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## A NOTE ON NORTH AFRICA

by Charles F. Gallagher

(Prepared for the 1958-59 AUFS  
program of visits to member  
universities and colleges)

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PHILLIPS TALBOT  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Arab North Africa, Al Maghrib al 'Arabi as it is usually called in the current political literature of the area, has been for the past few years in the midst of a major historical transition accompanying the end of a century of European colonialism and the beginnings of a new era whose definitive patterns are still only sketchily outlined.

The area includes the three North African states of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, which share a common historical experience for much of their past, a common dialect of the same language (Arabic), and a common colonial tradition, including a similarity of intellectual outlook and formation, as the result of a long period of impregnation by French thought and culture. It also includes in some ways--notably linguistically and racially--Libya as well, although as a passage region Libya is as distinct from North Africa proper as it is from the Middle East, and its recent history has tended further to isolate it from both ends of the Arab world.

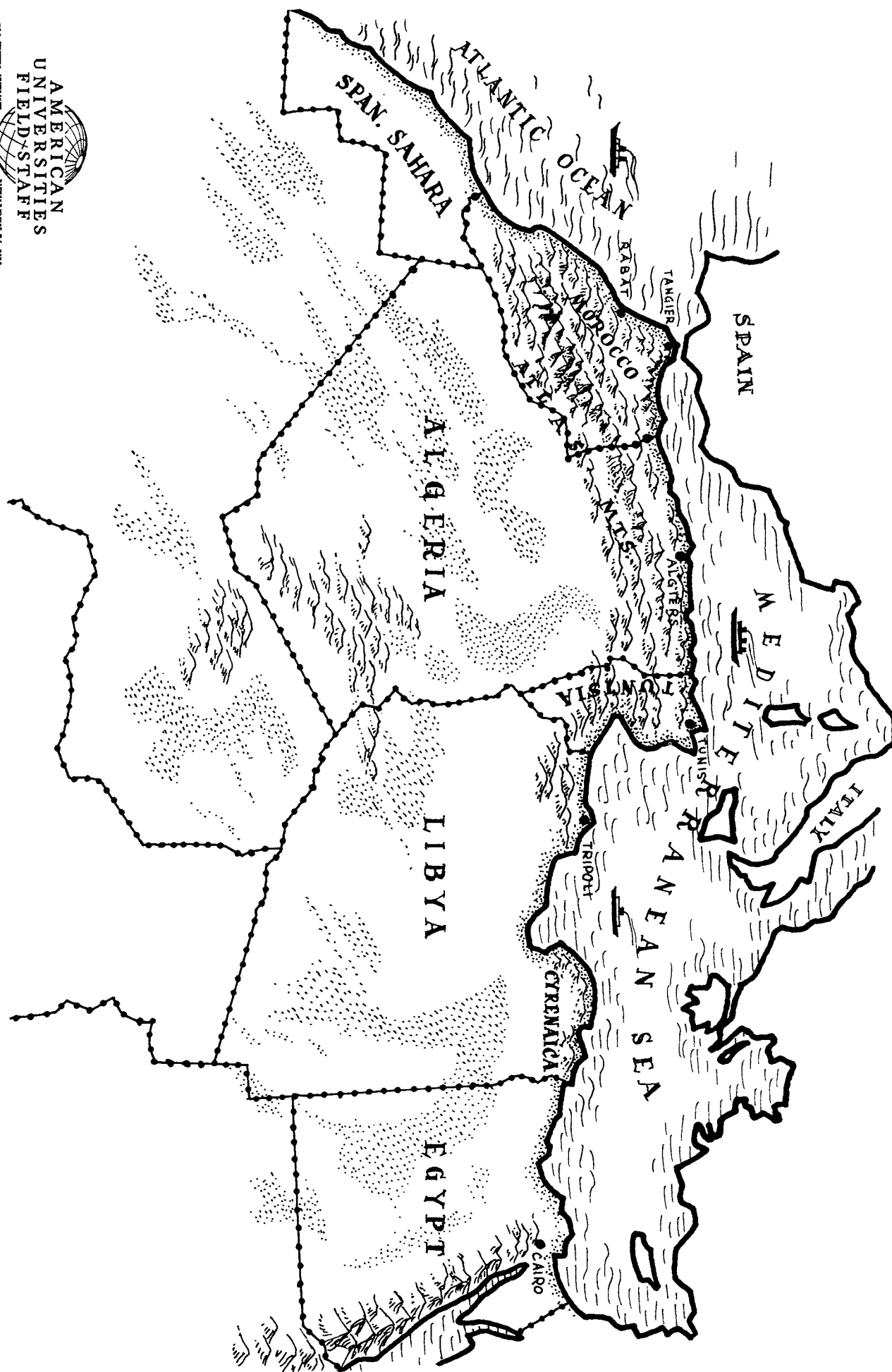
To most North African nationalists the area also includes great parts, if not all, of the Sahara Desert, extending as far as Senegal, the Niger River, and Timbuktu on the south. This claim is strongly contested by France and the French West African states which form the southern border of the Sahara, as well as by Spain which maintains the desert enclave of Rio de Oro on the

Atlantic Coast of the Sahara. Recent discoveries of minerals, especially oil in large quantities, has raised the Sahara and the question of its political future to primary importance and made necessary some kind of adjustment in respect to future economic exploitation of its resources.

Three of the four North African states mentioned above are now independent, and all of these are less than a decade old. Libya, as the fortuitous result of belonging to one of the vanquished powers in World War II, received its independence first, in 1952, under the auspices of the United Nations, which has ever since contributed heavily in all phases of the country's activity. Morocco and Tunisia followed early in 1956. Algeria, the fourth political division of North Africa and the geographical pivot of the area, has become in recent years one of the major problems of international politics. Its four-year-old revolution which began in November 1954 has already caused the collapse of the Fourth Republic in France, strained relations within the Atlantic Alliance, influenced the position of North Africa in the East-West struggle, and inflamed passions throughout the Arab world. In the very near future it threatens to bring the cold war, in all its unpleasantness, into the heart of North Africa. Algeria's revolution has also been largely responsible for the resurgent nationalist spirit in France which brought General de Gaulle back to power in recent months. The projected constitution of an Algerian government-in-exile by the National Liberation Front is the latest step along a path which promises to be as difficult in the immediate future as it has been in the last few years.

The shape of the political future of North Africa will be eventually determined by what effective triangular relationship, with France at the apex and Algeria the hypotenuse, flanked by Morocco and Tunisia, can be formulated by the conflicting Maghrebian and French nationalisms. The conferences of Tangier and Tunis this spring have already gone a long way toward the idea

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of a North African Federation, with recommendations for the establishment of a trination consultative assembly. The trend to inter-North African association on some kind of federal basis seems historically irresistible, and hopes for a solution of what has been called the "insoluble" Algerian problem now rest with the dynamism and realism with which an undeniably revitalized France can attack the issue, perhaps on the basis of a free and genuinely equal commonwealth-type association between the homeland and a North African federal state.

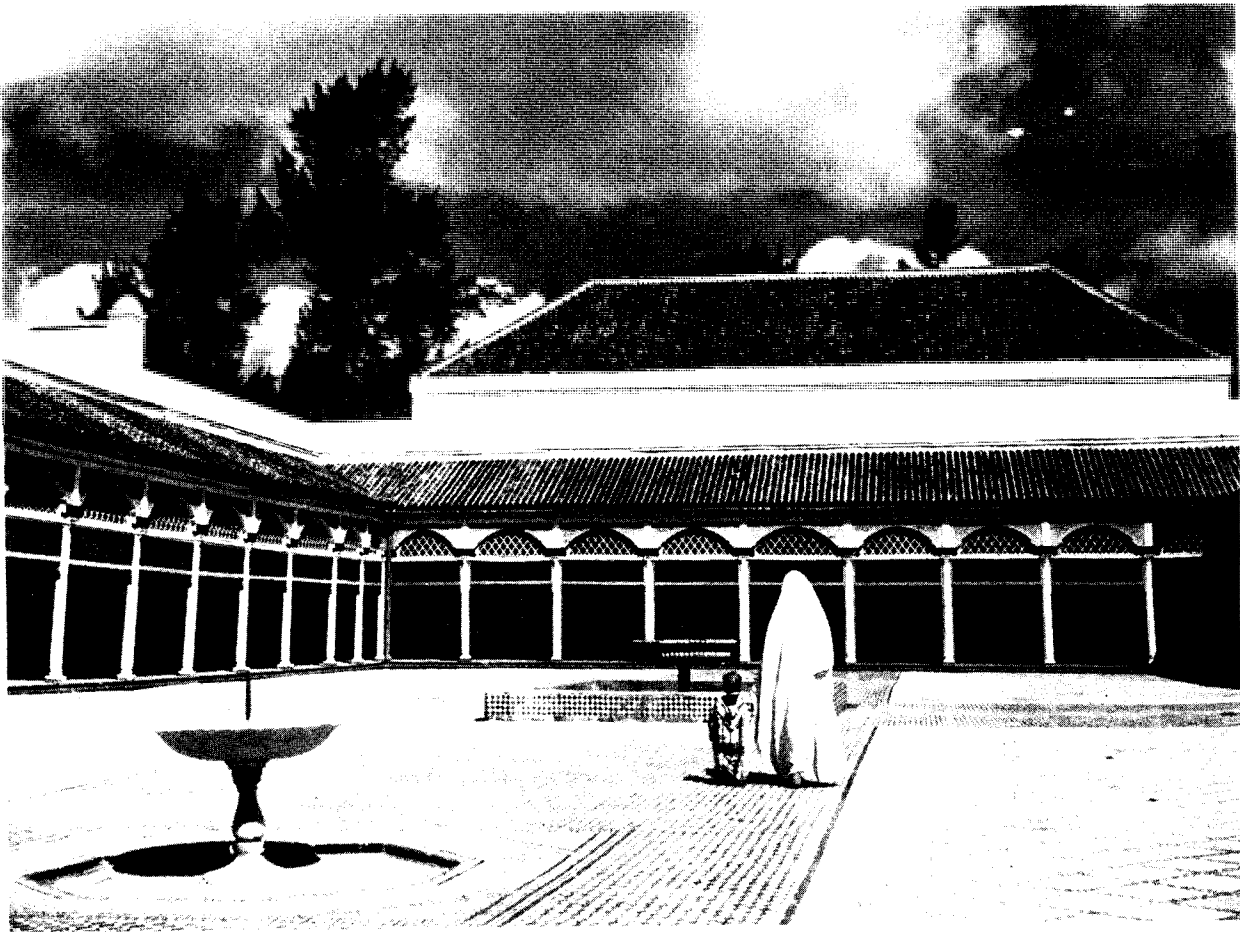
Chances for such a settlement are, if not good, at least better than they were in the hands of impotent politicians of the Fourth Republic. The urgency for making a settlement has been cried aloud so often that much of its effect has been lost, yet each week that passes increases the need and the danger to all the West. And, although Morocco has been able to weather the storm in better shape than Tunisia, economic progress in all North Africa and the realization of development plans for the Sahara which would help to alleviate misery in the area have been enormously hampered by the unstable political situation in Algeria since 1955.

#### GEOGRAPHY

North Africa is a vast quadrilateral of mountains and high tablelands, somewhat projected from the northern bulk of Africa, and bounded on the south by the Sahara, on the other three sides by the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Thus isolated by the sea and the desert, it is indeed the "Western Island" of the early Arab geographers.

Horizontally the area runs from the southwest tip of Morocco to at least the Gulf of Sidra at the eastern end of Tripolitania in Libya (for in many ways Cyrenaica does not form part of the complex)--a distance of 1,800 miles. The width of the Maghreb is harder to fix, for neither the physical nor the cultural boundaries of its component states are at all precise. In general the fertile, Mediterranean-type countryside is a narrow coastal band, running from 100 to 300 miles inland, although in Tunisia and Libya at certain spots the desert comes right down to the sea. The highlands of the Hoggar in Southern Algeria, which by any standards form part of North Africa, are 1,000 miles south of Algiers. The inhabitable non-Saharan area comes to about 500,000 square miles, and the total area is over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million square miles.

The most distinctive feature of North Africa is the long, continuous chain of mountains, the Atlas, which forms a backbone for the region from west to east and, by cutting off the desert from the productive lands to the north, turns the maritime strip between the Atlas and the coast into a Mediterranean land, producing olives, figs, cork oak, and in places grapes, not unlike Spain and Italy, or even parts of California. Where the Atlas is highest, as in Morocco (13,600 ft.), the northern regions are better protected from the desert and offer greater possibilities



A traditional Moorish  
palace--the Bahia  
in Marakesh

OLD  
AND  
NEW  
IN ARCHITECTURE

Modern low-cost  
housing for  
workers



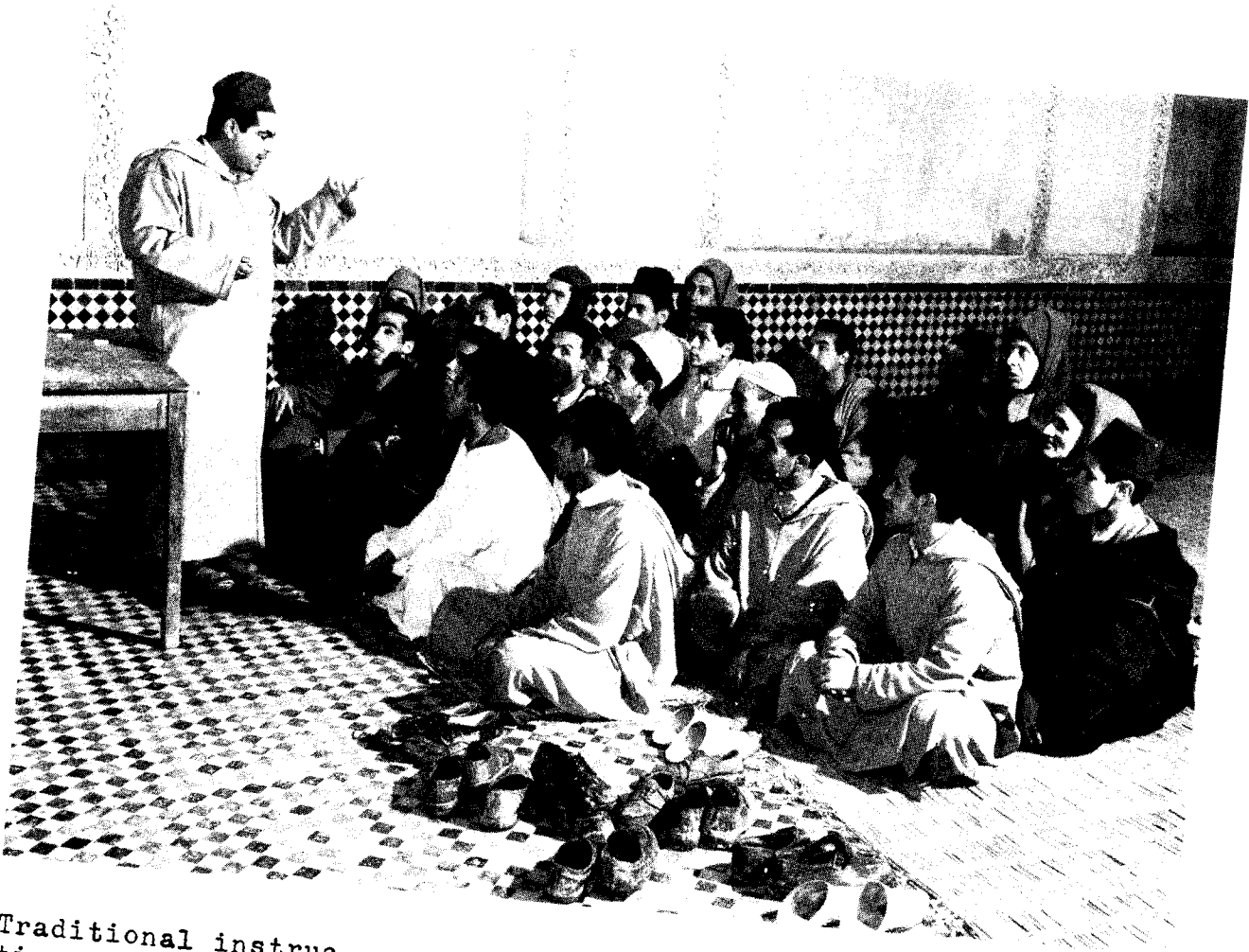
for livelihood; where the mountains are lowest, as in Tripolitania (foothills), settled agriculture and civilization are held within the narrowest coastal belt.

Topography is usually uneven and tormented, particularly in Northern Morocco and Algeria. The peaks a few miles from the sea rise to 7,000-8,000 feet and short, swift rivers run down narrow gorges and plunge into the sea; there are no navigable rivers in the area. The mountains often abut the coast directly, making the sea frontiers in many places as hostile as the desert approaches on the south. From Tangier on the west to Tunis on the east there are good harbors, but with the exception of Oran and Algiers they lack easily accessible hinterlands of any size. The Atlantic shore of Morocco was also for centuries a barrier rather than a gateway. There were no safe anchorages until modern ports with breakwaters were constructed in this century, and ships were exposed to violent Atlantic winter storms which made landings hazardous or impossible for weeks. Only in the eastern part of North Africa, from the Gulf of Tunis to Tripoli, is there a combination of good ports and fairly flat, fertile back country. And it is notably through this entrance that all the major invasions of the Maghreb--Phoenician, Roman, and Arab--came, thence to roll westward along the coast until they reached the Atlantic.

In a land of such size and contrasting relief, no uniform climate can be expected. That of the coastal regions is essentially Mediterranean, with warm summers and mild, rainy winters. As soon as one moves inland even a few score miles the temperature goes up in summer and down in winter, and the valleys between the coast and the interior mountains often have the worst of both extremes. Occasionally hot desert winds (the shargi, or sirocco; gibli in Libya) reign in summer, bringing extremely high temperatures, suffocating fine dust, and agricultural disaster. Winter in the interior, particularly in the predesert regions and the Sahara itself, is usually bright, clear, and warm, with cold nights.

Rainfall is the determining, life-giving factor, and its vicissitudes cannot be accurately expressed in statistics. In general, North Africa is rainfall-deficient, but some parts of it have an unusable excess precipitation. There is little rainfall regularity from year to year, and in some regions near the Sahara where one year's precipitation is five to eight times that of the following year, the concept of a norm becomes clearly pointless. Most of the rainfall is disadvantageously concentrated in heavy bursts within a season of a few months (October to March). Falling on semiarid lands which have been baked dry during the rainless summer, much of it runs off wasted. It is only in the past decade that extensive water-retention constructions have begun to attack this problem, with considerable hope for the future.

The 400-mm. (roughly 16-inch) rain line, a minimum for assured agriculture without irrigation, covers most of fertile Northern Morocco and the Atlas Mountains, reaching the Mediterranean



Traditional instruction in the Qarawiyin Theological School

OLD  
AND  
NEW  
IN EDUCATION



Night school for would-be government clerks



at the Algerian border because of a lowering in the mountain chain which allows the steppe to come almost to the sea. 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 Algeria to include the Aurès Mountains and then curves to the northeast to reach the sea only 50 miles south of Tunis. The Rif chain in Morocco along the Mediterranean and the northeastern part of Algeria near the Tunisian border have heavy rainfall, up to 60 inches a year, but these rugged and heavily forested areas are generally unsuited for agriculture.

### PEOPLE

The earliest historical records indicate that North Africa has long been peopled by a white race speaking a Hamitic-type language. Known as Libyans in early classical times they were subsequently called "Berbers," i.e., the "barbarians" who lived outside Greco-Roman civilization. Other peoples who have introduced their blood into the area from the 11th century B.C. on are: Phoenicians, Latins, Jews, Indo-Germanic Vandals, Greeks, Arabs, Turks, and Negroes from across the Sahara. Finally came the Sephardic Jews and Europeans, but they have on the whole remained racially distinct from the bulk of the population. The Arabs came in two great waves, in the 8th and principally in the 11th and 12th centuries. In certain areas they modified native stock to a considerable extent, and in others they can still be singled out as a distinctive group; in the cities there is a mixture, combined of Berber-Arab stock, hispanicized elements fleeing the reconquest of Spain, and a goodly share of Negro blood introduced through slavery and concubinage in the later Middle Ages. Thus the urban population runs a gamut of skin coloring and shows a greater diversity of type than the relatively more homogeneous countryfolk, which remains in large part the same white, Mediterranean type it has always been.

The population of North Africa today comes to some 23,000,000 descendants of the Berber-Arab stock, around 1,700,000 Europeans and 300,000 Jews. The population is increasing at a fast pace, particularly in Algeria, where the consequent pressure on the land is very great. Of all the countries in North Africa probably only Morocco need not fear a population problem for some time to come. More than half the population everywhere is under twenty years of age.

The European population is almost completely urban. In some cities of Algeria, like Oran, it is in a heavy majority, and in Algiers it forms half the total. In the independent countries the Europeans are tending to move out gradually, and about 200,000 have already left Morocco and Tunisia in the past two years. The Jewish population, after considerable emigration to Israel for a few years after the founding of that state, is now remaining fairly steady. Emigration is now discouraged in Morocco by all possible means, although some continues clandestinely, and in





Peasant women selling  
their produce in  
the sug

OLD  
AND  
NEW  
IN AGRICULTURE

Spraying citrus fruit  
with modern equip-  
ment in Libya



Tunisia the Jewish problem seems more successfully settled than anywhere else in the Muslim world.

Islam is the religion of all the indigenous inhabitants, save the Jewish minority. The Berbers were early converted to Islam on a formal basis, but it was not until as late as the 15th and 16th centuries that the entire area could be said to have embraced the creed of the Prophet, and even today pagan practices flourish semicovertly, or mixed in with orthodox belief, throughout the more remote mountain regions.

As the language of Islam, Arabic has become the official tongue of all the countries of North Africa, even in Algeria where recent reforms have raised it to a coequal status with French. Arabic is also the general language of culture and commerce and the vehicle for all literature and advanced thought. The use of French, however, is perhaps more widespread than in any other colonial or ex-colonial area, and the few years since independence have not yet seen enough progress in arabicization to counterbalance the continued use of French in all international, diplomatic, and technical matters. Berber continues to function as a spoken language only in the country areas, where it seems doomed to dwindle away in the coming generations before the massive onslaught which Arabic is now making on it via the radio and mass education.

## HISTORY

North Africa entered history just before the end of the second millenium B.C., with the Phoenician settlements on the shores of modern Tunisia, and the establishment of their factories around the Straits of Gibraltar. Ever since then the area has been submitted to a double pull, from the East and a succession of oriental civilizations, from the North with Rome, Christendom, and latter-day colonialism. Although it has always had a deeply rooted, distinctive culture, it has never been able, save 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 did business with it, but there was no real settlement or civilizing influence. Roman legions garrisoned all North Africa, but Roman civilization was found only at scattered points in Tunisia and Eastern Algeria, while most of the country was protected by a Chinese-wall-like series of fortifications. As Roman power waned in the early Christian centuries, the Berbers reasserted their control and came down from the mountains and steppes to which they had been exiled, to assist in the destruction of the Empire.

When the Arabs pushed westward into North Africa between 650-700, they distinguished the Rumi (the sedentary population of Latin culture under Byzantine rule along the coast) from the interior Berbers. The former gave way quickly, but the conquest of the Berbers was a long and difficult one. No sooner was it accomplished than a revolt made North Africa again virtually

A view of the Medina  
of Tunis

OLD  
AND  
NEW  
  
IN CITIES

The skyline of  
modern Tangier



independent, and for centuries thereafter the Berbers were left to float on the fringe of Islam, a prey to the numerous Muslim heresies they so enthusiastically adopted.

In the middle of the 11th century a group of veiled nomads from the Sahara, the Almoravids, swept into Morocco and conquered it and good parts of southern Spain which were the debris of the Caliphate of Cordova. Their successors, the Almohads, ruled all of North Africa as far as Tripoli and most of Muslim Spain from 1150-1250, and the dynasty that followed them, the Merinids of Fes (along with the Hafsids in Tunis), was probably the most civilized and powerful principedom of Islam in the 14th century. In Fes, Granada, Tlemcen, and Tunis, architecture, music, and poetry flourished and great writers such as Ibn Khaldun and Ibn Battuta were produced.

North Africa was largely untouched by the Crusades, but the area was increasingly involved in the futile defense of Muslim Spain against the reconquista of Spain and Portugal; from 1400 on, Iberian activity along the Barbary Coast developed steadily, and intermittent religious war, with Spanish and Portuguese occupation of most of the coastal cities, continued for several centuries. Thus the Maghreb withdrew into an isolation within which fermented a religious revival based on a violent, intractable xenophobia, a partial outlet for which was found by engaging in a satisfying and profitable piracy until the beginnings of the 19th century.

It was only after Europe was free from the burden of the Napoleonic Wars that the powers could turn to deal with the corsairs of Algiers. It was France which took the lead, and its shelling and occupation of that city led to the campaign for all Algeria and its annexation. This in turn caused frontier clashes with the neighboring states, Morocco and the Turkish-protected Tunisia. A combination of financial, diplomatic, and military pressure forced a protectorate on Tunisia (1881), while the Conference of Madrid (1880) and later international conferences led to the carving up of Morocco in 1912. Libya had become a target for the Italian expansionist ambition which had been frustrated by the French take-over in Tunisia, and was annexed in 1912 as a result of the Italo-Turkish war.

Thus European influence in North Africa ever since the Middle Ages has been steady and of considerable effect. Many of the Mediterranean cities of North Africa have been continuously in European hands for centuries: Ceuta since 1415, Melilla since 1497, Oran from 1508 to 1792 and again from 1830 till now. And the "century of colonization" which began with the French arrival in Algeria in 1830 has had, for better or worse, a permanent effect in economic, political, and cultural realms. In no other area of European empire-building have Westerners gone to settle in large numbers among an indigenous population which already had a mature civilization and a higher religion. The net result has been to establish a complex, split society, with a dualism that is painfully present in every aspect from agriculture to tastes in

## PHASES OF THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION



Nurses of the Algerian National Liberation Army  
at the scene of operations



The end of a battle--French prisoners of the ALN

literature and food. The explosive qualities of this situation have repeatedly shown themselves in the last decade, and although a certain resolution of the problem has been made in the independent states, no permanently satisfactory answer to this dualism has been found for Algeria as yet.

### GOVERNMENT

The three independent states of North Africa are made up of two kingdoms and one republic. Morocco, which was in the past an absolute monarchy and a theocratic state, has inched along the paths to constitutionality in the two years since independence. A National Consultative Assembly, which has already expressed its own definite opinions about internal and foreign policies, has been established. The power of the King remains remarkably great, however, and he can be considered to rule, in a sometimes paternal partnership with the leading Istiqlal (Independence) party, as well as to reign. A schedule of elections, beginning with local elections and proceeding to the national level, has been officially promised but not yet carried out.

Much administrative reorganization, including the crash formation of large numbers of Moroccan civil servants, has been necessary to remove what Moroccans have described as the "remains of colonialism." The heavy dependence on European functionaries has been mitigated by this moroccanization, and of the 40,000 European civil servants who staffed the Moroccan Government in 1956, only about 15,000 are still in service.

In Tunisia the ruling house of Turkish descent had never enjoyed the spiritual or national prestige accorded to Morocco's sharifs, or descendants of the Prophet. Strong republican tendencies had been apparent for several decades and one of the aims of modernist Tunisians was realized in 1957 when the last of the Beys was dethroned to make room for a republic with a strong executive. The leading nationalist figure of North Africa, Habib Bourguiba, now serves both as President of the Republic and as its Prime Minister. Draft work on a new constitution for the republic has been completed in theory but the document has not yet been approved by the constitutional convention. The development of local administration cadres and the establishment of a centrally-directed civil service to replace the system of tribal leadership favored by the French before independence have been a major problem in Tunisia as in Morocco, but seem well on their way to solution at present.

Libya is a federal state composed of the three unequal provinces of Tripolitania (pop. 800,000), Cyrenaica (pop. 300,000), and the Fezzan (pop. 50,000), with two capitals: Tripoli and Benghazi. Internal jealousies between Tripolitarians and Cyrenaians made this cumbersome arrangement necessary and somewhat hampered the development of the new state in its first years, but the sense of a Libyan nation is now becoming more evident. It is

a parliamentary monarchy with a bicameral legislature.

The situation in Algeria at the present writing is unusually confused. After having been granted something like federal status, with numerous reservations, in the watered-down second version of the Basic Law of 1957, which was never really put into operation, Algeria has been shaken by the European counter-rebellion, the "Movement of May 13" of this year. The views of the members of the Comité de Salut Public for Algeria and the Sahara are quite heterogeneous, and they often do not correspond with those of the army forces in Algeria who provided the physical power for the upheaval. The so-far enigmatic statements of Premier de Gaulle have not yet made clear whether, in French eyes, Algeria is headed for complete integration with France (53 million Frenchmen from Dunkerque to the Sahara) with all that would mean in terms of economic and personal sacrifice for the homeland, for total intra-Algerian integration between Europeans and Muslims, or for some other form of association still undefined. The outstanding fact is that the revolution of the FLN continues, and no institutional formula has been devised which eliminates the essential problems separating the two communities in Algeria.

## ECONOMY

The countries of North Africa all have an economy based primarily on agriculture of a Mediterranean type. Agricultural products make up much of their exports, with cereals, citrus fruits, wine, olive oil, and winter vegetables heading the list. They are secondarily countries with extensive mineral resources where the extractive industries play a considerable role in balancing generally adverse trade accounts. In Morocco and Algeria light and medium industry have been developing in the past decade: the canning of fish and vegetables, tanning, cellulose products, cement, glass, and paper industries, and a rapidly growing textile industry form the backbone of this industrial development.

The economy corresponds to the society in its dual nature, and this is perhaps its greatest weakness. Most of the farms which produce the specialty cash crops for export are European-owned and directed; alongside them will be found the subsistence farming methods of the North African peasant who tills the soil with a wooden plow and often misuses or disuses his basically good land. In the same way almost all industrial development is in the hands of Europeans, and the native population, which tends to cling to small, family-type business activity, shopkeeping, or artisanry, cannot be said to have participated as yet on any scale in the modern economy. Under these circumstances the political future of the European community, whatever it may be, will have the most profound repercussions on the economic future of the area in the next five to ten years.

The infrastructure of North Africa is very highly developed for what is generally considered an underdeveloped area. Good



roads, railroads, an extensive air network, and a growing trucking system have made communications a minor problem. Extensive dam construction in the past decade has enabled further irrigation of large areas and aided the expansion of agriculture. Since independence, government activities have been centered on rationalizing agriculture by co-operative-collective measures in both Morocco and Tunisia, and both states are embarking upon a directed economy which they believe to be the only way to avoid wastage of human and natural resources. In Algeria the new de Gaulle regime has taken praiseworthy steps toward economic integration and equality, but in the long run it is doubtful if Algeria's pressing economic problems--probably the most serious of any country of North Africa--can be solved before its political status is decided.

Since independence, Morocco and Tunisia have suffered a slight economic recession owing to two factors: capital flight and reduction in investments which had been at a level of about twenty per cent of national income in preceding years, and increased unemployment resulting from the decreased economic activity. The recession had been predicted, was in many ways less violent than expected, and the bottom seems to have been reached late in 1957. Both governments, denied for some time the economic aid from France which had previously supported their investment budgets, had to resort to self-financing and measures of austerity. But the foundations of a more solid economy than that prevailing under the protectorates are gradually being laid and the long-term economic future can be more optimistically viewed now than in March 1956.

Although the natural resources of North Africa reveal grave deficiencies in certain fields, such as the lack of good coking coal for a steel industry, and the likelihood that the cultivated land surface has nearly reached its limit, the primary economic question is a more human one. At present and for some time to come, most of the capital and most of the technical skills needed for development must come from the European minority. The job of training an entire population, and not just a handful of experts, to participate in all the affairs of their country, is the formidable task which must be accomplished within the next decade.

The most important economic news in the Maghreb for many years has certainly been that of the discovery of large quantities of oil in the Algerian Sahara. With proved reserves of at least two billion barrels and the probability of much more at Hassi Messaoud alone, and with subsidiary fields at Edjelé, oil has become a factor of reality in the economy. Work has started on the pipeline to the Algerian coast, and an agreement with Tunisia has been reported to transport the Edjelé oil to a Tunisian harbor. Considering that there will inevitably be a political settlement in Algeria, the oil resources of the Sahara can provide the foundation rock for a developing North Africa in the next ten or twenty years. As with so many other current issues in this region, oil is now a political rather than an economic problem.

## THE FUTURE

North Africa in the summer of 1958 strikes the observer as something like a youth emerging from adolescence into early manhood--from a rather protected adolescence which has left him untrained and unprepared for the vicissitudes of daily life. The result is a proud, shy, sensitive personality that is certainly eager to learn--indeed, desperate to learn because it is understood that much lost ground needs to be made up.

Particularly to the observer who returns, as this writer has, from the Arab Middle East, there are important differences to be noted between the two areas of the Arab world. The emergent personality of North Africa is far from fully shaped. One has the feeling that in contradistinction to the more closed minds at the other end of the Arab world, there is still much malleability here. And parental control, however indirect, remains strong in many fields, with, one senses, a bittersweet reluctance to let go of all the strings. The remark of a Moroccan official sums it up best; looking out over the new town of Rabat with its gleaming, white office buildings, its grandiose boulevards, and the modern bridges over its river, he said wistfully: "It must be very difficult for the French to give this all up, after everything they have done here."

Yet the withdrawal is under way and no one knows how complete it will be or how long it will take. The Maghreb is coming to the end of another cycle, this one begun in 1830, of the continuous seesaw struggle between external forces contending for its soul that first started with the bitter struggle between Rome and Carthage. And, just as the early Berbers of Juba and Massanissa first were disinterested and then tended to play off one foreign conqueror against the other, the impression grows now that North Africa prefers to find its own character before it makes irrevocable commitments to the outside world. From such deep historic clay arises the Moroccan doctrine of nondependence (conceived of as a real neutrality), and its demand for the evacuation of all foreign troops--this from the country which traditionally was always the most isolated and isolationist in the Arab world. From it stems the North African reluctance to move too close to the Arabs of the Middle East and their Arab League, and the talk of becoming a bridge between East and West. This means to some a bridge between the Arabism of the Middle East and the French culture in which they are steeped, to others a midpoint between Eastern totalitarianism and Western liberal democracy.

Thoughts are not yet clear and, indeed, no fundamental work of importance in the field of political or economic theory has appeared yet in the area. Unlike the 18th-century West and the late 19th-century Arab revival in the Middle East, North Africa has gained its independence and begun to make its revolution before its philosophers have appeared to write the treatises inspiring them. This is perhaps in keeping with the generally pragmatic and empirical temperament of the people and their leaders. The

emphasis is on action rather than words, and the countries of the area must be judged by what they accomplish instead of what they say. If these accomplishments continue in the coming few years on the level of the last three, there will be grounds for reasonable optimism about the future of North Africa.

*Charles F. Gallagher*

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- CFG-2-'58      THE MOROCCANIZATION OF MOROCCO  
 2/22/58      A study of the problems of independence and of  
                  Morocco's efforts to solve them. (14 pp.)
- CFG-3-'58      A PASSAGE TO FRANCE  
 3/22/58      An account of how one European lost his hope for a  
                  continued career in Morocco. (7 pp.)
- TUNISIA
- CFG-2-'56      TWO TUNISIAS: THE PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
 8/15/56      CENTER-SOUTH (19 pp.)
- CFG-10-'57    THOUGHTS FROM TUNIS  
 12/2/57      Observations on the deterioration of Western pres-  
                  tige in North Africa. (8 pp.)
- CFG-11-'57    BOURGUIBISM AND THE TUNISIAN POSITION  
 12/16/57    An analysis of the policies that advanced Tunisia's  
                  cause. (10 pp.)

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#### OTHER SUGGESTED READINGS ON NORTH AFRICA

##### I. ISLAMIC AND ARAB BACKGROUND WORKS

Mohammedanism, by H. A. R. Gibb (New York, 1949), is a funda-  
 mental study in concise form of Islam and Islamic thought by  
 one of the leading scholars in the field.

Modern Trends in Islam, by H. A. R. Gibb (Chicago, 1945),  
 describes the development of Muslim theology and discusses  
 the dilemma in which many thoughtful Muslims find themselves  
 today.

Islam in Modern History, by Wilfred Cantwell Smith (Princeton,  
 1957), is a thorough survey of the problems of modern Islam  
 in relation to the various cultures which express it and to  
 the outside world.

Muslim Institutions, by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (tr. Eng.,  
 London, 1950), is a methodical study of all aspects of Muslim  
 life and society in short, handy form.

Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization, ed. by G. E. von  
 Grunebaum (Chicago, 1955), is a symposium work describing  
 the factors which have shaped the Islamic cultural heritage  
 and its manifold expressions today. Cf. esp. pp. 231-260,  
 "North Africa: Rigorism and Bewilderment."

The Ideas of Arab Nationalism, by Hazem Zaki Nussaibeh (Cor-  
 nell, 1956), is an admirable presentation of the subject by

an Arab intellectual and government official.

## II. NORTH AFRICAN BACKGROUND WORKS

Caravan, The Story of the Middle East, by Carleton S. Coon (New York, 1951), was written by a leading American anthropologist. The descriptions of different aspects of North African society (cf. pp. 34-44, 232-259, and 304-323) are excellent.

Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, by Charles-André Julien (2nd ed. revised Paris, 1951-52), is by far the best history of North Africa as a unit. From the beginnings to the 19th century.

Ritual and Belief in Morocco, by E. Westermarck (2 vols., London, 1926), Wit and Wisdom in Morocco, by E. Westermarck (London, 1930), and The Folklore of Morocco, by Francoise Legey (tr. Eng., London, 1935), together give a thorough picture of the socio-religious thought patterns of the countryside with their multiple pagan survivals.

Tribes of the Rif, by Carleton S. Coon (Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, 1931), is a detailed investigation of the culture of the inhabitants of the mountains of northern Morocco. Still the best anthropological data available on Morocco in English.

## III. WORKS ON MODERN NORTH AFRICA

Independence Movements in North Africa, by Allal al Fassi (tr. Eng., New York, 1957), describes the liberation struggle from the point of view of one of the leading political figures engaged in it.

Economic Change in a Plural Society: Morocco Since 1912, by C. F. Stewart (University of California Doctoral Dissertation, 1956; privately printed), is the best account of the economic transition of a North African state to a partially modern economy.

Lieutenant in Algeria, by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber (tr. Eng., New York, 1957), is a sensitive account of the Algerian revolution by a leading French liberal editor.

Libya, The New Arab Kingdom of North Africa, by H. S. Villard (Cornell, 1956), gives a good, over-all view of the problems of the new state; by an ex-American Minister to Libya.

Constitutional Development in Libya, by I. R. Khalidi (Beirut, 1956), provides a more detailed treatment of governmental processes in the same country.

Africa, by W. Fitzgerald (New York, 1950), has a good general introduction to the North African states, pp. 373-417, as does

Africa, by L. Dudley Stamp (London, 1953), pp. 230-253.

#### IV. DOCUMENTATION AND REFERENCE

Fundamental reference work is the Encyclopedia of Islam, the new edition of which is steadily progressing. Useful for matters pertaining to Islamic law and religion is the Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam (Leiden, 1953). For up-to-date economic material, the publications of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Economic Developments in Africa provide summaries for 1950-54, 1954-55, 1955-56, and 1956-57. Other UN publications appear from time to time dealing with North Africa. Notable have been the Report of the UN Economic Mission to Libya and the Report of the Educational Mission to Libya (UNESCO).

The great majority of works on North Africa, including reference material, is in French. The Encyclopedie de l'Union Francaise is exhaustive but somewhat out of date now (1948): volumes on Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria-Sahara. The Encyclopedie Mensuelle d'Outre-mer issued three supplementary volumes: Tunisie 53, Algerie 54, and Maroc 54.

Among English-language periodicals, the Middle East Journal has widened its horizon considerably in the past two years to include numerous articles on North Africa. The Muslim World is also very useful.

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[Photograph on page 5 courtesy of Information Service of Morocco; on page 7, courtesy of Photo Belin, Rabat; at bottom of page 9, courtesy of Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN; at top of page 13, courtesy of Feature Press.]