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Highlights

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Crocodile Gang Operation Ethno-Religious Identity

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Contents of the Volume

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Table of Contents
v. From the Chief Editor's Desk
vi. Research and Review Papers

1. Rethinking Pre-Colonial State Formation and Ethno-Religious Identity Transformation in Hausaland under the Sokoto Caliphate. *1-10*
2. Myth, Broken: Female Emirs Found in the Northern Parts of Nigeria. *11-20*
3. Transformation of Urban Spaces through Time-Space Politics towards Ethical Developing Urban Spaces in Turkey Context. *21-26*
4. The 'Crocodile Gang' Operation: A Critical Reflection on the Genesis of the Second Chimurenga in Zimbabwe. *27-36*
5. U.S PolicyTowards Jerusalem in Accordance with International Legitimacy (An Analytical Study). *37-57*
6. The Challenges of Democracy and Neo-liberalism and its Implications to the Politico-Economic Development of Developing Countries. *59-65*

vii. Auxiliary Memberships
viii. Process of Submission of Research Paper
ix. Preferred Author Guidelines
x. Index

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Rethinking Pre-Colonial State Formation and Ethno-Religious Identity Transformation in Hausaland under the Sokoto Caliphate

By Lenshie, Nsemba Edward & Ayokhai, F.E.F.
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Abstract - State formation in Hausaland was on course in precolonial Nigeria in the context of geographical proximity, biosocial relations and cultural contiguities before the development was impeded by the Fulani overlords in the Usman Danfodio led jihad (1804-1817). During the jihad, the populations of the Hausa (Habe) states were spontaneously disaggregated and later, re-aggregated to establish a new state, the Sokoto Caliphate. This paper examines the nexus between pre-colonial state formation and social identity transformation along ethno-religious lines in Hausaland under the Sokoto Caliphate. It finds that a major outcome of precolonial state formation in Hausaland is the transformation of social identities along ethno-religious lines. The paper argues that the jihad was not only motivated by the need for religious purification but also as much by the quest for 'power to make binding decisions and authoritative allocation of values in the society' and to also 'determine who gets what, when and how'. This paper contends that the jihadists' interception of the evolution of the Hausa States had two significant implications. Firstly, it ended the possibility of the transformation of the Hausa States under the Habe rulers into an empire and aborted the Habe dynasties while enthroning the rule of the Fulani over states in Hausaland. Secondly, the Hausa states founded on the cosmopolitanism ideology were transformed to adopt a new ethno-religious identity, the Hausa-Fulani. These implications were to significantly influence the trajectories of social identity formation in Hausaland under the Caliphate.

Keywords : *hausaland, hausa pre-colonial states, jihad, ethno-religious transformation, sokoto caliphate.*

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Rethinking Pre-Colonial State Formation and Ethno-Religious Identity Transformation in Hausaland under the Sokoto Caliphate

Lenshie, Nsemba Edward[α] & Ayokhai, F.E.F.[σ]

Abstract - State formation in Hausaland was on course in pre-colonial Nigeria in the context of geographical proximity, bio-social relations and cultural contiguities before the development was impeded by the Fulani overlords in the Usman Danfodio led jihad (1804-1817). During the jihad, the populations of the Hausa (Habe) states were spontaneously disaggregated and later, re-aggregated to establish a new state, the Sokoto Caliphate. This paper examines the nexus between pre-colonial state formation and social identity transformation along ethno-religious lines in Hausaland under the Sokoto Caliphate. It finds that a major outcome of pre-colonial state formation in Hausaland is the transformation of social identities along ethno-religious lines. The paper argues that the jihad was not only motivated by the need for religious purification but also as much by the quest for 'power to make binding decisions and authoritative allocation of values in the society' and to also 'determine who gets what, when and how'. This paper contends that the jihadists' interception of the evolution of the Hausa States had two significant implications. Firstly, it ended the possibility of the transformation of the Hausa States under the Habe rulers into an empire and aborted the Habe dynasties while enthroning the rule of the Fulani over states in Hausaland. Secondly, the Hausa states founded on the cosmopolitanism ideology were transformed to adopt a new ethno-religious identity, the Hausa-Fulani. These implications were to significantly influence the trajectories of social identity formation in Hausaland under the Caliphate.

Keywords : hausaland, hausa pre-colonial states, jihad, ethno-religious transformation, sokoto caliphate.

I. Introduction

There is a consensus among scholars that human habitation in the Nigeria area dates back to circa 300 B.C. In the central Sudan area, which Northern Nigeria constituted part, there existed several states at different levels of social formation. They were so numerous that it was impossible to enumerate them (Kurfi, 1983, Barkindo et.al., 1989). Of all the states, the Hausa state formations were outstanding. In the century before colonisation, the Nigerian area witnessed the transformation of several pre-colonial state formations. These states were widely spread culturally and different in sizes and forms of organizational sophistications, which evolved within the context of their respective socio-cultural and religious traditions (Oyovbaire, 1985; Odofin, 2003; Aper, 2008).

The Hausa states in central Sudan date before the advent of Bayyajida, the acclaimed legend and founder of the 'federation'. The Habe within this period had evolved administrative and organisational structures to govern their people. In each of the states, bio-social relations and ethno-religious belief system had developed. Within their socio-cultural and traditional belief systems and widely spread mutually intelligible language enhanced by geographical proximities, the tendencies of an emerging Habe ruled mega state was becoming high in the century before they were conquered and brought under Sokoto Caliphate.

The arrival of the Muslim Fulani clerics into Hausaland, their revolutionary teachings and eventually, the Usman Danfodio led Jihad in the 19th century halted the course of development of the Hausa States. It ended the Hausa dynasties and transformed the people ethno-religiously, such that they are perceived in post-colonial Nigeria as Hausa-Fulani. This paper attempts an examination of how the states and societies in Hausaland came to acquire the Hausa-Fulani identity. This paper examines the conditions necessitating the evolution of the Hausa state formations before the interception by the Fulani jihadists, the dynamics of the jihad and the ethno-religious transformation of the Hausa States into the Sokoto Caliphate.

II. Political Geography of Hausaland: An Overview of the Past in the Present

The Hausa people etymologically have been referred as Hausawa, Haoussa, Ausa, Habe, and Mgbakpa. They constitute one of the single largest ethnic groups in the West African region. They are located on a large scale in the Sahelian areas of northern Nigeria and the south-eastern Niger, and spread across other African countries (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, 2012). Hausaland was better referred to as the Sudan Kingdom. In this part of the world where

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the Hausa settled, there were clusters of ethnic groups, who in centuries later were joined by them.

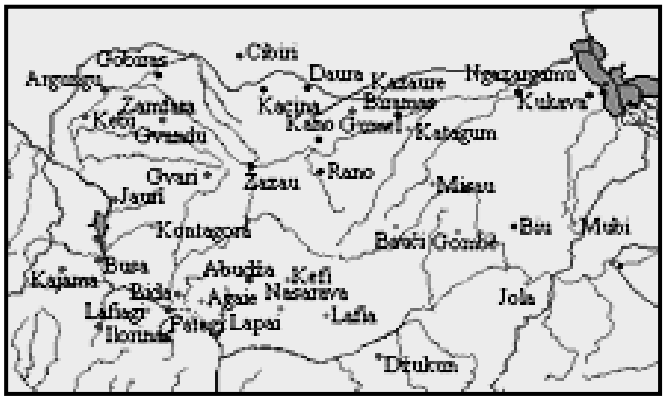
Describing geopolitically the Hausaland, Sulaiman (n/d) corroborates that Hausaland is located in the central Bilad al-Sudan, bordering Kanem Borno in the east and Songhai in the west. The Hausa people were neither an ethnic group nor the only inhabitants of the land. They were believed to have migrated into the region sometime before the 10th century from the central Sahara, perhaps due to desiccation or some such natural phenomenon. On arrival the Hausa people settled in the central savanna and mixed with the indigenous people. The result was a multi-ethnic society sharing a common language called 'Hausa'.

This expanded the territoriality of the Habe beyond the northern plains of Jos-Plateau. In these areas they evolved various formations of centralized statehoods which were by definition city states. They included Daura, Katsina, Kano, Zaria, Gobir, and later Kebbi and Zamfara. Each of the states was walled to grant protection against perceived enemies. Notwithstanding, the polities were governed under the monarchical system; this was organized as a necessity to direct the affairs of governance. There were also powerful market centers in all the states, which were not only restricted within their respective territories but also attracted merchants from far and near to do businesses (http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/414840/Nigeria/55311/Hausaland).

Despite this territorial occupation and spread the Habe enjoyed in the Sudan region, they often contended against one another. Some of the emergent powerful rulers consistently wanted to annex other Hausa States to expand their spheres of control. The internal wrangling among these states rendered them unable to withstand external attacks. It is evident that the Hausa States in the century before the jihad were attacked and brought under the control of the Kenem Borno Empire. The territory was later brought under the Sokoto Caliphate (1804-1904). The Usman Danfodio led jihad expanded the Hausaland beyond its natural borders by bringing others into the Commonwealth of the Caliphate.

The Caliphate was later subjected to British colonial rule. Historical evidence demonstrates that the Fulani aristocrat, Sultan Attahiru of Sokoto struggled assiduously against colonial domination but eventually was overpowered in 1904. During this period, the deposed Sultan and Emirs were replaced with new ones and were made to take an oath of total loyalty to Her Majesty, the Queen and accept to do in accordance to the instructions of the Queen's representatives – Governors and Resident Officers – in their respective localities (Sa'ad, 1980). This signalized the lost of authority to determine the socio-economic and political future of their societies, implying that they were nominal rulers designated with the position of becoming British colonial surrogates (Soyinka, 2009). At independence, the Hausanization of the most parts of northern Nigeria have expanded the territorial boundaries of the Hausaland from the southwest to the northeast and north-central (Benue valley and the belt of River Niger) bordering the southern Nigeria (see figure 1).

Fig. 1 : Map showing major cities of Hausaland in modern borders of Nigeria



Source: Hausa Kingdoms, Wikipedia free encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hausa_Kingdoms

In post-colonial Nigeria the definition of Hausaland came to be identified as the area where Hausa is the lingua franca, or alternatively, it is the area where Hausa is the first language of most or all of the population. This definition of the Hausaland incorporates the non-Hausa aborigines into the classification. This makes Hausaland enormously extensive attributed to widespread Hausanization of the region. With expansion of Hausa language as a lingua franca in this part of the country, it provided the ability not just to communicate but also, some sense of political and cultural identity. Accordingly, this identity can be traced to the beginning of the present millennium (Sutton, 1979).

Pre-Caliphate States in Hausaland and Ethno-Religious Identity Formation

III. Pre-Caliphate States in Hausaland and Ethno-Religious Identity Formation

Inquiry into the Hausa ethnic group is complicating and could be misleading. Jibrin Ibrahim (2003) cited in Kazah-Toure (2004:45) stated that there is an agreement among historians over the difficulties of tracing the origin of the Hausa. Accordingly, the ancestors of the Hausa people were, however, mainly autochthons to the territory that came to be known as Hausaland, possessing an ethnic identity belonging to Afro-Asiantic language of the Chadic group (Kazah-Toure, 2003). Coleman (1985) succinctly stated that the original Hausa people moved into what is now the Northern Region of Nigeria at least some centuries before the spread of Islam into the area. However, the Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia (2012) avers that

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> Between 500 CE and 700 CE Hausa people had been slowly moving west from Nubia and mixing in with the local Northern and Central Nigerian population established a number of strong states in what is now Northern and Central Nigeria and Eastern Niger.

Situating the Hausaland and their neighbours, Kurfi (1983) avers that Hausa States had evolved alongside other state formations before Islam spread and later, Western colonization into the area at the turn of 20th century.

> The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the rise of the Hausa city states of Katsina, Kano, Gobir, Zaria, etc., in the North as well as Nupe and Kwararafa kingdoms in the Middle Belt area of Nigeria (Kurfi, 1983).

The state formations in the Hausaland were not monolithic; they were separate and independent entities. The independence enjoyed by the people also reflected in their pre-Caliphate identity formations. Each Hausa group preferred to be associated with their specific areas of habitation either as Gobirawa, Katsinawa, Daurawa, Kanawa, and so on (Jega, 1999; Barkindo, et.al. 1989). Pre-Caliphate Hausa States in the present day Northern Nigeria were construed by histories of migration and other social variables such as language, culture, tradition and geographical contiguity. These were identity structures that were necessary for the evolution of a federation in the centuries ahead.

One of the major factors that were indeed important and necessitating in this regard was their ability to evolve a culture and tradition, built around the legend – Bayyajida, as the acclaimed founder of the Hausa States. Even though there were recorded histories of warfare among Hausa States, the myth, nonetheless, was developed to generate internal harmony and cohesion among the Hausa speaking peoples. Indicating how the Hausa speaking peoples were united by conscience, Coleman (1985) asserted that these characteristics of the peoples led to an intense cultural consciousness such that no matter where they travelled abroad, or how long they remained there, they retained a profound pride in Hausa language and the culture it denoted. This cohesion was not developed overnight but by centuries of cultural and traditional practices across generations. Ethno-cultural or religious belief system among them made provision for that development.

Within this period, Hausa pre-colonial State formations experienced concurrently the socio-economic, political and religious developments which were preconditions for evolving a stable government and to direct the process of administration. The systemic development provided the forum for creating and maintaining bio-social relations and religious intercourse among the people; between rulers, and rulers and their subjects in their respective states. This relationship extended beyond each other's borders. Their boundaries even though were arbitrary were however identifiable. Each knew and understood the limit of state boundaries and hence, limited their operations.

In the same way the political systems evolved – identified as the Sarauta (Kingship) system. The political systems were active agents of social, economic and political transformations. They were capable of responding to the crises of nation building as were obtainable among the political systems of other nations across the world. The Sarauta systems were based on hereditary monarchy developed in the context of centralised system. Under the Sarauta system, the monarchs acted based on cultural and traditional provisions guiding the society. Sometimes, they might overstep their boundaries, but when that happens, they were often reminded for adjustment. This was not only applicable to the rulers but also subjects of the states. The working of the state in this direction implied that there were systems of formal rules or informal understandings that coordinated the actions of individuals.

There were arrays of powerful states in the Hausaland. Most notable and significant among them were the Daura and Gobir as far as politics and governance was concerned. Other Hausa States, for example, Kano and Katsina were eminent in trade, technological innovations and tourism respectively. Historically, it is documented that Daura was governed by a queen named Durama (Awu 2008) for several decades before the mythological appearance of Bayajida in the scene, to whom is accredited the founder of the Hausa Bakwoi (Seven legitimate Hausa) States, and to whose offspring and concubines are attributed the founders of Hausa Banza Bakwoi (Seven illegitimate Hausa states). Some of these States included Nupe, Gwari, Yauri and Kwararafa among others (Buah 1974).

However, the claim by the Hausa over these states in the pre-colonial era is contradictory and mythical. There are no evidences to prove this claim. Suffice it to note that, the Jukun even though had encounter with the Hausaland during their migratory period, they evolved systematically, firstly, intelligible integrative spoken languages which were quite different from the Hausa language, and secondly, a belief system woven into their culture and traditions that marked them out from other ethnic groups. These ethno-traditional characteristics were developed in rituals and cultural symbolism of the people and were passed down from generation to generation. In fact, it is on record that the Junkun constituted serious challenge to the survival of the Hausa States in the 18th century (Coleman, 1985). Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, in his autobiography 'My life' affirms this fact thus: 'curiously

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enough, the Jukuns of Wukari… in a period of extra-ordinary activity, three times raided the far north and once captured the massive fortress of Kano itself and swept on and nearly took Katsina before their attack lost impetus' in the century (Miapyen 2013).

According to Coleman (1985) Gobir was the seat of power and the centre of intellectual formation. He pointed that throughout Hausaland; the Hausa pagan king of Gobir in mid-18th century had serious influence on other Hausa states and threatened to bring them under his control. The influence was forceful and incremental. Internally, the ruler was considered not to be responsive to the yearnings and aspirations of the people. The desire to annex other Hausa States lends credence to the internal contradictions that led to the jihad of the 19th century. Although, the ruler in Gobir had embraced Islam within the century the Fulani entered Hausaland, syncretism was still largely the practice.

Describing the repressive nature of the rulers of Hausaland, particularly the Gobir ruler, Hunwick (1965) noted: a) the ruler, by his action, had shown himself not to be a Muslim, and the land is to be considered a land of Islam or a land of unbelief, according to the religion of its ruler; b) the unbelief of the Sarki of Gobir was shown by the way in which he followed certain non-Islamic practices such as the veneration of rocks and trees, consultation with magicians and soothsayers, the imposition of illegal taxes, the banning of the wearing of the veil for women etc., and c) by the way he attacked and persecuted other Muslims. Given this situation, Usman Danfodio took advantage of the political misnomers and began to preach Islam and mobilising the people against the state. The objective was to overthrow the status quo and to reconstruct a system from the deficits of the existing state system with the hope of founding an Islamic state that provide for effective justice delivery.

Nevertheless, before this period, the Hausa States generally were marked out. They were centres of scholarship and intellectualism, and such development was rapid and the people could appreciate. The form of knowledge passed down was pragmatic and practical. It was geared towards building a society for self-propelling development and self-sufficiency in terms of production and consumption capacities. To ensure this prospect, the younger ones were given opportunities to choose between trades to learn and the experts in their endeavour of choice were always willing to teach. The devotion of the trainees to the trainers was great. In the process of learning, emphasis was placed on character and learning. Excellence was celebrated and encouraged by the people. The reason was to ensure that they become profitable for themselves and for their respective societies (Rodney, 1972; Nzemwe, 1985; Barkindo et.al., 1985; Ubah, 1985; Bako, 1999).

The visibility and outrageous economies of scale of the Hausa was informed by the foregoing commitments. Mainly, agriculture provided readily the trade for internal development. Various species were domesticated ranging from millet, rice, cotton, groundnuts, and several other food crops and plants. The capacity for exchange of capital was developed; this enabled them to trade beyond their respective states boundaries. Their exchanges never stopped at the production and distribution of goods and services, but also to include clothing and textiles, minerals and other material artefacts (Rodney, 1972; Oliver and Atmore, 1994:12-14). Technologically, the Hausa had indigenously developed and directed them to meet bio-social requirements of the society. For instance, blacksmithing for the construction of hoes to serve the purpose of farming, the development of shoemaking technology, building and architectural technology, and tie and dye technology among others were domesticated. It is relevant to state that the Hausa had mastery of trades and were exporting beyond their borders to generate foreign earning. Note that it was the surpluses that were exported to attract the import of other resources that were not readily developed in their respective societies. This informed why several trades and exchanges flourished in the Hausa States (Oliver and Atmore, 1994).

Equally important is the fact that the Hausaland had developed the concept of 'God' in which a psycho-cosmic drama was performed often in reverence to the deity. The people had the belief that He was the most powerful on earth and in heavens. He was capable of protecting and ensuring their well being. The worship was performed through efficacious tenuous process. They were given to the worship of Iskoki (spirits). The peoples' belief in Iskoki approximated similar practices in Christianity and Islam, where Allah (God) is spirit not physically seen, but exists everywhere and all knowing (omnipresent and omnipotent), and as such should be worshiped in the same context. The basic difference was the mode of the worship associated with them and directed to the deities (Quick, 1995; Andersson, 2002; Sulaiman, n.d; Lesnhie and Johnson, 2012).

The Haradu (god of thunder) phenomenon was also prominent among the people. The phenomenon was considered to be one of the most supreme deities which helped to condition their existence both vertically and horizontally. Their belief in the deity was orchestrated through festive dance referred to as bori as marked features of respect to the deity (Nzemwe, 1985). Till this day, some of these practices are still visible among the Hausa maguzawa, who have not intermixed their culture with any form of religious practices. This system was factorial to the internal solidarity and cohesion enjoyed among the Hausa because it provided the moral codes for their existence as a

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collective whole. Religion was therefore primus in this development. The Haradu was invoked to assert justice where injustice was manifested and nobody wanted to accept responsibility for an offence.

Among the Hausa, justice delivery through the invocation of the spirit was carried out instantaneously on the offender when no one accepted responsibility for an offense. Theirs was not like those obtained in other religions such as Islam and Christianity, where retributions are believed to be in the 'life-here-after'. Ubah (1985) asserts 'the pre-colonial period, from the mythical to historical times, was dominated by a religious world view. Thus, all activities and instruments of governance and survival were clothed in religion, ritual, language and symbolism'. Religion constructively shaped the lives and thought pattern of the peoples in Hausaland and directed their mindsets towards production of good governance to meet the challenges that came with the varied demands of social formation.

This development was transformed to meet new ends, following the migration of the Fulani into Hausaland during the pre-jihad era. In this connection, Hunwick (1965:269) stated that in the century before the jihad, in the north-western Hausaland were settled by large Fulani who migrated over the centuries from the Futa-Toro of Senegal. Many of them, mainly Muslims settled in towns and villages and intermarried with the Hausa population. With this development the tendency for ethno-religious transformation was therefore eminent. In every society, Kazah-Toure (2004) argues that 'migration provided the tendencies of creating new ethnic identity', informed by ethno-biosocial relations of hitherto non-coexisting groups.

IV. Islam, Jihad and the Establishment of Sokoto Caliphate

Before Islam entered the Hausaland, traditional religions were the mainstay. The Hausas were not irreligious; their religiosity reached a level where it began to be viewed as contradictory to the belief of Islam. Islam was introduced into Hausaland in the 14th century, even though it has been religion in Borno Empire since the 11th century. The reason was that between these periods, Hausaland was yet to enter into the trans-Saharan trade with their neighbours in northern Africa (Barkindo et.al., 1985). However, the arrival of the Fulani expanded the religion through teaching of the tenets of the faith. Within this period, Arabic was introduced. This development provided the people with a medium of writing and communication. This was considered the era of modern scholarship and intellectualism in Hausaland.

Bako (1999) argues that the development provided the ease for building an ideological base through teaching and preaching against the state order in the century before the Jihad was executed. Suffice to note that, the call for Jihad took the pattern of contemporary civil society mobilisation. To buttress how Usman Danfodio started the mobilisation, according to Sulaiman (n/d)

> …he had to mould men and women who would subscribe to his ideas and share his aspirations to bring an umma dedicated to Islam in order to transform society. [This he did by establishing] his own school, trained his own students and created his own community of scholars, teachers and saints. It was through these students the Talaba that he spread his massage; it was from these students that he formed the inner core of the movement; and it is they who spearheaded the prosecution of the jihad….

The Jama'a (community) was formed in Degel, the Gobir state and was transformed into a militant group in the subsequent years to execute the jihad (Bako, 1999:79-89). The people who joined the Jama'a were motivated by varied objectives. These motives were presented by Bello's classification of the community into ten categories depending on their involvement. Sulaiman (n/d) cited Bello thus:

> The first nine include those who had joined the Jama'a for purely political reasons, because it offered a refuge for the oppressed; those who, being Fulani, had joined it on tribal considerations and had cause to 'despise the non-Fulani, even if they are learned, pious or mujahidun'; those whose reason for their membership was no more than 'fashion'; scholars whose fortunes had been drained by the revolutionary momentum unleashed by the Jama'a, and who had no alternative but to join in order to survive; and those who were in the Jama'a because it offered material benefits. There were still others who rode on the prestigious crest of the Jama'a, even though they had since been attracted by the world and the devil,' and had abandoned its goals; those who were born within the Jama'a and remained in it, not by absolute conviction, but by accident of birth, who were not keen to learn the values and objectives which the movement stood for. And then there were others swept by currents into the body of the Jama'a: they did not know why they were there, nor did they belong there, either by orientation or conviction; hence, depression became their lot. The genuine members of the Jama'a, who comprised one out of the ten categories, were those 'guided not by the world but by Allah, giving up property, power and family for the life to come'.

Notwithstanding, these circumstances which motivated the people, the objective of Usman Danfodio was to mobilise the people towards embracing and joining the Jama'a to fulfil the task of jihad against the Habe rulers in the Hausaland became critical. This provided the impetus for Gobir, particularly Gudu, to

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become intellectual centre for the mobilisation of the people against the state. Even though this was more pronounced there, Katsina, for instance, also provided the environment for the intellectual development geared towards developing a learned and administrative class for the Fulani, who later incited the subjects against their rulers (Ajayi, 1965).

In other non-Hausa settlements, the revolutionary teaching aggravated the impetus for the devotees and reformers to exploit social, political and economic grievances in their societies to overthrow the government of their respective states. This did not result to the purification of the religion, but further extended borders of Islamic dominance (Ubah, 1985). Okafor (1989) also noted:

> Islam started as a religion of the ruling classes with the king as the first convert. The chiefs and the civil administrators followed the king in accepting Islam probably for the ease of winning his confidence and favours. Subsequently it was implemented as state religion in the kingdom.

Mohammed (1989) reiterated Ubah's statement while citing Balogun as stating that:

> Islam began as a religion of aliens then became the religion of influential or ruling elites before it finally got accepted by the masses and became popular and later a militant religion.

It is important to chronicle that Hausaland, starting from the 14th century, had opened up trade relations with the Tureg, Barber and Arab in northern Africa. Through the Trans-Sahara trade in the middle of 14th century, the Hausaland began experiencing widespread immigration by the Fulani and their animals in search for pasture. It was within this period that Islam found its ways into Hausaland and laid the foundation for the jihad, which was to bring the Hausa and their neighbours under subjugation. In few places, the Fulani overlords were not involved directly but got the blessings of Usman Danfodio to execute the jihad. The success of the jihad led to the formation of the Sokoto Caliphate with Usman Danfodio as the leader of the newly founded state. Those who executed the jihad successfully in their respective territorial enclaves were blessed to be Emirs but subordinated to the Caliphate authorities.

It can be inferred that elite class struggles was central to the war as the masses were manipulated to provide fertile grounds for the jihad. Implicitly or explicitly, the essence of the jihad was to enhance the competitiveness and presence of the Fulani and to build Islamic Empires throughout the Central Sudan and beyond (Ubah, 1985; Al-Masih 1991). Ubah (1985) recounted that:

> …Hausa knew no Muslims until the second half of the fourteenth century when Islam was introduced by the refugees from Mali. It had reached Kenem [Borno Empire] early because the Chad region had commercial links with Northern Africa; it came to Hausaland late because until the fifteenth century this people did not participate in the trans-Saharan commerce, and it would appear that communication networks between Kenem [Borno Empire] and Hausa land were late developing. From Kano and Katsina the new religion spread to other Hausa States, and it was further extended during the early nineteenth century revolution inspired largely by Fulani clerics led by Usman Danfodio.

Historians have espoused reasons for the jihad that later enthroned Fulani oligarchy. There is the view that the Hausa States accepted the religion before the jihad but the practice was intermixed with traditional belief systems. This gave credence for the jihad. The other view generates from the political economy standpoint that the quest for political and economic control was central to the jihad. There was the fear that the influence of the pagan king of Gobir was becoming enormous and could lead to the decline of Islam that was increasingly gaining grounds in Hausaland (Coleman 1985).

According to Bako (1999), by a way of trying to sustain the status quo of the Sarauta system, the Hausa kings nurtured and developed scholarship that was meant to aggrandize their self glorifying status and material possessions as against the mass citizens' interests. These despotic and unjust attitudes exhibited by the Hausa kings in governance were factors that ignited the jihad. Ajayi (1965) stated that the Hausa States were not decadent as the Fulani reformers often implied. They were mistaken when they thought the decline of Islam also meant the decline in justice, fair taxation and good governance, true morality and the vitality of society generally. The war was simply directed at the Habe rulers, particularly the Gobir ruler, who had exhibited strong military might against the other Hausa States.

The jihad actually started as a movement protesting against the repressive regime. The most important point to note is that political power was the major concern. This was because power provided the capacity for inciting obedience among subjects and allowed rulers to monopolise the use of force and the authoritative allocation of values in the society. For the Fulani, state power was a necessity. They believed, if state power was captured, it was going to guarantee them hegemony over the land and people of Hausaland. It was also going to give them the rights to allocate resources and determine 'who gets what, when and how' and 'who does what and to whom' (Barkindo, et-al.1989).

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V. End of Habe Dynasties and Ethno-Religious Transformation

The jihad ended the Hausa dynasties and established in their place Fulani overlords. Accordingly, Buah (1974) noted that the defeat of the Hausa States brought the end of Hausa dynasties. In their place emerged a powerful, united empire or Caliphate, with its headquarters in Sokoto. It led to ethno-religious transformation of the social identities in Hausaland; following the adoption of Islam as state religion and Holy Qur'an as central for making laws and instituting orders. In this connection, Bagadar (1994) states that '…Islam does not separate or distinguish between the spheres of the secular and the sacred, but retain both within its controls'. Bukhsh, (n/d: 12) noted in this regard that the reason for this was because 'religion influence the nature of human existence and imparts more or less uniform character to people's daily life'.

The victory of the Usman Danfodio led jihad spanned from the northwest to northeast and to the south of Borno Empire. The capture of the Hausa States particularly, was informed by their disunity in the face of Fulani cohesion. Noteworthy is the fact that their enthusiasm was generated among a large number of Hausa subjects, Turegs and other people within the Hausaland (Ajayi, 1965:264). However, other places in the Benue valley were also brought under control by the Jihadist, except for the Tiv and the Jukun speaking people and some ethnic nationalities in the Plateau province in the century. Gwandu, Ilorin, Gombe, Bauchi and Adamawa, Muri for instance, were conquered at different times and were established as emirates by Fulani clerics and crusaders (Barkindo, et.al., 1989). The process was carried out through disaggregation of ethnic groups and after successful conquest was recorded, these ethnic groups were re-aggregated into a state formation, the Sokoto Caliphate. What happened in these areas looks like the replication of experience from the Arabian Peninsula and Northern Africa. s

Al-Masih (1991) noted that the situation in the Arabian Peninsula was the same as some other places in Northern Africa where obnoxious policies were directed at the heathens, animists, idol worshippers and adherents of primal religions – those who refused to surrender to Islam. Okwori (2003) concurred that "the people were raided and compelled to become Moslems apart from being decimated by the Jihadist for slaves." The choice for decimating those who refused to accept Islam into slavery was the consideration that exterminating thousands of them was going to amount to a bloody and useless enterprise. They also strengthened the base of Islamic state formations under the Sokoto Caliphate.

In the same vein, Ubah (1985) reiterated that

> …One result of this revolution was that the Frontiers of Islamic lands were vastly expanded as parts of present Sokoto, Bauchi, Kwara, Niger and Gongola [now Adamawa and Taraba] states were brought into the community of believers through wars of conquest as well as through the influence of traders and missionaries.

Fulani quest for territorial expansion led the Islamic frontiers to attempt a revolution into the Borno Empire. Al-Kanemi Mohammed considered the jihad unjustifiable since Islam had already been the religion in the empire before spreading into the Hausaland. He contended by asking whether where Abdullahi Bin-Fodio worshipped was a fire temple or a Church (Kukah, 1993) and as such the objective of the jihad in the Borno Empire was defeated. However, later the Fulani infiltrated the Borno Empire and influenced the process of governance toward the Sokoto Caliphate-like system of government.

With the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, the already existing political system in Hausaland were fused into or carried over by the Fulani led administration, although with some modifications (Ajayi, 1965:264). Usman Danfodio became both the spiritual and secular leader with the entire emirates under his control. This marked the period of the consolidation of the Islamic state. The era also marked the peak of the Islamists struggle and the expansion of the Jihad beyond the Hausa pre-colonial state boundaries (Bako, 1999:82). The Caliphate system was modelled after the Caliphate system in the Arabian Peninsula. It is arguable that the political system introduced into Hausaland was entirely foreign; externally negotiated into these societies and imposed on the indigenous populations with Islam as state religion.

To buttress how foreign the system was, Lapidus (2002) stated that "the early Caliphate was politically based on the Muslim community of Arabia and upon the Arab tribal forces who conquered its Middle Eastern empire." The establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate was necessitated by historical dialectics where the old system goes out of being and the new one comes into being, carrying with it some elements of the old system. Such process of change in the political system brought dramatic transformations in Hausaland. Okafor (1989) identified some of the socio-economic and political transformation brought with establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate thus:

- The introduction of Arabic culture and tradition into Hausaland;
- The consolidation of Islam and the change in ethno-religious attitude of the Hausa;
- The teaching of Arabic language to the converts and the citations of verses from the Qur'an;
- The introduction of new social codes that were

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hitherto unknown to the Hausa people; and

- The integration of Hausa economic system into the economic system of the Arab world through the introduction of jizya against those recalcitrant to the religion.
- Nevertheless, it created the impetus for more expanded commercial opportunities in the western Sudan itself and a new drive for commercial links with the south which gradually replaced the declining trans-Saharan trade (Ajayi, 1965:265).

However, some of the characteristics of Hausa ethno-cultural identities, such as language and other traditions that were considered not to be in conflict with Islamic traditions were maintained. For instance, the Hausa language was retained, although, not without some linguistic alterations. The essence was that the language already had profound influence throughout the Northern Nigeria, given that it was easy to learn and it was also considered to be rich in vocabularies (Okafor, 1989). At this juncture, the Hausa language was considered as the language of Islamic missionary activities in the region. There is no gainsaying that the use of the language expanded the feelers of Islam in Northern Nigeria in the post-colonial era. The Fulani in the Hausaland gave up their mother tongue – fulbe, to adopt the Hausa language, but retained their paternal blood line in traditional governance (Coleman, 1985).

The pre-colonial Hausa States super-structures with their attendant political positional hierarchies were also retained, only that an entirely new political class emerged to assume political positions. The new political elites became invariably the critical deciders and determiners of what was justice with reference to the Qur'an and the Hadith. They assumed the centre stage of power to determine 'who gets what, when and how', 'who does what and to whom', and 'authoritatively make binding decisions and allocate values in the society'. In contemporary Nigeria, the success of the Fulani led jihad provided them with the opportunity of influencing most decisions as they affect Northern Nigeria.

During this period the non-Hausa-Fulani Muslims who executed the jihad in their respective communities were reward with positions of authorities in the Caliphate. Recalcitrant ones were placed under a special poll tax system called jizya for not accepting Islam. This marked the beginning of what Okwori (2003) referred to as the 'economic jihad'. According to Ajayi (1965), the religious fervour of the Islamic revolutions did not last longer and the ideals of justice and good administration were not always achieved. The successors of the reformers, who assumed power positions after struggled with the basic problems of administration, dynastic rivalries, good and bad officials and so on.

This goes to buttress that even though there was no need to doubt Usman Danfodio's sincere commitment and enthusiasm to revive Islam and to set-up Islamic system of government, there was the doubt that many who joined in executing the jihad were not actually sincere. What subsequently followed as described by Ajayi (1965) clearly indicates that there were mixed motives by others during the jihad campaign. This defeated the actualisation of Usman Danfodio's dreams of establishing a full blown Islamic state called the 'Sokoto Caliphate' even before western colonialists entered the hinterland.

VI. Conclusion

In this paper, we have tried to rethink history in the light of Hausa pre-colonial states formations and their development before they were interrupted by the Usman Danfodio led jihad. The paper revealed that Hausa States had already developed strong ethno-religious and cultural traditions which directed the behavioural pattern, collective solidarity and cohesion toward constructing a formidable federation. Some of the characteristics underpinning this were geographical proximities, cultural affinities, and common myth and language characters. But their annexation, subjugation and conquest which brought them under Sokoto Caliphate ended that expectation and enhanced the future of Fulani's dominance in the socio-economic and political processes in Hausaland.

The Fulani and their Hausaland subjects evolved an entirely new ethno-cultural identity. With the transformation of Hausaland into the Sokoto Caliphate achieved, the social basis of state and political power also changed, with allegiance to Islam and its exponents assuming the prime determinant of one's place in society. Equally important are the population reconfiguration of the erstwhile Hausa States and the reversal of role and place between the erstwhile Habe rulers and the Fulani conquerors and inheritors of the newly emergent Sokoto Caliphate. The role of Islam in forging a new identity cannot be over stressed.

Under the Caliphate, the acceptance of Islam was elevated to, and equated with, "citizenship" status. Being a member of the community of the Islamic faithful in the Sokoto Caliphate came to supersede and replace both the notion of allegiance to, and the substantive membership of, a territorial and political sovereign. To become a citizen, one required only to accept Islam and demonstrate this in one's allegiance to the spiritual leader in whom incidentally political power was also vested. This was demonstrated in Shehu Uthman Danfodio as the Amir al-Muminim (Commander of the faithful) and the political head of the Caliphate. This pattern was also replicated in the emirs, who deputized for him in the over thirty emirates that constituted the Caliphate.

Equally, marital alliances and language came to play prime roles in one's mobility on the social ladder, particularly in gaining access to positions of authority.

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The interplay of these variables did not only create a society in which the minority Fulani elite became the dominant socio-political actors, but also a complex society in which a majority of people, and their rich and resilient culture could not be totally neglected on account of military defeat. The net outcome of this complex historical process is the emergence of what came to be known as the Hausa-Fulani identity. While the Sokoto Caliphate created and sowed the seeds of this identity, it would appear that colonial and post-colonial Nigerian politics merely nourished it to maturity. In contemporary Nigerian politics, the Hausa-Fulani identity has become such a reality that it is very difficult to separate the two from each other. This ethno-cultural assimilation has remained valid in contemporary times and would appear to have a long future ahead.

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Myth, Broken: Female Emirs Found in the Northern Parts of Nigeria

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Abstract - Contrary to long held erroneous notion that women leadership in Muslim society is anathema, it has been conclusively proved that this is false. Women leadership, particularly in traditional society, has been in existence in northern part of the country from time immemorial. As a result of our more than five years intensive research into this area, we can now prove with exactitude that female emirs exist in the north like their Obas and Obis counterparts in the Southern parts of the country. The concern of this paper is to shed light on the nature and character of female emirs found in the north.

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Abstract - **Contrary to long held erroneous notion that women leadership in Muslim society is anathema, it has been conclusively proved that this is false. Women leadership, particularly in traditional society, has been in existence in northern part of the country from time immemorial. As a result of our more than five years intensive research into this area, we can now prove with exactitude that female emirs exist in the north like their Obas and Obis counterparts in the Southern parts of the country. The concern of this paper is to shed light on the nature and character of female emirs found in the north.**

I. Introduction

Sheik (Alhaji)AbubakarGummi, during the 1987 Local government election in 1987 boasted that he "did not hope to see a woman leader emerge in his life time" (Kukah, 1983:240).Not just in modern Local government system but more importantly in traditional government where religion and tradition, more than any other factor, keep women out of competition for public office by leaving the public space for male competitors only. Two decades after, in 2007, a counterweight response to Sheik's out-bust was provided by Agency France Press (AFP). According to it, AFP, "In Kumbwada, a village of about 400 kilometres away from Kano, a woman is the traditional and religious leader. No man dares as any that assumes the throne dies mysteriously within a week, Agency France Press (AFP) reports" (The Nation, 2007: 5)

These provided the leads that spur our visiting places in the north where information says women emirs exist. Areas in the north where female emirs have been discovered include:Kumbwanda inMuyan Local Government of Niger state; ArmadoDebo in Ganye Local government,Nokowa inNuman Local Government of Adamawa state; andIlesaBaruba, Gwanaraand Okuta inIlesaBaruba Local Government ofKwara state. Two types of female traditional rulers are found in these areas: Substantive female emirs and gender balance or dual ruler-ship in emir-ship (Olasupo, 2007:183; 2010: 132).It is the concern of this paper to present factual and pictorial evidences of these starting with substantive female rulers in the North.

II. Substantive Female Emirs

These are female emirs who are sovereign authorities in their communities. They are both political and religious leaders of their communities. As a matter of fact ruler-ship by males in these communities is forbidden as any attempt by them always result in mysterious death(The Nation, 2007: 5). Such communities included, Kumbada, ArnadoDebo and Nokowo. In providing pictorial evidence of this, we shall limit ourselves to one of them which is the female emir of Kumbada, HajiaHadisaMuhammed.



Figure 1 : The female Emir of Kumbada, Hajia Hadisa Muhammad robbed and sitting infront of her palace
Source : nigeriamonarchs.photoshelter.com/image/loooW3JML 82JLgg



Figure 2 : Female Emir of Kumbada in Niger state, Hajia Hadisa Muhammad, sitting amidst her kingmakers in her palace
Source : nigeriamonarchs.photoshelter.com/image/ looooW3JML82JLgg

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Figure 3 : Female Emir Hadisa Muhammad in the midst of Kumbada Council of Elders
Source : nigeriamonarchs.photoshelter.com/image/ looooW3JML82JLgg

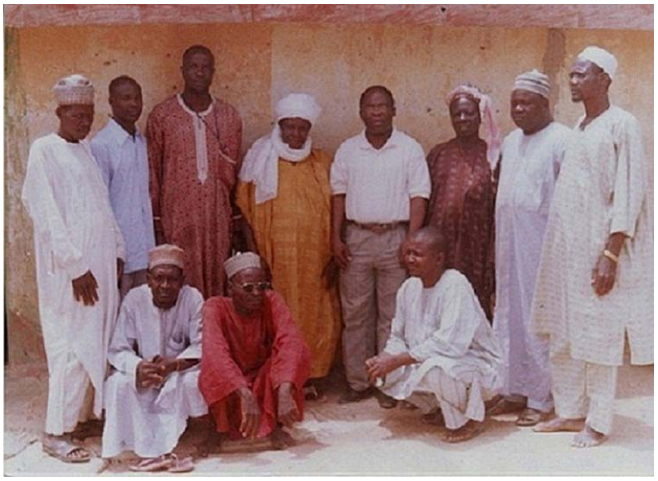

Figure 4 : The researcher in group photograph with female Emir of Kubambada, HajiaHadisa Muhammad.Source:Photo by Asela photography

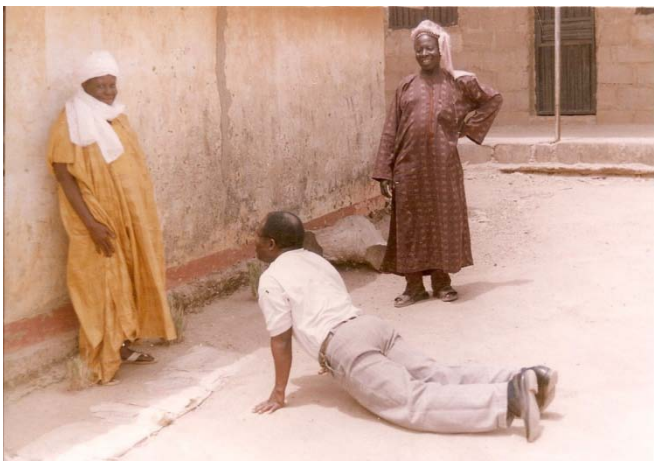

Figure 5 : The researcher, F.A Olasupo, paying homage to the female Emir. Source:Photo by Asela photography

III. Gender Balance Emir-Ship

Unlike the West and Eastern parts of Nigeria, Gender balance in traditional governance, from the northern part of the country, among the BaatonuBarubas in particular, presents, spectacular and interesting scene. Here, both the female and male kings are princesses and princes from the same ruling house. In other words, they are either brothers and sisters or cousins but having the same royal blood. When the office of kingship or emir-ship is vacant, princes compete among themselves to occupy the throne while the princesses also compete among themselves for female equivalent of emir-ship throne. Thus, while males are kings(Emirs) in their communities, their counterpart Queens (or female emirs) are variously referred to as Magajia, Yonkogi and Buyonkafo in the same communities (Hussaini, 2003:39-40, 93; Ogungbola, 1995:21). They have their own palaces, kingmakers and staff of offices like that of their male counterparts.

In my interview with Emirs in these communities, these are their reactions: According to the Emir of Gwanara, Alhaji (Dr.) SabiAbdullahiIdris (OFR) Kotokotogi II, "the Queen and I are Prima inter pares (first among equals). Both of us are from the same ruling house and are princess and prince before we ascended the throne. So, we are equal except that I have a slight edge over her. She is the only person who could overrule my decision under certain circumstances. She is a powerful kingmaker with regards to male emir-ship throne and without her support nobody can become Emir" (Interview, 05/022013).



Figure 6 : The Researcher, F.A Olasupo, paying homage to female Emir of Gwanara, HajiaHawa Suleiman, The Magajia of Gwanara

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Figure 7 : The Researcher, F.A Olasupo, in group photograph with the female Emir of Gwanara, HajiaHawa Suleiman, and her female titled Chiefs

As for the Emir of Okuta, AlhajiIdrisAbubakar, SheroBetete III, he confirmed what Emir SabiAbdullahi said, but added that "there is important festival called Ganni festival, that is held annually among Baatombu (Barubas). When the Emirs hold their own, a week or so after, Queens also hold theirs. In Okuta, as I have the right to ride on the horse on that day, so does the Queen also have the right to ride on a horse on the day she is celebrating her counterpart femaleGanni festival". Corroborating pivotal role which female Emirs play in the appointment of an Emir, as Emir of Gwanara said, the Emir of Okuta added that male Emirs in Baruba areas also play vital role in the appointment female Emir (Interview, 05/022013).



Figure 8 : The female Emir of Okuta, HajiaMariyam, The Yonkogi of Okuta holding her staff of office



Figure 9 : The Researcher, F.A Olasupo, paying homage to female Emir of Okuta, Hajia Mariyam, the Yonkogi of Okuta.Photo by Dr.Akiode photography

At Ilesalbaruba, the Emir Engineer Bio Usman, had travelled abroad but we were attended to by his next in command who told us that there is no doubt woman traditional ruler exist in the town. She is, according him, a princess before she emerged as the female Emir. She is the one the subjects must see first before seeing the male emir. Every Friday, he says, she comes from her palace to sit in front of the male palace to receive homage from subjects who come to pay homage to the male emir.



Figure 10 : The Researcher, F.A Olasupo, paying homage to the female Emir of Ilesha Baruba, Hajia Maryam Ishiak, The Buyonkafo of Ilesha Baruba

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Figure 11 : The Research, F.A Olasupo, in group photograph with the female Emir of Ilesha Ibaruba and her titled Chiefs

This tradition of gender balance in governance, found in all the four regions of the country, comparatively, slightly vary from one region to the other. In the Eastern part of the country vis-à-visMid-West, traditionally, it is the first daughter of Obi that is made the Omu. In the West, the institution of female kings is separate and distinct from that of the male. They have their own ruling houses that are separate from those of the male, and only female (princesses) from those ruling houses are permitted to contest for it.In the north, among BaatonuBaruba to be specific, the princes and the princesses are from the same ruling houses. While the princes metamorphose into Emir after stiff competition, so do the princesses metamorphose into Queens (Female Emirs), after stiff competition among princess contestants for the female throne. Thus, there is a slight similarity between the institutions of female king in the north and the east. While in the two regions male and female kings are from the same ruling houses, there is divergence in the procedure by which female kings in both regions ascend the throne. In the east, it is strictly the first daughter of the Obi; and so there is no competition. In the north on the other hand, all the princesses from the ruling houses would have to compete for the coveted throne out of which one emerges as female Emir.

IV. Emir (Male King) Queen (Female King)



Figure 12 : Alhahi (Dr) Sabi Abdullahildris Hajia Hawa Sulaiman



Figure 13 : Kotokotogi II, (OFR) Emir of GwanaraTheMagajia of Gwanara

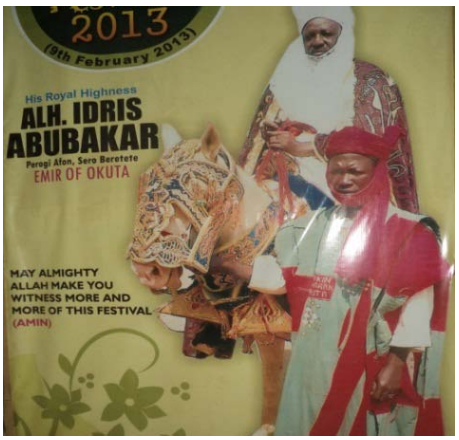

Figure 14 : AlhajiIdris Abubakar Shero Betete Hajia Mariyam

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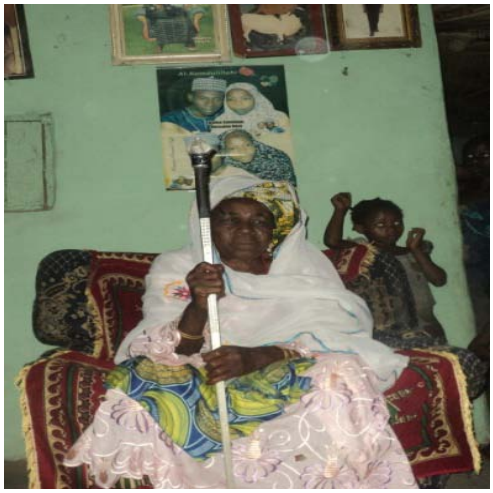

Figure 15 : The Yong The Emir of OkutaKogi of Okuta

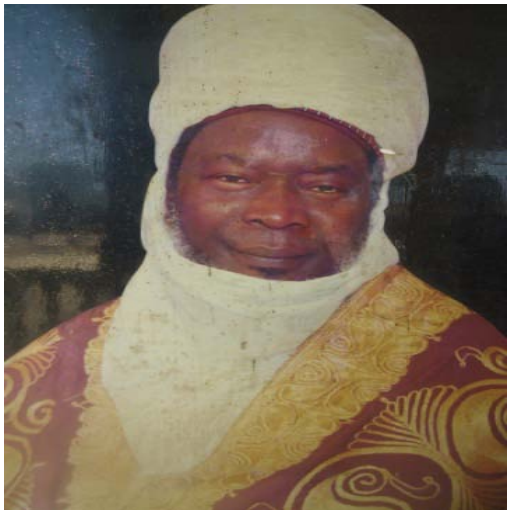

Figure 16 : ENG. Bio Usman AbubakarHajia Maryam Ishiak,



Figure 17 : The Derekureku III, Emir of Ilesha Baruba Buyonkafo of Ilesha Baruba

*All photos by Dr.Akiode Photography.

However, a lot of interesting observations are made between male kings and female kings institutions. First is education. Our observation reveals that male Obas, Emirs and Obis are well educated as you have among them Professors, Lawyers, Medical doctors, seasoned administrators and of course retired military officers. This combined with their wealth of bureaucratic experience and strong business connections, secured strong influence for them at all the levels of governance – Local, State and Federal (Olasupo, 2002:2). The opposite is the case with those of female kings in virtually all the regions. Apart from the female king of Akure, ObabinrinFadahunsi, who is an economist; Dr.MarthiaDunkwu, a successful business woman from Delta State and, of course, Barrister Alulbiam of Unwana in Eboyin State, all others found are uneducated in western sense.

This tended to impact negatively on their social status that made them less visible. A comparison of the gender palaces show that male palaces are genuine palaces as State and Local governments regularly maintain and upgrade them. All though in the west and eastern parts of the country, female kings' palaces predate advent of colonialism,it got neglected after the incursion and, even, departure of colonialism (Olasupo, 2010:148). Among the BaatonuBarubas of Northern Nigeria however, female Emirs convert their matrimonial houses into palaces after ascension into offices. These poverty ridden palaces are left uncared for by either the local government or state governments. The female kings themselves are so wretched to be able to carry out any meaningful renovation of their palaces.See pictures below:

V. Male Palace Female Palace



Figure 18 : Emir's Palace (Okuta)

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Figure 19 : Yongokogi Palace (Okuta)



Figure 20 : Emir's Palace (Gwanara)



Figure 21 : Magajia's Palace (Gwanara)



Figure 22 : Emir's Palace (Ilesha Baruba)



Figure 23 : Buyonkafo's Palace (Ilesha Baruba)

Their salary structure is also nothing to write home about. Most of them do not receive up to one tenths (1/10) of their male counterparts' salaries.According to the female king of Ikota, Obabinrin (female king) Celina Folorunsho, while presenting the grievances of women monarchs to Ooni of Ife, said most of them are paid stipends. She said the most highly paid among them earnsfive dollars ($5); some, two dollars ($2) and others a dollar ($) per month (Visit to Ooni of Ife). See picture below.These situationsare attributable to their lack of influence which sound western education brings.

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Figure 24 : Addressing the Ooni of Ife is the spokesperson of female traditional rulers, Oba Celina Folorunsho, Esemoe of Ikota when female traditional rulers in the Western part of Nigeria were presented to Ooni of Ife on the 12th of July 2008 (Olasupo,2010:144)

Colonial authorities contributed immensely to this relegation and total abandonment of female traditional rulers as primacy was given to male rulers only. Male rulers assisted the colonial authorities in this and, in fact, capitalized on it to appropriate female rulers' rights and benefits. This is to the extent that most of them (male rulers) deny their (Female rulers) existence, contrary to our research findings (Ogunmodede, 2008:22). This is particularly so in communities where gender balance in traditional ruler ship is part and parcel of their cultures. Gender balance, equality, equity and fairness in not only governance but all spheres of human endeavour, which United Nations is promoting today is thus a caricature or mimicry of this African tradition. Much as the colonialism and the greedy patriarchal leaders tried to obliterate this virtue of gender balance in governance, it survived the onslaught (Olasupo, 2010: 1).

VI. Conclusion

As part of my personal effort to call the attention of the Federal government to the serious neglect of women monarchs in the country despite proven evidences of their existence, I personally placed greeting advertisement on in the Compass newspaper of May 28, 2012, P 5; a personal cost of three hundred and fifty thousand naira (#350, 000.00) Find below, electronic copy of the said advert:

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Transformation of Urban Spaces through Time-Space Politics towards Ethical Developing Urban Spaces in Turkey Context

By Aynaz Lotfata
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Abstract - Purpose : Ethics has captured the attention of many today for a variety of reasons as well as in urban issues, has been applied the phrase “ethical space”, including moral experiences of the world around us. How much our urban spaces contribute us to accumulate right experiences following that right knowledge about the world. That means ethical space should motivate us to work towards betterment of ourselves, of society, of the world we live.These comments have attracted geographers, planners and architects around the phenomenology of ethical thoughts instead of the absolute rational ethical ideologies. Indeed,there are not the clear and fix factors on ethical decision makings whereas the ethical factors are changing via time changing; the question has put forward“how do urban spaces have led us to a moral stance?”, “do ethics justifications hinge on the time?”And demarcation a question “what the ethical prospect of urban spaces is” (is that religion, politics, personal, law?).

Keywords : political identity, ethical strategy (rationality of morality), moral time (in-between time), urban transformations, time-space politics.

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Transformation of Urban Spaces through Time-Space Politics towards Ethical Developing Urban Spaces in Turkey Context

Ethical Strategy of Urban Spaces

Aynaz Lotfata

Abstract - ***Purpose :*** Ethics has captured the attention of many today for a variety of reasons as well as in urban issues, has been applied the phrase "ethical space", including moral experiences of the world around us. How much our urban spaces contribute us to accumulate right experiences following that right knowledge about the world. That means ethical space should motivate us to work towards betterment of ourselves, of society, of the world we live.These comments have attracted geographers, planners and architects around the phenomenology of ethical thoughts instead of the absolute rational ethical ideologies. Indeed,there are not the clear and fix factors on ethical decision makings whereas the ethical factors are changing via time changing; the question has put forward"how do urban spaces have led us to a moral stance?", "do ethics justifications hinge on the time?"And demarcation a question "what the ethical prospect of urban spaces is" (is that religion, politics, personal, law?).

Design : In over history, the normative theories of virtue ethics, utilitarianism, Kantianism and contrarianism ethics do not flourishinhabitants' happiness and satisfaction through conventional ethical decision making supon urban spaces where time has been enslaved and frozen amidthe bounded upper forces ideologies. The paper has plunged into research upon "real time planning" of "real world" with time-space proximity policy has been fulfilledin the local urban transformation projects.

Findings : Human beings are intrinsically value-laden creatures. The gradual secularization of Turkey societies since Second World War has left a value void in the lives of individuals and organizations emphasizing on market-based and state-ledactivities.Ethical decision makings have merely re-constructed due to upper policies intervention with exploiting inhabitants' religious beliefs and their political interests towards self (elites)-interest. The paper has illustrated concepts including "Rationality of morality", "Real time Planning" and "Moral time (In-between time)" to make contributions on developing Turkey urban societies with right knowledge rather than imposed rational or rational religion knowledge.

Research limitation : Planners in their everyday practice maybe much more involved with morality than ethics. Morality is the way "the world ought to be" and "what we ought to do" whereas ethics is the foundation of a specific moral value or norm. Although, ethics and morality are controversial issues among planners, they are always part of inhabitants 'lives and thoroughly complement each other missing. In spite of differences on ethics such the regulated and determined reality on urban society and morality such independent and self-governing reality, they have exchangeably applied in paper.

Practical implication : Why is ethics so crucial to planning practice, theory and analysis? Andwhy have we moved from a state of morality to a state of immorality?

Hypothesis : Turkey urban society has probably witnessed the political identity unsteadinessthrough power struggles in between Islamism movement (parties) legitimizingwith religious ethics and Republic movement (parties) capturing its legitimacy dependence on human rationality - secular ethics - to re-construct nation-state identity. Nevertheless,none of the parties (Islamism and republic movements) has apparentlyincluded inhabitants in urban transformation projects by justly having ideologicallyintervened on urban project accomplishments to manifest their political powers and conflicts.These oppositions are result inthe theoretical deficiency of Turkey urban planning has not entirely been developed.

Originality : Turkey urban transformation projects have been fallen victim to paradoxesin the requested political identities by elites-interests who have gotten rid of bottom-up urban society's values. The paper therefore has tries to integrateplanning process with "ethical strategy" including the answering question "what is moral time (in-between time)?" for ethical urban planning decision makings.Paper type-conceptual and argumentative

Keywords : political identity, ethical strategy (rationality of morality), moral time (in-between time), urban transformations, time-space politics.

I. Introduction

What kind of urban spaces satisfy our sorts of needs and goals? Having surveyed on the various normative achievements such utilitarian ethical norms might justly poise us on the pre-determined ethics decision makings of the world. The pre-determined rational ethics has gotten back to the medieval period and extended forward in the early modern period - spreading knowledge reliance on a deductive and foundationalism approach to value/ethics justification of urban projects. This approach found its

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trace in the Greek period via Euclid's axiomatic geometry.Value justification on this account proceeds "top-down" ethical decision makings and developing instrumental reasoning upon urban transformation projects through the deduction of conclusions.

Instrumental top-down value justificationhas followed in a world of unfettered capitalism which consumes greater and greater numbers of human lives. Until finally it consumes itself; leaving a nothing but a dead zone. The failure of urban planning ishence the result of its insistencies to obey the universal capital orders i.e.gentrification and the displacement of lower income groups for luxuriating urban spaces to attract global capital, getting more common in Turkey, particularly in major cities such Ankara and Istanbul. Urban planning has not been therefore legitimized owing to its transparency and participatory capacities leading to ethical implementationof planning. Indeed, the re-constructing political identity on behalf of elites-interests have caused to devastating the grounded values of Turkey societies.

The urban spaces are now justly instruments in hands of upper policies to heighten their political and economic goals i.e. the urban transformation has taken place to heighten the role of economic actors and so planning has systematized around benefit-values of elites. The elite' benefit-values have also driven results on haphazard growth of city, informal settlements, housing and urban infrastructure problems are unethical rationalities.

The whole issue of ethical theory and moral practice has only dealt with rational decision theory.Notwithstanding, inhabitants' participation in value justifications have improved the locality in utilizing its resources more effectively. In the real sense, the lost and immoral space is where inhabitants cannot integrate in it. We thereby need to do epistemological de-construction to convert rationality of morality from self (elites)-interest to empirical results of time-space planning politics.

The remainder of the argument proceeds by; section one briefly debates on necessity and importance of "time" on urban issues, section two has pointed out"Empowerment planning", section three has hinted on rationality of morality and has debated on integrating "ethical strategy" phrase on urbanplanning concerns, section four has drawn attentions on "moral time/ in-between time" in Turkey "geography of differences" and section five has insertedsome closing thoughts.

a) Necessity and Importance of Time

It is not right to the city when time tends to zero. How cultural heritage can be therefore integrated in today's city, how cultural heritages can integrate in inhabitants life without making limitations towards contemporary livings.

According to Augustine said that "For if there are times past and future, we desire to know where they are (Augustine, 397A.D)." Planners, geographers and architects have invited to re-think on the proximity policy of time and space. The argument has addressed debates on the unethical real time segregation in today's Turkey cities and puts forward questions: Is time the sensation when we see a change? (Figure 1) Is time the moment when we remember? Is time the speed of forgetting?

II. Time–Space Politics Through Empowerment Planning

The emphasizing on relationship between space and time has been formulated in the most diverse planning theories and has fascinated mankind from the beginning. When planning our cities, when defining projects that may improve the conditions of our society, when proposing decision processes that manage the space around us, when implementing techniques to foster development- the relationship between space and time - is something we are constantly working with. Therefore there are sub-questions, 1- How to plan taking account time, both past history and future development? 2- How to handle time that cannot be planned, such as long decision processes or real time decisions?

Time having integrated in planning process differently appears in top-down and bottom-up policies have made different reflectionsupon urban transformation projects. But , to curb urban society, there has been required to combine, top-down and bottom up, government and governance, instrumental and communicative planning. We hence have tries to emphasizeon "empowerment plans" that is new modes of intervention in spatial planning viabetter balance between space and time planning. The better balance between space and time planning can make influences on other development variables i.e. Ethical developments of Turkey urban societies and strengthen the legitimacy and transparency of the planning process.

Through the empowerment planning, real time planning has gotten its privilege position in planning process since planning has not been merely fulfilled due to long term pre-determined decision makings but additionally local flowing consciousness of inhabitants in moments are integrated in planning process (Figure 2). "Process" illustration of planning has been in addition pertaining to urban planning including bottom-up values and changes in planning framework as well as the top-down policies. "Rather than generally speak about architecture, technology and aesthetics…the more important is architecture production process, Prost says" (Prost, 1994). In that light, planning has continuously updated with novel changes in urban society andTime will not be any more a toy for the

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money making industries and it is not any more an instrument in hands of political groups to impose their political reasons such reverting to Islamic culture in Turkey for appearing as a modern Islamic nation, whereas modernizing requires capturing all social variables.

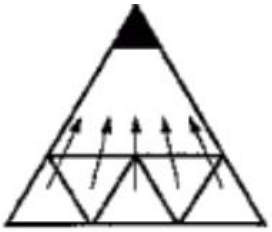

Fig.1 : Integration bottom-up dynamics in planning process framing ethical empowerment urban planning

In the next section of argument, "rationality of morality" has re-constructed through criticisms on "absolute rational ethics" causing to "time segregation" in Turkey contemporary livings.

III. Re-Constructing Rationality of Morality

In the social reality, despite all changes, the domination of man by man is still the historical continuum that links pre-technological and technological reason. This supports argumentation that urban planning and design can be used as an instrument under the ideological domination of the powerful groups of society and has envisaged the conventional planning with technocracy characteristics (Marcuse, 1964, p. 144). Conventional urban planners see participation of ordinary people in the planning process as undesirable. Planning is understood such a purely technical matter which has to be carried out the basis of absolute rationality. Typical conventional planners see themselves as value-free professionals i.e. conventional planners' most important instrument for the achievement of order and efficiency is land use zoning.

There is a narrow point, "excluding ordinary people in planning is enough for unmanly refuting "time" names "time segregation"." Planning has appeared as justly "planning" and thrown out "planning process", for the reason that the flowing time is lost and overwhelmed in pre-determined time policies. What is the conventional planning "ethical strategy? And "how do values justify?" Ethical strategies of conventional planning can dictate actions have their origins far of theinhabitants' values. Despite the importance of values in the formation of ethical percepts, there appears not to be well-established according to necessities of inhabitants.The ethical inquiry should involve all social actors and inhabitants to lead social consciousness and responsibility rather ethics of elites."Generally, the argument on ethical strategy should stem mainly from involving inhabitants personal, social and moral values. Otherwise, it has worked in an abstract technocracy pre-determined framework where elite's absolute values have gotten priorities rather than bottom-up relative values. The absolute top-down /government ethical strategy has set values hierarchically (command and control) and legitimized via the agreed social convention rather the governance ethical strategy has tended to consider different public, private and voluntary actors values.

We have aimed to highlight ethical strategy on empowerment planning where itmade combination in top-down, bottom-up, temporal and spatial policies. Local development cannot justly be organized ethically via top-down policies, but has to grow from within the local communities values, Friedman (1987) says. People always produce values but they are relative and changing which name "critical morality" since there is not "Grand Narrative" can legitimate them as "true" or hegemonic.

To summing up, empowerment planning having integrated bottom-up/communicative planning into top-down/ instrumental planning could manifest a novel template for rationality of morality owing to referring on relative morality than absolute rational morality. Likewise, bottom-up communicative planning legitimates the use of instrumental power also (Friedman, 1987; Habermas 1995).

In the next chapter of the paper, we have encouraged attentions on embedding "moral time" or "in-between time" phrases into empowerment planning to re-interpret Turkey political identity.

IV. Moral Time; in-Between Time-Towards Re-Interpreting Turkey Political Identity

In Turkish urban spaces has implemented the multi transformations and development projects since rising republic 1923 till now. In this period, our cities were the accumulation of values or that were the accumulation of useful objects.In reality, since rising republic, absolute rational morality has managed ethical strategies and value justifications of Turkey urban society. Political powers have gotten awareness about time changes, for that reason, they often move faster than civil movements to go head hegemonic dominations on urban society. Through overviewing Turkey events in between Kemalist republic and Erdoğanjustice and development party (AKP), political upheavals have always hierarchically been triggered Turkey urban societies i.e. even if the Kemalist revolution has sought to give Turkey a civilization identity defined not by religion but rather by cultural values such secularism, individual human rights, civil society and the rule of law, but the revolution process has happened from above, imposing changes on Turkey urban society

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without providing the necessary cultural underpinning, that calls "state-led modernization". In that light, the political ideologies have made influences on other variables of societies, urban, ethical developments and transformation projects also fulfill under hegemonic pre-defined values of conventional ideologies rather than entailing below dynamics in value justification. Whereas this typical planning has tended to zero time, the planning organization stimulates to behave unethically in the value void condition.

The real paradoxes have taken place during Erbakan and Erdoğan governments. Under the religious leader of national order party is established with the emphasis on industrialization of Turkey at the same time to keep the united political identity returning back to nation authentic identity through the reconstruction of Ottoman ethics. Islam has gradually appeared in political context of Turkey such nation stateas a reaction to secularism urban projects with the aim of bringing back the old structures. Deviating from the principle of secularism would not occur by the words or ideas whilst they turn into actions in urban projects, Erbakan says. In contra, Erdoğan policies have worked not merely reliance on "pure islamization" of urban society. He has tries to awaken ottoman lifestyle and via that, he has re-constructed Turkey political identity. Andthe recent fast urban transformations have inspired from symbolizing meaning of "AK party" equals to "cleanness" trying to implement urban projects via the unethical selective memory construction policies i.e. building the Çamlıcamosque project in Istanbul. Here, memory has been utilizedin the instrumentalist framework which restricts society to the particular time to establish hegemonic social control. Indeed, "the past memory should not re-construct, but it should re-build on the basis of the presence, Halbwachs says" since we live in the continuum changing societies including transforming all variable such as ethics.Generally, that is illegal to imitate past memories causing to social dis-continuity, while memory is the central faculty of our being in time; it is the negotiation of past and present.

Having referred to the past memories has caused to overwhelming in the dichotomy between the tradition and the modern which is a reason to the political identity anxiety. Insistent on anxiety has confirmed in Erdoğan declaration- his tries to re-interpret secularism-"states can be secular not inhabitants". In this sense, Turkey urban projects have thrown out secularization and acculturation policies, but they have planned reliance on re-traditionalization, de-acculturation, and de-secularizationperspectives, while inhabitants require living in twenty first century necessities with its fast changes.

However, in the prospects of Islamists, secular societies are less ethical societies and ethics can justly flourish through linking with religions. In that light, "from which perspectives we might review ethics/ is that secular ethics or religious ethics?" To uphold the question, we should beware that we cannot legitimate a single culture such Islam across time whereas our society is changing. This argument is, a single culture imposes its dominated hegemony on all society variables such as time, space, social developments, ethics and so on. Absolute time and space of Islam have gotten rid of the present dynamics of the real world. We contend an absolute belief "it is fake." Through the single culture domination, real time planning of our cities tends to zero while spaces occur through time. The changes across time are similar to the changes across space, how time has tended to zero whereas urban spaces are in continuum transformations.In the real world, time is truly changing but we have restricted it on our spatial sculptures, so as to merely introduce Turkey political identity such Islamic nation-state. Indeed, time cannot be unethically restricted reliance on linear thinking and teleological accounts. Why should not our citizens live in such "real man" with multi-dimensions? As a multi-dimensional man must live in a multi-dimensional world, which implies multidimensional time and space rather than spending life in the absolute fake world (Thrift, 1977b).

The Time problem In Turkey urban society has therefore admittedly gotten back to how we have perceived the world. Turkey planning society has segregated and isolated time in urban planning via imitating Islamic heritages. However, imitating previous heritages has declined the originality of the foremost vernacular achievements. Having exploited heritages has applied to define Turkey political identity. What would happen if time flows forward than backward? What if experiential and phenomenological construction of time than cultural construction of time? In that light, time geography ethically inserts human geography in continuum changes due to its new connotations. On the flip side, religious thoughts will deny changes and prevent the present time from becoming history. Having insisted on time geography is to shed light of "moral time" which its knowledge has spread in folding past, present and future instead of merely the past. In that light, past, present and future are being continuously re-ordered with respect to each other in Turkey Urban society. And political identity thereby re-formulates based on "moral time" of the real world made up of different times, neither merely past nor future, calls "in between time".

In the whole, the problem is generally hierarchical management of urban projects and top-down value justification in accord with elites-interests i.e. Istanbul has been transformed without local input. These urban changes have indicated that urban planning under AKP domination behaves non-ideological and goes head by practice without enough theoretical frameworks to any spatial changes. In that condition, how much Erdoğan even observes inhabitants as free

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entity, but that outlook has not implementedon value justifications purview. Contemporary problems of Turkey urban cities can therefore find the solution with re-visiting the normative frameworks to reject ethical dogmatism and universalism to justify urban ethics theories reliance on bottom-up values.

a) How "time is lived in Turkey Urban Society"

We have tried to debate on how human geography has engaged with time and how urban society has constructed time by disputing Turkey during four periods, 1910, 1930, 1950 and 1980. The first is the dramatic transition from the Ottoman Empire into the republic therein that change has spurred Turkey architecture and art towards breaking with the imperial Ottoman past. And in the second era, architecture, art and planning have been subordinated to nation-state ideologies reliance on state-led modernization where top-down policy is oblivious about bottom-up dynamics and time has segregated and overridden from inhabitants everyday life via long-term and universalideological visions. The third period gradually hints about the starting point of the more liberal with caring on diversity and plurality, whilst eventually, the 1980 onward, Turkey urban societies have been built upon multi-parties interventions and amongst them the most dominated ideology is "post-Kemalist" challenges imposing globalization and political Islam trends on republican modernity. In that era, urban spaces have been forced to the crude mega transformation projects with the purpose of inner city beautification in so far as attracting global capital such Sulukule Settlement – Roma society- in Istanbul where the novel socio-historical values have been intensified with getting rid of and moving on Roma residents out of their homes. However, real time planning with integrating bottom-up dynamics has tries to make balance between top-down ideologies and bottom-up dynamics. And in that light, urban spaces have not undermined social time since real world has clarified by its inhabitant's actions. Otherwise, urban spaces have indeed confused with unethical and fake time planning via re-awakening previous times achievements such Seljuk architectures. Why the present time cannot embody tomorrow's history. If Turkey society therefore aims to appear as a modern nation-state, it should evidently capture all variables of modernity particularly socio-spatial variables. Here there is a narrow point; it does not mean ignoring vernacular context potentials, but we try to encourage intellectuals and inhabitants to think in accord with the vernacular context present time's events, technologies and its possibilities.

V. Some Closing Thoughts

From one side Erdoğan's policy has tried to a combination liberal policy with conservative social values including Ottoman-Islamic civilization to build Islamic political identity. On the flip side, Kemalist has strived to erase the Ottoman and Islamic past from the public memory. These struggles have not contributed to integrate "real time" in urban planning. Struggle is only the ideological competition to impose winner political interests on urban society with distance from the everyday life of inhabitants. We should think on potential "islands of time" which are accessible and close to us in everyday life. Surely according to Haidt and Anthony Smith argumentations on collective religions and common memories such myths of territories are essential to definition of a union nation which binds people together (Haidt, 2012; Smith, 1986). But that does not mean to ignore potential a-changing islands of time where inhabitants needs have updated in-continuum. And planning as an industry and an art should update per se via changes. Neither by returning back to Islamic principles nor state and market-led modernization principles on urban planning has witnessed appearing ethical urban spaces. In other words, determining urban spaces via absolute time applying to all people, for all changing geographies has taken Turkey urban society far off "the real world" and "real time" realities. The argument is, while the real world is evolving, it will not be ethical to condemn societies for the restricted religious outlooks. We mostly contend the past religious architecture and planning imitations since they are cultivating religious group institutions in urban context where groups can be immorally violent to "out-groups". We-planners-believe on action not in violence; we believe on collaboration not in segregation.

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The 'Crocodile Gang' Operation: A Critical Reflection on the Genesis of the Second Chimurenga in Zimbabwe

By Baxter Tavuyanago

Abstract - Early literature on the Chimurenga II in Zimbabwe has been conspicuously silent on the contribution of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) commando unit called the 'Crocodile Gang'. Later literature on the same pointed to the Chinhoyi Battle of 1966 as the harbinger to Chimurenga II. This article rewinds the clock backward to 1964 and argues that the Crocodile Gang's 1964 sabotage activities in the Melsetter district of Manicaland, which led to the killing of an Afrikaner white man instead launched the Second Chimurenga for ZANU. The paper interrogates the group's activities in order to situate it in its proper historical place. It avers that the heroic activities of the group have continued to be overshadowed by exclusive nationalist history that continues to situate its contribution to obscurity. The paper argues that the activities of the group illuminated the armed struggle and inspired many to join the war of liberation.

Keywords : *confrontation, Crocodile Gang, nationalists, Oberholtzer, oppression, ZANU.*

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Keywords : confrontation, Crocodile Gang, nationalists, Oberholtzer, oppression, ZANU.

I. Introduction

This paper endeavours to expose the little known history of the 'Crocodile Gang' (CG).[i] This was a five member ZANU commando unit deployed in the Melsetter district of Manicaland in 1964 following the first ZANU Congress held in Gwelo in May 1964. The CG was led by William Ndangana and included James Dhamini, Victor Mlambo, Master Tresha Mazwani and Amos Kademaunga. The group was assigned to conduct sabotage activities against the recalcitrant regime of Ian Smith and their activities culminated in the stabbing to death of a white man, Pieter Johannes Andries Oberholtzer at a makeshift roadblock on 4 July 1964. Subsequently, Oberholtzer has been recorded as the first white man to die in an act of war since the First Chimurenga of 1896/7 (Sadomba 2011: 11, Bhebe 1999:28). It is the author's contention that the group's activities inaugurated the Second Chimurenga war. The killing of Oberholtzer was a landmark development in the history of the struggle against white oppression as it had the effect of removing the psychological hurdle of the fear of white species by many blacks. The killing became a morale booster and indeed a turning point in the struggle to dislodge white rule.

The activities of the CG 'came as an inevitable climax to an atmosphere of increasing repression on the part of the whites and an increasing hostility on the part of the blacks' (Raeburn 1981:1). Rhodesian politics was increasingly being guided by white supremacy: 'the white man's keep-down-the-nigger policy' (Sithole 1959:28) and legislation since 1959 had turned the country into a police state. In 1959, Whitehead's government had declared a State of Emergency (Rasmussen 1990: xxviii) that allowed it to enact a series of draconian laws such as the 1959 Unlawful Organisations Act (Rasmussen 1990:374). Further, in response to the upsurge of nationalist political violence the government enacted a series of repressive laws such as the Preventive Detention Act, the Native Affairs Amendment Act and the notorious 1960 Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (LOMA). LOMA was specifically designed 'to make further provision for the maintenance of law and order in Rhodesia; to provide for the prohibition in the public interest of the printing, publication, dissemination and possession of certain publications…' which the government deemed injurious (The Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia, No. 53, 1960:225). African nationalists were given all kind of names such as 'terrorists and hooligans' (Whyte 1990:126). The police were given excessive powers to arbitrarily search a suspect's home and arrest him/her without a warrant of arrest (The Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia, No. 12, 1963:37). The police were further empowered to declare any group of three or more people an 'unlawful assembly' (Rasmussen 1990:163). Further, District Commissioners were empowered to control public assemblies and movements. They could prohibit any meeting if they deemed that it was likely to cause public disorder. People were barred from attending 'unlawful political gatherings'. When the ultra-conservative and racist Ian Smith took power from Field in April 1964 he immediately declared that there would be no African government in his life time (Ellert 1993:3). This declaration was followed by concerted efforts to suppress nationalist political activities.

Under LOMA and its subsequent amendments (the most noted of which was the provision for a mandatory death sentence for what were perceived as violent acts), hundreds were rounded up and detained without trial. LOMA became the cornerstone of Rhodesia's oppressive security legislation. Section 37 of the notorious act specifically stated that any person who set or attempted to set on fire any inflammable liquid or

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explosive even on an empty building, vehicle or structure would be sentenced to death (The Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia, No. 12, 1963:34-35). Nationalist parties were banned in a row. The African National Congress (ANC) was banned on 25 February 1959 (Whyte 1990:132) and its successor, the National Democratic Party (NDP) also banned in December 1961. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was banned in September 1962 following a short lifespan. Its leadership was arrested, detained and some fled into exile. Its successor, the People's Caretaker Council (PCC) was to suffer the same fate. These actions only served to strengthen the African resolve to intensify their demand for independence.

II. African Nationalism Before 1964

In order to situate the CG in its proper historical context, it is imperative to start off by examining the nature of African protests that precede it. During the pre-1964 era, African nationalists had largely exerted their energies into attaining independence through the non-confrontational constitutional route that had been successfully pursued by their northern neighbours in their struggles for independence. For Southern Rhodesia, this route turned out to be full of hurdles as the entrenched settler regime was unwilling to surrender power easily. Nationalist attempts to solicit the support of the British government found little sympathy. The British feared black (mis)rule may very well trigger a massive white exodus to Britain, a prospect likely to worsen the economic situation at home. The British government therefore only paid lip service to the nationalist cause.

Indeed nationalist movements of the pre-1964 era failed to fully appreciate the need for full scale armed confrontation with the white regime. While the decision to engage the enemy in violent confrontation had been taken as early as 1960 in the form of acts of sabotage considered relevant to bring forth fear and despondency to the settlers (Bhebe 1999:13), none had so far been taken to that magnitude. This was confirmed by a prominent nationalist, Nathan Shamuyarira when he revealed that 'the decision to start bringing in arms and ammunition, and to send young men away for sabotage training dates from mid 1962, before ZAPU was banned' (Wilkinson 1973:6). There was full talk then of the need to adopt a confrontational stance against the obstinate white regime. The reasoning was that this bellicose rhetoric would frighten the whites out of power. It is worth noting that although nationalists of the time sounded militant in their language, they were nevertheless more concerned with jet-set diplomacy than in preparing for full scale combat.

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed on the 8th of August 1963 as a breakaway party from ZAPU (Ellert 1993:3). In justifying its split with ZAPU, the ZANU President, Rev Ndabaningi Sithole accused the ZAPU leadership of reluctance to engage the Rhodesian government in physical confrontation (The Rhodesia Herald 10 August 1963). Subsequent to the above, ZANU adopted the policy of militancy and 'confrontation' with the enemy. The militancy was championed by its young cadres who from 1960 had been critical of the pacific approach followed by their leaders. The party contended that its formation heralded a new era of 'take over politics' and of discarding 'constitutionalism and platform politics' (Shamuyarira 1981:79, Sadomba 2011:11). The 1984 ZANU (PF) Congress document reinforced this position when it posited that the formation of ZANU was on the one hand a rejection of the reformist and law abiding politics of past political organisations and on the other an adoption of the politics of radicalism, revolution and armed confrontation (ZANU Committee Report to the Second Congress, August, 1984). Confrontation was to be achieved through the adoption of violence that was justified as a revolutionary weapon as Eddison Zvobgo, a founder member of ZANU argued; 'Colonialism is violence…violence on a people. The only way of meeting violence is by adopting a rigid policy of violence' (ibid). ZANU's slogan of 'confrontation' was adopted by the First ZANU Congress held in Gwelo between the 21st and the 23rd of May, 1964 to specifically distinguish it from ZAPU and other previous African parties that had been perceived to have been non-confrontational ((Tekere 2007:57, Bhebe 1999:13). At this Congress, the party also adopted the slogan: 'we are our own liberators', a slogan that meant that Africans would henceforth take the initiative to liberate themselves (Chidoda 1977:17).

At the Congress, President Sithole had challenged delegates not to call upon others to liberate them: 'If we have no power in our hands to liberate ourselves, then we must disband. We are the people who must die for this country' (The Rhodesian Herald, 22 May 1964). The congress also adopted the 'Five Point Plan' that specified the enemy and spelt out the nature of confrontation. The country's main roads were targeted. Bridges were to be blown up and roadblocks erected to delay or prevent the movement of the army and police. Livestock and crops in European farms were to be destroyed. Telephone wires were to be cut and electricity pylons blown up. Native Commissioners' Offices, Police Stations and white owned shops in African townships were to be attacked. People were to boycott paying dipping fees and poll tax. Further, dip tanks were to be filled up with soil and whites attacked using home-made grenades and petrol bombs (Ellert 1993:7, Tekere 2007:58). Sithole instructed his followers to arm themselves with bows and arrows, axes, home-made knives, spears and such other weapons for physical confrontation with the white regime (Shamuyarira 1981:512, Bhebe 1999:28). All these activities were designed to create an explosive political

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atmosphere best calculated to promote mayhem and frighten whites out of power. In particular, Sithole was anxious to convince his critics that his party meant business.

It was in these circumstances of a charged political climate that the CG was born. The commando group was deployed into the Melsetter district to precisely put into action the Gwelo Congress resolution of confrontation. It became the first commando unit to be deployed into the field (Raeburn 1981:2) and 'the first to strike a blow that kindled the revolutionary fire' (ZANU Central Committee Report, 1984). Their attack targets were calculated to attract quick and wide publicity for the party.

III. Let's Go Home

The CG was hatched in Zambia. Members of the group were all *émigrés* in that country who loathed Rhodesian despotism. The common denominator of all the five members was that they were all disgruntled ZANU youth members resident in Zambia (Ellert 1993:14). They all abhorred the oppression back home which denied them a stake in their country's political cake. At the time of their recruitment, William Ndangana was the Deputy Secretary of ZANU's Youth League in Lusaka. James Dhlamini was employed at the Luxury Tearoom in Kitwe. Victor Mlambo worked in the Zambian mines and was at the same time a member of the Kabushi Branch of ZANU in Ndola while Amos Kademaunga and Master Mazwani were general labourers and also Youth League members of the Masala Branch in Ndola (File 6.4.9F No.10665 [Regina vs. James Dhlamini and Victor Mlambo, High Court, Salisbury, 12.12.64]). Of this group, Ndangana was the oldest, most politicised and most militant. As a young man, he had worked for Rhodesian white farmers in his home district of Chipinge and later in a café in Salisbury and had experienced firsthand, the brutal nature of the settler employer exploitation and white racism (Raeburn 1981:16-18). This had naturally hardened him. Further, he had strong links with ZANU leadership in Zambia and so the party's choice that he leads the group was well calculated.

While (Raeburn 1981:8) avers that all the members of the group came from Chipinge and that 'it was inevitable that they should become friends in a foreign country' (Zambia), Ndangana refutes this explanation by clarifying that it was only himself and Victor Mlambo who came from Chipinge. James Dhlamini's parents originally came from Matebeleland, Master Mazwani came from Mashonaland East while Amos Kademaunga's family lived in Malawi (Ndangana 1985). Further, members of the group only came to know each other just a few days before their deployment. The composition of the group was therefore deliberately calculated to reflect national representation.

On the other hand the random selection of members of this group was a disadvantage as they were basically strangers to one another and so treated each other with suspicion. Besides, they were simply thrown into the field with no training in sabotage. It is worth noting that right up to the time of their first sabotage activity in the country, it was only Ndangana who knew how to make a petrol bomb (Ndangana 1985). The leadership's omission of the need for proper training was indeed a fundamental weakness which was to reflect in the battle field. The youthful nature of the group and political immaturity of the combatants was another disadvantage. Master Mazwani was only 17 years old and so probably too young to fully appreciate the intricacies involved in fighting the white regime (Raeburn 1981:6). Their inspiration though was the justice of their cause.

Members of the group left Kitwe for Rhodesia at the end of May 1964. They entered the country through the Chirundu border post declaring they were returning residents (Ellert 1993:10). On arrival in Salisbury, they were briefed on their assignment by the party's Secretary General (Robert Mugabe) and Secretary for Defence (Noel Mukono). Some hasty preparatory work of identifying targets for attack had been done in the Nyanyadzi area of Melsetter where they were to be received and assisted by local elders *baba* Gwinya (ZANU Chairman for Melsetter District), Obert Mutezo (Treasurer) and Robert Mukome, a local businessman. Such preparations, while surreptitiously done had however been inadequate. Indeed Obed Mutezo was to later reveal that preparatory survey work had only taken a week and a half (Obed Mutezo 1985). [ii] The contribution rendered by the above elders marked the genesis of civilian participation in the struggle. This was to be solidified in the latter part of the struggle.

The Melsetter area of Manicaland was considered strategic for various reasons. Several senior ZANU politicians such as Ndabaningi Sithole and Herbert Chitepo hailed from Manicaland. Chief Rekayi Tangwena, who became a symbol of traditional African opposition to colonial rule in the 1960s and 1970s when he openly opposed the Rhodesian land tenure system also came from Manicaland (Sadomba 2011:24). Further, various Ndau chiefs from Chipinge had vehemently opposed the Native Husbandry Act which they regarded as a fundamental onslaught on their livelihood since it limited the number of acres and cattle each family could own (Raeburn 1981:8). Chiefs Gwenzi, Mutema and Mapungwana had openly defied cattle dipping and destocking (ibid). On the surface, the area therefore appeared to provide firm grass root support for such an operation. Local contact elders were indeed fully involved in local and national politics. The same elders had been summoned and quizzed over the Five Point Plan at the local police station just after the Gwelo Congress (Obed Mutezo 1985).

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Further, the area had also witnessed an exceptional hive of political activities prior to the operation that amounted to over a dozen (Sadomba 2011:24), File 6.4.9F No.10665). Yoshikuni (2006) proffers that Manicaland had witnessed the formation of Manicaland-aligned urban associations in cities like Salisbury as far back as the 1920s. These had nurtured a group of highly conscious political cadres from this part of the country. Sadomba (2011:25) further posits that Manicaland, like Victoria Province, had a high rate of literacy due to strong missionary investment in education and so perceived to be in a position to easily grasp political issues. The mountainous and heavily wooded terrain of the area was ideal for hit and run operations (Raeburn 1981:5). It is however pertinent to state that political upheaval of similar nature was not solely confined to Manicaland as sabotage activities, co-ordinated from the office of the Secretary for Defence, were taking place in other parts of the country (Noel Mukono 1985).

The group left Salisbury on the 30th of June and upon arrival in Umtali were received by Joseph Shasha, a local youth leader. They purchased long knives and dynamites for use in the field. It turned out that the party had no firearms at that time for the combatants who had to use rudimentary weapons. The nature of their arms revealed a fundamental weakness on the part of the organisers who believed that mere sabotage activities with rudimentary weapons would scare the Smith regime into surrender. Such views were indeed myopic and short-sighted as the entrenched regime was not prepared to relinquish power that easily.

Shasha took them to Nyanyadzi and delivered them to their contacts. Their arrival was timed to coincide with Sithole's visit in the area, a move calculated to boost their activities (Ellert 1993:9). They spent their first night in a booked room at Mugoba's Eating House. That very night, they walked about the township and drank some beer with locals, a risky move given the task they were to undertake (Mutezo 1985). This again was a sign of lack of training.

The group was taken to their hideout cave about five kilometres from the township in the dark hours of the following morning. It was ideally located next to a spring where members could fetch water. Their contacts supplied them with basics such as food and medication. In this, the locals were making their small contribution to the struggle.

Their first operation was conducted in the evening of the 1st of July, which day the party had declared the 'National Day of Action'. The group spent the day preparing petrol bombs with each making two. Several confrontation notes were written by Ndangana. These were to be left at every operation scene to announce the presence of the group in the area. That very night, the group adopted the name 'Crocodile Gang'. It came from the nature of the crocodile: when it catches its prey, it never lets go (Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (Z.B.C) Documentary, 'The Crocodile Group Operation', 30.07.85).

IV. Nyanyadzi Police Camp Attack

The target of the 1st of July was the Nyanyadzi Police Station that was located by the Nyanyadzi River near the township. The station was a notorious centre of interrogations of suspected African nationalists. Many had been detained at the centre for long periods without being charged. During the time of the CG operation, there was a large contingent of 1500 soldiers and policemen in the Melsetter-Chipinge area. These were supported by 12 helicopters, 3 spotter planes and the camp had a new Member-In-Charge appointed in June 1964, Sergeant Judin (Raeburn 1981:11). He was heard declaring that he had come to Nyanyadzi to wipe out African nationalists altogether (Sithole 1970:144, Ellert 1993:10).

Indeed the man was faithful to his 'calling' as hundreds of political activists were tortured on the dry river bed by the big *mucha* tree approximately fifty metres from the camp. The place was called the 'çhurch' because it was meant to be a place of 'political confessions'. Various techniques were employed to force confessions. Prisoners were denied food, kept in the open fence for days on end and denied visitors. 'Un-cooperative' suspects were brutally assaulted. When the African Member of Parliament for the area, Mr. Mkudu visited the area just around the time of the CG operation, he was greeted by shouts for help from the prisoners who pleaded with him to appeal to the Member-In-Charge to give them food and stop assaulting them (Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly Debates, Volume 39, October 1964, col. 102-9). The MP saw traumatised detainees with swollen wrists. It was evident that the camp had become a symbol of white oppression in the area, inspiring fear in all nationalists and subsequently generating unprecedented anger from them.

The CG had been appraised of these brutalities by their contacts and hence the reason why the police camp became their first target. Obed Mutezo, one of the contacts had himself been a victim of the camp assaults as he had been picked for interrogation and torture by Sergeant Judin soon after his return from the Gwelo Congress. He, like many others detested the camp and so wanted it destroyed.

The attack took place during the cover of darkness around 10.00 p.m. A reconnaissance of the camp had been conducted during the afternoon of that day by Ndangana and a local elder, Solomon Gwitira. They had initially identified a helicopter at the camp for attack with home-made petrol bombs. When Ndangana and his team came near to where the helicopter had been parked in the afternoon, they discovered that it was no longer there and hastily decided to instead

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attack the house of the notorious Member-In-Charge. The attack was planned to run simultaneously with that of elders Gwitira and Amos Rwizi (Gwitira 1985). The CG went into a single file-Ndangana, Dhlamini, Mazwani, Mlambo and then Kademaunga. Kademaunga broke line with others as he was already growing timid. He was spotted by an African constable on patrol, Chinembiri and he rose and started running. Chinembiri lit his torch and barked *'hini ndava'* (what's wrong)? Ndangana threw his bomb at the constable but missed him. The rest of the crew members, who were by then dead scared, rose and took to their heels. Chinembiri fled in the opposite direction blowing a warning whistle. A tracer bomb was thrown into the sky by the police and lit the whole area. Gwitira and Rwizi were forced to abandon their complementary attack plan and together with the CG retreated. Back at their base, Kademaunga was given a stern warning for disrupting their plan. Meanwhile at the police station, Ndangana had left one of the confrontation notes under a stone to announce that they were not criminals but political activists.

The attack had shaken the police for on the 2nd of July, they were on the rampage arresting party activists in the area. One may be persuaded to conclude that the attack was a failure since nobody was injured and there was no damage to property. On the contrary, it was a rude awakening to the police and the regime as they for the first time came face to face with ZANU political confrontation. The note left at the police station confirmed this.

V. The Chikwizi Bridge Attack

Their next assignment was the erection of a makeshift roadblock on the Chikwizi River on the night of the 2nd of July around 8 p.m. The bridge was located 10 kilometres south of Nyanyadzi Police Station towards Birchenough Bridge. Bridges were ideal attack targets as they were easy to barricade. For the night's assignment, each member was armed with a knife and stones and instructed by Ndangana to kill any white person who passed by the bridge (File 6.4.9F No.10665).

Kademaunga had shown signs of timidity following the previous day's experiences and had told Ndangana that he was opting out. He was subsequently threatened with possible execution as his withdrawal would expose the rest of the group (Raeburn 1981:7). Meanwhile, Ndangana withdrew the fighting knife from Kademaunga because he no longer trusted him. What was coming out was that young Kademaunga had underestimated the hardships and field risks. Indeed signs of lack of proper military training were beginning to surface. They had just conducted one operation and one of them was already backsliding.

They were immediately confronted by two problems. The first was that since this bridge was in a Tribal Trust Land (TTL), most of the cars passing by were most likely those of blacks. The second was that this road was normally not very busy during the night. On this very night, they were however fortunate in that after waiting just for a short while, a car approached from the direction of Birchenough Bridge. It was a Vauxhall Velose that belonged to an African, Lucas Siyomo who was driving with his family from Fort Victoria to Umtali (File 6.4.9F No.10665). Siyomo stopped a few metres from the boulders. His first impression was that the bridge was under construction but as he opened his door, he was greeted by showers of stones. His windscreen was smashed and when he realised this was a political attack, he pleaded with his attackers, 'I am one of you, I am one of you, leave me alone, sons of the soil' (Raeburn 1981:5). Ndangana ordered his fighters to immediately stop attacking and rebuked him for travelling at night on 'National Action Day'. He was however allowed to proceed after being warned against reporting to the police. Although Siyomo may not have been aware of the prohibition of night travelling, at least he was aware of ZANU's programme of confrontation as he had pleaded to be saved from the attack because 'I am one of you'. It was therefore evident that the message of confrontation had indeed spread far and wide.

Following this attack, Ndangana commanded that they hide for some time to allow the dust to settle. Meanwhile two confrontation notes were placed under a stone on the bridge. These read:

'CROCODILE GROUP WARNS IAN SMITH THEY WORK ON CONFRONTATION'

'IAN SMITH BEWARE. CROCODILE GROUP ON CONFRONTATION. POLITICAL. WHITE MAN IS DEVIL.' (File 6.4.9F No.10665).

Ndangana was however worried by Kademaunga's non-participation in the attack of Siyomo. Further, Siyomo reported the incident at Nyanyadzi Police Station and Judin swung into action by immediately deploying a police car to the scene. On seeing the approaching police car, they quickly removed the boulders from the bridge and took cover. The police van passed through the bridge, quickly turned back only to find the boulders back on the bridge. The police fired a verey pistol that lit the whole area. Kademaunga rose and ran for dear life and that was the last time they were to see him. What was clear was that henceforth this young man posed as a security threat. However the police did not see the rest of the members because of the thick shrubs. Indeed the vegetation of the area had played a key role in protecting them. They had to immediately move to Biriwiri in the same district. The police meanwhile realised that they were confronted with a political challenge as revealed by the two notes of confrontation.

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VI. The Killing of Oberholtzer

The aftermath of the Chikwizi Bridge attack witnessed massive arrests of over 500 people (Raeburn 1981:10). Among those arrested were Obed Mutezo, *'baba'* Gwinya and Robert Mukome who were accused of masterminding the latest political activities in the area. Their arrest further put the CG under danger as the fear was that they would crack under duress and expose.

In Biriwiri, they were forced to operate without contacts and local assistance. They found themselves exposed, another clear sign of the lack of planning on the part of the leadership. Their only asset though was their single guide who knew the area well. During the two days-3 and 4 July, they conducted some reconnaissance of possible targets and on 4 July decided to mount another roadblock on the main road from Umtali to Melsetter, a few kilometres from the Skyline Junction. This was a rich white farming area and so ideal for their latest operation. July 4 was a Saturday and most of the cars travelling along this road usually belonged to whites returning from shopping in Umtali. Chances of escape appeared high as the area was endowed with thick vegetation. The adjacent African Muushu Purchase Area would provide them with cover during their retreat. Again this was just an assumption as the people of the area were not even aware of the presence of the fighters.

The group went to their place of operation early as they wanted to get it right this time around by targeting whites only. It would then be possible, before dark to tell whether the occupants of cars arriving were white or black. They started putting up their makeshift roadblock around 6.00 p. m. Big boulders were piled from one ditch to the other and created a barrier thick enough to block a car from passing through. Ndangana again posted two confrontation notes under a nearby stone. The notes read:

'CONFRONTATION. SMITH BASOP, CROCODILE GANG WILL SOON KILL ALL WHITES. R.I. HOKOYO'.

'CROCODILE GROUP ON ACTION. WE SHALL KILL ALL WHITES IF THEY DON'T WANT TO GIVE BACK OUR COUNTRY. CONFRONTATION.' (File 6.4.9F No.10665).

They hid nearby, each with two petrol bombs and a pile of stones. The bombs had been 'checked and double-checked to make sure they wouldn't let them down' this time around (Raeburn 1981:11).

At about 6.30 p.m., a Volkswagon Kombi approached from the direction of Umtali. It stopped a few metres from the boulders and a huge white man dressed in khaki shorts disembarked. He was Pieter Johannes Andries Oberholtzer who was coming from shopping trip in Umtali and heading for Chipinge with his wife and a three year old daughter. In Chipinge he worked as a shift man at Silver Streams Wattle Factory (Raeburn 1981:14). At his workplace, the 45 year old Afrikaner knew how to deal with Africans- 'to show a strong hand, take no nonsense, keep them in their place; in short, show them who was boss' (ibid).

It was convenient that the man who drove into their roadblock was a symbol of white oppression as he was also a branch chairman of the Rhodesia Front party in the Chipinge area, a party which was an epitome of white oppression (Martin and Johnson 1981:10). Further, as an Afrikaner, Oberholtzer belonged to a species of ultra-racial whites who had migrated from South Africa at the beginning of colonial occupation. Like their South African counterparts, they continued to be guided by extreme racism that viewed Africans as a species that was 'born to hew wood and carry water and nothing more' (ibid). Such was the man who arrogantly stepped out of this kombi to meet his fate at the hands of the CG.

As he disembarked from his car, he picked a stone, hurled it into the dark sky cursing. Meanwhile members of the CG tactically left their hiding places and advanced towards the white man. When he saw them, he barked angrily: *'Yini ndava yovala mugwagwa-Kafuri*?' (Why are you blocking the road-*Kaffirs*?) [iii] (Z.B.C.Documentary 'The Crocodile Group Operation', 30.07.85). The insult infuriated members of the Gang who sprung into action by flinging stones at his car breaking a side window. Incensed by the attack, Oberholtzer went back into his car, pulled out a pistol and advanced shouting *'bobbejaans'* (baboons) [iv] and threatening to kill the 'bloody *kaffirs'* (Raeburn 1981:15). Ndangana gallantly advanced towards the white man, quickly pulled out his combat knife and stabbed him and Oberholtzer fell on his car.

When Oberholtzer's wife realised that her husband had been stabbed, she screamed in terror, disembarked from the car and assisted him get into car and drive through the barrier. Oberholtzer fired the car over the barrier and a few metres down, lost control as he tried to negotiate a curve and overturned landing in a ditch. Ndangana and his colleagues followed to finish him off. Under further attack, Oberholtzer gathered courage and tried to fight back but was overwhelmed by Ndangana who again stabbed him on the throat. The white man fell and died. Attempts to burn the blood-soaked body failed. They quickly disappeared into the nearby thick bush thus marking the beginning of a long and hazardous retreat. The wife and the kid were spared from attack as the CG did not want to give the impression that it was a criminal group. The killing of a symbol of oppression was enough to send the message of confrontation across. The wife and kid were rescued by the Martindale family who drove them to Chipinge where they reported the incident to the police. The following day newspapers were awash with news of the death of Oberholtzer. Giving evidence in the High Court at the trial of Victor Mlambo and James Dhamini for the

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'murder' of her husband, Johanna Oberholtzer explicitly described what happened on the day in question:

> *As he stopped, he got out and they threw stones at him. I can remember seeing four Africans around the car. They came up to him and I saw one raise a knife above his head and stab down at my husband. It was so quick and all in such a rush that I did not see how many times he stabbed him. It was quite a long knife. Stones were coming from all around. I could not see well. They broke the windscreen with stones. I got a stone on my jaw. (File 6.4.9 F No. 10665).*

VII. Escape and Aftermath

The CG was forced to hastily retreat under very difficult conditions of limited food supplies and without a guide. They received hostile reception wherever they sought assistance for fear of reprisals from the regime. They were labelled a 'gang' of criminals and murderers. Murder was not appreciated as a justifiable political weapon. Again this reflected on the poor preparation by the leadership to ensure total reception of these fighters by the locals.

After the killing of Oberholtzer, the CG went back to Nyanyadzi, were given money by *'mai'* Kombo for foodstuffs and herded south towards the Middle Sabi. They walked non-stop for two days and slept under bridges at night because they were afraid of approaching villagers for assistance. They headed towards Ndangana's old school, Chikore Mission where they hoped to get assistance but again they hit a brick wall. For strategic reasons, the team then decided to break into two around the 14th/15th of July. Mlambo and Dhlamini headed for the Mozambican border while Ndangana and Mazwani headed for Salisbury where they were received by Ndabaningi Sithole's wife and given money to find their way to Zambia. They were eventually smuggled into Zambia by a Glens Haulage transporter during the first days of August 1964.

Ndangana joined other cadres who were going to China for military training while Mazwani initially opted for a civilian life. Ndangana received his first military training in China and was upon completion deployed to Intumbi Reefs Camp in Tanzania to serve as a ZANLA instructor (Ellert 1993:11). He remained a military operative throughout the armed struggle, holding various posts, including that of Chief of Operations. At independence, he was appointed Deputy Minister of Defence (Para-Military) and also served as a Senator. He died in a horrific car accident on 27 June 1989 (Sunday Reporter 2012). For his contribution to the struggle, he was subsequently honoured by the government by being accorded a state funeral at the National Heroes Acre. Little has since been said about in terms of celebrating his contribution.

Master Mazwani later decided to also go for military training, was deployed into Rhodesia in 1965 and arrested by the Rhodesian security forces that very year. He was tried for 'terrorism' but because he was below twenty years, saved from the gallows by being imprisoned for twenty years. He is thought to have been released at independence in 1980 and is believed to have suffered from mental ailment thereafter (Ndangana 1985). Again there was clear state neglect. He should have been re-habilitated given his contribution to the genesis of the Second Chimurenga. Indeed he should have also benefitted from the package extended to other war veterans of the Second Chimurenga.

Meanwhile, Mlambo and Dhlamini escaped into Mozambique and stayed with an uncle called Watch for a week before being apprehended on the 22nd of July 1964 by constable Naish and sergeant Tapira during a raid on the kraal of Mlambo's uncle (Ellert 1993:10). The two were tried in the Rhodesian High Court and on 14 December 1964 convicted under the notorious Law and Order Maintenance Act for 'contravening paragraph (a) of subsection (i) of section 37 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (Chapter 39) alternatively, murder of Petrus Jonannes Andries Oberholtzer' and were sentenced to death under the mandatory 'hanging clause' of the act (File 6.4.9F No.10665).

The case took on the overtone of an international 'cause celebre' (Scully 1984:35). An appeal was lodged by the Queen against the death sentence but was rejected by the Rhodesian government on the argument that it could not release 'cold-blooded murderers'. The case dragged on to 1 March 1968 when the appeal was finally thrown out by the Appellant Division of the Supreme Court. The Queen exercised her royal prerogative by reprieving the two and commuting their sentences to life imprisonment. Rhodesian whites were highly incensed by the Queen's action which they argued undermined law and order in the country (Scully 1984:35). The two men were however subsequently hanged at Salisbury Central Prison on 6 March 1968 (Raeburn 1981:22, Ellert 1993:10, Whyte 1990:136). Again the Zimbabwean government failed to post-humously honour these gallant sons of the struggle. Statues could have been erected in independent Zimbabwe to celebrate their exploits. Indeed Zimbabwean historiography is lean on the contribution of these 'sons of the soil' to the struggle history and there is deafening silence on their contribution even at the annual Heroes Days commemorations.

Amos Kademaunga who left the group after the Chikwizi Bridge incident was arrested by the police in Umtali on the 5th of July, tried and sentenced to ten years imprisonment with hard labour for erecting illegal roadblocks and petrol bombing offices. At independence he was believed to be alive somewhere in the country. What is disheartening is that the Zimbabwean struggle historiography has again

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remained 'mum' on the contribution of all these icons to the liberation of the country. Save for Ndangana who was accorded a heroes status at his death, the other gallant operatives of this group have remained forgotten heroes of the struggle. That recognition has not been given either to the civilians who played host to the CG. The marginalisation of these struggle icons remain a bone of contention in Zimbabwe's struggle history.

The killing of Oberholtzer sent panic waves to the regime as the army and police was unleashed on the people of the area. The government became more vicious as it embarked on a massive clampdown campaign on all suspected nationalists and sympathisers. At Nyanyadzi, *'baba'* Gwinya, Solomon Gwitira, Obed Mutezo and a number of other local elders were arrested and detained at the notorious camp and tortured at the infamous 'church' for assisting the CG. Mutezo and Gwitira were jointly charged with murder but later acquitted in the Umtali Magistrate Court for lack of evidence. At the same time hundreds more were also arrested throughout Chipinge district. Tekere, the National Deputy Secretary for Youth was also arrested and detained at Nyanyadzi Police Station on suspicion that he was a member of the CG. He was charged for the murder of Oberholtzer and later released after the government failed to build a case against him (Tekere 2007:58).

On 26 August 1964 the government declared a State of Emergency which allowed it to ban ZANU and the PCC. Confirming the banning of ZANU in the House of Assembly on the 3rd of September 1964, the Minister of Law and Order declared that ZANU had conducted a number of 'subversive' activities in the Melsetter district and particularly singled out the 1 July attack of the Nyanyadzi Police Camp 'following which a series of unlawful incidents took place in the surrounding districts and these culminated in the vicious murder of a European motorist at a roadblock in the Melsetter area on the 4th of July 1964' (Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly Debates, 3 September, 1964. p. 1760). Similar activities, engineered by ZANU and the PCC were also taking place in other parts of the country. Party leaders were arrested and detained at Sikombela and Gonakudzingwa (Ellert 1993, 3). Those who could, like Herbert Chitepo and James Chikerema fled into exile. The only African mouthpiece, the Daily News was also banned. The political gridlock culminated in the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Smith on 11 November, 1965 (Ellert 1993:4). The heated political climate so created set the stage for full scale confrontation-which came in the form of an armed struggle that followed.

VIII. The Place of the Crocodile Gang in Zimbabwe's Historiography

The death of Oberholtzer marked the beginning of a protracted armed struggle. His killing amounted to an open declaration of war by ZANU on the white regime. The Rhodesian government was stunned by this horrific act and vowed to revenge by building up more stores of arms and intensifying its clamp-down on nationalist political activities.

On the other hand, the action of the CG demonstrated to many youngsters that someone with courage and determination could fight even without a gun. To many black youngsters, the killing of Oberholtzer destroyed the myth of the invincibility of whites. The African image of himself and what he was capable of doing was greatly enhanced by the courageous exploits of the CG and as the 1984 Second ZANU Congress was to aptly observe, "the killing cured Zimbabweans of colonial neurosis which had historically relegated the black man to an inferior position in the settler scheme of things" (ZANU Central Committee Report, 1984). The killing removed fear of the white men among blacks. Further, the morale of the party was boosted by this act. From then on ZANU was prepared to take the long road to independence through armed confrontation.

The party also learnt a number of lessons from their deployment of the CG. They had not fully prepared the area to receive the combatants. This was especially shown during the retreat of the group when they were received with hostility by the people they were fighting for. Moreover the youngsters had not been initiated adequately into sabotage activities and so vulnerable right from the beginning. The party had acted rather hastily to meet short-term political gains. This approach was guided the tendency then among Rhodesian liberation movements that what was needed to displace white rule was to conduct just a few sabotage activities which would ignite civil disobedience among blacks against the government. This would in turn frighten the whites into relinquishing power. Indeed this was too simple a hypothesis for which the nationalists got a rude shock on the ground. It was evident that the party had not moved much from its pre-1964 tactics except for the adoption of the revolutionary slogan of confrontation. The party learnt that there was need for better planning and the need to send the youngsters for proper military training. The party subsequently initiated programmes of sending youngsters to friendly countries for proper military training.

The activities of the CG inaugurated the armed struggle for independence in the latter part of the 1960s. The killing of Oberholtzer was a clear demonstration to the whites that blacks no longer considered themselves as mere punch bags. Indeed the activities of the CG were recognised as the first step towards organised insurgency. The adoption of confrontation slogan and the subsequent deployment of the CG was a step in the right direction- the clear message being that the enemy had to be taken head on.

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The hanging of Dhamini and Mlambo were clear setbacks to the struggle but in a way served as an inspiration and a political booster to the party. The two were revered, but not fully, as early martyrs and heroes of the Second Chimurenga. Their activities and subsequent execution helped advertise the party internationally. Other youngsters such as Emerson Mnangagwa were inspired to follow suit when in 1965 his group blew up a goods train along the Fort Victoria-Chikwalacuala railway line (Z.B.C.-T.V. Documentary, 10.05.85).

Several other trained groups were to be deployed for action (Ellert 1993:11-13). One such group of five under Chigwada was assigned to blow up the Feruka oil refinery and oil pipeline from Beira. The second group of six under Mudukuti was assigned to conduct sabotage activities in the Fort Victoria area while the third group of four under Mizha operated in the Zvimba TTL and Zowa Purchase areas. This group also killed a white farmer, J.H. Viljoen and his wife at their Nevada farm in the Hartley (Chegutu) area on 16 May, 1966 (Bhebe 1999:131). The forth group of seven engaged the enemy in a full day battle at Sinoia (Chinhoyi) on the 29th of April 1966. All cadres in this group were killed but their battle has been highly celebrated in Zimbabwe.

IX. Conclusion

This article has exposed the little known history of the CG. It has made an attempt to situate it in its proper historical place. It has acknowledged the group's contribution to the execution of the Second Chimurenga. It has enumerated the various exploits it conducted under difficult conditions, the initial support provided to the struggle by the selected civilian population and the brutal response of the Rhodesian regime. It has further exposed the weaknesses of early planning by nationalist leaders and exposed the lessons learnt by the latter planners. The article has highlighted the significance of the group's operations to the entire struggle history. It has further raised the academic concern of the marginalisation of the CG and failure to recognise and celebrate the achievements of the group in Zimbabwe's historiography.

X. Notes on Contributor

Baxter Tavuyanago (MA) is a Lecturer in History at Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe. He is currently pursuing PhD Studies in History with the University of Pretoria. His researches have been published among others, in *Journal of Pan African Studies* (2008), *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* (2010, 2011), *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* (2011), *European Journal of Sustainable Development* (2012), *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2012), *International Journal of Developing Societies* (2012) and *Leipzig VDM Verlag Dr Muller* (2011). He has also co-authored two high school History texts for Zimbabwean students-*Total History* (2009, 2010). His areas of research interest are war, culture, human rights and development.

XI. Acknowledgements

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XII. Interviews

1. Interview with *baba* Gwinya (Chairman of the Melsetter ZANU District in 1964), Nyanyadzi, Chimanimani, 09.03.85.
2. Interview with David Mugido (local elder), Rufaro Business Centre, Nyanyadzi, 28.05.85.
3. Interview with Noel Mukono (ZANU Secretary for Defence in 1964), ZANU Office, Harare, 24.07.85.
4. Interview with Nobert Makotsi (local elder and 'church' victim), Nenhowe Business Centre, Nyanyadzi, 10.03.85.
5. Interview with Obed Mutezo (Treasurer of ZANU Melsetter District in 1964), Rufaro Business Centre, Nyanyadzi, 09.03.85.
6. Interview with Solomon Gwitira ((local elder and 'church' victim), Nenhowe Business Centre, Nyanyadzi, 10.03.85).
7. Interview with William Ndangana, Milton Building, Harare, 09.01.85.

Notes

[i] The group adopted this name in 1964 at the beginning of their operations. While the use of 'gang' may imply criminality, the name will be used throughout this write up since it was the one the group called itself.

[ii] Interviews conducted with local elders revealed that the local population was not aware of the presence of the group in their area which was kept a secret by the leadership. This explains why during their escape, the group faced insurmountable difficulties as they were treated as criminals and not freedom fighters.

[iii] The term *kaffir* was a derogatory term used on Africans by most white settlers. Again it had its origins in South Africa and was greatly detested by blacks.

[iv] Another derogatory term in common use on blacks at the time.

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U.S Policy Towards Jerusalem in Accordance with International Legitimacy (An Analytical Study)

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Abstract - This study entitled," U.S Policy towards Jerusalem in accordance with international legitimacy(An Analytical Study)", aimed at studying and analyzing the reasons that stand behind the successive American administrations' policy towards the Arab Israeli conflict in general and Jerusalem in particular. The scholar reached into a point that, in most races for the White House, presidential candidates pledge to solve the issue of Jerusalem, but none of them can solve it after arriving at the Chair, and couldn't even to move the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, because of the sensitivity of the Holy City which is the core of the Arab Israeli conflict.

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Dr. Mohammad Saleh Bani Issa

Abstract - This study entitled," U.S Policy towards Jerusalem in accordance with international legitimacy(An Analytical Study)", aimed at studying and analyzing the reasons that stand behind the successive American administrations' policy towards the Arab Israeli conflict in general and Jerusalem in particular. The scholar reached into a point that, in most races for the White House, presidential candidates pledge to solve the issue of Jerusalem, but none of them can solve it after arriving at the Chair, and couldn't even to move the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, because of the sensitivity of the Holy City which is the core of the Arab Israeli conflict.

The study tried to answer essential questions: What are the principles governing the American position regarding the issue of Jerusalem?, Is it possible to understand the American position towardJerusalem in isolation from its position regarding the Palestinian issue?, What is the extent of the continuity and the transformation in the American positions and policies vis-à-vis Jerusalem in the light of the relevant United Nations resolutions?, What is the future of the policy of the United States of America towards Jerusalem, in particular, and the Palestinian issue, in general?

This study contains of: abstract, introduction, principles that govern the policy of U.S towards Jerusalem, American policy on Jerusalem, stage of the post declaration of the establishment of Israel until its aggressive expansionist war (1948-1967), American Policies toward Jerusalem in different Administrations, future of the American policy towards Jerusalem,conclusion and references.

Keywords : arab israeli conflict, palestine issue, jerusalem issue, international legitimacy, un, resolutions, general assembly, security council, us policy, us president, holy city.

I. Introduction

It is difficult to identify the policy of the U.S towards the issue of Jerusalem in isolation of its policy towards the Arab Israeli conflict, in which the Palestine issue is counted as its core. This is evidenced by the fact that the idea of the colonization of the Jews of Palestine started with, and revolved around Jerusalem. Jerusalem was the starting point in the Jewish colonialscheme in both its intellectual-spiritual side and the applied one in its various forms.

Since the Jewish seeks in applying its strategy to the principles of gradualism and transformation, it soon discovered, after it began to have an entity of its own, the regional and the international variables caused by the post WWII system and their impact on the establishment of a Jewish entity and availing the necessities of its permanence. The most important of these were:

- The retreat of the superpower(UK) towards secondary positions on the international and the regional scenes, and the beginnings of the ascendancy of the alternative international power (US).
- The need of the United States for a strategic permanent ally in the Arab region.
- The confidence of the U.S that the Jewish movement has exhausted its objectives from Great Britain and began to search for an alternative strategic ally that guarantees its permanence. The Jewish usability of Britain has expired with the Balfour Declaration, the mandate instrument, the facilitation of the Jewish immigration to Palestine, the partition of Palestine and the internationalization of Jerusalem and the bringing into existence of the Jewish entity *(UN, General Assembly, resolution no: 181/1947).*

Accordingly, the Jewish movement has employed all the means of pressure at its disposal-the most important of which is the electoral power of the Jews in U.S to bring it around a strategic international ally as a substitute to Great Britain. Israel attaches great importance to an international role to America and the international organizations, particularly the U.N and its main organs: General Assembly and Security Council. It was right in its reading of the future of the international policy of the United States.

II. The Principles that Govern the Policy of U.S. Towards Jerusalem

Based on the afore-mentioned, it is possible to summarize the principles that govern the U.S position towards the Jerusalem issue as follows:

- The abandonment of the U.S policy of isolation and self-centrism towards a global policy whose foundation is the American vital interests, the most important of which is the oil in the Arab homeland.

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- The strenuous strive by the U.S to fill the vacuum that resulted from the receding British influence and power in the Arab region.
- The need of the U.S for a strategic ally and an "advance eye" in the Arab region and the Middle East to confront the Arabs who are aspiring for independence and renaissance and are seeking to establish a unified Arab state, armed with historically deep-rooted divine and cultural message. On the other side, to confront communism and the former Soviet Union that aspires to reach the warm water - the waters of the Gulf where oil lays.
- The strive to establish a new international order under American leadership.
- The identity of the American vital interests and the colonial Jewish substitutive interests to a near absolute identity on the ideological and applied levels.
- The importance of the Jewish Lobby in determining the electoral campaigns due to its possession of an influential electoral power in determining the U.S presidents and their foreign policies. This is evidently, clear from the response of the American president Harry Truman to the attempt of four heads of American diplomatic missions in a number of Arab states who tried to convince President Truman to turn away from his policy that is biased to the Jews in order to solve it at the expense of the Arabs of Palestine. This was particularly so regarding the initiative of his Secretary of State at the time George Marshall in October 1945. The Secretary was vehemently opposed to that policy as being prejudicial to the higher interests of the U.S. President Truman answered all of them by saying "excuse me gentlemen! I am forced to answer to the hundreds of thousands who are anxious to see Zionism succeed, whereas there are no thousands of Arabs in my electoral constituency"(*al-Sheikh, 2008)*.The same was the answer of President Truman to the Arab delegation that later protested against his pro-Israel policy. He said "sorry gentlemen! I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who look forward to the success of Zionism, whereas there are no hundreds of thousands of Arabs in my electoral constituency" *(al-Sheikh, 2008).* Based on these principles, U.S began to take early interest in the Zionist Judaism and its schemes and programs before the exit of Britain from Palestine. The American interest in the Zionist Judaism and its plans was reflected in the adoption of the U.S of the Jewish Zionist "Biltmore Program" that demanded the facilitation of the immigration of the Jews to Palestine, and availing the requirements for the establishment of the Zionist entity, in it and guaranteeing its permanence in the future. The clearest indication of the influence of the American Jewish Zionist lobby and the Jewish Agency in formulating the U.S policy- in its Arab and Jewish dimensions- was in the U.S being the first state in the world that recognized the State of Israel immediately upon its declaration, to be followed in this by the former Soviet Union who was also subject in its policy to the Zionist Jewish influence, especially at the level of the central committee and the political bureau of the communist party that contained an influential number of the Jews.

III. The American Policy on Jerusalem

The American policy towards Jerusalem went through several stages. These were:

a) The stage preceding the rise of the Jewish entity (1917-1948)

The American policy towards Jerusalem during that stage (which practically extended from the Balfour Declaration in 1917 to the declaration of the rise of Israel in 1948) was characterized by the following:

First : The adoption of the U.Spolicy of the Jewish agency in pressuring Britain to facilitate and hasten the Jewish immigration to Palestine, especially to Jerusalem, due to its impact in attracting the greatest possible number of the European Jews-especially the young, the educated, the skilled laborers and people with capitals. Accordingly, the American administration during the time of President Roosevelt rejected the "white paper" that was issued by the mandatory state, Britain in the year 1939.

It viewed it as a negative transformation in the British policy that is contrary to the Zionist Jewish project. In 1944, a year of American presidential elections, President Roosevelt authorized the head of the American Zionist emergencies council to state the non-approval of Washington of the "white paper". The American orientation that is supportive of the Zionist Jewish project and the intensification of the Jewish immigration to Palestine was enhanced in the electoral program of the Democratic Party under the then leadership of President Franklin Roosevelt. The electoral manifest of the Democratic Party on 20 July 1944 called for the following:

- Support the wide opening of the door of the Jewish immigration to Palestine and the immediate Jewish Zionist colonization of Palestine without restraints.
- Adoption of the policy leading to the establishment of a free democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

Second : The adoption of the U.S of the project of the Jewish Agency that included the partition of Palestine into two states: an Arab one and a Jewish one within the framework of the United Nations. This did actually take place. The Zionist Jewish project was submitted to the General Assembly in its 1947 session.

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It was not presented to the Security Council for the fear of President Truman from being surprised by the use of one of the permanent members – particularly the Soviet Union-of the right of veto.

Third : The exercise by the U.S – through its permanent representative in the United Nations organization – of strong pressures on the representatives of the member states via intimidation and inducement to support the partition project… as took place with nationalist china, Abyssinia, Greece, Haiti, Liberia, the Philippines which all were then against the partition project but were forced to vote in its favor.

The result of these American pressures was in favor of the partition project and the internationalization of Jerusalem in the borders contained in the resolution of the General Assembly No. 181 for the year 1947. The Zionist Jewish colonial project was passed with the majority of (33) votes, the first of which was the vote of the U.S, and the abstention of ten members from voting.

Certainly, the partition plan and the internationalization of Jerusalem would not have seen the light-which is the sole resolution that enables Israel to cite it in justifying its legitimacy – if the U.S did not throw all its regional and international political and economic weight behind it. This was recognized by (David Hurwitz) - one of the then representatives of the Jewish Agency at the U.N.O, he commented on the resolution by saying: "the United States put the weight of its influence at almost the last hour. The result of the final vote is due to this fact" ***(Abdul Azeez1991,p.23).***

Fourth : The recognition of the U.S of Israel after eleven minutes of its declaration on15 May 1948 before the demand of Israel of the American administration to do so. The establishment of Israel was to president Harry Truman and his administration a pivotal national objective, though the American State Department- that was led by George Marshall-has opposed the idea of the establishment of Israel out of its keenness on the American vital interests in the Arab and Islamic regions, and to avoid pushing the Arab and Islamic states towards the Soviet Union as a result of the policy of the American administration. If Britain has laid the cornerstone for the establishment of the Jewish state-through the Balfour Declaration-, this usurping entity would never have seen the light without the adoption of the U.S and its unlimited support to the project of the Jewish State in Palestine. The result was the emergence of Israel in practice on 78% of the area of Palestine in the aftermath of the first Israeli-Arab war in 1948. This is more than that contained in the resolution of the United Nations No.181/1947 which stipulated that it be established on 56% of the area of Palestine.

IV. The Stage of the Post Declaration of the Establishment of Israel Until its Aggressive Expansionist War (1948-1967)

The American support for Israel did not stop at wrenching an international agreement to the establishment of the Zionist entity, but has dedicated most of its political and material capabilities to entrench this usurping entity and force its Arab, Islamic and regional surroundings to accept it and normalize the relation with it irrespective of American cost and time. Washington insisted on reaching the decision on the first truce in Jerusalem and the ceasefire according to the Security Council resolution No. (49) on 22 May 1948 which saved Israel from a crushing defeat if the war continued. Thus it enabled it to catch its breath and prepare for the decisive battle. The renewal of the war resulted in the acquisition of the Jewish usurping entity of more land even after the permanent truce agreement. This is what took place in (Omm al-Rashrash) that was occupied by gangs from the Zionist entity in 1949 and transforming it to a port for it on the Gulf of Aqaba. It called it the port of Eilat which represented a foothold for it on the Red Sea. Thus Israel became neighboring five Arab states: Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia.

But what about the political American support for the Zionist entity? The American political support for the Zionist entity has been manifested in various spheres and its most prominent aspects were as follows:

First : Preparation of the international stage to accept Israel as a member of the international setup. Israel was accepted as a full-fledged member in the United Nations after it tactically submitted to the demands of the United Nations and recognized the General Assembly resolution No. 194/1948 that calls for the return of the Palestinian refugees and the compensation of those not willing to go back, and the internationalization of Jerusalem.

Second : Maintain the status quo in Palestine and safeguarding the armistice lines inside Jerusalem. These constituted the pillars of the American policy towards Jerusalem until it was completely occupied in1967.

Third : Concentration on the issue of the Palestinian refugees and the receding American interest in Jerusalem. The issue of the Palestinian refugees and the right of return were a source of concern for the U.S due to the ground they constitute for the Soviet Union in attracting the Arab world to its sphere of influence ***(Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.37).***

Fourth : The issuance of the Tripartite American, British and French Declaration in1950 that undertook to guarantee the security of the Zionist entity and

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protecting it against any threat that it may face. The dangerous aspect of this declaration lies in its issuance after Israel occupied the western part of Jerusalem. It was contrary to resolution No. 181/1947 that stipulated the internationalization of Jerusalem in its two parts within the borders contained in the resolution, and the insistence of Israel in rejecting the internationalization resolution, putting a practical expression to this by moving governmental agencies to it at the beginning of1949.

Fifth : The protest in 1953 of the Department of State, under John Foster Dallas, against the decision of Israel to move the headquarters of its foreign ministry from Telaviv to Jerusalem. This was motivated by the fears of the State Department that this may lead to the enablement of the Soviet Union to induce some influential Arab States, and Egypt in the forefront, to its sphere of influence ,which will increase the tension in the region and distance the Arab states away from the Western courtyard. This constitutes a danger to Israel and lays the ground for a military attack against it by the Arab states.

Thus the difference between the Department of State and the American administration regarding Israel and its policy towards Jerusalem was not a principled one, but a temporary one that both sides seek the interest, security and permanence of Israel. Since the establishment of Israel, it sought to target and gains the support of the American administration, since the President is the one who takes the final decision in the foreign policy.

Sixth : The abstention by the U.S of recognizing Jerusalem as a capital for Israel. This position does not mean coming closer to the Arabs or supporting their right. The American administration remained faithful to its undertakings to Israel and more leaning to it. It did not exercise any pressure against the states that recognized Jerusalem as a capital for Israel in order to dissuade them from their decisions, and the necessity of committing to the resolutions of the United Nations that call for non-transferring their embassy to it ***(Abu Haleiwa, p.40).***

Seventh : The keenness of the U.S on seeing that the Jerusalem- related resolutions of the United Nations are consistent with its pro-Israel supportive policy and the taking into consideration of its vital interests in the Arab and the Middle East, including Israel, and seeing these put into execution. In addition the successive American administrations viewed the Jewish problem and Israel as an internal and decisive matter in the American presidential elections and the American Congress (both the Senate and the House of the Representatives). These were:

- Resolution No. (185) on 26 April 1948 that included demanding the Trusteeship Council to conduct a study regarding the measures of protecting Jerusalem and its population.
- Resolution No.(187) of 6 May 1948 that called for the appointment of a special municipal commissioner for Jerusalem.
- Resolution No.(194) of the General Assembly which stressed in one of its items, the placement of Jerusalem in a permanent international regime. But the United States reversed its position and voted against resolution No.(303) of the General Assembly on 9 December 1949 that stressed the placement of Jerusalem under a permanent international regime within the framework of borders.
- The resolution of the Security Council No. (49) on 22 May 1948 relating to the ceasefire in Palestine and in Jerusalem, and the call on the Armistice Commission and all the concerned parties to give absolute priority to the negotiations regarding the armistice and its maintenance in the city of Jerusalem.
- The resolution of the Security Council No.(5) on 29 May 1948 calling for ceasing war operations in order to protect the holy places.
- Resolution of the Security Council No. (54) on 15 July 1948 calling on the international mediator to continue his efforts in disarming Jerusalem.
- Security Council resolution No. (60) on 29 October 1948 concerning the formation of a sub-committee to amend the draft resolution dealing with the status of Jerusalem***(Security Council Resolutions on Palestine Issue and the Middle East).***

Eighth : The participation of the U.S in the Tripartite Conciliation Committee that included, beside it Turkey and France, which was tasked with "laying down a permanent system for the internationalization of Jerusalem", in addition to other tasks. This was opposed by the Arab States, especially Jordan.

Israel also opposed it vehemently stressing the necessity of recognizing the policy of fait accompli, after it was able to occupy the greatest part of the city. It demanded that the internationalization should be confined to the holy places in the old city. But, and for tactical reasons, It reversed itsrejectionist position due to its interest in seeing that its application to join the membership of the United Nations organization be accepted. But It soon disavowed this after getting what it wanted under the pretext that the Arab States have rejected the internationalization resolution.

As a result of the Israeli rejection of the internationalization resolution, and the influence of America and France, the Tripartite Conciliation Committee proposed a project to divide the city into an Arab area and a Jewish area on condition that the immigration do not affect the standing population balance in the city, and that the mission of the United

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Nations takes charge of protecting the holy places, and guarantees the freedom of access to them, and the area of Jerusalem be demilitarized, and the formation of a public council for the city, and an international court for Jerusalem, and the representation of the United Nations by a representative appointed by the General Assembly for a period of five years to supervise also the holy places outside the area of Jerusalem.

The partition project that was recommended by the Tripartite Conciliation Committee did not mean the approval of the status quo only, but was in response to the Israeli demand that it must not be made a capital for any side. This was rejected by both sides as well as the General Assembly on 9 December 1949 since it went beyond the idea of the complete internationalization of Jerusalem which was stipulated in its resolution no. (181) for the year 1947.And although the General Assembly asked continuously the Trusteeship Council to continue with taking the measures of internationalizing Jerusalem, and the council continued to issue its resolutions in this respect until the year 1950, the year in which the Trusteeship Council was dissolved, yet it did not take any decision regarding the report of the trusteeship council, and did not submit the issue of Jerusalem in its sessions. The project of the internationalization of Jerusalem was frozen. This was consistent with the Israeli position and in accordance with the policy of the U.S. that was putting the confrontation of the then increasing Soviet influence in the Arab area at the top of its concerns in the area of foreign policy.

Since the problem of the refugees and the right of return represented the breach in the wall of besieging the Soviet Union and the prevention of any penetration of the wall of its Middle Eastern policy.Since the U.S viewed the issue of the Palestinian refugees as the point of easy entry of the Soviets and the key of the Soviet Union to the Arab region then, it was forced to close that gap in the wall of the besiegement of the Soviet Union by concentration on the issue of the refugees and the ignoring of the issue of Jerusalem.

V. American Policies Toward Jerusalem in Different American Administrations

In order to manoavour and analyze the United States attitude toward Jerusalem indifferent periods, it needs to shed the lights and talk about the following selected American Administrations:

a) During the period of President Lyndon Johnson

The policy of the American president Lyndon Johnson towards Jerusalem cannot be fathomed in isolation of the political principle that governed his foreign policy towards the Arab area and the Arab Israeli conflict and their impact on the policy of the international polarization. It is:

- The keenness on the success of the siege of the Soviet influence and the prevention of the Soviet Union from inducing some Arab States to its sphere of influence, especially that the beginnings of joint cooperation and coordination began to appear between it and more than one Arab state, especially Egypt.
- Concentration on guaranteeing the effectiveness of the temporary armistice lines of1957 between the Arab States and Israel.
- Invest the Israeli occupation of the Arab lands in Palestine, the Syrian Golan and the Sinai Peninsula to achieve a settlement with Israeli American terms and specifications under the pretext of the futility of any settlement that is imposed from the outside without the will of its parties. America succeeded in marketing this through Security Council resolution No.(242)1967 by connecting "peace" to the withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and between the negotiations on the basis of the exchange of land for peace and the Arab recognition of the legitimacy of Jewish existence in Palestine ***(Abu Baker, 1973,p.212).***

The question rises here, how did the administration of the American president Johnson dealt with the question of Jerusalem after Israel completed its occupation and the rest of Palestine in its aggressive war against the Arab states in June 1967?

The return of the interest of the U.S at this period in the question of Jerusalem came to represent a substantive transformation in its policy in favor of the Zionist Entity. Its concern focused on the eastern part of the city after its concern was equally on both parts.

In other words, the resolution of the internationalization of Jerusalem became a thing of the past and the start of turning the page over the relevant U.N resolutions. This position is completely identical to the Israeli position which continued to reject the internationalization of Jerusalem and its demand that the international community recognize the western part of Jerusalem as its capital.

The new direction of the American policy towards Jerusalem became evident through more than one declaration of President Johnson. On 19 June 1967, he said that "there must be sufficient recognition of the three particular interests in the holy places" ***(Abu Baker, 1973, p.212)*** that is the holy places of the Muslims, Christians and Jews as alike. Only three days passed when he enhanced this statement with another on 28 June 1967 where he stressed "the necessity of recognizing the special interests of the three religions in the holy places, and the necessity of consulting with the religious leaders and the concerned others before taking

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any unilateral decision regarding the status of Jerusalem".

The danger in such statements lies in the fact that the administration of President Johnson did not view anymore the issue within the framework of a larger question-the Palestinian question and a substantive cause in the Israeli Arab conflict, but a religious issue revolving around the holy places in Jerusalem and assuring the freedom of access to them to all callings. And when we realize that the holy places that president Johnson meant lie in the eastern part of Jerusalem, it means that the eastern part only will be the subject of the negotiations among the parties to the conflict, whereas the western part became as a matter of fact heading towards the recognition of America of the policy of the fait accompli.

The American position did not stop at the point of negotiation over the occupation of Israel to the west Jerusalem. President Johnson in his succeeding statements began to hint at an American readiness to accept the annexation of Israel of the two parts to it and its declaration as a unified capital for Israel, minimizing the importance of this Israeli measure as being an administrative measure that does not change the inadmissibility of the occupation of the territories of the others by force.

On 10 September 1968, President Johnson made clear the support of Washington for Jerusalem to remain a unified city by saying "no one wishes to see the holy city divided once again. The parties must think of a solution that guarantees their interests and the interests of the world in Jerusalem". But who is this (one) who does not wish the re-division of the city that Johnson meant in his declaration? As for the international community, it stated its position by adopting Security Council resolution No. 242 which would not have seen the light without the approval of Washington and the permanent members of the Council. The resolution stipulates the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, though Israel continued to argue that the English text does not talk except about withdrawal from Arab territories, contrary to the French text". But all the relevant succeeding resolutions – the most prominent of which was Security Council resolution No.238 of 1973-put an end to this by re-affirming the necessity of the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories that it occupied in the aggressive expansionist war of the 5thJune 1967 that Israel started.

As for the American department of state, it considered the decision of Israel to unify and annex the two parts of Jerusalem-through its enactment of the basic law of Jerusalem, on 28 June 1967, as a temporary administrative measure that "cannot affect the future of the holy places or the status of Jerusalem, and that the U.S doesn't recognize unilateral actions that decide the international status of Jerusalem (Abu Baker, 1973, p.212).

The American administration and its state department did not suffice the mselves with the Justification of the measures of judaizing Jerusalem-that contradict the relevant resolutions of the international legitimacy – by minimizing their importance and the verbal opposition to the measures of judaizing Jerusalem, but abstained from voting in favor of the resolutions of the General Assembly No.2253 of 4 July 1967 that stipulated the necessity of the abolishment of Israel of its judaizing measures in Jerusalem and consider these measures as not affecting the status of the city.

Though this abstention did not mean the opposition of the two resolutions, but it points to the real reasons for the abstention, the most important of which are:

- The futility of the opposition of the U.S to the draft resolutions of the General Assembly since its majority is supportive of the Arab right, and that there is no place there for the veto.
- Protection of the Zionist entity from itself and its expansionist aggressive policy. The most prominent aspect of the double dealing of the American political conduct was its voting in favor of Security Council resolutions No. (250) on 7 July 1968 and No. (251) on 2 may 1968 that demanded of Israel not to conduct a military parade in Jerusalem. But the U.S abstained from voting in favor of the resolution No. (252) on 2 May 1968 that calls on Israel to abrogate all its measures to change the status of Jerusalem. With its double standards, the U.S has coupled between the tactical and the strategic that enabled it to gain the support of both sides of the conflict and not to cause the Arab side to despair from the United States. This is a method that the successive American administrations used to invest for its interests and the interest of its strategic ally Israel and caused the Arabs to sing praise of worthless resolutions since these were not backed by mechanisms of implementations within specified time spans. In addition, Israel does not consider these resolutions as binding on her as long as they are not taken on the basis of the seventh chapter of the charter of the United Nations organizations. The duplicity of the American policy towards Jerusalem-in both its tactical and strategic aspects were made clear by the speech of the permanent representative of the U.S before the General Assembly concerning the question of Jerusalem on 14 July 1967. It was very specific regarding the policy of his administration towards Jerusalem: "Jerusalem is one of the most holy cities of the world due to the sanctity and the importance accorded to it by the followers of the three divine faiths. As for the impact of holiness on the legal status of the city, the U.S is of the view that (east

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Jerusalem) that was occupied in 1967 is an occupied territory that is subject to the law of military occupation. It is not permitted for Israel to introduce any changes. Accordingly, the changes that Israel caused are null and void and do not constitute prior judgment on the final and permanent status of the city. As for the question of sovereignty over the city and the determination of its final future, it is a matter that is decided in the light of the solution that is to be decided in the region"(*The Arab Report and Record (16-31) January 1969,pp. 47- 48)*.The solution that is decided by the direct parties of the conflict, not the settlement that is imposed on the area from the outside… meaning the United Nations which the majority of its setup supports the Arab position and which Washington was unable to disable or balance except through its use of the American veto in the Security Council. The same applies to the succeeding American official statements – especially that of Arthur Goldberg, the permanent American representative to the United Nations, in respect of the abstention of Washington on voting in favor of resolution (252). These showed the tactical approach of Washington without removing the many questions relating to its real position concerning the measures of the judaization of Jerusalem. The U.S. justified its abstention in voting for resolution (252) by saying that it was needless, since the illegitimacy of the measures of judaization of Jerusalem was included in resolution 242/1967 dictating the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories including east Jerusalem. This is in addition to this being within the mission of the representative and mediator of the United Nations, Junar Jarring.

- The preservation of Jerusalem as being united.

b) During the period of President Richard Nixon

Though the American policy during the term of President Nixon towards Jerusalem continued to be governed by the same principles controlling its Middle Eastern policy, yet it was distinguished with some flexibility during this period for the following reasons:

- Its efforts to get out of the Vietnamese quagmire with the least political losses after it realized it was waging a militarily lost war was by all standards. This war constituted a strategic transformation in favor of its ideological and global enemy the Soviet Union in the southeastern part of Asia.
- The shift of its interest from southeastern Asia-where there was no hope of winning the war there-towards the Arab area where there exists its vital interests, the most important of which are Israel and Oil.
- Its conviction that the state of no war and no peace on which its policy towards the Arab area is based cannot last as long as Israel sticks to its conditions to settle the Arab Israeli conflict, and insists on keeping Jerusalem as a unified capital for it. Accordingly, the American administration began to search for political tactics that enables It preserve its vital interests in the Arab area and prevent the war of attrition on the Egyptian front from turning into a long term war for Israel that ends into a military defeat for it, since all indications and developments in the area pointed to the determination of President Jamal Abdul Nasser to this defeat Israel. Accordingly, the U.S began to look for the means that it thinks will avoid its strategic ally Israel the expected military defeat. In order to achieve this, it moved through two paths:

The Jordanian path: where it exploited the authorization that President Jamal Abdul Nasser gave to King Hussein Bin Talal to work in all the politically available means, and the taking advantage of his relations with the west-specially the U.S to restore the West Bank and the eastern part of Jerusalem to the Arab sovereignty on condition of non-recognition of Israel. In order to lure Jordan to direct negotiations with Israel regarding the future of the occupied West Bank and Jerusalem, the American National Council declared on 1st February 1969 a number of principles regarding the Arab Israeli conflict, the most prominent of which was that "Jordan will have a civil and religious role within the context of the unified Jerusalem"(Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.596).

This American position was reaffirmed again through the proposals that the American administration submitted to ambassador Jarring in April 1969, and in the settlement plan that it presented at the quad partite talks that included representatives from Jordan, U.S,United Nations and Israel, and the consultations that the American administration has conducted in this respect with the then Soviet ambassador in Washington. The Jordanian Israeli settlement plan which the American administration presented on 18 December 1969 contained two items regarding Jerusalem. These were:

- It dealt with the secure borders and stated that "the recognized secure borders should be near to the armistice lines with the exception of that stated in item four (the one relating to Jerusalem)", meaning the non return of Jerusalem to the way it was before *(Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.596).*
- It dealt with the status of Jerusalem and the final arrangements.
- It stated that "Jordan and Israel work to reach an agreement regarding the status of the city of Jerusalem and the final arrangement, including the municipal boundaries of the unified city, and the two sides agree that Jerusalem has a special status" that starts from the following principles:
  - It must be a united city with no restrictions on the movement of persons or goods in it.

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- There must be no restrictions on the freedom of access to the united city for any person of any religion or nationality.
- The administrative arrangements of the united city must take into consideration the interests of all its inhabitants and the interests of the international Jewish and Islamic and Christian sects, and the roles of the governments of Israel and Jordan must be guaranteed in the civil and economic and religious life of the city *(Department of State bulletin, vol.62, no.1593 (5 January 1970) p. 10)*

The Egyptian path : was represented in the 1970 Rogers Plan dealing with stopping the war of attrition. It was accepted by Egypt and Jordan and rejected by Palestine and Syria and Iraq. This caused a split in the Arab ranks which was an objective of the American administration. This began to constitute a primary policy for the U.S and Israel that stands on inundating the Arabs with settlement plans, not for settling the Arab Israeliconflict, but to first deepen the splits in the Arab ranks, and second to save Israel from the quagmire of the war of attrition, and third to cause the Arab states to doubt the position of Egypt and Abdul Nasser, and fourth as a preparation to isolate Egypt from the Arabs at the right moment. This is what took place in fact through the visit of Sadat to occupied Jerusalem in 1977 and was concluded with the signing of the Camp David agreements on 26 March 1979, leading to ousting Egypt out of the Arab Israeli conflict.

The dual American approach has been enhanced at the level of the United Nations. At the same time that it was sponsoring Jordanian Israeli negotiations outside the framework of the United Nations, and advancing plans to settle the conflict within a bilateral context that guarantees to Israel the keeping of Jerusalem as a unified capital for it, we find the U.S supportive of Security Council resolution No.(267) of 3 July 1969 that chided Israel for its failure to respect the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to Jerusalem, and the voidness of the measures of Judaizing Jerusalem, and the call on Israel to abolish them. Yet it abstained from voting on paragraph five of that resolution under the pretext that the "language of the paragraph is inconsistent with the clear language of the preceding paragraph that stresses that these measures cannot change the status of the city", which meant the continued differentiation of the U.S between the Israeli legislative and administrative measures, and between its annexation by a decision which Israel did not do. But this American policy prepared the ground before Israel and encouraged it to annex Jerusalem in 1980 by a decision taken by the Israeli Knesset in this connection. Charles Yost, the then representative of the U.S in the Security Council justified the approval of his country of the draft project by saying "Jerusalem is a sacred place for three of the largest religions: Islam, Christianity and Judaism. As a result of this fact, the U.S has always considered that Jerusalem enjoys a unique international status, and that no measure should be taken there without taking into consideration the special history of Jerusalem and its special status in the international community, unfortunately some actions took place that has stopped peace in Jerusalem and the U.S considers that part of Jerusalem that fell under the control of Israel since the June war an occupied territory like the rest of other territories that Israel have occupied, thus it is subject to the stipulations of the international law that regulates the rights and the obligations of the occupying state, that states have no right to affect changes in the laws or the administration and the occupying state cannot confiscate or destroy private properties… we have continuously refused to recognize that these measures have any other capacity other than the temporary capacity and must not be permitted to affect the final status of Jerusalem*"(Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.39).*

Though many people rightly considered that American position to be the boldest and clearest-in the history of the Arab Israeli conflict since it assigned to Israel the responsibility of the breakdown of peace through its illegitimate measures, and the recognition that it is an occupying state that must fulfill its international obligations towards the international law regarding occupation that does not allow It to cause any changes in the lands It occupies. This became evident through the American abstention from voting in favor of Security Council resolution No.(271) on 5 September 1969 regarding the crime of burning al-Aqsa Mosque and the condemnation of the Israeli crime.

But the American administration supported security council resolution No.(298) on 25 September 1971 whose contents did not differ from the previous Security Council resolutions relating to Jerusalem. George Bush, the then American representative at the United Nations, explained the position of his country in supporting resolution (298) by saying that "the Security Council has shown a stern position (towards Israel) and stressed the regret of the U.S for the failure of the Zionist entity to respect its obligations under the fourth Geneva convention, in addition to the fact that its actions contravene the spirit and the texts of this Convention (Pointing out) that the United States has supported the resolution, not because it agrees to all its contents-since some of its elements cause difficulties to his government-but the support came to emphasize the concern of his government that no action shall be taken in Jerusalem that harms the final peaceful settlement of Jerusalem(*Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.63*).

The important point in the statement of George Bush before the Security Council was not the repetition of the previous positions of his government, but his admission that his government faces difficulties and problems when it takes balanced positions regarding

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the Arab Israeli conflict, and the question of Jerusalem in particular. Everyone certainly realized that Israel and the American Zionist Jewish lobby are the sources of these difficulties.

Before that, Henry Kissinger, the American secretary of state and the head of the American National Security council and the one who is well-known for his absolute loyalty to the Zionist entity and the author of the step-by-step policy, has sought to overcome these difficulties that were referred to by George Bush-without specifying them or mentioning their source- through the plan that was ascribed to him regarding Jerusalem which calls for the partition of Jerusalem between Jordan, the Vatican and Israel. The project that was attributed to Henry Kissinger regarding Jerusalem was based on the following principles:

- Placement of the holy places in Jerusalem, al-khalil (Hebron), and Bethlehem under the administration of the United Nations.
- Placement of the Jewish Quarter and the Armenian quarter in (east Jerusalem) under the administration of Israel.
- Return to Jordan the Islamic Quarter that lies between Bab al-Asbat and Bab al-khalil.
- Placement of the Christian Quarter that lies between Bab al-Amoud and Bab al-khalil under the administration of the Vatican.
- Proclamation of Jerusalem as an open city for all.
- The proposed status does not prevent Jerusalem from being taken as a capital for a certain state, or for several states at the same time. The danger that lies in the "Kissinger project" for the settlement of the issue of Jerusalem lies in the fact that it constitutes a mechanism to passing the policy of the Zionist entity towards Jerusalem that revolves around keeping Jerusalem united and capital for it, which is clearly evident in the last item of his project. This danger is not mitigated by the possibility of Jerusalem being a capital for more than one side. On the contrary, it is an admission of Jerusalem being united and a capital for Israel and a prelude to the transformation of the American policy towards Jerusalem in this direction and gaining world support for it.

c) During the period of President Jimmy Carter (1977-1980)

The American policy towards Jerusalem during the period of President Jimmy Carter was characterized by the following features:

- The movement away from the policy of step-by-step that was led and sponsored by the then American secretary of state, Henry Kissinger -in complete coordination and cooperation with the government of the Zionist entity-towards the policy of the "comprehensive settlement" of the Arab Israeli conflict without the reference of the project of President Carter to Jerusalem even in one word.
- That project was shelved due to the rejection of the American Zionist Jewish lobby and Israel- which was led for the first time in its history by a Likud government headed byMenahem Begin, who vehemently opposed the project of Jimmy Carter.
- Transferring the file of the Palestinian cause and the Arab Israeli conflict from the United Nations organization to the framework of the bilateral negotiations that are sponsored by the U.S. The aim was to prepare for separate agreements and peace treaties that the administration of President Carter and the new Israeli leadership decided to start with Egypt, which will impact negatively and dangerously on the future of the Arab Israeli conflict and its core the Palestinian cause. Thus it was not odd for the administration of Carter to receive the initiative of Sadat-that began with his visit in 1977 to the occupied Jerusalem, and delivering his speech before the Israeli Knesset-that ended with the signing of the Camp David Accords on 26 March 1979. Events have proved that initiative was not far from the scheming of the American administration, in cooperation with Arab parties.
- Exclusion of the complex subjects that affect the proceeding of the negotiations to the stage that was designated since then as the final status negotiations. Jerusalem was one of the issues that were excluded from the Egyptian Israeli negotiations and the Camp David accords as a result of the pressure of the American Zionist Jewish lobby, the Zionist entity and the unlimited American support for the Israeli position. This set a precedent that was emulated in the negotiations of the "post Madrid conference" where the issue of Jerusalem was postponed to what was called the final status negotiations.
- Adoption of the "diplomacy of letters" that contains the principled positions of both negotiating sides: Egypt and Israel. This was adopted as a negotiating style that paved the way for the convening of the "Madrid peace conference" in October 1991, as well as the secret negotiations in Oslo, and the Palestinian declaration of principles, and the succeeding negotiations at the Palestinian and Jordanian tracks.
- The affirmation of the American administration of Its previous position of the question of united Jerusalem as stared by the statements of its permanent representatives at the United Nations by ambassador Arthur Goldberg on 14 July 1967 and ambassador Charles Yost on 1st July 1969, that is the U.S.A considers east Jerusalem as still being an occupied territory that is governed by the law of military occupation that imposes on Israel,

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obligations towards the occupied territory and its inhabitants. Though the letters of President Sadat and the then leader of the Zionist entity Menahem Begin were only affirmations of their principled stands regarding Jerusalem, the diplomacy of letters points to dangerous matters, the most important of which are:

- The difficulty of arriving at common denominators those constitute the basis for the satisfactory solution of the issue of Jerusalem by the two parties, especially the Palestinian side, which was not participating in the negotiations, to start with.
- There is no political or legal value for these letters as long as they are not incorporated in the texts of the accords, meaning they do not commit the Zionist entity.
- The exclusion of the western part of Jerusalem from any future negotiations and confining them over the eastern part. This means the success of Israel in imposing its position on the largest Arab negotiating side which will be the basis for any succeeding negotiations that may take place between any Arab side and Israel.
- The focus of the American diplomacy of letters on the spiritual side of Jerusalem, while ignoring any reference to the international legitimacy and its resolutions that govern the issue of Jerusalem now and in the future. Due to regional reasons like the rise of the Iranian revolution that ended with the downfall of the Shah and the assumption of the Mullahs of the power in Iran, and the breakout of the Iranian Iraqi war, and the theatrical farce of the American hostages in American embassy in Iran, caused the U.S. to shift its concern away from the Israeli-Arab conflict to the Arab Gulf sufficing itself with the great political victory that it has achieved for itself and Israel on the Egyptian front and the complete ignorance of the question of Jerusalem. In addition, the political activity on the international scene regarding Jerusalem has lessened. The institution of the international legitimacy did not pass except three resolutions, one of which was issued by the General Assembly (35/169) on 25 December 1980 demanding that the Zionist entity abolish its measures in Jerusalem, especially the decision of the Israeli Knesset that is known as the "basic law of Jerusalem" through which it annexed united Jerusalem to Israel. The U.S.A. abstained from voting in favor of Security Council resolution No.(476) on 30 June 1980 and NO.(478) on 20 August 1980, since the first demanded that Israel abrogate the "basic law of Jerusalem" and its annexation of the city to it, while the second stressed the content of the first*(Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.63*).

d) During the term of President Ronald Reagan

This was characterized by the following traits:

- The elevation of the relationship between Washington and Telaviv to the level of the strategic alliance. What helped to prepare the American public opinion for the elevation of the American-Israeli relations to this level was the fabricated fear of the expansionist intention of the Soviet Union, and the importance of Israel in combating the communist tide in the Middle East area. Begin exploited his visit to the U.S to realize several objectives, the most important of which was causing America to retreat from the positive side of its Middle Eastern policy, and urged the Reagan administration to ignore that part of the Camp David accords relating to the Palestinian self-government-along that demanded by Sadat-that omitted to mention Jerusalem, and committing the American administration to preserve the security and permanence of Israel and the adoption of its colonistjudaizing and substitutive policy, especially in Jerusalem. This was made clear by President Reagan in his speech on 9 September 1981 when he stated: "the security of Israel is one of the objectives of the American policy towards the dangers (surrounding her) in the area, and that Israel is a strategic ally to the United States"(*The bulletin of Palestinian studies, 1986 volume, p.638*). The American-Israeli memorandum of strategic understanding that contained the logistical. Intelligence and operational levels proved the reality of the American role in the Arab area which is completely aligned to the interest of Israel.
- Support the Israeli armed aggression against Lebanon in 1982. Thus it was no accident that Israel began to go over its head and increase its intransigence and turn its back on the international legitimacy and its resolutions, and start a new military campaign against the Palestinian resistance in Beirut that got the unlimited American support, and ended with the occupation of the Lebanese south and the expulsion of the Palestinian resistance and its leader Yasser Arafat from Lebanon so that a new Palestinian journey of dispersal began.
- The declaration of the Reagan project to settle the Arab Israeli conflict so as to offer an international cover for the new Israeli aggression, that (the project) contained the emphasis that the "settlement must be based on guaranteeing the security of the Zionist entity, and the land for peace in application of resolution (242), and the adoption of Camp David

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as the basis for the dialogue"*(Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.73),*Calling for a Palestinian participation to arrive at self-governing.

- The policy of Reagan regarding Jerusalem as stated in his project was based on two principles:

The first : Jerusalem should remain united

The Second: The determination of its future in the final status negotiations, which means postponing it to the negotiations of the final settlement of the Arab Israeli conflict, which caused this goal and those that preceded it to be constants of the American policy towards Jerusalem. The aim is to enable Israel to consecrate it as a unified and eternal capital for it.

As for the project of George Shultz, the then American secretary of state, it was identical with the principled framework of the American policy towards Jerusalem. His project, which he declared in April 1988, included discussing "the question of Jerusalem in the light of the results of the Arab Israeli talks, but its people can vote like the rest of the people of the West Bank and the Gaza strip"(*Amen, 1993, p. 256*).This means that Shultz has in practice separated between "the question of resolving the sovereignty over Jerusalem and between its Palestinian inhabitants"(*Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.73)* this means in practice the identity of the position of the American administration with the Israeli position. Israel has annexed Jerusalem to Israel while keeping its inhabitants outside the annexation.

- As for the United Nations level, the General Assembly took sixteen resolutions regarding Jerusalem that do not recognize the measures of its judaization, and the call for the abrogation of these measures, and the submission of Israel to the international conventions, especially the fourth Geneva convention that impose on the occupying state obligations regarding the occupied territory and its people. The American position regarding these resolutions oscillated between verbal support and abstention. It voted in favor of nine of them and abstained from supporting the other seven. The reality of the American policy towards Jerusalem during the term of president Reagan was clear in its opposition to two draft resolutions relating to Jerusalem that were submitted to the Security Council. The American veto was used against both. These were the draft resolution of 20 April 1982, and the draft resolution of 30 January 1986. The first called for the condemnation of Israel for the shooting of one of soldiers of the occupation of the prayers in the neighboring courtyard of Al-Haram Al-Sharif. The draft resolution was supported by (14) states and was opposed by the U.S only. The second revolved around decrying the measures of the Zionist entity in occupied Jerusalem and its threats against the sanctity of the holy places. It was supported by (13) states, and opposed by the U.S only.

The regional and the international transformations that the world witnessed before and after the entry of the first George Bush to the White House has impacted the formulation of the American policy towards the Arab Israeli conflict and the causes of Palestine and Jerusalem. The most important of these were the following:

- The breakout of the Palestinian intifada (uprising) in 1987 which the West, and especially the U.S understood correctly as being an uprising with a political goal that revolves around extracting their right to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state on their completely sovereign territory with Jerusalem as its capital. It will not stop until it achieves its political objectives. It is not a passing uprising and the Zionist entity cannot suppress it with the military means, which meant that it must be circumvented by political means.
- The end of the Iranian-Iraqi war and the emergence of Iraq from that war as a regional power whose role in the future of the Arab Israeli conflict cannot be ignored. This unpleasant regional setback to the U.S and its strategic ally Israel and their Middle Eastern policies must be addressed before the danger deepens, and the emerging regional power gets out of hand and breaks the barrier of fear and hesitation towards Palestine. The question of this political regional development was made more dangerous to the American regional strategy by being simultaneous with the increasing tempo of the Palestinian uprising. So it was absolutely necessary to lure Iraq towards the inevitable killing zone.
- The collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp and the fragmentation of its states into separate sovereign states.
- The end of the cold war with an ideological, political, religious and military victory for the Atlantic Alliance under American leadership.
- The American policy towards Jerusalem during the term of the first George Bush, within these regional and international variables, was as follows:

- Continuation of the same American policy towards Jerusalem during former president Ronald Reagan since both Reagan and Bush belonged to the Republican Party and Bush occupied the position of vice-president during Reagan.
- Jerusalem must remain united and must not be allowed to be divided again.
- Confinement of the extent of international legitimacy to the eastern part of Jerusalem and the exclusion of the western part from it.
- Retreat from its policy that rejected the Jewish colonialist settlement in the West Bank and Jerusalem. In the middle of March 1991, the then American secretary of state, James Baker, sent a

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letter to the pro-Zionist American congressman, Ted Levin, stating in it the following: "it is evident that the Jews and others can live wherever they want east and west, and the city must remain undivided"(*Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.83*).

- Imposition of a settlement on Israeli American conditions. The imposition of an Israeli American peace taking advantage of a historic opportunity that may not occur again that took place as a result of the Arab weakness and disruption in the aftermath of the second Gulf War. In an article in the Washington Post newspaper in October 1991, the American former president Richard Nixon called for "forcing Israel to its luck" by reaching a settlement with the Arabs and the Palestinians through exploiting a golden opportunity that history may not provide again in order to preserve the American vital interests in the region, the most important of which are: the oil and Israel. It is the first time that oil takes precedence over Israel. Accordingly, the Madrid peace conference took place.
- Circumventing the issue of Jerusalem and the representation of the Palestinians in the Madrid Conference through the proposal of Baker of postponing the Jerusalemites to a later stage by appointing Jerusalemites in the negotiating team who have resided in Jerusalem before. Thus their role was limited to the accompaniment of the delegation within the framework of the Jordanian umbrella through a joint Jordanian Palestinian delegation in their capacity as advisers.

The convening of the Madrid Conference on bases compatible with the Israeli view, which is are as follows:

- A mini international conference whose participants are confined to the direct parties of the struggle under an American Soviet sponsorship.
- Exclusion of the United Nations organization and ignoring its role as a source for international legitimacy. The Madrid Conference was not held under its umbrella, and it sufficed itself with the role of an observer. This meant in practice the transfer of the file of the Arab Israeli Conflict from the United Nations and its placement in the hands of the U.S. Thus the United Nations was relieved of what the Western media and politics used to call the Middle East conflict.
- Circumventing the resolutions of the international legitimacy through adoption of the diplomacy of the letters of assurance, and the exclusion of the basic controversial issues, foremost among which was Jerusalem, from the negotiations. This meant ignoring its point of reference in order to get rid of the resolutions of the international legitimacy as a framework of reference for any negotiations, and re-negotiate over it once again, though it has been approved by the General Assembly and the Security Council and have gained final status. It is not subject to negotiations, but needs a mechanism to apply them and make Israel commit to them. This dangerous trend by the U.S became clear when it invested all its capabilities and exploited the regional and the international variables that were in her favor, to force the cancellation of some resolutions of the international legitimacy that bothered it and caused concern to its strategic ally Israel, exactly as happened with the resolution of the General Assembly No.(3379) in 1975 stating that Zionism is a form of racism. It was abolished by an American initiative during the first session that the General Assembly convened on 16 December 1991 following the end of the second Gulf War.
- Postponement of the consideration of the future of Jerusalem until the final status negotiations. This principle was adopted in the following Oslo Agreement (Gaza Jericho first) and the Israeli Palestinian declaration of principles. The American letter of assurances to the Palestinian leadership regarding Jerusalem stated the following: "the United States understands (realizes) the importance that the Palestinians attach to the question of east Jerusalem. Thus we want to assure you that nothing that the Palestinians will undertake in selecting the members of their delegation at this stage will impact on their demanding of east Jerusalem, or constitute a pre-judgment or a precedent of that which will result from the negotiations. The constant position of the United States is represented in the fact that the city should not to be divided again, and that its final status must be determined in the negotiations. Accordingly, we do not recognize the annexation of Israel of east Jerusalem or the expansion of its municipal boundaries"(*Palestinian studies Journal, issue (8) 1991 autumn, p. 297*).
- Concentration on the priority of the security of Israel as a goal that precedes any other goal. This was affirmed in the letter of assurances that it sent to Israel, and said: "the key to push peace forward is the recognition of the security needs of Israel, Israel has the right to secure and defensible borders, the aim of this process is a durable and just peace that is attained through talks based on the resolutions of the Security Council No.(242) and (338) (*Text of the American letter of assurances to the Zionist entity, journal of Palestinian studies, p. 288*). The different interpretations of the content of resolution (242) were left to the negotiators, which caused it to be of reference nature and not one of being an obligatory point of reference. The afore-mentioned letter stated the following: "you and the other parties have informed us that there are different interpretations for Security Council resolution No.(242), and that

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these interpretations will be presented during the negotiations"(*Text of the American letter of assurances to the Zionist entity, journal of Palestinian studies, p. 288*).

- The American position became bound with, and subject to, the Israeli position regarding the negotiating subjects and the estimation of Israel of its security needs. The same applies to the recognition of the principle of connecting the point of references of the peace with that which Israel understands and what she estimates as being necessary to its security and its defensible borders.
- Launching an American media and political war against the Palestine liberation organization (P.L.O) and the exercise of pressure on the international organizations that accept the (P.L.O.) in its membership to stop paying its commitments in this respect, as the case of the United Nations itself and the (UNESCO). This was so despite the fact that the Bush administration has started a dialogue with the (P.L.O) after the latter agreed to Security Council resolution (242), and the right of the existence of Israel and disavowed terrorism, these conditions that Israel has constantly advanced as an introduction to agree to any dialogue between the U.S and the (P.L.O). This was an American undertaking that was made by Henry Kissinger in 1975 for the Zionist entity. But the Palestinian-American dialogue did not last long due to Israeli pressure and the Israeli-connected Zionist Jewish lobby on the administration of President George Bush. As for the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Bush administration voted against four draft resolutions and abstained from supporting another four of the resolutions issued by the General Assembly regarding the Arab Israeliconflict, including Jerusalem. As for the Security Council, and for tactical reasons relating to the preparation of the political stage for the second Gulf War and the aggression against Iraq, and the coherence of the alliance that is led by the U.S and contains Arab and Islamic states, the U.S voted in favor of the resolutions of the Security Council No.(672) on 12 October 1990 that condemned the acts of the Zionist occupation that was perpetrated against the worshippers in the Jerusalemite Haram al- Sharif, and No. (673) on 24 October 1990 condemning Israel for refusing to receive the mission of the United Nations and urging it to comply with resolution (672). The most dangerous aspect in the policy of the Bush administration towards Jerusalem was that it laid the cornerstone for the foreign political American conduct towards Jerusalem which is still standing until now due to its position of the negotiations regarding Jerusalem.

e) During the period of President Bill Clinton (1993-2002)

During this period the American policy towards Jerusalem was based on the following principles:

- The priority of the Israeli security and the American Israeli strategic alliance above every other issue. This was early evident from the electoral program of the presidential couple Clinton /Gore. It stated "the United States has a basic interest, not only in the security of Israel, but also in the strategic cooperation between our two countries in the Area (*Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.83*) thus it is not strange that their electoral program contained plans that spoke of what their administration will do in the event of their victory, "It will fulfill the American commitments towards storing military equipment in Israel, and the enhancement of the logistical cooperation, and strongly support the need of Israel to maintain a qualitative military superiority over any possible alliance among its Arab adversaries" (*Journal of Palestinian studies, Issue 12, autumn of 1992, p. 258*).
- Concentration on the policy of the keeping Jerusalem as a united capital for Israel. The electoral program of Clinton said "Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and must remain a united undivided city, available to people irrespective of their religious beliefs, and the peace that does not take into consideration the security of Israel cannot be always safe"Journal of Palestinian studies, Issue 12, autumn of 1992, p. 285).
- The consideration of the Arab territories that were occupied in 1967 as being disputed territories that are unprotected by their reference framework represented in the Security Council resolution no. (242) 1967. This was considered a dangerous transformation in the American policy in favor of the Zionist entity that was contained in the project of the American administration to be the basis for the declaration of the joint principles that was presented on 30 June 1993 to the Palestinian and the Israeli negotiators. It was apparently adopted as a principle that governed the secret negotiations that were taking place in Oslo between the Palestinian and Israeli negotiators.
- Non-objection of the American administration to the continuation of Israel of building the settlements under the cover of the natural growth of the population of the Zionist Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories, and Jerusalem, in particular, and its responsiveness to the Israeli logic that differentiates between security settlements that are not subject for negotiations or dismantlement, and settlements of political character that can be negotiated about. These terms were the fabrication of Isaac Rabin. But this differentiation was not

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entertained by his successor Benjamin Netanyahu due to this reliance on the support of the Bill Clinton administration.

- The verbal declamation of the U.S of the constancy of its position regarding the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the rejection of the policy of the colonial settlement therein though it is keen that the negotiation regarding them be in "correct place" and not in the "wrong place" in the corridors of the United Nations. It is within this meaning that President Clinton responded-in the press conference with the Israeli Prime Minister, Isaac Rabin, on 16 March 1994-to a question around Jerusalem and the settlements. He said "really about the solution of the (question) of Jerusalem, the position of the U.S did not change. But this question must be discussed by the two sides according to the text of the declaration (of principles). It is a matter that has to be settled later. This is what we think should be done"(*Journal of the Palestinian studies, spring, issue 18, 1994*).The attempt to plant a wedge between Jordan and the Palestinians so as to sabotage the Jordanian Palestinian relations by promoting a special Jordanian role represented by giving Jordan the role of guardianship over the holy places in the final status negotiations regarding Jerusalem. Clinton addressed King Hussein before the signing of the declaration of the termination of the state of war between Jordan and Israel. He said: "in the declaration we are going to sign, your role as a guardian to the Islamic holy places, including al-Aqsa Mosque, has been formulated, and Israel has agreed to give the historical Jordanian role the priority regarding the holy places during the final status negotiations"(*journal of the Palestinian studies, issue 19, 1994 summer, p. 288*). Clinton did not only want to plot between Jordan and Palestine, but also to pass the Israeli scheme. This is what has been contained in the "Jordanian Israeli peace treaty" in its ninth item and the declaration of the end of the state of war in its second item.
- The holy places are the subject of the negotiations and not the eastern part of Jerusalem or Jerusalem as a whole. Every time the negotiating Arab side admits the policy of the fait accompli, the list of Israeli demands increases and the American support for it increases. From negotiating over the whole of Jerusalem, to the eastern part of Jerusalem, to the holy places, to an upper sovereignty and a lower one, as Clinton demanded, on behalf of Israel in the second Camp negotiations.
- Non-exercise of any pressure on Israel under the pretext that this harms the proceeding of the negotiations and cause their complication instead of their felicitation. It is a mission that the American administration views as being tasked to it. Within this meaning was the statement of the former American ambassador to Israel, Martin Indyk, when he testified before the foreign relations committee of the Senate at the beginning of 1995 on the occasion of his appointment as an ambassador to Israel. He clarified the policy of his country towards Jerusalem as being based on "leaving the parties to solve the issue through negotiations, and not taking any position by his administration that may exclude the U.S from the task of facilitating these negotiations"(*Abu Haleiwa, 2001, p.93*).
- The contradiction of the American political behavior towards the Arab Israeli conflict. The Clinton administration claims, on one side, its keenness not to interfere with that which may undermine the negotiations, whereas it does not hesitate to provide the material, military, political and informational support for the Zionist entity which strengthens its negotiating position and causes it to be more rigid. This flagrant bias to the Israeli side and the duality of the American standards were the subject of a letter that was sent by American Christian personalities to President Clinton on 6 February 1995 that contained their concern from the policy of retreat of his administration from the traditional positions of the U.S regarding Jerusalem. It said: "what concern us is the retreat of the administration from the traditional American position that dictates that east Jerusalem is subject to the Security Council resolution no.(242) relating to the territories that the Israeli army occupied in 1967, and the non-recognition of the administration of the rights and interests of the Palestinians in Jerusalem and the support for these rights, and the non-use of the administration of its immense influence to stop the works of the Israeli construction in east Jerusalem and the continuation of the expansion in the Palestinian territories (*Journal of the Palestinian studies, issue 32, 1995 spring, p. 232*).
- The affirmation of President Clinton of the continuation of his policy that is committed to the Israeli positions regarding the occupied Arab territories and Jerusalem and the strategic alliance with it. In the electoral statement of the democratic party for the American presidential elections, which Clinton ran in it for the second time, the following was stated: "the Democratic Party remains committed to the special and old relationship of America with Israel, a relationship that is based on common values and a mutual commitment to democracy and a beneficial strategic alliance to both countries. The United States must continue its assistance to Israel so as to assure its qualitative superiority, and Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and must remain a united city with easy access to it

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by all religions"(*Journal of the Palestinian studies, issue 32, 1995 spring, p. 228*).

- The complete identity of the views of the American administration and the American Congress regarding Jerusalem by the adoption of the Congress of a resolution calling for the transfer of the American embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem, and the approval of president Clinton of this resolution keeping to himself the right of the timing of its implementation, whereas the previous administrationsviewed the demands of members of the American Congress in moving the American embassy to Jerusalem as prejudicial to the American vital interests in the Arab region, and constitutes a useless provocation for the Arabs, and burdens the friends of America, and strengthens the position of their common enemies, especially since other states expressed their wish to take such step but have backed from it as a result of the Arab official reaction that was contained in the joint Iraqi Saudi communiqué in 1974. The joint Iraqi Saudi communiqué threatened to sever the diplomatic relations with any state that transfers its embassy to Tel-Aviv. This led not only to the retreat of Spain from its decision, but caused other states with embassies in Jerusalem to move them to Tel-Aviv while other states opted not to transfer their embassies to Jerusalem. The American Congress, in both its houses, was sterner in its positions than the American administrations regarding Jerusalem. On 3 February 1995 the members of the American senate sent a letter to the then American Secretary of state, Warren Christopher, that contained their support for the policy of Israel in keeping Jerusalem united and capital for Israel and called for the transfer of the American embassy to Jerusalem. They said that they took four resolutions in this regard during the past decade. They said that it should not be subject to negotiation. The same positions were contained in a similar letter sent by the House of Representatives to Warren Christopher. Senator Dole, the majority leader in the Senate proposed on 5 September 1995 the opening of the American embassy in Jerusalem on 31 May 1999 at the latest. He called for not disbursing more than 50% of the budget of the American Department of State for the financial year 1999 except after an assurance of the official opening of the American embassy in Jerusalem. He assigned one hundred million dollars to cover the cost of the construction of the embassy in Jerusalem. President Clinton invoked the necessities of the American vital interests and did not use his presidential veto against the resolution of the Senate stating his personal position of his personal friendship to Israel. Thus there was no difference between the position of the President and the Senate. The difference was in the timing only. The same took place in the identical resolution of the American House of Representative in this respect that passed with a majority of (406) votes against (17) stating that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel.
- The identity of views between the Republican and the Democratic parties regarding Jerusalem as shown by the afore-mentioned two resolutions. Though there were a minority that opposed these orientations and projects, yet it was ineffective in facing the pro Israel flood. Though no American administration ventured in transferring the embassy for fear of an Arab and an Islamic reaction, the present circumstances of the Arab, Islamic, regional and international situations will not cause the Arab and Islamic sides to do anything that may stop the implementation of the American decision if the President decided to comply with the Dole project. Clinton was more hurtful in this position towards the Arabs than any other American president. This was evident in the second Camp David negotiations that he sponsored during the last stage of his second presidency. He exercised all his pressures against Late Chairman Yasser Arafat to accept a settlement that gives him a state let, and ends the problem of the refugees and their right to return or compensation, and keeps Jerusalem as the united and eternal capital for Israel with a symbolic and nominal sovereignty for the promised Palestinian state over the Jerusalemite Haram al-Sharif, in return for an Israeli subterranean sovereignty on it, and the end of al-Aqsa liberating uprising. When Arafat refused to comply with the conditions of the American Israeli peace, Clinton blamed him for being responsible for the failure of the negotiations exonerating Ehud Barak and trying to incite the Arab leaderships against him. The policy of Clinton in the United Nations witnessed a dangerous turn that was represented in its consideration of the occupied Arab territories as being disputed territories, and that Jerusalem is not an occupied city. Thus it voted against so many United Nations resolutions and focused on the exclusion of the United Nations and its organs (the General Assembly, the Security Council and UNESCO) from dealing with the Arab Israeli conflict and its core causes, Palestine and Jerusalem, as being the monopoly of the U.S.This dangerous transformation was evident when the U.S. abstained from voting on the paragraphs that were in the preamble of Security Council resolution no.(904) on 18 March 1994 relating to the condemnation of the massacre of the Haram al-Ibrahimi in al-Khalil (Hebron) on 25 February 1994 due to the mention of Jerusalem, which the American administration feared that it may be

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interpreted linguistically as being sovereignty (*Al-faari,1995, p. 211*). The same reasoning was made regarding Security Council resolution of 17 May 1995, relating to the condemnation of Israel for its confiscation of the land of the French Hill in the eastern part of Jerusalem. Madeline Albright said "we did not vote against the decision because we support the confiscation of Israel of the lands of Jerusalem. But because the council sought to voice an opinion regarding the final status of Jerusalem, while this is to be determined in the negotiations between the parties concerned with the issue" (*al-Hyatt newspaper, 15 March 1997*), the U.S absented itself from the process of voting regarding Security Council resolution no.(1073) of 28 September 1996 relating to the events that took place following the opening of the tunnel beside al-Aqsa mosque. The rest of the fourteen members of the Security Council supported the resolution. The U.S used its veto twice in the Security Council against the first Security Council draft resolutions on 8 March 1992 and the second on 22 March 1997 that condemned the continuation of the Israeli occupation authorities in the judaization of Jerusalem and the construction of more settlements in and around it, like AbuGhneim Mountain. It did not suffice itself to vote against the two draft resolutions but stressed the necessity of the non-interference of the United Nations in matters that are none of its business or involve itself in the bilateral negotiations between the Palestinian National Authority and Israel. The same was true in the General Assembly though some flexibility was shown by the U.S regarding some General Assembly resolutions since these do not limit the Israeli judaizationactivates in Jerusalem and their non-binding nature as it and Israel view them. The positions of the Clinton administration regarding the occupied Arab territories in Palestine and Jerusalem can be summarized as follows:

- Opposition to the inclusion of Jerusalem in resolution (242) and its consideration as disputed territory not an occupied one. The sovereignty over it is being decided in the negotiations, and not within the framework of the institutions of the legitimacy or on the basis on its resolutions.
- The retreat of the American position regarding the Israeli colonial settlement policy and the call for their dismantlement from being illegal and illegitimate to considering them as an impediment to peace.
- The non-application of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 on the Arab territories that were occupied in 1967, or on Jerusalem since the Clinton administration does not consider them occupied territories.

f) During the period of the second George Bush (2002-2008)

The policy of George Bush was the same in favor of the American vital interest and its strategic ally with Israel. The Bush administration in its first term sought to avoid involving itself in the negotiations leaving the weaker party, the Palestinians, at the mercy of the Israeli military machine and the Israeli negotiators. It refused to intervene in the negotiations saying that the will to peace must come from the two parties to the conflict hoping that the Palestinian side will submit to the wishes of the Israeli negotiator.

But the second Palestinian uprising confused the American and the Israeli calculations. It forced the administration of Bush to abandon the policy of wait and see. It opposed the resolution of the Security Council that decided to send a committee headed by the professor of the international law, Richard Falk, to investigate the massacres that Sharon has committed in the occupied Arab territories, and the sending of international observers to protect the Arab Palestinian people from the total and systematic war of annihilation that was waged by the Israeli forces of occupation to put down the intifada (uprising). Accordingly, the Bush administration was unable to resist the will of the international community. Instead, it sought to circumvent the Security Council resolution by activating a committee head by senator George Mitchell and the membership of a former president of Turkey, and the foreign minister of Norway, and a former American senator and the responsible of the foreign and security policy in the European union in order to marginalize the efforts of the United Nations and its committee that is chaired by Falk. The Mitchell committee was defined as "fact-finding committee" and was formed by former president Bill Clinton after consultations with Israel, the Palestinian authority, and Egypt, the United Nations, and the European Union, as stated by the concluding statement of president Clinton on 17 October 2000 at the "the Middle East conference for peace" at Sharm al-Shaikh in which he determined the mandate of that committee of fact finding regarding the current events in the Palestinian territories and how to prevent their recurrence. He was referring of course to the renewal of the second Palestinian uprising that was ignited by the Arab Palestinian people after the breaking of the courtyard of the Jerusalemite Haram by the war criminal Sharon under the protection of more than three thousand armed Israeli soldiers.

Accordingly, the Mitchell committee was formed to suppress al-Aqsa uprising and save Israel from its colonial policies. He said that the committee must not assign blame but only to determine what has taken place. The committee concluded its report with the following:

- A meaningful pacification period.

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- Condemnation of the acts of violence and the necessity of stopping it.
- The commitment of the Israeli government that its army will use untypical responses against unarmed demonstrations.
- The Palestinian National Authority undertakes the prevention of the armed persons from using the Palestinian populated areas to fire on Israeli populated areas and the positions of the Israeli defense army. This means that the P.N.A. will take charge of guarding the Israeli settlements amidst the Palestinians, and the Israeli occupation forces.
- The Israeli government commits to lifting the closures. The committee used the word closure instead of blockade, so as to mislead the world public opinion.
- The Israeli government undertakes to transfer the due taxes yields to the P.N.A., and allows the Palestinians to return to their jobs in Israel. Thus the cause of the Palestinian people and his uprising was- in the view of the Mitchell committee-one of material rights and humanitarian nature and not one of national liberation.
- The Israeli government undertakes that its security forces and the settlements will not destroy the Palestinian properties.
- The Israeli response to the recommendations of the Mitchell committee were as follows:
    - Absolute rejection of the freezing of the construction in the settlements.
    - Stressing that the struggle with the Palestinians is an armed struggle and not a civil uprising.
    - The demand from the Palestinian side to observe an immediate unconditional ceasefire.
    - A week long period of pacification.
    - Confidence building measures.
    - Resumption of the political deliberations.

g) During the period of president Barrack Obama (2008-until the present):

He started to a follow an American Middle Eastern policy that seemed at first to be different to that of his predecessor Bush. He appointed the American senator- of Arab Lebanese origins- as his special envoy to the Middle East to discuss the opportunities of arriving at a settlement on the basis of Security Council resolutions no.242/1967 and 334/1973 and the Arab peace initiative of 2002. President Obama prepared this by receiving a number of the Arab leaders -with the Jordanmonarch king Abdullah II in their forefront-, followed by the Saudi king, the Egyptian president, and the prime minister of Israel.

The Jordanian monarch (King Abdulla II), in all his meetings with the American, the Israeli and European officials, used to tempt Israel with relations with Arab and Islamic states if it agrees to the establishment of a viable Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel. This effort which the Jordanian monarch carried with him to Washington met with inclination by the Obama administration. Accordingly, Obama decided to re-consider the American Middle Eastern policy. He started by two visits to the area. The first was to Turkey the ally and member of the NATO Alliance and a pivotal one in the Islamic world, whereas the second was to Cairo, the pivotal state in the Arab world. In his reference to the Middle East during his visit to Turkey he stressed that the United States strongly supports the objective of the existence of the two states, Israel and Palestine that live alongside each other in peace and security. As for the speech of president Obama in the University of Cairo which was directed to boththe Arab and the Islamic world. The speech combined flexibility and sternness in some issues on one side, and hope and implicit threats, on the other side.

As for Jerusalem, it came within what He called the issue of the Palestinian Israeli conflict "which came second to the issue of extremism and terrorism. What was ironic is that he started his talk about this question with the persecution that the Jews suffered from in Europe and caused more than six million victims as being an absolute fact, whereas the ordeal of the Palestinian people, which is continuing for six decades, was not referred to except in his (the Palestinian people) search for a state. He stated "that the relations between America and Israel are historical ones, and that Jews were persecuted and more than six million Jew were killed, the denial of this fact is without any foundation, that the Palestinian people has suffered the ordeal of the search for a homeland all over sixty years and many camps in Gaza suffer from the circumstances of the occupation and America will not look the other way from the rights of the Palestinian people to obtain an independent state. The solution lies in our working to find two states. The Palestinians must renounce violence that will not lead us to solutions. Hamas has support in achieving the dreams of the Palestinians. The Israelis must recognize the right of the Palestinians in existence. America will not accept the Israeli policy of settlement. The Arab states must help the Palestinian people to develop their institutions. America cannot impose the peace. Jerusalem must be the home to all religions"(The speech of president Obama before the Turkish parliament on 6 April 2009/the white house/the office of the press secretary).

Though he talked about the solution of the two states, he did not refer to Jerusalem except one time in its consideration as a home for all religions, this is consistent with the Israeli view which shows no flexibility regarding Jerusalem except as it relates to the holy places which it does not object to them being placed under international supervision in which the followers of these religions are represented.

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Nonetheless, this ambiguous formulation represents a retreat by Obama from his speech before the American Jewish organization, which Jerusalem will remain the united and eternal capital of Israel. He did not refer at all to the eastern part of Jerusalem as a capital to the expected Palestinian state. No objective assessment of the policy of president Obama towards Jerusalem can claim that it went beyond the familiar. It is just statements and road maps which soon wither away. No hope for a viable Palestinian state, and no stopping of the colonization. Nothing in the horizon points to the abandonment of Israel of its aggressive expansionist policies which caused the P.N.A. to think of dissolving itself so as to lay bare the Israeli occupation and cause it to shoulder the burden of the resulting developments, in addition to forcing Israel to fulfill its obligations towards the Arab Palestinian people, which it occupies its land, according to the provisions of the international law and the international humanitarian law and the four Geneva conventions of 12 August 1949, especially the fourth one, and paragraph three of the charter of the United Nations stipulated the right of the peoples to self-determination.

VI. The Future of the American policy Towards Jerusalem

The Arab Israeli policy of the U.S, including Jerusalem, will remain now and in the future dependent on the echo of that policy unto the two parties of the Israeli Palestinian conflict and the extent of their responsiveness to the American policy. The Arab states attach great hope on an active and an effective American role to settle the Arab Israeli conflict on the basis of the resolutions of the international legitimacy, which the U.S contributed to their making-especially resolutions (242) and (338) of the Security Council, and the relevant General Assembly Resolutions-the most important of which are resolutions (181) and (194) On the other hand, Israel bets on an American role that is always to its interest, and an American policy whose contents are the Israeli views of the struggle and its settlement. It is completely right in this connection. The successive American administrations only saw the Israeli interests in the quantity and the manner that Israel wants. This is evidenced by the plan of Secretary Powell, the mission of general zinnia and the admission of president Obama of his failure to convince Israel to freeze the settlement in the West Bank, without Jerusalem, despite the inducements he offered to Israel, the most dangerous of which is to provide it with (20) F 35 fighter jets and its insistence not to respond to the demand of the American administration that the government of Netanyahu submits its vision for its borders and the borders of the future Palestinian state. All of these are evidences that the successive Republican and Democratic American administrations do not care except for Israel and its security and its permanence. Here one is faced with a tragic tableau that it is drawn by the three sides: the Arabs and Israel and America each in his own way. The moaning of the Arabs over an American role, and the Israeli disdain and plundering of the Palestinian blood and scorn of the international legitimacy, the blind unconditional American adoption of the Israeli vision and policies. General Colin Powell called in a speech to the revival of the resolutions (242,338) and the restoration of the spirit of Madrid in an area where there exists two states: Israel and Palestine, living side by side within secure and recognized borders. The settlement activities must cease, and the occupation must stop and cannot be stopped except through negotiations. The future of Jerusalem, in Powell's view, represents a challenge that the two sides must search for a solution to the problem of the Palestinians that is just and realistic at the same time"(The London Times newspaper, 9 March 2002).

The Colin Powell plan, as seen by Avneri in its skeleton, is based on the following principles:

– The peace that is based on two states: Palestine and Israel. When Powell talks about Palestine he means a solution with two states avoiding ambiguous terms that are less committing like the Palestinian state. The point of reference in drawing the borders of the two states are:

- The borders are based on the Security Council resolutions (242) and (338) with the emphasis by Avneri that (242) forbids states from possessing territories by force.
- The occupation must end and a limit must be put to the suffering of the Palestinian people.
- Stopping the settlement activities, whether building new settlements or expanding the existing ones.
- The ability of the coming Palestinian state to survival, not a group of pockets as the view of Barak and Sharon, but a complete continuous state with a strong economic foundation that is guaranteed by America.
- Recognition of the Palestinians of the legitimacy of Israel as a Jewish state.
- Lack of clarity regarding Jerusalem. He did not say frankly that Jerusalem will be the capital of the two Palestinian and Israeli states, though he said that the religious and national interests of the two parties must be taken into account, and the defense of the religious affairs of the Jews and the Christians and the Muslims the world over. But, according to Aveneri, the conclusion is quite clear, that it should be a capital for the two states.

According to Avneri, the Powell plan would not have appeared if it were not for the second uprising. Avneri saw the plan as responsive to the ambitions of the Arab Palestinian people, and similar to a large degree to the principles of the "Israeli peace movement".

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The future of the awaited Palestinian state, and Jerusalem as its capital, is bound by directing the pressure towards Israel. Israel is the tool of pressure on America to change its position in favor of a just durable and comprehensive peace, and not vice versa.

VII. Conclusion

It is possible to summarize the American policy towards Israel-since the creation of the Zionist entity and until now-as follows:

- the siding of the U.S with the Zionist Jewish vision is not connected with the vital American interests in the Arab homeland and the role of its strategic ally Israel in the American regional strategy, or internal reasons relating to the capabilities of the Zionist Jewish lobby, but also the complete intellectual and ideological identity between the Zionist Judaism and the fundamental Christianity. The variations between the positions and policies of the American Department of State and those of the American administrations in the following decades. The differences were not related to the goal, but to the political mechanisms.
- The policy of the U.S towards Israel was based on the principle of the strategic alliance, whereas the Israeli American policy was, and still is, based on the theory of the depletion (using up) of the American administrations by throwing them after they realize its objectives. This is evidenced in the recent history. President Bush (the first) and Richard Nixon allowed the exhaustion of their roles and were thus deposed, while Bill Clinton and George Bush (the son) proved to Israel and the Jewish lobby that they still has more to give to the Zionist entity.
- The American position and policy towards Jerusalem is governed by the Israeli position regarding Jerusalem which is: Jerusalem is a united and eternal capital for Israel.
- The verbal support for the legislations of the international legitimacy and the following of the policy of the double standards.
- The discrepancy of American positions and voting record on the resolutions of the international legitimacy, abstention mostly, supporting rarely, opposition a lot. This was caused by the international variables, and keeping the Arab official position deceived by the trick of the honest American mediator.
- Transferring the Palestinian cause and Jerusalem from the United Nations towards bilateral tracks and banning anyone from approaching it without the measure the America decides so as to devoid the Palestinian cause from its Arab, Islamic and international dimensions and dismantle the question into urgent and postponed ones.
- Cancellation of the resolutions that do not agree with the Israeli vision like General Assembly resolution no.3379 of 16 October 1975 that considered Zionism a form of racism.
- The adoption of president Obama of a different approach from most of his predecessors in searching for a settlement of the Arab Israeli conflict. He did not start from square one, but from the thesis of George Bush (the son) of the road map of the two states solution which was accepted by the two parties to the conflict: the Palestinian and the Israeli, though the latter accepted it tactically working in all means to devoid it of its content in practice. But the dreams of Obama went with the wind when he informed the Palestinian side of the failure of his efforts to persuade Israel to freeze the settlement activity for a second period of three months, without including Jerusalem, despite all temptations to the Netanyahu government who refused to respond to the demand of the American president to submit a map for the borders of his state and the Palestinian state, contrary to the Palestinian side which responded to the American demand immediately.
- The future of the "two states solution", and the eastern part of Jerusalem as its capital, as viewed by the Arab side, including the Palestinians, is conditioned on two decisive basic factors:
- *The first*:A pressuring Arab will where pressure must be. No question that cause concern to the U.S, with its successive Administrations, than the security and future of Israel, in addition to the oil. The U.S knows that there is no future for Israel except through integrating it into the Arab and Islamic surroundings which king Abdullah II -with Arab support-tries to market unto the Israelis and the Americans. It received the appreciation and acceptance of the American administration, but faced repulse from the Israeli side. But who will force Israel to its luck? As narrated by the former American president Richard Nixon. The only American president who can achieve this is the one that puts the higher American interests above the interests of its ally Israel. This calls for giving up the Jewish problem as being an internal question. It also means that such president must be ready beforehand to venture into not being re-elected for a second term. But where is he? Do we hope that we shall someday see that anticipated president?
- *The second*: The possession of the Arabs of the ability and the will to give up the dreams and the policy of begging, in favor of self-reliance and the potential energies that they possess and the giving up of their leaders of "peace as a strategic option" through involving their peoples in the existentialist Arab Israeli conflict.

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The Challenges of Democracy and Neo-Liberalism and its Implications to the Politico- Economic Development of Developing Countries

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Abstract - This paper examines the nature, content, democratization process and challenges of the practice and institutionalization of democracy and its relationship to the political development of Africa. The paper also takes a cursory insight into how the transition process and the misapplication of democratic values have escalated the degree of poverty in African states. The greatest challenge to development in Africa is the ascendency of economic liberalization development option prescribed by World Bank and IMF to complement the consolidation of democracy in Africa, creating complex web of poverty and erosion of citizens' confidence in democracy. We discovered that in Africa, there are political institutions and elections but no democracy. The institutions of government are democratically organized, oligarchically controlled and authoritarianly enforced, creating the dynamics of sham democracy that stifles political and economic development. Also, the paper shows that the characterization of political development is often fused with the politics of modernist economic development strategy leading to the triumph of authoritarian methods of political control over democratic process. This paper concludes that the practice of democracy in Africa has led to the emergence of a new class of political elites who use state power for the actualization of self interests rather than for consolidation of the institutions and virtues of democracy. Therefore, we recommend that political leader should be educated on the virtues of democracy and the dangers of authoritarianism primarily to develop in them strong morals and habit of the heart with which to govern their countries democratically, so as to produce the institutional frameworks necesssary for the political and economic development of Third World countries.

Keywords : *democracy, development, poverty, liberalization, authoritarianism.*

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The Challenges of Democracy and Neo-Liberalism and its Implications to the Politico-Economic Development of Developing Countries

Democracy, Poverty and Political Development in Africa

Dr. Chigozie Enwere

Abstract - This paper examines the nature, content, democratization process and challenges of the practice and institutionalization of democracy and its relationship to the political development of Africa. The paper also takes a cursory insight into how the transition process and the misapplication of democratic values have escalated the degree of poverty in African states. The greatest challenge to development in Africa is the ascendency of economic liberalization development option prescribed by World Bank and IMF to complement the consolidation of democracy in Africa, creating complex web of poverty and erosion of citizens' confidence in democracy. We discovered that in Africa, there are political institutions and elections but no democracy. The institutions of government are democratically organized, oligarchically controlled and authoritarianly enforced, creating the dynamics of sham democracy that stifles political and economic development. Also, the paper shows that the characterization of political development is often fused with the politics of modernist economic development strategy leading to the triumph of authoritarian methods of political control over democratic process. This paper concludes that the practice of democracy in Africa has led to the emergence of a new class of political elites who use state power for the actualization of self interests rather than for consolidation of the institutions and virtues of democracy. Therefore, we recommend that political leader should be educated on the virtues of democracy and the dangers of authoritarianism primarily to develop in them strong morals and habit of the heart with which to govern their countries democratically, so as to produce the instituitonal frameworks necesssary for the political and economic development of Third World countries.

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I. Introduction

Democracy is a feeling or a unity of hope that the people are more powerful that the political party, even a dictatorship (Hood,2004). Democracy, therefore, embodies a faith that a more prosperous, moral and dignified way of living exists than been ruled by authoritarian regimes. Democracy represents liberty, responsibility, good standard of living devoid of extreme poverty as well as pursuit of happiness, love, tolerance and friendship. Thus, these fervors felt for these promises of democracy was more in the twentieth century when humans became more conscious to establish the best regime to achieve the general good for all.

However, ancient and modern philosophers have theorized about the best regime. During the nineteenth century, the democratic advances in America, France and Britain provided powerful evidence that democracy, not withstanding its flaws, benefited humankind in ways never before realized. So the closing decades of the twentieth century were characterized with issues and political events that led to development of democratic values and transformations that change the scope and dimension of world politics (Abba, 2006).

Therefore, in the 1990s, with the demise of communism and authoritarianism, democracy became a universal paradigm that defines the tenets of political development in Africa or lack of it. The hysterical euphoria of global democracy induced African leaders to believe that the only option to political development and economic growth or survival is the need to centralize power while democratizing the institutions of government (Roskin, Cord and Jones, 2008). In this way, much of the African states fell into sham democracy embedded in authoritarianism with single party dominance.

In their efforts to democratize, African states embark on political and economic reforms that open their economies to compete with more powerful and established industrialized nations so as to attract investment. They employ brilliant economic plans but have no idea to encourage economic development because the processes are embedded in absolute corruption. This has increased poverty and inequality in Africa which forms the backbone of political protests,

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conflicts, terrorism, civil wars and violent revolutions that stifle political development in Africa.

This study is about democracy and political development in Africa. This will help us understand how the misapplication of democratic values has created and escalated poverty rate in Africa, thereby retarding the political development of the continent.

II. Conceptual Understanding of Democracy and Political Development in Africa

Scholars have not only exerted great effort to theorize about how countries become democratic, they have also adopted a rather limited working definition of democracy. In their efforts to present a concise universal definition of democracy, the conceptual quality of democracy has been lost, since most scholars limit the definition of democracy to a set of processes.

However, Joseph Schumpeter and Robert Dahl in their attempt to define democracy spent a good deal of time elaborating the key role the leaders play in democracies and minimal role that people play. For Schumpeter, how power is acquired and political decisions are made are the key components toward understanding democracy. He therefore, defines modern democracy as "that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which people acquire power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the peoples vote", (Schumpeter, 1942).

Looking critically at Schumpeter's definition of democracy, it is pertinent to note that he is doubtful of the validity of concepts such as "the will of the people" because he argues the peoples' will are merely the ideas given to them by the leaders of which they accept and collectively support. Therefore, he asserts that the classical doctrine of democracy based on the will of the people is idealistic in its approach and fails to address the human nature properly and also does not accurately portray the modern democratic process.

Like Schumpeter, Dhal believes the characteristics that distinguishes democracy from other regimes, is that a good democracy demonstrates the quality of being completely or almost completely responsive to all its citizens (Dahl, 1971). Rather than referring to this type of regime as a democracy, Dahl uses the term "Polyarchy" because modern democracy are substantially popularized, liberalized, inclusive and extensively open to public contestation, which reflects the inclusion of individuals, groups and interests that compete in the political arena (Dhal, 1971). Dhal suggests that the roles of individuals in democracy competes with groups and common and competing interests while Schumpeter in a similar vein agrees with Dhal that the roles and will of the people are determined by the groups interest of the leaders. Therefore, their use of the term democracy has an equivalent meaning to polyachy.

Consequently, the understanding of democracy as polyachy has existed since the first formal theories of democracy appeared. Greek political philosophers reveals the important role that leaders play in installing the ideas and principles that people should embrace for democracy to prevail. Also classical democracy thinkers understand the promise of influential leaders, groups and ideologies competing for influence in a democratic regime (Aristotle, 1984).

Drawing inference from Schumpeter's conception of democracy and Dahl's conception of Polyachy, we can deduce that democracy in Africa has extended towards polyachy. A close reading of African democracy reveals the influential roles that political leaders and the ruling political parties play in shaping the peoples' ideas and political opinions. The basic feature that distinguishes African democracy from modern democracy is the responsiveness of the citizens' opinion to the preference of its leaders. For this reason, many scholars have expressed concern over the growing disconnection or separation of citizens' from the government. This explains the loss of public spiritedness in African democracies to the point of general dissatisfaction with policy performance in relation to popular expectations. Citizens show support for democracy in general but do not approve of the way government does its work (Norris 1999). Such dissatisfaction and frustration triggers off aggression, political protest, violent revolution and terrorism which characterized African democracies, because the collective behavior of political leaders and of the ruling party are authoritarian based, becoming a tool of anti-democratic objectives that is at variance with the works of modern democratic thinkers like John Locke, Montesquieu and Alexis de Tocqueville.

Modern democracy is built upon two components- rights and virtues, both of which is lacking in African democracies. Both of these components belong to the tradition of liberalism associated with the work of Locke and Montesquieu. In his discussion on the concept of right as a requisite to liberal democracy, Locke sees individuals as free agents with inherent rights, based on the premise that all persons are equal in power, freedom and in their desire for self preservation (Locke, 1998).

On the premise, Locke agrees with Thomas Jefferson that human beings are created equal and are endowed with the particular rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (Jefferson, 1975). The acceptance of individual rights within the rubric of modern liberal democracy allow the citizens to rule themselves by selecting representatives to govern them as they would have them govern. Contrarily, the acceptance of human rights is a real challenge to African democracy because

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the citizens are not free to consider all matters of public policy because of fear of retribution by the government.

However, because of the prominent fear that states founded only on rights would not have desirable results, Montesquieu and Tocqueville affirm that the notion of virtue will help to offset the potential abuse of rights and adequately curb zealous self interests. It will also help people to develop strong moral habits of heart with which to govern their lifes. To this effect, Tocqueville shares the same view with Ibn Khaldun that democracy should be based on a leadership of the learned, controlled by the pious and checked by the righteous for the benefit of mankind (Knoke, 1996). In many respects, these virtues complement the rights of Locke's concept of Liberalism. These imply that political leaders in democratic societies must be generous, prudent and possess noble ambition, as well as a sense of justice and intelligence, primarily for creation of national identities and establishment of political stability, civic order and ideological assumptions that underpin ideas about political development in the economic sense of development (Anderson, 1967).

For this reason, earlier characterization of political development in Africa is often fused with the politics of development. Political development was seen as buying into the modernist nation building project which was primarily identified with economic development. This in turn requires political stability and order, tended to exclude the principle focus on freedom, civic virtue and equality. This meant that in the focus on order, development in many African countries turned authoritarian.

The emphasis upon political stability as a feature of political development supports orderly political processes including frequent change. Change and its frequency are not a problem for political development in Africa; a lack of respect for democratic values and adherence to political rules is. Too often, in Africa, the claim to political stability is supported by political compulsion, resulting either in rewriting or throwing out the political rules. This in turn closes down the public space for a free determination of ideological preferences in the pursuit of economic development that might lead to lesser rather than greater political development in Africa. Orderly political process and an adherence to political rules are the guarantors of democratic values of equality based on freedom.

Political development defined in material and economic terms has frequently been the overriding theoretical concern of the governments of developing countries in Africa, and the point by which governments have attempted to legitimize their rules and policies. The goal of development defined as economic development has been predicated upon order and stability which has in turn been the major rationalization for the development of authoritarian methods of political control as well as for democratic process. By this logic, political development in Africa is restricted and out of touch with the realities of the modern world, facing toward the abyss of violent revolution, terrorism and irreconcilable political cum religious conflicts and protests.

III. The Phases of Democratization in Africa

Generally, there are three phases of democratization. In the actual processes of democratization; few countries in Africa will democratize in an orderly course from one phase to the next. The transition and consolidated processes are of special concern in the study of African democracy while the established democracy process is still a mirage to African political actors because of the fusion of authoritarianism and oligarchy in the practice of democracy, which blurs the drive towards the attainment of liberalism. The phases of democratization include.

a) Transition Process

O'donnel and Schmitter refer to a transition, as the interval between one political regime and another, even if the authoritarian regime in power is replaced by another authoritarian regime (Hood, 2004).Thus, African democratic transition process follows this various cycle of authoritarianism. The ascendency of authoritarianism in the practice of democracy in Africa is based on the assumption that African political leaders often believe that economic survival and growth need centralized power. In this way much of the African states under the guise of transition to democracy fell into authoritarianism with a single party dominance. In this way, such countries as Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Tunisia, Egypt etc end up with neither democracy nor economic growth.

On the other hand, Richard Gunther, Nikiforos and Diamandouros suggest that a true transition begins with the breakdown of an authoritarian regime and ends with the establishment of a democratic regime characterized by free elections (Hood, 2004). No doubt, transition must imply a transition from one kind of regime to another, in this case a democratic transition. Therefore, according to Steve Hood, the best definition of transition relies heavily on political circumstances that result in a transition from authoritarianism to democracy. A transition is only a transition when agreement is reached to end authoritarianism by th creation of institutions that allow for free elections. (Linz and Stepan, 1978).

b) Consolidation Process

There is no universally, accepted conceptualization of a democratic consolidation. The conceptualization varies from one scholar to the next. Adam Przeworski suggests democratic consideration is based more on economic development than any broad based consensus on democratic institutions. Based on this premise, he argues that there is no such thing as consolidation (Przeworski, Alvarez Cimonji, 1996).

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Andreas Schedler disagrees with Przeworski as he insists that consolidation is a real phebnomenon. Scheduler sees democratic consolidation as institution building necessary to move a regime beyond mere elections toward modern Liberal democracy (Schedler, 1998). Thus,Llinz and Stepan's definition of consolidation is more widely accepted. They define democratic consolidation a a process in which a substantial majority of public opinion believes that democracy is the best way to govern society; and if governmental and non-governmental forces agree to solve conflicts as outlined by rules of the democratic process (Linz and Stepan, 1978).

This conceptualization of a consolidated democracy is useful in analyzing African democracies. In Africa, there are democratic institutions and elections but no democracy. Elections in Africa lack the credibility of fairness and it is a mere process of recycling corrupt political actors who use the state resources to intimidate opponents, and accumulate wealth and hold firm to power contrary to the wishes of the people. The problem is that African democratic elections and strides have never led to democratic stability but plagues with political instability, post election violence, emergence of dangerous militant groups and political protests or revolution as was seen in Cote d' Voir, Tunisia, Sudan, Somalia, Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

The practice of democracy has led to the emergence of a narrow stratum of political elites who are only interested in consolidating power for actualization of self interests rather than consolidation of democracy. Government officials push wasteful, unrealistic projects, stifle individual interests by introducing austere economic measures and crush critical view points. Poverty and corruption are massive. In this way, democracy is weakened and the citizens loss of confidence in democracy as the best way to govern society, thereby derailing democratic consolidation in Africa.

c) Established Liberal Democracy

We are more concerned with the transition and consolidation phases of democracy because most countries of Africa are fixated at this stage while still wrestling with the challenges of transiting to another phase. We use the term established democracy for advanced or mature democracies that are characterized by the existence of a strong notion or rights, democratic virtues and confidence that democracy has an enduring quality not found in other regimes. Hence, because of the lack of rights, virtues and enduring qualities in African democracies, African countries have not been able to move beyond the consolidated phase to transit to the advanced phase of established democracy that upholds general good and happiness for all citizens.

IV. The Impact of Sham Neoliberal Economic Policy Reforms on Democracy and Conomic Development in Africa

Obviously, the institutions, constitutions and power relations in African democracies are democratically organized, oligarchally controlled and authoritarianlly enforced leading to the ascendency of sham democracy that stifle political development in African political system. Sham democracy is the fusion of oligarchy and authoritarianism in the structure, functions and practice of democracy. It is a situation where political power lies in the conservative forces of former authoritarian leaders and where economic power remains under the control of political actors and international finance capital, bringing misery and poverty to the people rather pursuit of general good and happiness to all.

The degree of fusion of oligarchy with democracy depends on the degree of wealth distribution. If the wealth distribution is equitable, democratic values and procedures endures and prevails, but when the distribution of wealth is unequal, government and democracy will be likely to fall into the hands of a clique (Sabine and Thorson, 1973). And when this happens it will be hard to prevent abuses of authoritarian rule.

The common feature in understanding sham democracy (fusion of authoritarianism and oligarchy with democracy) is that most African democracies discourage political discourse, they may speak of political rights, but they are careful not to elaborate a specific notion of rights in any detail for fear of setting in motion calls for liberalization and true democracy. They are every suspicious of political opponents and fear circumstances that could lead to their loss of power, hence they instigate racial and religious conflicts, that are tacitly detrimental to the politico-economic development of developing countries.

Thus, the sham democratic leaders in Africa may be able to employ brilliant economic plans and policies but lack the idea on how to encourage economic growth or development. In their bid to encourage economic growth successes, they invite in outside experts to offer policy advice, needed for economic diversification and development. These experts who are familiar with liberal economic theory are consulted or engaged regardless of whether they are engineers or economists. The advice of these experts is a key reason for the numerous economic reforms in Africa which has geometrically escalated the vicious cycle of poverty, dependency and underdevelopment.

Anxious to attract foreign investment through economic freedom and liberalization, African democracies open their economies to compete with

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more and established industrialized nations, which forms the back bone for what we today call globalization that maintains the historic unequal global rules of trade; has increased poverty and inequality in African democracies

The impact of economic liberalization, a condition prescribed by IMF and World Bank for democratization of Africa is devastating. Factors such as privatization, subsidy removal, minimal role for government in economic activities and monetary austerity lead to further poverty or misery for Africa and keep African democracy dependent on the dictates and whims of international finance capital.

However, anxious to satisfy the demands of economic liberalization and diversification, African democratic leaders become extremely corrupt, out of touch with the people and run the machinery of government for their selfish interest. For this reason, the citizens of African democracies view their elected leaders as problems and consistently show their dissatisfaction for democratic regime because democracy has failed to make people happy in Africa, thereby creating the structures for disaffection, dissatisfaction and frustration that triggers off violent protest, revolution and acts of terrorism against the state and its sham democratic institution as the case in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and even Nigeria buttressed. These acts of violence triggered off by poverty and frustration stifles and nip the political development of Africa from authoritarian regime to modern liberal democracy.

The introduction of Neo-classical liberalism as an economic catalyst to boost the consolidation of democracy in developing countries has led to emergence of a new class order, which employ the professional political and economic elites as instruments to redistribute power and wealth. These new class of elites perceive and narrow down the meaning, practice and dimensions of neo-classical economic liberalism only to what Anna-Maria Blomgren (1997) described as 'consequentialist neo-liberalism'. Thus, the economic and political elites in developing countries seem to favour neoliberal economic policies such as deregulation, privatization, monetization, subsidy removal and commercialization because of the perceived positive consequences such courses of political action will have for the overall economic development of countries in the Third World.

These policies advocate a radical roll-back of the state and the creation of a society principally governed by market mechanisms. This conviction is based on the belief that the state ought to be minimal or at least drastically reduced in strength, scope and size; and any transgression by the state beyond its sole legitimate purpose is unacceptable. Free markets and free trade will, it is believed, set the creative potential and entrepreneurial spirit which is built into the spontaneous order of any human society, and thereby lead to more individual liberty and well-being, and a more efficient allocation of resources (Hayek, 1973: 34).

Contrarily, the practical implementation of neoliberal economic policies in developing countries has created a conceptual dichotomy between democratic values and liberal economic ideals. In fact, the practice of neo-liberalism in developing countries is conceptually silent on the issue of whether or not there ought to be democracy and free exchange of political ideas. This assumption collaborates with the views of Harvey (2005) who argues that policies inspired by neo-liberalism could be implemented under the auspices of autocrats as well as within liberal democracies. But in Africa the political elites under the guise of democracy adopts authoritarian models in the practice and implementation of neoliberal economic policies, thereby creating more authoritarian economic policies that disconnect the people from high standard of living and economic self reliance.

The authoritarian nature of neo-liberalism in Africa sidestep and replace the virtues of modern democracy with the rule of experts and the relocation of power from political to economic processes, from the state to markets and individuals and finally from the legislature and executive authorities to the judiciary (Osterud et al. 2003:35). Such trend inspires the people to become more acquisitive and self-centered, thus hampering their moral development and stimulating the vices of corruption, thereby weakening the internal economic structures and solidarity in developing countries.

However, the hegemony of neo-liberalism as a dominant economic development strategy in developing countries has stimulated many African states to move away from a society marked by large room for democratic governance to a new type of society in which the conditions for politics has been severely curtailed because of the onslaught of political reforms inspired by neoliberal economic thought and theories. Thus, the radical implementation of neoliberal economic reforms through the auspices of political reforms is gradually and insidiously converting public utilities into private property and state welfares into individualism. This conversion process creates the institutional forces that drives African economy towards Rothbard's 'anarcho-capitalism' which entails the transfer of the economic powers of the state to selected and privileged elites who appropriate the resources of the state for egoistic purposes rather than for the stimulation of economic activities.

The transfer of public properties to private property owners is overtly reflected in the neoliberal policy of privatization covertly imposed on developing countries by international finance institutions. Over the last decade, privatization has been very much in vogue in developing countries as a form of development

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strategy as well as a neoliberal panacea for correcting the pathological inefficiency of government bureaucracies in the management of public enterprises. In the first half of 1980s to 1995 more than 847 firms in West Africa were privatized. Thus, between 1988 and 1993 over 55 state owned enterprises (SOE) in Nigeria were privatized; in Ghana over 159 SOE were sold; while in countries like Cote d' Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Niger, Togo and Mali over three quarter of the SOEs have undergone the privatization process (Parker and Kirkpatrick, 2005: 513-541).

Although there has been a geometric increase in the privatization of state owned enterprises in developing nations, yet a systematic assessment of their performance indicators shows that African nations are experiencing great difficulties in implementing such neoliberal policy. This conceptual perspective has generated strong debates and controversy in developing countries, where privatization is perceived more negatively as means to placate the international finance institutions' conditions so as to attract more grants, loans and aids. While proponents of neoliberal policy see privatization as an efficient way of promoting competition and enhancing economic growth, dependent theorists argue that it makes the poor poorer by reducing the access of the poor to basic goods and services through astrological increases in prices.

In fact, privatization is seen as a liberal classical economic policy imposed on developing nations and micromanaged by International Financial Institutions (IFI) without being synchronized with the prevailing socio-economic culture. The citizens are alienated while the few privileged political and economic elites benefit by amassing wealth for themselves through the sale of public enterprises. Through this process, corruption become widespread because the minimal role of the state in stimulating economic activities or investment has created a pool of unused funds which are not invested in productive ventures but ends up in the private purse of the political actors necessary to increase their influence and prestige in the political system.

Therefore, the institutionalization of corruption in developing countries has devalued the perception threshold of the political actors to transfer the responsibility of developing their states to foreign investors in Europe and America. Particularly, African political elites and bureaucrats believe that only foreign investors can help Africa and Africans out of their economic misery and crisis of development.

Most African political actors do not see any virtue in working for the development of viable technology and industrial base to drive their economy. These political leaders travel from pillar to post in Europe and America looking for loans, grants and aids to execute infrastructural projects like roads, schools, hospitals etc, while spending next to nothing on Research and Development. Therefore, when African leaders fail to achieve appreciable success in convincing or attracting foreign investors, they give up any hope of improving the lives or living standards of their citizens and result to amassing wealth for themselves, their families and political collaborators. In the final analysis corruption becomes a norm and a compass that direct their economic and political reforms.

So, the neoliberal economic policy that helped the developed countries to modernize has become a cog that retard the wheels of development in Africa because of the inability of African political and economic elites to translate its values into the existing realties of African economic problems and political culture. This implies that liberal economic policy, particularly privatization is easier to produce positive results in a competitive market oriented economy than in a country where the economic actors are politicians who lack the ability to invest but have the capacity to accumulate state resources for non economic purposes. Therefore the poorer the technological base of a country, the longer the odds against liberalism producing its anticipated benefits and the more difficult the process of preparing the economy for effective privatization.

V. Conclusion

In this paper we have examined the nature, institutional content and challenges of democracy in Africa as well as the democratization process in Africa. We also analyzed how the transition process has brought about Western induced economic liberalization which has escalated the race into poverty, political instability and misappropriation of democratic values in Africa. This paper clearly reveals that the practice of democracy in Africa has extended more towards polyarchy and less towards liberal democracy to the extent that the citizens' ideas and public opinion are determined by political leaders to achieve their self interests of using the state power for wealth accumulation and prestige. We also identified that the structure of the state and institutions of government in Africa are democratically organized, oligachally controlled and authoritarianly enforced, leading to the ascendency of sham-democracy that stifles political development. This also shows that economic liberalization policy of African democracies prescribed by World Bank and IMF to complement African democracy has geometrically escalated the vicious cycles of poverty, and extreme frustration among the citizens which also triggers off acts of terrorism, political instability, aggressive political protests and violent revolutions that bastardizes the political development of Africa. Hence, the citizens of African states have lost confidence in democratic institutions and values.

Therefore, we recommend the following actions that we will make the process, practice and

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consolidation of democracy to promote and achieve general good, happiness and better life for all.

For African democracies to develop there is need to establish "welfare state" which helped today's rich industrialized countries to develop their democracies. The welfare state will serve as a bulwark against the mercantilist structures of globalization and the exploitative monetary austere measures of western imposed policies of liberalization and privatization, which has Balkanized African democracies. The welfare state will not be based on absolute subsidy of all utilities but looking inward to protect and explore African resources for the good and happiness of African peoples.

Also, for democracy to strive in Africa, African peoples and political leaders should be taught the ideas of reason and the principles of virtue in other to make the people behave better and to help the political leaders to develop strong morals and habit of the heart with which to govern their countries democratically.

Finally, in order to reduce the incidence of authoritarianism in African democracies, there is need to educate the leaders of the dangers of authoritarianism and to ensure the prevalence of free and fair elections in African states to avoid the emergence of authoritarian leaders.

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4. Manuscript's Category,

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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:

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Approach:

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- If use of a definite type of tools.
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Approach:

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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

A

Abandonment · 26, 79, 112
Adversaries · 103
Anathema · 20
Annihilation · 109
Authoritarianism · 121, 125, 127, 132

B

Balkanized · 132
Bonafide · 61
Bureaucrats · 130

C

Caliphate · 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19
Chieftaincy · 76
Chimurenga · 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57
Christianity · 8, 9, 93, 114
Confrontation · 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50, 53, 54, 75, 86
Contrarily · 124, 128

D

Diamandouros · 125
Disembarked · 49, 50

E

Embassy · 84, 96, 106, 107
Eminent · 6, 9
Entangled · 74
Expansionist · 78, 82, 88, 89, 97, 112

F

Folorunsho · 25, 26

G

Goldberg · 90, 95
Gwanara · 21, 22, 23, 25

H

Hausaland · 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19
Hegemony · 12, 34, 128

I

Inadmissibility · 88
Inundating · 92

Israeli · 78, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118

J

Jerusalem · 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 120

K

Keenness · 82, 84, 87, 105

M

Manicaland · 39, 44, 45
Metamorphose · 23
Molestation · 71

N

Negotiations · 59, 84, 87, 88, 91, 92, 95, 96, 98, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 113
Neoliberal · 128, 130, 131
Netanyahu · 104, 113, 115

O

Ogungbola · 21, 28
Okrika · 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77
Oligachally · 131
Omnipotent · 8

P

Palestine · 78, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 92, 99, 102, 105, 108, 109, 111, 113, 116, 117, 118
Phenomenological · 34
Polyarchy · 123
Preamble · 108

R

Reaffirmed · 91
Reconnaissance · 46, 49
Rhodesian · 39, 41, 43, 44, 51, 54, 55, 57
Richard · 90, 100, 109, 114, 116, 125
Riparian · 73
Roosevelt · 81, 116
Rudimentary · 45

S

Sabotage · 39, 41, 44, 45, 54, 55, 104
Sanctity · 89, 98
Sovereignty · 90, 91, 98, 105, 107, 108, 109

U

Umuebule · 69, 70
Uprising · 99, 107, 109, 110, 114

V

Vatican · 94
Veneration · 7
Ventured · 107



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