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took advantage of the 1762 British occupation of Havana to expand trade with non-Spanish ports. A high rate of intraclass marriage reinforced tendencies toward greater property accumulation. The Spanish Crown contributed directly to the evolution of plantation society by building the world's largest sugar mill complex on the island and by granting land transfers to loyal colonial subjects.

This effective monopolization of "exploitable sugar land" led to the growth of a large poor, landless class. The pursuit of wealth, Knight writes, largely obscured a "vicious process" of social disintegration, ethnic antagonism, and economic dependency.

Beyond the Fringe: Dissent in Israel

"Gush Emunim: Messianic Dissent and Israeli Politics" by David J. Schnall, in *Judaism* (Spring 1977), American Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84th St., New York, N.Y. 10028; "Native Anti-Zionism: Ideologies of Radical Dissent in Israel" by David J. Schnall, in *The Middle East Journal* (Spring 1977), 1761 N St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Israeli politics, long known for bitter controversy, have become considerably more volatile since the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Factionalism, writes Schnall, coordinator of Judaic studies at Staten Island Community College, has erupted at the extremes of the political spectrum as a result of the Labor Government's failure to forge a lasting peace or define Israel's territorial claims.

On the right is the intransigent, intensely Zionist *Gush Emunim* ("Bloc of Believers"), which considers annexation of all Israeli-occupied land a religious obligation. Despite its Messianic ideology, the *Gush* has won wide secular support for a pioneering and spiritual movement to recover the territory of the Biblical kingdom of Israel. By emphasizing a return to a simpler piety and purity (discouraged by contemporary Israeli institutions), *Gush Emunim* has captured the public imagination in the nation's moments of greatest triumph and despair.

Most left-wing, anti-Zionist groups criticize Israeli life for its spiritual inertia, as does the *Gush*. But there comparisons end. One group, *Haolam Hazei* ("This World"), reflects the ideologies of flamboyant journalist and former Knesset (or Parliament) member Uri Avnery, who remains one of the nation's most durable social gadflies. Among other things, *Haolam Hazei* believes that as long as Israel remains an essentially Western state in an Oriental world, it can never be naturally integrated into the Middle East.

Far more militant is the Marxist Israel Socialist Organization, which refuses to appear on the Israeli ballot but has made its presence felt through violent demonstrations and alleged complicity with Arab intelligence agents. *Rakah* (an acronym for "New Communist List"), by speaking for the civil and political rights of

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Israel's Arab minority, has the largest natural constituency of the three blocs and five seats in the 120-member Knesset. It follows Moscow's lead in interpreting and fighting for the "legitimate rights of Palestinians" and the repatriation of Arab refugees.

Traditional Zionism, Schnall notes, demands that radical dissent be voluntarily suppressed in the face of continual military, economic, and diplomatic pressures. But as both the defeat of the Labor Party in the May 1977 elections and the challenge from the fringes suggest, a political consensus in Israel is still far away.

A State of Disunity

"The Balkanization of Nigeria's Federal System" by John R. Rogge, in *Journal of Geography* (Apr.-May 1977), Department of Geography, Western Illinois University, Macomb, Ill. 61455.

For many young African nations, a federal system of government seemed an ideal solution to the intense regional rivalry among diverse tribal and ethnic groups under their jurisdiction. The experience of Nigeria, however, where the number of states has grown from 3 at independence (black lines on map) to 19 today



(red) demonstrates that a federal structure is no stronger than the sense of "nation" that underlies it. Indeed, writes Rogge, a geographer at the University of Manitoba, the country's short but turbulent history—including attempted secession by the Ibo state of Biafra in 1967—is a case study of the inadequacy of federalism when it is forced to carry too great a burden.

Before Nigeria achieved independence in 1960—even before it came under British control after the Berlin Conference of 1885—continual conflict existed among the three dominant tribes (the Hausa-Fulani of the north, the Ibo of the east, the Yoruba of the west), as well as among countless smaller ones. Attempts to remedy the situation by increasing the number of states, Rogge contends, merely added to the friction by heightening tribal competition.

Symbolic of this internecine rivalry are the hot disputes over the national census whenever it is issued. The census is used to apportion political power and oil revenues among the states, and charges of over- and under-counting various groups helped topple the regime of General Yakubu Gowon in 1975. In all, the internal map of Nigeria has been redrawn three times since 1960. It is estimated that, if representation of all ethnic communities were achieved, some 200 states would be necessary. In Nigeria, says Rogge, "it remains highly questionable whether a desire for union ever overrode the preoccupations with regional self-interests."