renaissance, where a necessity is found to pin its hopes with the Arabian Peninsula and its dependencies, for it includes the most holy monuments of Islam, the exalted Kaaba, and the mosque of the Prophet (PBUH) (Bushrui et al. 249).

Despite the fact that the Ottoman empire was a big deal during those remote times, it hindered the evolution of Arabic literature, enslaved it. Arabic literature finally freed itself from the shackles of incarceration when the Ottoman empire was conquered; “Ottoman turkey had just been conquered: its domination over the Arabic word came definitely to a close” (Hussein 250). This freedom allowed Arabic literature to be creative once again. What accelerated Al-Nahdais the many promises that were made for the Arab world to gain their freedom after WW1, and the Arabs did not want to free themselves from the Ottomans slavery just to fall under the British or French rule (250). And so a series of battles and arguments took place between the Arab World led by Egypt, followed by many other Arab countries, against the Western world; “I mean the revolution of the mind which soon secured liberty of thought and expression. In reality , parallel to the armed uprising against political oppression, a rebellion spread out against a long past laden with medieval traditions as irritating as military violence” (250). However, there was yet another struggle suggested by Hussein, a struggle between young partisans of innovation in the domain of literature and the old conservatives, who were blamed for hindering the innovation of Arabic literature, “people believed, a little naively, that Arabic language, since it was a language of the Koran, was a sacred language. Now a sacred language controls those who speak it and leaves little liberty to those who make use of it” (250). Victory belonged to the first partisans, and thanks to that, a new genre was introduced to the Arabic literature, drama in verse.

In 1923, the first Egyptian constitution was promulgated. It guaranteed the liberty of thought, expression, and assembly. Not to mention the founding of the University of Cairo which brought the young writers into contact with professors from all the nations of Europe, even those from the Western world, thus broadening the minds of the Arab writers. Hussein claims that these permanent and close contacts of Egypt and the Arab world with the contemporary universe have had marvellous results, for Arabic literature had to renew itself and harmonize itself (253), the author goes on to shed light on the fact that prior to that people did not know articles, essays, novels, short stories or even novelettes, and this contact has made all of it possible. It is safe to say that Al-Nahda is truly the golden age of Arabic literature.

6. Modernist Arabic Literature and the Clash of Civilization:

This last part of chapter one is going to establish a link between Salih's *Season of Migration to the North* what has been said above about the Arab novel, its rise and its forged relationship with the West, under the influence of Islam in a world dominated by the notions of Modernism, and how all of that contributes in generating useful comments and solutions as to how the Clash of Civilization is very much alive in the novel. The ideas of Tayib Salih are connected to and very much like Samuel Huntington's, considering the different time frame that separates these two geniuses. Samuel Huntington is in turn connected to Edward Said's Orientalism, and the later to post-colonialism literature, the genre that *SoM* falls under.

To highlight the features of Modernism in Salih's *SOM*, Isra Daraiseh attempts to compare it with an iconic postcolonial piece of art, Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, a key work of colonialist fiction to which Salih's novel has often been seen as a postcolonial response (Isra et al. 57). The two novels are very similar, they both share the anonymity of both the writer and the audience, in addition, the juxtaposition of themes in these two novels produce one important remark,

as Edward Said concludes, Salih's Mustafa "does (and is) the reverse of what Kurtz does (and is): the Black man journeys north into white territory" (57.)

In an attempt to explore the historical relationship between the West and the Muslim East, the Syrian poet Ali Ahmad Said, also known as Adonis, addresses the relationship between the Arab world and the West penetrating the core of myth and tradition in his poem "West and East":

There was something stretched

along histories buried path
something adorned but charged
bearing its poisoned infant of oil
with a poisonous merchant singing
his luring songs

Gouhar explains how a form of mutual relationship between the West and the Islamic East is formed, and how both have taken inspiration from each other. Adonis later on denounces the Western Hegemony that Samuel Huntington mentions in his theory:

There was an East that like a child

Begged and cried for help
With the West as its unerring master
The map has been changed
The whole world is aflame
And in its ashes, East and West are gathered
In a single tomb

A clear pessimistic mood dominates the verses, as the sparkle of flames may as well kindle a war, one prophesied in the “Clash of Civilizations” thesis. Huntington warns of a war that will dominate global politics, characterizing Islam and the West as age old enemies and affirming that “conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1300 years” (Gouhar 45).

To Huntington, Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, human rights, equality, liberty, the rule of law, democracy, free markets, the separation of religion and state “have little resonance in Islam”. With all the quotes mentioned above, the Islamic East and the Christian West stand on the brink of the clash, for the war had already begun in the form of literature, through the actions of MustafaSaeed.

It is well known that scholars and writers from different Arab-Islamic countries have urged to re-establish an intercultural relationship with Western civilizations, where prominent thinkers, such as Refaa al-Tahtawi, Taha Hussein and Tawfik Al-Hakim, and many others, thrived in breaking the barriers separating the Arab world and the West (Gouhar 48). Hussein explains that the Arab culture is not only Islamic, but it has roots with in Mediterranean civilizations of the Greeks and the Phoenicians, and points out that if the Arab world would interact once more with the West, it would rediscover itself by restoring what the Arabs had given to the West during the golden era of Islamic civilizations (Gouhar 48). Arabic literature thrived during this period of intercultural relationship, the Arab world discovered many genres that the West enjoys, and it is in this period, that the Arabic novel came to be. TayibSalih uses the enemy's weapon against him, by writing *SoM*, and takes full advantage of this cultural hybridity.

CHAPTER TWO

The Fictional Rendition of the Clash of Civilization in *Season of Migration to the North*

I pursued her for three years. Every day the string of the bow became more taut. It was with air that my waterskins were distended; my caravans were thirsty and the mirage shimmered before me in the wilderness of longing the arrow's target had been fixed and it was inevitable the tragedy would take place. (Salih 33).

From its origins Islam expanded by conquest and when the opportunity existed Christianity did also. The parallel concepts of "jihad" and "crusade" not only resemble each other but distinguish these two faiths from other major world religions. (Hasan 211)

The conquest of the Sudan was of a very violent character - a lot of blood was shed, as well as a lot of champagne consumed. The brutal reality of introducing the light of Western civilization amongst the sorely tried people of the Sudan, provoked counter violence that in many cases turned out to be self-destructive. Fanon, along with Sartre, argues that the only way to fight colonialism is for the colonised to use violence against the coloniser (Saugestad 186)

I moved my feet and arms, violently and with difficulty, until the upper part of my body was above water. Like a comic actor shouting on a stage, I screamed with all my remaining strength, "Help! Help". (Salih 168-169)

According to Huntington, governments "are much more likely to see threats coming from states whose societies have different cultures and which they do not understand and feel they cannot trust" (Huntington,34), and are therefore often in a state of conflict with those states. Identity has then become paramount in understanding world politics, and the question "Who are you?" more pivotal than ever. In this regard TayebSalih's novel *Season of Migration to the North* offers the ideal

theatre for Huntington's Clash of Civilizations as it covers ideas of post-colonial struggles, decades-long Orientalism and that of a traditional culture shadowed by Western influence. The novel uses sexual metaphors to present the clash of civilizations as a gender conflict through the character of Mustafa Sa'eed, one of the first Sudanese to study in Britain who ends up becoming a novelty, seducing British women using their very own Orientalist views of the exotic South, only to drive them later to despair and eventual suicide by remaining Mr Sa'eed the economist, denying them their fantasy, "the symbol of [their] hankerings" (*Salih* 33). Sa'eed exacts in the process his telos, that of vengeance upon the British colonizer. The opposition of the two worlds is symbolically reflected.

1. The Clash of Civilizations in Colonial Grain:

Season of Migration to the North is a quintessential postcolonial novel and a brilliant contribution to Arabic literature as it was the first novel to address the topic of Clash of Civilizations, that of violence between the East and the West decades before its debut. This is evident in the first chapter where the author draws the reader's attention to Mustafa's birth certificate, "born in Khartoum 16th of august 1898" (*Salih* 18), a significant historical date that represents the beginning of the bloody chapter of British Colonialism kick-started by the defeat of Abdullah Al-Taashi at the hands of the British General Sir Herbert Kitchener in the Battle of Omdurman, which Mustafa's internal monologue echoed at court, saying:

"Why have you come to my country to lay waste and plunder?" It was the intruder who said this to the person whose land it was, and the owner of the land bowed his head and said nothing. So let it be with me. In that court I hear the rattles of swords in Carthage and the clatter of the hooves of Allenby's horses desecrating the ground of Jerusalem. The ships at first sailed down the Nile carrying guns not bread, and the railways were originally set up to transport troops; the schools were started so as to teach us how to say "Yes" in their language. They imported to use the germ of the greatest European violence, as seen on the Somme and at Verdun, the like of which the world has never previously known, the germ of a deadly disease

that struck them more than a thousand years ago. Yes, my dear sirs, I came as an invader into your very homes: a drop of the poison which you have injected into the veins of history. I am no Othello. Othello was a lie. (Salih95)

It is also of no surprise that Mustafa's hostilities began in 1922, the same year in which the League of Nations officially recognized the British and French mandates to rule the sea (Hassan 92), and also through the date of Mustafa's timely demise which corresponds with Sudan's independence. Further cues can be found in Saeed's secret library that houses a plethora of books relating to Western literature, history and philosophy, and some works that are written by Mustafa himself like *The Economics of Colonialism*, *The Cross and Gunpowder* and *The Rape of Africa*. The correlation between Mustafa Sa'eed and Britain indicates Salih's intention of colonial criticism. This historical mirroring proves the extent to which culture and politics are intertwined. The novel echoes Huntington's paradigm of the Velvet Curtain, that "The most important distinctions among peoples are [no longer] ideological, political, or economic. They are cultural".

In the same vein, it is worth noting that the current turbulent situation between the Islamic North Sudan and the newly independent South Sudan is also rooted in Western colonialist thinking. Ever since the Anglo-Egyptian condominium, Sudan had been dichotomised into two areas: the predominantly Arab and Muslim North, dubbed as the "useful country" by the French for the abundance of its resources and therefore considered a point of interest worthy of development, and the resource-scarce and remote heathen South that is best left for missionaries to turn into a Christian hotspot by providing education and health services. In turn, this Christian mission gained a positive connotation and came to be associated with well-being and modernity by Southerners which starkly contrasted with the Muslim backward North, thus fuelling their anti-Islam resentment. Unfortunately, the boundary between the two was never demarcated, and by the time Sudan gained its independence the South found itself in a disadvantaged position, and things were further aggravated when the American oil giant Chevron discovered commercial oil in disputed areas. By

dividing the country upon religious ground the West turned the region into a fertile ground for conflict, and ultimately triggered a secessionist civil war that would last decades, and result in the death of more than one million people and displace another million.

In fact the seed of colonial violence can be traced further back. TayebBouazza claims that “Arab thought had an early exposure to Western liberal discourse” that dates back to “Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 and the defeat of the Moroccan army by a French expeditionary force at Isly in 1844” (61). These series of defeats pushed some Arab intellectuals to investigate the reason of their weakness and the source of Western strength in an Arab equivalent renaissance called “Al-Nahda”, which led them upon much scrutiny to conclude that the imbalance in power was due to their lack of liberalism. The most extreme of these thinkers, dubbed “authentic liberals” by Bouazza, and in an attempt to solve their issues of ignorance and backwardness, went as far as disregarding their racial and religious roots in favour of Western ideologies and secularism, “elevating [liberalism] to the status of more than just a school of thought, and turning it into a cultural absolute, superior to all other philosophies and ideologies” (Bouazza 67), leaving “no room for alternative visions to rival liberalism’s world-view and humanitarian values; neo-liberal rhetoric holds that liberalism has incorporated everything good that humanity has produced, and more” (67), therefore signalling the start of Western intellectual conquest. IbnKhalidun in his book *The Muqaddimah*, describes this position of Western idolatry, saying: “The vanquished always want to imitate the victor in his distinctive marks, his dress, his occupation, and all his other conditions and customs”. This relationship that is founded on immolating one’s roots in order to gain a glimpse of modernity is reminiscent of the one between Mustafa and Jean Morris. Throughout the novel, she degrades him and destroys his most valuable belongings that tie him to his roots and cultural heritage, all for a promise of sex:

Standing in front of me like some demon, a challenging defiance in her eyes that stirred remote longings in my heart. Without our

exchanging a word, she stripped off her clothes and stood naked before me. All the fires of hell blazed within my breast. Those fires had to be extinguished in that mountain of ice that stood in my path. As I advanced towards her, my limbs trembling, she pointed to an expensive Wedgwood vase on the mantelpiece. "Give this to me and you can have me," she said. If she had asked at that moment for my life as a price I would have paid it. I nodded my head in agreement. Taking up the vase, she smashed it on the ground and began trampling the pieces underfoot. She pointed to a rare Arabic manuscript on the table. "Give me this too," she said. ..Taking up the old, rare manuscript she tore it to bits, filling her mouth with pieces of paper which she chewed and spat out.. .She pointed to a silken Isphahan prayer rug which I had been given by Mrs. Robinson when I left Cairo. It was the most valuable thing I owned, the thing I treasured most. "Give me this too and then you can have me," she said.. .taking up the prayer-rag, she threw it on to the fire and stood watching gloatingly as it was consumed, the flames reflected on her face. (Salih 156-57)

Therefore, the education provided by the oppressor using the language of oppression is nothing but a yoke that enslaves the Eastern mind and corrupts its native culture. As John E. Davidson indicates in his 1989 article "In Search of a Middle Point: The Origins of Oppression in TayebSalih's "Season of Migration to the North", "[Salih] realizes that almost certain betrayal is at stake in a British education, and his characters struggle constantly with the idea that they have jumped ship" (386). This is portrayed through the character of Mustafa who is unaware of his betrayal when he was taken to school by the Englishman, thinking it was his own and first decision, a "turning point in [his] life" (21). Davidson further points to the fact that Salih's concern for education is common across his novels. In "The Doum Tree of Wad Hamid", a father shares with a stranger his uneasiness towards colonial education, stating that he fears the loss of soul that education might bring, not the knowledge:

I mentioned to you that my son is in the town studying at school.... It wasn't I who put him there; he ran away and went there on his own, and it is my hope that he will stay where he is and not return. When my son's son passes out of school and the number of young men with souls foreign to our own increases, then perhaps the water-pump will be set up. (Salih 19)

After all, “the schools were started so as to teach [them] how to say “Yes” in their language” (156), and as the Mamur said on the train, “Be sure that they will direct our affairs from afar... They have left behind them people who think as they do” (53). This is evident in the Narrator and his alter ego, Mustafa, who despite their degrees and sharp minds bring no triumph to their homeland. Mahjoub addresses the Narrator's impotence, how he turned into another bureaucrat who attends meetings in the capital without solving anything asking, "And you, what are you doing in Khartoum? What's the use in our having one of us in the government when you're not doing anything?" (118). On the other hand, Mustafa realised that he was taught a lie upon his arrival in London, “The language which I now heard for the first time is not like the language I had learnt at school [...] My mind was like a keen knife. But the language is not my language” (28-29). He came to understand that the West wants him to “forget [his] intellect” (25), and remain a savage, therefore he chooses the path of retaliation. Colonial education is then a silent germ, dormant in the oppressor’s language, the beginning of a fatal disease, one that creeps within a culture and preys upon its very foundations, which in the case of Sudan, corresponds with their deeply rooted religious identity, an element which Huntington views as “the most profound difference that can exist between people” due its exclusive and sacred status.

As a response to this colonial threat, other Arab Renaissance thinkers, Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh to cite a few, argued that Islamic and Arabic heritage already embodies principles of modernity within its own doctrine, and has most elements of liberalism (Makdisi 806). The roots of the condescending western views then lies, as Henderson (1997) states, in the fundamental issues of human existence like the origin of life, death, salvation and the ordering principles of self, family, and society. The West is “convinced of the universality of their culture and believe that their superiority, if declining, power imposes on them the obligation to extend that culture throughout the world”, and therefore the “conflict between these two great civilizations and ways of life will continue to define their relations in the future even as it has

defined them for the past fourteen centuries"; "Islam remains Islam and the West remains the West" (Huntington 1997). Though it is worth noting that Islam is by no means in conflict with contemporary knowledge, as TayebSalih demonstrates in *Season of Migration to the North* through the character of the pious grandfather, Hajj Ahmad, that synergises with the water pumps in his village, a symbol of technological advance. In addition Hajj Ahmed provides a link to Islamic faith and identity to his grandson and strengthens his sense of belonging when he recounts stories of yore giving him roots as solid and profound as those of the palm tree. When Mustafa stirs black thoughts in the Narrator, he is reassured when he "reaches the door of [his] grandfather" and hears his "voice praying", saying "I felt my spirits reinvigorated as sometimes happens after a long period of depression [...] Now the village was not suspended between sky and earth but was stable: the houses were houses, the trees, and the sky was clear and faraway" (48-49). Perhaps this is what saved him from meeting Mustafa's fate, who never had the chance to meet his fathers outside the history books. Mustafa's people have been corrupted by the coloniser through wars, trade and rulers, unlike the Narrator's who lived in a remote village away from the fangs of colonial rule.

However, one cannot deny the backward patriarchal oppression that predated colonialism. *Season of Migration to the North* showcases this issue using the grandfather's circle of friends who maintain "the old ways", specifically through the character of Wad Rayyes. The latter revels in stories of rape and abuse that he considers "sexual exploits", however, those are nothing but another instance of women subjugation and sexual discrimination. Following Mustafa's death, the lusty old man covets Hosna and forces her to marry him. Appeals against this forced marriage were met with a zealot mentality, women after all "belong to men, and a man's a man even if he is decrepit" (99), and her threats, "If they force me to marry, I'll kill him and kill myself" (96) were also ignored. Hosna was just an "offering Wad Rayyes wants to sacrifice at the edge of the grave, with which to bribe death and so gain a respite of a year or two." But, unbeknownst to him Hosna was infected with her late husband's violent germ, she refuses to surrender to patriarchal tradition, and Wad

Rayyes's "hankerings" and thus turns their wedding into a funeral. Ironically, Wad Rayyes who mixes verses from the Quran, "women and children" rather than "wealth and children are the adornments of this earth", uses Islam as an excuse for his hankerings, a religion that advocates modernity, honours women and their rights, as Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said many times in the Hadith: "Treat women nicely." (*Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim*). The issue is then related to a culture of misinterpretation and ignorance rather than something inherent in Islam. Nevertheless, Hosna's actions were assigned to a "madness of a kind never seen before". Wail S. Hassan (2003) describes Hosna's rebellion in his work saying:

Hosna dares the unthinkable and, for the villagers, the unspeakable. Her retaliation against the abuses of patriarchy. Her castration and killing of Wad Rayyes, who represents the worst aspects of traditional culture is payback in kind for her own genital mutilation, which until then had been the subject of casual remarks and jokes for the village patriarchs, though a taboo subject in Arabic literature and in public discourse generally. (87)

Takieddine-Amyuni (1986) views Hosna's demise as the birth of the modern Arab woman that breaks the shackles of patriarchy, stating that "Hosna is the precursor of the future woman of the Sudan, for she is not allowed to live her present, to live her life. She is treated as an indecent, mad, citified woman by a conservative male society that condones Wad Rayyes's senile demands over her" (35). Though it is clear that the germ of violence brought by Mustafa's cultural mingling has now made its way into the village; the general consensus was that nothing will ever be the same again.

2. Mustafa Sa'eed as a Modern Crusader: Grapes of the Clash:

The Islamic world and the Christian world are meant to go back and forth, for the sake of establishing their footing; Huntington sheds light on the matter: “The dangerous clashes of the future are likely to arise from the interaction of Western arrogance, Islamic intolerance” (Huntington 182). and as mentioned by Hasan in his book *Believers and Brothers: A History of Uneasy Relationships*, he explains the dynamic and the violent nature of the relationship between Christianity and Islam, and how neither of them give ground, making their conflict a sort of eternal clash creating death and mayhem in its wake. This conflict still echoes in modern Sudan.

The clash between the Christian world and the Islamic world does not always bear sweet fruits, Mustafa Sa'eed, the fictional character in Salih's *SoM*, is considered as the harvest of the long misunderstanding clash, he is the bitter grape, he is merely a spawn of violence, he reeks of death, a blood thirsty figure who made revenge his only goal. Professor Maxwell says in the novel: “Mustafa Sa'eed, gentlemen of the jury, is a noble person whose mind was able to absorb Western civilization but it broke his heart. These girls were not killed by Mustafa Sa'eed, but by the germ of a deadly disease that assailed them a thousand years ago.” (Salih 33-34), “my bedroom was a spring-well of sorrows, the germ of a fatal disease”. “They imported to us the germ of the greatest European violence... the likes of which the world has never previously known, the germ of a deadly disease that struck them more than a thousand years ago” (Salih 95).

Mustafa Sa'eed will reverse the rules of the game. He will re-enact the whole drama of Colonization, coming back as a Conqueror from the South, a true descendant of the people who invaded Spain a thousand years ago. He will stir up the latent depths of the disease, a disease that got out of control and killed people by the millions in the East as well as in the West. TayebSalih calls it a fatal sickness and speaks of germs spreading from people to people, while Professor Foster-Keen turns Mustafa's trial into a conflict between two worlds. (Aymuni 12)

The grapes of the clash is apparent in the quote above as much as it is apparent throughout the novel, through the words of TayebSalih and the actions of Mustafa Sa'eed, for the latter is fated

to be a modern crusader. “Yes dear sirs, I came as an invader into your very homes: a drop of the poison which you have injected into the veins of history.” (Salih 95), in the same vein, Frantz Fanon describes the main character in his book *black skins white masks* as: “Jean Veneuse is the crusader of the inner life” (Fanon, 78), to this end, one can draw an analogy between these two fictional characters of a post-colonial period. It is clear that TayebSalih, through the actions of Mustafa Sa'eed, intends on returning the favour, not on his own accord, but sadly by the very germs of violence that are boiling in the mind and body of Mustafa. These germs, carried through Mustafa, find its way to the village of Wad Hamid, and causes nothing but death and destruction through the actions of Hosna Bint Mahmoud “She killed poor Wad Rayyes and killed herself because of Mustafa Sa'eed” (Salih 142).

There was nothing I could do. Having been a hunter, I had become the quarry... I no longer saw or was conscious of anything but this catastrophe, in the shape of a woman that fate has decreed for me. She was my destiny and in her lay my destruction . . . How often I have asked myself what it was that bound me to her! Why didn't I leave her and escape? But I knew there was nothing I could do about it and that the tragedy had to happen. (Salih 132-134)

The passage above gives soul and purpose to Mustafa, as a Modern Crusader, while Mustafa clearly suggests that being a crusader was not his first choice, he is born into it, he has no other choice, the wheel of conflict carries his destiny. Mustafa cannot escape it, he is bound to Jean Morris, Mustafa's late wife, his destiny is bound to her and he cannot stop the wheel of violence. What befell Mustafa is beyond his understanding, what happened to him is as old and as mysterious as history itself. Mona Takieddine-Amyuni supports the statement in her article “TayebSalih’s *Season of Migration to the North*: An interpretation”, stating: “Saeed's flaw is no choice of his own; he is in reality the natural result of the historical pattern of political and cultural humiliation and hatred, with no place for romance except in the imagination of the few. A sense of inevitability accompanies Sa'eed on his journey to the North; images of death abound from

beginning to end” (03), she goes on to describe Saeed’s life as one who, “plunged in the midst of lies, becomes a huge lie itself” (11).

Mustafa is a foot soldier in the war of liberation, “for a moment I imagined myself the Arab soldier first meeting with Spain: like me at this instant sitting opposite Isabella Seymour ...” (Salih 42). Mustafa goes into a sexual campaign that would ultimately result in the suicide of three of his lovers, and the killing of his very own wife, “I will liberate Africa with my penis” (120). Mustafa Sa’eed exacts his revenge on the Western culture for colonizing his country by raping women. He says, “I would do everything possible to entice a woman to my bed. Then I would go after some new prey” (Salih 30). Just like the Westerners view the Easterners as nothing but prey, Mustafa vouched to do the same, through his relentless devouring hunt, inflicting pain and anguish in their lives, and leaving nothing but death in his wake.

Hasan explains in his article entitled “The Image of Females in TayebSalih’s *Season of Migration to the North*: A Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis”, that Mustafa became what he swore to destroy; while he is indeed a victim of the germs of violence, he is at the same time a colonizer, Fanon makes this point very clearly in his book *The wretched of the Earth*: “At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex, and from his despair, and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect”. (Fanon 689) TayebSalih reiterated the use of the word ‘power’, for example, “The critical moment when it was in your power to refrain from taking the first step has been lost”, “... at that time it was your power to say NO”. This may explain his psychological intention to be in control rather than to be a victim of colonialism. This could be noticed when he referred to Ann Hammond as an easy prey (Salih 30). Therefore, it is safe to say that Mustafa Sa’eed wants to appear as a dominant male, and not to be seen as a victim to the colonizer (Hasan 41). Mustafa's overpowering of his victims could be seen as a symbol, an imagery, Mustafa is in fact overpowering the colonizer, he later on shows sheer dominance over the West, in the case of one of his lovers: “Isabella Seymour not only fails to resist

Mustafa Sa'eed sexual provocation, but also worships him; "You Are my god and there is no god but you" (Salih 108).

Mustafa is not only raping the women, but rather he is raping the cities of the colonizer. Davidson claims in his article "In Search of a Middle Point: The Origins of Oppression in TayebSalih's *Season of Migration to the North*": "...an attempt to re-establish the dominance of the emasculated, colonized male by attacking the women of the colonizers" (05). TayebSalih later on confirms what is stated above in an interview stating that 'Mustafa wants to inflict on Europe the degradation which it had imposed upon his people. He wants to rape Europe in a metaphorical fashion' (Berkley & Ahmed 15-16). Mustafa uses sex and domination as a tool for oppressing Europe, as Mustafa says in the novel "the city has changed into a woman" (Salih 39). This connection between a woman's body and the landscape is mentioned multiple times, this repetitive use of this kind of description strongly highlights Mustafa's belief that to sexually conquer a European woman would act as a metaphorically conquering the West. It is this same on-going belief that drives Mustafa to explicitly state, "I, over and above everything else, am a colonizer" (Salih 94).

Mustafa started his crusade by seducing women and then pushing them to the edge of surrender, "I heard a voice saying to me in an imploring voice of surrender" (Salih 43), and each surrender is a triumph, each victory can be interpreted as a metaphorical rejection of the West on behalf of the East. Fighting wars under the peaceful and baffling cover of the night, his room became the war zone which he arranges it according to the cliché of the Orient, "by day Mustafa lived with the theories of Keynes and Tawney and at night he resumed the war with bow and sword and spear and arrows" (Salih 34). Mustafa ends up marrying one of his victims, Jean Morris, through which he continues waging his war, "my bedroom became a theatre of war" (Salih 69).

Mustafa is mindful of the fact that the voice which he uses to seduce and entrap the victims is not his; actually it is the "disease" of European violence brought to Africa, "venom" injected by

Europeans into the veins of history. Despite the fact that Mustafa's intellectual mind-set is enriched by the European culture, he fails to assimilate with their ways. To him, European culture is nothing but an invading colonial power, and therefore must fight it. Mustafa is seen as a representation of the "Eastern" world, his relation with all of his victims are merely a mirror of colonialism, though he succeeded in his conquest, Mustafa still feels a sense of inferiority and degradation; Ann tells Mustafa, "I want to have the smell of you in full – the smell of rotting leaves in the jungles of Africa, the smell of the mango and the paw paw and tropical spices, the smell of rains in the desert of Arabia" (Salih 142). Though it may seem that Ann is fascinated by Mustafa and his Culture, she is in fact reducing his character and his value to a mere scent, he is not an equal partner, but rather a tool to satisfy her needs and relish her lust, and this is reflected in Said's Orientalism:

"Indeed it can be argued that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures. There is in addition the hegemony of European ideas about the Orient, themselves reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness". (Said, 07)

The West undermines Mustafa's culture, and sees it as inferior, Mustafa, who's in their eyes is considered as culturally backward, exists only to satisfy the needs of the West. Isabella, his other victim, is compared to "a city of secrets and rapture". She perceives him as nothing but Other. Jean Morris, Mustafa's wife, begins to humiliate him in public, flirting with other men in front of him, invoking his jealousy, making him worship her, as if she is trying to put him in his place, as an inferior unworthy of her company, she plays hard to get, as if he is the stable-boy and she is the princess, far away from his reach, just like the West is far away from the reach of the East. Mustafa Sa'eed confesses that he had not approached her for two months, "For two months she wouldn't let me near her" (Salih 158). He admits defeat, "having been a hunter, I had become the quarry" (Salih

159). Their actions therefore maintain the unbalanced scales of power between the West and East, as Mustafa is reminded with every victim he conquers.

Mustafa eventually goes through a trial for killing his wife Jean Morris, and one may think he failed, but the narrator shows signs of success, Mustafa's sexual campaign bears sweeter fruits, or at least that's what Mustafa had thought during his time at court, "I had a sort of feeling of superiority over them" (Salih 94), the same thing Fanon says in *black skin white mask*: and it has never occurred to a single black to consider himself superior to a member of the white minority" (Fanon, 92-93), Mustafa keeps fighting against the usurpers that claimed Sudan as their own, "Why have you come to my country to lay waste and plunder? it was the intruder that said this to the person whose land it was and the owner of the land bowed his head and said nothing" (Salih 94). He is brought in shackles to court, just like Mahmoud Wad Ahmed was brought in shackle before Kitchener, but unlike Mahmoud who could not say anything to his enemy, Mustafa does not stop, for his sole purpose is to take the fight to the enemy's world. Mustafa imagines the court as yet another war-zone, "In that court I hear the rattle of swords in Carthage and the clatter of the hooves of Allenby's horse desecrating the ground of Jerusalem", Mustafa then adds to this by claiming: "Yes, my dear sirs, I came to you as an invader" (Salih 94).

Mustafa Sa'eed represents a repulsive force that is meant not only to keep the Westerners in check, but also to take the war to their very homes, while the West had dominion over the Eastern world as Huntington proclaimed. However, Mustafa emerged as a counter to the West, fighting for his identity on behalf of the East. He is the hero of the Islamic world that fully rejects Western imperialism. He is the dawn of Sudanese revolution, the awakening of the Eastern-Islamic world, as Huntington argues that the resurgence of Islam "embodies the acceptance of modernity, rejection of Western culture, and the recommitment to Islam as the guide to life in the modern world" (Huntington 110). He is a threat and a dangerous figure, a thorn in their throats. He comes to desecrate their lands and to defile their women. Mustafa may be just an individual in the novel,

facing the Western world alone, but through his actions and words, he will carry the resentment of the East, as Huntington predicted in his Clash of Civilization theory, the West's demise draws near, and their defeat lies in the hands of the Eastern-Islamic world. Mustafa Sa'eed serves as a warning shot for the war that is about to happen, as Huntington accentuate in his article, he warns of a war that will dominate global politics, characterizing Islam and the West as age old enemies and affirming that “conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1300 years” (Huntington 31). Mustafa represents a dangerous figure, an omen of the future that is going to befall the Western world.

3. Torn between Two Worlds (Civilizations) and the Cry of Help:

SoM is a story of a clash of civilizations and the brutal effects of Orientalism, the novel raises many questions and hypotheses, but the main questions remain: Could what happened to Mustafa Sa'eed been averted? What if Mustafa is given an adequate value as a human, would he act violently? Could what happened to Mustafa happen to the Narrator as well? Similarly, Amyuni asks: “Sa'eed is drawn to London by some inevitability beyond his own understanding. Throughout his narration beats the question: ‘Would it have been possible to have avoided any of what happened?’” (10). The tragedy of Mustafa echoes and lives through the lives of the conquered Eastern world.

One cannot deny the anguish and the pain Mustafa felt during his entire crusade, for he does not know what to do, he does not know where he belongs, and that is the worst state one can find himself in. Colonialism and imperialism stepped on the Easterners' identities, and created a state of confusion as where one belongs. Mustafa Sa'eed is the fictional rendition of this conflict, being caught between two worlds Mustafa has no control over his life. One can argue that Mustafa's actions are merely a response, a reaction to the treatment he received from the West, “All my life I had not chosen, had not decided.” (Salih 168). Therefore Amyuni tries to sketch an identity for Mustafa:

A Sudanese with two passports, Egyptian and British, a young man living with five women simultaneously between 1922 and 1923, calling himself Hasan, Charles, Amin, Mustafa and Richard, the husband of Jean Morris five years later, of Hosna in his mid-fifties. Who is he? An Othello, an invader, a conqueror, an assassin or a victim? A committed Fabian economist writing on colonial problems or a British spy in his own country and in the Middle East? A buffoon, a show-piece, or a distinguished lecturer in London and at Oxford? Mustafa is all this, but above all he is a lie, his life is a lie. (Amyuni 11)

Amyuni stresses one word, “lie”, because Mustafa’s identity is a lie, one that pushes him to suicide. Mustafa is not given a proper identity, Mustafa belongs to both sides of the world, he is a spawn of a conflict, a conflict of two large forces that refuse to co-exist together, and in his eyes, and the eyes of many, is not possible. If the two forces co-exist, one can argue that what happened to Mustafa can be easily avoided. Mustafa's only flaw is looking at things through a monochrome lens, either black or white, East or West, Islam or Christianity. “The story of Mustafa Sa'eed is the story of those who see things with one eye” (Salih 152). In this vein, Samir Al-Shrah comments: “Mustafa is still living in the past; a past that is full of hatred and violence between East and West. Mustafa Sa'eed one day disappears. This is the natural end of any ideology that sees things with one eye. To be like him, one should be either Eastern or Western.” (154), linking the quotes mentioned above with what Amyuni’s thoughts and applying it on what Mustafa says in the novel: “I must be one of those birds that exist only in one region of the world” (Salih 49), it is safe to assume that this is the main cause that has driven Mustafa into a crusade, and eventually into his own demise. Apala Das adds more to the above by commenting on Mustafa’s complex identity: “Unable to come to terms with the patched-up nature of his identity, Sa’eed fabricates himself into a puzzle and waits to “be discovered, like some historical object of value”(Das, 06), in the same frame Huntington comments on the state of Mustafa’s identity: “They need new sources of identity, new forms of stable community, and new sets of moral precepts to provide them with a sense of meaning and purpose. Religion...” (Huntington, 97) Huntington spares no moment in dissecting the character of Mustafa Sa'eed, and suggests that religion is the grand pillar that provides people with an identity

and a sense of belonging, unfortunately, Mustafa's own relation with his religion has been disrupted, the West made sure of it when they invaded Sudan, for religion plays an important role in the civilizational conflict between the Christian West and the Islamic East, as Huntington claims: "the element that defines a civilization the most is religion"(Huntington 42)

Homi K. Bhabha, a grand figure in the post-colonial discourse, identifies the third space as the interstices between colliding cultures which in turn give birth to something new, something different, combines both the old and the new in one shared sphere, sometimes it has positive results, sometimes negatives, and Mustafa is a fruit of the latter, his attempt to create the third space caused him trauma and confusion and ultimately his life. One of the main causes he could not create the 3rd space is due to his hybrid identity. He suffers from a hybrid identity, due the countless efforts of the West to remove the East's culture and thoughts, Mustafa's own customs and traditions are shattered, much like religion, Frantz fanon talks about this his book *Black Skin, White Mask*: "his customs and the sources on which they were based, were wiped out because they were in conflict with a civilization that he did not know and that imposed itself on him" (Fanon 110).

Huntington is constantly reminding us of this civilizational cultural conflict between the East and the West, and so long as this war continues, the likes of Mustafa Sa'eed will find their way into this kind of life, willingly or unwillingly. Another cause that led Mustafa into that path, and one that could have been easily avoided, is his degradation by the West which left a sore taste in his mouth. Throughout the novel, Mustafa is described as, other, black, inferior, each time the West labels him as they see fit, reducing his value to mere object and scent, which is evident in the Narrator's quote: "By standards of the European industrial world we are poor peasants" (Salih 73), this is a clear evidence to the illusion of superiority that the West wants to force it on the East. And so long as the West behaves in such a manner, what happened to Mustafa Sa'eed will happen to many Easterners living in Western societies. One should not look further for the reasons of his suicide, Professor Maxwell sheds lights on the matter: "Mustafa Sa'eed, gentlemen of the jury, is a

noble person whose mind was able to absorb Western civilization but it broke his heart”, confirming that absorbing the Western culture destroyed him, and this is the sum of Huntington’s theory: “The most important distinctions among peoples are [no longer] ideological, political, or economic. They are cultural” (Huntington 21). The clash between the Christianity and Islam, between the West and the rest led to his demise. But one may wonder, why was he forced into absorbing their culture? Why was he not left to his own devices? On top of that, he is forced to choose a camp, which in turn leads to Huntington's “us versus them.”

The narrator later on discovers Mustafa's rectangular chamber, and uncovers truths and mysteries that his grandfather hid from him, the Narrator is confused, which causes him to face the same dilemma as Mustafa did, to stand with his fathers’ side or to believe Mustafa. Earlier in the novel, the Narrator poses the question: “was it likely what had happened to Mustafa Sa'eed could have happened to me?” (Salih 49), and the answer to this question is very much yes. The narrator probably received an adequate treatment which answers the question posed earlier, indeed if Mustafa had received decent treatment and had been valued as equal to the westerners, this whole crusade would never have started.

This leads us to another focal point of Huntington’s theory, the West cannot continue this cultural hegemony, for whenever a power rises, another parallel power counters it to even the scales, the West needs to adapt to rising powers and give them room, because no western superpower can dominate the world alone, he further states in his article “The Lonely Superpower”:

The superpower or hegemon in a unipolar system, lacking any major powers challenging it, is normally able to maintain its dominance over minor states for a long time until it is weakened by internal decay or by forces from the outside the system, both of which happened to fifth-century Rome and nineteenth-century china. (Huntington 36)

It is clear that Huntington predicts the downfall of the Western civilization, as long as they try to enforce this unipolar system, there will be conflict and they would lose influence and control. Such is the case of the United States, fighting to be the only superpower, Huntington adds:

The United States would clearly prefer a unipolar system in which it would be the hegemon and often acts as if such a system existed. The major powers, on the other hand, would prefer a multi-polar system in which they could pursue their interests unilaterally and collectively, without being subject to constraints, and pressure by the stronger superpower. (Huntington 37)

In Huntington's view, the United States is going to get weaker and weaker with time, as other powers begin to unite, resembling the Eastern Bloc, fighting for a bipolar system. He goes on to say in the same article: "the Superpower's efforts to create a unipolar system stimulate greater effort by the major powers to move toward a multipolar one" (Huntington 37). He tries to explicitly avers that the ability of the West in general, and the USA specifically, to remain a global political power requires them to adapt to the increasing power and influence of different civilizations.

Thus, Samuel P. Huntington theory, decades after TayebSalih's *Season of Migration to the North* debut, gives answers to the conundrum of Mustafa Sa'eed, and all those unfortunate souls that are caught in the crossfire that is the Clash of Civilizations. As a resolution to the problem stated in the beginning, something can be done just to slow down the motion of death, to prevent further conflicts, to start with, the West needs to accept the East as an equal, not as an inferior, not as a subject, but as an equal, for there can be no denying about the increasing power of the East. Moreover, the West needs to stop the wheel of violence, for violence would only breed more violence. As stated in the entrance of his chapter, FrodeSaugestad describes the nature of Sudan's invasion as violent and the only way fight back is to use violence back, and this was the motto for the Algerian revolution against the French: what was taken by force can only be retaken by force.

On the other hand, Christianity and Islam need to view each other as servants of god, not as rivals, for the latter succeeds the first, Huntington describes their relationship as old age enemies, But if they can lay down their arms and learn to live peacefully with one another, the likes of Mustafa Sa'eed will likely be never born. Each Block has his own ideas, his own culture, his own religion, his own identity, his own way of saying and doing things, and to rob one from these core elements that constitutes a human being is an atrocity

General Conclusion

The present research explored the fictional rendition of Mustafa Sa'eed as a grape of the long-standing clash between the West and the East in TayebSalih's *Season of Migration to the North*. Attempting to answer the questions posed at the start: To what extent was the novel an Avant-gardist attempt to approach the relation of the West/East in terms of a cultural clash? Hence this study wanted to know how the clash of civilization constitutes a promising departure to understand the clash between the West and the rest, on the other hand, this study aimed to uncovering the way the Arab thoughts benefited from modernism in each attempt to decode the clash between the West and the rest. Furthermore, this study attempted to scrutinize the representation of Mustafa Sa'eed as a grape of the conflict between the West and the East in the novel. In addition to that, this study gave culture a frame and examined the different changes that culture went through due to the clash of civilization, and how culture is considered as the source of all conflicts.

This research was raised under the lens of Samuel Huntington's theory the Clash of Civilization; in a world of increasing interactions between different civilizations thanks to the globalization catalyst, the indigenization of elites in non-Western countries coupled with the surge in power and economic strength of the East, "civilization consciousness" will only intensify, and the fact that more people start to identify themselves through ethnic terms thanks to the global resurgence of religious identities at the expense of state-based identities continues to widen the "us" versus "them" rift, moreover, Huntington Raised a fundamental question: who are you? Which brings about the core idea of this clash, Huntington claims that culture is going to be the core of the

coming world conflicts, as he argues that "The most important distinctions among peoples are [no longer] ideological, political, or economic. They are cultural"

This research used an eclectic approach, it employed Said's Orientalism to examine different contexts and structures that contribute to the dehumanization and degradation of the Eastern subjects, Said exposed the Whiteman's burden as a fraud: "Every empire, however, tells itself and the world that it is unlike all other empires, that its mission is not to plunder and control but to educate and liberate". Thus analysing Salih's novel in the light of this theory brings insight into diverse life experiences of Sudanese in the midst of overlapping imperial oppressions. In addition, Greenblatt's New Historicism theory uncovers the socio-historical context in which this literary work, and reveals that the chaotic East-West relation traces back to imposing on a people a culture that is simply incompatible with their own. Indeed, the sweeping imperial ideology which governs the different aspects of international relations offers a fertile ground for discrimination and conflict. By focusing mainly on the plight of Mustafa Sa'eed, this dissertation unveiled the truth concerning the position of the Other under the combined oppressions of Western cultural hegemony.

This present study provided a general overview and the background of modernism, which in turn can be defined as "paradoxical if not opposed trends towards revolutionary and reactionary positions, fear of the new and delight at the disappearance of the old, nihilism and fanatical enthusiasm, creativity and despair". Using different techniques such as: disjointed timelines and meta-narratives, an alienated, dysfunctional individual within a predominantly urban and fragmented society. In addition, this study explored the history and roots of the Arab novel and its rise from the grave. And how their only hope was to renew their contact with Western civilizations and to use their knowledge to the Arab's benefits. The Arab novel, or the Arabic literature, succeeded in using Western techniques, and adopted them as their own, and later on they used this knowledge to fight the injustice in the world.

TayebSalih's *SoM* is then a prelude to Samuel P. Huntington's theory of "The Clash of Civilizations". A tale of two individuals trapped in the crossfire of a thousand years old clash between two cultures, each convinced of the superiority of their ways. The present study brought forth the disrupting effects of colonial education on the East and how it paved the way for a cultural clash, by presenting Western ideologies and liberalism as a cultural absolute, that forces the colonial subject to immolate his so-called backward Islamic roots for a promise of modernity, a religion that a number of intellectuals claim already embodies elements of modernity. Therefore, the research argued that the problems of patriarchal oppression and sexual discrimination are a result of ignorance and misinterpretation and not something inherent in Islam. It also highlighted the crucial role the religion plays in providing a sense of identity, meaning and purpose that helps some characters weather the clash. This emerging Islamic cultural identity is according to Huntington the biggest threat to Western hegemony.

Season of Migration to the North delineates the clash between the Christian West and the Muslim East through Mustafa Saeed's sexual crusade, for he is the grape of the civilizational cultural clash between the Christian West and the Muslim East, he is an embodiment of an ever defying East and all of its resentment, seeking to avenge the wrongs of history. Salih described Mustafa as the harvest of a violent seed sown in epochs past, that despite his heinous crimes should be considered innocent; nay a victim. Mustafa's legacy in London was the result of decades-long Orientalism and colonial struggles, and just like the river Nile, his destiny was always bound to flow northward; just another martyr smothered by the Velvet Curtain. Concluding that Mustafa's crusade was not of his choice, everything happened to Mustafa was by force of destiny, he could not escape it, absorbing the Western culture, thus sealing his horrible fate, it broke his heart. Mustafa's own identity was shattered, he no longer knew where he belonged, he was unable to live in either of the blocks, unable to create a peaceful third space. Mustafa ended up drowning in the sea between the two worlds, calling out: Help! Help!

The research concurs with Huntington and concludes that the panacea for this disease is for the West to accept the dynamic nature of the world and adapt to the increasing power and influence of different civilizations away from Orientalist views. TayebSalih echoes this idea in his novel *The Wedding of Zein*, "What all these people have overlooked is that there's plenty of room for all these things: the doum tree, the tomb, the water pump, and the steamer's stopping place" (Salih 19). This research gave answers not only to the research questions posed at the start, but also the questions posed in chapter two: Could what happened to Mustafa Sa'eed been averted? What if Mustafa is given an adequate value as a human, would he act violently? Yes, Mustafa's tragedy could have been averted, if he was given an adequate value as a human being, his whole crusade would never have started. The West and the East must learn to co-exist together. Without having an illusion of grandeur, the West must be the first to stop this wheel of violence, they must learn to walk and part this world with the Rest as equals.

From this experience, a new horizon opens to us to find out other literary works which translate the idea of Mustafa Sa'eed in a work of fiction, to find the grudges of Mustafa Sa'eed in other works. Moreover, to find a Western Mustafa Sa'eed that would aim to stop the wheel of violence? Or keep it going? Or perhaps breaking the wheel ushering in a new dawn for mankind

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ملخص

منذ نشأته ، كان الإسلام ولا يزال حتى يومنا هذا في صراع مع الغرب. يجادل صمويل ب. هنتنغتون في مقالته المثيرة للجدل ، "صراع الحضارات؟" ، أن هذا الصراع ينشأ من الطبيعة غير المتوافقة بين الثقافتين ، وبالتالي يقدم الأخيرة على أنها أهم مصدر للصراع في فترة ما بعد الحرب الباردة. . يهدف البحث التالي إلى تحديد كيف أن موسم الهجرة إلى الشمال ، من خلال شخصية مصطفى سعيد ، يقدم ويتردد في نظرية هنتنغتون. باستخدام نهج انتقائي يجمع بين الاستشراق لإدوارد سعيد ونظرية التاريخية الجديدة ، يكشف هذا البحث عن السياسة التخريبية المضمنة في التعليم الاستعماري وكيف أنها تشكل تحدياً للهوية الأصلية. علاوة على ذلك ، تظهر الدراسة أن تصرفات مصطفى سعيد هي حصاد صدام طويل الأمد لا مفر منه بين الإسلام والمسيحية. باختصار ، تسلط هذه الدراسة الضوء على دور الهوية الثقافية في إملاء العلاقات بين الدول.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الطيب صالح؛ صراع الحضارات؛ ما بعد الاستعمار؛ الاستشراق