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# AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCHES AND U.S. POLICY IN SUDAN

By Allen D. Hertzke

**F**or over two decades Sudan has been afflicted with civil wars and genocidal conflict, generally pitting the dominant Islamist regime of Khartoum against various African peoples in this patchwork nation. With kinship ties to the continent, African Americans have been drawn into advocacy on behalf of the besieged people of Sudan, led by the central institution of the community—the black church. Indeed, mobilization in African American churches emerged as one of the key sources of pressure on the regime to end its assaults, first against southern tribes and now against the people of Darfur.

This mobilization did not emerge without buoying from a broader faith-based movement of unlikely allies for global human rights. Once mobilized, however, African American ministers and congregations brought a repertoire of strategies and tactics honed in the civil rights and anti-apartheid movements. This mobilization has played a key role in shaping the context of American policy responses to Sudanese conflicts.

## The Southern Conflict

Since it declared independence from the British in 1956, Sudan has been rent by internal strife between various tribal, ethnic, and religious communities. The longest

standing conflict pitted the Arab dominated Khartoum government against the African peoples of southern Sudan, made up of tribal religionists and Christians. War flared up in 1983 when the Khartoum regime, inspired by radical Islamist ideology, initiated a policy of forced Islamization, sparking resistance by southern Sudanese rebels. To subdue the rebels Khartoum embarked on a scorched earth campaign, mostly against noncombatants, attacking undefended villages, burning huts and crops, and indiscriminately killing and raping civilians. To minimize threats to its own military, the regime enlisted militias from Arab herders (traditional competitors with the Dinka tribe for land), who seized whatever loot they could capture, including human beings. Thus, the infamous slave trade of generations past was rekindled, resulting in thousands of Africans in southern Sudan being sold into slavery. The two decade conflict claimed the lives of an estimated two million black African people, and displaced another 4 million southern Sudanese.<sup>1</sup> Despite this toll, and despite the fact that Khartoum's leaders declared the war as a means of spreading militant Islam into central Africa, the conflict in Sudan for years

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remained “Africa’s forgotten war”<sup>2</sup>—until, that is, the American religious communities engaged the cause. The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, created out of the new faith-based human rights movement, singled out the government of Sudan as “the world’s most violent abuser of the right to freedom of religion and belief.”<sup>3</sup>

Exposure of abuses and pressure by a broad coalition of American religious groups and the U.S. government finally led the Khartoum regime to sign a peace deal with southern rebels in 2004,

bringing a fragile peace to the region. As we will see, the black church played a key role in this dramatic outcome.

### Black Church Mobilization on the Southern Conflict

It took a while before the conflict in southern Sudan reached the broad consciousness of the African American community. Early on there were only isolated voices. One was the Reverend Chuck Singleton, pastor of Loveland Church, one of the largest black congregations in Southern California with 8,000-members. While doing research on Islam, he first learned about the existence of slavery in Mauritania and Sudan. Incredulous that this could be occurring in our time, he began to connect with other activists in the early 1990s for confirmation, and he ultimately became a major leader in the movement. Quite independently a social work graduate student and investigative journalist, the late Samuel Cotton, was also conducting research into modern day slavery. Hired in 1995 by the *City Sun*, an African-American newspaper in New York City, to investigate allegations of contemporary slavery, he traveled undercover to Mauritania. There he documented slaving practices and wrote a series of articles detailing his findings, which he later turned into a book and television documentary. He founded the Coalition Against Slavery in Mauritania and Sudan, and appeared in numerous print and television

news stories. As the movement for southern Sudan coalesced, he too became a major voice.<sup>4</sup>

As Cotton himself wrote, however, attention to Sudan in the African American community was initially scant. This was in part because many black leaders had forged relationships with Arabs and Muslims and

were reluctant to accept that atrocities and slaving against black Africans could come from such sources. Critics charged that such figures as the Reverend Jesse Jackson remained silent on atrocities in Sudan for fear of offending Muslim allies.<sup>5</sup>

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In addition, the Sudanese government actively attempted to co-opt black American leaders, including clergy, by feting them in Khartoum and at Sudanese consulates.<sup>6</sup>

What sparked action is that African-American leaders and churches were drawn into a wider movement against global religious persecution.<sup>7</sup> How that happened speaks to the power of social movements to link unlikely allies in common cause.

The plight of the southern Sudanese would likely have remained in the backwater of American concern had not the cause been embraced by Christian solidarity activists and their Jewish allies. A network of Western groups forged during the Cold War provided succor to their Christian counterparts behind the Iron Curtain. When the wall fell, these groups turned increasing attention to other nations (like Sudan) that persecuted indigenous Christian communities. By the mid-1990s, an emerging advocacy infrastructure of Christian groups had embraced the cause of Christians and others in southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains. Joining them were Jewish human rights activists, such as Charles Jacobs, who founded the American Anti-Slavery Group in 1995 when he learned about the slave trade in North Africa.

The most intense early mobilization took place within the American evangelical community, in large part because of its

close ties to foreign missions and Christian advocacy organizations with evangelical roots and membership. This evangelical engagement, sometimes by prominent conservative Christian leaders, initially led some in the black community to shy away from the issue, as it was mistakenly depicted as mostly a “Christian Right concern.” But gradually a growing cadre of black activists joined the cause and agitated to get their community, particularly churches, involved in the cause.

A crucial leader in pushing for African American mobilization was John Eibner of Christian Solidarity International. Invited by the New Sudan Council of Churches to investigate slave raids and other atrocities in southern Sudan, Eibner traveled there in 1992. At the behest of local leaders he inaugurated a series of highly publicized slave redemption efforts, beginning in 1995 and continuing into the next decade. Raising money in the West and operating through a complex network of local contacts, he documents redeeming over 80,000 slaves in 35 trips to Sudan between 1995 and 2003. Numerous activists, including African American leaders and pastors, have accompanied Eibner on these trips, producing searing memories and a commitment to action upon their return. As Chuck Singleton observed, slaving was merely the tip of atrocities committed against the people of southern Sudan, but it served uniquely to pique the consciences of black Americans.<sup>8</sup>

To illustrate the power of the slave issue it is helpful to recount the way modern day slave narratives became a part of the movement for the besieged people of Sudan. Here credit goes to Charles Jacobs, whose singular contribution involved putting a human face to the tragedy by sponsoring Sudanese exiles to share their stories. Echoing 19<sup>th</sup> century slave narratives, these testimonials resonated powerfully in American religious circles, but they were also aired in Congressional hearings and news outlets. Jacobs’ success was recognized when Coretta Scott King, widow of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., presented him with the Boston Freedom Award in 2000.<sup>9</sup>

The saga of Francis Bok illustrates how Jacobs capitalized on faith-based networks to magnify the voices of ex-slaves. Six and a half feet tall but with the characteristic slimness of his Dinka tribe, Bok often leans down to speak, to utter simple words that seem biblical in their cadences and meaning: “I am telling my story to free my people in bondage. I will be their voice.” In 1986, when Bok was seven years old, Arab militia swept through the village, killing Bok’s parents<sup>10</sup> and most of the men, abducting many women and children, and burning the village down. After being captured by the militia, Bok was sold into slavery to work for an Arab herder, who subsequently called out his whole family to meet their new acquisition: “They all had sticks. They all beat me and laughed and called me ‘abeed, abeed,’” Arabic for slave.<sup>11</sup> He was made to sleep with the animals and eat scraps because, as his master told him, “You are an animal.” Isolated from his family and people, he worked herding goats and cattle over miles of pasture, and was beaten if any got lost. After 10 years he escaped, fleeing to a refugee camp outside of Khartoum. But as word of his story circulated in the camp, he was arrested, tortured, and held in jail for months. Finally released, he sojourned to Cairo and then the United States, barely 20 years old, one of the “lost boys of Sudan.”<sup>12</sup>

After Bok was settled, word of his story reached Jacobs, who hired the young man to share his story.<sup>13</sup> Understanding the power of Bok’s testimonial, Jacobs arranged for his first speech at a large African-American congregation in Boston, which was packed because of publicity that an ex-slave would be speaking. When the nervous Bok finished, the crowd roared and wept and laid their hands on him.<sup>14</sup> Though Bok spoke in diverse settings from then on, Jacobs noticed that he made a unique impact in black churches. “People weep,” observed Jacobs, when Bok implores them to “free my people,” when he reminds them that God “opened the Red Sea” for the Hebrews but has yet to “open it for my people.”<sup>15</sup> Bok went on to speak at congressional hearings, activist events, rock concerts,

and even the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, at which an official of the Clinton Administration found herself grilled about the “President’s silence” on Sudan.<sup>16</sup>

As faith-based advocacy groups kept documenting slave trading and other atrocities of the regime, black preachers with huge congregations and broadcast ministries increasingly mobilized their followers to join the cause and prodded others into action. At a May 2000 rally, Pastor Singleton joined an illustrious assembly of black clergy to kick off a publicity campaign for stock divestment and congressional legislation targeting Sudan. At the rally and press conference, the Reverend T. D. Jakes, a widely respected preacher from Dallas, chided black political leaders by proclaiming that “the silence of the righteous is fuel of the wicked.” The Reverend Marvin Williams, head of an alliance of 50 black churches in Atlanta, explicitly challenged Jesse Jackson with the pointed rhetorical query: “Where is Action Jackson?” Also speaking at the rally was Reverend Marvin Faulkner of New York City who announced a 40-day hunger strike to pique the conscience of his black brothers and sisters.<sup>17</sup> The rally audience then marched from the capitol to the White House singing “We Shall Overcome.”

Pressure on established black leaders mounted as, in characteristic social movement fashion, new leaders emerged, fired by fresh energy and passion. One such figure is Reverend Gloria White-Hammond, co-pastor with her husband Ray Hammond of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church of Boston. A pediatrician who felt special ties to “all things African,” she had taken mission trips to the continent. After one of her parishioners read an editorial on slavery written by Charles Jacobs, she and her husband were put in touch with John Eibner, who took them on a slave redemption trip to southern Sudan in the summer of 2001. White-Hammond was especially taken with the stories of the women redeemed from slavery. This interest led her to form a humanitarian organization, My Sister’s Keeper, designed to help Sudanese women rebuild shattered lives. Feeling a strong reli-

gious call, White-Hammond took 10 trips and participated in the redemption of some 10,000 women and children. These trips were widely covered, from the *Boston Globe* to NBC’s Today Show, catapulting her into a prominent role in the campaign for Sudan. Though political engagement was out of her “comfort zone,” she knew that relief for the southern Sudanese required a political solution.<sup>18</sup>

Another leader who played a pivotal role in activating the black community for Sudan was Joe Madison, a popular radio personality in Washington, DC known as the “Black Eagle.”<sup>19</sup> His odyssey illustrates how faith-based networks operate to fill voids created by ignorance or ideological blinders. Madison, a member of a black congregation in the city, knew little about Sudan until he saw an interview with Charles Jacobs on the Tony Brown Show, a PBS broadcast devoted to African American issues.<sup>20</sup> Stunned to hear of slavery in Sudan and Mauritania, Madison began attending meetings and Capitol Hill hearings organized by the Sudan coalition in the late 1990s.<sup>21</sup>

At one such meeting John Eibner approached Madison to ask, “Would you like to go to the war zone?” In a life-altering move, Madison traveled with Eibner to Sudan in the fall of 2000. The experience of personally witnessing the redemption of over 7,000 slaves shook Madison, as he puts it, “to the marrow of his bones.” Overcome with emotion, he describes how he literally fell to his knees when he first beheld the sight of so many black Africans huddled under trees in the bush waiting to be freed. During the process he interviewed scores of the captives, listened to their stories, and watched emotional reunions with family members.<sup>22</sup> In congressional testimony Madison described the experience this way:

After trekking through mud, heat, flies, mosquitoes, my eyes saw a scene that could have been staged for the movie “Roots,” except it was real. It was as if someone had placed me in a time machine and sent me back four hundred years

to an African slave trade and I was witnessing the slavery of my ancestors. It was surreal. Thousands of human souls, Black Africans, citizens of their own country, dirty, sick, and hungry in the scorching sun, waiting under the branches of a huge tree to be liberated.<sup>23</sup>

Fatefully, Madison enlisted his friend, the Reverend Walter Fauntroy, to accompany him on a second trip to southern Sudan in the spring of 2001. Long-time pastor of New Bethel Baptist Church in Washington, DC and civil rights legend, Fauntroy was a confidant of Martin Luther King's, a former DC representative to Congress, and founder of the Congressional Black Caucus. Thus he was deeply connected to black church networks and to established black leaders. Along with Madison he took the issue to the African American elite at the NAACP, the Urban League, and the Congressional Black Caucus. Their credibility helped overcome skepticism about Sudanese slavery in certain black circles or reticence to join a coalition that included "Christian right" figures. Black leaders would say, in effect, "If you say it is so, we believe. What should we do?"<sup>24</sup> Others in the coalition noticed this impact. When Kweisi Mfume, head of the NAACP, publicly criticized Sudan, activists knew a critical mass had been reached.

The growing engagement of African American leaders, of course, produced one of the most striking "strange bedfellows" coalitions in recent history, as such figures as Kweisi Mfume, Eleanor Holmes Norton, Walter Fauntroy, and the Reverend Al Sharpton joined evangelical leaders and staunch Congressional conservatives<sup>25</sup> in calling for tough U.S. action against the National Islamic Front regime. Reverend Sharpton, who had taken a trip to Sudan at Madison's urging, announced that the thought of run-

ning for President occurred to him while on a trip to Sudan, sparking Jackson to break his "deafening silence."<sup>26</sup> One astonished Sudan activist mused, "Who would have thought that Al Sharpton would be challenging Jesse Jackson for the leadership role in the American black community over the issue of Sudan?"<sup>27</sup>

What Fauntroy uniquely brought to the movement was extensive personal experience in the power of "direct action" to pique the consciences of the public and force the hand of political leaders.

In an extensive interview he described how, from the civil rights movement to the anti-apartheid struggle, he saw how protests and boycotts changed history. So it was not surprising that to challenge "indifferent Administration policies towards the victims of a Holocaust in Sudan,"

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Fauntroy joined Madison and conservative activist Michael Horowitz in a Good Friday, 2001 protest at the Sudanese embassy, where they chained themselves to a fence post and were subsequently arrested. With a certain public relations flair, the trio enlisted a "dream team" of Johnny Cochran and Ken Starr to represent them. The protest received major play in the Washington papers and in religious presses that highlighted the emerging coalition of black leaders and conservative Christians demanding U.S. action against Sudanese atrocities. Photographs of the three chained to the embassy and then surrounded by counsels and Sudanese exiles outside of DC district court circulated widely.<sup>28</sup> "It's not going to be these three gentlemen on trial," Johnnie Cochran promised in announcing the legal strategy. "It's going to be the Sudanese government."<sup>29</sup> Fearing a show trial, prosecutors dropped charges against the three. But other arrests and demonstrations followed, including one in which Congressman Donald Payne (D-NJ) and Pentecostal minister and journalist Barbara Reynolds were "handcuffed



and pushed into the paddy wagon” after their protest at the Sudanese embassy.<sup>30</sup>

With the combined clout of black churches, conservative evangelical networks, and Jewish leaders, Congress responded by passing the Sudan Peace Act in October 2002. Following the bill signing, activists continued to pounce whenever they felt that administration officials were soft-peddling Khartoum’s human rights record. The relentless pressure brought by the Sudan coalition on the Bush Administration and Khartoum eventually produced a stunning result: a peace treaty granting power-sharing with the rebels, more autonomy for the south, and a new constitution. Though there have been violations of the treaty by Khartoum, a fragile peace has held, ending Africa’s longest civil war.

## The Black Church and Darfur

Unfortunately, the very triumph in the south sparked rebellion in the western province of Darfur. The Africans of Darfur, though Muslim, had long chafed under neglect or discrimination by the Arab-dominated government in Khartoum, and as Sufis, they resisted its imposition of extreme shari’a. When the southern peace process showed signs of providing the south with real autonomy in 2003, Darfur’s rebels seized the opportunity to achieve a similar result and attacked garrisons of the government. Khartoum responded by pursuing yet another genocidal policy of ethnic cleansing that began in February.

Government forces, backed by so-called Janjaweed militias, unleashed massive attacks in Darfur, arbitrarily burning villages and killing, raping, and chasing people into the desert where they had little means of sustenance. The scorched earth strategy of changing the demography of Darfur led to the deaths of at least 200,000 and the displacement of over two million people, some of whom cannot easily be reached by international relief efforts. Janjaweed marauders continue to terrorize people in refugee camps, keeping them from returning to their farms. The swiftness of the horror captured world attention and sparked a political movement to “Save Darfur.”

African American activists who mobilized for the southern cause moved rather seamlessly into the Darfur campaign. Chuck Singleton raised awareness by speaking frequently at numerous black churches and national denominational meetings. Serving as the chairman of “The Sudan Campaign,” Walter Fauntroy helped organize a summer of protests and arrests in 2004 at the Sudanese embassy, and he activated DC black church networks to the cause. Keenly aware of how economic sanctions helped force an end to apartheid in South Africa, he called for a new strategy of divesting funds in “companies that are propping up Khartoum’s murderous regime” at a rally held on September 6, 2004.<sup>31</sup> This helped lead a wave of divestments from pension funds across the country. In turn, Gloria White-Hammond served as Co-Chair of the Massachusetts Coalition to Save Darfur and enlisted the support of the Boston Black Ministerial Alliance in the cause.

In pockets across the country, prominent African American pastors lent their voices for Darfur and black congregations were mobilized for letter writing campaigns and divestment initiatives. In a number of specific cases, pastors with pivotal connections raised the profile of the issue. One leader was Herbert Daughtry, a long-time civil rights activist and pastor of House of the Lord Pentecostal Church in Brooklyn, New York. His daughter, also a minister, will serve as a top organizer of the 2008 Democratic National Convention.<sup>32</sup> Another activist is Reverend Jeremiah Wright, Jr., pastor of the 8,000-member Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago. His most famous parishioner is Barack Obama (who has made “stopping the genocide in Darfur” one of his key campaign pledges).<sup>33</sup>

One of the most active churches on Darfur is St. Sabina, a predominately African American Catholic congregation, also located in Chicago. Led by a charismatic priest, the Rev. Michael Pflieger, the congregation has incorporated Darfur appeals during worship, initiated petition drives, and organized protests in downtown Chicago. A member of its congregation is State Senator Jacqueline

Collins, who introduced the bill in the Illinois legislature calling for the state to divest pension funds from companies doing business in Sudan.<sup>34</sup> While a federal court ruled the law—the first in the nation—unconstitutional, Darfur mobilization sparked Congress in December 2007 to pass legislation that grants state and local governments, along with private fund managers, the authority to remove investments from businesses supporting the Sudanese regime.<sup>35</sup>

These initiatives alone are noteworthy, but black voices played another pivotal, if unheralded, role in the Darfur movement. Though a number of local organizations have championed the cause, the most visible national organization currently coordinating efforts against the Sudanese regime is the SaveDafur Coalition. Initially heavily Jewish in membership, SaveDafur was limited by the lack of participation of activists who had championed the southern cause. Indeed, southern cause advocates felt the struggle against genocide in the south was ignored by SaveDafur. Southern Sudanese who attended rallies, for example, often heard nothing of their plight, and SaveDafur insiders seemed resistant, almost hostile, to the linkage of the two struggles.<sup>36</sup> For a while this averted the infusion of vital movement energy, particularly from the evangelical community that was so invested in the southern cause. This problem was ultimately addressed through the initiative of numerous religious leaders, but one person, the Reverend Gloria White-Hammond, played a particularly prominent role in expanding the SaveDafur coalition.

From the moment that the conflict erupted in Darfur, White-Hammond felt it necessary to think “holistically” about the Sudan conflicts. Her conversations with southern Sudanese convinced her that the peace negotiations between southern rebels and Khartoum could be the prototype for bringing relief to Darfur. The two conflicts were directly linked, moreover, because a collapse of the southern peace would leave no hope for Darfur. Because of her prom-

inence, White-Hammond was invited to travel to Darfur, which she did in February of 2005. This garnered extensive press coverage, and she made the rounds at the State Department and Capitol Hill to share her experiences. Because of this visibility, and because some Darfur activists were actively trying to broaden the coalition, White-Hammond was invited to top-level Darfur strategy meetings, at which she pressed the coalition into acknowledging the southern tragedy and its link to Darfur. Though she encountered resistance, her case was persuasive enough that she was invited to serve on the board of SaveDafur. Significantly, she was also chosen to chair the “million voices for Darfur” campaign, the coalition’s effort to flood Washington with letters, e-mail, and phone calls. That effort gained such visibility that President Bush invited a small group of activists, including White-Hammond, to the White House on April 25, 2006, two days before a scheduled rally in Washington, DC. After the meeting, Bush issued a statement endorsing a major multinational peacekeeping force. Since then, White-Hammond has continued to work for greater African American and southern Sudanese representation in the SaveDafur coalition, and she was selected to co-chair the board’s search for a new executive director who would further that initiative.<sup>37</sup>

In both the southern and Darfur conflicts, black church mobilization infused the Sudan movement with fresh energy and lent African American credibility to an African cause. To be sure, this mobilization does not approach that which occurred during the anti-apartheid campaign, and leaders like Chuck Singleton remain disappointed that this activism is not deeper.<sup>38</sup> Still, it is clear that black clergy and laity have provided crucial grassroots clout, which has raised the stakes of inaction by political leaders. To the extent that the American government has led the effort to bring peace—first to southern Sudan and now Darfur—credit in part is owed to the networks and vitality of that unique American institution, the black church. ❖



1. Randolph Martin, Sudan's Perfect War," *Foreign Affairs* 81 (March/April), 2002.
2. Karl Vick, "Powell Calls for Reconciliation in Sudan," *Washington Post*, May 27, 2001, A20.
3. *Report of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom*, Washington DC, 2002, 25.
4. Coalition Against Slavery in Mauritania and Sudan <<http://members.aol.com/casmasalc>>. This site contains pieces (under the heading Groundbreaking article) Samuel Cotton wrote for the New York City African-American weekly *City Sun* in 1995. Accessed November 6, 2007.
5. Joe Madison suggested this, along with the "Christian Right" stigma attached to the movement that made black leaders skittish about alliances. Interview with Joe Madison, July 2003.
6. Samuel Cotton, "Arab Masters – Black Slaves," *The City Sun*, February 1-7, 1995; "Sorrow and Shame: Brutal North African Slave Trade Ignored and Denied," *The City Sun*, March 22, 1995; "The Slavery Issue: A Crisis in Black Leadership," *The City Sun*, April 5, 1995.
7. This movement is the subject of my book, *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).
8. Phone interview with Chuck Singleton, November 30, 2007.
9. Francis Bok with Edward Tivnan, *Escape From Slavery: The True Story of My Ten Years in Captivity – and My Journey to Freedom in America* (New York: St. Martins Press, 2003).
10. As Francis Bok relayed to me, he asked John Eibner of Christian Solidarity International to try and track down his family, and Eibner, who makes frequent trips to Sudan on slave redemption missions, was able to confirm that his parents were killed in the raid.
11. Abeed is actually the plural of abd or abid, the singular word slave. As Francis relayed, the children were chanting abeed over and over as they hit him with sticks, in effect conveying that he was of a slave people, thus the plural usage.
12. This material is from an interview with Francis Bok and his book, *Escape From Slavery*.
13. Bok, *Escape from Slavery*.
14. Bok, *Escape From Slavery*.
15. Charles Jacobs, Interview, April 2003.
16. Four days after his Kennedy School speech by Bok and the grilling of the NSC official, President Clinton, on Human Rights Day, condemned "the scourge of slavery in Sudan." Bok, *Escape From Slavery*, pp. 215-217.
17. On May 23, 2000, the Sudan coalition held its kick-off rally to inaugurate its campaign for publicity, divestment, and congressional legislation. Chaired by John Eibner, it brought a number of black clergy to Washington, including preachers with huge congregations and broadcast ministries. The press conference and march to the White House included such black pastors as T.D. Jakes of Dallas, Jethro James of Newark, Marvin Williams of Atlanta, Alex Hurt of Boston, Michael Faulkner of New York City, and Chuck Singleton of Los Angeles.
18. News Release, American Anti-Slavery Group, April 16, 2002, 617-426-8161, Ms4Freedom@aol.com; Phone Interview December 13, 2007; Charlayne Hunter-Gault, "A Promise to Keep in Southern Sudan, National Public Radio, January 17, 2006; Bruce Morgan, "Profile: Gloria White-Hammond – The Healer," *Tufts Medicine*, the magazine of the Tufts University School of Medicine, Summer 2004; Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church website: [www.bethelame.org](http://www.bethelame.org).
19. Joe Madison hosts the program, "Joe Madison and Company," on WOL-1450 AM, which is broadcast nationally through satellite and airs at 6:00 a.m Eastern time.
20. The Tony Brown program, December 1995.
21. Interview with Joe Madison, July 2003.
22. Interview with Joe Madison, July 2003.
23. Statement by Joe Madison at Congressional Hearing on Slavery in Sudan in Washington, D.C. on April 26, 2001.
24. This was how Madison described his conversations with some black leaders. The gist of this was corroborated by conversations with others in the coalition.
25. These included Jesse Helms, Henry Hyde, and Dick Army.
26. Madison pointed to a strong statement on Sudanese slavery that appeared on Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition web site.
27. The account of the sequence is from Michael Horowitz.
28. Steven Mufson, "3 Arrested in Protest at Sudanese Embassy," *The Washington Post*, April 14, 2001, A5; William Raspberry, "The Am-I-Dreaming Team," *The Washington Post*, May 5, 2001; "Legal Dream Team," Good Morning America broadcast, May 15, 2001.
29. "Cochran, Starr Hint at Protesters' Defense," *Washington Post*, May 16, 2001, B02.
30. Barbara Reynolds, "Making a Stand Against Slavery," *The Washington Post*, July 15, 2001.
31. Walter Fauntroy, Speech at a Washington DC "Day for Justice Demonstration," September 6, 2004.
32. Gloria White Hammond, phone interview, December 13, 2007.
33. <http://mybarackobama.com/friends>. E-mail thank-you responses to campaign contributions include the statement on Darfur.
34. See Jacqueline Collins and Edward Petka, "On Sudan: A Call for Divestment from Genocide," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 4:1 (Spring 2006): 43-44. Available online at <http://www.cfia.org/ArticlesAndReports/ArticlesDetail.aspx?id=4456>.
35. President George W. Bush signed into law the Sudan Accountability and Divestment Act on December 31, 2007. It grants authority to state and local governments and private pension funds to make divestment decisions against Sudan.
36. I heard of this in a number of interviews with southern Sudanese activists.
37. This material is taken from a phone interview with Gloria White Hammond on December 13, 2007, as confirmed by conversations with other activists.
38. Interview with Chuck Singleton, November 30, 2007.