INTERACTION AND INTERRELATION IN AFRICA

ACADEMIC CONFERENCE RESEARCH PAPERS

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The congress of interaction and interrelation in Africa

The pages of this file include the papers presented to the congress of African universities. It aims at boosting the inter relation linkages between African Universities exemplified in: administration, teaching staffs, as well as students. These linkages may contribute in out cropping spiritual, intellectual, political as well as social interrelation flow, beside raising the awareness by Africa’s actuality. Exchanging experts is needed for Africans in order to find out preliminary common visions for solving out the continent’s problems.

This actually leads to acquaintance, and sinter-retention between African universities. And these and universities can discover out the most favourite methods for Africanizing the universities. Until they act as continents’ tongue. The conference also aims at unifying Africans intellect so as to find out common joint. Springing form African-African debates and African African operation besides opening inter communicational channels between the Africans.

This Third file includes the researches that are received in the fixed date of receiver, for what enabled and facilitated the process of translating and printing them out in this file. Finally we hope all researches appeared in this conference are to be filed out.

Thanks,
Conference administration
Africa: Problems of Prosperity and liberation from Hunger and Fear

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Chapter One

Is there such a thing as an African entity based on specific, spiritual and cultural characteristics? Is Africa in its present intenerary drawing on its characteristics and assets, propelled by its cultural heritage and traditions? What are the characteristics and assets of the African intellect? which is most worthy: that Africa be inspired by its heritage and specific characteristics? Or rather dissolve itself completely in the framework of human civilization and its westernized nature which is characterized by scientific and technical progress and material and cultural achievements?

What is the value of these questions, given the fact that indication already point to the integration of Africa in the market economy and western democracy, consumption culture, human rights and in assuming the western jargon.

There are, however, indications that testify to the contrary African intellect and African state are standing at the cross-roads, hesitant, unable to advance or retreat, especially in areas like Zimbabwe and under Mugabe. Resistance to Westernisation projects is increasing in North Africa and some other Muslim, African countries

Although the sun of human civilizations had arisen from Africa with Giza pyramids, the achievements of Nubian and Merawitic Nilotic civilization, the interaction of North Africa with Mediterranean peoples and the religions that moulded the human intellect formed in Africa on the monotheism of Abraham: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Yet the present picture of African situations does not reveal cultural interaction and does not signify that the disillusionment is related to the grandeur of yesterday, which poses the question: why
has the African intellect retreated and perished and lost its cultural achievements and failed to build on them?

It is not easy to answer this question. Maybe this is due to frustration, coercion, lack of freedom, weak leadership, natural calamities such as drought and desertification, deluge and wars. Certainly slave-trade haunted Africa for three centuries beginning with the 17th century. African coasts were constantly invaded and Africans were obliged to run away inside the continent. many African achievements human, material and cultural, were destroyed. The question still arises: was colonization a blessing or curse unto the African continent?

**Africa and the colonization waves**

Several colonization calamities have descended upon Africa since the dawn of history, these by contributing to the remoulding of the African intellect and its surrounding circumstances. We wish to refer the reader to four of these waves: the first wave was the crusades which targeted Egypt Greek invasion of Egypt set the Ptolemy dynasty on the throne ending with Cleopatra and the Roman invasion roman towns in Libya Tunis Morocco. This wave reached its end when Napoleon occupied Egypt in 1798.

France occupied Algier in 1830. Between the arrival of Louis the 9th at Al-Mansourah and Napolean’s occupation of Cairo, foreign armies, under different banners, have collided with one another in Egypt in North Africa.

**Invaders From the Coast of Africa**

From 1387 on, Southern and Eastern Africa were the target of the white man’s invasions, Vasco de Gama journey in his three ships around the Cape and on to Mozambique. Next came the Portuguese, followed by the French and the English between 1740 and 1805. The first while man to tread on South Africa came in 1615 followed by the white merchants and the white missionary. Then the white man’s flag appeared, protected by destructive weapons, used by merciless soldiers. In 1835, the invader started christianizing the Zulu people in the region of Natal. Since then the South of Africa entered into the obedience to the white man that mounted the patient horse and adapted it to his purposes
Attack on West Africa and Occupying it

The attack began by the Portuguese and the Spaniards, in the 16th century. They were indulged in slaves trade. The slaves were the main commodity that was exported to America and its islands and in order to grow tobacco, vegetables and sugar cane. And they served the whites in their houses.

Again, French and English traders were busy gathering ivory and gold. Dutch people did the same in Guinea Bay. Britain became achieve exporter of slaves in return for sugar in West India. Slave trade in Britain yielded a revenue that was equal to four times the total revenues of Britain elsewhere. By the end of the 18th century, Britain accumulated pyramids of money from slave trade in Senegal, Nigeria, Guinea Coast, Cote d’Ivoire, Ghana, up to Angola.

Slave-trade has stamped the African intellect with inferiority complex, helplessness, a sense of inadequacy, sadness and depression, in addition to the destruction that has befallen the African communities. Abolishing slave trade in the second half of the nineteenth century was accompanied by the colonization in wave for domination and hegemony. Slave-trade was then replaced by land trade. This was known in history by the conquest of Africa after the Berlin conference of 1884-85. Which parcelled out large parts of Africa amongst the European nations.

Why did the Initial Attempts at Resistance Fail?

It has been seen that finally in the resistance attempts have succeeded in confronting boldly the foreign invasion and breaking the haughty arrogance of the whites. However, the resistance movement has failed in responding to the needs of African communities, in establishing rational rule, in building a system of law which satisfies the genuine needs of African communities that are characterized by diversity in cultures, religious beliefs, ethnic groups, tribes and linguistic variations.

One of the earliest revolutions was led by Imam Ahmed at Jarran( in 1501-1541) in Ethiopia, it broke out for internal reasons, that is, internal coercion and refusal of the rulers to consider Muslims as full citizens in the Ethiopian states. This movement failed to provide the suitable substitute for the unjust rule and it denied the
Christians full citizenship, which obligated them to solicit succour outside Ethiopia, from the Portuguese. This exposed the country to the intrusion of colonization and missionaries, also to the Turkish occupation. It led to internationalization of the Ethiopian problem. This obligated the Ethiopian leaders to wage a war to expel the Portuguese who came under the camouflage of protecting Christians and Christianity in Ethiopia this struggle brought about, ever since, religious and national tribal dissensions in Ethiopia and Somaliland which still feed on these memories and people are still full of mutual distrust, suspicion if not hatred. The African Horn is still an arena for religious, national and trial military confrontation. This has conduced to the wearing out of the internal fabric of the region and has consumed its energies and has led only to dispersal and bloodshed. It made of this region a victim of poverty, backwardness, famines and inability to steak to survival projects.

Shehu Osman Dan Fodeo and West Africa

This movement is one of the most successful responses to the genuine needs of the Muslim communities for knowledge, science revival, unity and bringing about the common African intellect and the written tongue. Osman dan Fodeo sued to the bias for hawsa or the Fulani tongue and adopted the Arabic language as an intrinsic African language, which facilitated the writing of literature and arts and the dissemination of civilization by providing a language, i.e. Arabic which recorded the accumulation of cultural achievements. Again, Shehu was concerned with teaching women. All this paved the way to the issue of a regional rebirth which was known as Sokoto Caliphate. The stamp that this Caliphate has left is simply indelible. In its wake there appeared many Jihad, Ijihad, Tajdid and revival movements. But it didn’t have much to contribute to the issue of building the Muslim state.

Revolution and Tajdid Movements in North Africa

Maybe the most outstanding precursor of this revolution is the propagandist for the Islamic university i.e. league, with its Afro-Acian dimensions, Sheikh Jamal al-Din al Afghani who died in (6) 1897. He is considered as the establishing father of the movements that repudiated foreign presence and westernization in Africa, from his Islamic perspective. His pupil Sheikh Mohammed Abdu supported him for a certain time, then he leaned towards befriending British
colonization because he felt that his country was prone to the colonization project and was longing for development and progress and the English owned all the keys to the secret of this advancement.

Following the steps of al-Afghani, al-Sheikh Abdul Gadir al-Gazain (from Algiers) established his resistance school. Then followed Abdul Hamid bn Badis’s school (also from Algiers) with its slogans ‘Algiers is a Muslim country’ in the face of propagators of Francophony which made Algiers a mere French cultural margin

**Resistance and Struggle in the African South**

The Eastern India-Dutch Company established a small colony at the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1652. In the 18th century there appeared the beginning of resistance between the Bantus and the Dutch colonizers. Then arose the African leader, the son of the Zulu, Shaka (the grandfather of Allert Lothoby), the most important leader in our times. Shaka gathered together many tribes to make of them a unified nation, but this amalgamation was soon checked and violated by missionaries and traders. They created a Christian environment in the heart of Zulu land. It seemed that some Zulus were in favour of the residence of the whites among them.

In 1910, the birth of South Africa Union was announced. This Union consecrated its powers to strengthen the white man’s influence and to transfer land ownership. It experiences and resources to the white minority. In figures, the average African had 4 acres where as the average white resident owned 375 acres.

The first organized reaction took place against the white residence and colonization was led by Dr Sim in 1912: The National Congress of South Africa people it was known later as, “The National African Congress for achieving African unity, developing awareness, transforming tribal obligation into loyalty to the people, fight against the land ownership law and participation in Government Administration”. This congress was influenced by Ghandi’s peaceful resistance and rejection of violence and appeal to reason, logic, human values, democratic principles and dialogue. Sim withdrew from heading the congress in 1949 and Dr. Movoca who paid attention to
the fact that the white residents understood only the logic of force opened the stage of demonstrations and disobedience.

In 1952, Albert Lotholy, a winner of the Nobel prize became leader of the African Congress. After the establishment of the African National Congress in April, 1959, the congress was obliged to depart from Ghandi’s style of peaceful resistance and to take a standpoint that is more inclined towards violence, whereas Lotholy kept crying. “keep being passive. Don’t do anything. Only stop buying things, meaning thereby peaceful boycotting.

Little by little, leadership then shifted to Nelson Mandela, who was completely committed to the armed struggle. Mandela started reading Mao Tse Tong and Manahim Baigin, the Israeli leader. Apparently most of the revolutionary leaders came out victorious e.g.: Mao in China, Ben Bella in Algiers and Castro in Cuba. He visited the martyrdom lovers of Algiers and watched them celebrating ben bella’s return. He went to Morocco that was then the centre of African liberation Movements, which included Mozambique and Angola.

Albert Lotholy died in 1967 Mandela was put to prison in 1964. He was doomed to stay in prison most of his life. Tambo was his deputy-president.

**The Defeat of the Islamic Revolution in Sudan and Somaliland**

Tajdid Movements and religious reform started in Sudan and Somaliland. The most significant of these movements was the Mahdist revolution (1881-1898) which succeeded in overthrowing the foreign rule and killing Charles Gordon in 1889. He was the last English governor to rule the Sudan in the name of Egypt.

True, mahadism in the Sudan succeeded in uprooting foreign rule, but it has failed in replacing it with a rational rule. Al-Mahdi died allegedly poisoned, tragically disillusioned in his followers and disciples who shed blood for the most negligible reasons. The spread of chaos, diseases, famine, civil wars and injustices facilitated the liquidation of the revolution after the Battle of Kerere and the restoration of the British-Egyptian rule. Kerere battle, due to the use of gun-fire and modern weapons by the invaders, was an appalling bouchery. The same thing repeated itself in Somaliland where planes
and the co-operation of the British and the Indians have ended by liquidating the Somali fighters.

Chapter Two

African Interconnection under the Colonization Project

African interconnection under the political colonial project

Napoleon entered Egypt in 1798. In the same year, the Islamic propagator Sheikh Ahmed bn Idris who died in 1837, had traveled from Alexandria to Jeddah port where he established a Tajididiyah (revival) Islamic school which gathered together students from all over the Muslim world.

This school concentrated on Islamic d’awa (call for Islam) that superceded ethinical and political barriers and frontiers. One of the consequences of this d’awa is the ever increasing interconnections and links between north and south Africa up till today. Sayed Mohammad Ali El Sanousi on his way back home in 1830, found Algiers occupied by the French. He changed his mind and preferred to stay at aljebel al-Akdar in East Libya among the bedovins. Later he shifted to aj-Jaghub oasis then to Al-Kafrah, at Jaghr, Tchad and Dar Fur, spreading Islamic revival everywhere he went to the Sanwsi (Zawiyahs)

The aims of the Sanwsi Zawayahs are:
- to resist colonization
- to maintain interconnection among Muslim communities and secure trade and caravan roads.
- self-dependence in agriculture and manufacturing amunitions.

One of the most outstanding precursors of the well known Libyan mujahidin was Umar al-Mukhtar who fought against Italian colonization. He was captured and rapidly condemned to death. Nevertheless the Sanusiyan Tariqah (order) managed to link the people of Africa and the Mediterranean. This linkage is operative up till now. The correspondence between the Sanwsi leadership and the leaders of Tchad and Sudan testifies to their interconnection during those hard times.

One of the leaders of this interconnection was Sayed Muhammad Osman al-Mirghani, the elder, who appeared in Ethiopia, Eritrea and
Sudan between 1813 and 1821. His disciples up till now constitute an intellectual entity with a distinguishable organizational fabric.

Another propagator of solidarity and harmony between African Muslim communities was Sayed Ahmad Al-Tijjani who succeeded in interconnecting the African intellect between South Africa, West Africa, central Africa and East Africa up till nowadays. The disciples of this order are no less than 60 million Africans, distributed in the Maghreb, Nigeria, West Africa, Sudan and East Africa.

The members of these Muslim establishments have responded differently to the colonization conquest: some have compromised and compromised with colonization, some have clashed with it. The important thing to note is that these religious establishments have succeeded in keeping intact their organizational fabric, their message and their interconnection across the desert.

These Sufi networks still constitute the greatest tributary to Pan-Africanism as far as the popular support and foundational solidarity are concerned.

**Colonization's Fight with Islamic and National Culture**

When colonization spread its hegemony over Africa, the soul of Africa seemed to it identical with Islamic culture. So it set out to contain it in West Africa, adopting policies that led to closing Islamic schools. In the Sudan, it applied the laws of closed regions and encouraged missionaries and deprived national, traditional education from the state subsidy and facilities, so that there existed two types of education modern education, the offspring of colonial culture, and traditional education which conserved the Islamic, but did prepare its beneficiaries, for coping with the future and did not arm them with modern sciences. Africa was biased for modern education and thus separated itself from its Muslim soul and culture, under the shadow of this new educational environment and there appeared the new political soul. In Egypt arose the National party led by Mustafa Kamil, and in spite of his sympathy with pan-Islamism, his wide-spread slogan was “Had I not been an Egyptian, I should have wished to become Egyptian?” This slogan was not directed except towards the colonizers. It was meant to erase the inferiority complex, which the Egyptians nursed towards the invaders. Then appeared the ‘Wafd’
(delegation) party headed by Sa’ad Zaghlul whose tools for gaining Independence and the Egyptian constitution were demonstrations, negotiations and dialogue.

Then came forward the Graduates, Congress in 1938 in Sudan. The term congress indicated the influence of Ghandi and his peaceful resistance movement in India whereas the term ‘graduates’ pointed to the educated Sudanese, i.e. the new class which graduated from the colonizers, modern schools.

**The Francophone Africa and the Democratic African Assembly**

The rise of the political, national movement came late in Franco-phone Africa, due to the containment policy adopted by France. France used to look upon African colonies only as a French sphere. Again the occupation of France by Hitler arrested the political development in France and its colonies. The Democratic, African Assembly arose in an atmosphere of war culture and the spread of the slogan ‘Determination of Destiny’ and the appearance of the Movement of ‘Negritude’ in America, London and Paris.

There was dualism in the emotions nursed toward this negritude movement. On one hand, France did recognize the excellent services rendered by the African soldiers, particularly the Senegalese, in building the French African Empire. On the other hand, France was afraid of the National African tide under the shadow of the communist ideology and the communist active organization this fear was prevalent even within the French communist party members. France succeeded in pushing to the fore-front her man Houphouet-Boigny. Houphouet became leader of the Democratic African Assembly which had branches in all the parts west and central Africa. The institutional meeting was convened in Bamako, the capital of Mali, in spite of the success of the conference the leadership of this political movement in Senegal, represented by Lomi and Senghor, Rausjut who withdrew from the conference, perhaps due to their membership in the French socialist party and their feeling that they deserved to be the leaders of the assembly, rather than Houphouet. Thus the Democratic, African Assembly became of the container of all the parties that supported the safeguarding the interests of black, francophone Africa peoples within the Framework of the French Association. However, the leadership of
the Assembly represented by Houphouet (later on, president of Cote d’voire) and member of the French National Assembly since 1946, succeeded in extinguishing the Democratic African Assembly because of its total support to the French policy.

The Democratic African Assembly succeeded in raising political consciousness in Francophone African through the programmes of cultural, political educational enlightenment, through newspapers and leaflets.

When France lost its colonies in Tunis and Morocco, president De Gaulle subjected the constitution of the 5th Republic to a Yes or No referendum in all the French colonies. Guinea, led by Sekotoure, was the only French colony that voted ‘no’ and thereby this country subjected itself to humiliating French blows. It was possible for the Democratic African Assembly to become a nucleus for African unity and it have united with the Pan-Africanism Movement led by Nikruma (1950-1966) in Ghana. But Houphouet preferred to become a partner to the French government in striking the National movements and curbing freedoms in Tunis and Algiers, in rejecting their independence and blessing the imperialist? aggression on Egypt in 1956.

**African Revolution as Represented in Pan-Africaism (Nikroma, Molibbokita and Sekotori)**

The allied forces, led by Britain, won the 2nd world war. But, excluding America, they all came out of the war all terribly exhausted and bound to put an end to colonization. Especially so when their other ally Soviet Union the heir of the Russian Czarist empire came out strong and began to shake and undermine the old empires by singing slogans calling for socialism, revolutionary changes, defeating colonization and defending the right of peoples to emancipation and liberation.

Many members of the African Elite have been highly influenced by communist propaganda. They were also impressed by Ghandi’s political teachings that inspired them with non-violence. These political elite began to become aware the importance of political freedom as the key to national well being, peace and welfare.
Born in Ghana in 1909, Nikruma became a public figure and conducted his political activities in London and America. He participated in the Pan-African conference which convened in Manchester in 1945 and came back to Ghana in December, 1947 after having studied philosophy for 10 years in Lincoln University. Where he was offered an honorary doctorate in law in 1958.

Nikruma succeeded in gaining the Ghanaian people’s love and became president under the colonization administration in 1950. then he became the first Prime Minister in Africa south of the Saharah in 1952. He changed the name "Gold-Coast" to Ghana, thereby referring to the Great African Empire with its Islamic stamp which was established and developed in the Western Sudan. This change was effected on 3/3/1957, in order to celebrate the occasion of independence. This independence day celebration was attended by 56 states under the slogan Dignity, ‘Peace and Friendship’ Nikruma was a believer in the unity of Africa. He looked upon Negro-Africa and Arab Africans as two faces of the same coin. That was why he was married to an Egyptian girl by the name of Fahigah. He worked out his ideal for African Unity and called for Accra Conference in 1958 which was attended by the eight independent African countries, namely, Libya, Tunis, Morocco Egypt, Libiya Ghana, Sudan and Ethiopia. He visited these countries and met with Haile Selassi, king Muhammad the 5th, Bourida, Nassir, Abboud and AL-Sanussi. Further, he opened the conference of Accra in December, 1958, i.e., for all the African countries in order to concert all African efforts for an ultimate attack on colonization and racial segregation and for achieving full freedom. This conference was also concerned with building up the organizational framework for these achievements. On November 23, 1958, his efforts were crowned by the declaration of the Ghana, Guinea union - as a nucleus for African Union.

This was a precursory, audacious step through which political barriers were removed and a union between two Anglo-phone and francophone countries was effected, which was shocking to Britain and France, He had frozen The French investments in Ghana as a response to the French nuclear explosion in West Africa in February, 1960. He scorned France for obtaining the honour of acquiring the ability to destroy human kind. He called for a permanent seat in the
Security Council of U.N. and two other seats for Asia and the Middle East. He called, too for boycotting South African politically and economically. He proposed that any nuclear-weapon owning country should be prevented from establishing military bases in Africa. He called for supporting Lumumba militarily and sent his soldiers there under the U.N. banner. He was shocked when he witnessed the Belgium American complicity, the physical liquidation of Lumumba and declaring his former army leader Mabuto as president of Congo, supported by American/Western approval.

In February, 1966, a coup brought about the downfall of Nikruma. He had ruled Ghana for nine years. He was banished into Guinea where he died at the age of 63. He was honoured by Sekotori who called him President.

Nikruma had his own mistakes. He was power monger he ruled Ghana for 9 years. He appointed himself as the life-long president of Ghana. That was in 1960. He thought he could rule his country as long as he lived.

Again, his rule reflected his bias for Russian interests. He decreed laws that allowed him to arrest his opponents without facing them in the law court.

Modibo Kita followed suit. In 1968 a white, bloodless coup d'état brought about his removal from political power. This put an end to Marxism in west Africa. Sekotouré, however, remained president for 26 years but he ended will reconciling himself with America where he died in 1984.

Sekotori was influenced by the communist revolution in Cuba, not to mention China, France sought to liquidate him, which obliged him to seek the succour of Castro. There has always been a Cuban military preserve in Guinea. Castor visited Guinea in 1972 .Sekotori’s slogan was “poverty in freedom is better than luxury in chains”.

However, it can be said that men like Nikruma, Nasser, Modibo Kita and Sekotori reflected the longings of Africa. But they ultimately failed and ended by shocking their people with random-choosing and miscalculated assessments and grave mistakes. They gave room to men like Huhouet, the former president of Cote d’Ivoire, he offered the model of the marriage between the West and Africa. The Cote d’Ivoire civil war has revealed the fragility of this model, too.
Chapter Three

Anglo-phone Revival Models in Nigeria and Sudan

British administration in the Sudan, in the name of the Condominium, has laid the foundations for modern Sudan project as a model to be followed in the other colonies for political and economic development in Africa. Even though this model was built by the right to and the extreme resort to violence in Kereri and Um Dibaikrat, the Nuba Mountains and Southern Sudan, the British have built the modern Sudan railway lines and transport, post office services. Gezira scheme, etc. the British project for building political and economic model of Sudan, however, was not devoid of defects, such as the laws of closed regions and the administrative separation of the south from the rest of the Sudan. That was known as ‘the south policy’ when the constitutional development of the Sudan began, the British established the so-called advisory Council’ for the North of the Sudan in 1943. The Council was enlarged to include the South and was called the Legislative Assembly. That was after the convening of Juba Conference. It was decided at this conference to include the South in any future political formula in the Sudan. True some of the Northern Sudanese played their role in Juba conference and tried to convince their brothers in the South to opt for the unity of the Sudan. Nonetheless, the British administration acted as a lobbyist so that the Sudanese Armed Forces was to arrest and suppress any tendency to revive the Mahdist Jihad revolution and the 1920 military uprising. The Sudanese Armed Forces was to maintain peace and security against any riots and revolts from outside as well as inside the Sudan.

The Sudanese armed forces received political power from the Elite Club in November, 1958. Ever since there has been power exchange between the two clubs, i.e between the graduates club and the Sudanese Armed Force.

The Graduates Congress started in 1938, like the other elite movements, it was influenced by Ghandi’s views about peaceful resistance, it is from the graduates womb that the political parties sprang in the Sudan within the framework of the English planning.
The national movement in the Sudan was simultaneous with the rise in the national movement in West Africa. Nikruma for instance, became President of Ghana at the same time when the late Abdullah Khalil became the head of he executive organ of the Legislative Assembly. The raising of the Sudanese flag took place 15 days before the raising of the Ghanaian flag.

Political development in Nigeria was some what different from happened in Ghana and the Sudan. Britain declared the unification of the three regions of Nigeria in 1914. The Muslim Northern region whose majority are Hausa and Fulani, the where all the religions are represented (Islam, Christianity and paganism) and the West, where there was a relatively advanced administration system, such as Urakba. From 1914-1920, Fredric Lugard applied indirect rule or native administration thereby benefiting from the Islamic traditional heritage. Within the framework of this experience, new Nigerian rulers arose and led their people towards independence, Tafawa Balewa who became prime Minister in 1960, Namadi head of the state and Sirdona, head of the Northern region, this was a political bureaucracy, so to speak, graduated from native administration and promoted till they reached the highest political posts. Unlike Aghari, Nikruma and sengor who appeared as leaders of political parties and ended by assuming political power. Conditions the got complicated in Nigeria. Sardona Ahmadu Bello was banking on his historical Islamic input. He was the grandson of Shehu Osman Dan Fodio and one of the rivals over the heritage of Sokoto Islamic State. His competitive spirit was sharpened particularly after his external visits to Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. He called for Islamic solidarity. Inside Nigeria, he established the Islam supporters movement. His movement was looked upon with suspicion outside as well as inside Nigeria.

Nigeria got involved in ethnic conflicts and bloodshed in the Western region. Ultimately, Balawa’s government was faced down on January 15th, 1966 by a military coup which was planned by the Nigerian graduates of the British Sandhurst college on the model of coup d'état in Ghana which overthrew Nikruma. The Islamic Nigerian leaders were physically liquidated, that is, Biafra war caused by the discovery of petroleum in this region. The Biafrums wanted to deep all the oil
revenues the, Sardona and in the western region. This paved the way to Biafra war. A counter coup d’etat was effected 6 months later or 29th July, 1966, headed by Jacoubu. He liquidated the coup d’etat headed by General Aronsi, an Igbo man. During the riots that accompanied the coup d’etat led by General Gawon, Governor of Oju Kwa of the Eastern declared the separation of Biafra region. Thus vanished the hope of unity and political integration and loyalty to the country and its development. Ojukwa declared the establishment of Biafra State on May 30, 1967. This obligated the Federal Government declare war against Biafra. Biafra was supported by South Africa. Israel and Portugal because they were afraid of the rise of the unified African blocks. South Africa was a racist rule. So were Israel and Portugal. The latter was afraid to lose its colonies in Angola and Mozambique. What was most strange was that China supported Biafra in order to be different from the Soviet Union who sided with Federal Nigeria. France too recognized Biafra because the catholic church was flourishing in the Eastern region and the French went to the extent of severing diplomatic relations with Federal Nigeria so as to tease Great Britain. This reveals that international policy is often prompted by devious political and economic interests rather than humanitarian considerations.

Several African states recognized Biafra from different motives, e.g Gabon, Cote d’Ivoire, Tanzania and Zambia. The Biafra military was liquidated, however, But a series of coup d’etat continued to erupt in Nigeria with the democratic rule of civilians. Obosango, for instance. Continued to be the governor General of Nigeria from 1976-1979 as a result of a military coupd’etat. he was re-elected in 1999 up till now (2006). It can be said that Nigerian democracy is the democracy of the retired high military generals e.g, Baban Gida and Sani Abacha.

Again, Pan-africanism appeared late in Nigeria as a result of the British policy in Africa. Britain tried to curb and contain any political development in Nigeria. But ultimately the military leaders club snatched political power from the British.
Chapter Four

Tony Blair, Prime Minister of Great Britain mentioned in his speech of May 24, 2004, that most of the African countries that constituted part of the British commissions in Africa were exposed to a limited development during the last forty years with a steady decrease in the national input rate per capita. In Africa 315 million men live on less than a dollar per day. One out of every six children die in Africa before they reach the age of 5. Half of African women are illiterate, not to mention calamities and conflicts and AIDS. 40 years ago, Asia was twice as poor as Africa. Things have changed: Asia has become the most economic growing continent and has become twice richer than Africa.

African women die in the throes of childbirth 46 times more than Western women do. Universal primary education will be achieved in Africa only in the year 2130. Sky-scrapers in African capitals, cars running on African roads and planes flying in African skies are the lot of a luxuriant elite. Africans in millions are dying of hunger, hunting for a mouthful per meal since the beginning of the 20th century. When Khidaiwi Pasha was deposed on June 26, 1879, he traveled to Napoli with 13 million Egyptian pounds whereas the Egyptian government did not have half this sum. This what about king Leopola of Belgium made rich by the Congo being his personal property is still the case with Africa today. Still external factors are more crucial than internal ones in Africa. Political frontiers were made to serve the interests of European invaders at the expense of African stability and development; National leaders of liberation movements some of them were treacherously, physically liquidated some by their own people.

Civil wars were perpetuated, so that Africa might continue to be an ever prosperous market for arms merchants, Foreign countries continued to feed internal conflicts in Africa. Soviet Union and Cuba interfered with the Somali–Ethiopian war. Israel sought to make South Africa one of the countries that owned the nuclear weapon. The nuclear weapon laboratory in South Africa was not dismantle until the black majority came to power, again, the Arab-Israel conflict itself is
an African conflict if we take into consideration that Egypt made peace with Israel. President Sadat was physically liquidated for that by his own people, like wise Rabin the Israeli leader by his own people. Still, Africa is considered as a mere space for international conflicts, an arena for civil wars and ravaging African resources. What is puzzling is that 13 African Francophone states, even after gaining their independence have maintained advanced relations with Israel and have insisted on considering far along time Algier as part and parcel of France.

What is new about Africa’s situation?

Nothing is really new. But with trade-unionism development and the rise of popular solidarity which crossed geographical and ethnic barriers, partially due to secularism trends, Africa’s power has begun to manifest itself and calamities have devoted themselves to public opinion. This has obliged European Governments to find out new policies to deal with Africa.

The African Union demanded that it be represented in the Security Council. Africa’s is importance in international polices is ever increasing. The weight of the organization of civil society is also increasing. This compelled the great power to try to improve their image by introducing slight adjustments in their vision and their schedule of agenda for Africa. We shall present the policy of these states and compare them with one another: America, Britain, France, China, Japan and Russia.

France and Africa:

France looked upon Africa as a strategic area where her culture, resources and security, within he containment policy, complemented themselves. France was met with a severe resistance from Algeria.

For 130 years, Franc phoniesm persisted in reshaping the mentality of the elite in the Maghreb, Maghreb-al Arabi, Algeria and Tunis, whereas Franc phoniesm continued to have the upper hand in the Black Africa colonies. French colonies in Black Africa were considered by France a cultural extension which is doomed and predestined to become part and parcel of herself. They were considered as a domain of French power and prestige.
It was General de Galle who inculcated the principles of French hegemony over its colonies in the post-independence period which he called the French Africa. France took great care of the ruling elite and reared them. These elite have particularly their power from French support and they reciprocated this support by showing allegiance to French policy. On the other hand, France modified her policy to cater for the requirements of perpetuating these elite in political power, in their capacity as sentinels of the French language and her trade, economic and security interests. Francois Mitterand expressed in 1975 as follows; “Without Africa there will be no history of France in the 21st century”.

In 1973, president Pompidou created the so-called French-African conference. In 1981, he changed the name to the Conference of French-African Heads of State. These conferences were convened every two years, one session in Africa, the other in France in a very friendly atmosphere. The house of African Franco-phonism was being enlarged to encompass English-Speaking, Portuguese, Spanish and Arab members in the African Union.

Within this framework, France made eight military agreements, which impacted upon the African countries politically and diplomatically e.g. Djibouti, Tchad and Cote d’Ivoire. In each of these countries a military basis, comprising 6000 military men, was established. France made 23 such agreements with military aspects in African states outside Franco-phonism, e.g Burundi, Rawanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. From August 1993 on wards, France established the so-called Reaction Force Rapid, comprising 5 regiments consisting of 44, 500 military men, capable of a rapid intervention in every part of Africa. Never-the less, Frances’s policies were confronted with substantial challenge on the part of America, Britain, Germany and China.

America managed to share with France the latter’s military prestige in Djibouti. American companies had the upper hand in Algeria, Tchad and Guinea Gulf again, America influence is spreading in Senegal, the jewel of Franco-phonism.

In her intentions to cut down her military expenditure (France paid 500 million dollars for her military bases) France sought to decrease
this financial burden by involving the European Union to share with her. But the European Union has not yet arrived at a common and unified strategy or vision towards Africa. There are still some countries that maneuver and diverge away from the European Union e.g., Britain, who has commercial, economic and residence interests in the African South, in Kenya and Uganda. This is why a British commission was created by Britain and was called the African Commission.

Franco-Phone Africans were not happy with their commercial and economic relation with France. France has enlarged her commercial and economic relations with the European Union. France has raised the magnitude of her foreign trade with the European Union to 70% whereas the volume of her trade with her former colonies decreased from 30% to 2%. Further, trade and interest balances have raised some African countries above Francophone ones. France has acquired interest now in Nigeria, South Africa, Angola, Kenya and Uganda than in poor countries like Afrique Centrale, Gambia, Niger and Tchad.

France’s policy does not seem clear as to the unity of Al-Maghreb i.e., the conflict of al-Mahreb with Algeria concerning the Western Sahara. France’s policies towards Sudan have been subjected to pressures from America and Europe. France’s interests in the Arab world clash with Vatican’s conception about the position of Christians in the neighborhood of the Sudan whose security is guaranteed with the security of the Franco phone connection, especially the security of Tchad and L’Afrique centrale.

France is awakening as to the race of Franco-phone Africa towards America and the English language, and also towards Islamic culture. For most of the Franco-phone African states have Islamic longings that have been formulated in the social uterus such as Senegal, Mali, Tchad, Guinea Konakari, etc. even the armed northern communities of the Cote d’Ivoire demand their legitimate share of citizenship and political power. The new France which had once prohibited Muslim women from wearing the Muslim veil in the French schools, is now obliged to show more courtesy to the Muslims of Cote d’Ivore in the post-Houphouet stage the trends of traditionalism which reflect
negatively on Francophoneism in al Maghreb al-Arabi are waiting for their opportunity to manifest themselves and to develop at the expense of a franco-phonism which is losing charisma in this age of secularism, with power of World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the U.S. dollar and even the Euro which represents the European Union. The Euro can not bear the political agenda of Francophoneism. Further it is carrying the Turko-German, the Turko-Italian aspects and Britain participates in it. The Euro, further, is awaiting great challenge from those new comers from Eastern Europe. Undergoing all these variables, France is growing hesitant about defending democracy and human rights and diversity (political, ethnic and linguistic) This is because African leaders may not give priority to the French political agenda or may not give priority to consolidating the (Franco-phonism at home.) French chauvinism at home.

This why France may prefer dealing or transacting with African leaders who are not democratic. Again, France has to confront the requirements of the American definition of the desirable Africa or the useful Africa, i.e., the African Horn as an extension to the Arabian Peninsula. South Africa which is the promised land of return for white business men, Africa is rich with petroleum from Guinea Gulf, the petroleum fields which extend along a line, crossing North of Nigeria to Sudan via Tchad. Further, Americans are adamant about punishing France for declining to support America in the Iraq war, about depriving France from fuel and from investing in it.

Although the French Naira in Africa is becoming stronger as a result of strengthening the African Union and the African peace preserving forces, it is still true that their force derive their legitimacy under the American banner, across the Security Council, the dollar, etc. France does not want to reconcile herself with the requirements of the new African communities.

France is still looking for the Frenchified elite and accepts no other ally. But now a new Africa appears with a diversity of races, languages, religions, etc. that seeks good fortune under the sun. This is reflected in Cote d'Ivorie which refuses to remain under the rule of Franco-elite. This means perpetuating the allies of France and her old favorites in running the country's affairs.
French influence is undergoing a great test from Maghreb al-Arabi, through Egypt, West Africa and Central Africa. It is the test of France's credibility: is France still credible when she raises the slogans of Freedom, Fraternity and Equality? Is the new France the French of today still a genuine supporter of these slogans outside the French soil? Is it capable of allying with future trends? or will it stick to her old alliances in the face of secularism, Islamic awakening against her revenue.

France found out that her efforts to compensate for the Libyan spread on the Sahara has been beneficial only to America, first and last. Whereas the French military bases in Djibuti, Gabon, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal and Tchad have been the base for protecting local political systems and their priorities are connected with the French vital interests, e.g. evacuating Europeans confronting terrorism or any other danger, such as the case of Dar Fur.

If the sails of the French ship have been, in the past, moved by considerations of spreading and disseminating the French culture and the commercial and economic interests, can we define French culture and French language even in the framework of Islamic awakening? In spite of the excessive talk about terrorism and connecting it with Islamic awakening, there is a possibility that the Islamic awakening may have great opportunities in the framework of Franco-phonism. Franco-phonism will have to see how to deal with Islamic awakening, how to reconcile itself with it, how to become an ally with it, inspired by the example of China.

**China in Africa**

The record of Chinese civilization encompasses high cultural achievements. She contributed to human civilization long age with the manufacture of silk, paper, gunpowder in addition to spices and fine pottery. China is also known in the fields of wisdom, philosophy and medicine.

It is perhaps the case that the African relations with China are the most ancient ones. This goes back to B.C. (before Christ) archaeology in the eastern coast of Africa and in Egypt and Merawi. The road carrying silk from China, goes through central Asia, the
Red Sea, Iran, Gulf States up to Europe. Part of this itinerary terminates in East Africa.

Chinese relations and ruler-relationship with Africa have been de-established as a result of the appearance of Western navies since the 15th century: security diminished and commerce deteriorated. The commerce between Africa and China became part of the commerce between the colonizing states and Africa the colonizers put their hands on the veins of the international trade movements.

The modern history of China was characterized by frequent wars, internal and external conflicts, from opium war to war with Japan(35-37) to communist wars, which ended by the victory of the communist leader Mao Tse Tong and the declaration of the Chinese Popular Republic in 1949. The American government imposed its domination over most of the Islands of the Pacific ocean which are part of China and were occupied by Japan, during world war II including Taiwan. Even since the Taiwan issue has become part of the determinants of the Chinese foreign policy, especially so because America has led on U.N. to impose punishments on China for having helped Northern Korea in her fight to unify the Korean peninsula. America has imposed on U.N. Security Council Taiwan as the legitimate representative of the Chinese people in U.N. and its Security Council. Taiwan enjoyed the Veto right whereas the popular Republic of China, whose population is about ¼ of the humanity is neglected and unrecognized by U.N.

China has exerted herself to treat this political and economic containment.

One of the available areas was the African Continent and one of the keys to Africa is Egypt, especially because Egypt had maintained diplomatic relations with China since the early thirties of the 20th century. Egypt withdrew from China during the Chinese revolution and

July Revolution and the Chinese Issue

The declaration of the birth of China Popular Republic in October, 1949 had contributed to increasing the influence of the Eastern Block in international policy. The number of the inhabitants
of the Socialist camp was thrice multiplied. The population of the Eastern camp constituted 40% of the world population.

The Determinant of the Egyptian / Chinese Relations After the July Revolution

They were:
- The attitude to the government in Taiwan
- The attitude to Palestine and the establishment of Israel.
- The attitude of the great States to the Korean war (Egypt has exchanged diplomatic representation with Soviet Union since August, 1943)
- Muslims in China and the rise of the Afro-Asianism phenomena
- Commercial interests

Although the Government of Egypt, before the July Revolution, responded to the American pressures and withdrew her embassy from China, yet Egypt refrained from voting in February, 1951 for the UN resolution that the Chinese Republic is an aggressive state due to her support to Northern Korea, and hence Egypt rejected the punishments inflicted on China.

When the Egyptian Revolution took place in July, 1952, China welcomed her, and hence refused to support punishing Egypt, yet Egypt voted for Taiwan as the representative of the Chinese in the General Assembly of the U.N. in October 1952, and hence China was forbidden to join the U.N. Soon after, the winds of the international polices made their pressures felt on Egypt. Nasser was driven to break the Western monopoly of arms purchase. He was supported by Soviet Union and he started buying arms from the Eastern block (Tchecoslovakia) in 1955. Again, Chu En Lai took a pause in Cairo airport, paying an in official visit with view to improving the relations between the two countries. China and Egypt had already participated in the Conference of Bandong in April, 1955 where the Egyptian president met the Chinese Prime Minister. Later, an Egyptian delegation headed by Minister of Awqaf visited China and stayed there for one whole month in order to get acquainted with the Chinese experiment and the conditions of living of the Muslims in China.
This led to activating the cultural and commercial relations in particular, China opened her markets to Egyptian cotton. On 16th May, Nasser recognized the popular Republic of China. Then followed the Western withdrawal of financing the High Dam project (As-Sed al-Aali). Nasser answered back by nationalizing the Suez Canal on 26th July, 1956. This led to the tripartite aggression (Britain, France and Israel) on Egypt on 29th October, 1956. This was accompanied by a passionate popular sympathy for Egypt in China, both on official and popular levels. This strengthened the relations between the two peoples and states.

**China Proceeds from Egypt to Africa**

After securing her position in Egypt, China proceeded to put her foot on Africa. She began this by sending a commercial delegation to Sudan, benefiting from the familiarity that accompanied the convening of the Bandong conference and the rise of the Afro-asian block and the strengthening of national liberation movements and the national trend in Africa and Asia.

China declared her recognition of the Sudan in 1956. At the beginning a Chinese commercial delegation came to Khartoum in March, 1956. Again, China began to help Tunis and Maghreb in their efforts to acquire independence in 1956. Further China supported the Algerian revolution politically, militarily and financially. Further, China recognized the provisional Algerian government which was declared in 1958.

Furthermore, the Chinese deputy Prime Minister attended Ghana’s Independence celebrations in 1975.

The Ghana of Nikruma recognized China in 1960. The Chinese countenance became familiar in Guinea, Conakry, Seko toure (the blame worthy in the eyes of France) and Madibbo Kita in the 1960s. What is more, the president of the Cameron visited Peking in 1959.

The African Democratic Assembly was influenced by communism in the whole Franco-phone Africa. Besides China got involved in the movement that resisted the racial segregation system in South Africa, particularly, the African Congress. The Sudanese communist movement together with Egyptian pressures on Abdullah Khalil’s Government have obliged the latter to recognize the Chinese Government in October 1959. Diplomatic representation exchange
was affected only during the Aboud military regime in 1961. The minister of foreign affairs then was Ahmed Kheir.

The influence of China has stretched itself to encompass some of the independent African states. Indeed, some of the liberation movements considered as a model to follow the Chinese political school and its interpretation of Marxism, such as the African South, the Eritrea Revolution, the Ethiopian Revolution and the Tanzanian Revolution. The Chinese revolution was characterized by rivalry and vying with Soviet Union. The only justification for China to have recognized Biafra in 1967 was her contention to counteract and oppose the soviet policy, which supported fully Federal Nigeria.

Chinese propaganda became rife, particularly during the cultural revolution days. This revolution was characterized by exaggeration, extremism and the cult of the Chinese leadership, particularly the personality of Mao Tse Tong. But starting from the 80’s, the Chinese foreign policy became more and more rational and took a pragmatic, economic aspect. This was reflected in their reception of Dr. Al-Turabi, the head of the Sudan’s Islamic, National Front in 1987, in China. This led the American thinker Hintjohn Beshir predict the establishment of an Islamic-Confrunctions alliance to confront the secular trend with its American/European dimensions. When the Islamic Fronts seized political power on 30th July, 1989, the Chinese-Sudanese relations have ever been widely enlarged, politically. Security-wise, militarily and economically, including the field of petroleum. China became the greatest power in petroleum investment in Sudan.

As result of enlarging the Chinese economic activity in Sudan, Chinese economics became the most rapid economics in terms of growth. China has no military bases in Africa. Her foreign policy is a non-interference one. This rendered Chinese commodities capable of vying in the African market. China enjoyed diplomatic representation with most of the African countries, except for those ones that still recognize Taiwan, e.g. Tchad.

It seems that the model of the Sudanese-Chinese relations will facilitate China’s task to be present in the African areana, particularly Muslim Africa, under the shadow of serious suspicions that have arisen from the crooked dealings of her former masters and colonizers.
Chapter Five
The Sun Rises and Sets in East Africa

A quick Glance at the History of the Region

The idea of establishing a colonial administration in Kenya started to take shape between 1895 and 1905. The English resorted to fire and violence in order to shape Kenya. The British Empire project in East Africa started with protecting the Sultan of Zanzibar, which unchained the hand of the British East Africa Company in the region. In 1895 commenced the project of restoring the Sudan and the breakdown of Kalipha Abdallah State: Britain declared the joining of the East Africa to its Empire. Railway lines were extended from Mombasa to Lake Victoria in Uganda in 1901, thus the domination of Kenya and Uganda was effected. In the period between 1905 and 1920 efforts were concentrated on imposing the colonial administrative power. Then began the residence of the whites in the heights and the best agricultural regions. Towns began to emerge along the united railway lines from Mombasa, like Nairobi and Kusum. Each town was colonially administered and had its own market. Nairobi was established in 1899 when the railway line reached it and in 1908 Nairobi became the capital instead of Mombasa.

The first occupants were Indians. They were merchants or soldiers. In 1920 Kenya was transformed from a protectorate into a colony, the production of the whites constituted 60% of exports. From 1923 on, there began some constitutional developments. A legislative council was shaped: 5 representatives of Asians, 13 members were to represent the white residents, 2 persons only represented the Arabs and the Africans were represented by a white missionary priest.

Jomo Kenyata and the British Project:

This selective representation gave rise to an opposing African movement such as the central Association of the Kikiu in 1924. In 1928, Jomo Kenyata became Secretary General of the Association Jomo Kenyata led the Association into confrontations that showed a national culture and patriotic activities. This Association developed into a popular war known as Mao-ma’o -Later on Jomo Kenyata, after his imprisonment, preferred to co-operate with the English and
supp... against the Mao-Mao. This was why the English had more confidence in him than before and that was how he was the first president of Kenya when the Independence flag was raised in 1963.

Kenya population is almost the same as the Sudan’s population a round and 32 million persons, but the area of Kenya less than a quarter of the area of the Sudan. Kenya is area is 582, 600 square kilometers, i.e what approximately is equal to the area of the south of the Sudan. The concept of the state in Kenya is accidental and new, as it is in the Southern Sudan. Kenya occupies part of the Sudanese territories, that is the Almi-triangle, in which struggles are waged between At-tbausa and Bourone tribes. In spite of the fact that the form of rule tries to show the elite of At-Tabusa and the other tribes as the sovereigns and the decision- makers, the contrary is the case. The Kenyan economic and security are is till in the hands of foreigners. The African masses reap only poverty and humiliation.

Foreigners control Kenyan economics which is based on Tourism, farming and meat Again, Kenya is considered an intelligence basis. It is brimful of ecclesiastical associations, voluntary agencies and international organizations. Corruption is the briefest epithet with which to describe the Kenyan project.

**Corruption smothers the Kenyan Project**

Corruption is reflected in journalism. It has become a well-known phenomenon, like malaria, Aids and poverty. The list of dismissed Kenyan judges, who are accuse of acceptance of bribery is one 3rd of the total members of judges in Kenya. The last scandal in Kenya was the case of Golden -Burg company in collaboration with a substantial number of ministers. Hundred of millions of dollars have been embezzled from public funds. Thus reveals the complicity of the ruling elite with Kenyan gangs.

As to the political profile of Kenya, it is till ruled by the party of Jomo Kenyata and president Moey the new president of Kenya, Kybaki, was by a car-accidental rendered, physically unfit and is 80. It is the current minister of Foreign of Affaris, Kosolo Mosoka, who seems to be the head of Kenya in the coming phase.
Kenya is not her own

Whereas Kenya claims to protect the Iqad initiative, Kenya is not her own. As to the Kenyan Messenger, Sumboya, nobody cares for him, since he became personable and he lived on his salary from Iqad. The Sudanese reconciliation agreement has been adopted by Kenya, a stat that has no say in any of its affairs. But behind Kenya, lurk America and Britain: herein lies the effectiveness of the agreement. Nairobi itself together with its churches, flats and factories had no relationship with the overall Kenyan project or the Kenyan citizen. Kenya was only a center of foreign interest what ever the case might be, the Sudanese Government has ensnared itself in the Iqad trap in 1993.

As to the Iqad initiative, its impEver since the destiny of Sudan has been shaped in Nairobi, in the hands of the astute architects of international politics. lamentation took place in Nifasha. Nifasha seems to be a verbal invention from Nubian by Amin Pasha, which indicates the departure of Sudanese Nubas from Equatoria to Kenya during the Mahdiya rising where they settled. Undergoing the pressures of international politics we have left for Nifasha hoping that Allah will alleviate hardships and facilitates things for us.

The region where the negotiations are being conducted is similar to 'Camp David'. The car taking us to Nifasha passed the great African pit ( ukhdud). Maybe this pit is the one mentioned in the Quran in Surah Alburuj (the Zodiacal Signs). maybe it is the one referred to At-tariq in surah Al-Tgtrieq (the Night Visitant) verse II: the earth which opens out, it is . This cleavage, this strong explosion which caused Asia and Africa to be separate from one another, thereby creating the Red Sea and the Dead Sea. The latter, is the lowest part on the surface of the earth. This pit, this cleavage, has extended itself and formulated a series of granite mountains that are, till there and Lake Nifacha which was chosen as the place where the recent negotiations were to be conducted.

The Sudan, Secularism, Africanization and Citizen

Due to these negotiations, the Ingad al watani (the Sudanese state, established by the Islamic, National front in 1989) was reborn or at least shaped, on the basis of citizenship, secularism, Africanization,
Negritude, this rebirth, this reshaping will determine the destiny of the Sudan, whether it be a unified state or two separate states. The architecture of the agreement is based on highlighting the Southern Sudan state, as if, conceptually speaking, it were a separate state with its own government, its own budget, its own army, and security bodies and, its Central Bank which is attached to the navel of the Federal, Central Bank.

During the 6 years to come the Southern Sudan people and state will decide whether to opt for unity or separation. This is the situation now, theoretically speaking. Practically, does the southern Sudan own the pre-requisite requirements of an independent state? What are the attitudes of on the elites of the south? How does the political intellectual, tribal, etc. map of South read? How does this separation reflect on the total life movement in the Sudan? Which is more likely to occur: the option for unity or the option for separation? This will be tackled in the coming chapter; in sha allah!

Africa: Problems of Property, Liberation from Hunger, and Fear
Chapter Six

Post-Cold – war America and Africa

In the 19th century, Morocco was one of the first states that recognized the American Revolution. The American navy entered into war, for four years with the Ottoman Empire (the Libyan region. The Ottoman leader, Usuf Pasha al-Faramali, and his Libyan soldiers have inflicted a crushing defeat on the American navy and captured the ship “Philadelphia”. Philadelphia is still being exhibited on the Libyan coast. Mohammad Ali Pasha has encompassed the American officers into his army, at the end of the civil war.

America re-appeared after the first world war president Wilson at the Genera Conference, represented by present Nilson with his ten points which called for freedom, peace and stability and establishing the League of Nations. Wilson’s resolution was liquidated by the hands of the Jews who gained many spoils due to the victory of allies in the 2nd world war. Israel was planted ad the military and machinery of the Allies was used to establish Israel in the shadow of patriotic slogans and anti-communism.

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Between 1949 and 1989, the Cold War was in Europe rife. During this period, America gave priority to the struggle against communism (e.g., the Korean War, the Vietnamese War, expelling the popular Republic of China from U.N and containing communism in Africa). This led to the co-operation of C.I.A in physically liquidating Patrice Lomumba in the Congo. America, further, supported the segregation rule in South Africa and cornered the propagators of pan-Africanism like Nasser, Ben Bella and Nkrumah.

C.I.A has collaborated and concerted with Israeli, British and Portuguese intelligence agencies in order to weaken African Liberation movements. They have for instance, supported Safombi and his forces in Angola reinforcing the Zairian President Moboto between 1965 and 1999. Moboto has wasted the weaths of Congo and has own the seeds of civil war in the lakes region, i.e., Congo Rwanda and Burundi.

**Determinants of the American Policy in Africa: First Determinant**

American (political) vision differentiates between North Africa (Egypt and Morocco, Tunis and Algeria) and Africa South of the Sahara. The most important determinant in North Africa is the security of Israel and this determinant has acquired a larger semantic area in the framework of the war against terrorism.

**Second Determinant: Petrol**

American vision also differentiates between the petrol of North Africa (Libya and Algeria) which passes across the Mediterranean much of which is marketed in the European Union (particularly in Italy and France) and the petrol of Africa South of the Sahara (Angola, Nigeria, Cameroon, Tchad, Gabon and Sudan). This petrol is meant to be marketed across the Gulf of Guinea. The American vision gives petrol a particular importance, because the distance is reduced between Gulf of Guinea, across the Atlantic up to the American shores to half the distance covered by the Arabian Gulf states petrol. Again, the petrol of Africa South of the Sahara is in meant to cover 25% of American consumption in the year 2015, i.e., at the rate of 5 million barrels every-day-flow into the American shores.
The Third Determinant

The third determinant is the African market. The most important markets for American commodities and American businessmen are South Africa and Nigeria.

The Fourth Determinant

Supporting the American Foreign policy and adopting reformative projects that enhance democracy, diversification marketing freedom, and individual freedom in the Christian communities. This last determinant is secondary in the American policy.

In the days of president Eizenhower, in 1956 America showed itself as a neutral, peace loving power, by her rejection of the tripartite aggression on Egypt, in October, 1956. America gave an ultimatum to the British, French and Israeli powers ordering them to withdraw from Suez Canal.

This embellished America’s profile for a while, as a great force during the Cold-war times. In the meantime the Socialist camp, led by Soviet Union began to draw the attention of the third world. America showed a low profile as a result of her commitment to Vietnam and her support of coercive systems in Africa and her strategic alliance with Israel, the entry of the Arab world, not to mention that two-thirds of the Arab world reside in Africa.

On the other hand, American administration, for religious and cultural reasons, prefer to deal with Christian rather than Islamic elites in Africa inspite of the majority of Africans being Muslims, as is the case with Tanzania, Uganda, Nigeria, Sudan, etc. and this was reflected in Clinton’s terminology “the great African Horn”. Clinton during his term of office, concentrated, in his visits to Africa, on meeting the heads of Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda, Nigeria, Senegal, Rwanda and Ghana. The same thing repeated itself in the Bush Administration.

Since the American Congress is the most important political accountability tool, Congress interferes with the Federal court in its capacity as policy maker about American foreign issues, the Congress interferes even with U.N the security council which has got to
comply with the demands of the American Congress otherwise, the allotments of the American subscription will not flow into the U.N treasury without the American Congress, consent.

The policy of the American Congress is partially shaped by the local and international pressure groups. The most important pressure groups, as far as African issues are concerned, are: the ecclesiastical lobby, the Jewish lobby the Negroes lobby. They exert their pressures inside the Congress, within the framework of the two competing parties.

Namely, the Democratic and the Republicans. These pressure groups flow into the information and communication apparatus so as to shape public opinion. As a result of these lobbies, UN formulated the law of peace for Sudan.

This law remained a pending sword to force the Sudanese Government to comply with Americans policies that are concerned with combatting terrorism. This law allowed America to impose embargo on importing weapons into the Sudan and to prevent those Sudanese responsible, to impose embargo on fuel resources. It has been established that western negotiators for maintaining peace in the South of Sudan were not well disposed towards the North. As soon as an agreement was concluded, a disaster( file) was opened for Dar Fur and later, the East of the Sudan.

American information and communication tools tended to exaggerate the calamities of the Sudanese civil war. The Sudan received no reword for a signing the peace agreement although Americans know better than others the destructive nature of civil wars. The American civil war between 1860 and 1865 has led to the death of Americans whose number exceeded the number of those Americans who died in the two world wars, and the Vietnamese war together. Again 4 million Congolese have lost their lives in the Congo civil war and there will still be more victims to come. As to the Rwanda Ramada civil war, one fourth of the Rwandan citizens lost their live therein. The civil wars in the Sudan went on for 50 years yet the lost souls do not exceed 5% of the total population. This number is substantial enough, yet what counts is this, the Sudanese government managed to arrive at a comprehensive peace agreement with the
Southern Fighters (S.P.L.A) on 9th January, 2005, i.e this was witnessed by international observers and the representative attendance was world-wide.

There was an proposal that the American aid be canalized or flown through non-governmental organizations (NGOs), but this proved to be costly because these organizations pay heavily from the available sources, in order to cover the administrative expenses and the salaries of the experts. The African Union mission to Dar Fur, for example, needs half a milliard dollars annually. As to the UN mission to the south of the Sudan and its accessions, it needs one milliard dollars. Thus foreign aid flows into the pockets of experts, military men and soldiers under the justification of preserving security in the South that is well maintained as a result of signing the peace agreement. Had this money now being paid on security in the south been allotted to the well-being of the whole the Sudan, it would have converted the Sudan into an earthly paradise.

America pays special attention to those countries where European and American communities have planted themselves e.g. Congo, Ghana, Senegal, Angola, Uganda, South Africa, Gabon and Kenya. Other countries, like Kenya and Tanzania, have become more important than before as result of the attack attributed to the Qaeda on the American Embassy or Mombasa Airport and hotel in November, 2002.

Africa’s influence is increasing in UN. Africa in now represented by 52% of the total members, in U.N. in 1945, during the San Francisco Conference Africa was represented by four members only, Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya and South Africa.

The increase of Africa’s prestige forced the American administration to pay a special concern to the African issue. Further, the American administration attached a great significance to fighting certain diseases, e.g. Ebola Aids, American paid 15 milliards dollars. Not much of this sum reached the hands of the victims. Retired American presidents Carter and Clinton have established centers fighting certain diseases. America’s strategies in Africa are based on the priority given to America’s interest rather than co-operation with Africans and helping them to develop themselves. This is why the
obsession of terrorism and waging a war against it has put this requirement above all the other demands and on top of the African agenda. Further, America is trying to impose this agenda on African states who have other priorities than combating terrorism.

America has sought, also, to force Japan to play an economic role in Africa. The Sudanese ports are accumulated with Japanese commodities and cars, but Japan has never thought of Africa’s development except in terms of her own commercial interests.

TICAD, The International Conference for African Community, has been erected on three pillars:

- Establishing peace and security.
- Lessening poverty through economic development, and growth of commerce and investments in Africa.
- On the basis of the Asian experience
- TICAD for improving on agricultural production, rural development and human development.

The initiative of Ticad began since 1993, then followed the meeting of the Big Eight in Japan in 2000: Japan invited some of the African states to participate in this meeting. Again Japan invited the whole world over to reinforce the favourable opportunities of TICAD’s success and for the participation in the development of the black continent. In the TICAD conference 23 heads of African states took part and a thousand observers attended. And Japan declared her intention to abolish the equivalent of 3 milliard dollars as debts from the African continent. Since 1993 Japan has contributed by financing, the equivalent of 25 billion dollars in developing Africa. The expenditure was made only in these countries with which America was satisfied. All these serious efforts, it can be said, are still below the required aid.
Chapter Seven

Britain and Africa

Britain's relationship with Africa is very old. She has been attracted to Africa by the crusades over Jerusalem she entered into wars against Egypt, and Syria the Muslim leader against the crusades was Salah ad-Din al-Ayyubi. Britain was represented by king Richard, the Lion's Heart. When his energy for waging the war against Salah al-Din was consumed. He offered to the latter to marry his sister, Juyana, hoping thereby that she would deliver a male who would be accepted by all as a ruler of the Holy land (Palestine) thus the two leaders were reconciled, to one another. Ultimately. This reconciliation was similar to what happened in Camp David between Sadat and the Jews. He divided the region king Richard, Syria and the Holy Land were exclusively Salah al-Din's own.

Britain's relationship with West Africa became closer as a result of the engagement of the British navy in slave trade, in deporting the slaves from Guinea Coast to North America, Europe, West Indian and Brazil. These took place after the geographical explorations were made and after the discovery of the route of Cape of Good Hope to India which became later the pearl of the British crown, and a hen which laid gold eggs for "an Empire where the sun never sets".

Britain owned India, demolished the Muslim rule and entrusted Hindus with political power as a result of all this. Egypt strategic position has become more important, particularly to Britain, which occupied Yemen and thereby dominated all the trade routes, especially after digging the Suez Canal in 1869. As a result of opening the Suez Canal, France, found access to the international trade routes and France became a serious empediment in front of Britain and her ambition to restore Egypt wholly to herself:

- the Muslim political leadership emigrated to Egypt and sought refuge therein the most important member of this leadership was Sayed Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, who represented India and Middle India. According to him,
the greatest danger which threatens the very being of Muslims came from Britain. Britain, stifled crushed the Moghuls and bent its knees on the rich space that is called the Muslims world.

- Jamal started kindling the fire of revolution Jihad Holy War in the Muslim souls in Egypt, Iran and Turkey and Portugal Pan-Islam and revived Islamic Kaliphate. He sought to make up the Muslim world an Ally of Russia and France in order to expel Britain from the leadership captancy of the ship of the world.

- Al-Afghani’s greatest a achievement was the establishment with the Egyptian national movement which fought against corruption and the English. This movement was represented by Ahamd Urabi Pasha and Mahmoud Samial Bardi (these were military leaders the intellectuals and journalists were represented by Abdallah a Nadim. Sheikh Muhammad Abdu who was a graduate of al-Azhar.

Although al-Afghani was banished from Egypt before the national revolution completed its growth, it managed partially to achieve its purpose and ruled Egypt for several months. Egypt was able by her personal efforts to cooperate with foreign companies and planned for establishing the infra-structure project as reflected in the railway lines (that bound Alexander and Suez) since 1857 these lines were 204 miles long.

Britain succeeded meddling with internal Egyptian affairs through the debts disaster. She obliged the Khedive of Egypt to sell his shares in the Suez Canal to the British government Rotohello, the famous Jew, paid 4 million pounds, cash on delivery until the British prime Minister, by the name of Disrali managed to obtain this sum. The man was greedy and the economic conditions of Egypt did not oblige him to take such a measure had it not been for his greed. He went back to Italy with an amount of 12.000.000 pounds after his abdication.

Economic penetration paved the way for colonization. Britain occupied. Egypt by force in 1882 justified her invasion by her
intention to reform Egypt economically, and did not leave Egypt until the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956, i.e., Britain colonized Egypt for 74 years. And from Egypt, Britain entered, as a conqueror to the Sudan and did not leave Sudan until 1956 (Britain ruled the Sudan well for 58 years). From the Sudan, Britain entered Uganda and East Africa and did not leave it until the 1960s. Britain’s influence is still operative there.

- And from West Africa with which the British were acquainted since the days of slave trade Britain dominate the whole region, demolished the Sokoto Caliphate, and established the Federal Government of Nigeria in 1912. Lugard ruled Nigeria by the theory of indirect rule or native administration, benefiting from the patterns of Sokoto Sultanate, its administration. Again, Britain enlarged its grip by establishing plethora of small slates within the domain of the British Empire, such as Ghana (Ivory Coast) Sierra Leone and parts of Cameron i.e., Britain shared with France the influence of the latter in Africa.

- British administration style in Egypt was different from her style in the rest of Africa. Britain kept the form of the Egyptian government, represented by the Khedive as the supreme power, then came next the cabinet, etc, within the framework of military occupation. No change was introduced in the direction of the economic and the political development of Egypt. The British were concerned only with safeguarding Britain’s economic and political interests. Then took place the Danshuwui sorrowfull event. Four Egyptians were hanged to death because they resisted the British who starteded to hunt the domesticated ducks and pigeons and wounded some of the natives.

The impact of the British on the Egyptians was little felt. Egypt knew the printing press since 1820 and issued newspapers. Egypt had her own navy, army, economy and railway lines since 1860 Egypt imposed Arabic not Turkish as the official language, which
made Egypt eminent in the Arab, Islamic world. Up till today, Egypt has gained prestige and eminence for her substantial construction to the revival of the Arab-Islamic culture by adopting the Arabic language as the lingua Franca throughout the country and with her famous writers and poets and film makers.

The situation was different in Sudan and the other African Colonies. Britain gave promises of progress and sowed the seeds of modern rule schemes which were connected with educational and economic development, as is well known. When Britain quit these colonies, the latter became tied to Britain culturally (English and English literature) commercially and economically. Britain tied up the local currency to the sterling pound. Ports were established in Sudan to serve the British industries and import needs (e.g. Cotton, gum Arabic - and tobacco, etc. and Britain became a centre for building capacities and polarizing or attracting elites. Further the Sudanese judiciary establishment and the institution developments and the army became replicas of are British systems.

The story of Africa’s getting rid of the British colonization is a notorious one. It is benefit of the out come of a world war, which led to the break down of the British Empire, and the spread of the slogan “determination of the nation’s destiny”. National liberation movements have arisen which led to the establishment of Independent African Republics. For the first time in the history of the African continent 53 independent free African republics exist. They liberated themselves from British, French Portuguese and Belgian colonization. Some of the most outstanding of the movements were the Mao-Mao movement Kenya, the Graduates Conference in Sudan, the national movement, in Egypt and the African Union in the South Africa. Although Britain responded to the call for independence, she continued to support the white minority system in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), led by Ian Swith, which obliged African states to discontinue their diplomatic relations with Britain until Britain reconsidered her policy and the white minority system was liquidated.
the English heritage in Egypt was weak. It was substantial in Sudan. This is because the ideas of advancement and development was put to test in the ground of reality and was connected with English project in Sudan, so that English culture became the motor which set it all in motion. The Sudan English cultural influences did not plunge their roots in Kenya and Ghana, for instance.

**British Diplomacy and the New Africa**

In the 2nd half of the twenties. The British influence in Africa became lesser and lesser, to the benefit of the American influence. As the Labour party in Britain, led by Tony Blair, had access to power in the second half of the nineties, of the former century, interest was aroused in African agenda, particularly in activating British diplomacy in order to extinguish the flame of conflicts, to spread peace, welfare and democracy, this coincided with NIBAD declaration i.e the collective African initiative for Development. NIBAD called for opening European markets for the African agricultural economic products, subsidizing African, agricultural products, exemption from debts, approval and support of a great economic project to reinvigorate Africa, the adoption of Africa is much in vogue in current reforms that are concerned with marketing economies, diversity, human rights, peaceful handing over of political power. But NIBAD is still more than an African appeal. It was incorporated as an establishment in the African Union of late. A call was made by Tony Blair and the president Mbeki to win the world over in favour of developing Africa.

**What is behind the British commission for Africa?**

Since 2004 Britain was preparing African public opinion for Britain’s intention to play a great role in Africa on the political and economic levels. That call was made on the occasion of Tony Blair’s chairmanship of European Union and he was also the chairman of the session of the Great Eight platform. Britain prepared herself that the African headed commission would consist of 17 members and it
would be heeded by Blair. And that it comprehended, African presidents, British businessmen, politicians. But adverse events occurred and blew off Africa's agenda. Difference about the European Union Budget and the reinforcement by the Union of Britain's Agriculture. Thus African agenda lost its value. As with Africa agenda, so also with the great Eight the most important objective of the Africa agenda and the great Eight was, however the exemption of 17 African states from repaying their debts. This was done by an initiative from Britain and approved by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The rest of the countries' debts remained as they were. The same was true between the western and African countries.

Britain continues to exert her efforts to pass her agenda that was related to re-inforcing Africa through the European union. Germany paid one third of the European Union Budget. Again the British forces played an active role in keeping peace in Sierra Leone. Britain also reinforced the world and Africa peace-keeping forces in Southern and Western Sudan.

Theoretically speaking, Britain's policy is based on:
- ensuring the continuance of peace in Africa. Never the less, British companies continued to sell large quantities of arms on the African Market. Perhaps the arms trade is still the most important British trade in Africa.
- Development and exemption from debts.
- Combating terrorism and concentration on Africa
- Security organs, this was due to the events concerning the under ground channel links which indicated the complicity of some Africans in the recent terrorist operations i.e the Moroccans in Madrid.
- Harnessing African's natural wealth for the sake of achieving military purposes.
- Democracy, human rights and the pre-requisites of national rule.
- Strengthening the regional security bodies and the African union organs and improving upon peace-keeping African forces.

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Combating corruption. It's still true that Swiss and British banks are the most important banks that transact in reviewing stolen money from Africa. There is a great deal of British understanding of Africa's issues and serious attempts to help Africa overtake others in the future.

Chapter Eight

Russian and Africa, then Soviet Union

Russian-African relations are very old. In the late stage of imperialism (1919-1987) Russia was motivated by communist internationalism. The early motives of Russia were slavic-orthodox and the other expansion interests. (Russian concentration in Africa was on Ethiopia and Egypt. The first Russian missionary to Ethiopia was in 1885. Permission was given by the fourth Ethiopian Emperor to the Russians to build a Russian monastery and a Russian center which was called the New Moscow. It is worth mentioning that the monastery in al-Quds (the Holy land) was also a present from the Russian church to the Ethiopian church during the struggle between the Ottomans and the Italians, the English and the West over domination of the passages of the Red Sea.

Ever since, the Russian missionaries continued and their character became more and more military and political from 1889 to 1898. Russia was looking for an African ally to support her in her war with the Ottomans who were concentrated on the coasts of the Red Sea, Hijaz and Egypt which was still considered as an Ottoman state. The Russian-Turkish wars (1877-1888) impact upon the international politics. The Russian attempts to penetrate Ethiopia evoked immediate responses on the part of France and Italy. As to Menelik the Second Ethiopia monarch, he commented on the Russian delegation to Ethiopia in April in 1889 as follows:

"we all love Russia. We have continue to yearn for establishing a friendly relationship with Russia, particularly because we embrace the same faith, the Orthodox belief to unite us". Thus frequent pan-
Russian missionaries came to Ethiopia in order to bring about the Union of the Russian and Ethiopian Orthodox churches instead of the Alexandria chair. Also an Ethiopian delegation representing the Ethiopian church paid a visit to Russia, loaded with gold presents from Ethiopia.

The Russian Emperor himself Nicola the 2nd and his wife received the Ethiopian missionary with fantastic overwhelming hospitality. Russia was looking forward to play the role of Ethiopia’s protector under the umbrella of spiritual Russian – Ethiopian Union. Russian medical Missions visited Ethiopian since 1896 up till the beginning of the 20th century.

The first Russian military-political missionary entered the court of Menelik in October, 1897 and became part and parcel of the Ethiopian Military institution which served under the Ethiopian Emperor. Russian experts led the Ethiopian army in its’ victories East and West of Ethiopia. The Russian Colonel Arta Monur, ordered by Menelik, led the Ethiopian army towards the White Nile in order to subjugate the White Nile region, Sobat from Fasughli to the planes of Qallarbat and Qodarif, Arlamonou; he preceded Kitchener and Marchand, the French officer, to this region they retreated before entering them, thus Russians contributed indirectly in the downfall of the Mahdist Movement, to the benefit of Menelik. Thus, through this penetration, Russia formulated an African policy which arose later on in the 1960s with Nasser in Egypt and other African liberation movements in North African (Algerian Libyan revolution), with liberation movements in the African south, within the framework of alliance and friendship with Somali land, with Ethiopia, the South of Sudan.

The Russians sought the help of those Slates that move in her orbit, particularly Cuba and the rest of the socialist states.

The advent of the October Revolution in 1919 put an end to the diplomatic relation between Ethiopia and Russia until Italy occupied Ethiopia (1936-1941) with the emergence of the new state in Ethiopia, communist propaganda penetrated three African centers: south Africa Union, Egypt and the Africa liberation Movements.

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The Soviet Union, the offspring of Russia, became a great state, armed with Marxism and seeking to change the world, restored its diplomatic relations with Ethiopia in 1944.

It began with building a hospital and an intellectual center for propagating communism during the cold war era. The Ethiopia elites started to get acquainted with Marxism and to listen secretly on the radio to the Soviet Union. Many of the Ethiopian youth became Atheists and no longer believed in the Church or religion. These young men witnessed the collaboration between the church and the Emperor. The Ethiopian church owned the land and the souls of the farmers and exploited them to serve the church’s and the state’s interests. Ethiopians intelligence were satisfied with the assumption that religion was the peoples opium. This atheist belief, this intellectual conversion was limited because Ethiopia did not yet know, trade Unionism and political parties. The first communist cell arose only in the late 60s, after the arise of the Eritrean Revolution and the consolidation of the African revolutionary movements in the South Africa Union.

Communist propaganda played a greater role after the post-world – war- two circumstances in Egypt, the communist amidst the Jews, the Armenians and Egyptian Copts, i.e. those minorities who were afraid of the Islamic call. Communist propaganda in Egypt was shocked by the early Russian acceptance of Israel in U.N. This constituted a barrier against the acceptance of communism and the Soviet Union as motive of change, and political agitation or activation, as a model or standard of excellence to be imitated.

Nevertheless the dominant movement for national liberation was created in Africa “Hasisto” the Sudanese movement for national liberation, was part of it. So were many of the communist movement in Africa, the Soviet Union snatched the opportunity of the withdrawal of America and the West form financing the “High Dam”, al Sed al-Aali. Soviet Union, thereby participated in the greatest future project in Modern Egypt, the project of erecting this Dam, thus the Soviet Union became, during the conditions of Cold war, the financer, the provider with arms the political supporter of Egypt. But the defeat of July, 1967, showed that there is a limit to political support which
obliged Egypt to windows in for foreign relations this led to the shrinking of the role of the Soviet Union in Egypt after the May 1971 correctional movement, and to the military coup dated in July, 1971, in Sudan; which resulted in drying up of Russian and communist propaganda in Egypt and the Sudan.

The call for internationalism and communist fraternity had felt an echo in the African south which was a fertile soil for sowing the seeds of communist propaganda. This was because of the in justices and calamities that have befallen Africans from the white racist minority in South Africa, Portuguese colonization in Angola and Mozambique and the English system which supported Ian Smith in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).

The newly independent African countries contributed in reinforcing the African liberation movements. These independent African states were Nasser’s Egypt, Tanzania, Algeria, Sudan and Ethiopia, etc. the Soviet Union played a larger role in financing, training, militarily equipping these movements than the West.

The leaders of liberation movements were graduates of missionary schools. They became part of Western Christianity and were imbued with the capitalism philosophy which was based on individualism. They took the communism train, they pretended to believe in communism themselves but their heart and tongue were Western products.

Since 1950, South Africa prohibited propagating communism African youth considered communism as the ideology of liberation from colonization. The white rulers of South Africa in 1951 issued a law for combating communism and considering it a crime against South Africa state. Most of the liberation movements were imbued with the communism ideology. (Soviet Union, China and her leaders, Cuba and her president and “Gifara” became a new model to be copied for African leaders. This prompted the West to make concessions to the elites who were trained and taught in the West.

Soviet Union was about to steal these elites and add them to his credit. Dr. Hasting Bando was head of the National Conference of Niyasalard (Malawi) Kenith Kawunda was head of the African Conference of North Rhodesia (Zambia) Joshuwa Nkumu and Robert

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Mugabe were the most outstanding leaders the National African Conference of South Rhodesia. The communist propaganda found willing ears in Mozambique which the Portuguese considered as a Portuguese estate and considered its inhabitants as Portuguese. As a result of the Armed struggle led by Mozambique front (FRELIMO) and the Angola front (MPLA Both Mozambique ad Angola gained their independence in 1975) and they substantially supported the revolutionary movement in South Africa, which obliged the racist system in South Africa and Western intelligence agencies to create a counter-revolutionary front by the name of CUNITN and to train mercenaries under the leadership Joanasus Safinbi this forced Mozambique and Angola to request the consolidation of Soviet Union and the socialist camp which led to the flow of Gabon military men into Angola. The UNITA Counter-revolution became weaker and weaker due to American congress decision to ban supporting it.

Soon after, sympathy with socialism began to drop and African leaders and writers like Franz Fanon and Cabral, owing to practical considerations, found themselves unable to do without these western cultures, languages, literature, market-technology, churches and schools. Thus the communist programme and the Socialist camp failed in the minds of these thinkers before the actual break down took place in the 80s the 20th century.

Soviet Union and the African Horn

The Soviet Union’s influence in Africa reached its zenith in the 50s and 60s of the 20th century. From the 70s on, the soviet influence began the ebb. The six days war in June 1976 ended by the crushing defeat of Egypt by Israel. Then followed the death of Nasser in September 1970. Next came the correctional Movement in 1971.

The Soviet Union, on the look-out for substitutes to African liberation Movements, anchored on Socialist Somaliland led by Siyad Barri in 1969. Soviet Union at last found space for putting on its feet and enjoyed the warm waters of port Barbarah on the Indian Ocean within easy reach of the Red Sea. The Soviet union presence did not exceed 7 years according to Soviet strategy, the origin of the so called African Horn was Ethiopia. had historical relations with Orthodox
Russia, Society Union roads crossed with Ethiopian roads as a result of Mengesto’s access to political power, his declaration of adopting a socialist system rule in 1977. Both Russian and Cuba soughs to extend peaceful bridges to Ethiopia and Somali-land, and to establish a socialist alliance between Somali-land, Ethiopia and Aden, to connect this alliance with the Damascus- Tripoli pivot. This was an un founded hope.

The National longings of Somaliland yearned for re-establishing the great Somaliland war broke out between Somali land and Ethiopia between 1977 and 1978.

Soviet union had no choice other than to fully side with Ethiopia and cancel Somaliland in the balance sheet. The Soviet and Cuban regiments have resolved the battle in the victory of Ethiopia.

From Ethiopian, Soviet Union. Began its’ spring board for the African Horn, at least to settle accounts with the Sudan. This paved the way for the Alliance of Ethiopia with the popular Sudanese armed, liberation movement. The communist manifesto, in its original form, was reprinted. Time flew irretrievable and the passage of days brought about the down-fall of the regime of President Nimeiri. The disintegration of Soviet Union in 1989 was followed by the downfall of Mengesto’s system and the rise of the Eritrea state the popular liberation movement of Sudan shifted from the Socialist cluster to the West, with its churches, organizations and institutions. A lot of romance has been dissipated, except for annual commemorations.

Chapter Nine

Israel in Africa

The relationships of the Jews with Africa are very ancient. They lived with the Pharoes in Egypt, with Nubas in Kush, with Merawi on the banks the Nile. Jewish communication remain part of the social fabric of North and East Africa. The Jewish phenomenon of wandering the world (Diaspora) extended itself as far as South Africa after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. As merchants, the Jews have inhabited many parts of Africa since long ago up till today.
Jewish groups have dwelled in Ethiopia, e.g. the Felasha around Tana lake. The Ethiopian church derived some of its rites and rituals from Jewish rites and rituals.

We are concerned, however, with Israel as a political entity, the off spring of the famous Bazel conference (1897) which led to its establishment as a state. At the beginning, the leader of the Zionist conference (Herzl) failed to convince the Ottoman Kaliphate to establish a national abode for the Jews in Israel. The Jewish leadership thought of a temporary residence in order to prepare themselves for the leap into Palestine. They chose Uganda as a temporary dwelling because it is the land which is the source of the Nile. According to their book (Torah) the land of Israel extends from the Nile to Euphrates.

Political developments were in favour of the establishment of Israel. Liberia seconded the proposal of dividing Palestine (1947) and it was the 3rd state to recognize Israel. The former Liberian president (Tubman) paid a visit to Israel in 1954. Monrovia, the capital of Liberia has soon became ever since an important station for Israeli intelligence, economic and political activities. The racial system in south Africa came next to the Liberian, and recognized Israel in 1949. The Israel South Africa relations grew stronger so that they became partners in nuclear engineering and the first collective nuclear explosion was in the middle 1970s. Israel still has effective Jewish presence in the economic, scientific and political realms in South Africa.

Nasser gave Israel the right of Navigation in "Aqabah" bay. This led to re-inforcing the influence of Israel in Africa. Moché Djan paid a visit to Liberia and Ghana in 1957. Gholdah Mayer visited Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Le Senegal a Cote d'Ivoire in 1958. Israel established an embassy in Ghana since 1957. Within the framework of French-Israeli co-operation, Israeli relationships have flourished with Francophone African states. The President of the republic of Gabon visited Israel in 1961, which encouraged Ethiopia to recognize Israel in October, 1961. This facilitated for Israel the task of exploiting the historical presence of the Jews in Ethiopia and the spiritual and commercial relations between the two states, this the Jews utilized
strategically to penetrate Africa, particularly in Somali land, Sudan, Eritrea and West Africa.

Thus the Israeli face, the Israeli company, the Israeli assessments became familiar things in Africa. Israel hastened to recognize the newly independent Africa states, to exchange diplomatic representation with them. Israel held strong centers in Kenya, Tanzania in East Africa.

As far Israeli, military activities, advertisements, student exchanges in the sixties these activities covered 16 African states. Israel has succeeded in creating a favourable image of her state as a state with heroic dimensions, particularly after the 6-day war in June, 1967. Israel played the role of the victimized party who was surrounded by savage enemies who intended to tear her to pieces. The miracle occurred, however.

Divine intervention was infavour of Israel. Israel won the war in six days: Arab solidarity after the 6 day war was reflected in the Arab Heads of States conference. Arab states were confronted with three trials:
1- August 1967: Utilizing, the fuel and collective diplomacy as weapons against Israel.
2- 1970-71 blood-letting war
3- October, 1973 war: 29 African states severed diplomatic relations with Israel in solidarity with Egypt. 20 African states voted in the General Assembly, UN with the resolution that Zionism is to be considered as a form of racism.

After the political reconciliation between Israel and Egypt and the Camp David agreement in 1978, all the African states restored their relations with Israel, except for the Sudan, Libya and Algeria.

Dialogue between African - Arab states and Israel has never come to an end. Africa states consider that keeping relations with Israel was a security measure against affording the West, America and International financing institutions, and a guarantee against political instability.

The Israeli intelligence presence is more and more felt in several African states like South Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Eritrea,
Sudan and Ethiopia. They operated under different camouflages. The Israeli hands show themselves in the Sudan in the South, the East, the West. During the days of Nemer’s rule, the deportation of the Falasha Jews from Sudan to Israel took place. Again, Israel administers, with great and well planned exertion fields like student exchange, technical aid. Further, Israel penetrates African states in the form of agricultural development, techniques of modern desert agriculture, not to mention provision of arms, military training, in addition to Israeli private sector companies that deal with diamonds and metals. Furthermore, Israel watches diligently the extracting of Sudanese petrol: it is nearest to ‘Aqabah’ part (Port-Sudan, Alat).

Besides, Israel looks upon Africa through its future, economic map: the future Israeli market will be the African market and this window to Africa will be the Sudanese, Eritrea, Somalian ports.

Israel benefits also from the relations of their communities like, the Jewish community in south Africa and from the Israeleian business men that are spread throughout Africa. There was hope after the convening of the Arab/African Heads of states conference (7/9 March, 1997) in Cairo that the Arab African Co-operation will bring about an Arab-African market. But this hope has not materialized itself. The Arabs failed to follow-up the establishment of this conference, due to dissension among themselves, although the Africans were willing and longing for materializing this hope. The greatest of these Arab dissensions is the difference between Morocco and Algeria over the Sahara desert, Egypt voted for the proposal of recognizing the Polisario state in order to settle the short-sighted accounts. Even the states that constitute the Moroccan Union (Tunis, Algeria and Morocco) have failed to convene a conference on the level of Arab states alone. How can then a conference be convened on the levels of Arab heads of Arab and African states?

It looks as if Africa is an open continent, promising in the face of Israeli, intelligence economic, political tide. After increasing its inhabitants with Falasha, Israel appears to be an African state in one of its dimensions. Israel dominates the economic activity of that three African states that surround the Sudan (Zaire, Uganda, Kenya) in
addition the security, Intelligence of those states that are the remaining the neighbours of the Sudan.

Israel has succeeded in picturing the Arabs as savages and slave traders. One of the priorities of Israel has become the weakening of the Islamic culture in Africa. What more. Israel has succeeded in abolishing the UNESCO resolution charge that Israel is a racist state.

Chapter Ten

Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Congo is a green town, on the Eastern bank of the Congo river, whereas on the western bank lies Brazzaville, the capital of the Congo Republic. There live in Kinshasa ten million humans out of twenty million, the total number of the population of the Democratic Congo.

As to Brazzaville, it contains 3 million people. From the very first look, we are faced with Africa’s problems and contradiction for Kinshasa sleeps in the arms of the Unknown, because the Congo is a geological miracle. But this miracle, this bounty has become a curse, for the Congo has become an active place for adventurers and money-seekers and specialized companies and resources robbers. Congo became like a 5-star hotel, free of charge for these adventurers and money-Mange, but Congo constitutes a repelling environment for its native inhabitants, the Congolese, the people of Congo are being oppressed, they have no say in their country they multiply and compile themselves in the towns, with their arms tied to their necks, hunted down by foreign armies: today the Congo has become the theatre for military operations performed by the Uganda army, the Rwanda army, the Hoto gangs, the Totsi and the UN armed Force.

In the company of the Sudanese Ambassador, acquitted the vice-chancellor’s office, when we met with any of the old lecturers who have been moulded by broad casting stations (those who blow on knots, i.e., who practice sorcery and similar evil) As a result of repetitive anti-propaganda, their crisis have become houses the cult of hatred. Instead of telling us about the Congo’s crisis, he attacked, saying that we allowed the killing of the blacks such a spontaneous behaviour reveals the crisis of Africa. This university lecturer has
been regularly subjected to brain washing and indoctrination in the hands of those who still determine our destinies, who train our brains so that we see what they want us to see and we are blind to what they do not want us to see. They control our brain, they pillage our resources and they blow on our contradictions and kindle wars and foster hatred. This is to remind us that Africa its not yet culturally emotively and linguistically independent. Colonization has not yet left Africa. The celebrations of independent, showy military music, the parties of the elites, elections and referendums are but superfluous rituals that only pat on our sufferings. The elites ride on Africa in the name of African socialism are communities or Democracy and they have no programme other than power cult.

African intellect is based on false basis. It is based on the hypothesis that there is a contradiction between the development of the Arabo phone African groups and the developments of the non-Arabs phone groups. The basis of African civilization the are pyramid builders and the makers of the civilizations of Egypt, Kush, Cartagena, Merawi, Alawah, Sennar and Sokoto. Ancient Africa civilization contributed to world civilization Africa’s main and first task consist in changing relational and severing the communication ties between Northern Africa and Southern Africa and creating communication structure between Northern Africa and Europe and the world which is parallel to a communication structure between Southern Africa and Europe and the world at large severing he communication ties between the African North and the African South, weakening the interchangeable trade and the diminishing of the movement of cultural and political interconnection and the formation of cultural black within the framework of colonization whether franco-phone Anglo-phone or tesotophone, or what not have not resolved the problems of Africa, given the fearful current situation of the continent.

Reviving the communication and interconnection between African countries is not meant for arousing hostility with secularism or internationalism, or declaring war against the present cultural and political situation but because the tongues of the colonial, cultural policies still control the rhythmic of life in Africa, in the South and the
North, Africa needs these tongues so as to interconnect with secularism and human culture. We even need more interconnection with the Chinese, Russian and Japanese tongues. Only this should not be at the expense of African culture with its local and historical characteristics.

Perhaps the interconnection language par excellence, is being neglected and forgotten an almost in capable of being recognized with all this eternal record of African culture and the achievements of the African human, and form the womb of the tongue came African languages like Fulfulde, Hausa, Shili, etc. The religion of Islam and the quranic alphabet remained the basis of interconnection in mid-Africa, west-Africa and East Africa.

One of the pre-requisites of African rebirth is the acknowledgement by the African intellect of the Arabic alphabet. Efforts should be concerted to acknowledge the Arabic language as an African language par excellence. When the organization of African union (OAU) celebrates the memory of African culture, its rebirth or revival, one of the first and foremost of its obligations is to reinforce Arabic and give it a position of eminence and prestige.

People may differ as to their assessment of the Libyan revolution, but it is certain that president Gaddafi, with his initiative of celebrating the African Union and his overture to Africa has touched on a crucial issue at a times when the memory of Arab African culture has perished and the Arab-African group is inflicted with short-sightedness and encompassed itself in the Mediterranean association and the Arab league. The Mediterranean Association and the Arab league should only be connecting bridges that usher into the promising African space.

The African human individual has been subjected to 500 years of uninterrupted oppression that crushed his humanity and the intelligence of his heart. Slave-trade looked upon the African human being as an articulate animal. The white man was steadily de-humanizing him. The white man availed himself of the black man’s earth, his honour and his riches. He shed blood for the slightest offence. The most horrid crime is the enslavement of man from Africa Eastern coast, the Atlantic Ocean up to the lands of Western
American, North and South Americas and the Islands of Eastern America. In all this space Africans were exploited to till the land, to offer household service, to pave streets and to offer other basic services.

True, slave-trade was practiced before the arrival of the whites. It was a by-product of inter tribal wars. Then it was practiced by Arab merchants, particularly in East Africa and the Sudan. But it was practiced in a limited way, illegally and against the African Islamic culture. One of the major objectives this culture was to honour man, dignity, to set him free, to liberate him from the meUfluent of hunger and fear. Slave trade through the Atlantic was something appalling because it was the culture of “might is right” and it was backed by white government communities and international churches, where slaves were baptized after snatching them. Again, this horrid trade concentrated on secure coastal villages, which led to the total damage and distinction of the African coast and the termination of its interconnection with the external world and the fleeing of the Africans as refugees to the interior, destitute, and homeless. Their civilization was completely destroyed, reduced to zero, from their interconnection with the outside was put to an end. They were haunted with fear, poverty-stricken and hunted down. This brought about what can be called a cultural relapse, such as the kingdoms of Ghana and SaNegh. Thus the African was reduced to nudity, hunger and backwardness. He could not raise his head with self-esteem until the slave-trade was abolished in the Nineteenth century.

After a satisfying with slaves by Europe and America, there started the pillage of Africa’s resources Take the Congo, for instance. The Congo is a geological miracle and its soil is rich in metals. Jewels, cobalt, copper and iron. The Congo is also rich with timber. What the Congo is subjected to is very similar to the current dusting of Iraq. What is common between the countries. The ravaging of the two states. Again those who participated in waging the war in Iraq were compensated. This 5-lakes a region is till region when it is permissible to commit political assassination with Presidents of states (Lomanba and Kalila). The case is recorded: the assassin is unknown. The former Uganda President, the late I Idi Amin was
expelled from his home and was given political asylum by Saudi Arabia. This was planned for by westerners. The presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were liquidated damaging the plane that took them off from the Entebi airport in 1994, to begin the lakes massacres. The late Dag Hammers told, the UN Secretary General was got rid of by damaging the plane he was a passenger in because he was sympathetic with the Congolese revolutionaries. He was killed in the sky of the Lakes region.

Slave Trade, Colonization, Cultural Relapse, Discontinuing the/African African Interconnection

The Franco-phone, anglo-phone, Estophone cultural containment trends have exerted themselves to discontinue the African interconnection to bring about a cultural relapse against the constituents of the African intellect. These constituents, the most important are the Quranic letters in which the African languages were written and the perishing of those kingdoms and their ancient cultural achievements. Like Mali and Ghana. These kingdoms were revived. The revivers were inspired only by the accidental cultural, western factor. They denied or pretended to ignore the cultural basis on which were founded those kingdoms, i.e., the African- Islamic heritage. The same thing happened in North Africa, where discontinuation occurred with the Islamic, cultural heritage which is represented by the al-adarasa, the Fatimids, al Murabitun, al-Muwahidin al-Adarisa, al Osman yyun and al-Mamalik. Similar thing happened in East Africa. Something together with the decadence of the states of the Islamic style architecture on the shore of the Red Sea, together with swallowing Sennar, eating the Mahdiest state in Sudan. There is need for re-shaping the East Africa map intellectually, emotively, spiritually, economically and geographically.

The African memory has omitted some of its mental treasures. Africa no longer considered the Quranic letter as an African letter. Africa began to ignore glorious African writers like Ibn Khuldun, al-Miqrizi al-Idrisi, Ibn Batotah, al-Focliyin, Omer al-Fouti, Mohamad Wad. Daif Allah. The African writer has become only the one who writes in Latin letters. It is as if he did not know what the book is until
the presence of the colonization. And the African. Interconnection whose propelling pillar was the caravan, the camels through the Desert. A new interconnection replaced it and its pillar was the ports which were used to serve the west and western trade and to pillage the resources, which requires the re-mapping of Africa economically and reviving commercial and cultural interconnection and substituting the camel by the plane, that is by giving the caravan its modernizing appearance in the world of aviation railway lines and continental streets.

Interconnection in the African university and African Union framework perhaps the inference of the requirements of today from the challenges of yesterday and the pressures of yesterday constitutes one of the most important priorities of contemporary Africa. Perhaps the most important requirements are the cultural revival. Cultural revival does not mean revolt against the human contemporary culture which has become an intrinsic constituent for human rebirth. It means only that we should not neglect the peculiarities of African culture and should revive African languages like Swahili, Fulani, Arabic and the Bantu language and allot resources for their revival and should make languages of interconnection throughout the continent by studying and modernizing them.

And in the framework of cultural revival, we have to establish the interconnection in the African intellect from Ibn Khaldun up to Soinka the Nobel prize winner in Arab and also establish the spiritual interconnection between Ahmed an-Nagashi the African who defended the Islam and Yussuf Ibn Tashfin and Osman dan Fodio to revealing the spiritual harmony and the spiritual geography of Africa with its tombs and churches, from Alexandria church through the town of Ahmed an-Nagashi in Axom, Timboktoto, Robi Island in South Africa where Nelson Mandela was imprisoned for seventeen consecutive years.

Cultural revival necessitates high lighting some African characters who became every African's own. They belong to the whole of Africa. These have abolished ethnic and political banners and they have spoken on behalf of Africa they are the engineers of human African interconnection, they are people like Sanyioli Sheihk
Ahmed al-Tijani whose disciples are spread all over North African and West Africa, and in between. Or like Sayidi Al-Sanusi who establishes 220 educational and spiritual institutions between Libya and Dar Fur and Tchad. or. Again, Imam Moho Ahmed Al-Mahdi from Sudan whose call for Mahdism united the Sudan with al Tibasyyen Sheikh and Al-Murdiyah Sheikho in Nigeria Senegal and the followers of Sheikh Osman dan Fodioin Nigeria Sennar.

As to in political interconnection, we are at once reminded of names of African leaders who opted for African unity or union, names like Jamal Nasser, Nikruma and Mandela. We are reminded of illuminated pictures of African solidarity such as:

- Africans severed diplomatic relations with Israel after the six-day war in 1967.
- The Sudan and other African states have severed these diplomatic relation with Britain because the latter continued to support the rule of the white minority in Rhodesia.
- Consolidating the African, anti-imperialism revolution waged by the confrontation states e.g Tanzania, Egypt, Algeria, Ethiopia, the Sudan and Ghana Mandela’s solidarity with Libya in the wake of the aggressive siege it was subjected to.
- Libya’s support to African states, e.g., its support of President Mugabe. Dark pictures in the contemporary History of Africa while recording the illuminating pictures, we should not over look the dark picture in the history of contemporary Africa, e.g.
- Africa/Africa wars the civil war in the South of the Sudan.
- The Ethiopian/Eritrea war.
- The Tchadian – Libyan war
- The civil war in Tchad
- The lake’s region wars
- What is going on between Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote’ d’Ivorie.
- The Biafra war.
- Dar Fur war: which contributed to creating a psychological barrier between the Northern Sudan and Africa, even before the removal of the barrier between the North and the South of Sudan.

**On the linguistic Map of Africa**

Africans are in need of grasping the great human languages English, French, German and Chinese. But priority should be given to Arabic, because Arabic is an African language per excellence. Arabic can be dealt with as a second language in every African state as a preliminary step in re-arranging the linguistic map, but the native speakers of Arabic should acquaint themselves with the other African tongues. These African languages are tongues, contain that are capable of conveying in spiritual and cultural meanings that have been reflected in the Quranic letter- If France expends, willingly, several milliards in order to strength the influence of the French culture, the holders of the Quranic letter can expend this sum in the in-depth study of African languages and the great human languages. For the English language or the French language can become an Islamic language, an African language or a human language according to the concepts it carries and calls for.

To sum up, Africa is in need of a deep dialogue within the framework of the state within the framework of the region, within the human framework, some of the tasks that effect this dialogue are:
- Intensifying the intellectual spiritual, political continental encounters after the model of the encounters of the Islamic/Christian, African dialogues, after the model of the African universities encounters.
- Establishing an African UNESCO-what about ISESCO
- strengthening the economic and security dialogue in the framework of the African Union with view to establishing a common African Market and creating common political and security associations.
- Drying up the root causes of brain drain and the emigration of African experts and geniuses in the framework of international, human interconnection without resorting to a absence of commitment or coercion.

*May Allah accept.*

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