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A NOTE ON NORTH AFRICA

by Charles F. Gallagher

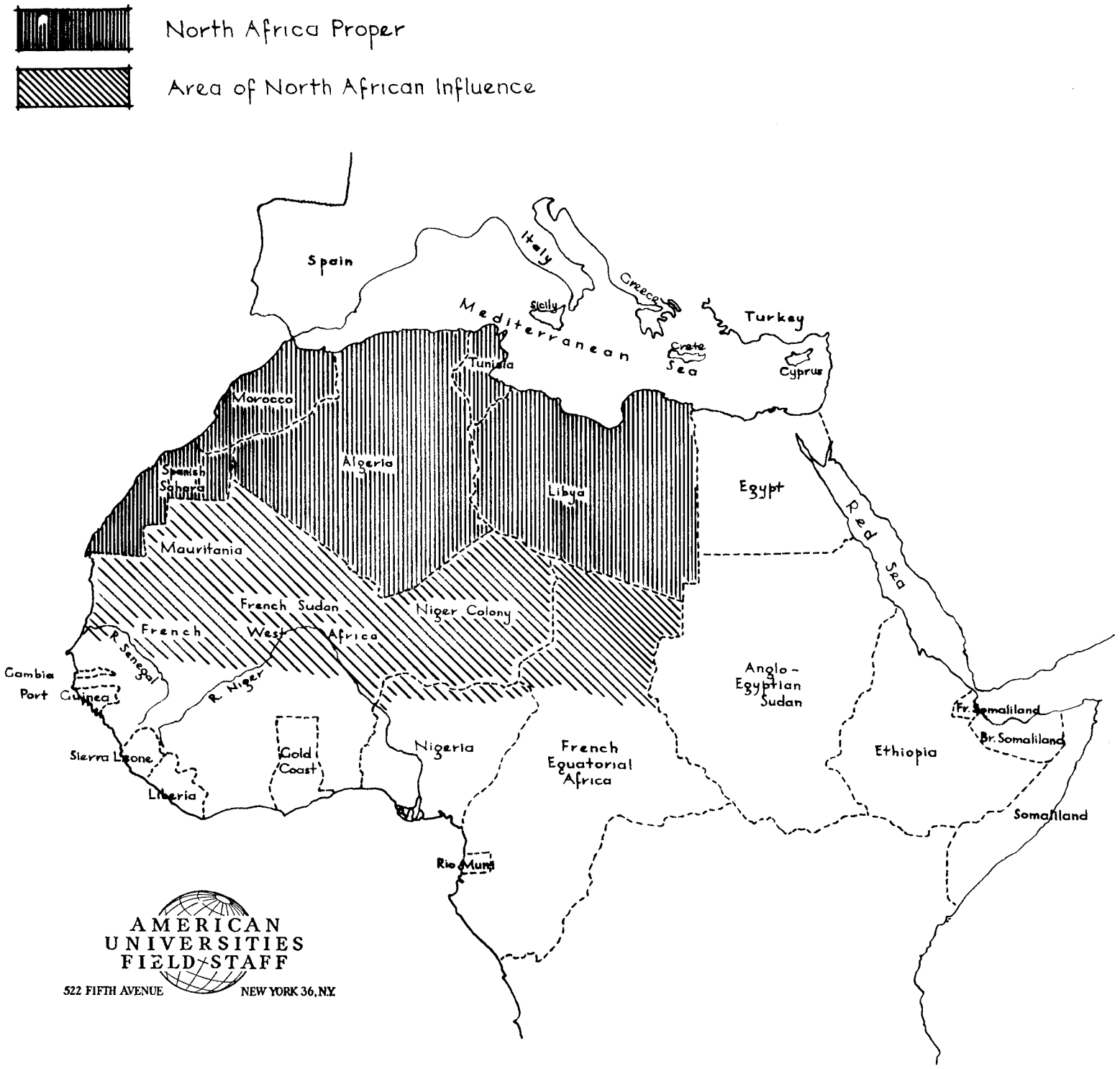
That part of Africa north of the Sahara and west of Egypt is an area with an infinite variety of names, not one of which describes it in a completely satisfactory way.

The Greeks gave the name of Libya to the regions north of the Great Desert inhabited by whites, as opposed to Ethiopia, the land of the blacks. Later the word "Africa" came into use with the Romans, first to designate the small province around Carthage, and finally to mean the entire continent. The Arabs, coming out of the east in the seventh century, changed "Africa" to "Ifriqiya" and applied the name to Tunisia. North Africa as a whole they called "Jazirat al Maghrib (The Island of the West)," dividing the region into the "Near West" and the "Far West."

From the Renaissance onward, the terms "Barbary" and the "Barbary States" were coined by Europeans; they were derived from the name of the inhabitants, the Berbers, but through their application to the coastal pirate states of the period, they have even today overtones which make them inappropriate as geographic designations. In the nineteenth century, geographers were taken with "Africa Minor" by analogy with "Asia Minor," and at the present time newspapers usually refer to the three countries of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia as "North Africa," although in so doing they unjustly deprive Libya and Egypt of their geographical rights.

Two names seem most appropriate, although each has a drawback. "Berbery" attenuates somewhat the connotations of barbarism, and refers quite specifically to the land of the Berbers, which is exactly what the part of North Africa we are describing is. The objection lies with modern politics, for the inhabitants of North Africa, in the grip of fervent pan-Arabism, are disinclined to think of themselves as Berbers, or anything else separate from the Arabs. The other term, "Maghreb," is that which is used by Arabic speakers everywhere to designate North Africa west of Egypt. The objection here is that it is sometimes confused with the name for Morocco (Maghrib al Aqsa), but since it appears constantly in the literature and speech of the people of the region concerned, it seems quite valid.

By whatever name it is called, the Maghreb is a geographical unity which covers the inhabitable lands of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and at least the province of Tripolitania in


North Africa Proper
Area of North African Influence
Spain
Italy
Sicily
Greece
Turkey
Mediterranean
Crete Sea
Cyprus
Tunisia
Morocco
Algeria
Libya
Egypt
Spanish Sahara
Mauritania
French West Africa
French Sudan
Niger Colony
R. Senegal
R. Niger
Red Sea
Gambia
Port Guinea
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Gold Coast
Nigeria
French Equatorial Africa
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
Ethiopia
Fr. Somaliland
Br. Somaliland
Somaliland
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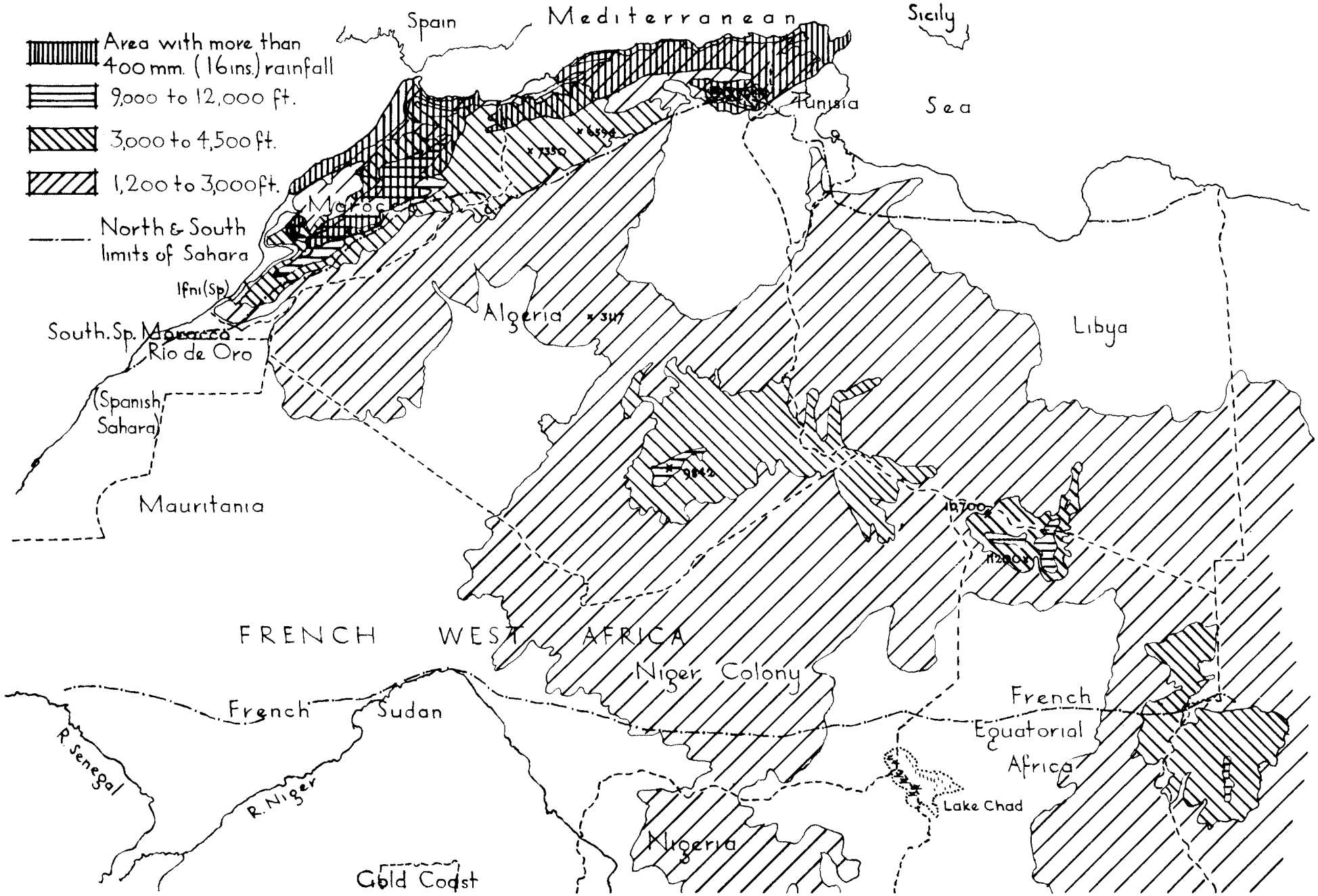

Area with more than 400 mm. (16 ins.) rainfall
9,000 to 12,000 ft.
3,000 to 4,500 ft.
1,200 to 3,000 ft.
North & South limits of Sahara
Spain
Mediterranean
Sicily
Sea
Tunisia
Morocco
Ifni (Sp)
South. Sp. Morocco
Rio de Oro
(Spanish Sahara)
Mauritania
Algeria
Libya
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
Niger Colony
French Sudan
French Equatorial Africa
R. Senegal
R. Niger
Lake Chad
Nigeria
Gold Coast

Libya; it is an ethnic unity comprising the inhabitants of these lands plus those of the Sahara to the south, all of whom show over a wide area strikingly similar physical characteristics; and until the Arab invasions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the whole region was a linguistic unity made up of Berber-speaking peoples who have now in the main turned to Arabic.

GEOGRAPHY

The Maghreb consists of a vast quadrilateral of mountains and high table lands, jutting out from the northern mass of Africa, and bounded on the south by the Sahara, on the other three sides by the waters of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Isolated from the earliest times by sea and desert, it is an "island" as the Arabs, with the intuitive geographic eye of nomads, described it. In this refuge area there survived for long ages a characteristically residual flora and fauna -- and a branch of the human race -- largely isolated from the salutary interchanges of type and the stimulation of interpenetration.

The distance from the northwest extremity, Cape Spartel, to the northeast tip, Cape Bon, is roughly 1,000 miles; from the southwestern corner of Morocco to the Gulf of Sidra, on the eastern fringe of Tripolitania, it is 1,800 miles. The width of the Maghreb is harder to fix, for neither the physical nor the cultural southern boundaries of its countries are at all precise. Except in Morocco, three hundred miles will take one from the Mediterranean to the beginnings of the Sahara, and in the east the distance between sea and desert is much less. On the map Algeria extends halfway across the Sahara, and the Tuareg highlands of the Hoggar are 1,000 miles due south of Algiers. Morocco is now unofficially claiming -- on various historic and cultural grounds -- vast territories in Mauretania reaching deep into French West Africa. The total area is over 1,500,000 square miles; of this the inhabitable non-Saharan part comes to about 500,000 square miles.

The Maghreb is a high country. Except at its ends, on the Atlantic shore of Morocco, and the coastal plains of Tunisia and Libya, it is plateau and mountain country, with more than half of it above 2,600 feet. The average altitude in Tunisia is about 1,000 feet, in Algeria, 3,000 feet, in Morocco, 2,600 feet. A long, continuous chain of mountains, the Atlas, forms a horizontal backbone for the region and cuts off the desert to the south from the productive lands between it and the Mediterranean. In Morocco the Atlas attains Alpine proportions: Jbel Toubkal reaches 13,600 feet and a dozen peaks are almost as high, but in the east altitudes are lower. The highest point in Algeria lies in the Aures, the Jbel Shelia (7,600 feet) and in Tunisia the Jbel Shambi (5,250 feet). Most of the Maghreb, and especially Algeria, is characterized by extensive high plains, averaging around 3,000-4,000 feet.

Often the relief is extremely tormented and shows great variation in a small area; such is the Rif, the mountain chain

running along the northern Mediterranean coast of Morocco. The peaks a few miles from the sea rise to 8,000 feet, and short, swift rivers run down narrow gorges and plunge into the sea. Much the same is true of the coast of Eastern Algeria and the inhospitable northern shores of Tunisia. Thus the Maghreb often is enclosed in a twofold barrier. It has the desert on its southern flank, doubled by high mountains which keep away to some degree the hot Saharan winds; and on the north it is isolated by the sea and insulated from it at the same time by the coastal mountain range.

In general the sea frontiers are as hostile as the desert ramparts. From Tangier to Tunis there are good harbors, but only two of them, Oran and Algiers, have easily accessible hinterlands of any size, and it is there that the natural commercial areas have developed. The Atlantic shore of Morocco had no safe anchorages until modern ports with breakwaters were constructed in this century. Ships were exposed to violent storms in winter which made landings hazardous or impossible for weeks. Only in the east, from the Gulf of Tunis to Tripoli, is there a combination of good ports and fairly flat, fertile back country. And it is significantly through this gate that all the major invasions of the Maghreb -- Phoenician, Roman, and Arab -- came, thence to spread westward paralleling the east-west mountain chain until they reached the Atlantic.

CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

In a land of such size and contrasting relief, a uniform climate can hardly be expected. The coastal fringe is essentially Mediterranean, with warm summers rarely exceeding 25°C (77°F), and mild, rainy winters. As soon as one moves inland even a score of miles the temperature goes up rapidly in summer and down in winter, and the valleys between the coastal and the interior mountain chains often have the worst of both extremes. Morocco, more protected by the higher summits of the Atlas than its eastern neighbors, suffers less from the hot summer winds (*shargi*, or *sirocco*) of the Sahara, but everywhere, even at relatively high altitudes of 2,000-3,000 feet, temperatures of over 100°F are not uncommon for two to three months in summer. Winter in the interior, especially in the sub-Saharan predesert regions, is usually warm, bright and clear, with cold nights. Humidity, quite high along the Mediterranean coast, is very low in the south.

Rainfall is the determining factor in the life of the country, however, and its vicissitudes cannot be accurately expressed in statistics. The Maghreb is basically a rainfall-deficient area containing regions with an unusable excess of precipitation. There is no regularity to the rainfall in most of North Africa from year to year, and in many areas, particularly as one approaches the Sahara, one year's precipitation will differ from another by from five to eight times. Clearly the idea of a norm becomes useless here. Also, much of the rainfall is concentrated in violent cloudbursts within a short, intensely pluvious season. It falls on semi-arid land, baked to impermeability by

six to nine months of hot sun, and runs off wasted. The Rif from Tangier to Melilla receives heavy precipitation, over 40 inches everywhere, and the Mediterranean coast east of Algiers, especially near the Tunisian frontier, is, with over 60 inches, probably the wettest region in the Islamic winter-rains area. This region is rugged and heavily forested, however, and generally unsuited for agriculture.

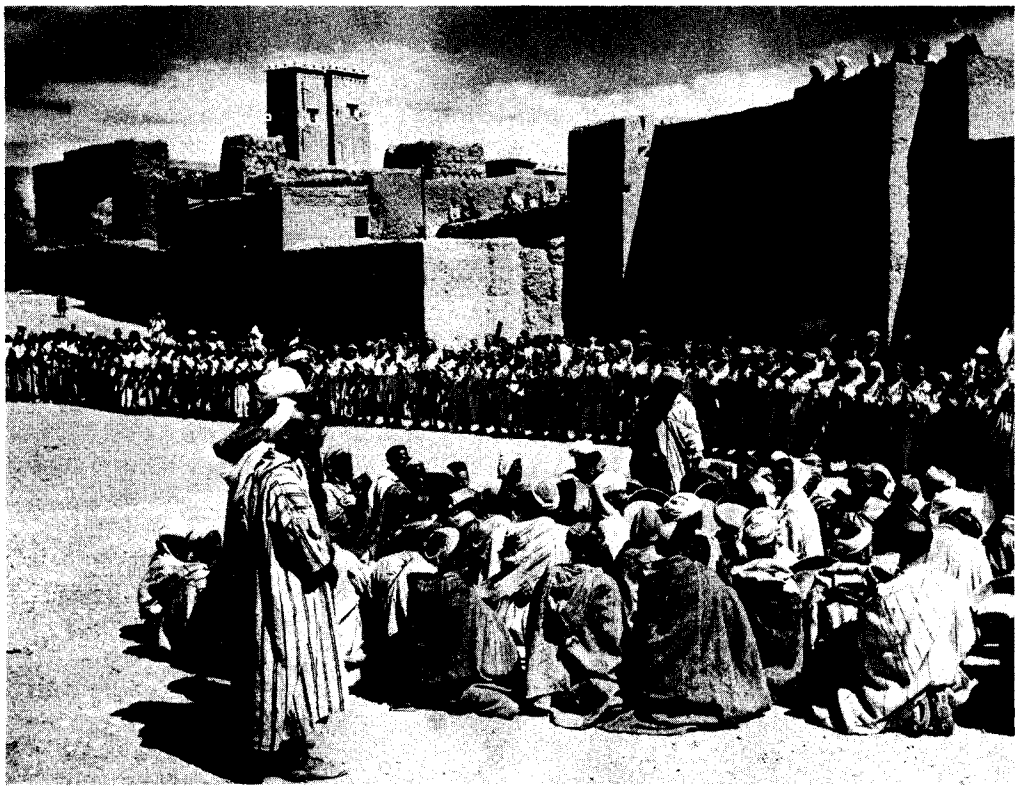
The 400 mm. (about 16 inches) rain line, minimum for assured agriculture without irrigation, covers the fertile Gharb plain and all Morocco north of Casablanca, the Atlas mountains, and reaches the Mediterranean at the Algerian border. Here a slight lowering of the Atlas barrier allows the steppes to come almost to the sea, with consequent increased dryness around Oran. Rainfall, held down by the narrowness of the Mediterranean between Spain and Western Algeria, picks up as the sea widens to the east, and the 400 mm. line dips down in eastern Algeria to include the Aures Mountains, and then curves to the northeast to reach the sea barely 50 miles from Tunis. In Libya it is only the narrowest coastal fringe that receives sufficient rainfall, with the annual mean at Ripoli 370 mm.

POPULATION AND INHABITANTS

From the earliest historic period of which there is record until today North Africa has been inhabited by a people of the white race speaking a Hamitic tongue. Known as Libyans in early classical times, they have subsequently generally been called Berbers, i.e. the "barbarians" who lived outside Greco-Roman civilization. From the eleventh century B.C. on there have been migrations on varying scales of the following peoples in order: Phoenicians, Latins, Jews, Indo-Germanic peoples (Vandals), Greeks, Arabs, Turks, and during all these periods an influx of Negroes from the south. Finally have come Sephardic Jews and Europeans, who have not on the whole mixed with the majority body of the indigenous population. All these groups, except possibly the Arabs, came in numbers too small to modify the ethnic quality of the original inhabitants. And even the Arabs, who came on the scene on two different occasions with immigrant groups equal to perhaps five per cent of the already existing population, seem to have been mostly absorbed by the native stock, although their culture and language has become almost completely dominant.

Thus today in much of the countryside, and in all the more remote regions of mountain and desert, the population remains pure Berber, as it was at the beginning of history. In the cities there is a mixture; the importation of Arab blood, the addition of hispanicized elements fleeing from the reconquest of Spain, and the high percentage of negro blood introduced through slavery and concubinage, has produced urban populations which run the gamut of skin coloring and show a greater diversity than the more homogeneous rural folk.

The description of the Berbers as homogeneous does not



Berber Women Dancing the Awash in Front of
the Casbah of Taurirt
(1)

City-Dwellers of Marrakesh Playing Trumpets
in Ramadan
(2)

mean they all look alike. Their diversity has long been a problem to anthropologists, who have recently tried to isolate in specific regions dominant types possessing multiple analogous characteristics. Some success has been had with this in the Hoggar, where a clear Targui type appears, and in Kabylia, the mountainous region of central Algeria. Types from both have in common tallness and dolichocephalism, and both are leptorhine. Enough prevalence of this type has been shown among the Shawiya of the Aures, the Riffians, and the Khrumirs of northwest Tunisia to postulate at least one kind of typical Berber.

Today the Maghreb has some 23,000,000 descendants of the original Berbers and later immigrants, about 2,000,000 Europeans, and nearly 300,000 Jews. This population which lives in an area roughly equal to the combined areas of California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and Arizona, is increasing at alarming speed. In Algeria, where in recent years the annual increase has exceeded 2.5 per cent and the rate is one of the highest in the world, pressure on the land has become very grave. Emigration to France (about 300,000 persons in the last decade) has taken up some of the surplus, and the cities are partially absorbing the rural excess in the slum towns, or bidonvilles, which surround all large North African urban centers. Half the population is under the age of twenty, which indicates further continued population problems for some time to come. Density of population runs from 20 per square kilometer in Morocco to 54 per square kilometer in the fertile areas of Algeria.

The European population is almost completely urban, and especially in Algiers (population 536,000) and the larger cities of Algeria, is in the majority. Casablanca, the largest city in North Africa, has about 800,000 inhabitants, and Tunis (Metropolitan Area) about 600,000. The Jewish population falls into two groups. There are the descendants of immigrants from medieval persecution in Spain and other European countries, all urban and still mainly Spanish-speaking (75,000 in Casablanca and 34,000 in Tunis); and the earlier, indigenous converts to Judaism among the Berbers, who live along with their Muslim counterparts primarily in rural areas. A number of Jews fled to North Africa with the second destruction of the Temple by the Romans and were instrumental in these early conversions.

In nationality the European population is largely French, but this is mostly the result of French laws for the naturalization of foreigners after the first generation. Almost 50 per cent of the Europeans in North Africa are of Spanish or Italian descent; the former are found in northern Morocco and western Algeria, while the latter form an ethnic majority in Tunisia and comprise 95 per cent of the European population in Libya.

The religious beliefs of the original population were pagan, with elements of Carthaginian cults, and sporadic Judaism, until the Arab invasions. Islam was then adopted, at once on the surface, but in practice only as the result of a long, steady campaign of conversion which lasted centuries, and during which

the Berbers were notorious for their renewed apostasies. Except for the local Jews, Islam is now the religion of all the indigenous inhabitants. The Malikite rite, one of the four orthodox versions of Sunni Islam, prevails throughout the Maghreb, although the Hanafite rite was partially introduced by the Turks in the eastern part. There is no conflict between the two schools and most Maghrebians, if asked, are not aware of which they follow.

Although Arabic is the official language of all the countries of the area, the general language of culture and commerce, and the vehicle for all literature and advanced thought, Berber has persisted in the country areas to a surprising extent. The number of Berberophones (and bilinguals, who are always Berberophones who have learned Arabic) is estimated at 40 per cent in Morocco, 25 per cent in Algeria, and 23 per cent in Libya; in Tunisia only islands of Berber speech survive. Recently the spread of education in Arabic has further undermined Berber, but the tenaciousness of the language seems equal to the durability of the race, and it may not be marked for the early extinction that many seem to desire.

HISTORY

North Africa enters the pages of history shortly before the end of the second millenium B.C., with the Phoenician settlements on the shores of modern Tunisia, and the establishment of Phoenician factories around the Straits of Gibraltar. Ever since then the area has been a pawn in the struggle between East and West, and although it has always kept a deeply rooted, distinctive culture, it has never been able, except for brief periods, to develop on its own a highly-organized, home-grown civilization. Carthage, the successor to the Phoenician traders, exploited the region and traded with it, but did not settle it. The Punic Wars gave the area to Rome, but it too was long in establishing effective control, and urban Roman civilization was found only at scattered points, mainly in eastern Algeria and Tunisia (Africa Proconsularis), while the region was protected by a series of fortification lines facing south. Since nomads are seldom good tax-paying subjects, Rome drove them out beyond these *limes* into the desert, whence, after the introduction of the camel in the early centuries of our era, they returned more powerful and mobile then before, to play their role in the destruction of the Empire.

When the Arabs pushed into North Africa in the seventh century, they distinguished the *Rumi*, the sedentary population of Latin culture under Byzantine rule, from the Berbers. The Rumi gave way quickly, but the conquest of the Berbers, in comparison to the speed of Islamic victories in the Middle East, Persia, and Spain, was long and difficult; it was begun in 670 and achieved only in 710, and thirty years later a revolt made the newly conquered Maghreb independent. For centuries thereafter the Berbers were left largely to themselves and to the various Muslim heresies which they often enthusiastically adopted, until, in the middle of the eleventh century, veiled nomads from the deserts of Mauretania

swept across the mountains into Morocco and conquered it as well as the petty states of Spain which were the remnant of the once proud Caliphate of Cordova. Their successors, the Almohads, ruled all of North Africa and Muslim Spain from 1150-1250, during the Golden Age of the Maghreb. They took the title of caliph and, at a time when the Muslim states of the Levant were under the fire of the Crusaders, they were likely the most powerful princes in Islam. It was then and during the next hundred years that classical cities such as Fes and Tunis reached their flowering, borrowing from but not imitating Cordova, Damascus and Cairo, and that the great Maghrebian writers Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Battuta, and others, flourished.

Although the Crusades had spared North Africa except incidentally, the area was increasingly menaced by the Christian Reconquista of Spain and Portugal, and from 1400 on Iberian activity along the Barbary Coast developed steadily. Invaded by the Portuguese from the Atlantic and by the Spanish from Oran to Tunis, the Maghreb withdrew into an isolation within which was fermented a religious revival based on violent xenophobia. From the sixteenth century the Ottoman sultans established a precarious control of the coastal cities of Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, but Morocco remained independent. All the states of the Maghreb, however, joined in a profitable and satisfying piracy which lasted until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Then Europe, freed from the burden of the Napoleonic Wars, could turn to deal with the buccaneers in Mediterranean waters. The punitive shelling and occupation of Algiers by the French led bit by bit to the campaign for all Algeria and its annexation. This in turn brought on frontier clashes with the neighboring states, Morocco and nominally independent Tunisia. Nineteenth century imperialism had little difficulty in finding pretexts for action, and in 1881 a protectorate was imposed on Tunisia; meanwhile the Conference of Madrid (1880) and subsequent international gatherings led to the carving up of Morocco in 1912. Libya had become a target for the Italian expansionist ambitions which had been frustrated by the French in Tunisia, and was taken from Turkey at the same time.

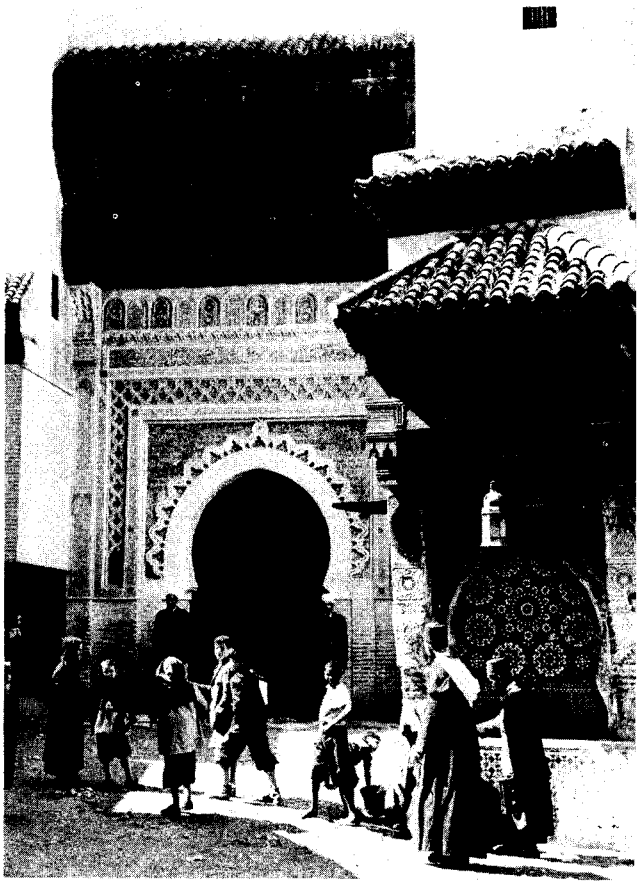
By the beginning of World War I all the Maghreb was in European hands, and none of the countries of the area recovered its freedom until Libya became independent on December 24, 1951, through United Nations decision. Since then events have moved with such rapidity that what is written about North Africa today may be completely wrong tomorrow. Morocco, after several years of terrorism and guerrilla action in reprisal for the dethronement of its legitimate sultan and the imposition of a puppet, received its freedom in March 1956, and Tunisia followed a few weeks later. Algeria is now undergoing a bloody revolution which is requiring half a million French troops to try and suppress it, and which is costing the French government more per day than the war in Indochina at its height.

The Maghreb has always been racially and geographically

Contrasts in Housing

Apartment Houses for Israelites
(3)

A Berber Qsar (Castle)
in the South
(4)

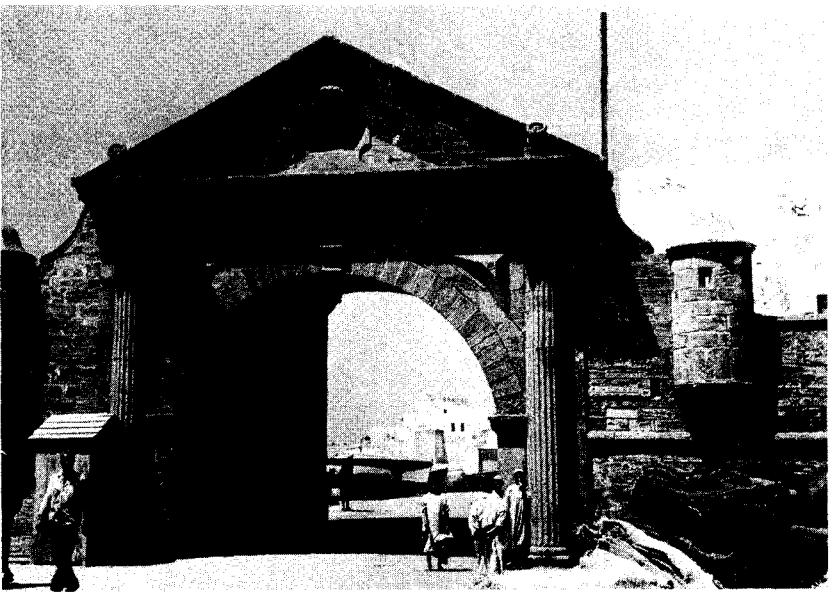


A Medieval Hospice and
Fountain
(5)

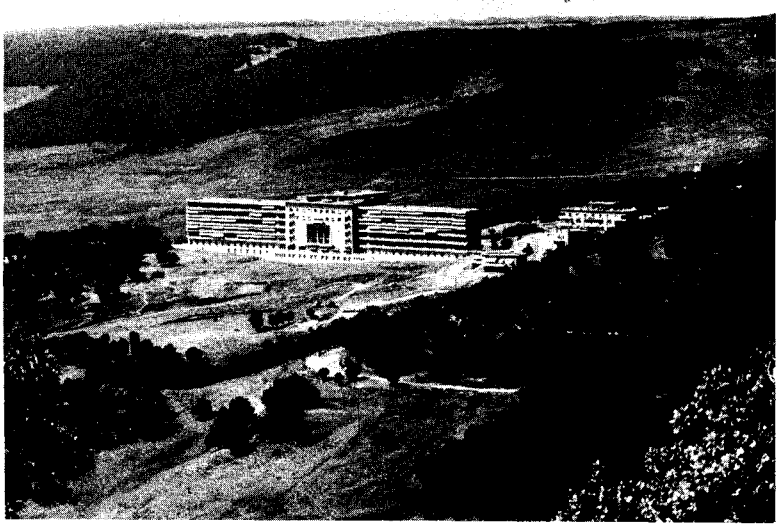
Contrasts in Civilizations

Roman Reminders from
Volubilis
(6)

The 14th Century Mosque
of Shella
(7)



18th Century Gates in the
European Style
(8)



A Modern Sanatorium in the
Middle Atlas
(9)

different from the Arab countries of the Middle East. Religion united them but history has often whetted the difference. While the Ottoman Empire controlled the East, the Maghreb, aloof in its interior, saw much of its coast occupied by the Christians. Many of the cities of the Mediterranean have been continuously in European hands for centuries: Ceuta since 1415, Melilla since 1497, Oran from 1508 to 1792 and again from 1830 to today. Then the "century of colonization" which began with the French arrival in Algeria in 1830 had a profound effect in economic, political, and cultural realms. In no other area of European empire building have Westerners gone to settle in large numbers in countries where there already existed an indigenous people with a mature civilization and a higher religion. In Algeria the ratio of Europeans to Muslims between the two wars was almost 1 to 5, and in many of the cities and smaller towns there is still an equality or preponderance of Europeans. This has resulted in a complex, split culture with the explosive possibilites which have shown themselves in the last decade.

The European population, although now about 1 to 12, controls the economy, holds much of the best land, and has been responsible for the economic development of the area. Now that a good part of North Africa is independent, and some kind of settlement for Algeria is likely, the future of the Europeans, many of whom have lived as a small-landholding population for three or four generations, remains a key question. No Islamic state outside the Maghreb has within its borders a large minority which in regard to its racial, religious, cultural and economic aspects is completely alien to the majority of the population. Some of the complexities of problems already raised, and the difficulties inherent in the future, can be seen by a brief description of the government and administration of the several countries.

GOVERNMENT

Morocco is a theocratic state whose ruler is a temporal sovereign and the supreme spiritual authority of the country, as well as, unofficially, of much of the Maghreb. The Sultan, Muhammad V, is of sharifian origin (descended from the Prophet Muhammad) and consequently his person is in theory sacred. The Sultan is an absolute monarch, but since the formation of a Moroccan government in December 1955, after his return from exile in Madagascar, he has acted more as a constitutional monarch, and rather than royal proclamations, orders-in-council now appear after cabinet meetings. The post of grand vizier, formerly the highest in the empire, has been vacated, and a coalition ministry formed, headed by an independent, Si Bekkai, but with the majority of the portfolios in the hands of the Istiqlal (Independence) Party. The vast apparatus of French functionaries which had originally been designed to advise the Moroccan government but which had gradually transformed itself into a corps of direct administration, continues on a technical and consulting level. It is planned to replace this body as rapidly as possible with trained Moroccan administrators. Regional administration had been in the hands of French-appointed pashas in the cities,

and qaids among the tribes, with effective power in the hands of a French controleur civil. The situation at present is somewhat confused, but new Moroccan provincial governors have been named by the Sultan, and the steady replacement of the traditional leaders by a centralized body of salaried administrators is envisaged.

The framework of the Tunisian government, like that of the Moroccan, is that of a monarch (Bey), a ministerial government in the hands of one preponderant political organ, the Neo-destour (New Constitution) Party, and dominated by the brilliant personality of the Premier, Habib Bourguiba, the Tunisian "George Washington." More advanced and literate than Morocco, Tunisia has had ministerial government for some years, although always under strict French control. The protectorate system of surveillance had here as well degenerated into direct administration, and is now being dismantled. Since the granting of independence early this year, Tunisians have voted for a Constitutional Assembly whose task is to draft the basic law of the land and prepare the way for representative government. Recent steps toward democratization have been the confiscation of habus (or waqf) religious lands, the reduction of the civil list of the Bey, and the assimilation of the royal princes and princesses to ordinary citizens.

In both Tunisia and Morocco a diplomatic representation and corps have been established by cultural conventions signed with France in recent weeks -- until then the French Resident General was Foreign Minister to the ruler -- and embryo national armies are being formed under French (and in the case of Morocco with added Spanish) advisors and equipment. Both countries have been admitted very recently into specialized international organs of the UN such as FAO, ILO, etc., and are said to be considering, but do not appear to be rushing into, membership in the Arab League. Negotiations with France to cement ties in certain economic and cultural fields are now under way, and it is not yet clear whether this co-operation will take the form of a closely-knit "inter-dependence," which the French seem to prefer, or result in a less precise agreement common among friendly, independent states.

Under the protectorates, Morocco and Tunisia at no time lost their de jure sovereignty, but Algeria was annexed to France in 1834. By decree of the French Senate in 1865 Algerian Muslims were explicitly declared to be French nationals, but, those keeping their personal Muslim status were not considered to be French citizens. This distinction between nationality and citizenship has been a source of trouble ever since. The French Constitution of 1946 and the subsequent Organic Statute of Algeria of 1947, raised Muslims to full French citizenship with reservations. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these was the absence of proportional representation through the division of the electoral college into two parts. One was for Europeans and various Muslims who had either performed certain services to the state, or possessed specific social and educational qualifications. All other Muslims were put in the Second College. Each college, the European representing one million voters, and the Muslim representing almost nine million,

sends an equal number of representatives to the French Assembly (15) and the Algerian Assembly (60). When recent elections were held in France, Algeria was excepted and its seats were left vacant. Since the Mollet government took power in France this spring under a program of pacification and reforms, a state of exception akin to martial law has been declared in Algeria, witn unlimited "special powers" given to the Resident Minister.

Algerian departments of France are considered "overseas departments," and the French Constitution provides that "The legislative regime of overseas departments is the same as that of metropolitan departments with the exceptions determined by law." These exceptions, of considerable number and importance, are listed in the Organic Statute of Algeria. The most notable is the power given to the Algerian Assembly to extend, complete, modify, or abrogate laws passed in the French Parliament, and thereby to establish essentially separate legislation for Algeria wherever it is considered necessary.

The regime of special powers and suspension of constitutional guarantees is considered by the French to be temporary until order is reestablished. It is then planned to proceed with new general elections for both assemblies, and at present a bitter dispute is going on between partisans of a single-college system, and those who prefer to keep the legislative bodies separate. A start in administrative reorganization was made late in June when the three departments of Algeria were redistricted as twelve, and local elections -- significantly on a single-college basis -- were announced for later this year in some areas. This announcement was greeted with a storm of protest by the European population of Algeria.

Libya, poorest and most backward of the countries of North Africa, was paradoxically the first to become independent, as the happy result of having been in the hands of a losing power in World War II. The British government, in order to obtain the support of Senussi tribesmen in the war, had promised that Italian rule would not return to Cyrenaica when the fighting was over. Military administration under the British continued until 1949, when the UN General Assembly voted that the ex-colony should accede to independence on January 1, 1952. Libya is now a parliamentary monarchy with a bicameral legislature. It is a federated state composed of the three provinces of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and the Fezzan, with two capitals: Tripoli and Benghazi. The $35 annual per capita income is the lowest in the Mediterranean area and state finances are supplemented by British and French subsidies. The British maintain bases and provide governmental advisors and the French still occupy oases in the Fezzan to secure the routes between Algeria and Equatorial Africa. A treaty was signed last year providing for the evacuation of these garrisons, but owing to the Algerian situation the French government has refused to submit it to Parliament for ratification.

The presence in North Africa of diverse cultural and

religious groups has necessitated multiple organs of justice to regulate their relations. Solutions are different according to the political status of the countries involved, but in general each community is judged by its peers, and where there is conflict European jurisdiction prevails.

Morocco is the most complex case. There exist French courts, Shr'a (Shari'a) Courts of Religious Justice, Moroccan Secular Courts, Rabbinical Tribunals, Courts of Customary Law (to be applied to the "Berbers" as opposed to the "Arabs"), and atavistic Consular Courts of the United States government held over from the days of the capitulations. In addition, in the north of the country, there are Spanish Courts operating under Spanish law, and an International Tribunal in Tangier with a Babel-like system of jurisprudence.

In essence the legal systems devised by the protecting powers have tended to preserve the capitulatory system in disguise, on the grounds that Muslim tribunals were not capable of assuring impartial justice to Europeans. The indigenous secular courts which have been established under French influence grew out of the personal justice previously administered by local Muslim officials, under which the fines paid by the sentenced party went to pay the judge's salary. The system has been completely revised with separation of powers enforced and civil and penal codes established along the lines of French codes with ingraftings of Islamic principles. In Morocco and Tunisia studies are now going on with a view to merging the various jurisdictions into a national legal system applicable to all. The United States government announced its intention this spring of giving up its quasi-extraterritorial rights in Morocco as soon as Moroccan sovereignty was fully established.

In Algeria shr'a law functions in personal cases, divorces, inheritances, etc., for Muslims, but as Algeria is considered an integral part of the French Republic, all Algerians, regardless of confession, are under the jurisdiction of French law in all other circumstances.

ECONOMY

The countries of the Maghreb are all underdeveloped areas, largely agricultural, with a population pressure varying from slight (Libya) to extreme (Algeria), and each has an adverse balance of trade which is covered by funds from the European power controlling it directly or indirectly. The three Maghreb states under French influence are members of the franc zone, Libya is in the sterling bloc, Spanish Morocco and adjacent Spanish Sahara are part of the peseta area. There is one enclave of free trade, the International Zone of Tangier, whose future is in doubt.

Agricultural exports make up much of the foreign trade of all the countries, with cereals, wine, citrus fruits, olive oil and winter vegetables heading the list.

It is in Algeria that the agricultural crisis shows itself most clearly. About 4,500,000 hectares (1 hectare equals 2-1/2 acres) are cultivated, including 2,000,000 hectares by European colons. Three million hectares are given over to cereals, of which 800,000 are held by Europeans. The latter harvest about one-half the total agricultural production and own all the 400,000 hectares of vineyards which produce up to 48 per cent ad valorem of the total agricultural exports of the country. Average yield on European farms is 10 quintals per hectare against 4 per hectare on Muslim farms. It is clear what the loss of these farmers would mean to Algeria's capacity, already overstrained, to feed itself. Yet events since November 1954, with the devastation of the countryside, the burning of farms and harvests, and the slaughter of livestock, have led to a first wave of European emigration, originally a trickle but now quite sizeable, toward South America and Canada. Remarkable efforts have been made in all North Africa by French officials of the Modernisation du Paysannat, but the obstacles have also been formidable. The fellah is often content to grow only what will feed his family and leave a small surplus to exchange, at the regional souk, or market, for the textiles, tobacco, sugar and tea he requires to round out his existence. There is also a strong feeling that the innovations taught by the foreigner are designed for his own enrichment rather than for the benefit of the peasant.

In Morocco, since independence has restricted the former absolute control of the French administrators, anarchy has set in among various tribes. One, the Beni Amir, holding 120,000 hectares which was being irrigated from a new dam in the High Atlas has refused to pay for its irrigation water. (The cotton grown by this tribe rivalled Egyptian cotton in European markets.) Owing to lack of funds the Irrigation Office on the project faces the prospect of having to lay off European personnel who were charged with teaching irrigation practices to the tribesmen. Indications are that the Beni Amir would rather see their former steppeland revert to its original poverty than be indebted to European instructors and receive orders from them. If this is so, trained Moroccan experts must be found who can direct operations, but that will take time, and in the interim the agricultural situation can only deteriorate.

The complaint of educated North Africans is that although "l'oeuvre francaise" was remarkable in such domains as soil development, reforestation, dam building, etc., it was designed to favor the European cultivator and that, for example, the subsidies given to beet-growers (almost entirely European) could have been better spent in more basic fields. But cultivation has without doubt been improved technically and broadened by scientific research, regardless of the motives, and in the long run North Africa can only benefit from the successful introduction of such novelties as rice and cotton culture, and from the diversification of produce which has taken place within recent years. At the present writing the problem is that, as with everything in the Maghreb today, the issue is primarily political. No subject, be it agricultural improvement or the preservation of a historic mosque, is viewed

apolitically, and time must be allowed for the gradual subsiding of long-accumulated bitter rancor.

Industrialization in North Africa is still at the most elementary level. The country remains, largely owing to the needs of the homeland, a supplier of primary materials which are converted in France for consumption there or re-export abroad. The only industries worthy of the name are those of food, fish canning, utilization of forest products, tanneries, cement manufacturing for the building industry, glass and paper industries, and an embryo textile industry sufficient for rugs and traditional clothing. In 1940, when the possibility of continuing the war from North Africa was considered by the French cabinet, it was discovered that there was not a factory in the entire area capable of manufacturing a rifle. Since World War II, detailed five-year plans for industrialization have been put forward, but the deficiency of natural energy resources, the shortage of skilled workers, and the opposition of powerful home interests have impeded their realization. Steel production in Algeria was 27,000 tons in 1952-53 and nonexistent in the rest of the Maghreb.

Mineral products are by far the leading export item of Morocco, rank first in Tunisia, and play an important role in Algeria; in this respect the Maghreb has a steady source of income. They account for 32 per cent by value of Tunisia's exports (1951), 36 per cent for Morocco (1952), and 11 per cent for Algeria (1952). Algeria has an important iron ore production and by 1952 was producing 27 per cent of its coal requirements, compared to less than 2 per cent before the war. Morocco is the second producer of phosphates in the world, with over 5 million tons out of a global total of 24 million in 1953. It is also the second world producer of cobalt, and the fifth of manganese. Iron ore has recently been found along the Algero-Moroccan frontier near Tindouf, and oil discovered near Petitjean. There is a small exportable surplus of coal, most of which goes to Algeria. Tunisia has large deposits of phosphates and substantial quantities of iron ore, lead, and zinc.

Table II shows how important a role the extractive industries play in the North African economy at present. If further oil fields are found and the development of the Algerian Sahara continues as planned, possibilities are bright indeed. But the problem cannot be separated from that of a general political settlement. The important industrial complex of Colomb-Bechar in southwestern Algeria recently has felt for the first time the effects of revolutionary terrorism, and French engineers at the iron ore mines around Tindouf had to be withdrawn temporarily in June this year owing to the general insecurity caused by raiding bands in the region. During the August 1955, riots in Morocco, French authorities were amazed that the Moroccan workers at the Khouribha phosphate mines, much the best paid in the country, invaded the plant and laid waste the expensive machinery, thus destroying for months their own and their families' source of livelihood. To the workers, as to many North Africans, this machinery and the entire routine of industrialization were only

one subtle form of the slavery and regimentation which the European had brought along with the humiliation of social superiority and political control. If progress in assuring the North African a decent standard of living is to be made, these factors must be divorced, and he must be taught by his own leaders that the resources of his country are meant for his benefit rather than his exploitation.

SUMMARY

To the casual American visitor a trip across North Africa from north to south might seem much like journeying through the southwestern United States beginning from the California coast. The Mediterranean climate of the North African littoral, with its oaks and chaparral scrub clinging to semibarren hills, gives way progressively to a harsh, red and rocky soil in the southern plateaus, which are reminiscent of Arizona and New Mexico. As in California the countryside in the north is green in winter and baked dry and yellow-brown by June at the latest; but from the palm groves of Marrakesh snow can be seen atop the 13,000-foot High Atlas for nine months of the year.

The sense of space and solitude becomes overwhelming when one crosses the passes of the Atlas and looks down on the naked steppes which gradually merge into the empty Sahara. Except in crowded central Algeria, space is everywhere too present in the Maghreb, and the human touch on the land seems insignificant. The lack of real villages, of which there are few save in the settled countryside of northeastern Tunisia, heightens the impression. Nomads wander across the land to whose deforesting and erosion their flocks have contributed for centuries, like strangers on its surface. Unable or unwilling to put roots in the soil they, like the wasted winter rains, take from the land rather than give to it.

The cities, too, often seem to be placed on an arid chessboard without any particular relation to it. In North Africa's past the vastness of the country came flush to the city walls; the two protagonists met with no gradual transition and no suburbs. Where the ramparts ended, insecurity began -- in most periods -- and the citizen and the countryman held each other in respective fear and contempt. When the Europeans came to settle they at first mingled their lives with the natives of the towns -- in the cities of Algeria and to a lesser extent in Tunisia -- but in Morocco, as in British India, separate new cities were built, often several miles from the medina, and thus the apartness of each entity was further emphasized. Instead of trying to cement the country, they added another distinct element to it, with their own cities, laws, and schools.

With Muslims, Europeans, and Jews living to themselves in the towns, with the city and country mutually opposed, with nomads against sedentaries throughout North African history, and with Berber set against Arab, what has been transmitted to the present generation is a series of isolated, fragmented groups, whose only common bond -- for the Muslim majority -- is religion

and the new stirrings of nationalism.

Of these two factors, especially in comparison with the Middle East, religion still plays a relatively much greater role in the spirit of the Maghreb than does nationalism, which is as yet confined as an active principle to the small middle and upper classes. Nationalism may be used as a catchword by the man-in-the-street, but the feelings that move him are still largely religious. And it should not be forgotten that the Maghreb, and most of all Morocco, in spite of the enormous goodwill and broadmindedness of its leaders, is still a land of great religious intolerance. It is where entry to mosques is forbidden to nonbelievers, where, indeed, as in the Shrine of Mulay Idris in Fes it is unwise to go too close or linger in the vicinity; where mass violence and pogroms are still depressingly prevalent, and where, to a large portion of the people, independence means the complete expulsion of the infidels who have been desecrating their existence. It is a land which has learned for centuries to hate the foreign invaders, and the bulk of whose population, in the Rif, the Atlas, and the Aures -- unlike the docile peasants of the Nile Valley -- is made up of violent, proud, warlike tribesmen, many of whom fought against the occupiers as young men in the 1920's, and have now taken up arms again.

The radical transformation that the very bases of North African society must undergo, if such men are to learn to live harmoniously among themselves and in peace with the outsiders in their midst, overshadows all else in the immediate future. Such a transformation can only come about through mass education of a kind and scope never before undertaken in this area. Fortunately the enlightened leaders of the independent states are showing that they know this problem to be primary to the future development of the new North Africa.

July 1956

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TABLE I -- AREA AND POPULATION

	Area (sq. mi.)	Total	Muslim	European	Jewish
Morocco					
ex-Fr.	153,870	8,800,000	8,220,000	380,000	200,000
ex-Sp.	7,592	1,080,000	980,000	90,000	10,000
" (South)	10,039	13,000	13,000	---	---
Tangier	225	180,000	120,000	50,000	10,000
Total	171,726	10,073,000*	9,333,000	520,000	220,000
Algeria	847,500**	10,200,000*	9,140,000	1,060,000	assim. Eur.
Tunisia	48,332	3,800,000#	3,485,000	255,000	60,000
Libya	679,000	1,200,000##	1,145,000	50,000	5,000
Sp. Sahara	105,400	34,000	34,000	---	---
Ifni	600	30,000	30,000	---	---
Ceuta	50	64,000	10,000	54,000	---
Melilla	100	86,000	10,000	76,000	---
Total	1,852,708	25,487,000	23,187,000	2,015,000	285,000

	Percentage of Population		Annual Rate of Increase
	Urbar	Rural	(Muslim)
Morocco	23	77 (1952)	1.8
Algeria	24	76 (1948)	2.3
Tunisia	37	63 (1951)	2.0
Libya	18	82 (1954)	---

Age Groups (with comparisons)

Years	Algeria	Morocco	Tunisia	USSR (1939)	France	Germany (1939)	Japan (1935)
0-19	530	502	495	450	302	319	465
20-59	420	424	436	484	551	557	560
60-up	50	74	69	66	147	124	75

Density of Population

Inhab. per sq. km.	Morocco	Algeria (Tell)	Algeria (Tell & Steppe)	Tunisia	Libya
	19.6	54	24.8	25.8	0.7

* Estimates of 1956.
** Including Saharan regions.
# Census of 1956 rounded off.
Comes from ration cards and probably high.

TABLE II -- COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE

Foreign Trade in Millions of Dollars

	Exports	Imports	Per Capita (in dollars)
Morocco (1952)	291*	573**	96
Algeria (1952)	415	639	115
Tunisia (1951)	107	182	90

* Of which ex-Sp. Morocco $14 million, Tangier $3 million.
** Of which ex-Sp. Morocco $21 million, Tangier $36 million.

Exports in Order of Value

(in millions of Fr. francs, 350 Fr. francs equals $1)

Morocco (1952)		Algeria (1952)		Tunisia (1951)	
Phosphates	18,305	Wines	52,398	Phosphates	6,154
Barley	8,921	Iron Ore	12,089	Alfa	5,528
Canned Fish	7,154	Grain	6,736*	Cereals	5,000
Manganese Ore	5,421	Citrus Fruit	6,395	Olive Oil	4,411

* To France only.

Land Resources

(in hectares)

	Morocco	Algeria	Tunisia	Libya
Total area	39,000,000	21,000,000*	12,500,000	176,000,000
Productive area	21,500,000	15,000,000	9,000,000	5,200,000
Cultivated land	5,000,000	4,500,000	3,700,000	600,000
Cultivated in cereals	4,120,000	3,000,000	1,300,000	---
Fallow	3,000,000	2,500,000	---	---
Forests	3,800,000	3,300,000	1,000,000	---
Pasturage	7,500,000	5,000,000	4,125,000	12,000,000

* Northern districts only; also 199,000,000 ha. (almost all desert) in Southern Territories.

Mineral Production

(in metric tons)

Morocco (1952)		Algeria (1952)		Tunisia (1951)	
Phosphates	4,000,000	Phosphates	700,000	Phosphates	2,000,000
Iron Ore	650,000	Iron Ore	3,015,000	Iron Ore	780,000
Manganese Ore	383,000	Coal	268,000	Lead	33,500
Anthracite	460,000	Zinc	23,000	Zinc	7,000
Lead	115,000	Lead	6,000		

TABLE III -- SELECTED STATISTICS

	Morocco	Algeria	Tunisia	Libya
Railroads (km)	1,761	4,421	2,044	387
Roads (km)				
Total	47,500	80,000	14,500	2,500
All-weather	14,500	28,000	9,000	---
Secondary	33,000	27,000	5,500	---
Desert tracks	---	25,000	---	---
School Attendance	(1953)	(1952)	(1952)	(1952)
Primary	278,000	480,000*	169,000	38,000
Secondary	21,000	28,000	17,000	
Technical	15,000	12,000	11,000	---
Superior	3,000	5,130	1,000	---

* November 1954

School Attendance per 10,000 Inhab.				
Primary	278	480*	528	316
Secondary	21	29	52	
Technical	15	13	34	---
Superior	3	5	3	---

* November 1954

Public Health				
No. of doctors	776	---	490	---
Inhabitants per doctor	15,000	---	6,500	---
No. of hospital beds	12,000	24,000	3,950	---
Inhabitants per bed	830	395	810	---

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