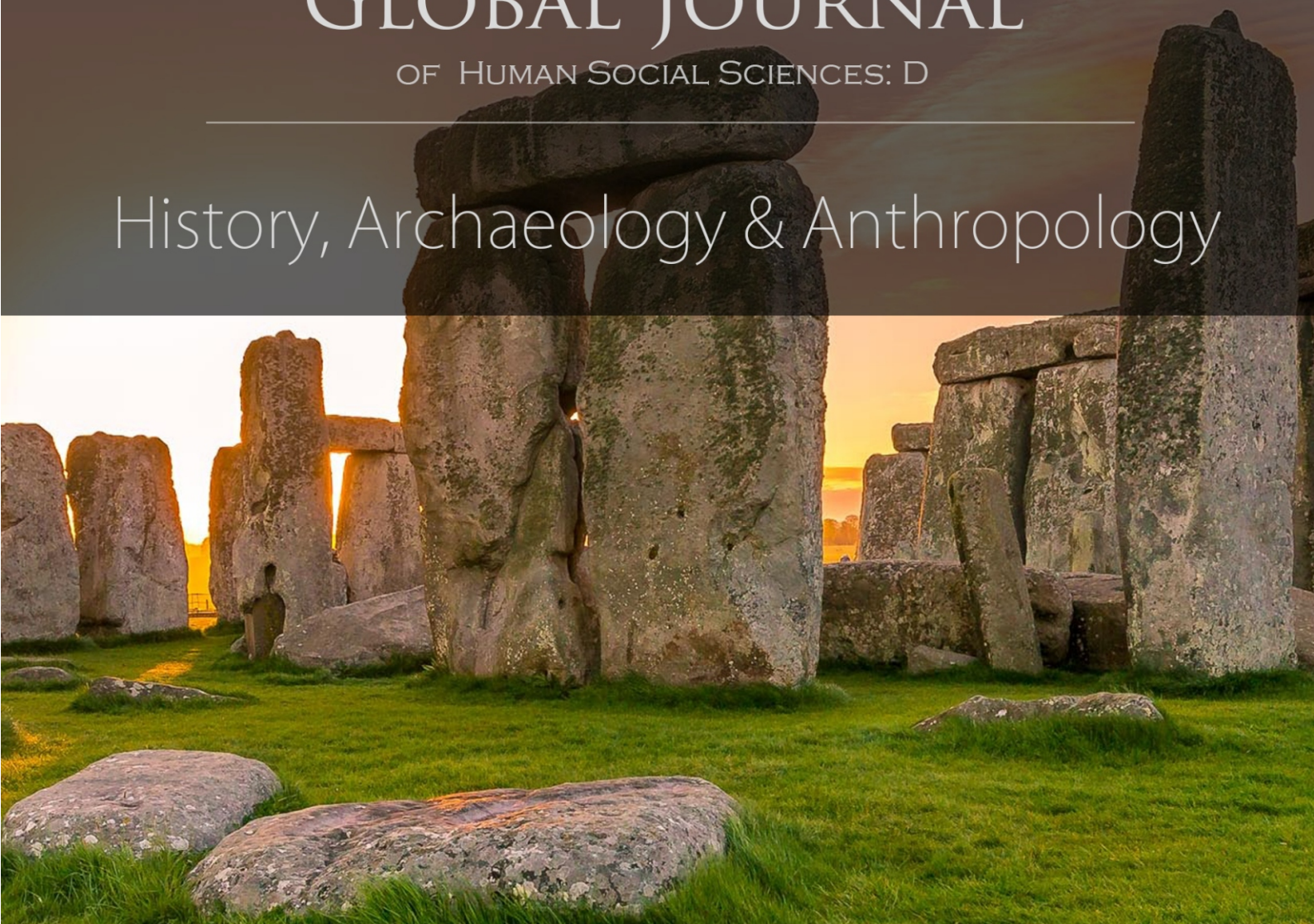
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Graphic Art of Kazakhstan

Malay Radical Nationalistic

Highlights

The Kazakh Scientist

Historiographies in Somalia

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Contents of the Issue

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Contents of the Issue

1. The Kazakh Scientist of the 19th Century Chokan Valikhanov is a Founder Graphic Art of Kazakhstan. *1-6*
2. Population Pressure and the Transition to Agriculture. *7-12*
3. Unmasking the Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: Towards a Critique of the Conflicting Historiographies in Somalia. *13-23*
4. Ahmad Boestamam: Malay Radical Nationalistic Figure. *25-32*
5. The Emergence of Fascist Movement (1914 – 1930) (Historical Perspective). *33-43*

v. Fellows
vi. Auxiliary Memberships
vii. Process of Submission of Research Paper
viii. Preferred Author Guidelines
ix. Index

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The Kazakh Scientist of the 19th Century Chokan Valikhanov is a Founder Graphic Art of Kazakhstan

By Kamak Abdikarim
Kazakh State Pedagogical University for Ladies

Abstract- The contents of article are devoted to studying of art heritage in the field of arts of the Kazakh scientist of Chokan Valikhanov - a bright phenomenon in the scientific sphere of Russia and Europe in **XIX** of an eyelid. In work, on the basis of studying scientific, literary links about art creativity and the brief "excursion" - analysis of drawings from a position of art criticism are proved a role and importance of studying, preservation its heritage for enrichment of history of arts of Kazakhstan and in use of spiritual education of the younger generation.

Keywords: *scientist, art heritage, fine arts, portraits, importance studying, arts of Kazakhstan.*

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Keywords: scientist, art heritage, fine arts, portraits, importance studying, arts of Kazakhstan.



Graf. 1 : Chokan Valikhanov (photo)

I. Introduction

The inexhaustible source of history of the national genius – its spiritual value. In millennial world history, the Kazakh earth gave to the world great philosophers and thinkers (Al-Farabi, Korkut-baba, Ahmed Yassaui, Zh. Balasaguni, Asan-kaygy, etc.), poets educators (Bukhar-zhyrau, Makhambet Utemisov, Abay Kunanbayev, Ibray Altynsarin, etc.), national composers (Kurmangazy Sagirbayev, Akan-seri, Birzhan-sal, Dina Nurpeisova and etc.) and incalculable number of masters of national craft and artists of arts and crafts. Spiritual and cultural and art material values which created by them became a rich heritage and means for formation of moral and ethical, spiritual and esthetic shape of the subsequent generations of the Kazakh people.

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Among the galaxy of greatest people of Kazakhstan, takes place the name of Chokan Valikhanov (1835-1865) – the scientific orientalist, the traveller, the geographer, a linguist, the botanist, the ethnographer, the artist and at the age of 21 he had elected the full member of Imperial Russian geographical society (1857). To his scientific activity devoted a lot of articles, scientific notes, memories of his friends, historical and biographic stories, novels. Scientific heritage in the field of history, ethnography, folklore studies, psychology, etc. became object of research European, Russian scientists (S. Semenov-Tyanshansky, G. N. Potanin, N. Yadrintsev, S. Kapustin, etc.). Also for modern readers it is known books about Ch. Valikhanov: S. Markov's "Iduschie k verschinam (Going to tops) [1]; S. Mukanov's novel of "Promelknushaya zvezda", historical chronicle of P. Kosenko of "Skreschenye sudev [Crossing of destinies]" [2]; I. Strelkova's book "Valikhanov" (the Lives of Remarkable People series) [3]. Collection of works of Ch. Valikhanova in 5 volumes published by the Academician A. Margulan in 1961-1972 [4] and the scientific book in the Kazakh language of S. Makhtarula "Chokan and art (section "Artist")" [5, p.147-179].

In the sphere of great scientific achievements the worthy place is taken also by graphic creativity of Chokan Valikhanov. His graphic heritage is made by more than 150 drawings, water color works, and sketches. Unfortunately they are still in archives of Russia. We admire only the printing copy of his graphic heritage.

II. Research Objective

The Analyse art heritage of the Kazakh scientist of the XIX century of Ch. Valikhanova in the field of graphic arts, in the sphere achievement of various sciences to show, first, as founder of the graphic arts of Kazakhstan, its role and a place in the history of arts and art criticism Kazakhstan; secondly, to prove about importance of research of creativity of Ch. Valikhanova in preservation, propagandes, also in use its art heritage in enrichment of spiritual culture of Kazakhstan.

III. The Main Chapter

Chokan Valikhanov is Great Kazakh Hang Ablay's great-grandson, the grandson of the last khan of

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the Kazakh earth Walihang and Chingis Valikhanov's son – the sultan of the Average Horde, the colonel of imperial army. Chingis Valikhanov was highly intellectual and educated person of the his time, the appreciate of spiritual cultural value of the people in the field of art creativity. In his rate there were constant guests: wise aksakals [respected people], poets, national composers, skilled craftsmen, artisans and Russian Orientalist scholars, geographers, travelers, officers-surveyor.



Graf. 2 : Territories Ch. Valikhanov conducted geographical researches. Kyrgyzia, mountains Alatau and Tian Shan

Before entering to Omsk Military school of Russia, constant perception lyrics of the poet songbooks, compositions of musicians-composers (kuyshy), instructive and educational poetics of improvisators-zhyrshi, skillful works of master handicraftsmen and jewelers – for teenage Chokan became spiritual and esthetic school. Chokan Valikhanov, during his study and after the termination of Military school, being in civil service at the governor general Gasfort, with a great interest studies national traditions, ideological thoughts of steppe philosophy, literary and musical folklore, folk art and craft art – as a source of knowledge of spiritual, material culture of the native land [3]. He perfectly knew English, German, French, Arab, Russian, Kyrgyz, Uigur languages and studied ancient-Chagatay writings. These abilities gave the chance to him comparing to analyze spiritual and material, cultural values of the people, with east and West European culture [5, 45]. Chokan Valikhanov with his reaserch tried to seek rebuff to followers who claimed that Kazakhs wild nomads, they brought nothing in world art culture.

One more side of the scientist Chokan Valikhanov – a graphic creation. In due time, the Russian science recognized young Ch. Valikhanov as outstanding scientist, and his graphic creativity also was highly appreciated from the intellectuals and scientists.

In the first half of XIX century, in childhood Ch.Valikhanova, in the Russian fine art work artists who are highly the talented, with the professional and academic education as - A. Ivanov, O. Kiprensky, K. Bryullov, V. Tropinin and many others whose creativity was the admiration for all Russia and Europa. In averages 1850-60, speed takes realistic many others whose art and there began the first steps the critical realism. One of representatives of this direction, age-mate and colleague of Ch. Valikhanov - P. Fedotov, the carries out work between military and regimental service and art, reaching humanistic pathos in art. Other remarkable artist V. Perov showing in a descriptive critical genre "about vile to the Russian life", "an existential grief of people" who became the strongest blow for the authorities of haves. Banished by T. Shevchenko at peak of creativity, creates works in shackles [8, 14].

Addiction to drawing Chokan influenced surrounding his father's environment - Genghis Valikhanov. It is in order to study art-crafts of folk artists organized many ethnographic expeditions to the native land. A. Margulan writes: "... this (drawing), he studied by artists and surveyors who lived in Valikhanov. ... The rate often stops the scientists and officers who possess excellent drawing skills. And they also stimulated Chokan passion for fine arts "[5]. Later, other sons of Genghis Valikhanov Zhakip and Maky and also did the art of artistic craft.

In the first thematic figures 12 year old Chokan, executed by a water color of "Zhatak" (Kazakh-poor living in the cabin due to the lack of funds on the summer pasture grazing grounds, gr. 2*) and

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"Akshomshy", is represented lives of simple Kazakhs. Despite for his child age, in these works can be traced realistic approach to others, his critical relation to public, social contradictions is traced realistically. The art heritage Chokana is made by more than 150 drawings, sketches and paintings.

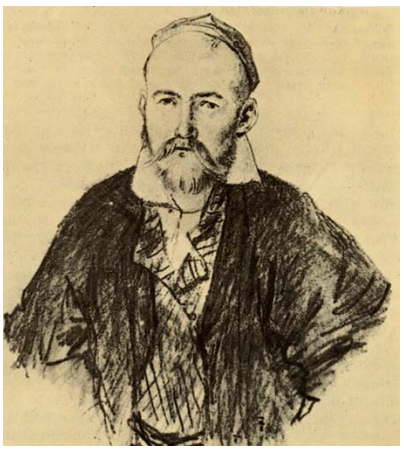


Graf. 3 : Zhatak. 1847

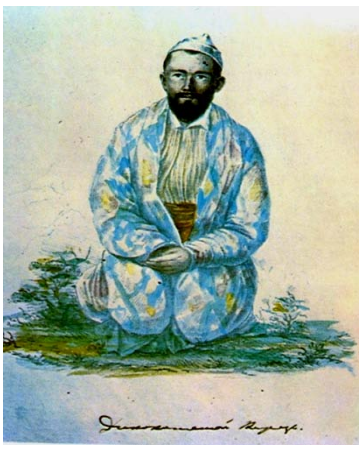


Graf. 4 : A outlook on Terskey Alatau from Sata's peak of on kungey Alatau". Water color. 1856

The big place in Graphic works of Chokan Valikhanov occupies portrait drawings. But they are not ethnographic sketches or materials executed during the travelling time on the Kazakh, Kyrgyz earth and Kashgaria. In portrait works: "Hankozha Valikhanov's Portrait" (gr. 5), "Portrait judge of Sartaya"; "The Kyrgyz from Ala Tau" (gr.6), "Portrait Mamyrkhan Rustemova – the sultan the of Eldest Horde" (gr. 6), "The son Shamratov's portrait from a sort Sarybagysh" (gr.8), "The Kazakh's portrait" (gr. 9), "Manap from a sort Bug – Borambay" (gr. 10), "A portrait of the Senior sultan" (gr.11), "The Kyrgyz portrait", "A portrait Tezek round", "A portrait of the young Kazakh" (and a lot of other things) with an accuracy displaying identity of character of the personality, national difference and a social status of a type in society, the artist Chokan opens before us real figurative idea of the time.



Graf. 5 : Hankozha Valikhanov's Portrait Pencil. 1862



Graf. 6 : The Kyrgyz from Ala Tau. The Colored pencil. 1856



Graf. 7 : Portrait Mamyrkhan Rustemova - the sultan the of Eldest Horde. 1856

These portraits, is with confidence possible to consider as full-fledged individually figurative, realistic the works of the graphic arts. At attentive studying of art portraits, sketches, Ch. Valikhanova, it is possible to see anthropological typicalness, ethnic features and national traites of people of East Asia – Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Kalmyks, Chinese, Uyghurs. The scientific encyclopaedist, the art critic, the academician A. Margulan, estimating art quality of the drawings Chokan, comparing them to drawings of such ethnographers-artists as V. Shtenberg, P. Kosharova, M. Znamensky who at that time conducted ethnographic researches in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, notes that in their drawings are reflected in the basic: ethnographic details, outer sides of life, clothes samples, household goods Kazakhs, etc.

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Graf. 8 : The son Shamratov's portrait a of tribe sarybagysh Pencil



Graf. 9 : Kazakh's portrait. Pencil. 1856



Graf. 10 : Manap from a sort Bug - Borambay. Pencil. 1856

Subject and idea of drawings of Ch. Valikhanov ("Akshomshy", "Zhatak", "A meeting of officials in the village of Syrymbet"*, etc.) are devoted on vital values, household problems of the people. He seeks to transfer the social and psychological characteristic of people, that its drawings gains the ideological and art importance. The internal content of work of Chokan "The meeting of officials in the village of Syrymbet" coincides with T.G. Shevchenko's work "The state fist" in which it is reflected social and national inequality in the Kazakh steppe in the nineteenth century, and the maintenance of the drawing "Dzhatak" (gr.3) with ideas of work of the Russian artists of V. Repin "Barge haulers on Volga" and V. Perova - the founder of critical realism in the Russian painting [6]. A. Margulan investigating art quality graphic and creative Chokan Valikhanov's heritage and comparing them with works of the Russian scientists-travelers, artists, and also with art character of the fine arts of Kazakhstan at the year of 20-30 of the XX century, gives an assessment that Chokan Valikhanov is - the founder of the Kazakh fine arts [4, 138-142].



Graf. 11 : A portrait of the Senior sultan. Pencil 1864



Graf. 12 : Self-portrait, sketch

The typical image of personalities, truthfulness of an image in Chokan's drawings, is also told about life of society, about historical and social conditions of that period. If in "Self-portrait" he wanted to inform us those feelings which visited him at those moments, about inside part and meaning of his life, and in a portrait "The son Shamratov's portrait a of tribe sarybagysh", he tried to represent an image of the young man, who has sincere desire and sensual aspiration and confidence to the future.

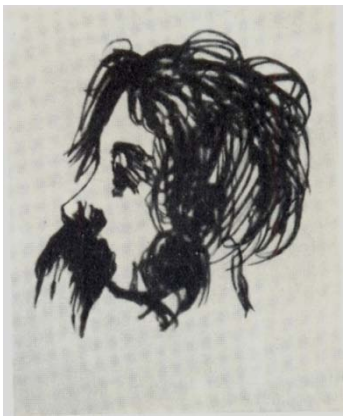
One of picturesque works of Chokana, executed by water color paint, in year 1856, during a scientific expedition in kirghiz country "A outlook on Terskey Alatau from Sata's peak of on kungey Alatau" (gr. 4), the on height of 3268 meters in mountains. About art quality of this work are stated in the 5th tome "Meeting the composition Ch. Valikhanov" A. Margulan and in the book "Chokan and Art" of S. Mukhtaruly, in the section "Artist", devoted to graphic creativity: "Chokan perfectly uses the rhythm of space and volume, light and shadow

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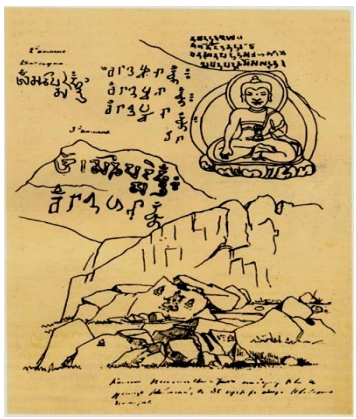
state alpine landscape, the composite system of the work: shrouded in the haze of the Issyk-Kul and snowy, icy peaks Teriskey Alatau in the vast space. The internal dynamics of the works full of romance.." [6, 147-151]. Many of the drawings and sketches which collected during the travelling time across Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Kashgaria and also during military campaigns, will add graphic heritages of Ch. Valikhanov. They traced a keen interest in the surrounding domestic detail, the pursuit of even a small sketch to create expressive live episode from the life of ordinary people, with a real bind genre scene with a poetic way of native wildlife.



Gr. 13 : House in a Touranga. Pencil



Gr. 14 : Sketch (G.N.Potanin)



Gr. 15 : Drawing with petroglyphic the image

Analyzing his portrait work, graphic drawings, sketches, you can see and understand that Chokan mastered sufficient knowledge about the method and the plastic image of language and method of creating an image in the drawing, as a professional artist. The proof is in the works: "The settlement in the Ili River," "Stop the unit near the shore of Issyk-Kul", "Fishing detachment near the river Tyub"; ethnographic sketches: "Uighur woman", "Hats and hair braiding description in Uighur women of East Turkestan" "Horse riding and horse care"; the landscape-themed pictures: "Manor Aiganym in Syrymbet," "House in a Touranga" (gr. 13), etc.

a) Deduction

However, against the background of scientific papers in various fields of science, figurative artistic heritage of Ch.Valikhanov, art republic have not been studied enough flesh to the '70 of the twentieth century. For a long time in the works of art, the beginning of the formation of professional fine arts of Kazakhstan, specifically indicated 20-30 years of the twentieth century, linking the phenomenon, with the arrival in Kazakhstan some intellectuals and artists - N.Hludova, A.Cherkasskogo, N.Krutilnikova also relying on the creativity of the first national artists [10, 29]. Graphic and pictorial drawings Chokan Valikhanov considered against the background of the professional Russian artists of the nineteenth century, as the ethnographic drawings to his research or sketches to travel notes, concluding that in the Kazakh steppe, where he lived Ch.Valihanov, there were no representatives of professional artists. It returns to the memory of Russian art activities that they carefully researched and covered in the pages of newspapers, magazines, through popular science films, graphic abilities of the poet Alexander Pushkin, also of artistic creativity Lermontov - contemporaries Ch. Valihanova.

Another reason, in the release of the fine arts of Kazakhstan gives a brief description of Chokan's works with multiple drawings [10]. There weren't produced a special, printing high-quality reproduction of graphic drawings, revealing the nature of his talent in the field of fine arts. Therefore, many lovers of fine art limited perception of drawings published in the above-mentioned authors. Another reason is that the artists working color palette, plastic, symbolic direction, it is possible to understand their vision of Ch.Valikhanov's work.

IV. Conclusion

In his twenty years Chokan Valikhanov became a traveler, a scientist in the field of geography, botany, ethnography, linguistics, also the first representative of the Kazakh art. It is possible to note that the graphic heritage of Chokan Valikhanov for the judge of art and the homeland researching sources of spiritual culture, is an important source studying also as its scientific achievement. We find in his portraits the typical images, ethnic, anthropological and typicality and social status of the individual facial features, thematic drawings and sketches of the real figurative representation understanding of the beingness of the peoples of the nineteenth century and the works of art Chokan Valikhanov is fully-realistic work of art.

Since the beginning of independence of Kazakhstan the Law on culture is adopted [11], the

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special state program "Cultural heritage" [12], is developed work on studying, research of spiritual and material, cultural values of people, and also return of some values of culture which is in the different countries of East Asia, Europe, Russia is accelerated. And our short statement for art and creative life of the scientist will make a contribution to studying of spiritual and esthetic culture of Kazakhstan in the field of art.

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Population Pressure and the Transition to Agriculture

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Abstract- Is it food shortage or food abundance which explains the transition from foraging to farming? The academic literature is divided. We use the notion of population pressure – defined as the ratio of population density over the stock of wild food resources – to answer this question. We demonstrate that the significant changes of the population pressure are only temporary and have asymmetric effects on hunter-gatherers' behaviors. Food shortages increase population pressure but do not trigger the shift to agriculture. Indeed, the common property regime as well as the common sharing of resources and knowledge hinder any incentive to innovate and to produce more effort. On the contrary, food abundance induces the advent of exclusive property rights, the disappearance of sharing and therefore stimulates effort and innovation. Since food abundance is a feature of complex hunter-gatherer societies, the latter are more likely at the origin of the transition to agriculture.

Keywords: hunter-gatherer, complex hunter-gatherer, Neolithic revolution, sharing, population pressure, open-access resources..

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Population Pressure and the Transition to Agriculture

Serge Svizzero

Abstract- Is it food shortage or food abundance which explains the transition from foraging to farming? The academic literature is divided. We use the notion of population pressure – defined as the ratio of population density over the stock of wild food resources – to answer this question. We demonstrate that the significant changes of the population pressure are only temporary and have asymmetric effects on hunter-gatherers' behaviors. Food shortages increase population pressure but do not trigger the shift to agriculture. Indeed, the common property regime as well as the common sharing of resources and knowledge hinder any incentive to innovate and to produce more effort. On the contrary, food abundance induces the advent of exclusive property rights, the disappearance of sharing and therefore stimulates effort and innovation. Since food abundance is a feature of complex hunter-gatherer societies, the latter are more likely at the origin of the transition to agriculture.

Keywords: hunter-gatherer, complex hunter-gatherer, Neolithic revolution, sharing, population pressure, open-access resources.

I. Introduction

The origin of agriculture is probably the most debated issue in archaeology (Bellwood 2005: 14-28). Despite an abundant literature, there is no consensus about it, i.e. many theories exist and some of them are even non-exclusive (Weisdorf, 2005; Winter halder and Kennett, 2006; Svizzero and Tisdell, 2014). Although they are all different, most of these theories share a common thread, they all refer to the availability of food resources (Svizzero and Tisdell, 2014: 274, table 1).

For a first group of these theories, the transition to agriculture results from food shortages. Indeed, according to a Boserupian process (Boserup, 1965), with scarcer food resources, HG are supposed - i.e. in order to avoid starvation - to have had an incentive to shift from foraging to farming. The reduction of available food resources can be explained by two non-exclusive reasons. The first one is about climate change or, more generally, environmental evolution. This is Childe's (1936) paradigm on environmental determinism. Because the archaeological records of climate changes are easy to detect – especially nowadays with various techniques such as radiocarbon dating – such explanation has found strong support in the past (see Childe, 1936, and his "oasis theory" or "desiccation hypothesis") as well as nowadays (Dow et al., 2009; Bar-Yosef, 2011). The second reason of food shortages is related to the population size (Cohen, 1977). In a given territory, overpopulation may be due to either natural growth or to migration.

In fact both reasons previously stated are intertwined. Although his aim was not the transition to agriculture but the study of complex societies of HG, Keeley (1988) has clearly stated the relationship between food resources and the population size. For such purpose he has defined the concept of "population pressure" (denoted as PP in the sequel) as the ratio of the population density over the stock of wild food resources. Concerning the pre-Neolithic period, the population consisted only of HG and the stock of food resources was extracted by HG from the wild by using various foraging techniques such as hunting, gathering, fishing.

For the second group of these theories, it is the abundance – not the scarcity – of food resources which explains the transition to agriculture. As stated previously, such abundance can be defined as a low level of PP, i.e. it may result from either a relative decrease of the population level or a relative increase of the stock of food resources. The latter is more likely to have occurred. More precisely, such transformation may have occurred during the early Holocene. During that period, postglacial environmental transformations (Roberts, 2004) have led to the diversification of food resources, i.e. to the so-called «Broad-spectrum revolution» (Flannery, 1969). According to this view, many contributions in the literature are emphasizing the role of social competition or feasting to explain the Neolithic transition (see for instance Bender, 1978 or Hayden, 1990). Indeed with more abundant and diverse food resources provided by the nature, HG may have chosen to consume more «luxury or prestige» goods. However, the production of these prestigious goods required more labour and therefore led to an excess demand for basic food resources. In others words, social competition for prestige in HG societies occurred endogenously and it has led, by means of conscious adaptation, to the rise of agriculture. A complementary explanation is that, as a result of ecosystems supporting more abundant and diverse plants and animals, food procurement became easier for HG. Therefore, the latter have had more time for leisure and for experimenting with cultivation and the domestication of plants and

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animals. Finally, North and Thomas (1997) also consider that food abundance is at the origin of agriculture. These authors demonstrate that food abundance has provided HGs an incentive to shift from an economy with resources in open-access to an economy with exclusive property rights, the latter being a necessary condition for cultivation to occur.

The first and the second group of theories give opposite reasons about the origin of agriculture. For the first group, it is food shortages – or equivalently a high level of population pressure – which has triggered the transition from foraging to farming. For the second group, on the contrary, it is the abundance of food resources – or equivalently a low level of population pressure - which explains the Neolithic revolution. It is the aim of this paper to study the relationship between food resources – or population pressure – and the transition to agriculture. For such purpose we especially consider the socio-economic features of HG societies in order to determinate under which circumstances – food scarcity or food abundance – the transition to agriculture was more likely to occur.

The paper is organized as follows. The population-pressure is defined in section 2 and the associated various dynamics are explained. The impact of food shortages on HGs' behaviour is detailed in section 3. Section 4 examines the symmetrical situation, i.e. the impact of food abundance on HGs' behaviours. Section 5 concludes.

II. The Dynamics of the Population-Pressure

As clearly stated by Keeley (1988: 373) we consider "*population 'pressure' defined as the ratio between human population density and resources*". In other words, "*It is the relationship between population and resources that is central to the concept of population pressure*" (Keeley, 1988: 376). Given such definition of PP, it is thus possible to compute its rate of growth. A direct computation shows that the PP is increasing (or equivalently its rate of growth is positive) when, in absolute value, the rate of growth (or the density rate) of the population is larger than the rate of growth of the stock of food resources. However, such conclusion must be qualified.

First, the population density as well as the stock of wild food resources may increase or decrease, but at different speeds and, of course, for different reasons.

The population density may increase either slowly – i.e. in the very long-term (over centuries) – due to population growth, or faster – i.e. in the short-term (months or years) – due to immigration in a given territory. In both cases, and in order to be sustainable, such increase requires a simultaneous increase of food resources. It may also decrease either slowly or very rapidly (e.g. in few weeks) due to disease or wars, and also owing to food shortages leading to starvation.

The stock of food resources provided by the nature may increase slowly – in the very long term (centuries and even millennia) – when, for instance, climate and environmental conditions improve. It may increase rapidly (in few months or years) when some technological change occurs and allows HGs to harvest or to proceed a specie (plant or animal) which was previously unknown or inedible. It may also decrease either slowly, or rapidly (e.g. in few weeks) due environmental disasters such as drought or flood.

Second, the population density and the stock of food resources are not independent variables but are linked throughout a predator-prey dynamics. Indeed and as highlighted by Malthus, the population growth depends on the availability of food resources. Symmetrically, and as pointed out by Boserup (1965) for agrarian economies,[1] the availability of food resources depends on the population density because the higher is the latter, the more technological change is stimulated.

Third, a consequence of the previous point is that in the very long-term the PP converges to a stable level – or a steady-state level. Such level can be reached if food resources were initially either scarce or abundant. Therefore, any significant changes of the PP must be considered as temporary. In the sequel of this paper, we consider two of these possible temporary changes. When the food resources become scarcer (see Section 3), the PP increases, i.e. it deviates temporarily from its steady-state value and will converge toward the latter in the very long-term.[2] Symmetrically, when the food resources become more abundant (see Section 4), the PP temporarily decreases.[3] Let us now turn to the consequences of such temporary changes of PP on the possible advent of agriculture.

III. Food Scarcity Leads to Status Quo

Let us start by assuming that in a given territory was living a band of HG. We also assume that initially food resources are quite scarce into this territory. Without adopting Hobbes' (1651) narrow view who claimed that HGs' life was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short", we may however suppose that, because food resources were scarce, HGs had a harsh life. In other words, the biological goal, i.e. ensuring the subsistence, was for sure the main goal of pre-Neolithic foragers (Svizzero, 2016). Thereby we may assume that HGs were nomads, roaming most of the time to get their subsistence. Their technology – foraging – was

[1] But this conclusion can be extended to foraging economies as well.
[2] This situation may also result from a sudden increase of the human population level, such as an inflow of migrants in a given territory.
[3] This situation may also result from a sudden decrease of the population level not linked with the availability of food resources, e.g. induced by wars or diseases.

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providing low productivity; thus the food resources harvested were insufficient to sustain population growth. Population changed according to a very slow rate of growth, i.e. it was nearly homeostatic. Such conclusion was reinforced by the transportation constraints associated with the nomadic way of life of these HGs who, therefore, had to space out the birth of young children to every 3 or 4 years.

Given the initial context described previously, which is also labelled as "simple HG" in the academic literature (Kelly, 1995), the main question is the following: what is going to happen to such band of HGs if their food resources become scarcer? In other words, if the PP – which was assumed to be already high – becomes higher, is it sufficient or even necessary to trigger the transition from foraging to farming?

In order to answer to such question, let us consider, step by step, what is going on when the PP is increasing. For simplicity, we assume that worse climate conditions tend to reduce the stock of food resources and ultimately the PP tends to increase. According to many theories – e.g. Childe (1936) – environmental changes, such as a drought, lead to the reduction of the stock of food resources and therefore force HGs to settle down in oasis or on the banks of large rivers. However, the last part of the previous conclusion is not obvious at all. Indeed, large rivers as well as oasis were existing before the drought occurs. Thus HGs were able, before the drought, to settle down in these places, i.e. to give up their nomadic way of life. Why should they have wait to be constrained by the drought for deciding to settle down in such an Eden? In fact, the reason is that these places were not as ideal as Childe has assumed. Therefore, we may assume that initially HGs were nomads and that, after the drought, they were still nomads, probably on a larger territory or in the same territory but with more intensive geographic mobility.

a) Common Property Rights and Innovation

When HGs are nomads, the constraints associated with transportation imply that ownership is restricted to the minimum they may carry with them, i.e. to personal belongings (clothes, tools, weapons). In other words, for everything – except personal belongings – HGs were living in an economy where natural resources were in open-access. Because HGs were living in bands, it is more likely that the access to these resources, especially food resources (the animals to be hunted or vegetation to be gathered), was not open to all but was restricted by communal rules (or CPR, for Common Property Rights). Anyway, it is well known that under open-access or CPR, any HG does not have incentive to conserve the resources provided by the wild. Indeed, as stated by North and Thomas (1977: 234), "*unconstrained access to a resource base will lead to its inefficient utilization. This inefficiency as the demand for the resource increases eventually leads to the depletion of the resource*." There is thus an incentive failure caused by institutional – the property rights system – inadequacy. HGs have an incentive to ignore certain costs which result in the resource being over-utilized and perhaps even its continued existence endangered. Another consequence of open-access - or CPR – to resources is about the incentive to innovate. HGs, even during the prehistoric period, were inventive and the main stimulus to technological change was probably experimentation or learning by doing. However, such technological change (e.g. improvements of the weapons and tools used for hunting) has very different consequences in the short-term compared to the long-term. Indeed, in the short-term such improvements enhance HGs' productivity and thus lead to an increase of the amount of food resources harvested. In the long-term however, the additional rewards of hunting are dissipated by the effects upon the resource base of increased effort in that area. We then reach a conclusion similar to the one stated by North and Thomas (1977: 241), "*When common property rights over resources exist, there is little incentive for the acquisition of superior technology and learning*.".

b) Sharing, Effort and Innovation

For HGs, foraging is social and, in addition, it also includes a unique element (compared to what non-human foraging animals do), the creation of resource pooling systems (Delton and Robertson, 2012) also called "sharing" or "common sharing". In this type of social foraging, people contribute when they have excess resources and receive some provisions when in need. The latter may occur either because foraging is very risky - by nature it provides returns featured by high variance – or because injury and illness can prevent a person of foraging for extended periods. At least six different theories have been proposed to explain the existence and patterning of intra-group food sharing (Kaplan & Gurven, 2005; Gurven & Jaeggi, 2015); however the outcome of risk-reduction is consistent with all six. In other words, some foragers adopt risky strategies because they know that if their hunt fail, they will nevertheless have food provided by the members of their band and through the sharing system.

Sharing is a feature of any group of foragers. Indeed, it is commonly agreed that sharing was a central feature of pre-Neolithic societies in which HG were "pure foragers" (because agriculture has been introduced later). Moreover, sharing is remained the central feature of "modern HG" societies, even though foraging was not for them the only method they use to get food resources (Lee, 2004; Lee and Daly, 2004). In fact, and even when food resources become scarcer, sharing has two important implications relative to the purpose of the present article.

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First, the sharing rules can be interpreted as an implicit tax on the food resources harvested by HGs (Chakraborty, 2007). Such tax lowers the marginal return to resource harvesting, which reduces effort and increases the stock of wild resources. In other words, foraging does not necessarily lead to overexploitation of wild resources: sharing avoids waste of food and favours resource conservation because it reduces foragers' incentives to extract wild resources.

Second, a fundamental input in the foraging process is Local Ecological Knowledge (LEK) and its transmission among foragers is closely associated with the norm of sharing. Because foraging is risky, any HG has a strong incentive to share his LEK with the members of his band. Indeed, if in some circumstances his hunt fails, he may nevertheless get some food - through the sharing system – provided by another HG with whom he has previously shared his LEK. Thereby LEK is clearly a public good; its production and transmission across foragers and generations of foragers is socially beneficial. However, and as any public good, any HG has no incentive to innovate, i.e. to produce "new LEK" because the rewards of such innovation have to be immediately shared with all the others HGs. We may thus conclude by claiming that LEK is likely under-produced in HG societies.

c) The Lack of Incentives

The sharing system, which is ubiquitous in HG societies, reduces the incentive to do additional work as well as the incentive to innovate through, for instance, the invention of new LEK. Furthermore, the latter is even lowered because resources – and especially food resources – are under open-access or a CPR. Such conclusion holds even though the food resources available to a given band of HGs were quite scarce and become scarcer after a while. One should however noted that the transition to agriculture requires the opposite, i.e. additional effort as well as innovation. Indeed, the development of agriculture requires substantial effort, especially in its early ages, for forest clearance, irrigation system, tillage (…). Likewise, the transition to agro-pastoralism requires innovation in order to ensure the taming and the domestication of wild animals (e.g. wild goat, sheep…) as well as the cultivation of wild plants (e.g. wild cereals, pulses…). Thus, without incentive to innovate and to produce more effort, when food resources are initially scarce and even become scarcer, the foraging economy is more likely leading to status quo rather than to the transition to farming.

IV. Food Abundance may Promote Effort and Innovation

In this section we assume that, contrary to the previous section, the food resources are initially quite abundant. In other words, and compared to the situation of the previous section, the PP is relatively low. Thus, the same question prevails: starting from such situation, is the HG's economy able to trigger the transition to farming? At first sight, the answer seems to be obvious and negative. Indeed, if food resources are abundant, HGs may live without making too much effort. Since agriculture is time-and-effort consuming, especially in its early ages (Bowles, 2011; Berbesque et al., 2014), one may wonder why HGs should accept to work more – when they shift to cultivation - for a lower return? In fact, the situation we assume is similar to the principle observed in ethnographic studies of HG societies in the second part of the twentieth century. For instance, this principle was articulated succinctly by the !Kung bushman who was asked by an anthropologist why he had not turned to agriculture (as his neighbours had done). His reply was: 'Why should we plant when there are so many mongongo nuts in the world?' (Lee and DeVore 1968: 33). The !Kung realise that agricultural innovations would be detrimental to their subsistence, simply because it takes more energy for less payoff.

If relative abundance of food resources also leads to status quo, such conclusion does not hold when food is strongly abundant. Indeed, we may consider that below a certain threshold of the level of the PP, the behaviour of HGs evolves and that such change may trigger the shift to agriculture. This behavioural evolution is influenced by three mechanisms.

a) Sharing and Abundance

First, we have recall in the previous section that HG societies were featured by the common sharing of food resources as well as of knowledge useful for foraging (LEK). We have demonstrated that under the sharing system, HGs were not willing to innovate and to work more - as required by agriculture - because they did not own privately the returns of their innovation and effort. Thus the status quo was the logical outcome of such situation. However, this conclusion depends on the existence of the sharing system which is itself dependent on the scarcity of food resources. In other words, when the food resources are strongly abundant, the foraging activities are no more risky and thus the sharing system is given up by HGs. In fact, one may consider that the sharing system is gradually disappearing as long as the PP is decreasing (due to the growing abundance of food resources). When the sharing system has disappeared completely or is almost ineffective, any HG has now incentives to innovate and to work more, as required by the transition to agriculture.

b) Local Abundance and Ownership

Second, we have assumed that food resources were strongly abundant. Such assumption is more likely to occur in a given territory or in particular "hotspots". In other words, when food resources are strongly abundant, it is a local abundance (in the geographical

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sense) which can be annual or seasonal. Most of the time such abundance is seasonal but is always locally defined. Terrestrial examples are provided by fields of wild cereals, orchards of fruit trees, snails, migrations routes of large mammals (e.g. reindeers) or fowl. Examples of marine resources are also numerous: the annual run of anadromous fish (e.g. salmon, trout), shellfish, sedentary as well as migratory sea mammals (e.g. whales, seals).

In any of the previous examples, the local abundance of food resources has two interconnected consequences. On the one hand, HGs are not constrained to maintain a nomadic way of life. Instead, they may settle down where the resources are strongly abundant and even if they are not completely sedentary, they may transit from close base camps (each base camp being associated with a seasonally abundant food resource). On the other hand, since they are now sedentary or quasi-sedentary, HGs may have possessions beyond what were their personal belongings when they were nomads. Indeed, they may now own privately some food resources, especially those that can be stored (Testart et al., 1982), and other resources such as weapons, tools, clothes, watercrafts, dwellings, pit houses. Furthermore, exclusive property rights will be applied to land, especially to the hotspots where food resources are abundant. With the advent of exclusive property rights, the behaviour of HGs has changed because they had new incentives. As stated by North and Thomas (1977: 241), "… *exclusive property rights which reward the owners provide a direct incentive to improve efficiency and productivity, or, in more fundamental terms, to acquire more knowledge and new technique*". Such new incentives were necessary for the transition to farming (Bowles et choi 2013)

c) The Malthusian Principle

Third, with abundant food resources, one may not assume that the population is stable or homeostatic in the long-term. Indeed abundant food resources which are in excess compared to the (biological) subsistence level are consumed. This leads to an increase of the population level as well as of the rate of growth of human population. Moreover, and according to T. Malthus, human population tends to grow at a faster rate than the availability of food. In other words, after a while, the PP - which was very low – reverts and tends to increase. Population increase outpaces the scope for hunting and gathering to feed this increasing population. Therefore, more productive methods are required, such as those involved in agriculture.

V. Conclusion

We have demonstrated that it is food abundance, and not food shortage, which implies changes of HGs' behaviours and that, if plants and animals suitable for domestication exist, such changes might trigger the transition to agriculture. As North and Thomas (1977) did - who have reached the same conclusion as our – food abundance fosters the shift from common to exclusive property rights. In addition to such mechanism, we have also pointed out that the common sharing system – a central feature of HGs societies – vanished when foraging became less risky, as implied by the abundance of food resources.

It should be noted that food abundance is a feature of complex HG societies, some of them have persisted long after the Neolithic revolution (Svizzero and Tisdell, 2015). In these societies, and except the fact that food resources are harvested and not produced, the socio-economic features are very close to the ones observed in agrarian societies. Indeed, complex HGs are usually described as follows (Testart, 1982; Price and Brown, 1985; Sassaman, 2004): they adopt a sedentary way of life, socio-economic inequalities are ubiquitous and the population density is high. Given such features, complex HGs are often considered as bridging the gap between simple HGs and agriculturists (Finlayson, 2009). The present paper goes one step further by explaining why such bridge is likely to have occurred.

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Unmasking the Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: Towards a Critique of the Conflicting Historiographies in Somalia

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Abstract- This article offers critical examination and explanation of the claim of "clan cleansing" in Somalia as was featured forcefully in the book by Lidwien Kapteijns on the 1991 Somali clan convulsions. Upon the publication of the book, conflicting narratives of the Somali conflicts were delegated from oral discourse to academic venture as the debate over who lost what, why and where in 1991 and over who won, what, why and where has become both a politicised project and an academic phenomenon. By re-evaluating the whole picture, the article casts a new light on Kapteijns's book (2013) and demonstrates how inaccurate simplistic statements were used as a documentation of the clanised conflicts in 1991 Somalia. Blaming specific clans and communities of complicity for "clan cleansing," when there is no reliable document and real proof, is tantamount to igniting a new round of warfare. Drawing on long experience of living and working in Mogadishu – the city this author was born and bred as well as the site of the conflict itself – and also using interviews conducted with players and bystanders of Somali politics across clan lines, the article argues that Kapteijns has produced the most mythico-historical work in Somali Studies.

Keywords: *somali conflicts, clanised wars, clan narratives, historiographies.*

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Keywords: somali conflicts, clanised wars, clan narratives, historiographies.

I. Introduction

In January 1991, Somalia plummeted into clan convulsions, as a consequence of two decades of state terror by the clano-military regime of General Mohamed Siad Barre that culminated in clanocide – that is, selectively annihilating certain clans physically and politically. Ever since the Siad Barre, which ruled since 21 October 1969, was removed from power on 26 January 1991 by the United Somali Congress (USC), led by General Mohamed Farah Aideed, the proponents of the military regime have sought consistently yet contradictorily in restoring their rule (Ingiriis, 2016: 3-34). The legacies of the regime led to clan convulsions where clans fought not only against each other, but also within themselves. Once Siad Barre and his supporters fled Mogadishu, they sought refuge and sanctuary in their clan areas as they felt there would be no any other safer place in Somalia. By contrast, most other Somali clans and communities remained in Mogadishu and suffered the same atrocities that came with the collapse of the regime. Which group whose truth is worth telling hinges upon where or which side with which one affiliates himself or herself.

Drawing on long experience of living and working in Mogadishu – the city this author was born and bred as well as the site of the conflict itself – and also using observations over the players and bystanders of Somali politics across clan lines, this article critiques a flawed work on 1991 Somalia by Kapteijns (2013) and argues that the book is the most mythico-historical work in Somali Studies. Kapteijns reiterates from the beginning to the conclusion that a "clan cleansing" had occurred in 1991.[1] She alleges and indicts – without reliable reference – that a "campaign of clan cleansing" occurred in Mogadishu not just in January 1991, but the whole 1991 and 1992, and, to her reckoning, it was the first time this occurred. This is the thesis that informs her book from the perspective of a particular clan-group. In addition to identifying the invalidity of partisan and partial points, this article shows how she lobbies for certain clans at the expense of others.

After re-evaluating the whole picture by drawing attention to the fact that Kapteijns has concealed a conflict of interest, the critique casts the light on the claim of "clan cleansing" and demonstrates how inaccurate simplistic statements were used as a documentation of the clanised conflicts. Charging specific clans and communities of complicity for "clan cleansing," when there is no reliable and real proof, is tantamount to igniting a new round of warfare. Not only is Kapteijns's tendency a sign of falling victim to one's own polemical proposition against previous scholars, it is also a political trajectory concealed in what Sartre (1961: 7) would call "a walking lie." It is important to keep this walking lie at bay and warn the learned and the laymen alike – those who are interested in Somali Studies – not to be hoodwinked mistakenly by a myth-making at work (Malkki, 1995). The atypical aspect of Kapteijns (2013) is that she does not confine herself to offering clan-affiliated viewpoints of the clan convulsions in 1991, but she unleashes herself to try to pepper rumour with a myth. To rebuke this myth is not simply dismissing the myth, but engaging with it to put the record straight. Most recently, Menkhaus (2014a: 679)

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has concluded that Kapteijns's book is both a "controversial" and a "flawed". This was primarily because the book "provides one clan, the D[a]arood, much more ammunition in its grievance narrative than others, and for that reason will be heavily contested" (681).

Short of the culture of violence of the Somali society, Kapteijns fails to present a *long durée* historical context of the 1990s Somali clan cataclysms other than one – strewn with exaggeration, advocacy, overestimation, overemphasis and overstatements – that derived from *histoire événementielle* (Ingiriis, 2013b: 112-114). The State-sponsored terror of the Siad Barre regime was first unleashed upon the Hawiye in 1972, second on the Majeerteen/Omar Mohamoud from 1979-1985, the third on the Isaaq from 1981-1990 (even though Kapteijns restricts the latter only in 1988, when the Hargeisa Holocaust became known to the world) and the third on the Hawiye again in 1983 until 1990. In between those state terrors and clanocides were the unreported incidents of Galgaduud, Hiiraan and Middle Shabelle massacres that persisted from 1983 to 1990 as well as the oppression felt by the Digil-Mirifle or Rahanweyn (Reewing) and the Bantu/Jareer under the regime.[2]

Kapteijns propagates the 1991 wars over fending off and fending against the Siad Barre by the Hawiye and the Daarood militias were "clan cleansing" committed by certain clan against the other while what that certain clan had done to the other was simply "violence against civilians" (Kapteijns, 2013: 242).[3] As the novelist Achebe (2012: 59) has noted: "The [Africanist] writer is often faced with two choices – turn away from the reality of life's intimidating complexity or conquer its mystery by battling with it. The writer who chooses the former soon runs out of energy and produces elegantly tired fiction." This fiction is evident in the most recent studies that embraced Kapteijns's turn and trajectory of clanistic interpretation by describing what followed Siad Barre's ouster a "clan cleansing" (e.g. Horst, 2013: 228-245) or – as Menkhaus (2014a: 559) has most recently put it – "the ethnic cleansing campaign" (also see Lewis, 2004: 503).[4] Indeed, "the best" and "the powerful" scholarly studies of war and conflict are those averting "to reply on single-factor explanations" but seeks "to weave several factors into a more complex argument" (Brown, 1996: 574). Since other perspectives are largely absent from the existing literature, this critique pursues many-factor explanation to show that the new civil war historiography in Somalia views the conflict as an insular and one-sided phenomenon.

a) The Narration of the Narrative

The "clan cleansing" proponents confer on individual responsibility more than institutions since the latter – because of their sheer structural dimension – is often what dictates the former to act how s/he acted. Kapteijns (2013) is concerned about the 1991-1992 Somali clanised wars, though elsewhere she extended the date to 1993 (2010: 46). The outset of the uncivil war in Somalia was for her in 1978, when the Majeerteen/Mohamoud Saleebaan officers attempted to overthrow the Siad Barre's regime. Later on, she would cut one year and put the date at 1979, which was again when some of the coup instigators joined the Somali Democratic Action Front (SODAF) and later formed the Somali Salvation Front (SSF), which – upon emerging out from two proto opposition groups – became the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF).[5] For those familiar with Somali politics, the choice of dates stands not only a political by purpose, but also a concealment of what other clans and communities suffered under the two decades of clano-military dictatorship by the Siad Barreregime. Be that as it may, Kapteijns comes from these pages as a pro-particular clan and even a pro-particular sub-clan within the clan-group by accusing the USC, which led the popular uprising that drove the dictator out of the country, of "clan cleansing" campaign, while referring to the allegations of one particular clan narrators in Boston, Los Angeles and Columbus in the United States. The information she drew from these Diaspora communities would have beena quite distinct from the one from other clans and communities had she employed triangulation in her work. Even the answers one gets in the same question from two rivals are varied from one clan to another in the Somali case, for the answers themselves are subsequently derived from the type of questions raised (Ahmed 1995b: ix-xiv).As such, what was poisonous for some could for (an)othercomes as prosperous. *White's (1983: 167) observation in Kenya that "[w]hat one group of prostitutes says about another is not generally considered significant historical data" is more apt to this case.*

In comparison, unlike Keen (2005), who conducted ethnographic interviews with all sides of the Sierra Leonean conflict, Kapteijns (2013) has interviewed one side of the two sides of the Somali clanised wars.[6] Ironically, this bias affects her own work as her informants and narrators fall into one category of clan closest to her, as well as clan-conscious opinion makers who appear to be quick in picking up her work, only to justify their call for a retaliation over what had happened in 1991.[7] Even if she draws on what some certain single narrators and clan-conscious informants fed into her, Kapteijns travels to nowhere else to verify the claims made on the other side. By this controversial claim wherein characterisations are congruent with what Diane Lewis calls "in-here" clans and "out-there" clans (Lewis, 1973: 585),[8] Kapteijns has chosen "to fight fire with fire" (Marcus and Fischer,1986: 2). The fact that she has not been "wary about becoming trapped within the mental categories of [her clan] informants" (Tosh, 2010: 321) led her to another fact that no single informant from

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other clans or communities was included in her work as an informant, narrator or interviewee. Contra to her contention that the conflict has specific victors and victims, centuries-old clan vendettas have been a defining feature in the pastoral nomadic Somali world (Lewis, 1961; also Bongartz, 1991; Brons, 2001; Hashim, 1997; Ingiriis, 2012a; 71-99; Simons, 1994, 1995).

Kapteijns does take into account valuable contributions by Hussein Adam on the *long durée* of the uncivil war, Ali Jimale Ahmed on the causes of the uncivil war in an urban setting, Catherine Besteman on how it affected on subaltern communities, Maria Bongarts on the most nuanced overview of the uncivil war, Lee Cassanelli on the role of resource in the uncivil war, Isabelle Duyvesteyn on the comparatively Clausewitzean conception of the continuation of the war by privatised means, Abdi Kusow on the different perspectives of the uncivil war, Virginia Luling on how to recover from the uncivil war, Samuel Makinda on the role of clan politics in the uncivil war, Roland Marchal on the role of Islam in the uncivil war and Anna Simons on what precipitated the civil war.[9] For Kapteijns (2013: 266m6), substantial works by Somali scholars and authors who were on the ground for fieldwork or were eyewitness to the events, such as Hussein Ali Dualeh, Mariam Arif Gassem, General Jama Mohamed Ghalib and Rakiya Omaar, carry "half-truths and falsehoods," while her affiliated clan-oriented narrators and informants like Abdiaziz Nuur Hersi, Abdullahi Farah Hoolif and Abdiweli Ali Gaas (*ibid*.: 266n6), present the "truth," for they charged rival clan members as guilty, pointing – more often than not – to the USC leaderships, only to heap on memories of centuries-old clan-hate narrative.[10] As a result, Kapteijns (*ibid*.: 156) so passionately pursues the 1991 with a partisan voice, while assuming that her work "may go uncorrected."[11] It is contradictory to commence her work that this "project does not try to bring all these divergent memories and interpretations of the violence of 1991 into open. Nor does it try to simply 'correct' or displace them" (*ibid*.: 15). Yet, this was a statement to which she does not heed to follow. Right from the beginning to the end, she displaces and dispels how other Somalis – except those with which she affiliated – viewed what had happened in 1991.

b) Fabricated Notions and Narratives

The new neologism of "clan cleansing" first surfaced in the early 1990s. If informants who acted as agents in the conflicts succeeded to portray themselves as victims, the selective usage of sources warrants scrutiny. The selective sources are not an issue limited to here and there. More awkward is the authenticity of the sources cited as contemporary documents, such as "Concerned Somalis," "Mogadishu Massacre," and "Kismaayo Massacre" (e.g. Kapteijns, 2013: 284). These are cited without a small grain of salt; the material as well as inconsistent information given by clan-conscious informants are accepted credulously, while their allegations to others are treated as reliable evidenceas long as they reinforce the objectives of the work, which are to present the case of a particular clan-held narrative as a valid point. It is thus unsurprising why Kapteijns does not incorporate these documents into the infamous "Letter of Death" memo drafted by General Mohamed Said Hersi "Morgan", who committed crimes against humanity as the "big man"or the "the butcher of Hargeysa" in the then Northwest (present-day Somaliland).[12] The memo, which was sent and suggested to Siad Barre to wipe out the Isaaq clan-group – since they constituted the bulk of the SNM rendering a serious military challenge to the regime – was one of the rare documents exposing how the Siad Barre regime conducted the genocidal campaign of eradication in the then Northwest.

Kapteijns's informants decided not to talk about the fact that many Somalis have taken the risk of saving each other in the midst of clan reprisals whereas some lost their lives in that very philanthropic course, a fact which contradicts the claim of "clan cleansing". Even those credited with helping mediate between the rival clans were not spared in her selective targeting. It comes as no surprise that what reinforces the "cleansing" claim is the reinvention of the reality on the ground. A fabricated account given by one informant is illustrative of how the claim has no empirical basis. This escapee of the 1991 clan convulsions, according to Kapteijns (2013: 145), was en route to the Mogadishu International Airport during the height of the war when his host had received a phone call. Needless to say that there were no telephone lines – let alone mobile phones – in war-torn Mogadishu at the time, a testament that accepting fabricated stories without critical re-evaluation results in a walking lie. It should be noted that the first telecommunications corporation in Mogadishu was opened in 1996 by the Olympic Telecommunications Company owned by cross-clan Somali businessmen.

With a peculiar and puzzle propositions abounding on the way, there are other mythico-historical tales (Malkki, 1995) such as the falsified mobile *his-story*, which does not confine to one single story. For one more example, Kapteijns (2013) quotes one contemporary clan leader in Puntland about the "murder in Baydhaba of local Majeerteen bank employees and a wealthy merchant [...] together with other men" at "the tomb of Sheikh Uways." Apart from circumventing to record the other clan killings in Baydhabo, especially the massacres meted out against the Digil-Mirifle (Reewing) clan-group, Kapteijns fails to take into account that Sheikh Aweys's tomb is *not* located in Baydhabo, but in Biyooley, 12km from Tiyeeglow, a district administered in Bay region. Not only is this another evidence of concocting stories under an academic veil, but also

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making a new method of infusing clan-held mythical memories into scholarship. Recording a particular clan narrative with the comparative versions of other clan discourses as an empirical fact to document the clanised wars is tantamount to creating more contestation among the warring Somali clans. Sprinkled through the "clan cleansing" are such myths and misconceptions prevalent as one single clan's narratives of the 1991 convulsions. Overall, the 1991 Somalia was an era that one British journalist reported from Mogadishu that "only the children can be trusted" (Shields, 1991).

c) "Clan Cleansing" as Political Capital

Even if the politics of violence in the Somali clan conflicts is described single-handedly and anecdotal reporting, there are other histories, other "clan" memories, other war traumas and other perspectives that have yet to be written, which one could not consciously ignore. One is left puzzled how one could make misleading historical claims by purporting a myth as a history on one hand and denying other clans and communities of their suffering during the uncivil wars. If Kapteijns had glanced at the narratives and voices of other clans, a series of different chains other clan convulsions would most certainly have been observed. This is a point that she finally notes. Citing anthropologist Nigel Eltringham, Kapteijns (2013: 276n40) has commented that "[t]he oft-repeated insight that a civil war is never just one war, but many wars and that (in Rwanda) each person has a unique 'genocide story' is also relevant to the Somali case." But, this important insight, which was not heeded, does not stop her rebuking other clan narratives, even if she recognised that many Somalis "have interpreted and continued to interpret this violence from the narrow perspective of the victimization of their own clan" (*ibid*.: 44). Indeed, a parochial perspective seemingly drawn from her informants is what (un)wittingly informs Kapteijns's study. This is evident, when she admits that: "I also received direction. Given that the violence of the civil war has so divided Somalis, I allowed myself to be gently guided toward what *my friends* and *colleagues* [...] considered *legitimate*" (*ibid*.: 22, my emphasis).[13] Even though what "friends and colleagues" interpreted as "legitimate" appears to be "illegitimate" to other Somalis, one could hardly dismiss the fact that her clan informants "were the embodiment of the military regime and its only political and economic beneficiaries" (*ibid*.: 61).

The political expressions like *ciribtir* (extermination) or *tirtirid* (cleansing) were interchangeably used to overemphasise the unexpected, ignominious defeat suffered by those who attempted to defend the Siad Barre regime during the popular uprising in 1991. Becoming a new byword and part of the stereotyped war categories afterwards, the "clan cleansing" claim still serves as a "political capital" (Prunier, 2009: 3) for certain clan political players to first label and then arrest orally their rival clans. The claim is not new in the sense that it was in line with what veterans of the SSDF – cognisant of the lack of no word for clan cleansing – were permeating since 1991. These veterans propounded a new neologism "*qabiil sifeyn*" (clan cleansing) or what others from the former Siad Barre regime called "*tirtirid qabiil*" (clan extermination) via memoirs (cf. Deyr,1997: 233; Dool,1995:62; also see Ahmed,2012; Ciise,1995; Farah,2000; Farah, 2007; Haid, 2016; Hassan,2004; Mohamed,1994; Issa-Salwe, 1996; Ismail, 2010; Keenadiid, 2012; Xasan, 2000).[14] These authors maintained the makings they made up, yet they could hardly come out with reliable findings (for congruent critique, see Clifford, 1986: 6). No wonder that – sharing a common clan genealogy, as all of them were – these authors took the task to dehumanise those clan rivals they held responsible for ousting the Siad Barre regime. Put differently, they all reiterate the claim attached with the "clan cleansing" catchphrase that a certain clan "cleansed" another. Of course, they have no reliable evidence other than referring to each other to support their claims.

However, their clan counterparts did in no way attribute agency to a particular clan. Almost all other Somali and non-Somali authors who first-hand witnessed and wrote about the 1991 war (e.g. Abdi,2013; Alim,2008; Afrah,1994; Aroma,1995:a, 1995b; Caddow, 2001; Gassem, 1994) and those who observed it inside and reported from the warzone (Hartley,2003; Henry,1991; McGreal,1991; Perlez,1991a, 1991b; Shields,1991) or followed it from the outside (Adam, 1992: 11-26; Adan, 1994: 99-109;Bongartz, 1991; Brons 2001; Bulhan, 2008; Dualeh, 1994; Ghalib, 2012, 1995, Hashim, 1997; Kusow, 1994: 36-46; Luling, 1997: 287-302; Marchal, 2013: 331-354; Omar, 1992; Osman, 1996; Simons, 1995) agree one main crucial point – that is, what happened in 1991 was far from "clan cleansing" on one single particular clan. Rather, what happened was either *colaadihii sokeeye* (civil hostilities) or *dagaalkii sokeeye* (civil war). These authors do not rebuke the fact that "some killings were clan-oriented revenge killings" (Besteman, 1996: 128), but reveal the structure that rendered these killings to occur.[15] The source that verifies the "clan cleansing" claim is the Somalisaying "*been badan sheeg, ha lagaa rumeystee*" (tell too many lies until you find one gullible individual ready to swallow). As Lewis (1961: 252) also acknowledged well before the conflict: "It is always extremely difficult to discover even the immediate causes of a Somali feud; especially when, after the event, many rival accounts are given." Reflecting on the wider African conflicts, particularly Rwanda and South Sudan, wherein the former he had a first-hand encounter, Prunier observed:

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If we take some of the largest African bloodlettings of recent times into consideration, neither the quasi-genocidal war between northerners and southerners in the Sudan nor the Somali clan wars of the late 1980s and early 1990s reached a truly genocidal stage simply because the killers were too disorganised and the killing field was too big and uncontrolled. In Rwanda, all the pre-conditions for a genocide were present: a well-organised civil service, a small tightly-controlled land area, a disciplined and orderly population, reasonably good communications and a coherent ideology containing the necessary lethal potential (Prunier 1995: 238).

d) The "Legitimate" and "Illegitimate"

Of a bizarre presentation, Kapteijns (2013) quarrels with those who have presented a distinctive perspective from hers, particularly those who expressed an opposite view, berating award-winning journalists like Aidan Hartley for not reporting and recording the "clan cleansing" so she could probably find an evocative quote.[16] As her analysis is not based on ethnographic fieldwork research, she relies heavily on political works on the clanised wars written by journalists and Italian diplomats, such as Mario Sica and Claudio Pacifico, who strongly favoured Siad Barre and his regime. Their memoirs are sites to judge the armed opposition groups with a jaundiced eye.[17] Kapteijns does not compare those memoirs with independent Italian sources before accepting uncritically – and wholeheartedly – the half-baked story dished out here and there, not to mention the scandal of *Fondo Aiuti Italiano* (FAI), where billions of Italian lire were embezzled by the Italian government officials in conjunction with Siad Barre's regime. Many of her informants were allegedly participated in this embezzlement in multiple spheres. Indeed, the long commitment of Italian authorities and diplomats in supporting Siad Barre and his regime for expropriating international aid has been documented in detail elsewhere (Achtner, 1993; Bridges, 2000: 91-92; Caddow, 2001: 78-126).

For the more than two decades that the Siad Barre regime ruled, the basic clan framework upon which his regime was founded was the concept of the MODH coalition: the Mareehaan, the Ogaadeen, the Dhulbahante clans. Throughout their struggle against the regime, the armed opposition groups were pointing out this clan nepotism to show that the regime was basically for certain clan enterprise at the expense of other clans. Upon misinterpreting the objectives of these opposition groupsand not accommodating their perspectives, Kapteijns (2013: 274n24) twists the MODH concept as Misrepresentation, Orchestration and Denial. Even though the MODH coalition crumbled in late 1989 (after the Ogaadeen/Awlyahan uprising in Kismaayo), it suddenly resurfaced in January 1991 as a strong clan strategy to counter the uprising against the regime after Siad Barre called for his whole clan-group for solidarity to save his regime from rival clans. However, the MODH concept – so crucial a base for the clano-dictatorial regime – was not "introduced" by the SNM, when, on the contrary, the acronym was coined well before the front's formation. It was a common knowledge that Siad Barre's rule was based on the MODH clan system prior to having been revealed in intelligence sources as late as 1977 (*Africa Confidential*, 1978: 4; and *Africa Confidential*, 1984a: 7-8).[18] With the MODH system in place, the other Somali clans and communities, even if they were not opponents, came to be considered as the "enemy clans" by the regime.[19]

e) Poetry: The Invisible Witness Account

The only important aspect in Kapteijns's work (2013) is an analysis of oral literature produced during the clan convulsions. Generally employed in the Somali repertoire as a form of resistance in times of internal and external intrusion (see Ahmed, 1996), poetry serves dual purposes: to heal and to memorise the conflicts. From hindsight observation, one discerns that Kapteijns makes a serious misinterpretations on the contents of the poems she explores without rigorous and robust learning about the context as well as the consequences.[20] Compounded with a lack of nuanced understanding of the Somali word and world contributes to a further misinterpretation she makes on selective poems with the aim of backing up her claims. With such a determination, the result paves the way for a crude conclusion that leaves aside a vast and various (o)mission and makes more mistake than common. In a spite of the coverage of poetry usage, including some clan hate-narratives, there are deliberate but strange silences on other hate-narratives and/or hate-counter-narratives as captured on video clips posted on numerous Somali websites.[21] Here, Kapteijns unfolds into a one-way street journey branded as "the clan-hate narrative" (2013: 54) to target the serious compositions of particular poets and deliberately avoid the exposition of similarly hostile clan-hate narratives *or* counter-narratives from other poets, a subjectivity that derails deliberately her supposed academic independence.

Kapteijns's approach to putting the war poems into the "clan cleansing" claim is persecutory. In discussing (an English translation of) a Somali poem called "Disaster" (*Musiibo*) by the poet Mustafe Sheikh Elmi, she findsno proof of the case of "clan cleansing", yet she berates the poet for negligence of not calling what occurred as "clan cleansing" (e.g. Kapteijns,2013: 23-28). A careful reading of the poem demonstrates that Mustafe chronicles the events in 1991 as a class rivalry and not anything close to "cleansing."The other crucial pattern he proposes is the economic dimension of the war. To take one example, when the poet states "even the soil" was looted, what he meant by "the soil" alludes to economic resources, more specifically the economic

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aid granted by the international community but embezzled by the Siad Barre regime and his Italian patrons. Kapteijns (2013) insists her misinterpretation and misconception of poetic metaphors, perhaps because of lack of socio-cultural understanding of the Somalis beyond the tell-tale paradigm of informants who seem to be stakeholders in the project. On the other hand, all poets to whom Kapteijns refers have unanimously regarded clannism as the real root causes of the 1991 clan convulsions. This unanimous conclusion contradicts – and to a larger extent, cancels out – her argument that the causes of the conflicts were not clan and clannism, but "clan cleansing," as though the clanised wars were a *consequence*, but not as a *real historical cause* for the war. A poem called "*Aniga iyo Qabiil*" (I and Clan), cited in Kapteijns (2013: 45), a poet aptly charges clannism for what went wrongwith Somalia, attributing to it one of the most serious predicament of Somali suffering. First approaching us before the clan (not the vice versa, as Kapteijns writes), the poet stated:

Clan (Qabiil) and I had a discussion and disagreed with each other.

I am without a nation (*qaran*) because of what you have caused:

collapse, flight, and disaster

In the continents I reside now, I am naked because of you.

Do you not acknowledge that I have been set back a century and a half?[22]

When Kapteijns finds no dietary supplement in these poems for her "clan cleansing" project, she refers to the introduction of another poem by the late poet Abdi Muhammad Amiin, who also noted that what happened in 1991-1992 was "clan retaliation" (Kapteijns, 2013: 30). It goes without saying that, where there was a retaliation, there should have been a preceding grievous action to be avenged. Amiin offered a credible explanation in his poem that what he had observed in 1991 Somalia was clan vengeance versus clan vengeance – which is to say, clan reprisals. Instead of taking this into consideration, Kapteijns selectively skims over this part of the poem, which suggests the opposite of her claims. If Amiin and almost all other poets noted the war against Siad Barre in 1991 as a popular uprising – note that Amiin's and Mustafe's poems reveal a class rivalry in the 1991 conflict rather than "clan cleansing" – Kapteijns considers their poemsnot as a complement for her campaign and offers no discussion of the poets' witness accounts. Drawing from poets who sided with either Siad Barre or the SSDF, Kapteijns (2013: 23) contends presenting "mediations of violence." But mediation is confounded with meditation, as intervention and arbitration could not be conducted by a mediator who is part of the conflict. As for oral poets (the so-called "clan poets"), other authors who suffered from the same Kapteijns's flaws have similarly failed to mention the other side of the oral discourse, such as Ali Elmi Afyare and Aden Abdi Ahmed "Toosi-Luquntaada," who were the mouthpiece for the Siad Barre regime versus Geelle IsmailLiire "Geelle Faruur" and Khalif Sheikh Mohamoud who stood the other side of the fence in using poetry to mobilise adherents for the armed resistance groups.[23]

A closer examination of Amiin's poem exposes the political beneficiaries of the war, even when the crucial and critical part of the poem was discarded in Kapteijns (2013) through copying and cutting. In his poem, Amiin pointed out to "those who, in Barre's final hour, came to the failing dictator's help and proposed 'to let the old man be'" (cited in Kapteijns, 2013: 33). One of those men to whom the poet was referring was none other than Yusuf Osman Samatar (Barda'ad), a former post-colonial political party leader and the husband of Maryan Muuse Boqor (Kapteijns's earlier co-author), who – after many years of a solitary confinement under Siad Barre's regime – came as his spokesman during the rush hour of the clanised wars.[24] Apparently aware of the claim of "clan cleansing" and, as such, avoiding to fall into that trap, Lewis noted that Siad Barre's "pathetic appeals to his Darod clansmen to come to his rescue only resulted in their being singled out for vicious retaliation and 'clan cleansing' (as Somalis called it) in the ensuing chaos of Mogadishu" (Lewis,2004: 503). The curious observer would then ask: who were those who defended Siad Barre with tooth and nail for in his final hour? Many of those to whom Lewis referred as "Somalis" were obviously men like Barda'ad who came to his rescue (Adam, 1992: 11-26; Aroma, 1995a).

Propagating the claim of "clan cleansing" have minimised the role of Siad Barre in triggering clans to commit violent, brutal atrocities to each other long before his rule came to fall. Overlooking Siad Barre's calls for clan cohesion to salvage his regime at a time he was packing his clothes out of the Villa Somalia (Ingiriis, 2012c: 27-28), Kapteijns (2001a: 28) contradicts herself, as she acknowledged elsewhere that Siad "Barre made his security forces commit acts of violence against members of a certain clan (or clan family) falsely using the name of another clan (or clan family)".[25] Here, it is unclear whether the targeted clan to which she alludes was the Hawiye or the Isaaq, though it should be one of them. Kapteijns (*ibid*.: 13) maintains to highlight that "the process of demystifying the Barre regime's manipulations of history is still in its infancy". The legacies of the Siad Barre's regime affected not only history, but nearly each aspect of Somali society, politics and culture. In fact, Siadism itself has become and proved to be a culture of sadism (Ingiriis, 2012a: 63-94).

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It would be hard for one to justify this culture and try to twist it by claiming claims of "clan cleansing."

II. Conclusion

The persisting cliché of "clan cleansing" is, *inter alia*, inherently dictated by the clannish tradition and tendencies of the Somali politics. For example, the accusation that a person was killed by one individual is conceived as a sign of weakness and pathetic. The person complaining has to point the finger at the whole clan and say "that clan killed one of ours." It is not a clan culture to claim otherwise. It is a clan-held wide custom in Somali settings to hear claims of "clan cleansing" and counter-clan "cleansings." If you ask, for example, someone whose brother was killed by Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf's forces in 2007/2008 Ethiopian invasion in South-Central Somalia who killed his brother, he would most likely say "*reer hebel*(that clan)," the clan of the Colonel. If you ask a Colonel's clansman whose sister was killed in the 1991 clanised wars who killed her, he would most likely say "*reer hebel* (that clan)." This phenomenon of making the whole clan accountable for killing, which suggests that there is no individual guilty other than collective guilty, is something deeply rooted in the pastoralist Somali culture and it warrants further research. In spite of – or because of – this, Kapteijns's book (2013) is constantly used by clan propagandists to spread hatred and hostility toward certain clans and communities.

By connecting the boundaries of politics with the borders of culture, Kapteijns's (2013) overemphasis is on the construction and invention of "clan cleansing" where the latter does not exist. While suppressing it to include previous clanised wars during the dictatorial era in her analysis, influential historical accounts on clan violence(s) produced have been left out (cf. Hanley, 2004 [1971]).With no cure for the war traumas, Kapteijns (2013: 50) purports to understand "the clannist mindset of the Somali people", suggesting at the end of her book that the treatment for clannism is to prescribe the Somalis "more of the same" of "such undiluted doses that it will either cure or kill the patient" (*ibid*.: 212), which, in this case, would mean producing more clanistic narratives as her work. This kind of simplistic and superficial misinterpretation has the potentiality to reignite hatred among Somali clans and add more fuel to the yet unresolved perpetual and persistent conflicts still wreaking havoc in most of Somalia.

Endnotes

[1]The book fails to offer a backdrop on how the "cleansing" was evolved in the first place. Of all the clanocides meted out by the military dictatorship to certain communities, Kapteijns (2013: 80 & 87, 90) mentions just two "collective clan punishments."

[2] The role of the Siad Barre regime in organising clan conflitcs was noted, but its agency on the Hawiye versus the Daarood wars was dismissed. It is here when Kapteijns leaps from her own misinterpretation to persecutory statements that she falls down. She misleadingly maintains that the military regime has been the subject of scholarly inquiry for "at least three major studies" (2013: 77). But, she draws on only those studies that verify her aims. Missing (and ostensibly shrugged off) is the most nuanced study that both historically contextualised and politically surveyed from the 1960s to the 1990s. The substantial study of Simons (1995), which is an ethnographic work conducted in Mogadishu months before the collapse of the dictatorship is missing in Kapteijns's discussion of literature on the fall of the regime.

[3]The only time what something akin to clan cleansing occurred in the Somali milieu preceded 1991, given the magnitude of the "Hargeysa Holocaust" in 1988/89 against the Isaaq, the Baydhabo man-made famine 1992-93 and the Ethiopian invasion of southern Somalia 2006-2009.However, Kapteijns reduces the death toll in Hargeysa at 5,000, when it was 50,000 casualties as confirmed by the Human Rights agencies in the U.S. and the UK. In singling out the Isaaq clan-group who were subjected to a harsh punitive treatment that culminated in clanocide, Kapteijns (2013: 83 & 87) insists the regime-sponsored violence on them was warfare, the Hawiye more or less the same (*ibid*.: 99), while the Majeerteen/Omar Mohamoud one was clan cleansing, even though the evidences documented by the human rights organisations do oppose to the way she portrays. Perceived as monolithic, Kapteijns (*ibid*: 275n52) argues that the British had favoured the Isaaq clan-group, a claim grounded in synchronic narratives, contradicted by Langton Prendergast Walsh, the first British administrator of Berbera, who showed that the Isaaq suffered most of the British policy of collective punishment, a policy of retribution against any villain's whole community (Walsh, 1910: 374-375). It is peculiar that Kapteijns assumes – without giving any source – that European colonialism "did not so much elevate one group [clan] over another" (2013: 226). However, historical evidence says otherwise.

[4] Elsewhere, Menkhaus (2006/07: 84, 85 & 98) has also used the term "ethnic cleansing" very broadly without defining what he means. At the same time, he has recently noted that "[w]hen *xeer* breaks down, revenge killings, threats of violence, or actual attacks by whole sub-clans against other lineages come to play a central role in the advancement and protection of clan interests" (2014b: 561). Elsewhere, Menkhaus found that what happened in 1991 was "general chaos" (1996: 173).Again, he has recently acknowledged that what happened in 1991 was "communal violence" (2014b: 569).

[5] "Response To David Laitin's Reflections On Clan Cleansing In Somalia." Available at: http://sites.tufts.edu/reinventingpeace/-2013/11/14/response-to-david-laitins-reflections-on-clan-cleansing-in-somalia/ (accessed on 27 December 2013). Cf. Kapteijns (2001a: 11).

[6] This does not mean to imply that what happened Somalia was an echo of Sierra Leone; on the contrary, Somali clan convulsions was nothing compared to Sierra Leonean wars.

[7] See, for example, http://www.wardheernews.com/somalia-a-government-failing-at-its-own-peril/ (retrieved on 17 April 2013); and http://www.wardheernews.com/halting-the-divide-president-mahmoods/ (retrieved on 17 April 2013). For most recent commentaries about the claim of "clan cleansing," see http://www.wardheernews.-com/codenames-clan-cleansing-gross-human-rights-violations-somalia/ (accessed on 8 September 2014); and http://www.wardheernews.-com/book-review-clan-cleansing-somalia-ruinous-legacy-1991/ (accessed on 7 September 2014).

[8] Lewis has, nevertheless, employed these concepts differently in relation to alienation (1973: 581-591).

[9] Cf. Adam (1992: 11-26); Aroma (1995a); Besteman (1999); Bongartz (1991); Ahmed (1995, 1995b; ix-xiv); Cassanelli (1996: 13-26); Duyvesteyn (2005); Kusow (1994: 31-46); Luling (1997: 287-302); and Marchal (2013: 331-354). In Kapteijns's (2013), there is no discussion of such a civil war literature, particularly what triggers and sustains the Somali wars. For a theoretical explanation, see Elbadawi and Sambanis (2002: 307-334).

[10] Abdiweli Gaas, who is currently leader of Puntland mini-State and briefly served as Prime Minister (2011-2012) in President Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed's government, was an informant and narrator whom

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Kapteijns contacted via email, telephone and from a gathering in Garowe (e.g. Kapteijns, 2013: 246n16, 262n157, 264-265n40, 267n78, 267-268n81 and 269n100). On how Kapteijns became entangled and attached to this particular clan members, see among others (Kapteijns 2001c: 719-722, 2001d: 10-18, 2000: 25-34, 1999: 27-47, 1992: 175-180). Kapteijns does not acknowledge her familial relations with her informants. By failing to do so, she reproduces the reductionist literature against which she chastises in chapter 3 (2013: 146-158).

[11] Eltringham's quote is cited in Kapteijns (2013: 240).

[12] The complete letter is available at: http://www.aburin.20m.-com/letter_of_death.htm (accessed on 17 April 2013). The authenticity of the document was verified by Dr Mohamoud Sheikh Ahmed Musa, a former Chief of Somali Supreme Court on 27 April 1987. For details, see Dunn (1987), 1-4. Indeed, Kapteijns could not hide her familial affiliation of General Morgan, when praising him for how "against all odds he had regrouped, raised new funds, recruited fighters from the refugee camps [in Kenya], and re[-]entered the war" (2013: 187). Rejecting to refer to first-hand war accounts provided by other Somalis, Kapteijns offers no systematic contextual analysis except copy and paste references of selective new reports from Kismaayo, General Morgan's then military base. Meanwhile, to make her case more appealing, she makes sweeping accusations on several members only to be able defending other criminals.

[13]This statement cannot negate the fact that her informants played their part of the 1991 consequences of the long clan dominance and oppression as long as they partook their role of the civil war.

[14] *These books, booklets and pieces were written by politically-conscious authors who considered themselves as "victims" and hence advocating for their clan-group.*

[15] Samatar (1990/1991: 138) wrote about "the clan massacres," "senseless cataclysm" and "clan massacres" to make sense of what occurred in 1991. The 1990s wars were not simply between the Hawiye and the Daarood. As one detailed study on Somali social order described: "After Barre's overthrow, the Daroods were endangered by retaliation from other clan lineages" (Sorens and Wantchekon, 2000: 14n14). It should be noted that the Daarood was not targeted as a Daarood, but as beneficiaries of the State. Since the Daarood as a people became synonymous with the State, primarily because of clan affiliation with Siad Barre, they were identified with his oppressive clano-military regime after the fall. Hence, clan reprisals started where nearly 4,000 Somalis across clan lines were killed in a tit-for-tat clanised war. *Human Rights reported that most of those killed were pro-Siad Barre supporters (Human Right Watch, 1992: 4).*

[16] Hartley (2003) has written about his experiences in reporting from the 1991 clanised wars in Somalia in his memoir, *The Zanzibar Chest: A Story of Life, Love, and Death in Foreign Lands*.

[17] For example, Pacifico's meeting with Siad Barre is repetitively reproduced (e.g. Kapteijns, 2013: 122, 126, 144 & 260).By pervading conjectural claims, the propagators of the clan cleansing claim presumeda reincarnation of the Siad Barre regime in the early 1990s.

[18] Other Somalists would offer a unique insight into the MODH structure and grasp the gist of the concept if they could possess with linguistic mastery of the Somali rather than approaching it from mistranslations by an interested third party. For reflective poetical analyses on the conflict, see Ahmed (1996).

[19] It is important to reiterate that the term "enemy clan" was constructed, not after the overthrow of Siad Barre, but during his military rule. Surprisingly, the so-called enemy clans were hurdled at harsh condemnation in Kapteijns's (2013).

[20] Kapteijns carries war poetry, classified in her own individual judgement as "prestigious" and "nonprestigious" genres, with preferences of the latter, which means not to shy away of clannism (Kapteijns, 2013: 53).

[21] It is surprising that Kapteijns also leaves out women's genre of poetry, *Buraanbur*.

[22] On the misinterpretation of Kapteijns's analysis on poet Mohamed Ali Ibaar's resistance to the Ethiopian occupation, see Kapteijns (2010: 57-64).

[23] For example, Elmi (2010: 51) has pointed out to several poets from the opposition groups, but not to those on the side of the military regime.

[24] Barda'ad was arrested in 1978 (*The Indian Ocean Newsletter*, 1984: 4). Compagnon (1995: 347) put the date of his detention at 1975. Faarax (1990: 42) also claimed that Barda'ad was detained nearly 20 years by the Siad Barre regime, but the truth was that he was in prison for not more than a decade. In 1992, Barda'ad gave an interview to visiting American newsmen in Gedo, detailing his determination to support Generals Siad Barre and Morgan, his clansmen. The interview to which is referred could be watched here: '1993 General Mohamed Hersi "Morgan"', https://www.youtube.com/-watch?v=1z8DwaomdOU(between min 00:05 – 02:34), accessed on 12 January 2015.

[25] The thesis of my previous article on Siad Barre's last days tackles Kapteijn's statement that "written analyses of Barre's tactics are still schematic, perhaps because no clan group dares to denounce the perpetrators among its own ranks" (Kapteijns, 2001a: 28; cf. Ingiriis, 2012a: 63-94, Ingiriis 2012c: 27-28).

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Ahmad Boestamam: Malay Radical Nationalistic Figure

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Abstract- Ahmad Boestamam was among the earliest Malay nationalist figures who was at the forefront in voicing nationalism rights among the Malays. He tried to persuade the Malays to rise and assert their rights to fight for their lands. The Malays are the original natives of Malaya and should be brave to fight for democracy and the independence of Malaya. Looking at the political and economic situations at that time, the Malays were beginning to lag behind in all aspects of life. Thus, Ahmad Boestamam tried to awaken his people. Therefore, this paper describes his role and contribution in the efforts to raise awareness among the Malays in fighting the right of their soil. By referring to primary and secondary sources, this paper presents Ahmad Boestamam's role as a nationalist in Malaya.

Keywords: ahmad boestamam, son of the soil, demokrasi, merdeka and angkatan pemuda insaf (API).

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Ahmad Boestamam: Malay Radical Nationalistic Figure

Ishak Saat [α], Ahmad Zainudin Husin [σ] & Kamaruzaman Mohd Yusoff [ρ]

Abstract- Ahmad Boestamam was among the earliest Malay nationalist figures who was at the forefront in voicing nationalism rights among the Malays. He tried to persuade the Malays to rise and assert their rights to fight for their lands. The Malays are the original natives of Malaya and should be brave to fight for democracy and the independence of Malaya. Looking at the political and economic situations at that time, the Malays were beginning to lag behind in all aspects of life. Thus, Ahmad Boestamam tried to awaken his people. Therefore, this paper describes his role and contribution in the efforts to raise awareness among the Malays in fighting the right of their soil. By referring to primary and secondary sources, this paper presents Ahmad Boestamam's role as a nationalist in Malaya.

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I. Introduction

Abdullah Thani bin Raja Kecil was better known as Ahmad Boestamam. He was born in Behrang Ulu, Tanjung Malim, Perak in 1920. His struggle took place during the same period as Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy and Ishak Hj Muhammad. Their difference was only in terms of educational background. The principles and philosophy of their struggle were somewhat different, but they shared the same goal which was to oppose British colonialism and to strive for the independence of Malaya. Dr. Burhanuddin fought for Malay nationalism and Islamic philosophy but Ahmad Boestamam fought for Malay nationalism and socialism. Ahmad Boestamam's radical take, rose to prominence during his school days, through his involvement in journalism. He has a radical mind. His writing was sharp and pithy. He had an indomitable spirit and was willing to face any obstacles for achieving Malay political goals.

II. Struggle in Media

During post-World War II, he and a few of his friends confiscated *Perak Shimbun* printing office on August 1945. This was accomplished without the need to spend any capital but it needed courage (Ahmad Boestamam. 2004). The incident occurred soon after the end of World War II, during the lapse between Japan, *Malayan People Anti-Japanese Army* (MPAJA) and British. This opportunity was taken since MPAJA guerrillas and members of the Communist Party of Malaya (PKM) had occupied many buildings emptied by the Japanese authorities. The seizure was carried out with determination to channel his thoughts and ideas, so that the Malays would rise to fight for the independence as well as the welfare of their own people. He was on the British watch since his early involvement in the field of journalism. Thus, his movement had always caught the attention of the British authorities (Malayan Security Service. 1946).

At that time there was a prevailing administrative vacuum in Malaya. This opportunity was used by them to master the printing office and all the facilities. The acquisition of a printing office facilitated their push to publish their own newspaper. With the confiscation of the printing office, the publication of a progressive Malay newspaper in Perak can be realized. *Suara Rakyat* newspaper was officially published in Ipoh, Perak (A.J. Stockwell.1979). The newspaper was printed and distributed by Syarikat Rakyat Trading addressed at 29 Hale Street, Ipoh, Perak led by Tuan Haji Mohammad Daud Yatimy.[i] The first issue of *Suara Rakyat* dated September, 8 1945. To further strengthen the production of *Suara Rakyat,* Ahmad Boestamam had invited Dahari Ali, Abdul Samad Ahmad, Musa Ahmad and Mohammad Hanif who had vast experience in journalism and newspaper publishing. Dahari Ali was Ahmad Boestamam's schoolmate at Anderson School, Ipoh, who had strong interest in journalism and translation, and also he served as secretary for *Suara Rakyat.* Musa Ahmad actively wrote religious articles. Besides that, Abdul Samad Ahmad had a vast experience as a typesetter in *Berita Perak* newspaper and was appointed as a member of *Suara Rakyat*'s editorial board. Distribution of works had been done to facilitate the task. Ahmad Boestamam was tasked as an editorial columnist. Mohammad Hanif and Dahari Ali were tasked as news reporters who were responsible for finding local and foreign news which were later translated and published in *Suara Rakyat.* Mohammad Hanif was also tasked to write articles. In addition, Abdul Samad Ahmad was appointed as head of printing and typesetter. Arshad Ashaari was responsible for

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managing the sales, advertising and distribution matters. Arshad Ashaari was Moktaruddin Laso's confidant and had successfully conducted distribution assignments neatly and thoroughly.

Ahmad Boestamam stressed that the main purpose of *Suara Rakyat*was to create awareness among people about the importance of the state, explaining the rights and responsibilities of the Malays and describing from the rights of the Malays in the British administration of Malaya to the Malays understanding their rights that had been excluded. He emphasized this in the editors' column of *Suara Rakyat*

> *Suara Rakyat is indeed a Malay newspaper aiming at expressing ideas or atau concerns of the general public. Therefore the public are welcomed to use it to the fullest. So concerns and wishes of general public will be considered.*
>
> (*Suara Rakyat.* 1945)

In order to enlighten the people, especially the Malays and also the immigrants, *Suara Rakyat*always took the approach to oppose British in its early years to gain the attention and support of the general public who did not dare to fight against the British. The main message was the call for the people to unite and oppose the injustice that occurred and demanded a system of government based on the concept of democracy to form own government.

In fact, in the next issue, *Suara Rakyat* had voiced a recommendation for British to grant independence to Malaya immediately, together with Indonesia. The newspaper also pointed out that the independence of Malaya shall be given using a democratic system that put the interests and will of the people to determine the independence of Malaya (*Suara Rakyat.*1945). In an editorial column, Ahmad Boestamam asked the British to give preference to the people of Malaya the right to determine their own government. He stressed:

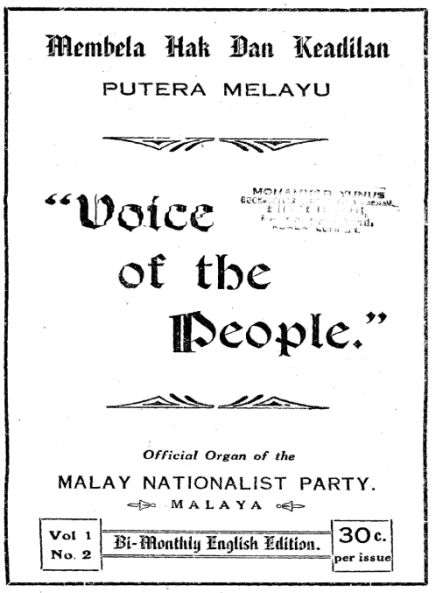
> *Thus, in Suara Rakyat view, the aforementioned way of governing the country or enacting laws is what called democracy.*
>
> (*Suara Rakyat.*1945)

For this recommendation to be successful, Ahmad Boestamam suggested the following to the British:

> *It is sufficient if the power is given to every group of people comprising 500 people to express their desires in the House of Representatives, or the public halls where any laws to be created or formed will be decided later.*
>
> (*Suara Rakyat.*1945)

He further explained that democracy was the right of the public, including the Malays. In fact, he said democracy was fundamental in the teachings of Islam and had been the practice of the Malays for a long time prior to the arrival of the British. Thus, democracy should be granted back and practiced in Malaya. Therefore, he stressed, and said the following to British: *"We urge for democracy to be implemented in Malaya…"*

(Suara Rakyat.1945).


Membela Hak Dan Keadilan

PUTERA MELAYU

"Voice of the People."

Official Organ of the

MALAY NATIONALIST PARTY.

MALAYA

Vol 1 No. 2 | Bi-Monthly English Edition. | 30c. per issue

Fig. 1 : Voice of the People (Suara Rakyat) newspaper

This warm and encouraging response made the editorial board of *Suara Rakyat* to think that the time had come for the reader base of their newspaper to be widened and also it involved the elite Malay aristocratic to an uprising balanced between the aristocracy and the common people. Therefore, to strengthen the political struggle of the Malays, they also tried to publish English-language newspaper. The newspaper was named *Voice of The People* which was also managed by the same publishing company as *Suara Rakyat.* The first issue of *Voice of The People* was distributed in October 1945. Contents of this newly published newspaper was identical to *Suara Rakyat.* It criticized and slammed the British colonial authorities, aristocrats and the common people who are indifferent to the struggle for the independence of Malaya.

The influence of political developments in the outside world played an important role. For Ahmad Boestamam, political conditions in China also had a profound impact among the Chinese community in Malaya. In fact, the political developments in China had become more interesting to be studied and exemplified by the whole people of Malaya. At that period, China were experiencing a civil war between nationalists under the Kuomintang Party and the communists led by Communist Party of China, and this event had also attracted the attention of the Chinese in Malaya. The

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clash between these two factions had seemed to have no end. But the Chinese people's struggle must be continued and questions raised by Ahmad Boestamam were whether the clash or conflict with bloodshed can be avoided? The answer to this question was very difficult since a struggle requires sacrifice and the sacrifice was inevitable in bloodshed and tears. That was the very meaning of a struggle. Therefore, national struggle should be the core of a country. This was intended to consolidate and strengthen the struggle of the people. In order to deal with the problems of war and conflict, the best way for a country, no matter China or Malaya was election(*Suloh Malaya*.1946). That was what recommended by Ahmad Boestamam.

Through *Suara Rakyat,* every dissatisfaction was expressed without fear. Ahmad Boestamam voiced various ideas and opinions regarding setbacks and the need for the Malays to rise to defend themselves. Journalism has matured the political struggle and highlighted the charisma and leadership of Ahmad Boestamam. His ideas and thoughts were very thoughtful and able to touch the hearts of readers, especially the Malays at that time. The firmness and sharpness of Ahmad Boestamam's writing in criticizing the colonialist can be seen in his writing as follows:

> *We lashed, we lashed without skin. If we criticize we criticize to a great magnitude. Words like 'cruel', 'undemocratic' and such have been part of our game on every single day.*
>
> *(Ahmad Boestamam.2004)*

These sharp and scratching criticism were expressed in written form through an article published in the newspaper. The sharpness of these offensive ideas and criticism towards British made him to be constantly monitored by the British authorities, in fact, he was called before the British authorities in 1945. The principle of "freedom of press" saved him from being penalized. However, since his name was listed in the category of those who can endanger British's position in Malaya, he was blacklisted by the British (Malayan Security Servive.1948). *Suara Rakyat* was used to its best possible use in order to awaken the Malays. The newspaper criticized British's brutal and undemocratic acts. The shooting event in Teluk Anson, Perak was a tragedy that could not be accepted by the Malay (Ahmad Boestamam.2004). For the radicals, this demonstration was just a peaceful demonstrations aimed to express their dissatisfaction against the British administration. But the British had the opinion that the shooting was intended to break up people's demonstrations so that it would not spread and jeopardize national security. Here, two contradicting approaches in interpreting democracy were clashing with each other. Therefore the issue of demonstrations and democracy had always been a hot issue for past and present. It was a key issue in the political struggle and have always spoken of in the press. The Malays were not happy with the unjust way the British government acted and the fate of the Malays after the war had not changed. *Suara Rakyat*'s vocal approach has caused dissatisfactions for British but at that time there were no serious actions taken, apart from their demand that proper apology must be published in the newspaper. Such actions did not affect the exponents for the paper.

Suara Rakyat's development was very encouraging and well received in the state of Perak, the total output and sales increased from time to time. Suara Rakyat was quite well received and it managed to convince the general public about the need to unite and to continue fighting, this assertion can be proven by examining responses from readers with their pithy comments. Among positive outlooks among readers regarding articles published in *Suara Rakyat* were as follow:

> *We Malays have lived in darkness for centuries. We did not have a chance to raise our heads to speak out our freedom. This is a golden opportunity for us to unite to fight for our demands. Our young people must be united and make a way to demand freedom and equality. Please support MNP for they are able to help us towards that. Now we must unite and force ourselves to support the cause of MNP. MNP will bring us to relinquish the freedom of the Malays ... We think it is better to die than to deny the freedom of our country. I therefore call on all youth and you gentlemen, to give full support to MNP.*
>
> *(Suara Rakyat.1946)*

III. Struggle in Political Arena

Boestamam used his pen to influence the readers, especially the Malays, on the need to have a sense of awareness and the rise to fight for their people which had long been colonized. Through the newspaper, he suggested that a political organization must be formed to defend the Malays. In fact, he was willing to use his position in *Suara Rakyat,* for the success of a proposal such as the establishment of a political party for the Malays. His hard work was paying off with the birth of a Malay political party in Malaya by the name of Malay Nationalist Party (MNP). Ahmad Boestamam was willing to establish political party in order to achieve his political ambitions, in contrast to Dr. Burhanuddin who had never set up a political party but was often invited to lead one. Ahmad Boestamam was a brave politician who will ensure that the struggle was accepted by his friends when he formed a political party. MNP was the first political party to show his direct

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political involvement, which was in 1945 (Ahmad Boestamam.1972).

Malay Nationalist Party (MNP) was officially established on 17 October 1945 in Ipoh, Perak. The first party flag was red and white in colour. It aimed to inform all members and the people of Malaya that MNP's official which was known as *Sang Saka Merah Putih* had profound meaning towards the fight against British in Malaya. The decision to make *Sang Saka Merah Putih*as the official emblem and the flag for MNP was decided in the party's first congress held in Ipoh, Perak on November 30 to December 4, 1945. The meaning of red and white colour, as published in *Suloh Malaya* press, issued on 15 Mei 1946 was military-like:

If we're to suggest a color then we suggest that the color would be red-white. There are at least three reasons why we agreed with red and white colors:

1. *Red and white are the colors of the national flag of our neighbors, Indonesia who had*
2. *According to some histories, red-white was the flag of Hang Tuah's struggle, a renowned*
3. *Red-white has profound and accurate meanings. Red means bold (blood), white means*

(Suloh Malaya. 1945*)*

Thus, MNP fighters chose the red and white flag as a symbol of their struggle. In this case it symbolizes courage and strength and their bravery to confront the British who were colonizing Malaya. This was also a source of inspiration to MNP members who were mostly of Indonesian descendents. By taking the spirit of the Indonesian people who defeated the Dutch in Indonesia as example, it was not merely a spiritual struggle but also the struggle of blood and tears. The struggle of using sharp bamboos as weapons.

Then he set up the Angkatan Pemuda Insaf (API) in 1946. API is a youth wing of MNP. Through API, his leadership was increasingly evident. He was able to travel all over Malaya to seek support and developed API influence.[ii] API had a very radical and was listed by British as a political organization which endangered British's position in Malaya. British also categorized API as equivalent to CPM by allegations that there were close cooperations between the two organizations. This charge was listed in *Malayan Security Service* report (Malayan Security Servive.1947).



Fig. 2 : A group of Indonesian Ants Army

MNP branch from Sitiawan and Pasir Panjang was among the most active branches of MNP to the extent that there was a place to train API youths in preparation against the British. API's first youth training in the area was accompanied by about 45 local youths located in Pantai Pasir Panjang in 1946. In the exercise, they were trained and inculcated with the spirit of Malay nationalist struggle as well as marching drills in preparation against the British. This paramilitary training was led by trainers from central MNP, among them were Ahmad Boestamam and Baharuddin Latif.[iii] API opposed so hard and tried to drive British out of Malaya, and this can be found in British's*Colonial Office* document*."...the API demands the quitting of all Dutch forces in Malaya."* (CO537/2140.136697). Ahmad Boestamam's leadership was evident through API movement and he was inspired to form the paramilitary forces through Ants Army which was founded by Sukarno in Indonesia.

The struggle of political parties based on Malay nationalism was readily accepted by the community at that time because of their love of their own people, which is a human nature. It existed among the Malays from then until now. Not only MNP Center was established in Ipoh was well received but MNP's branches established throughout the state of Perak was equally well received as in Sitiawan, Pasir Panjang, Lumut, Kampar, followed by Gunung Semanggol, Taiping, Kuala Kangsar, Kerian and Batu Gajah. The same can be said in Hulu Langat, Selangor and in Temerloh, Pahang. It was estimated that MNP's membership reached 53.380 persons by December 1947 (A.J. Stockwell.1979). According to AJ Stockwell, on average, the statistical distribution of MNP membership in Malaya were as follows:

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STATE	BRANCH MEMBERS				DEVELOPMENT	SOURCE
	BIASA	API	AWAS	REGION		
PERAK	11,000	2000	350	5	Good	K.Kampung
SELANGOR	3500	1050	400	4	Good	CID
N.SEMBILAN	1700	800	120	3	Weak	CID
MELAKA	4000	900	70	2	Good	-
JOHOR	1000	400	130	4	Good	Dato Onn
SINGAPURA	2500	600	140	1	Good	CID
PAHANG	6000	1000	100	3	Good	-
TERENGGANU	5200	300	60	2	Good	-
KELANTAN	2300	700	80	6	Good	Raja & CID
PERLIS	800	120		1	Weak	Raja & CID
KEDAH	720	100		2	Weak	Other parties
P.PINANG	3000	600		1	Good	-
S.PERAI	1400	200	40	1	Good	-
SUM	43,120	8.770	1,490	35		
TOTAL	53,380					

Fig. 3 : Above is the example of single column image. Images must be of very high quality

Based on the above table, the distribution of PKMM membership in December 1947 showed that the MNP received very good and thorough support in the Malay Peninsula, especially in states of Perak, Selangor, Malacca, Pahang, Terengganu, Penang, Singapore and Johor. Similarly, API membership reached 8,770 members. The total number of MNP members was 53.380 people, a large number in the era. Perak recorded the highest membership with 13,350 people, the total membership from five areas was very active. In fact, in the meeting to establish MNP branch, the *Suara Rakyat* newspaper were distributed to the audience. In doing so, the role of the press had became wider and well-known. Such a situation was a result of the distribution of *Suara Rakyat* newspaper that successfully exposed news on MNP's establishment and membership campaigns conducted by the newspaper. MNP including API and AWAS movement were active in five districts in the state of Perak Ipoh (Kinta), Dinding, Krian, Batang Padang and Kuala Kangsara. MNP's active nature was recognized by the British. It was recorded in *Colonial Office-Malaya Command, Fortnightly Intelligence Review No. 60. Malay Affairs* confidential report (CO537/2140.136697). These statistics showed that the Malay youth of Perak, Selangor and Pahang have a strong will and determination to expel the British out of Malaya.

Since the beginning of the fight, they had been stressing out the importance of independence, API and AWAS move towards achieving that goal. The emergence of API and AWAS made British to be more cautious. Assessment and firmness of API movement was clearly stated by their leader Ahmad Boestamam in API's Political Testament. The objectives of API's establishment were to achieve the following:

1. *Uniting enlightened youth in one PACT.*
2. *Strengthening the struggle for the nation and the homeland air.*
3. *Provide political, SPIRITUAL and PHYSICAL training to the youths so that they are always ready to be a leader whenever required.*
4. *Rebuild Malaya based on the true notions of democracy, according to the sovereignty of the people.*
5. *Demanding for representatives in the government of Malaya.*

(Ahmad Boestamam.1946)

In API's Political Testaments, it was clearly and distinctly outlined that they were against the British and categorized Malaya as colonized and semi-colonized countries. API interpreted that Malaya was semi-colonized due to the involvement of the Malay race, represented by the Malay elites who joined the British government and and had been suppressing the radical Malay together with the British. Thus, the radical Malay had to deal with various forms of oppression. Therefore, the API outlined five stages of repression carried out by the British colonialists and feudal Malay groups as follows:

1. *Oppression from colonialist.*
2. *Oppression by own race who became the tools for the colonialist.*
3. *Oppression from feudal groups.*
4. *Oppression from old-fashioned clergies.*
5. *Oppression from the capitalists of their own people as well as foreigns.*

(Ahmad Boestamam.1946)

Recognizing this stage of oppression led the radical Malays to take the stand that they would never

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compromise independence. They will fight till the end. Independence continued to be the focus of the struggle and will not be compromised. Their tough stance is enshrined in API Political Testament as follow:

> *In short, A.P.I. wants to fight for the country to attain independence and with all the existing means, via gentle means if possible, and hard if forced.*
>
> *(Ahmad Boestamam.1946)*

Based on this API Political Testament, Ahmad Boestamam was arrested and charged in court on 31 March 1947 by British colonial government for issuing written document alleged seditious. In fact, he was also accused of printing 1000 copies of this documents to be distributed during API Congress held in Melaka (The Malay Mail. 1947) Thus, in 1947, API and AWAS were banned in Malaya, by the British government (Malayan Security Servive.1948).

His prominence in API finally forced him serve prison time on charges of wanting to wage war against the British. Then on 16 Julai1947 API was not only banned by the British but also labeled as an illegal organization.[iv] Via API he became famous and that had provided a reason for the British government to arrest and imprison him with multiple charges of involvement with the communist elements. In leading API, Ahmad Boestamam had been successful in terrifying the British government. His stridency and radicalness finally forced him to be imprisoned in British detention camp for 7 years. His experience was immortalized in his book entitled *Tujuh Tahun Malam Memanjang* that tells the ups and downs in British detention camp (Ahmad Boestamam.2004).

Jaafar Hussin, Head I of Temerloh MNP described Ahmad Boestamam as a radical leader and proponent of revolution. He visualized Ahmad Boestamam as burly, bearded, bushy mustache and long hair leader-like Tarzan, such as Bung Tomo character from Surabaya, a prominent Indonesian guerrilla movement.[v] This fitted well with his position as the Supreme Commander of API (Jaafar Hussin.1989).

In recalling the communist accusations that have been made by the British and UMNO against him, an article entitiled *"Kenapa Saya Dituduh Komunis"* was published in *Fikiran Rakyat* newspaper dated 5 April 1957 to answer all questions. His writings and criticism always lashed the colonialist and the elite Malay aristocrats which made them unhappy. Thus, he was accused to be a communists or communist sympathizers due to the fact that his criticism was too harsh for the Malays who are under the command of British colonialism. For Ahmad Boestamam, the Malays have lost their identity and goals, and that they just danced to the tune of the West. This is evident in his statement in the following passage; "*The Malays are only good at following the tunes from the West… samba, rumba and conga…"* (Fikiran Rakyat.1957). Thus, he had to go through many obstacles.

A seven-year prison sentence did not weaken his fighting spirit. His release in 1955 gave him a new breath in facing political struggle. Thus, on 11 November 1955 he and his colleagues established the People's Party of Malaya (PRM). This reflects that for 7 years in jail, his soul and spirit had never been bounded. According to Ramlah Adam, Ahmad Boestamam was a very brave left-wing activist. Ahmad Boestamam's bravery was described as follows:

> *But all that was only temporary. His political agility eventually revived. He only lasted five months. His tame nature was finally lost, swallowed by his strong political spirit. Once he was a radical, he would not turn rightist. That was Ahmad Boestamam.*
>
> *(Ramlah Adam.1994)*

After his imprisonment, the radical Malays were still working and formed understanding between them. This was evident when Dr. Burhanuddin was invited by PAS to strengthen the party's leadership in the struggle for the independence of Malaya. This action demonstrated the achievement of a form of understanding between Ahmad Boestamam and Dr. Burhanuddin when Dr. Burhanuddin was invited to lead PAS in 1956 (Ahmad Boestamam.1972).

The first step he made was to ask Ahmad Boestamam and his friends in PRM for advice. This step was performed in order to ensure that the tone and actions remain the same as before, to be more pungent and radical. This claim may be asserted through dialogue between them as follows:

> *With me at the helm of the leadership then it would be easier for me to instill a leftist soul in it.*
>
> *In other words, Dr. has the ambition to make PAS a progressive Muslim movement, is it ?*
>
> *Dr. Burhanuddin thanked us for giving our blessing to him to lead PAS. And we hoped that he managed to carry out his ambition in making PAS as a progressive and left-minded Islamic movement.*
>
> *(Ahmad Boestamam.1972)*

PRM's establishment was a continuation of Ahmad Boestamam's struggle. He was a far-sighted politician. Because of that, he also used methods of cooperation with Chinese radical political parties. In 1957 he led the PRM to establish political cooperation with the Labour Party of Malaya (LPM). This collaboration gave birthto *Socialist Front (SF)* on August 31, 1957. (Ahmad Nizamuddin.1988). SF was a coalition

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of political parties of socialist ideology. However, this cooperation was likely to fail in some elections in Malaya due to the fact that socialist struggle was not enthused by the Malays.

IV. Conclusion

Ahmad Boestamam was a figure that varied his means to voice his opinions and views on British colonialist. Apart from setting up a political party, he was also active in the field of writing and journalism. In politics, the highlight of his career was being elected as an MP of Setapak from 1959 to 1964 in election and subsequently elected as Opposition Leader for the Parliament of Malaya for one term. In journalism, he made a name as a critical and incisive journalist via his writings. He also used the arts in order to awaken the Malays. He had also written short stories and poetry. Due to the intensity and sharpness of his writing, he was eventually entrusted to lead*Utusan Sarawak* newspaper as Chief Editor cum personal political assistant to the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Datuk Patinggi Abdul Rahman Yaakub from 1970 to 1971 (9 months) (Ramlah Adam. 1994).

The integrity and friendship between him and Dr Burhanuddin was not merely in political struggle before independence, but the tone and rhythm of their struggles remained the same in the post-independence era. They understood each other and never hit back, though they was in different parties. Even so, they are both part of the Malaya's House of Representatives in 1959-1964. That was how closely and mutually they understood each other in dealing with the real enemy namely the British and the leadership after independence. This situation proved the integrity of cooperation and understanding among Malay radical figures. They can work together despite different ideologies. In any case, they were never hostile, in fact they were willing to compromise in order to achieve the ambition of liberating Malaya and to stay loyal in their struggle under the *Greater Malay* concept. His political experiences were written in his historical works such as *Tujuh Tahun Malam Memanjang*, *Meniti Jalan ke Punchak* dan *Pengalamanku Perjuanganku* serta *Dr Burhanuddin, Putera Setia Melayu Raya*.

Thus, their struggle was recognized by Tun Dr. Ismail bin Abdul Rahman, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia (1970-1973) during his speech when he received an honorary Doctor of Laws at Universiti Sains Malaysia Convocation on September 23,1973as follows:

> *Even though independence were achieved by the moderate, history proves that radical nationalists had also contributed to the achievement of independence*. [vi]

Finally we can say that Ahmad Boestamam was a Malay politician who was ahead of his time. In the situation where the community and the Malay leaders were in conducive state, he had risen and called on the Malay to resist British colonialism and later the independence of Malaya. given below:

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2 Interview with Haji Ariffin bin Mohd. Yunus at Kampung Pasir Panjang, Lekir, Sitiawan, Perak on 24/12/2002. He tol how Ahmad Boestamam toured up to Pasir Panjang, Sitiawan, Perak to instillthe spirit of the struggle for independence and was directly involved as a trainer in API para-military trainingat Pasir Panjang beach, Sitiawan, Perak. Haji Ariffin was one of the API members trained by Ahmad Boestamam in API training camp at Pasir Panjang beach, Sitiawan, Perak.

3 Interview with Tuan Haji Ariffin bin Mohd. Yunus in Kampong Pasir Panjang, Sitiawan, Perak on 23/12/2002.

4 CO537/2140/136697 *Secret HQ Malaya Command, Fortnightly Intelligence Review No. 61. General.* pp.1.

5 Bong Tomo his real name was Soetomo. He originated from Surabaya, Indonesia. During the Dutch occupation in Indonesia, He led a popular uprising against Dutch in Surabaya, Indonesia. He was well known as a youth leader who was just only 24 years old and have high morale and are willing to die fighting for the independence of Indonesia. Ahmad Boestamam really admired the charisma and radical spiritof this figure, to the extent that he equated and enshrined API's struggle with that of Bong Tomos, as two physical form with one soul, spirit and desire that can not be separated.

6 The speech of late Tun Dr. Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia when receiving his Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws at the Universiti Sains Malaysia Convocation, Penang on 23 September 1973.

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The Emergence of Fascist Movement (1914 – 1930) (Historical Perspective)

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Abstract- This study presents, within historical perspective, the Fascism movement emergence in Italy at the beginnings of 20th. Century, in a way to enable us realizing Fascism's movement, the accompanying intolerance and violence prevailed in international relations at that time; which were seemed as contemporary phenomenon at the beginning of 21st. century, under the control of unilateral global regime whereas the public or parliamentary role is Marginalized or even cancelled in making crucial decisions at the National State Level. The foregoing works to foreshadowing the emergence of related intolerance and violence historical phenomena which can turn into a totalitarian dictatorship regime practicing violence via means similar to those practiced by Fascism Movement.

The main idea herein is based on historical experience's recovery as to Fascism movement in Italy, development and impact thereof on its international relationships, as well as followed tactics therein. The foregoing offer us understanding in terms of contemporary new phenomenon which is still in its initial stage, and thus contributing in increasing the historical awareness, comprehend contemporary problems and impacts thereof.

Keywords: Europe's contemporary history, fascism, fascist thinking and violence, international relations history, historical perspective.

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I. Preamble

The last decade of 20th Century and first decade of 21st. decade witnessed historical phenomena linked to Intolerance and violence, supplied by global Unilateral regime system through forced controlling practiced on other countries sources, accompanied by faith in prevail ideas; Ibn Khaldoon. The foregoing worked to call us for studying the previous historical phenomena; most prominent thereof is Fascism movement. We shall try to focus the light on Fascism movement, development thereof in Italy the impact on Europe, in our way to circulate the interest and clarify our current stand.

The Fascism movement that emerged in Europe during the term between both world wars (1919-1939) is considered one of three great revolutions took place as a result of the First World War and paved the way to the 2nd. World War. Thus it formed effective factor and method of governing that affected the International relationships in the 20th. Century. We shall present herein the factors that laid its influence in emerging this movement, intellectual frame which the movement is launched from, and lastly the cultural frame which it depended on.

The impact of Fascism movement on the international relationships at that era was distinguished and important, especially during the era that preceded the 2nd World War. Besides further reactions thereof; once we know that the movement emerged firstly in Spain and Germany.

Studying the movement in Italy importance comes from the fact that the movement could form a government in Italy and went further to seek for totalitarianism and to disseminate its experience in governance. So its experience in governance and business scope in the global system did influence its international relationships which is the sphere that we are heading to tackle herein.

II. Preface

The historians used to attribute this movement to reasons connected to Europe circumstances during the era which followed the 1st. World War (1914-1918). This theory is based on analyzing Europe circumstances and outcomes generated from 1st. World ware and impacts thereof not only on Europe but especially on Italy and Germany, and further developing special political ideas which appeared after the war.

a) Movement emergence factors

The movement emergence factors are divided into two types: first type: direct causes linked specially to Italy and are represented by Italy's domestic statuses, its disappointment from the war outcomes; Treaty of Versailles. Such factors could be included in:

- The fact that Italy was stabled and unified. But due to the availability of many political parties and problems, parliament failure to rectify the economical condition therein forced Italy to enter the war alongside the Allies to achieve benefits, while in fact it suffered losses estimated at 64,000 dead and around one millions wounded, in addition to loosing much money in the war. The Allies did not confess its rights and demands, most important of which were not achieved; i.e. South Tyrol cause or Alto Adige and Adriatic problem as well as Fiume cause.
- Italy was forced to waiver its share in Germany heritage in African colonization against amending its

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kingdom borders in North Africa. Such amend did not match with what it assigned, in addition to its inability to achieve the expansion right in Turkey which was promised to have and approved in London confidential treaty signed on 1915.

- The 1st. World shaped Italian internal status with negative results; higher prices, more taxes, less fuel, internal and external trade decrease. Moreover weak governments controlled Italy; five governments during four years, neither of which owned clear and scheduled policies inside and outside Italy.
- The hard economical condition, and failure of Socialist and the Catholic parties in rectifying the crises, the fragmentation of such parties all of the foregoing contributed in bringing Italy into complete deterioration at the beginning of Giolitti regime in 1920.
- The popular discontent increased on the governments and people in charge, after the country witnesses idleness, unrests, murder acts, theft, burglary, bribery, poverty and comprehensive disorder, security disturbances under the communism and thus Italy found out that communism formed serious risk that threat Italians lives and wealth. The Italian people resorted to Fascism, its instructions to ran away from such risks. In spite of the foregoing, the Italian government believed that such Chaos will fade by itself. All of the foregoing conditions worked together to emerge the Fascism movement.

The Fascism theory set out its business scope based mainly on cancelling the Nation; the nation shall have not role in the regime, cancel national role in the political business and the state sovereignty shall survive all individuals freedom and thus force the individual to subordinate to the will of the state willy-nilly and the state shall be chaired by a leader who gather all powers to achieve great dash as stated by historian (Renouvin, 1959, p. 173).

The second refers to pool of external and far away causes which contributed in deepen the Italian internal reasons and influence thereon; such as:

- Italy reacted angry and spiteful as to the war results, as to those who were Heroes, as such statuses pushed Germans and Italians to approach communism and almost there was communist revolution starting to arise in Italy and communism worked to enforce the national trend in Italy to face the Fascism. In the absence of Italian socialism vision, the ascending internal problems accompanied by the industrial unrests increase the Fascism became anti communism movement in Italy.
- Conflicts of interests among great nations, unavailability of minimum understanding and solidarity among damaged states and Italy stay on the sidelines of the concerns of allies, even its offered sacrifices during the war, which was expressed by Mussolini "Italian victory which exceeded the other armies", led to deepen the Fascism trend.
- Where the anti Fascism groups failed to cooperate among each others, and communists refusal to cooperate with the Italian communists, the Liberal Italian Prime Minister; Giolitti, offered the Fascists the opportunity to enter the elections to obtain seats in the parliament hoping that such participation shall work to force them to have sense of responsibility. While the Fascism theory stands to criticize the Parliament freedom, and the parliament system leads to disputes among parties due to conflict of interests, which shall lead for sure to, chronic unrest. Even though, the Fascism used the elections stage as a step ahead to achieve its goals.

By this Mussolini could catch up with National Rally with Giolitti, Nationals and its followers, and thus he won 35 seats in the Italian Parliament (Kitchen, 1994, p. 136).

b) The Emergence of Intellectual Movement

The Fascism is defined as: a political movement that governed Italy during the term 1922-1943, Germany during 1933-1945, Spain during 1939-1975 and other countries in different eras (Britannica, 1995, p.691). Although such expression became multi purposes issue, but within the international relationships scope the Fascism witnessed close coupling with the Imperialism, military and nationalism trend. Dashing from it's believe; Racial superiority; leads to control and invasion policies even eliminating the minimum race. On the other hand it works to subjugate the international law and morals to national necessities concepts defined by the leadership (Charisma) which considers that " sayings; right to strength, justice stands besides the strongest" are its central features.

Mussolini emphasized on the saying that Fascism is religious concept, and if it is not such, then how it works to grant such strength and courage to its followers? Nothing great could be achieved except in emotional state of love, religious act (Ghuerin,1965, p. 136-137).

The foregoing was considered response to the free and parliament doctrine which was attacked after 1919, due to economical and financial crises from one side and the parliament system inability to solve such crises from other side. Italian word (Fascismo) is derived from Italian word Fasces which is Dardar sets or set of bars wood containing axe. This word is adapted from Old Roman which refer to pool of sticks and axe in front

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which symphonizes to power including life and death power (Britannica, p. 691). Fascism movement in Europe sat out contradiction among Democratic regimes and gathering regimes of whatsoever shape is, also among the gathering regimes itself (Renouvin, 1959, p. 154). Therefore, the movement was defined as mere internal movement, without any external support; physical or moral, and thus it did not depend in its growth on centralism in management or aims united. It is a pool of mere local & independent movements as to its leaders, different in its objectives and goals. One of the inspiring persons of this movement is the Italian poet Gabriele D'Annuzio who extolled the adventures, violence and war in 1919 as factors to face the Italian economical conditions, and in the same time he led the campaign on Fiume City; called now Rijeka in Croatia and controlled thereof 16 months (Britannica, p. 691).

In 1919, Mussolini established the Fascism movement in Milano City, and in the same time his ideas clarified the Fascism state concept; i.e. "Must be headed by qualified leader to perform great rush, and such leader has to concentrate power in his hands". He added also "The nations do not become aware of itself except via Enthusiasm which the exceptional person who receives the power does raise. (Renouvin, p. 153).

One of political theorists; who contributed in developing the Fascism ideas as to international relations, was French philosopher Georges Sorel (1847-1922) who declared his disbelieve in Parliament parties, but in turn he believed strongly in the strength of the economical factors, and believed in elite of poor persons to chair the government and seeks to establish syndicates, and preparing thereof to the public strike day where such Syndicates shall be prepared to eliminate the high and medium classes. Also he believed in violence to achieve the goals to access to power (Gokhale, p 246) Philosopher Herdel, Darwin scientist, Nietzsche Philosopher, Marinetti, and Historian Spengler & Chamberlain. He depended on the prevailing trend ideas of the political philosophers; Machiavelli, Hobbes, Hegel who assured that the state power is derived from heaven (Gokhale, p. 246).

Therefore, Fascism, in terms of internal scope, assures the national group right more that its assurance as to individual rights. By this we can notice some exaggeration in terms of National state power which owns control of all live forms in the state, including family, and thus it does not offer room for internal power outside its control. This shall lead at the end, for sole party dominance allowed by the state only. According, the Fascism trick is considered religious sense exhume in its oldest form, and in the same time glorification of the concerned man and worship thereof, then applicability between this worship and country worship. (Ghuerin, 1965, p. 140).

The Fascism criticizes the parliament freedom and in that context Mussolini stated "The parliament regime leads to dispute among parties; confrontation among special interests and chronic unrest. So Mussolini assured that the state creates the nation and grants the nation will (Renouvin, p. 153).

Therefore, the Fascism was defined as non-specific features in terms of its political efficiency, and it is difficult to renew its thoughts and principles. So a current European historian described thereof as holistic theory defends Dictatorship to glorify the state (Gokhale, p. 245).

The Fascism did not deliver a view or political book to explain its philosophy, as communist movement, and Mussolini continued to change its objectives until 1923, whereas he showed his concern to access to power and thence developed its ideas through its way to the power (Lowe, 1982, p. 71).

The Fascism state was considered a form of capitalism state, but, as communist theorists, it is semi state which its existence came after political crises which justifies state interference in many issues such as:

"Amending the relations among the repressive system and Ideological regimes, and replace the controlling branch or system, also amendments in the judicial systems; rationing and borders, amendment on election principles, and its significance as to one party: Severe Bureaucratization, parallel networks and channels as well hidden relations among it, (Poulantzes, 1979, p. 25)".

III. Fascism in Italy as at Late 1922

a) Movement Development; Organizational and Political

The beginnings of Fascism movement was formed in Italy in 1914, once Mussolini formed organizations from his supporters calling for engaging Italy in the 1st. world war alongside with allies. Mussolini led propaganda campaign for such purpose in the newspaper whose Editor was Avanti, representing the socialist Italian party which was the expositor as to Italy participation in the war in breach as to Mussolini trends which its Extreme nationalism. This caused to dismiss him from the editor office and leaving the Socialist party. He moved to Milano, where he issued with his supporters *Popolo D'Italia* newspaper (Italy population), under the slogan of Worriers and producers newspaper (Fayed page 60). Through this newspaper he called for Italy participation in the war alongside the Allies and he seconded using violence. The Fascism group could stir the people against *Giolitti* government through Milano revolution which succeeded in overthrowing the government and form new government chaired by Salandar, The Prime Minister who agreed for Italy participation in the war. In 24/5/1915 Italy entered the war alongside with England and France.

In Sept. 1915, Mussolini participated in the Italian army in the title of Corporal and was moved to Lompardia then To Alb Warfield. He suffered severe

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wounds on 22/2/1917 and treated in hospital for months. After that he quite his enrollment and returned to his newspaper as Journalist. He exploited his efforts to improve the spirit of the Italian people until the war ended by Allies victory and his idea as well to attain Italy unity. He started his struggle to bring Fascism idea into realty and formed Fascists party in Milano called *Fasci Di Comibatimento* (Eabboud, 1989, p.55).

The new committee did have determined goals in Italy, except what is acquired from its name, which refers to defending the soldiers' rights or the proletariat of the Trenches who became idle within the economical recession after the war end. This committee had been declared in 23/3/1919 after institutional meeting attended by fifty men, whereas they emphasized the violence and dictatorship (Cornwell, 1982, p. 31).

Mussolini started his opposition as to Italian parliament claiming group of wide changes in the economy; i.e. transfer the land title to farmers alone, define working hours at 8 /day, laborers benefits out of profits, transferring the arms factories to the government ownership, impose high taxes on capitals, raise inheritance tax, attaching 95% of war profits, apply hanging penalty against who exploits crises to obtain illegal profit. His demands stirred the discontent of Aristocracy, major owners… while socialists attacked him due to his status being away from them.

The fascists participated in the parliament elections for the first time in 1919 and acquired 4000 votes only. Some thought that this result indicated Mussolini failure or his end. Italian police raided the Fascists party offices and confiscated weapons therein which worked to arrest Mussolini, but he was released. He concentrated to form effective government that can treat the Italian problems, especially idleness.

Mussolini could collect 20,000 worriers in Milano, and adopted black dress for his supporters. In the same time the socialists generated splendid winning, but the fascists could detect defects in the socialist party as effective opposition. Fascists used all means to fight their opponents via enhancing the fear from communists and they may form government as that in Moscow, and they started to raise the fear of the owners and medium class people and used for such purpose all available media means. The socialists leaned to arbitrary ways to resist the reluctant parties, which shaped the socialists by carelessness as to the regime, and cruelty in resisting the criticism.

Therefore, the laborers started taking over the products and commodities by force, the areas witnessed daily violent acts in the streets, banks, railways and public buildings us subject to attacks. The situation became more and worse once the allies stopped their support to Italy, and the released soldiers did not find place to work. This worked to increase the riots and disturbance acts as well as theft and burglary, farmers abandoned their villages, half million of socialism laborers occupied hundreds of factories in the cities to be controlled by them and for their favor, while complete areas were subject to the control of Bolshevism entities.

The senior proprietors, factories owners and rich people were afraid of the socialism movement's success which was witnessed in Italy to work in putting Italy under the control of communism, and then such parties considered Mussolini as a person who can destroy the socialists and communists. The Bolshevists were more confident and started to serve armed campaigns against the socialists and communists, attaching their newspapers, firms, and in the same time they received support from Italian Businessmen.

These acts caused 3000 persons from non Bolshevists to be killed, 300 Bolshevists were also killed during the term 1920-1922. Once the parliament elections took place in May 1921, after dissolving the parliament (Gokhale, p. 248) the Fascist party won the elections and filled 35 seats in the parliament, while the socialists won 122 seats, and communists won 16 seats. Thus the socialists' sovernigity was obvious in the parliament.

The elections were considered as an achievement of Mussolini who led propaganda campaign with the opponents' representatives in the parliament and outside, to enhance his stand even the leas number of Fascists in the parliament. He started his movement by occupying the seats in the right side that represented the opponents in the council and they were under his control. Then he delivered his speech in the council in the opening session as opponents leader by saying "I am atavistic, I fight parliament systems and struggle against democracy and socialism" (Fayed, p.63).

Fascism was up to October 1921 big movement spreading in all Italy, but it was not organized political party. In November 1921 it addressed invitation to conclude general conference in Rom attended by representatives of 2200 Fascism societies. Number of representatives was 310,000. On 7/11/1921, the Fascism party, headed by Mussolini, declared its fixed aims which the party intended to achieve as follows:

- Re-consider the peace treaties and omit contradictions therein as to Italy interests.
- Global peace.
- Annexation of Fiume port to Italy.
- Supervise Italians interests residing in Dalmashia.
- Work to increase the local production to enable Italy to reach to economical self-sufficiency.
- Improving Italian relations with other states in a way to maintain its dignity and interests without breach as to its borders in the north and south.
- Strengthening the relations and friendly links with all far and near east countries which are under Soviet Russia control.

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- Adopting colonization policy to fulfill Italians ambitions and obtaining its rights.
- Following cultural and economical means, and all modern transportation means to link with Mediterranean countries and establish colonies in the Mediterranean beaches.

Mussolini concluded its speech saying "All responds that Rome shall recover its stand to direct Europe civilization, and to be the core of activity and strength therein. We have to receive this innovation and inherit such hopes to the coming generations to make Italy steel state and strong, and the Italians which no civilized and great future could be attained without the Italians". Mussolini sat out for his party members' special uniform (black shirt with special sign) and special greeting sign "raising the right hand as Romanian customs" (Fayed, p. 65-66).

Mussolini felt his and his party strength, so he started since 1922 to declare that future is for Fascists, and claiming to amend election method, changing the foreign policy of Italy. Once the Anarchie Party declared a general strike in August 1922, Mussolini claimed the government to diminish such strike by force and conclude conference in Napoli attended by 40,000 Fascists with their military uniforms in the streets. Mussolini addressed his threats if the government did not do this, the fascists shall do it by themselves, while he was reviewing his strength (Gokhale, .p.248). After further two months, he started demanding governance, and threatened that he shall acquire the governance by force and began his marching to the capital (Rome).

On 26/10/1922 Mussolini started calling his party who were organized in Semi-military units to march to Rome. In the same time Italian King *Vittorio Emanuel* declared the marshal laws to avoid civil war. Mussolini acquired governance in illegal manner, and he was invited by the king to fill Prime Minister Office on 11/1922, after Luigi Facta government offered its resignation after the king refused to issue decree to declare the marshal law to face Mussolini and fascists party (New Cambridge, p. 2486).

This marked Fascism role and importance lead by Mussolini to provoke crises then dealing with its inputs, including addressing threats to correct faults by force and violence which threatened the monarchy who was afraid of a civil war to start in Italy.

b) The most prominent leaders of Fascism

i. *Gabriel D'Annunzio 12/3/1862-1/3/1938*

Was Italian poet, novelist and writer of wide culture and skills, and exceptional writer. Once Italy entered the 1st. world war he converted from hooker poet to hard soldier, worrier defending his country in the army, marine and air force. He worked hard and lost one of his eyes in Air battle, and his plane could survive in many air battles.

After the war end Danninzino occupied Fiume city and declared himself ruler therein for fifteen months challenging the Italian government All allies troops. He was the most ardent as to Fascism movement in Italy; he was famous as poet and prose writer.

He composed 50 books which acquired him wide fame in poetry and literature, novels and theater (Budhunba, 1994, p. 900.).

ii. *Benitto Mussolini (29/7/1883-28/4/1945)*

He was called by *Kont Grandi* "One of the Fascism leaders, who served Mussolini for 22 years. He acquired Mussolini confidence that filled many senior governmental offices and described him to be Artful, a genius, a charming and crazy at the same time. His origins go back to *Dovia* village in *Di Predappio* Region. His mother *Roza* was a teacher, and his father; Alessandro Mussolini was blacksmith. During 1857-1880 his father was working as laborer in *Meldola* city where he was affected by some of Internationalism thoughts; labor movement started in Britain then spread into Europe, fueled by Carl Marx ideas and communism during 19th. Century (Britannica,vol.6,pp 344-345), and further he became one of its preachers. Once he returned to his village, he opened smith workshop and started his internationalism propaganda. He met success but the police arrested him with his colleagues due to doubts and roomers surrounded such movement.

Mussolini was born and raised in Romagna region where political business controlled thereof. Each person used to join such party or strong and familiar political body. Such bodies and parties were chaired by half-educated persons. So they liked strength and its features, and thus they were considered the physical strength for everything that achieve their goals; presidency, money, reputation etc.. Mussolini carried with him during his marsh to Dictatorship the environment impact where he was born, and after he completed his preliminary education, he joined the teachers' school as his mother wish, obtained certificate qualifying him to be a teacher in the preliminary schools. He filled his first job as morning teacher in *Cinque Terre* City, *Emalia* region looking to Po River, against a salary of 56,000.00 I.L each month. In the evening he used to communicate with the politicians and cultured persons in the city and strengthened his relations with the socialists.

His teaching work die not replied his ambition, so he left his work in 10/6/1906 and went to Switzerland. He arrived there penniless and stayed for a short period in Switzerland during which he practiced building works. During his work he used to feel and touch the building greatness and tasted it as well (Budhunba, p.900). His employers used to hate him for his bride and saw him a man who is full of mutiny and odd acts among his colleagues. Then he worked for a period of time in

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socialist newspaper and could witness social, economical and political sciences. He used to deliver speeches which aroused the Switzerland authorities and further they deported him to Geneva and Louzan, then they cramped him which forced him to return to his village *Dovia* in 1908.

During this stage of his life he felt that he is isolated in his village due to roamers that he was Extremist socialist, and dangerous rebel, he started to amuse himself by studying music and play on the violin. The he was called for conscript military service and joined the army.

During 1909, Mussolini wrote in many newspapers; stories and poetry and he became famous until he was appointed secretary in the Toronto Chamber Of Commerce, where he wrote small book titled Toronto from socialist's point of view whereas he expressed his socialism trends and his opposition as to take side with Germans. In 1910 he returned to Forli city and entered the political arena then he was sentenced to jail for one year charged by public and soldiers incitement for mutiny. When he was released from jail he became more revolutionary person and his famous started to spread in Italy, due to the fact that Forli region was stronghold of rebels and socialists.

In 1912 He delivered his speech in the socialism conference which was held in Bologna and his power increased, where he showed Oratorical genius through attacking the Public parliament claiming to decrease its delegated power, and further the conference attendants responded to his demand. His prominent phrases in his speech were" Italy is the nation where the parliamentary decomposition and its inherited disturbance reached the maximum limits. For this reason my belief is fixed of the parliamentary system is not efficient, and public election witnessed failure" (Renouvin, p.173). Mussolini described himself as socialist "He does not believe in Regime patching, his principles add conciliation meanings, and he does not believe that the productive majority is the way for victory. Mussolini was socialist and his confidence is based on strength, he was extremist rather than moderation and tolerance, his logo in the party "no moderation nor middle solution" (Robert Paris 1962, p 261).

Later Mussolini became editor of the Socialism party *Dell' Avanti*. At the time where the socialists' representatives were objecting his ideas, he used to criticize them via his newspaper that used it for revolutionary propaganda and support all revolutionary movements.

During Ancona conference in 1914, Mussolini reached to his utmost fame, especially in the conference which was held after disturbance and spoilage incidents which raised public against the government. During the conference he attacked free builders and their regulations, and declared that such regulations are principles and instructions which are not in line with socialism and principles thereof. That was as war declaration against Masonries which enjoyed power and strength over all the Italian life at that time.

On declaring the first global war in 1914, Mussolini was supporting Italy neutrality, and in the same time he did not object Italy engagement in the triple alliance. He also said that Austria was not subject to attack, and declaring the war against France shall be faced Italian people motions, and shall lay hindrances in Italy marsh. Gradually he showed tendency to participate in the war against Brosian Military power and defending the liberty. So he declared that Italy shall participate in the war to recover Italian lands which were under Habsburg family control. So he established strong propaganda and press campaign, he started collecting supporters and urge Italians for such purpose which caused him to be dismissed from the newspaper editorial *Dell' Avanti* then he left the Social party in September 1914.

Mussolini lost majority of his power to circulate his ideas, so he issued a newspaper holding his logo and to promote his ideas. On 15/11/1914 issued *Popolo Detalia* newspaper, and started calling youth to enter the war. Those supporters were mixed of Universities students; Syndikalists and socialists and group of laborers. He named such group Fascists which the movement carried such name in 1919. Then this movement was developed to a party in 1922 which carried Mussolini the to Italian government whereas he became national leader during the term 1922-1945.

On 28/4/1945 he was overthrown and arrested with his Mistress *Clara Betatshi* while they were running away to Switzerland. They were subject to trial and sentenced to death. After a short time they were killed by guns then dragged to the middle of Milano city where they were hanged from their legs. The rebel public passed the police lines and their bodies were subject to distortion. A woman fired five bullets from her pistol on Mussolini body; each bullet is for one of her kids who were lost in the war…. (Budhunba, p.900).

c) Fascism Italian government 1922-1925

Mussolini accepted the King's call for the formation of the Ministry within un-stabled conditions after *Jiolitti* Liberal management. Mussolini arrived to the power due to the democratic systems insufficiency, and for his political tactic talents and Demography (Cronwell, p.32). In the first beginnings Mussolini focused to centralize the power in his hands for a long time, once possible, and ridiculed all institutes and Italian organizations sources to carry out his wishes (Greenville, 1980).

Mussolini formed coalition government represented by all main parties including socialists until December 1925. It was noticed that he followed Stalin steps in that regard (New Cambridge, p.486). Gradually, Fascism Dictatorship era started; one party control in

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Italy, as the circumstances were available to the government; most of classes were supporting thereof including senior owners & land owners who were looking for strong government that protect them from Communists sovereignty. Also his movement was supported by the University professors and students, vocational people, youth and those who were objecting the deteriorating conditions in the country since 1914. All were hoping to have strict national government who shall purify the management, reform the regime management, and direct the country policy towards nationalism.

i. *Fascism Government Procedures*

Mussolini started during the first three years of his regime to support the Fascism party stand, fasten its stand in Italy via methods such as:

- Strengthening the Fascism management by deporting unwanted elements, cancelling local defense societies in January 1923 to be replaced by Fascism Militias formed from strong men selected via military methods to defend the Fascism movements and maintaining the public system.

Such military group was the most prominent features of the Fascism system formed by Mussolini and has the extreme impact to strengthen this management and defending thereof, in the same time instill fear and horror in the hearts of opponents.

- The Militias system was military & firm requires all to address loyalty and obedience oath towards *Il Duce* (Mussolini) his supreme president (Fayed, p. 71-72). The youth were organized in groups under the party leaders supervision since their early childhood; starting from 6-8 years old and called Della Lope. Youth from (8-14) years old was called *Balila*, (14-18), called *Avanguardia*, while from 18-21 it was called *Giovanni Gasciti*. (Al-Batreq, p.46).

Those Militias played important role in supporting the executive power in the government, and contributed in deporting everybody who is suspected to object the government leader obedience, and used to apply this threats, cruelty, moderation, strength and advisory to achieve its goals.

- Mussolini excluded individuals who hate Fascism ideas from the government departments and systems, or resisted the Fascism, and in the same time he preferred the political trends that are close to his ideas. He could achieve understanding with the Italian national party and merge such party in the Fascism party during March 1923.

He closed all Masonic lodges which enjoyed big power, and conducted changes in the managerial, central and auxiliary leaderships. He replaced all elected local heads and mayors by employees selected from his party (Kitchen, p.138).

In order to consolidate his power he issued orders to arrest each of communists' leaders *Bradiga* and *Antonio Gramasci* (1816-1937). The latest was political leader and Italian Philosopher; he joined the socialism party and filled the office of Secretary General of the party in 1917. He established in 1919, *Ordine Nuovo* magazine, and played important role by alliance with *Toliati* and *Bradiga*. He was elected as Torino parliamentary representative during the term 1924-1926. The Fascism movement stripped him from his office and arrested him in 1926 thence sentenced him by 20 years in Jail. Then and due to his sickness he was exempted from such penalty. (Tarabishi, 1987, p. 392-393). Also Mussolini arrested and abused many other leaders who refused his presidency.

Whereas Mussolini party did not have more than 6% of parliament seats (Al-Batreq, p. 244), his status as prime Minister of democratic constitutional government was serious and odd, as he did not depend on the parliamentary majority. So he intended to change the elections valid law, and leaned to threats as a weapon to obtain the required majority in the parliament, stating that if the law is not passed then the parliamentary system shall be on the line, and thus he issued new election law in July 1923 which was passed by the parliament and stating that the party who receives relative voting majority, shall have the right to have two third of the parliament seats provided that such relative majority shall not be less than one fourth of the votes (Fayed, p. 72-75).

Mussolini continued in acquiring wide powers in the parliament, and get ride of his opponents in the parliament. Then he dissolved the parliament at the beginnings of 1924 and issued decree for new elections and emphasized on not interfering in the elections, full freedom of the electors, and the parties and bodies have the right to elect its representatives. But in fact he did not offer the opportunity for propaganda except for his Fascism party. The Fascism troops were mobilized, which used carrot and stick policy in addition to bribery at wide range to guarantee the Fascism nominees victory in the elections.

The elections resulted in Fascism nominees victory in the elections who obtained 4.8 Million votes, Socialists came in the second degree who obtained one Million votes. Fascists became after elections owners of the parliamentary majority, and thus they filled two third of the seats out of 268 total seats in the House of Representatives.

In fact the opponents' representatives chaired by *Matteoti Giacomo* who was he chief of socialist party, started attacking, severely, the government and criticized the elections process describing thereof to be forged and fabricated and committing crimes in the law name. Opposition campaigns continued which caused

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collision between fascists and socialists, battles continued in the streets, cities and villages. The outcomes brought back disturbance into Italy.

Therefore, Mussolini, within his attempts to achieving his political goals, proceeded to employ every available mean to enhance his power and his party power as well until Italy returned to disturbance and unrest status which was described similar to such unrests which took place after the First World War.

Mussolini employed violence in facing his opponents; murder & kidnapping (Gokhale, p.249). Fascism gangs attached *Matteoti* who used to criticize Mussollini and his electoral tactics, and thus he was assassinated in serious circumstances. On 24th of June, Mussolini was condemned by the parliament of his involvement in the assassination crime and was considered partner in the crime. But the Kind did nothing on such matter (Greenville, 1980,p.291). The Opponents left the parliament, due to horror case which took place after the assassination of the above leader. Thence Mussolini personality overwhelmed at political and national level, the king retreated, and did not try to face Fascism. Mussolini did not cancel the monarchy, but the parliament lost his legislative strength.

Mussolini power increased and he worked to maintain 8 ministerial offices out of 15 offices. He further became entitled to issue decrees which acquired law competency, without neither parliamentary objection nor ministerial one. He was able to direct and control the internal and external policy depending on the army who practiced sovereignty thereon, in his capacity as the armed forces leader. The Fascism party acquired more strength and the supreme council of Fascism party, which was established in 1923 to hear the party's political issues, became the advisory council of the government and thence powers source. The foregoing council leaders occupied the Ministerial offices and Mussolini became the sole sovereignty leader. Further each individual who wanted to join the party shall address the following oath: I swear to obey *Il Dutshi* orders, serve the Fascism revolution purposes in all my strength and sacrifice my blood to serve thereof if necessary "(Al-Batreq, p.245).

Mussolini tightened his grip finally on the government and worked to issue Royal order to establish body called "governmental presidency divan" chaired by the existing government president, all other Italian parties retreated and the Fascism party became the sole legal party in Italy in 1926. The foregoing fulfilled Mussolini wish who said "All parties shall be vanished, I want to see such political parties' ruins around me, and once this takes place, the Fascism stands alone representing Italy strength and permanent sovereignty. (Ibid, p. 245).

Through its control over executive and legislative power, Fascism worked to issue some sequence law and decrees to tighten the personal freedom & civil rights; press freedom is vanished, meetings and speeches are prohibited, and any propaganda to any opponents ideas were considered crime subject to legal perjury and severe sanctions. Special courts were established to hear such crimes and issue its fast rules. Accordingly the Fascism set out an end for all freedoms in Italy. (New Cambridge, p. 496).

Italy remained fully controlled by Fascists until 1928 (six years from Mussolini regime), all parliamentary representatives and government members were selected from Fascism party. (Gokhale, p.74).

IV. Fascism Achievements

Many achievements were accrued under Mussolini government, most prominent ones are:

- Great development in the agriculture field; increasing agricultural production after lands reclamation, drying the swamps and planting trees in the mountains, and Italy achieved endogenous capacity as to food production through launching Wheat battle initiative as importing wheat was reduced at 75% as at 1935. (Lowe, p.74).
- Developing transportation; opening new streets, maintaining thereof, increasing railways, starting to us electricity in railways and developing ports.
- Increase electricity generation, which was doubled in 1937, increasing depending on electricity to operate factories. Steel production was doubled by 1930, and the artificial silk production was increased up to ten doubles.
- Organize laborers and public service and include them in syndicates represented by laborers and employers, National council for syndicates was established which replaced the representatives council and converted to political authority controlled by the government in order to give the impression that it is corporative state. The laborers were qualified, trained and organized, they started sharing in the public life; forming sports teams. All of the foregoing contributed in decreasing idleness trend and in the same time the government encourages and enhanced constructions issue, especially in zones which were prepared to build new cities and towns.
- Increasing the state authority, corporate national business which presented Italy as united state. (Gokhale, p .246).

a) Deadlocks

- Although Italy depended on Industry, but there were not enough efforts in coal and oil reserves field.
- Mussolini tried to strengthen Italian currency and thus he raised Lire value to 90 Sterling instead of

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150 in 1926. This step worked to make exports costly in the global markets, and reduced the demands on Italian cotton industries. The laborers worked 3 days/week, and thus their income was reduced at 10-20% before the global economical crises in 1929.

- The Fascism system failed in terms of social services, the state did to achieve any luxury, and there were no governmental health insurance available in Italy up to 1943. There was limited insurance to face idleness, which was not developed due to national increasing depression.
- The Fascism system was ineffective & corruptive, so execution was not done in may of policies in complete and suitable manner; i.e. even the lands reclamation propaganda, the respective program was not carried out until 1939, and such program was sopped before the start of 2nd. World War, as well as financial provision disappeared as these were stolen by Official corrupts. (lowe, p.75-76).

b) Fascism and Totalitarian regime

After 1928, the Fascism supreme council representatives started to nominate list of nominees as to parliament council, electors' role therein was only voting either with or against it. The system was designed in a way to guarantee that Mussolini shall stay in the state. The propaganda had marketed Mussolini as genius to the extent that Mussolini himself believed in such feature. (Watson, 1991, p.101).

From the other side, Mussolini assured the necessity to decrease POPE and the Catholic Church political power, independent strength in Italy. In the same time the Fascists declared their trend as Anti - Communism. Also Mussolini allowed Religious teaching in the schools. Mussolini could lastly, after long negotiations started in 1926 up to 1929 to sign agreement with the POPE called Lateran accords, under which Vatican independency was declared in its city and the government re-recognized the Catholic Church and its religious power in Italy. Fascism contribution was considered introduction to establish corporate state, disputes therein are discussed as internal and domestic manner (Cornwell, p. 32).

Duce II power started to increase, and Mussolini represented international leader in terms of military and economy, and he looked like as if he converted Italian people to Romans Conquerors (Greenville, p.293). From that point Mussolini troops fought, severely, in Libya and Somalia against Bedouin weak tribes. On course Mussolini could do much in that regards without help from Britain and France.

In 1923, Mussolini tried, via Notations league, to acquire Corfu Island from Greece, but Britain and France interfered in the matter which forced him to retreat from the Island. In the next year Mussolini tried to occupy Fiume and include thereof to Italy to enhance his image as Superman who works hard to build Great Italy (Gokhale, p.250).

Further, and in 9/12/1928 is issued new elections law, which was amended on 14/12/1929, via which the Fascism party became the supreme council and the constitutional central body in the state. This was the first step in the merger of state in the party. In 1929, the parliamentary elections were carried out based on Fascism list and acquired 8.5 millions votes, while in the second elections it acquired 10 Million votes. Such results did not satisfy Mussolini, and the Fascism leaders discussed the matter to replace the Supreme Fascism council instead of the Parliament.

In his speech in November 1934, Mussolini declared stating some people exceeded the era and they started talking about the parliament council end. The day where the council shall decide its fate shall come soon. There are fascists and such occasion may cause them to cry.. If such people are existed they have to know from now, that we shall not wipe there tears, but it is possible but reasonable that the syndicates' council shall replace such council and practices its business. The current council is not the council which I support or accept as its existence contradicts the current era and does not move in line with the era requirements. It is system that we inherited but in fact is differs than our minds and thinking as well as our Fascism activities. The existence of such council is supposition to continue life in the world which the Fascism destroyed and determined that the party majority shall exists and allow re-attacks on the regime operation, adopt it or otherwise. Since this day where the party majority is revoked the main reason is no longer available as to its existence, and thus its presence justifications are sopped (Fayed, p. 78-79).

Mussolini expressed his Fascism trend and defined thereof as civilized ideal frame in this century in Europe in its fourth advancement stage… and the Fascism grants Europe ambition for its regular institutions and inspiration from its experiment (Gokhale,1982, p.250).

c) Fascism Impact on Europe

Mussolini followed rough and strong policy within national frame in Europe, in order to present Italy in civilized and advanced stand and has its role to re-texting 20th. Century civilization in Fascists method as stated above. So he, for example, and in 1923, once he killed four Italian students in Border skirmishes between Greece and Albania, intended to present himself as Albany protector and demanded to apologize and compensation from Greeks, and once they refused his demand he hit Greece by artillery thence he occupied Corfu (Cornwell, p.33).

In 1924 he concluded an agreement with Yugoslavia as to Fiume city, under which the city

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became part of Italy, while the Slovak surrounding lands became Yugoslavia territories. This proved that he dealt in strong military manner and political toughness in Italian colonization issue in Ethiopia and Somalia. He started his Expansionist colonial policy foreign police as worrier (Gokhale,p.250) and assured in many occasions that Italy is ready and is establishing its military troops, marine and air force, once we can hear our voice then we shall force others to recognize our rights (Renouvin, p.239).

His policy was rough with France, either its existence in Tunisia or Italian stand in Tunisia under the French Colonization. He established Fascist newspaper, claimed their rights and to draw the borders between Libya and Tunisia. In 1928 Italians established marine bases and air Force bases in Rodos Island/Leros, as well as *Porto Lagos* in order to set limit for the French and British superiority in the Mediterranean sea.

In addition to fascist ideas contribution in developing the political system in Europe; i.e. depending on party Militias defends power, depending on strength, permanent mobilization of individuals to serve the state, considering the sole party as driving force in the state, he depended to raise youth and organize military camps for these youth in all countries that is affected by Fascism theory. We could notice that the Fascist Italian demands have its deep impact to drive its European and colonial policy in the same time.

Italy considered Corsican Island areas, Niece and Savoy Italian territories. These Italian alleges caused strained relations between both states. In 1923 Mussolini merged Dodecanese islands which Italians occupied during the Italian-Turkish war in 1912 temporarily. They started practice their sovereignty therein since 1922. Such Islands have its special importance as its location is close to Small Asia and it could be used to establish Air and marine bases and further these islands are considered commercial support point to face France power in the Mediterranean Sea.

Italy could guarantee Tangier's Neutrality, while it invaded Ethiopia to establish link between its colonies in Somalia and Eretria. In spite of the nation's league decisions, but Mussolini fought strongly in Ethiopia, and remained in the territories which fell under his power therein even though the Nations league appeals. Mussolini relations with Germany were strengthened in 1928. Rome-Berlin Axis was declared in 1936 (Gokhale, p.250), and the relations between Germany and Italy became more stronger an close after Italian occupation to Ethiopia in 1936, whereas Germany recognized Italian invasion as to Eastern Africa, and further cooperated with it to support General Franco in the Spanish national war. Mussolini supported Germany step to include Austria in 1938.

While Italy allayed with Germany, Austria & Hungary, but its relation with France & Poland became worse. We noticed that Italian – British relations was friendly since 1926, once the British Foreign affairs Minister (Austin Chamberlain), visited Italy and friendship (English – Italian) was declared and Mussolini also called and seconded this friendly relations with Britain in the Italian Senate council in June 1928, and declared that it is a appoint out of original points) for his foreign policy (Renouvin, p.238), and further the relations between Italy and Britain was shaped by favoritism, while Italy entered in the 2nd World war within Rome – Berlin Axis signed in 1930.

From the other side, the Fascism impact, its Totalitarian regime and its dictatorship was converted to Spain, Germany, & Portugal, respectively. Fascism management methods were used in wide manner during the term between both world wars via the regimes which were called (Anti-Nationalism) in some of Eastern Europe countries, South East Europe & Latin America, but the Fascism reached its final text in Germany whereas it was coupled with Hitler Dictatorship in 1933(Blank, 1984, p.9).

Also the 2nd world war started by Fascism, and human losses registered 50-55 Million people, while wounded persons registered (34-35) Millions, disabled persons registered (20-25) Millions, while epidemics and hunger reaped (8-12) million humans. Total estimations of the financial capacities which were destroyed by the war in all countries who took part in the war at that time prices are 316.3 Billions US$ (Blank, 1984, p. 8-9).

V. Conclusion

This research tackles the Fascism Movement emergence in its country of origin; Italy, factors thereof, movement's development within intellectual, theoretical, organizational and political frame, as well as the research indicated, in brief, to some of to leaders thereof.

Moreover, it reviewed the fascist state procedures during its sovereignty and receiving the power in Italy, including achievements and deadlocks. Further the research handled review in terms of the Fascism conversion to dictatorship totalitarian regime mocking of Parliamentary Democracy and glorifies Individuality.

We could notice that the Fascism movement impact on Europe confirmed to be big whether in terms of Fascism theory prevalence in the regime or political procedures which Fascism performed to fulfill its political declarations and also Fascism interaction in the political, international and global centers, as to its stand from colonization and developing its power to achieve its regional and international ambitions.

The research handled also Fascism impact on Spain, Germany, Portugal, and Italy connection with Berlin- Rome Axis singed in 1930 within which Italy entered the second war with Germany, and further the horrible affect on humans and economies of the 2nd.

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World war which was fought and instigated by Fascist Italy.

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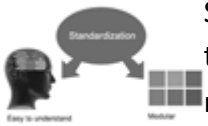


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4. Manuscript's Category,

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9. Use and get big pictures: Always use encyclopedias, Wikipedia to get pictures so that you can go into the depth.

10. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right! It is a good habit, which helps to not to lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on Internet also, which will make your search easier.

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17. Never use online paper: If you are getting any paper on Internet, then never use it as your research paper because it might be possible that evaluator has already seen it or maybe it is outdated version.

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21. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments to your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

22. Never start in last minute: Always start at right time and give enough time to research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

23. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time proves bad habit in case of research activity. Research is an area, where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work in parts and do particular part in particular time slot.

24. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if evaluator has seen it anywhere you will be in trouble.

25. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend for your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health then all your efforts will be in vain. For a quality research, study is must, and this can be done by taking proper rest and food.

26. Go for seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.



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27. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

28. Make colleagues: Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

29. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

30. Think and then print: When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

31. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information, like, I have used MS Excel to draw graph. Do not add irrelevant and inappropriate material. These all will create superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should NEVER take a broad view. Analogy in script is like feathers on a snake. Not at all use a large word when a very small one would be sufficient. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Amplification is a billion times of inferior quality than sarcasm.

32. Never oversimplify everything: To add material in your research paper, never go for oversimplification. This will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be more or less specific. Also too, by no means, ever use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions aren't essential and shouldn't be there used. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands and abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas, that are, not necessary. Parenthetical words however should be together with this in commas. Understatement is all the time the complete best way to put onward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

33. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. Significant figures and appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibitive. Proofread carefully at final stage. In the end give outline to your arguments. Spot out perspectives of further study of this subject. Justify your conclusion by at the bottom of them with sufficient justifications and examples.

34. After conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print to the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects in your research.

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form, which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

Final Points:

A purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people to interpret your effort selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, each section to start on a new page.

The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record keeping are the only means to make straightforward the progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear

· Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page
- Separating a table/chart or figure - impound each figure/table to a single page
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

In every sections of your document

· Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)

· Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper

· Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)

· Align the primary line of each section

· Present your points in sound order

· Use present tense to report well accepted

· Use past tense to describe specific results

· Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives

· Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

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Abstract:

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An abstract is a brief distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approach to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for briefness. You can maintain it succinct by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study, with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to maintain the initial two items to no more than one ruling each.

- Reason of the study - theory, overall issue, purpose
- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including definite statistics - if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
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- A conceptual should situate on its own, and not submit to any other part of the paper such as a form or table
- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an conceptual must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
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The **Introduction** should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable to comprehend and calculate the purpose of your study without having to submit to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give most important references but shun difficult to make a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. In the introduction, describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will have no attention in your result. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here. Following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study
- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Very for a short time explain the tentative propose and how it skilled the declared objectives.

Approach:

- Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done.
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- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
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This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A sound written Procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replacement your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt for the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to spare your outcome but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section. When a technique is used that has been well described in another object, mention the specific item describing a way but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to text all particular resources and broad procedures, so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step by step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

- Explain materials individually only if the study is so complex that it saves liberty this way.
- Embrace particular materials, and any tools or provisions that are not frequently found in laboratories.
- Do not take in frequently found.
- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method (not particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology)
- Describe the method entirely
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures
- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

Approach:

- It is embarrassed or not possible to use vigorous voice when documenting methods with no using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result when script up the methods most authors use third person passive voice.
- Use standard style in this and in every other part of the paper - avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings - save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.



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Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
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- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
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- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

C

Coalition · 18, 26, 33
Concocting · 16

E

Elegantly · 15

F

Folklore · 1, 2

I

Invasion · 20, 28, 36

P

Preachers · 31
Proletariat · 30
Pungent · 26

S

Skirmishes · 36
Sovereignty · 25, 28, 33, 34, 36, 37

T

Tantamount · 14, 17

U

Ubiquitous · 11, 12



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