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**Secularism, Ethnic Diversity
and Religious Oppression in
Turkey**

**The Decline of the
'Civilising Mission' and
'Supremacy' of the
Western Canon**

**How the West Was Lost:
Spengler Revisited**

**Silvio Gesell's Free
Economy and the
Miracle of Wörgl**

**Shishanq 1st: Disparities
Between the Old and New
Chronology**

**Book Review:
Revolution from Above**



**Project Monitoring and
Evaluation in Uganda**

**'Honour Killing':
A Euphemism for Violence
Against Non-Conformists**

**Re-Positioning Tourism in
Ghana**

**The Tell-Tale Sign of
the All-Seeing Eye**

**Letters: TESOL in the
Republic of China**

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***Veritas** is Latin for truth, reality.

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IN THIS ISSUE

Turkish Secularism – Kemal Yildirim

The Decline of “The Canon” – Michael Wundah

How the West was Lost: Spengler Revisited – John Potter

The Miracle of Mörgl – George Reiff

Shishanq 1st: Old and New Chronology – Abdullaziz Saeed Swei

Project Monitoring and Evaluation in Uganda – Oyat Christopher

‘Honour Killing’: A Euphemism for Violence – Bruce Duncan

Repositioning Tourism in Ghana – Alexander Ayogyam

The All Seeing Eye – Kerry Bolton

Book Review: “Revolution from Above” – Kerry Bolton

Letters: TESOL in the Republic of China – Clair Lasater

SECULARISM, ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION IN TURKEY

Dr Kemal Yildirim*

Modern Turkey was established on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. In recent times, periods of conflict and cooperation between Turkey and other political entities, such as European and Middle Eastern countries, brought about a move towards modernization. The current Republic is based on western political models; Kemalist ideology¹ was conceived as a national and secular alternative to the old Islamist Empire model, a means of conforming Turkey to the values of the 'civilized' world. But replacing the mystifications of Muslim culture with a western style culture meant overcoming religious authority and introducing new secular civil symbolism. This paper provides an overview of the new national identity and highlights problems which have emerged, particularly those relating to ethnic diversity and religious oppression.

OLD TURKEY

The Turkish government during the Ottoman Empire was based on an absolute monarchy or despotism. The Sultan was the supreme authority of the empire. Under him was the Council of Ministers, the Medjliss-i-Hass (Bliss, 1896) which consisted of the Grand Vizier, the Sheik-ul-Islam, and the Ministers of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, War, Finance, Marine, Commerce, Public Instruction and Evkaf, together with the President of the Council of State and the Grand Master of Artillery. These different departments constituted what was known as the Sublime Porte; they carried on in much the same way as the corresponding departments in any European country and most of them do not need special description. The Grand Vizier (see Ansal 1996), as President of the Council, held much the same power as the Prime Minister in England. Theoretically he had the power to decide matters in any Department on his own judgment, and his endorsement of an undertaking would insure its success, whether or not the rest of the Cabinet approved of it. Three other departments need special mention. The Minister of Evkaf was a department in control of estates in mortmain. The Minister of Public Instruction was responsible for a Society of Learning formed with the purpose of sponsoring Ottoman culture and contributing to education; it was active only for a few years and did not accomplish much. The Sheik-ul-Islam was popularly supposed to be the head of the Muslim religion which for a true Turk took precedence. That is, the State was distinctly theocratic and its entire organization was based upon the idea that Islam was the controlling element in the conduct of all

affairs, national, municipal and familial. In fact the Sheik-ul-Islam was merely the representative in the Council of the Muslim Hierarchy. Theoretically he was nominated by the Sultan with the approval of the Ulemas, or general body of Muslim Doctors of Law but in practice it was a title of superior authority in the issues of Islam.

There was a further element in government under the Sultan – the palace element. This was often distinct from and even antagonistic to the officials. The sultan was the sole and absolute regent, head of state and head of government of the empire, though much power often shifted de facto to other officials, especially the Grand Vizier.

National Identity

To understand the peculiar secularisation and so-called democracy in modern Turkey we need to trace the history of the development of national identity in the Ottoman Empire. One hundred years ago the notion of nationality was practically non-existent among non-Moslems in Turkey because, every non-Moslem, apart from Armenians or Jews, was an adherent of the Orthodox Greek Church. Whatever his blood and vernacular, each non-Muslim person was reckoned to be a Greek. That is to say, every communicant of that church, whether Servian, Wallachian, Moldavian, Bulgarian, Bosnian or Orthodox Albanian, spoke and thought of himself as a Greek²; administrative and religious interests dwarfed considerations such as language and race. Each readily accepted the label which circumstances had placed upon him. The Hellenes or Romaioi, in whom traditional pride and ambition never slumbered despite their degrading servitude, recognised that this state of things was to their political advantage, and they did their utmost to expand and intensify it.

It is a natural fact that the self-assertive sense of ignored nationality was first manifested in an ecclesiastical phase. The herald, for example, of the rousing of Bulgaria was the universal demand among that people that the Bishops sent to the Balkans, should be not Hellenes but Bulgarians. All should receive appointment and consecration as before from the Ecumenical Patriarch, but it was fitting that they should be of the same branch of the human family as the flocks to which they were sent. Every detail of creed and ceremonial was to remain unchanged. If the course hitherto pursued was followed, each new Bishop on arrival in his diocese was regarded as an unwelcome foreigner. If the now longed for innovation was made, he would be hailed as one of their own kith and kin, from whose lips they would listen to their own tongue. The Patriarch and Holy Synod obstinately resisted the demand, for, they recognised that, if

¹Mustafa Kemal Atatürk founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

²Although these foster children of the church founded by Saint Andrew, these worshippers following the Byzantine ritual, recognised a distinction between themselves and the *real* Greeks).

granted, it would shatter every hope of an ultimately to-be-restored Greek dominion. Every argument, which ingenuity could suggest or which superstition and ignorance might heed, was devised to quiet the awakened aspiration. In the gospel there was neither Greek nor Jew; therefore it made no difference from what nationality a Bishop was chosen; therefore it was appropriate that all the bishops should be Greeks!

But, in the peculiar medley of Eastern affairs, the final decision was to be rendered by no Christian organization, but by the Mussulman Sultan. After months of delay it was announced that forthwith the Bulgarians were anathematized by the Holy Synod, not for any error of doctrine or depravity of life, but on account of ecclesiastical insubordination. Though Orthodox on every point, holding in all its minutiae the Orthodox creed, the Bulgarian Church was, in the eyes of the Greeks, a Schismatic Church. It remained in full communion and paternal fellowship with the Orthodox Church of Russia but in other respects the Bulgarian Church is anomalous. Its spiritual head or Exarch is confirmed by the Sultan and resides not in Bulgaria, but in Constantinople, where there are almost no Bulgarians, and near the palace of the Sultan!

Gradually during the century, territories were lopped off from the Ottoman Empire and developed into sovereign states such as Greece, Romania and Serbia. Montenegro might be reckoned in that number, save that the heroic band of mountaineers that live in her restricted limits never acknowledged subjection. As political independence was achieved, there was the galling impropriety that a people, politically free, were required to bow to the ecclesiastical control of a religious organization over which the Sultan was master. So naturally and without shock, national churches arose which were autonomous but still revered the Ecumenical Patriarch as in rank and functions superior to any other prelate.

As the Ottoman Empire shrank and outlying provinces dropped away or were absorbed by neighboring states, the direct jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople was circumscribed in an equal degree. But her indirect influence knew no diminution or change; her long-bearded, black-robed clergy remained the most imposing priestly body in the world. An assembly of her Bishops transported the stranger to the early Christian centuries of Nice, Nicomedia, Chalkedon and Ephesus. Her formal worship remains the most elaborate rendered in the name of Christianity and the devotion of her sons and daughters has grown the stronger in their common humiliation and distress. The West may reproach her as unprogressive and inactive and lifeless, but her children glory in her and the Christian world glories in her, as the Apostle of the Gentiles gloried in the Thessalonian Church, for the patience and faith she endured in the persecutions and the tribulations of past times.

THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

The continuum of Islamic influence began before the Ottoman Empire and was supposed to be ended when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Sharia Law was replaced by a secular legal Code, and the concept of *laiklik* (national secularism) was introduced. Carroll (2010) describes Laicism this way:

‘This term is often translated into English as *laicism* or, more commonly, *secularism* which implies the separation of religion and state into two distinct and autonomous realms. But *laiklik*, as practiced in Turkey, is not so much the separation of religion and the state, as it is the *subordination* of religion to the state... This is a crucial difference in the Turkish context. The state controls the education of religious professionals and their assignment to mosques and approves the content of their sermons. It also controls religious schools and the content of religious education and enforces laws about the wearing of religious symbols and clothing in public spaces and institutions’.

The Constitution

In the 30 years between 1950 and 1980 governments have come and gone. When the military establishment determined some of the political parties involved strayed a bit too far from the accepted secular norms a coup has followed. There were three coups during that time. Along the way political parties have been banned and reformed under new guises. The military actually banned all political parties in 1980 and supervised the writing of a new Constitution which includes the following provisions (see Sansal 1996).

Article 2: The Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular and social state governed by the rule of law; bearing in mind the concepts of public peace, national solidarity and justice, respect for human rights and loyalty to the nationalism of Atatürk, and is based on the fundamental tenets set forth in the preamble.

Article 4: The provision of Article 1 of the Constitution establish the form of the state as a Republic, the provisions in Article 2 on the characteristics of the Republic, and the provision of Article 3 shall not be amended, nor shall their amendment be proposed.

Article 14: (As amended on October 17 2001) None of the rights and freedoms embodied in the Constitution shall be exercised with the aim of violating the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and nation, and endangering the existence of the democratic and secular order of the Turkish Republic. No provision of this Constitution shall be interpreted in a manner that enables the State or individuals to destroy the fundamental rights and freedoms embodied in the Constitution or to stage an activity with the aim of restricting them more

extensively than stated in the Constitution. The sanctions to be applied against those who perpetrate these activities in conflict with these provisions shall be determined by law.

Article 24: Everyone has the right to *freedom of conscience, religious belief and conviction. Acts of worship, religious services, and ceremonies shall be conducted freely, provided that they do not violate the provisions of Article 14.* [Emphasis added]. No one shall be compelled to worship, or to participate in religious ceremonies and rites, to reveal religious beliefs and convictions, or be blamed or accused because of their religious beliefs and convictions. **Education and instruction in religion and ethics shall be conducted under state supervision and control. Instruction in religious culture and moral education shall be compulsory in the curricula of primary and secondary schools.** Other religious education and instruction shall be subject to the individual's own desire, and in the case of minors, to the request of their legal representatives. No one shall be allowed to exploit or abuse religion or religious feelings, or things held sacred by religion, in any manner whatsoever, for the purpose of personal or political influence, or for even partially basing the fundamental, social, economic, political, and legal order of the state on religious tenets.

What does all of this mean? It means Turkey shall be secular, that this cannot be changed, that no group may seek to restrict secularism, that the State shall determine the manner of religious instruction (and by extension, control the instructors), and no one may use religion as a means of creating a change in the secular structure or for advancing their own personal influence.

Developments

Ataturk's old Party, the CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, i.e. the People's Republic Party) has seen its influence wane as a new secularist Islamic political movement has emerged, most recently in the form of the Development and Justice Party (known by its Turkish initials AKP = Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi). Since 2002, this Party has been successful in expanding its reach and influence, and today Prime Minister Recep Erdoğan, President Abdullah Gül, and the largest group of representatives in Turkey's Parliament are all members of the AKP. The AKP's success has been so complete that Mr. Erdoğan is Prime Minister despite having been banned from politics for life in 1998!

The AKP Party also had great electoral success in Turkey's local elections of 2004. Today they control the country's entire local political landscape, except for a region of Kurdish influence near the Iraqi and Iranian borders to the southeast, a few spots near Georgia and Armenia to the northeast, a region of the central interior, and, ironically, the regions of Turkey that were the first areas of Greek colonization so long ago, where the CHP still holds sway. It has been suggested that the AKP's ability to incorporate Kurdish political

aspirations toward a more pro-Turkish orientation, and away from Kurdish nationalism, contributed considerably to that success.

The AKP, upon assuming power, has sought to moderate some of the secularism restrictions, which they perceive as not just secularist but anti-Islamic, and prohibited by the Constitution's guarantee of religious freedom. And to that end they introduced a Constitutional Amendment that would allow everyone equal access to government services. The effect of the amendment would have been to permit the wearing of the *hijab* in universities³.

The AKP has been successful in leading Turkey into a period of economic liberalization and prosperity, and this success has resulted in Turkey being invited to join the European Union. But Banning the AKP by state courts in the country may operate against that possibility, and we may see a secularist country with an Islamic majority banning a political party that has sought to resolve some of religious tensions and that ban might be important to protect the Turkish nation. Extremist political parties can be taken either to mean those on the extreme left or, more normally, those on the extreme right. The common definition of an extremist group is one that practices hate speech or acts as the political wing of a terrorist group. In this context the term could also be applied to fundamentalist religious groups of the type found most notably in the Islamic world.

This is not a uniquely Turkish problem - several European nations are struggling with this issue - it is a political ploy designed to return a minority party to power. The situation has profound implications for strategic allies. As has happened so many times in the past, what happens on the Bosphorus has the potential to be felt all the way from Gaul to Persia.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

The new constitution introduced for Turkey in 1982 purported to be democratic. Was this true? What standards should be used to determine whether and to what extent a government or organization is democratic? Is an organization democratic because its leaders say it is? Democracy can be very exclusive, and in some countries it may appear to exist when in reality it does not. For example, in 509 BC the Romans embraced democracy in the form of a Republic. Loosely rendered, the Republic belonged to the people and, as Rome conquered new lands and peoples far beyond its city boundaries, it conferred Roman citizenship on them, with all its rights and privileges, including the right to speak out on issues and to vote

³ The *hijab* is worn by at least two thirds of Turkish women, but it may not be worn 'in public institutions...including schools, universities, and the civil service' (see Krugman 2008). This restriction has a profound impacts on Turkish women particularly, and the entire population generally.

on them. But there was a catch. Citizens had to travel to the city of Rome in order to speak or vote on issues and for most of them it was too far and too expensive for them to travel to Rome. Consequently, in practice, the overwhelming number of citizens were denied the opportunity to participate in the democratic process.

According to Professor Dahl (1989) there are at least five standards which can be used to determine if an organization is democratic. Are these standards evident in the democratic process in Turkey?

Effective Participation

Turkey has developed a general framework for the respect of human rights and the exercise of fundamental freedoms that meets international and European conventions. The principle of the supremacy of these human rights conventions over domestic law was enshrined in the Constitution. Since 2002 Turkey has increased its efforts to execute decisions of the European Court of Human Rights. Higher judicial bodies such as the Court of Cassation have issued a number of judgments that interpreted the reforms in accordance with the standards of the European Court, including cases related to the use of the Kurdish language, torture and freedom of expression. Retrials have taken place, leading to a number of acquittals. On the contrary, Leyla Zana and her former colleagues, who were released from prison in June 2004, are to face a further retrial following a decision by the Court of Cassation.

Turkey's high 10% national threshold of votes required for a party to win seats in the Turkish Grand National Assembly suggests that effective participation of political parties in Turkish election is limited. Turkey's ruling centre-right AKP party with its Islamist roots, is expected to remain the largest party in the new Parliament. On the other hand, the centre-left CHP (The Republican People's Party) and the far-right Turkish nationalist MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) are also tipped to clear the 10% barrier and win seats.

On the other hand, in 2002, Turkey's largest pro-Kurdish Democratic Society Party (the DTP) won only 6% of the vote in the general election of 2002; as a result it picked up no seats despite winning most votes in the mainly Kurdish South East. Since then the DTP has fielded dozens of unaffiliated or "independent" candidates. Opinion polls predict that these candidates may win 20 to 30 of the 550 seats in the Parliament, sufficient for the DTP members to reorganise under a DTP banner once elected.

Voting Equality

We can not reasonably talk about voting equality unless every adult member of the community has an equal and effective opportunity to vote and all votes are counted as equal. Turkey has now had almost a quarter century of free national elections, and this represents a sophisticated attempt to change the nature

and amount of political participation. But as much as Turkey wishes to be seen as a modern Western democracy, attitudes towards women are closer to Middle Eastern culture than to Europe. Outside of Istanbul and Ankara there is still found a male-dominated society. Success in changing this is unlikely to be easy or quick in a country where men show no inclination to share political power with women. The Turkish women's movement has not primarily shown interest in achieving formal equality, but focused its efforts on the opportunity of women to freely practice their formal rights.

Enlightened Understanding

Within reasonable limits, each citizen must have equal and effective opportunities for learning about the relevant policies and their likely consequences. In discussions on whether Opponents of Turkish membership to the European Union often cite two negatives: (1) Turkey never took part in the Age of Enlightenment; and (2) Turkey is not located in Europe. Lehman (2004) argues that both these claims are specious.

It is often argued that Turkey's Enlightened Moderation is a bridge between Islam and the West but Turkey does not share the European culture. Instead, it has a conservative Islamic culture and a pro Islamic movement. Gülen is an influential Islamic personality in today's Turkey, and his civil society movement may never contribute to the development of positive relationships between Islam and the West. Further, the foremost Muslim scholars of the present day Islamic World, who have been promoting dialogue and tolerance between Muslim communities, seem to differ among themselves in many important ways. And this being so, they tend to neither contribute in quality nor in quantity towards the resolution of the conflicts. Gülen's meeting with Pope John Paul II under the context of dialogue among religions, to make the Department of Religious Affairs take on that role, demonstrates how much Turkey's radical Islamic movement remains a cultural barrier between the EU and the Muslim world.

Control of the Agenda

The crucial issue for both democratization and economic development is the proper implementation of existing legislation. Previously, Turkey's main problem stemmed not from the legislation but from a state bureaucracy that was often unable or unwilling to implement reforms. There is reason to hope that this problem may be alleviated in the future. Civil associations in Turkey are growing in strength and exerting increasingly effective pressure on the government. At the same time, the end of large-scale hostilities should increase the transparency of state organs.

In 1998 Turkey was governed by a minority coalition government led by the center-right-wing Motherland

Party (ANAP), which came to power after the military forced the government of Necmettin Erbakan, head of the pro-Islam Welfare Party (Refah Partisi), to resign in June 1997. Although the new government of Mesut Yilmaz was supported by the military and the mainstream media, the new Prime Minister immediately came into conflict with the National Security Council (an advisory body that enables the military to exert influence over politics) when he called for a softer approach towards Islamists.

When Mr. Yilmaz took office, he designated 1998 as the “Year of Law,” promising to change Turkish legislation, especially the penal code, to confront illegal formations within the State Security Forces that had often been associated with human rights abuses. The result was the exposure of the State Security Forces use of ultra-nationalists and members of organized crime, so-called “illegal gangs”, to commit human right abuses. Investigations into the Susurluk scandal, a car accident in 1996, revealed concrete evidence of ties between the security forces and fugitive ultra-nationalists. In 1998, several cases against alleged members of “illegal gangs” were under way, but investigations that might implicate high-level bureaucrats proceeded slowly. A number of incidents during the year, including the arrest of those suspected of having attempted to assassinate a prominent human rights activist, Akin Birdal, and Interpol’s apprehension of an infamous organized crime leader and ultra-nationalist, Alaaddin Cakici, who was carrying a government-issued diplomatic passport, underscored the extent to which organized crime had infiltrated the Security Forces.

As a belated positive development following the inconclusive first Susurluk investigations, the trial of two members of the parliament, Mehmet Agar, (former head of the security department, and former Minister of Justice and of Internal Affairs) and Sedat Bucak, a parliamentarian and wealthy landlord in the Southeast, began in April 1998. The indictment against Mr. Agar and witness testimonies suggested that he was aware of, if he did not authorise, the illegal activities of these “gangs.”

On May 12, 1998, Akin Birdal, head of the Human Rights Association (see Human Right’s Watch: World Report 1999) was shot six times through his lungs and leg but survived the shooting. This attack followed a reckless campaign in the mainstream press against Birdal and several liberal columnists. The trial of eleven individuals allegedly implicated in the attack, including one ultra-nationalist army sergeant, is pending at this time. During 1998, the military continued to exert pressure on the political process, and in particular on political Islam, which the Chief of Staff described in March as the ‘number one enemy of the principles of modern Turkey’. In July 2007 Mr. Akin Birdal stood as an independent candidate and entered the Turkish Parliament, joining the Democratic Society Party (DTP). He is now the MP for Diyarbakir.

In January the Supreme Constitutional Court banned the pro-Islamic Welfare Party in a verdict based primarily on statements by the party’s leaders and members. Some Islamist politicians, such as Istanbul Mayor Recep Tayyip Erdogan, were prosecuted for their statements on the role of religion in society. In September, the Diyarbakir State Security Court sentenced Mr. Erdogan to one year of imprisonment and a lifetime ban from all political activities. In September, the head of the Worker’s Party (IP) began serving a one-year prison sentence for peaceful comments he had made at a televised debate among the leaders of all political parties during the 1991 election.

The pro-Kurdish People’s Democracy Party (HADEP) has also faced intense surveillance and harassment by the Security Forces. In 1998, several HADEP offices, including its central office in Ankara, were raided and party administrators and members were detained and tortured. Four party officials are currently in detention awaiting trial on charges of committing ‘separatism through publication’ and ‘acting as the political branch of the PKK’. Four parliamentarians from the now-banned Democracy Party (DEP), a predecessor of HADEP before it was closed by the Supreme Constitutional Court in 1995, remain in prison. Three other former DEP parliamentarians were sentenced in 1998 on charges related to peaceful expression.

Five Provinces in South Eastern Turkey remain under a state of emergency. Armed conflict in these Provinces between the Security Forces and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) has raged since 1984. Approximately 35,000 people, mostly civilians, have been killed and thousands of villages and hamlets have been forced to depopulate. At the same time, there has been little change in six neighboring Provinces that had previously been under emergency rule, because extraordinary measures continued to give state-appointed governors extended and restrictive powers. Despite Government promises to compensate villagers, little effort has been made to facilitate the return of displaced persons to their homes in the South East or to compensate them for the loss of their property.

Although the armed conflict in the South East has lessened in intensity, both Government forces and the PKK continue to commit serious human rights violations. Village guards and ethnic Kurdish villagers who function as government-appointed civil guards in remote areas of the South East, continue to be implicated in many abuses. Civilians remain particularly vulnerable in the region. During a parliamentary human rights commission hearing in February, the governor of Batman was reported to have said that ‘methods beyond the accepted norms’ were often used to convince villagers that they should not assist the PKK. Victims who petitioned the Parliamentary Commission reported that these methods included forcing villagers to walk in mine fields or torturing family members and neighbors. Several village guards stood trial during 1998 for rape and the execution of civilians.

PKK members continue to execute civilians they suspect of cooperating with the Security Forces. In July, PKK members reportedly killed two girls, ages four and fourteen, after they failed to find their father who was the brother of the village headman. Three mayors in the South East, who were said not to support the PKK, were kidnapped, and one was later murdered. In August, a bomb reportedly planted by the PKK killed seven people and injured more than one hundred in one of Istanbul's most crowded marketplaces.

While the press in Turkey is largely free, laws limiting expression continue to be enforced arbitrarily. In the past, some journalists, typically mainstream and highly regarded columnists, were able to engage in vigorous debate on such taboo topics as the role of the military and of religion, and even criticize Kemal Ataturk and promote pro-Kurdish issues. Pro-Islamic, pro-Kurdish, or leftist writers, however, were not guaranteed the same freedom; they often facing harassment by the police and criminal prosecution.

The Supreme Radio and Television Board (RTUK), formed in 1994 with a broad and vague mandate to regulate television and radio, has arbitrarily restricted freedom of expression. In 1998, it closed several national television channels (such as Kanal D and Show TV) as well as local channels (such as Kanal 21 or Metro TV of Diyarbakir) for several days for 'using foul language', 'insulting individuals and institutions', 'featuring sexuality', 'instigating separatist propaganda', and 'airing programs in Kurdish' in some of their programs. Many RTUK decisions continue to be enforced even after they have been overturned by court decisions. Several local radio broadcasting channels, whose producers were charged with 'promoting separatism' or simply violating the broadly defined 'principles of broadcasting', have been shut down.

A number of court verdicts have upheld freedom of expression guarantees. In May, the Criminal Court of Istanbul acquitted officials of the Kurdish Culture and Research Foundation of 'providing education in languages prohibited by law', because they had never started the Kurdish language classes they were accused of running. But the acquittal was provisional on them not conduct Kurdish language courses in future. A former State Security Court prosecutor, Mete Gokturk, who was tried for publicly criticizing the lack of judicial independence in Turkey, was also acquitted.

Prisons remain poorly administered and under funded. The prison administration and prisoners occasionally clash over prisoners' demands for improved conditions. A Parliamentary Human Rights Commission launched investigations into four South Eastern prisons, including the Istanbul Women and Juvenile Prison and several Detention Centres and Police Precincts. The Commission reported that inmates were tortured by various methods, including reverse hanging by the arms, beating the soles of feet, and the use of pressurized water and electric shocks. Commission members reported having seen evidence

of torture in detention rooms. They also described finding tools, such as manual electric generators, wooden sticks, metal pipes and truck tyres, that had initially been hidden from them. The investigating Parliamentarians described as 'atrocious' the conditions at the Juvenile Prison, where an undercover journalist from the mainstream media had witnessed during regular visiting hours seven or eight guards beating a child.

Religious Boundaries

Almost every modern state has experienced conflict arising from economic, social, linguistic, religious and/or political inequalities. In today's Anatolia the major boundary line between groups and therefore the principal barriers to a homogeneous society is religious. During the Ottoman empire of early last century a man's religion provided a label both in his own conceptual scheme as well as in the eyes of his neighbours and his governors. He was a Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Jew, Armenian, Georgian or even a Protestant *before* he was a Turk; or a Greek or Bulgar, in the national sense *before* he was an Ottoman citizen. However the empire itself was governed by Muslims and its laws were based on the religious law of Islam. The most important religious aspect of the Ottoman empire was that the Christians and the Jews enjoyed a partial autonomy, despite the fact that an Islamic ecclesiastical hierarchy administered the whole community.

Today, while the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople does not exercise the jurisdictional and doctrinal authority in world Orthodoxy that the papacy exercises in world Catholicism, it does enjoy a historic status as "first among equals" in Orthodoxy, plays an important role in coordinating Orthodox affairs globally and is regarded as the spiritual center of global Orthodoxy by Orthodox believers. Yet it is Turkish law, not the canons of the Orthodox Church, that determines who is eligible to be elected Ecumenical Patriarch, and Turkish law limits the pool of possible candidates to Turkish citizens living in Turkey. As a recent memorandum from the Ecumenical Patriarchate put it, 'the result of these restrictions is that in the not so distant future the Ecumenical Patriarchate may not be able to elect a Patriarch' (The Ecumenical Patriarchate Memorandum 5th May 2006: Problems Faced by the Ecumenical Patriarchate).

Turkey continues to systematically violate provisions of the Lausanne Treaty regarding minorities (Articles 14 and 37-45), as well as provisions in the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 9 on Religious Freedom). As a result, the Ecumenical Patriarchate continues to face many problems. For instance, Turkey does not recognise that the Ecumenical Patriarchate has a legal personality. This results, *inter alia*, in the non-recognition of its ownership rights. Even the Patriarchal Mansion itself is not recognised as the Patriarchate's property, and in 2005, a Turkish court ruled that the Bykada (Prinkipos) Greek Girls and Boys

Orphanage Foundation, for which the Patriarchate has held a deed of ownership since 1902, is not its property. There is a pending case on this issue before the European Court of Human Rights, lodged by the Patriarchate. In 1971, the Turkish Government closed the Patriarchate's Seminary, the Theological School of Halki and has refused, despite numerous requests, to reopen it.

Today, Turkey will not grant the Ecumenical Patriarchate legal personality, in defiance of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, which defined the legal position of minorities in Turkey. This refusal to deal with the Patriarchate as a legal person (as churches are regarded throughout the West) is, according to the Patriarchate memo, 'a major source of many other problems'. For to deny that the Patriarchate is a legal entity with certain rights, an entity that can work with the Turkish government within the framework of the so called modern law of Turkey, means that all issues between the Patriarchate and the State become political issues and the Christian world subject to political pressures and counter pressures.

The Turkish government currently blocks work permits for non-Turkish citizens who wish to work at the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Ten Greek clergymen, one American layman and one British layman now working at the Phanar are doing so illegally, and must leave the country every three months to renew their tourist visas.

As the Ecumenical Patriarchate is not permitted to own property; it owns none of the churches under its jurisdiction. Turkish authorities have also confiscated houses, apartment buildings, schools, monasteries and lands that were once owned by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The state even seized the patriarchate's thirty six cemeteries; they are now the property of various legal subdivisions of the city of Istanbul. Earlier this year, the state confiscated a boys' orphanage run by the Patriarchate; the building is the oldest wooden building in Europe and of great historical value.

The Turkish government also determines who may teach in the elementary schools that serve the Orthodox community, and enforces a six-year approval process to control the flow of books to orthodox school libraries. No Christian community in the West would tolerate such conditions. If Turkey is to be the model of a modern Islamic society, it must remove restrictions on the exercise of some of the most fundamental aspects of religious freedom, e.g. the freedom of religious communities to educate their people, the freedom to perform works of charity and freedom to choose their leaders according to their own theological understanding.

In the days when the world knew him as Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, Benedict XVI expressed reservations about Turkey's accession to the European Union; he believed it would mark the end of the EU as the political expression of a common culture. Ratzinger

suggested Turkey should be associated with the European Union in such a way that it would enjoy the economic benefits of EU membership without becoming a member, with full voice and vote, of the EU's political deliberations. Perhaps Ratzinger, as Pope, has reconsidered his position but in any case, his questions about Turkey's EU ambitions, plus his September lecture in Regensburg, Germany, in which he raised hard questions about the ways in which certain Islamic conceptions of God led to lethal worldly consequences, have conspired, in the global media's mind, to cast Pope Benedict's impending visit as a visit to Islamic Turkey, not to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. The real issue being engaged involves Catholicism and Islam, not Catholicism and Orthodoxy. Given the ecumenical priorities that both Pope and Patriarch assign to this historic encounter, however, it is unlikely that the Papal pilgrimage will see Regensburg II, a major statement from Benedict XVI on Christianity and Islam.

THE SECULARIST STATE AND ISLAM

Holyoake (1896), the British writer who coined the term "secularism", asserted that secularism argued that practices and institutions should exist separately from religion or religious beliefs. The founder of Republic of Turkey set this as his main objective the modernization of the new Republic. His preferred means was speedy, intensive secularization and, indeed, every one of his reforms was tied up with the disestablishing of Islamic institutions from their hold on Turkey's politics, economics, society, and cultural life. On the other hand, while secularism is the main base of the democratic Turkish State, the constitution argues that the state should not interfere with the religious beliefs of citizens; that the state needs to stand for equality for all beliefs practiced in its domiciles and, in particular, prevent any one religious group from oppressing another. Since all religious beliefs belong to the citizen's internal privacy, we may consider that secular states are atheist, with no necessity for religious representation. And we could argue that no state should have a political function to regulate the religious practices of its citizens nor should religious beliefs be recognized by the state itself, there is a state based organisation called the Chairmanship of Religious Affairs developed by the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey, which is functioning today.

'Along with the abolition of the Caliphate on 3 March 1924, on the same date, the *Chairmanship of Religious Affairs* [emphasis added] responsible for the administration of religious affairs was formed within the state structure as an organization connected to the Prime Ministry. The function of this organization is to carry out activities related to the beliefs of the Islamic religion, the principles of worship and morality, and to enlighten society on the subject of religious issues and to manage places of

worship’

<http://www.enjoyturkey.com/info/facts/religion>

This organisation is responsible for Sunni Muslim believers only, based on the notion that 99% of the Turkish population is Muslim. Other religious believers, such as Alawites and Christians, Yezidites (pagans who have been influenced by some aspects of Islam) and those of the Bahá’í Faith, are not represented by this organization.

Further, while Turkey’s constitution insulates politics from religion it did not prevent the foundation of an Islamist Party in 1970. At the time it seemed right for Islamists to get out of the political wilderness and attempt to rejoin the mainstream. The Party for National Order was established on January 26, 1970 under different names, but with the same leader and ideology, which survives to this day. The AKP in a government led by Prime Minister Erdogan failed to define itself as a religious grouping but the Islamist press hailed the party enthusiastically, and its quality was never in doubt.

If religious beliefs are a private matter, it might be argued that no modern state should classify and indicate the religion of its citizens on official identification cards, and no citizen should be asked to renounce their original religious beliefs by going through the Turkish courts to change their religion on their ID cards. But according to Barber (2008), in major cities of Turkey people still see religious logos, pictures of the mosques and other religious depictions as stickers and signs on public busses being used as political instruments by the government in power. If they really are able to convert such symbols into national symbols of the country then it is reasonable to conclude that the country is far from being a pluralist democratic and secular society. Rather this is a kind of modified secularism according to their own national style.

In Turkey, the moderate Islamicism of the AKP Party is not what Americans think it is. Eighty five years after Kemal Attaturk’s nationalist revolution, Turkey is poised to transform itself from a rigid, increasingly conservative secularism to a pluralistic society in which Islam plays a significant although not yet overwhelming role. The Turkish majority has determined that religion belongs not in city hall, but in the public square; AKP has linked its fortunes with Islam. Surprisingly, American Turkish feminists, many quite secular, on the whole support the lifting the scarf ban. For them, though it is an Islamicist initiative, it is a way to acknowledge pluralism and to recognize the rights of Armenians and Kurds, who have also traditionally been marginalized in Turkey. On their side, the moderately Islamist AKP has maintained a pro-Western, market economy and has recently managed to broker negotiations between Syria and Israel that could lead to the return of the Golan Heights to Syria and a peace treaty for both parties. All this just

a few months after Israel bombed a suspected nuclear facility in Syria!

Islam, it turns out, is as culturally variable and politically pluralistic as Christianity. There is no such thing as a monolithic Islam or singular Islamacist ideology. Sharia need not be the death of liberty. Countries must be judged one at a time. Democracy takes many forms.

FINAL COMMENTS

The Pan Turks have defined their country as a nation state with an official religious representation in Sunni Islam. Secularism took its place in the national constitution of Turkey only in 1937 but secularism was new to the Pan Turks who hold to two different political attitudes. Firstly, in their view, religion should be controlled by the government, and control over religion should be enshrined in the national constitution of Republic of Turkey. If this was done it would constitute a kind of secularism. All legal organs are encouraged to obey the principles of Kemal Ataturk, enabling them to receive a number of funds from the budgets of their local governments. The government in the past protected the internal religious conflicts in favour of Sunni Muslims, as happened in the genocides in Sivas province and Kahramanmarash. Secondly, secularisation of the nation state means that the state uses a secular conscience when considering its basic need to indulge in capital rationalism as an instrument under global secularism. But the ideology of the AKP Party during this process of their political participation has embodied in a thinly veiled program to restore Islam in state and society and turned it into a major factor in Turkey.

The activities of the former pro-Islamic party were viewed with suspicion by secularist groups, mainly by the armed forces, who considered themselves as the preservers of Kemalism. In September 1980 the military intervened again. When Erbakan addressed a huge rally in Konya and openly called for Islamism, the army closed down all political parties and ruled alone for three years. They returned the Government to the civilians via new parliamentary elections in 1983 but the old parties were not permitted to participate.

Turkey has been a parliamentary democracy for seventy-three years. The Islamists have resorted to achieving power via political participation in elections and shunning violence (except for a few rare cases). But this affects but little the feelings of frustration of the secularist majority, who fear that Islamists will succeed in turning Turkey into an Islamic theocracy, distanced from the West and its civilization. Many feel that the military, with their innate interest in Western technology and hardware and their action in seizing power three times in the last generation, form the last line of defense against Islamism. It is a commonly known secret in Turkey that the army has vetoed Erbakan’s attempt at a close military alliance with Iran as well as his demands for cancelling Turkey’s arms

deals with Israel. But the armed forces remain in a dilemma and a military coup would undoubtedly damage Turkey's move to join the European Union.

Perhaps the current ruling party AKP has already completed its artificial secularisation of Turkey. The formation of a modern civil society and human rights secularism, and the democratisation process in regards global integration of the country have all helped it to shape a new, yet traditional political attitude. But Turkey can never be considered a "secular state". Written documents make statements about secularism, but in reality no functions of a modern secular state exist. Free expression of ideas is still prohibited and punished with fines and/or prison sentences.

It is doubtful whether Turkey, deeply divided by ethnic groupings, religion and language can establish a genuine working democracy. The different components of the country will continue to be more interested in advancing their own position than in sharing power with each other. India is an example of a nation which gives hope that democratic can be achieved despite great heterogeneity. But Turkey makes culture official together with an overall hierarchist approach to secularism; it does not allow minorities to form their own cultural groups, e.g. the establishment of a school in Kurdish language is prohibited.

The presence or absence of democracy in a country's past can have a significant effect on its later dealings with democracy. It seems difficult, if not impossible, for democracy to be implemented immediately in a country that has no prior experience with it. The number of military coups in Turkey's past exemplifies this. It seems that democracy must evolve, although past experiences with democracy can be bad for democratization. Pakistan and Afghanistan are examples where democracy has failed and the populace is unwilling to go down the same path again.

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THE DECLINE OF THE 'CIVILISING MISSION' AND 'SUPREMACY' OF THE WESTERN CANON

Dr Michael Wundah*

The term Western Canon (the "Canon") has most often referred to a parcel of influential books written in the English language by "great English writers". But, in the broader picture, the Western Canon comprises a compilation of Western music, arts and creative writing by which the "less civilised" within and without the shores of Britannia can be civilised. The canonised works ranged from those of William Shakespeare to Jane Austen and a selection of other respected "household names" (Eagleton 2000).

Some commentators believe that there has been too much politics about the Canon. Some analysts have argued that the canonical lists were restricted deliberately to a "chosen few" principally in order to relegate other literary works to the periphery. In his assessment and analysis of the origins and reforming agenda of the English Language of the Canon in Britain, Eagleton saw '...the study of English Literature was brought back to Britain to re-civilise the native savages' (ibid, p12).

At the peak of its glory, the ideals and literary conventions of the Canon were pioneered in Britain and her colonies of India, the West Indies (now the Caribbean) and Africa through English Language and English Literature curricula (Croom 1976, Snow 1964, Leavis 1963 and Eagleton, 2000). The disadvantages were apparent. For example, Kress stresses that certain types of writing and genres and conventions affect the writer's creativity, social, cognitive, ideological, development and personality (Kress 1982:9-10). In a similar vein, Clark and Ivanic posit: 'The superficial veneer of formal conventions for academic writing is treated as if it is all that matters in learning to write, and is often taught at the expense of the aspects of writing that really help to make and convey meaning; learners are rewarded for their ability to ape conventions, rather than for engaging in the underlying purpose for writing' (Clark and Ivanic, 1997, p.53).

Not that the subjects and disciplines of the Western Canon predated all other disciplines. Historically, some disciplines came into existence well before the English Language and English Literature as we know them today; in fact, they are recent disciplines, only beginning to make their mark in the last decades of the nineteenth century. English language was not really established as a subject until after the First World War-1914-1918 (Eagleton 2000).

THE "CIVILISING MISSION"

In retrospect, the "civilising mission" of the Canon had a debilitating undertone and even today it hardly sits comfortably or side-by-side with the perceptions of many of its victims. For instance, during the Colonial era, the power and influences of the Canon constrained those caught in the act of "ambivalence" and "mimicry" to accept its values. It was incumbent on them to think and write on the basis of specified conventions in order to gain "recognition" and "respectability" in what was an exclusive literary club. They were more or less perceived as guinea pigs, for the experimentation and propagation of the conventions and values of the projects and satellites the Canon aspired to put in place (Wyse 1976).

Writing styles have been seen for ages in mainstream literary quarters through the prism of the Canon and its inherent Englishness. The question as to who and what gets published and sold in Western markets is more complicated, more nuanced than the simplistic meaning/connotation of the phrases "quality works" and "literary merit" (Clark, R. and Ivanic, R 1991). The powerless proletariats at home in Britain and abroad in the Caribbean Africa and India colonies were conditioned to behave, think, eat, dress, speak and write according to the predominant culture of Englishness. No doubt, their compatriots referred to them in all manner of ubiquitous terms, including "Englishmen in Black skin", "infringed-cultural captives" caught in the grips, clutches of Orientalism (Wyse, 1976). But there were occasional voices of dissent by a minority on the fringes; unfortunately their voices made no significant difference, throughout the decades of Colonialism.

The writer and academic Edward Said decries the idea of mimicry as a lack of progress on the part of the African academic elite to fulfill the promise of the dream world or a Plato-like Republic in the post colony years (Inden, 1986, Said, 1985, pp.322-25) Said's Orientalism presents notions of Imperial ideas which operated flexibly through the "economy of Manichean allegory" (Inden, ibid).

Writing is influenced by ideology and specific conventions, sometimes even situation ethics may come into play. The Canon was not an exception; it was not only an enigma but an incredibly dominant overarching ideology. It permeated and defined all socio-economic relations in society. It operated on the basis of conventions and practices. Interests, values, beliefs, and relations of status and power were all encoded in the veneer conventions, which became self-perpetuating. It is common knowledge that speaking influences writing, and according to the plethora of ecological, linguistics and ethnographical case studies, writing is just as "context dependent" as speaking (see Barton, 1994, Hamilton and Barton, 1994). And, it can hardly be denied that the age-old or traditional writing contexts have been very much Western in orientation. The prestigious discourse conventions of the Canon

included using Greco-Latin vocabulary and a lot of abstract nouns, avoiding the use of 'I', and writing long clauses. Conformity to these conventions was crucial if not imperative for the "unnamed" or "lesser names" of "underclass writers", because they were associated with socio-economic success, prestige, status and of course the potential to earn income (Clark and Ivanic, 1997; Croom, 1976; Leavis, 1962; Pearce, 1988; Barton and Ivanic, 1991; and Barton, 1994).

The wider ramifications of this archaic, literary dispensation were immense. For example, in Great Britain, less important household names suffered from identity crisis, self belief, confidence and a reduced ability to earn meaningful income and rewards from their craft (Abraham, 1971, 1996). In the colonies, in addition to an identity crisis, writers found it difficult if not cumbersome to configure their writings around distinct national character. In brief, the products of their crafts were classified under hybrid configuration (Abraham, *ibid*).

History recalls that some lesser names, the "literary underclass" had to use James Bond-like covert tactics and clandestine strategies including adopting acceptable acronyms in order to win favour in the literary and publishing world. Even with these unconventional strategies there were only a few lucky ones who eventually resorted to mimicry, and succumbed to imposed norms and rules of subjugation. Typical examples are the late Professor Akintola Wyse of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone and Mike Tony Tucker, a Liberian-Sierra Leonean writer, the two had this awful experience when they domiciled in the West.

It has to be reiterated that as a grand scheme, the colonial and colonising, literacy, social, economic and political projects of the Canon served as a huge and powerful cultural and social capital structure cleverly concocted both at home and abroad. The upper tight lips, well-cultured, soft-spoken slim, figures, civil servants dressed in straight jackets, bow hats, three piece suits and waistcoats ruled the indigenous middle classes; clerics, factors, storekeepers and converts were dressed in khaki shorts and shirts and bowties in the offices of Bombay and in the vast terrains of Bilad El Sudan (the Dark Continent) from the 1930s to the 1950s (Wyse, 1976, Abraham, 1996).

William Shakespeare may have arguably been the *prima donna* of the laureates that make up the canonical list, but the philosopher, John Searle, happily and honourably cites "Western intellectual tradition that goes from, say, Socrates to Wittgenstein in philosophy, and from Homer to James Joyce in literature" as the Western Canon (1909). In the same uncompromising tone, across the Atlantic in the United States, the offshoot of the Western Canon is attributed to a compendium of writers mainly '...dead European men that do not represent the viewpoints of many in contemporary societies around the world' (Searle 1990).

I have argued in many places that the phrase "civilising mission" is misleading and contentious. The noun "civilisation" and its auxiliary verb form "to civilise" has nuances which some dismiss as one of those countless British imperial clichés. In one of his academic, leading papers, the late Professor Akintola Wyse of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, took Eurocentric writers and thinkers to task, *vis a vis* the validity of the word "civilisation" (Wyse, 1976). He based his argument on the fact that the offshoot of Western civilisation, the Renaissance project is contentious. Wyse revealed that when the Ancient Sudanese University of Timbuktu fell to Barbarian marauders they ransacked, looted all the important academic chronicles, manuscripts and artefacts, which the West utilised for the European Renaissance project. Hence, it was Ancient Africa that civilised Europe, not the other way round (Wyse, *ibid*).

POLITICO/ECONOMICS AND THE CANON

The one-sided or unfair composition and policies of the key institutions of the UN and IMF World Bank have exposed the fallacy of the "civilising mission" of the Canon. The UN was established in order to put an end to the potentials/prospects of future warfare and carnage such as the world experienced from 1939 to 1945 (Peet, 2009, Stieglitz, 2002). The IMF and World Bank were charged with the responsibilities to create economic wealth and eliminate poverty for the common good (Peet, *ibid*). In fairness to these institutions, their works have benefited the world to some extent, but there have been persistent hiccups, questions about the manner in which the UN operates and the composition of the membership of its inner circles. For instance, the composition of its Security Council has been less than equal. After the demise of Dominic Strauss Khan as the Head of the IMF, temperatures reached fever pitch over a potential successor, many thought that it should have been an African, someone from the Third World; unfortunately the post went once again to a European candidate. Finance Ministers in Africa, including the former Minister of Finance in Nigeria's President Obasanjo Government and the South African Minister of Finance would have been worthy candidates for this position.

One African commentator and political analyst charged: 'The World Bank and IMF often slap the virtues of fairness, equity and justice in the face by disregarding the finesse of the inclusivity of African countries in the key decision making circles'. This begs the question once more: since civilisation upholds the tenets of fairness and equity and justice, how "civilising" or "civilised" is the so-called "civilising mission" propagated by the Canon? Neither burning alleged witches at the stakes nor sending monarchs and dissidents to the gallows, let alone talk of worshipping stones at Stonehenge in Britain in this day and age can be claimed as acts of "civilisation" and postmodernism. In certain literary quarters, they contend that the West pioneered her "civilising mission" without threat or duress, which turns the thesis on its head. Chinua

Achebe, in one of his classical novels 'Things Fall Apart', seems to have buttressed this position: '...the Whiteman is very clever. He came quietly and peacefully with his religion, he has put a knife to the things (traditional values) that held us together, now our clan can no longer act as one ...and we are falling apart' (Achebe, 1958).

The strategies of the Christian Missionaries in most of Africa throw light on Achebe's point. The CMS, EUB, Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Roman Catholic Mission spread the Christian faith and values through church pulpits, education and hospitality. However, there are solid counter case studies which present evidence that the Canon was not anything near liberal in articulating its colonial project. The liberation struggles in Gandhi's British Colonial India, Kenyatta's Mau Mau Kenya in East Africa are typical cases in point. In the Northern Province of colonial Sierra Leone, King Bai Bureh and his subjects rose against the British Colonial Administration when it imposed the Hut Tax (taxed the local huts) on the indigenes, sparking off the Hut Tax War of 1898 with support from his counterparts/natural rulers including Chiefs Momoh Jah, Kai Londo and Almamy Suluku in the Mende South and Kissi and Kono Eastern Kingdom (Alie, 1990; Abraham, 1996, 1971, 1974, 1978, 1980; Fyfe, 1964, 1972; Horton, 1972; and Blyden, 1908, 1969, Johnson S, 1921).

It is the admission of the architects of the Canon that the English Language is "cultural capital". Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" supports this: 'the embodied culture is associated with any culture that pioneers the values of the ruling elite' (Bourdieu, 1977). Judging by the wider ramifications of the ruling elite culture, this status hardly goes down well with those relegated to the bottom of the pile, the scum of society, the working class, the disaffected majority.

By implication, "habitus" represents a whole corpus of differentials, including the lowly class and their struggles for power and power relations in the industrialised capitalist world. It is about the class divide and its inherent segregations, discriminations that led to the lack of self-esteem, progress, rewards, and opportunities to negotiate and climb the socio-economic mobility ladder. In colonial Africa, Africans were reduced to the pejorative, the degrading status of "essence", they were seen to be childlike, without moral conscience but docile and trainable. Edith R Sanders states among other things: 'This intimately primitive Africa, dark, simple and underdeveloped, is of course an Africa well-suited to, indeed desperate for European tutelage' (Sanders, 1969, 521-32).

Bourdieu speaks of benefits and rewards acquired by working class children, but even at that they are the equivalence of mere pittance (Bourdieu, *ibid*). Leninist and neo-Marxists scholars backed by conflict theorists are vocal in their criticisms of Western capitalism and its wider ramifications for the fate of proletariats

around the world (Soyinka, 2004, Zack-Williams, Haynes, 1996, 1997, Chazan, 1992, Rodney, 1976)

A NEW DISPENSATION

On the basis of the evidence, the Canon has had few beneficiaries. That begs the question: what next? The answer is that the literary world has approached an exciting period in which there is no longer monopoly over the crucial issues that count as acceptable style, acceptable terminology and style of writing. In ages past, the issues of rhetorical and grammatical scholarship were difficult to contend with. Unrealistic monopoly and strictures over issues of figures of speech, sentence structure, acceptable argument, acceptable form, depths and the volume of manuscripts, unfairly restricted most members of the peripheries.

This new literary dispensation is exciting; it poses complex challenges and presents opportunities. But more interestingly, it has created panic and anxiety amongst the prime movers and shakers of the canonical literary world that is now in decline. Put simply, it epitomises an era of a dramatic contest between the old guard of the canonical doctrines and the new breed of tenacious reformers who cherish modernisation in line with the liberal accord. As part and parcel of this era, is the proliferation of new publishing houses which have come to the rescue of the latter group of contestants. One excited Afro-centric critic in his unpublished thesis puts it succinctly: It marks the end of a literary era, in its place a new era is born. (McPherson 2006:17).

The ambience of the modern novel in English in this new age of creative writing and publishing is diverse and it takes all the salient and crucial issues into consideration. The new age has produced a partnership based on flexibility and being considerate where necessary. This does not mean an attempt at demeaning good, quality literary works. But, on reflection, whose monopoly is the concept/word "quality", whose reality is it anyway?

William Shakespeare left his prints on the "literary sand" but the emerging nations in Africa, the Caribbean and the India sub-continent have also produced great writers, poets, playwrights and authors in every sense of the word. Wole Soyinka is a global icon, by virtue of his prolific works, a Nobel laureate in English Literature, the first African to be so honoured. The Swedish Academy described him as: '...one of the first poetical playwrights that have written in English' (Nobel Prize Academy, 1986).

Ian Milligan celebrates the advent and impact of the modern novel as follows: 'The diversity of the novel can be seen in other writers in English who live and work in Africa, the West Indies, India, Australia and New Zealand' (Milligan 1983). Alluding to the contributions by African writers and authors to the literary world, he states further, 'Africa has developed

a strong, independent and varied literary tradition. Novels such as *Things Fall Apart* (1958), *Arrow of God* (1964) and *A Man of the People* (1966) by the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe (1930) have achieved world-wide recognition for their sensitive sociological insight and their subtlety of form' (Milligan *ibid*, p.12)

It is encouraging to note that the Civil War has changed the political, social and economic landscapes of Sierra Leone, leading to surge in literary activities. Prior to that Sierra Leonean writers and authors, mostly academics, civil servants and retirees, were a mere handful. The civil war acted as a catalyst for the ongoing literary proliferation. Writers have developed a unique literary discourse that concentrates on the narratives of the conflict as part and parcel of the post war healing process and aversion of future conflict in Sierra Leone.

The establishment of local publishing houses, research organisations and literary clubs and organisations in most of Sub Saharan Africa, in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone for example, has opened new avenues for literary works to flourish. CODESRA based in the Senegalese Capital, Dakar, is the Centre and Headquarters for Research and Development in the West African Region. The Sierra Leone PEN Chapter promotes literary schemes in schools and the community.

Most African universities and other institutions of the tertiary sector have adopted creative writing, arts, culture and communication in their English Departments. Galaxies of emerging global media, research, academic journals writing and publishing outlets are empowering. Due to their advent on the literary scene, the chronic strings of rejections suffered by "un-heard of" or "unnamed names" since the times of Homer and the looting of the artifacts of the Ancient Sudanese University of Timbuktu are gradually becoming things of the past.

This surge in writing helps cure the identity crisis that has affected peripheral writers and artists since the advent of the trade. Rachel makes the point: 'writing constructs identities for writers' (Rachel, 1989). It is only when the disaffected "underclass" of literary aspirants have their works published, will they realise and reconstruct and rediscover their identity and national character.

Self-publishing and vanity outlets fulfill and represent the blessed cutting edge of a new generation of tenacious and ambitious upcoming, unpublished writers globally. The vanity press could be perceived as cartels of voracious predators in what critics point out to as a mirage of publishing empire. However, the fact that the disaffected and victims of the traditional mainstream publishing houses have turned to them in order to make their dreams come true sustains the realities of the new era. Above all, it underscores their determination to break away from the shackles of the "glass ceiling" policies of the Canon and its allies.

Thanks to the likes of vanity and self-publishing media outlets, many literary souls are now being liberated!

A lot has happened in the literary world since the "golden age" of the ideals of the Canon came under criticism. This begs two crucial questions. First, how do we categorise the works of those on the peripheries? Perhaps they deserve the elegant status of say an African, Caribbean or Asian Canon/Canonised works of literary merit?

I would argue that by virtue of the emerging trends, every nation's writers and artists deserve to qualify for the prestigious status of a canon. It surely helps fulfill the dialogical ethos of empowerment and flexibility. This new age of the literary world offers important insights into the many contexts, forms, and audiences for academic prose. The advent of the new information and communication technology is a bonus that surpasses all other tools or aid for reading writing and worldwide research. It facilitates young, upcoming and unpublished writers. There are signs of huge benefits. Writing careers are no longer pursued only for intrinsic value; they have the potential to create financial rewards, secure prestige and social accolades. In brief, the new age provides a long-overdue broadening of the concept of writing, and the overall impact it has on the publishing, advertising and marketing industries of the literary world.

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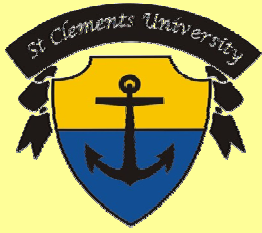
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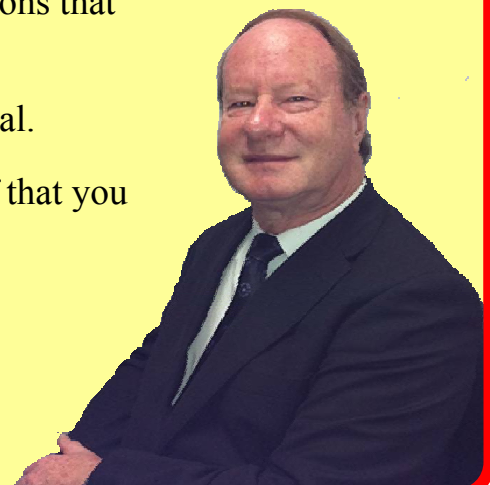
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HOW THE WEST WAS LOST: SPENGLER REVISITED

Dr John Potter*

In 2014 it will be one hundred years since Oswald Spengler first put pen to paper to produce his two volume *magnum opus*, "The Decline of the West". In this paper I shall be referencing Atkinson's translation of *Volume Two: Perspectives of World History* (Spengler, 1928).

The under-girding assumption presented by Spengler is that history repeats itself, that the decline of the West shows congruence with the decline of prior civilizations. One of my interests will be to see whether the empirical realities of the twentieth century have confirmed this thesis. In particular, I shall focus on three of Spengler's propositions: (1) that the 'failing authority of science' was a major contributor to decline in the West (op cit, p.48); (2) that 'Caesarism grows in the soil of democracy' (ibid p.464); and (3) the final battle is between 'the forces of dictatorial money-economics and the purely political will-to-order of the Caesars' (ibid (p.465). In making this assessment I shall be interested to see where the West is located in relation to Spengler's predictions at this point in time and make my own predictions as to where the West might be heading. I will argue that, despite the chaos and loss the West is presently experiencing, there are innate human attributes (highlighted by Spengler) that give hope that some human agents will always find a way either to adapt for survival in a hostile world or find some way of fending off hostilities from the 'rhythm of actual life' (ibid, p.465)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POST MODERNIST IDEOLOGY

A dominant feature of current Western culture is the loss of external standards and the development of what philosophers have called 'post-modernism'. Spengler saw a loss in the 'authority of science' as a major contributing cause to such a trend. We assume by this he was referring to discoveries in physical science in the early 1900's, because there was no diminution in the growing authority of Darwinism in the biological science at the time. And it was the latter, by substantially releasing men from Deism that permitted a significant extension of the egalitarian project during the 20th Century. This encourages me to argue that the development of post-modernism can be attributed to the three factors (scientific uncertainty, Darwinism and the pursuit of freedom) working in concert towards a prescribed end.

The Late 1800s

The last half of the nineteenth century was marked by a distinct euphoria in the West. Scientists, building on the work of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton, had defined what they thought to be the irrefutable Laws of

the Natural World and James Clerk Maxwell had shown mathematically that magnetism, electricity and light were outcomes of one electro-magnetic force system – each traveling in a wave motion at the speed of light. Science had penetrated the mysteries of the *cosmos*; Western man was supreme – nothing was withheld from his agency! Sadly, euphoria is often a motivation for callous actions. We see this in the case of the Israeli army at the time of Asa (The Bible, II Chronicles 14: 14-15); and in the late 19th Century it was evident in the 'Scramble for Africa' (Pakenham, T. 1991).

To the West's eternal disgrace, the willful subjugation of African and other primal peoples, and the plundering of their goods and lands, was justified by referencing social-Darwinism, an ideology that permitted the West to declare dark skinned races to be inferior types. (It has taken a century and considerable effort to put such a notion even partially 'to bed'; sadly there are still Westerners to be found who are willing to argue that African are a cross between humans and animals, and some anthropological researchers are still at work measuring the thickness of human skulls to demonstrate that dark skinned people, as precursors of 'whites', i.e. lower in the evolutionary chain, are dispensable). In Spengler's time, the Malthusian population controllers were in full cry, arguing from a social-Darwinist position the case for human sterilization, especially the poor and the dark skinned races. Svante Arrhenius, who earned a Nobel Prize for his paper connecting temperature to concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere (Arrhenius 1896), headed up a Eugenics Laboratory for the Swedish Society for Racial Hygiene whose aim was to develop a scientific basis for compulsory sterilization of (in particular) inferior humans. It was short step to the elimination of cripples and Jews by Hitler's forces during World War II. All of which suggests that in the late 1800s the West developed an inflated opinion of its own powers, became impossibly arrogant and adopted values that grossly offend concepts of reasonable human compassion and decency.

The Uncertainty Principle

Just when Western science reached its highest point of certainty in its own abilities fresh research began to demonstrate that this confidence was unfounded. In 1899, the German Jewish physicist Max Planck demonstrated that classical physics was unable to adequately describe matter, light and the senses due to the intrinsic limitation that no experiment can measure an action smaller than h (Planck's constant quantum of action). The 'quantum theory' that developed argued that concepts like wave motion were naïve and wrong.

Then, in the early 1900s, the New Zealand physicist, Ernest Rutherford and his colleague Frederick Soddy observed that radioactive substances spontaneously transmute to other elements and that half of any sample disintegrates in a set time, the 'half life'. But what they

could not say was which atom would disintegrate next, evidencing an ‘uncertainty principle’.

Albert Einstein added to the general confusion by showing that time and length were relative measurements dependent on the velocity that a person was moving relative to the speed of light.

And to these developments may be added major problems that developed for physics during the 20th Century in relation to the size of the universe and the nature of matter. The most recent physics (Permuter et al, 2011) suggests that the boundaries of the universe are constantly expanding at an accelerated rate due to dark energy, and as light takes eons of time to reach us we are *incapable* of saying anything about the size of the universe other than what it might have been at some eons ago. But even this must be impossible if we cannot propose what the end of the universe might look like. What would constitute the end of space and what would lie beyond it?

Similarly, the initial euphoria produced by the work of Rutherford and others in relation to the structure of matter fell by the way side over the next fifty years when Rutherford’s protons and neutrons were shown to themselves consist of smaller particles (quarks) which proved difficult to find let alone measure. The result was that some theoretical physicists were content to assume that there is ‘nothing there’, essentially agreeing with the writer to the Hebrews ‘that things which are seen were not made of things which appear’ (The Bible, Hebrews 11:3).

Science has made valiant efforts through the 20th century to maintain its authority but the uncertainty principle set up conditions for a major re-think, especially with regard to the capacity of humans to judge the physical world with finality, even humans with a Western education!

Positivism - Bypassing Deism

Early positivists (Thales et al) in the 5th Century BC developed their position in a pro-active attempt to escape from fanciful explanations of commonly encountered realities in their day. In the 19th Century AD, Charles Darwin, working out of Malthusian population theory (see Potter 2009) worked in harness with the egalitarian project to throw off the yoke of Deism and the standards it necessarily imposed on human behaviour.

It is noteworthy that Darwin’s theory of evolution by natural selection is in direct opposition to the Second Law of Thermodynamics but the newly discovered ‘uncertainty principle’ allowed this – science could be wrong! The lack of empirical evidence for evolutionary theory, e.g. the complete absence of intermediate types, was also a problem but Darwin threw this aside with the assurance that ‘these would be found’. A century later they have still not been found despite valiant efforts on the part of evolutionary scientists. Darwin’s

ultimate conclusion was that ‘if a Superior being created the cosmos we can safely say that he has not interfered with it since the beginning... (and) we can confidently expect all things to go on to perfection’ (Darwin 1873). Here Darwin was denying history, especially the ubiquitous accounts of a massive hydrological event (The Flood) that have come to us from primal times, and the record of the origin and spread of nations around the world.

Despite the lack of empirical evidence for Darwin’s position, the 20th Century has seen positivist ideas taking precedence in a number of scientific and social disciplines. Most importantly, it has been successful in promoting a reductive account of: *human ontology* - humans are not different from other animals, they have no soul, only bone, flesh and blood and nerve impulses. This led Freud to reject any account of an ‘oceanic experience’ (Freud 1991) and this in turn led to the development of the standard *reductive psychological theory* which is dominant in Western thought at this time.

Darwinism quickly assumed dominance as the major pre-supposition in disciplines like biology and geology. In the 20th Century, post-Darwinian geologists (who dated the strata by the fossils and the fossils by the strata prior to isotope dating methods being introduced) have doubled their working estimate of the age of the earth every fifteen years or so and maintained a savage denial as to the empirical reality of a world wide Flood; their prime objective being to prescribe a sufficient length of time to accommodate Darwinism. Unquestionably, the motivation behind all of this has been the need to escape from standards imposed from ‘on high’.

Freedom

If there is no certainty with regard to the physical world and no Deity, then there are no external standards by which men should live. The uncertainty principle and acceptance of Darwinism left 20th Century humanity with a Nietzschean critique which argued that standards are man-made; and this exalted and entrenched an anthropocentrism which left the individual agent with ‘a sense of untrammelled power and freedom... ready to enjoy “free play” or to indulge in the aesthetics of the self’ (Taylor 1991). This in turn led to the *central premise of a post-modernist world*, Herder’s notion that each of us has an original way of being human, that ‘there is a certain way of being human that is my way. I am called to live my life in this way, and not in imitation of anyone else.... If I am not (true to myself) I miss the point of life, I miss what being human is for me’ (ibid). But, while there remains ‘a considerable moral force behind the emancipatory possibilities of a free will, an account of freedom which demands that we break the hold of all external impositions and decide for ourselves alone necessarily precipitates a degraded, absurd and trivialized form of authenticity’ (ibid). In Taylor’s opinion, the end-point

of post-modernism is a society suffering under chronic malaises, with profound implications for education in particular (see Potter 1995, 2010).

Summary

Time has shown Spengler's identification of a loss of authority in the scientific world has been a key contributor to decline in the West. Along with Darwinism, which has prescribed a degraded account of human ontology, it has permitted the egalitarian project to proceed to a point of absurdity – an account of individuality that discounts social support, places an impossible instrumental requirement on human agents (we must work hard to procure economic wealth which is impossible to achieve) and dictates that self-improvement is impossible because we are limited entirely by our genes. All in all a considerable ideological loss from the arrogant, self-opinionated, over-confident West of the late 19th Century!

THE ADVENT OF “CAESARISM”

Spengler's insistence that ‘Caesarism grows on the soil of democracy’ (Book II, p.464) may surprise the uninitiated but it is evident in history and has proved prophetic in our time. The Patriarch Shem (= the ‘Renowned One’) is credited with being the first to set up a participatory democracy and it is clear that Tammuz (the Biblical Nimrod) rose out of that social construct to proclaim his Kingship over Assyria. In later times, the Athenian Ecclesia (510 BC) and the *Senatus Populus Que Romanus* (SPQR – 509BC) were significant democratic structures, but, as Spengler has been at pains to describe, the murder of Julius did not prevent Augustus declaring himself Imperator in 30 BC. In 1918 Spengler saw the same pattern: ‘the great political form of the (Western) Culture... (was) irremediably in ruin... (that the) mighty ones of the future may possess the earth as their private property’ (ibid).

Spengler saw three significant social constructs in cultural history: the Estate, Democracy and “Caesarism”.

Estates

By Estate, the translator means the German *Stand*, for which there is no direct equivalent. It was explained this way by Spengler: ‘all nations of the West are of dynastic origins’ (ibid, p.180). Their basic social constructs spring from that aspect of race which recognises the significance of a genealogical connection and a common set of inherited values. A common sense view develops that the clan and its traditions need to be preserved and this generates an opportunity for certain individuals to take office to that end – both kings and priests. Significantly, in time such officers become a ruling elite which develops ‘its aims and methods independently of the “people”... work(ing) with and within an unwritten constitution of

which the refinements... are to the uninitiated as opaque as they are unintelligible’ (ibid, p.442).

Notwithstanding, Estates may be wholly beneficial, as in the case of Aelfred in Wessex who developed the King's moot and translated Latin books into the vernacular around the camp fires of an army in running conflict with the Danes (see Green 1884). At other times Estates have proved partially beneficial as in cases where a tyrannical Feudal Lord is tolerated as long as he demonstrates his preparedness to protect the peasantry from external marauders. On the other hand, Estates may be totally non-beneficial to the common man, as in the case of Hinduism and the Untouchables and the populace under African Paramount Chiefs like Shaka the Zulu or Mutessa of the Buganda. At its best, the Estate provides a sense of origins and traditions which guide human agency, and give an assurance of who and what “we are as a people” – all of which is demonstrably important to the human psyche, particularly in teenagers.

Estates are commonly found amongst primal peoples so we might say that the social construct of the Estate is the predictable outcome of simple family life, the natural outworking of innate understandings of the good life. Along with Giddens (1987), we would suggest that Estates are not “macro-social entities”, on the contrary they are very much involved with an individual agency, even in tyrannical situations. But the structure clearly has a ubiquitous common sense appeal to groups of people with a common ancestry.

Important in any Estate is the concept of ‘higher ideals’: what is of value, what is good. Spengler spends a great deal of time and space speaking of the “inner battle” that every human experiences, and he is not here speaking of the Freudian Super-Ego. Rather he is speaking of the innate need of some humans to seek out ‘whatsoever is true, whatsoever is honest... just... pure... (and) of good report’ (The Bible, Philippians 4:8). Problems arise, of course, in the definition of such attributes. Spengler sees the danger for an Estate, and the aristocracy that leads it, as ‘being conservative in its means’, i.e. not moving sensibly with the times. For this attribute may result in its power and proclamations being seen as domination, and alternative power mongers may institute a movement of protest within its borders.

On a personal note, I was born in South Australia in the 1930s. The vast majority of people around me were British stock out of the Wesleyan Revival. We had a common belief system and common values with regard to social structure and process. We trusted our leaders; our Premier held office for 27 years. On “his beat” the State was developed for the common good; gambling was outlawed and the drinking of alcohol strictly controlled. Political conflict was avoided by the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition meeting over a cup of tea each Friday to discuss and come to consensus with regard to coming legislation. We knew who we were, what an Australian looked like and how

he/she behaved. Eighty five percent of us were in the Wesleyan Chapel on Sunday mornings and the teen aged girls had a new overcoat and hat every two years for Sunday best. We were far from perfect but we were innocent of the depravity and confusion that was soon to be thrust upon us. Crime was minimal. As a general rule, men and women lived together only after they were married and children grew up in the safety and order of a stable home. In short, we enjoyed 'the contented moderation of the ancient manners' (Trogus Pomerius as quoted by Justin).

Democracy

It is not my present project to give a definitive account of democracy but I refer the reader to Spengler's discourse as it rings as true in our time as it apparently did in his. Spengler is at his least philosophical and most pragmatic when he lists the characteristics of a Western representative democracy. I shall give a few snippets to encourage the reader to read his Chapter on the Philosophy of Politics in Book II.

Spengler notes that 'in the early politics of all Cultures the governing powers are pre-established and unquestioned... The connections with the mother soil are strong, the feudal tie is self-evident to the life held in their spell.... The problems of the State are not yet awakened. The sovereignty... in the entire early form-world, is God-given and it is on such premises that the minorities fight their battles'. (Book II, p.448). He sees the object of such minorities, not to change the order, but to win for itself status, power or possessions within the established order. (A fact that was surely obvious in Paris in 1789, South Africa in the 1990s and more recently in Egypt, Libya and Syria).

Real change only sets in 'when the Non-Estate, the bourgeoisie take the leading role'. The first task is to write a constitution but it is truism that 'the writers of popular constitutions never have any idea of the actual workings of their schemes – neither the "Servian" constitution in Rome nor the National Assembly in Paris'; nor we may add in Africa where clauses are inserted in Constitutions to protect human rights but action is seldom taken in this regard because under the old order the main ingredient that motivates action is power. The other concern is that 'constitutions deal with thoughts and principles and this opens a gulf between the intellectual side of laws and the practical habits that silently form under the pressure of them'. Experience shows that 'the rights of people and the influence they have are two entirely different things. 'The more universal a franchise, the less becomes the power of the electorate'! (ibid .465).

It is evident in representative democracies that 'the form of the governing minority develops steadily from that of the Estates, through that of the Party, towards that of the Individual and his/her following'. In time the abstract ideals that characterize all genuine party politics, dissolve and are supplanted by private politics, the unchecked will-to-power of the race-strong few.

'An Estate has instincts, a party has a program but a following has a master' (ibid, p. 452).

The possibility that 'the entire mass of the electorate, actuated by a common impulse should send up men who are capable of managing their affairs – which is the naïve assumption of all constitutions – is a possibility, only in the first rush'. (The author can confirm this, he voted in the 1994 South Africa election which was marked by a general euphoria of good will; not so the second election!). In Spengler's opinion, genuine party government covered scarcely two centuries and by the end of World War I was already in decline. He saw that 'the program vanishes from memory, the organization works for its own sake alone'; and important in this is 'the thousands of people in every country who live on the party and the offices and functions it distributes' (ibid 452).

Spengler also sees the reality that one can only make use of constitutional rights when one has money: 'on the soil of burgher equality, the possession of money takes the place of genealogical rank' (ibid, p.449 Note). Through money, powerful figures control all the machinery of speech and script - to ensure that they can guide the electors to certain opinions. In this respect Spengler see "freedom" proving to be a negative for the populous. In his view universal school education is provided for the sole object of ensuring that the electorate can read the press, for it is through the press that an elite leadership controls political thought. Once the public mind is so ordered, 'there is no need now to impose military service liability on the subject – one whips their soul with articles, telegrams and pictures until they clamour for weapons and force their leaders into a conflict to which they willed to be forced. The sentimentalist may beam with contentment when the (press) is constitutionally free but the realist merely asks at whose disposal it is' (ibid, p.447).

The wealthy also use their patronage to 'create within the Caucus sufficient support to influence legislation'. The rest of us are excluded from this process; 'we develop vote-apathy which at the last governments cannot shake off, even in great crises' Parliamentarians are open to the influence of money because 'it is money that gives them the sense of being freed from the dependence which is implicit in the naïve idea that the elector has of his delegate'!

The end of democracy is that success becomes the dominant attribute, not truth; that success in which one tramples on another. Life has won through but 'dreams of world-improvement have turned out to be but the tools of a master-nature'. Ideal are thrown into the pit; 'the thoughts and actions of the masses are kept under iron pressure... men are permitted to be readers and voters (which is nothing more than a dual form of slavery) while the parties become the obedient retinue of a few as the shades of coming "Caesarism" touches them'!

“Caesarism”

As noted above, Nimrod manifested out of Sumerian democracy and Augustus emerged from the SPQR. In Spengler's time it was not long before Germany would accept Adolf Hitler as its supreme Fuehrer. And more recently we have seen Robert Mugabe use democracy in Zimbabwe for his own purposes. Spengler was right, “Caesarism” does seem to ‘grow in the soil of democracy’, at least much of the time.

But our time shows a distinct change in pace; the money powers have moved from national interests to social manipulation on a grand scale, a One World Government project no less. A recent publication by New Zealander Dr Kerry Bolton provides definitive proof of the existence of such a project and the methods being used to bring about ‘a World State based on Mammon’ (Bolton 2011). [See BOOK REVIEW in this issue – Ed.]

Bolton argues that an elite group of bankers has been operating over time to transform Western society to a state more amenable to their financial and power interests. He sees their program of social change operating on three fronts: (1) a revolution from above; (2) a revolution by stealth; and (3) a revolution by degeneracy. He gives evidence of a revolution from above by tracing long term USA involvements in foreign affairs promulgated by the US Council for Foreign Relations and the CIA. In his chapter highlighting a revolution by stealth Bolton references the formation of the Fabian Society by a coterie of international bankers and identifies their front as the London School of Economics and Political Science. He also notes the development of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory and the work of German theorists who immigrated to the USA prior to World War II.

In ‘revolution by degeneracy’ Bolton deals with sexual politics and the ‘psychedelic revolution’ of the 1960s, both of which were promoted and funded by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. And in a further chapter he explores the rise of the New Left; the manufacturing of the tertiary student revolt in the 1960s by the Rockefeller funded Student League for Industrial Democracy and the promotion of feminism by people like Gloria Steinem (recruited by the CIA and funded by the Ford Foundation). He also discovers direct links between the self styled World Controllers and the politics of population control, and notes the support for such policy by the Good Club, an ad hoc society of US billionaires. The ‘Climate change dogma’ he sees as part of the outworking of ‘permanent crisis’ policies promoted by Aldous Huxley and the Club of Rome.

Common to all of these agendas has been a concerted attack on the nuclear family structure, a strategy Bolton sees common to Marxism and the banking fraternity, who both see the family as the primary obstacle to tyranny.

OUTCOMES

That the banking plutocracy has been successful in its political objectives cannot be denied. The recent involvement of the USA and NATO in Middle Eastern Wars clearly has something to do with control of energy supplies. And the sudden push for democratic government in Islamic countries (Egypt, Libya and Syria) seems to be coordinated, probably by the economic elite who are aware, *à la* Spengler, that democracy is the necessary pre-cursor to tyrannical rule (Caesar).

Trade and Money

The push for free trade has been around since the last of the Venetian merchants moved to London in the 1750s to assist in the establishment of the British East India Company. But the free trade project has been advanced considerably in recent times; free trade agreements between nations are being signed almost daily. The result is a burgeoning number of multinational companies operating outside of national laws, buying and selling goods in a frenzy of unequal competition with national producers and traders. The result is a total disruption of production in higher economies in the West with serious consequences for food producers in particular. Numerous cases are being reported in which multinational supermarket chains cancels orders at the last moment for food crops which have taken a year to grow and required considerable cost input, simply because the super market can obtain the “same goods” more cheaply off-shore. I have put “same goods” in quotation marks because (e.g.) vegetables in most Western countries (certainly in Australia) are grown under regulated health requirements while off-shore products are not. The recent discovery that a Chinese company was putting Melomine in export milk and killing babies is a case in point. Free trade is a common sense idea that appeals to the plutocracy but it has serious consequences for traditional food suppliers in the West.

Free trade requires sovereign countries to find goods that can be marketed into the international economy at competitive prices. In the case of Australia, the only commodities that fit the bill are minerals (iron, gold, uranium, etc.) and fossil gas supplies. This has resulted in a frenzy of mining activity, taking over (and, some would argue, destroying) good agricultural land for short term cash gains. Thirteen hundred mining leases have been granted in the Darling Down, an important food bowl in Queensland; it is expected that the whole area will be under coal and coal-stream gas operations within the next five years. The question is, where will Australia get its food from if this continues? Unfortunately, the populace is so dissociated from reality that it does not know where food comes from and is apathetic towards those who complain that there is a problem looming. It is predictable that food shortages will be widespread, not only within Australia but across the world in the foreseeable future.

Social Change

The promotion of feminism has served the hierarchy well; a high proportion of Western women are now in employment. As Kirsten Birkett (2000) laments, this only benefits capitalism; 80% of women interviewed in Australia said they would prefer not to work but have to, to keep 'bread on the table'. (In the 1960s one salary was sufficient to fund house repayments/rent, now two salaries are most definitely required). Financial pressures are causing women to breed relatively late in life, markedly increasing the chance of Downs Syndrome babies and other natal abnormalities.

Changes in sexual ethics over the past forty years have been nothing short of monumental. Thanks to more convenient contraceptives, premarital sex has become normative. Most young people, if they bother with marriage at all, see it as a short term arrangement. What the long term impact of this will be on children remains to be seen but in Australia mental health problems are developing at an alarming rate; currently 4 million people in a population of 22 million (18%) are showing symptoms of severe to chronic mental health problems.

The push for acceptance of homosexual practices and marriage rights for same sex partners has become universal in the West. Of course, for this to happen it has been declared to be politically incorrect for commentators to ask questions about homo-sexual practices. For instance, parents and teachers are not allowed to tell boys that repeated anal sex requires regular anal reconstruction and that in Australia 95% of people with HIV/AIDS are male homosexuals. Equal rights advocates are sufficiently politically strong to ensure that same-sex partners will get marriage rights, with important implications for human breeding levels; a population that does not breed is a population on the way to extinction.

The push for acceptance of psychedelic drug taking has had less success at a policy level than some other measures promoted by the elite banking fraternity, but it is still a fact that a large number of people continue to become addicted to habit forming drugs, and drug cartels are still making huge fortunes marketing their products. The violence and criminality associated with this trade is a matter of regret for governments and citizens alike.

The decline in standards of music and art, also a project of the plutocracy according to Bolton, is depressing. Augustine saw that

'the impact of the notes on the ear does not make the *Deus Creator Omnium*, much less give understanding of its meaning. One impact succeeds another but it is the soul which (makes sense of it, giving of its substance to the works formation' (Augustine in *De Alusia*", VI v.9).

Now that we know that the soul is an allusion we only have baser instincts to render music intelligible – it is now established practice to play music at sound levels that do permanent damage to our ears and use drugs and alcohol to ensure that we enjoy ourselves. As Nietzsche said, 'we used to think that the Sanctus from Bach's B minor Mass was the most beautiful music every written but now that we know that we do not have a soul we need to reassess what this means' (Nietzsche 1996). Art has degenerated to the stage that an artist who threw paint randomly across the room at a canvas gained a major at prize in Australia recently. We mourn our loss!

Darwinism continues to influence thinking in the West; not the least important outcome being the push for legalised euthanasia and the greatly increased numbers of people taking their own life. The latter is particularly rife in Eastern Europe and increasing at an alarming rate in all other Western countries. The justification for both is simple: if we are just flesh and blood and nerve impulses and there is no after life, why continue in this life when it becomes unbearable?

Degraded Science

The success of the Climate Change Dogma introduced by Maurice Strong and his cohorts in the IPCC is another example of the impact of the uncertainty principle in science. There is clearly no evidence that carbon dioxide is affecting temperature nor that there a hot spot in the troposphere to justify the hypothesis of a glass house effect, but facts do not stop the Climate Change people promoting their wares. For instance, the quantity of ice in the Greenland and Antarctic ice sheets is such that, if it all melted (which is most unlikely seeing its average temperature is -30°C) the calculated rise in sea level would be in the order of millimetres, not metres as some have proposed. It is a sad end for science in our time that scientists are prepared to propagate untruths in order to gain power, position and funding.

Politics

On the political front, it is of concern that parliamentarians are confirming Spengler's analysis that success tends to become more important than truth. The parties are in full control. We vote occasionally but we do not feel empowered. And we certainly do not feel confident that people straight out of university who have never participated in, let alone run, a business can run the national economy; nor do we have confidence that they have any intention of representing our interests. Modern Western politics is like other matters in disarray and disrepute.

All in all, developments in recent times in the West show dramatic losses on all fronts. Where, we may ask are the plutocrats taking us? Are we at the end of depravity or must we expect further social change? Spengler's proposition is that the final battle will be between the leading forces of dictatorial money-

economics and the purely political will-to-order Caesars, who wish to re-conquer their realm. Those familiar with Nietzsche views must be asking whether there is a Superman in the wings, a single Caesar who will emerge to “save us” from the money men. The world of money is looking extremely shaky at the present time. Who is behind all of this?! Were the arrangements for the disastrous debt economy developed at Bretton Woods¹ part of the new Caesar’s plan for world domination? (How ridiculous it was to build a world economy on the premise that every country in the world could have a positive trade balance!) Was this Caesar behind the Nixon Shock in 1971, when the dollar replaced gold and currencies were floated on the world financial markets? The implications of Spengler’s thesis are intriguing!

THE FUTURE

Depravity breeds depravity and chaos precipitates chaos. We can expect the current attack on family life to continue for the simple reason that the products of broken family life will outwork their lives in accordance to the values they learned or did not learn at their mother’s knee. Same-sex couples will want the laws changed to give them greater opportunities to “have children”. What they will teach these children about sexual practices can only be guessed at but one might predict that homo-sexual practices will become more normative. In the long run, in a society that accepts the right of people to do anything they want to do, it is possible that pedophilia will become less stigmatised and consenting sex between adults and juveniles will be given the “green light” – especially if “Caesar” makes an appearance for such practices were normative in the Caliphates and other dictatorships over time.

On the other hand, there may be hope in Spengler’s conviction that there are distinct traits bedded deep in the human consciousness that will go on governing our agency, despite political correctness; that these “natural” tendencies will over-ride external influences. A case in point, contrary to current feminist ideology that they are social constructs, is “maleness” and “femaleness”. Spengler is convinced that these are always distinct and always at war with one another. He puts it this way: ‘the male makes history, the woman is history; the female is primary, eternal and material, the male is political, freer and more agitated. The end result is that policy for the women is eternally the conquest of the man through whom she can become the mother of children, through whom she can *become history*, i.e. have a destiny and a future’ (ibid p.327. This proposition bears thinking about because it is absolutely true². It is like Newton’s inertia, once you see it you wonder why you did not see it before. It remains a main hope in my view that in the end the natural order will triumph. When I go to the shopping centre I make a point of giving thanks for every young woman I see pushing a pram. Her instincts may yet save us from the depraved social disruption that we currently experiencing.

Spengler saw ‘men (eventually getting) tired to disgust with the money-economy’ (ibid, p.464) in his time. How much more so today?! We watch the current financial woes in Europe with resignation, hoping for ‘the re-emergence of some thing of honour and chivalry, of inward selflessness and duty’. Could, as Spengler predicted, economic collapse see ‘the old nobility suddenly come into focus in immense life-forms’? (ibid, p.464). Hopefully so, because Spengler’s alternative is not encouraging: ‘If election was originally revolution in a legitimate form, when the politics of money becomes intolerable mankind “elects” its Destiny again by the primitive method of bloody violence’ (ibid p.464).

I have not said anything about spirituality in the Western consciousness. Certainly there has been a distinct demise of Christianity, the religion of the West, in recent times. This does not mean, of course, that Western man is no longer spiritual – the fastest growing religion in Australia over the past ten years has been paganism – a mix of English Wicca and Eco-feminism. In public the adherents of paganism present a show of conformity with anti-religious thought, but secretly they can be found dancing the “Wheel of the Year” and worshipping Sophia the Great Woman from which we all come. Spengler sees a “Second Religiousness” coming, a

‘genuine young religiousness which starts when Rationalism fades out in helplessness, a time when the forms of the Spring-time become viable, when the whole world of the primitive religion which had receded before the grand forms of the early faith returns to the fore-ground, powerful in the guise of the popular syncretism that is to found in every Culture’ (ibid, p.310).

Can we expect that in place of the current desolation, ‘even now (we may see) the seed of a new resigned piety, springing from a tortured conscience and spiritual hunger, whose task will be to found a new Hither-side that looks for secrets instead of steel-bright concepts’ (ibid, p.455)?

In the last analysis, maybe we may have to take hope from the history of Egypt where

‘a patient, docile race of red-brown men have century after century accepted new masters, such as men in the course of life might acquire a number of different hats... While changes have been going on at the top, the common people... have continued to lift water to a few miles of desert on each side of the river and have continued to plough the dark soil and to harvest green crops. They are the same red-brown men, whether their masters wore a pleated white robe or had a pink face and spoke with an Oxford accent’ (Morton 1941).

NOTES

¹See (e.g.) Bretton Woods, wikipedia.org.

²It may help the reader to hear what my eighteen year old grand-daughter told me: ‘girls are looking for an identity; boys are looking for a purpose’.

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SILVIO GESELL'S FREE ECONOMY AND THE MIRACLE OF WÖRGL

Dr George Reiff*

The *Freiwirtschaft* ('Free economy') is an economic theory conceived by Silvio Gesell in 1916. It calls for the abolishment of interest and focuses on the free flow of money in the economy that is kept moving through the application of negative interest. The system was seen as 'natural economic order' but it has never been put into practice by any national government.



Silvio Gesell

Silvio Gesell was a merchant and private scholar of German-Argentinian descent. He developed his system based on observation rather than mainstream economics.

Freiwirtschaft consists of three central premises (The Three Fs):

- **Freigeld** (free flowing money): All money is issued for a limited period at constant value (neither inflation, nor deflation). Hoarding (holding back) of money is discouraged by the application of a negative interest rate on a monthly or annual basis. Long-term saving requires investment in bonds or stocks or Savings Banks; both methods avoiding losses in value due to negative interest.
- **Freiland** (free land): All land is owned by public institutions and can only be rented, not purchased in order to avoid speculative withdrawal of land from the market.
- **Freihandel** (Free Trade): Free Trade has long been a mainstream position in a perverted form until now, but the anti-globalization movement largely opposes it in the present form.

Gesell saw his system having the following results:

- More private spending for consumption and investment
- Consumers investing surplus money in expanding companies

- Full employment: work for everyone who can work
- The rate of economic growth set by the society based on the GDP
- Interest rates dropping to almost zero percent over time.
- Freiland preventing high real estate prices
- Social disparities ceasing to exist

As mentioned before, this economic theory has never been put into practice by a country but in 1932, an Austrian mayor used Gesell's ideas to rescue the economy of his town.

THE MIRACLE OF WÖRGL

In the early 1930s, the world was in the midst of an economic crisis. World trade had fallen by 60% and the flow of financial capital internationally had fallen by 90%. One of the most serious consequences was the emergence of mass unemployment; in 1932 the unemployment rate in Austria was 24.7%.

Some local communities tried to find solutions aimed at easing the crisis. One of the initiatives was the so-called 'miracle of Wörgl' - the 'free flowing money experiment' that took place between summer 1932 and summer 1933 in the town of Wörgl, Austria. In 1932, cement and pulp production at Wörgl declined sharply and unemployment rose dramatically. Many citizens were unable to pay their municipal taxes at a time when the municipality was faced with high expenses in the form of assistance payments to the unemployed. The town's treasury was empty, and the end was in sight. It was decided that a welfare committee should be established to organize the issue of emergency money.

The mayor of Wörgl Michael Unterguggenberger (1884-1936) searched for solutions for the crisis within his community and finally opted for a monetary system experiment. The theoretical basis for the experiment was the free economics of Silvio Gesell, which prescribed depreciating money as a remedy for low economic activity. The basic observation that Unterguggenberger made in his community experiment was the sluggish movement of money during the deflationary period. The citizenry of Wörgl held (hoarded according to Gesell's Theory) their money back rather than spending it on goods and services. Unterguggenberger saw that this needed to change. Local money was provided in the form of 'employment confirmation slips' or 'AB-notes' for use in the town of Wörgl only. It was arranged that these slips would lose value by a steady current security fee of 1% per month with the result that the holder of that money would be strongly encouraged to circulate it, for holding the money meant loss of value. In practice, this concept was implemented so that as each month passed, tokens worth 1% of the slip had to be attached to it, so that the note retained its validity – see example below.



An AB note showing the typical 12 fields for the monthly token stamp

When the program was implemented on the 5th July 1932, Unterguggenberger gave the following explanation:

“Slower money supply is the main cause of the current economic paralysis. Money as a medium of exchange slips away more and more from the hands of creative people. It seeps into interest channels and accumulates in the hands of people who render the money unavailable to the market by holding it back as speculative funds”.

Unterguggenberger introduced the free flowing money on a voluntary basis. It was equivalent to the existing Austrian Schilling. Municipal employees were paid initially up to 50% of their wages and later up to 75% in AB notes. In addition, there was a job program for the unemployed set up and they were completely paid for their work in AB notes. The initiative of mayor Unterguggenberger found much support in the community; all commercial businesses in the city participated in the AB note scheme because communal taxes could be paid with the notes.

After a short time the positive effects of the experiment emerged. The movement of money was very high, investments in the infrastructure of the community took place and unemployment *fell* by about 14% at a time when unemployment in Austria as a whole *rose* by 19%.

The Wörgl experiment with free flowing money found some resonance in the international press. Unterguggenberger was invited to undertake international lecture tours and the French Finance Minister and later Prime Minister Daladier visited Wörgl in 1933 because of the free flowing money experiment. Further, an economist, Irving Fisher was sent to Wörgl by the American government. Fisher later tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to introduce a Wörgl-like money under the name Stamp Scrip in the USA in an attempt to overcome the economic crisis there.



Wörgl Mayor Michael Unterguggenberger

The miracle of Wörgl came to a sudden end. In January 1933 an injunction to prohibit the experiment was issued by the Austrian authorities against the community of Wörgl. The Austrian National Bank was behind this; it saw its monopoly on money threatened. The community of Wörgl appealed against the decision but was not successful. The use of AB notes continued illegally in Wörgl until late 1933 when the Austrian State threatened to use force. The miracle of Wörgl ceased on 15 September 1933 amidst comments from the Swiss government that the Wörgl example could undermine the monopoly of the Swiss Central Bank as well. Unterguggenberger was even prevented from lecturing in Switzerland afterwards.

Following the prohibition of free money Unterguggenberger made the following comment:

“I had foreseen that the whole affair would be banned! I only did it because I wanted to give the world a sign that it was possible! To me and the world I have proven it! Now this knowledge has to slowly mature in the minds of men! The introduction of the railway was in the beginning threatened by prohibition as well”.

CURRENT CURRENCY INITIATIVES

The Wörgl experiment is not forgotten by proponents of alternative currency systems today. There are currently regional initiatives in Germany, Switzerland and Austria, inspired by Wörgl and Silvio Gesell's Theory. And in the town of Wörgl itself, an Unterguggenberger Institute was established in 2003, dedicated to the documentation of the Wörgl experiment and the collection of information about current complementary currency projects.

Immediately after the First World War, Silvio Gesell himself made the following comment:

„Trotz der heiligen Versprechen der Völker, den Krieg für alle Zeiten zu ächten, trotz der Rufe der Millionen: 'Nie wieder Krieg', entgegen all den Hoffnungen auf eine schönere Zukunft muß ich sagen: Wenn das heutige Geldsystem, die Zinswirtschaft, beibehalten wird, so wage ich es, heute schon zu behaupten, daß es keine 25 Jahre dauern wird, bis wir vor einem neuen, noch furchtbareren Krieg stehen. Ich sehe die kommende Entwicklung klar vor mir. Der heutige Stand der Technik läßt die Wirtschaft rasch zu einer Höchstleistung steigern. Die Kapitalbildung wird trotz

der großen Kriegsverluste rasch erfolgen und durch Überangebot den Zins drücken. Das Geld wird dann gehamstert werden. Der Wirtschaftsraum wird einschrumpfen, und große Heere von Arbeitslosen werden auf der Straße stehen. An vielen Grenzpfählen wird man dann eine Tafel mit der Aufschrift finden können: 'Arbeitssuchende haben keinen Zutritt ins Land, nur die Faulenzer mit vollgestopftem Geldbeutel sind willkommen. Wie zu alten Zeiten wird man dann nach dem Länderraub trachten und wird dazu wieder Kanonen fabrizieren müssen, man hat dann wenigstens für die Arbeitslosen wieder Arbeit. In den unzufriedenen Massen werden wilde, revolutionäre Strömungen wach werden, und auch die Giftpflanze Übernationalismus wird wieder wuchern. Kein Land wird das andere mehr verstehen, und das Ende kann nur wieder Krieg sein“.

Translated into English Gesell's comment reads:

“Despite the holy promise of the peoples, to abolish war for all times, despite the cry of millions ‘never again war!’, against all the hopes for a better future, I must say that: if the current monetary system, the economy based on interest, stays continuously in use, then I dare to opine that it will take not even 25 years before we are faced with another horrible war. I see this development clearly before me. Today's state of technology enables us to increase the world economy towards highest performance. Accumulation of capital will take place fast despite the losses incurred through the war and by over supply the interest rates will be lowered. Money will be hoarded then, people will keep it available in cash. The economic area will shrink and huge armies of unemployed will be on the streets. At many borders one will find a sign where is written: ‘people looking for employment must not enter this country; only the Lazy with stuffed wallets are welcome’. Like in olden times, there will be the idea to steal lands from other countries and canons will be manufactured and at least one will have created work for the unemployed again. Within the unsatisfied masses there will awaken wild, revolutionary currents and the poisonous plant ‘Over-Nationalism’ will proliferate also. No country will understand the other country anymore and the end of all this can only be war again.”

History reports that it took only 22 years before WWII began and the mechanism that Gesell described so well near to one hundred years ago is right now at work in the contemporarily ‘Euro Crisis’ and ‘Dollar Crisis’.

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SHISHANQ 1st: DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW CHRONOLOGY

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There is no consensus between scholars, historians and Egyptologists who are interested in Shishanq1st, his 22nd dynasty, his campaign to Palestine, his death and his successors. Various workers have tried to harmonize the mythology of the Old Testament and the archaeology of reliefs and the remaining ruins in Egypt, Palestine and Syria. Everyone has his own idea, theory and style of valuing this historical personality with the result that his history remains obscure and undefined.

The Old Testament's writers knew nothing of the Egyptian texts which had not been deciphered prior to the 19th century AD, so they wrote the history in a mythological way with fanatic emphasis, especially with regard to the history of the population who were not the children of Yahweh and did not have 'the pure blood running in their veins'.

Directly, after Jean Francois Champollion had deciphered the hieroglyphic symbols, scholars rushed towards the Egyptian antique cities to get more information about Egyptian history. They created the new discipline of Egyptology and divided Egyptian history into chronological periods. In this paper we are focusing Third Intermediate Period, that which concerns the 22nd and 23rd Libyan Dynasties. Writers like the American Breasted and the British Kitchen and others wrote books about the history of the Third Intermediate Period. They tried to equate what the old Egyptians who remained in their cities stated and what the Hebrew wrote in their books according to their relationship with Canaanites, Palestinians, Egyptian Pharaohs, Assyrian and Babylonian Kings. Such an historical position is referred to as "Conventional Chronology"; it became a standardized curriculum for many scholars and historians. But some historians oppose traditional Conventional Chronology on the ground of what they see as historical mistakes. Some of them refer to the Third Intermediate Period as the "Dark Ages"!

The first controversial book was delivered by the Russian Emmanuel Velikovsky (1895-1979). He declared that conventional Old Egyptian, Greek and Israeli history had been, and still was full of mistakes and in need of revision and rewriting. This put the Third Intermediate Period into a field of argument between scholars. At the centre of the controversy is the British researcher David Rohl, who, together with Peter James, Michel Sanders and others have re-visited the Old Testament, the ancient inscriptions and reliefs, the Book of the Dead and Apies Burial sites and periods of natural phenomena like eclipses. This paper will present the various points of view but is unable to say that the matter is concluded. On the contrary the

matter continues to be a source of debate to the present time¹.

SOURCES

As a starting point, we note that Egyptologists are dependent on the following sources:

1. The Old Testament:

With regard to Egyptian history, the Torah gives an account of the period between the Jewish entrance into Egypt of the Prophet Joseph (*Peace of Allah be upon him*) and the Exodus by the Prophet Moses (*Peace of Allah be upon him*), and the campaigns that involved the Jewish Kingdoms after that time. English history writers take cognizance of the fact that The New Testament is related to The Old Testament in the discipline of "Biblical History".

2. The Old Historians:

The chief of these was the Egyptian Priest Manetho (Manethon of Sebennytes) who wrote the *Aegyptiaca* in the Greek language. He was a contemporary of the Ptolemaic Period (3rd century BC). His works did not completely survive but he was the first to classify the Egyptian Dynasties, albeit in manner not like that classified by modern scholars.

3. The Classical Historians:

I refer here to those who were influenced by Manetho, e.g. like Greek Josephus, Sextus Julius Africanus, Eusebius and others who came after Herodotus the father of history who visited Egypt and Libya in the 5th century BC; he was the first to name the old Egyptian inscriptions as Hieroglyph, i.e. holy relief.

4. The Contemporary Sciences:

Certain sciences are needed to interpret the historical literature; geology, archaeology, deciphering ancient scripts, chronology, philology, genealogy, etc.

THE COMBATANTS

Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832) was a classical French scholar, scientist in philology, expert in Egyptology and an Orientalist. It is said that he learned dozen of languages when he was young, e.g. Coptic which led him to be the first to decipher the writing on the Rosetta Stone between 1822 and 1824, and be the first to open the gates to the hieroglyph's secrets. This led him to the triumphal scene of the Pharaoh Shishanq1st carved into the Bubastis walls of the Temple of Karnak at Thebes and to argue that Shishanq1st founder of the 22nd Dynasty was the Shishak of scripture. Champollion did not delineate dates because he was interested in philology, not history.

James Henry Breasted (1865-1935) was an American archaeologist and historian. He was awarded his PhD in Egyptology at the University of Berlin in 1894. He was in the forefront of the generation of archaeologist-historians who broadened the idea of Western Civilization to include the entire Near East as part of Europe's cultural roots. He worked on a compilation of all the extant hieroglyphic inscriptions and publishing his work in 1906 as "Ancient Records of Egypt". In all he studied the twenty-six dynasties that reigned between 3050 BC and 525 BC. Relevant to this paper, we note here that it was he that translated the text on the Stella of the God of Nile that identified the cities captured by Shishanq during his campaign into Palestine.

Kenneth Anderson Kitchen (b.1932) is a contemporary English historian. His book "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt 1100-650 BC" is universally regarded by historians as the standard and most comprehensive treatment of the 22nd Libyan Dynasty, its most famous pharaoh Shishanq1st and his ancestors and successors. Kitchen is a scholar who holds a high view of the inherent historicity of the Old Testament. His recent (2003) book "On the Reliability of the Old Testament" documents several direct and indirect references to King David's status as the founder of Ancient Israel based on passages in the Tel Dan House of David and Mesha Stelas, as well as Shishanq1st's Karnak list. On this evidence he confirms the relationship between the 22nd Libyan Dynasty and the Old Kingdom of Israel and that the Shishanq 1st of the reliefs was Shishak of the Old Testament.

Immanuel Velikovsky (1895-1979) was a Russian thinker. He is best known as the author of a number of controversial books on prehistory, in particular, the US bestseller "Worlds in Collision", published in 1950. He was a passionate Zionist, and this steered the focus of his work. Velikovsky proposed a revised chronology for ancient Egypt, Greece, Israel and other cultures of the ancient Near East. The revised chronology aimed at explaining the so-called Dark Age of the eastern Mediterranean (1100-750BC) and reconciling biblical history with mainstream archeology and orthodox interpretations of Egypt chronology. Velikovsky's theories have generally been rejected (ignored) by the academic community, because he did not depend on the scientific evidence or historical resources.

David M. Rohl (b.1950) is a British Egyptologist and historian who now lives in Spain. He has put forward several controversial theories concerning the chronology of ancient Egypt and Palestine. He traces his fascination with ancient Egypt to a visit to that country at the age of nine, which featured a journey on the Nile on King Farouk's paddle-steamer. He wrote some books, like "A Test of Time and Legend" in which he set forth theories for dating Egyptian kings of the 19th through 25th Dynasties, which would require a major revision of the conventional chronology and the chronologies of Israel and Mesopotamia. Rohl claims that the identification of Shishanq [Shishak] king of

Egypt, first proposed by Jean-François Champollion, is based on incorrect conclusions. Rohl argues that Shishak should be identified with Ramses II and that the date of Ramses' reign should be moved forward some 300 years. Rohl based his revised chronology. "The New Chronology", on his interpretation of numerous archeological finds and genealogical records of solar eclipses, Akhenaton's letters, Apis' Bull burials and other evidence. Rohl's theories have not been accepted by most Egyptologists. His most vocal critic has been Kitchen.

Peter James is a British historian. He graduated in Ancient History and Archaeology at Birmingham University and pursued postgraduate research in Ancient History at London University. He has published numerous articles on ancient chronology, technology and the history of science in both academic and popular journals. He is the principal author of "Centuries of Darkness". He has argued that there was no 300-year Dark Age in the ancient world, that the 300-year Dark Age is based on a misreading of Egypt history. James agrees with Rohl that there is no proof that Shishanq is Shishak, but he disagrees that Shishanq 1st is Ramses II as Rohl has proposed. In his point of view, James seems to be affected by Michael Sanders who has produced a chronologic list according to the Old Testament, and has put ancient history in an up-sided position!

Aidan Mark Dodson (b.1962) is a British Egyptologist. His current work covers a variety of areas within Egyptian archaeology, but the main areas of study for him include the development of funerary equipment and architecture, history and architecture, history and chronology. Dodson noticed some changes on the artifacts of the 22nd Dynasty. For instance, on the canopic chest of Shishanq 1st he saw what he interpreted to be an attempt to reproduce the same canopics which had been made in the New Kingdom period. In addition to the head of the God Hurs was found at the Shishanq 1st's coffin.

Concerning Apis Bull urials, Dodson noticed that there are four of them related to the Ramses' reign, but they either disappeared or the burial's place has not yet been discovered. Dodson confirms that the habit of Apis Bull Burial was still in existence in the period of Osorkon II until the Alexander's period, including the 23rd Libyan Dynasty. These ideas were rejected by the supporters of the New Chronology like David Rohl and his colleagues.

DISCUSSION

The thoughts and theories set forth above are contentious and prompt the question whether it is possible to develop a better account of Shishanq 1st's history.

The Name

The name 'Shishanq' was read by Champollion as *Hedjkheper-Shoshenk*. Others saw the name as *Asychis*, a translation from a Greek name taken from the classic historian Josephus in his book (*op cit*). This does not have the letter of 'n'; this had been dropped by the Jews, most likely because the Jews and Josephus did not learn about this name being scripted on the hieroglyphic reliefs as Champollion did, even that this name without the 'n' was also found on some ancient Egyptian texts.

On the other hand, with regard to Shishanq's campaign into Palestine, W. Max-Mueller (1888) saw that Champollion's translation of the name of the Judah Kingdom as "Iuda-ha-Malek" was wrong, that the name is really "Yad-ha-Melek" which meant linguistically: 'the hand of the king'. This translation can be supported by the existence of the initiator 'h' as an identified symbol in Semitic old languages². It could be understood that it this monument or stony stela was reserved for a particular king or a place in Palestine, and had been built by an unknown governor for the king of Judah. This view led Mueller to propose that Shishanq 1st had not conquered the Kingdom of Judah as the Torah says, but had avoided its capital Jerusalem and had gone directly towards the Kingdom of Israel. Not surprisingly, this idea was opposed by the Biblical experts who are passionate about the authenticity of the Old Testament.

The Chronology

Kenneth Kitchen's ideas face contrary opinions held by other Egyptologists. The result is that Egyptologists fall into one of two groups: (1) that headed by Kitchen who support Conventional Chronology; and (2) that headed by David Rohl that support the New Chronology first proposed by Velikovsky.

The first strong evidence proposed by Kitchen is the direct comments and allusions to King David's status as the founder of Ancient Israel on passages in the Tel Dan House of David, the Mesha Stelas and Shishanq 1st's Karnak list. Kitchen counters the efforts of Biblical Minimalists who claim that the Bible is unhistorical. Kitchen has strongly opposed the New Chronology views of David Rohl who posits that the Biblical Shishak who invaded Israel in 925 BC was actually Ramses II. He further argues that the 21st and 22nd Dynasties of Egypt were contemporary with one another due on the evidence of the absence of the Dynasty 21 Apis Bull, an Egyptian sacrifice to Ptah, the Memphis' God and Osiris, the Upper-World God. Kitchen argues further that the word Shishak is closer philologically to Shishanq and that this Pharaoh records in his monument at Thebes that he campaigned actively against Ancient Israel and Judah.

Concerning Rohl's views about the missing Apis Bull, the German J.G. van der Land responds that no tombs of Apis Bulls have been found in the Serapeum³

between 1080 and 852BC. But there is evidence that an Apis Bull was mummified during that period. An inscription states that the High Priest of Ptah temple in Memphis, where the Apis Bull was venerated, had a new table for embalming sacred Apis Bulls during the reign of Shishanq 1st (945-921BC) so at least one Apis Bull must have been mummified under Shishanq 1st despite the fact that no tomb of it has been found in the Serapeum. J.G. van der Land says that very likely one of the 21st Dynasty pharaohs introduced an alternate place for the burial of Apis Bulls. But in 852 BC, the 23rd year of Osorkon II, the 4th pharaoh of the 22nd Dynasty, an Apis Bull was buried again in a tomb in the Serapeum, and from then on the old tradition was restored, as shown by inscription on Stelas.

The British Aidan Dodson, as a funerary archaeologist, agrees with J.G. van der Land and confirms that the story of definite Apis burials picks up again with the reign of Osorkon II. There are no private votive stela left at the Serapeum during the Rameside periods, but during the Third Intermediate Period many private stela were dedicated and they provide a dating sequence that is quite reliable. It is also interesting to note that depictions of the Apis Bulls from the Third Intermediate Period reflect some noticeable changes in the marking of the bull.

The rare existence of Apis Bulls funerary during the 21st and the 22nd Libyan Dynastic periods makes David Rohl think that the tradition of Apis burying was stopped, and that this proves that those pharaohs were foreigner and not real Egyptians. But in spite of the proposed absence of those Apis Bulls, there are some texts related to Shishanq 1st which mention them clearly. For example, the High Priest declared to his father Shishanq: '*There is no price for the sacred bulls*'⁴, the father issued a 'ukase' (royal order) to offer the prices for exporting those bulls '*to keep on the tradition of the Grandfathers*'⁵. This monument is still stored in the Egyptian Museum.

The views of those opposed to Conventional Chronology have opened the door for deep changes in New Kingdom history. Predictably, many minimalists do not agree with these views. For example, some scholars have exploited obscurity with regard to the death of Tutankhamen, arguing that the drawings on his tomb represent Ethiopians-Africans, maybe Libyans, fighting against the Egyptians; the intimation being that the Libyans of the future 22nd Dynasty shared in a plot against Tutankhamen and helped in killing him to give Shishanq the opportunity to take the throne after Ay!

Then there is confusion in the chronology with regard to the regnal years between Tutankhamen, Ay and Shishanq 1st. The New Chronology puts the date of the pharaoh Tutankhamen at 1334-1325 BC, and the pharaoh Ay at 1325-1321 BC, i.e. far from the period of the pharaoh Shishanq 1st (945-924BC). These differences could be said to fit David Rohl's New Chronology which deletes more than 300 years from

the Third Intermediate Period. Predictably, Kitchen and others are not satisfied with these results.

Some people have proposed Thutmos III (1504-1450BC) was the king who had raided Palestine, not Shishanq 1st nor Ramses II. Others have suggested that Queen Hatshepsut (1498-1483BC) was the raider of Palestine; they develop this view from Shishanq 1st's list of cities at Karnak and Hatshepsut's list of cities at Dir-el-Bahri, both of which indicate that they went into Palestine. This confusion might well have brought about by a misunderstanding in the deciphering of the Egyptian reliefs. For example: Shishanq 1st may have carved his list on the same wall where Ramses II recorded his victories over the Libyans; he may have done this as a form of revenge on a previous enemy of the Libyan tribes. In fact, there are some texts concerning the wars of Ramses II and the Libyans that have been blurred out on that relief, with the result that some historians have counted that the cities' list as that of Ramses II rather than Shishanq 1st.

Thutmos III was a famous conqueror and victor, and it would not be strange for him to reach those cities in Palestine which are on the paths of the Levant. Hatshepsut's list refers to Punt (= actual Somalia), an important place for Egyptian traders. Some historian suggests that Punt could be in south Palestine, and that it was reserved for black people who had come there from Africa by the trade-roads. We could notice, also, the relationship between the Israeli Kingdom and the African-Horn where the delegators of Solomon (*Peace of Allah be upon him*) were ruling his trade affairs. Both the African Punt and the Palestinian Punt were under the authority of Canaanites and the Egyptians before the Exodus of the Jews, so it would not be strange that they are mentioned on the cities' list of Hatshepsut at Dir-el-Bahri.

The most remarkable contravention on the part of David Rohl is his dependence on a letter received by Akhenaton from his vassal Abimilko of Tyre. This letter informed Akhenaton that fire had destroyed half of the palace of King Nikmaddu II in the city of Ugarit. In the charred remains of that palace, archaeologists found a tablet describing an eclipse of the sun that occurred at sunset in the month of Hiyaru. i.e mid-April to mid-May. Computer retro-calculation has confirmed that an eclipse did occur in the year 1012 BC, and was the only eclipse at that location during the entire 2nd millennium BC. Rohl therefore deduced that the palace fire and Abimilko's letter to Akhenaton occurred after and likely no more than a year after the tablet recording the solar eclipse of 1012BC was inscribed⁶. According to Conventional Chronology the rise of the King David (*Peace of Allah be upon him*) was about the year 1012 BC, and this suggests that Akhenaton's reign was from 1350 to 1334BC. Rohl's identification of the time of Akhenaton with the time of David digs a large historical hole in the ancient history of the region, proposing a discrepancy of more than 300 years between what has been written in the Old Testament and what has been discovered by

archaeological effort. This also affects Shishanq 1st's regnal years and both the 22nd and 23rd Libyan Dynasties. But, Abimilko's letter concerned a fire and not an eclipse of sun; and the burned palace may have been reconstructed and renewed after the letter-recorded fire, so it might not be correct to synchronize the eclipse's time with the fire's time.

Concerning the name of Shishanq 1st, Rohl claims that it was based on the hypocoristic form *sysw* and referred to Ramses when abused by Hebrews to *sysq*. Kitchen's response is that no other known king of Egypt that fits the identification as well as Shishanq 1st, so Rohl's identification of Shishanq with Ramses is weaker on philological grounds than Shoshenq, which does not correspond to any known phonological rule in Biblical Hebrew other than puns, which are rarer than Rohl seems to suggest. In order to gain support for his theory, Rohl interviewed Kitchen. During the interview, which took no less than seven hours, Kitchen drew attention to genealogical evidence that proved the incorrectness of Rohl's theory beyond any doubt. But when the program was broadcast, all the important information Kitchen had brought forward was reduced to no more than a three minute account of lesser points, suggesting that may have been some conspiracy against the Conventional Chronology supported by Kitchen.

Funerary specialist Aidan Dodson has argued that the burial tools preserved with Shishanq 1st look like those tools preserved with previous kings of the 18th and 19th Dynasties. This might be seen to support Rohl's view that Shishanq 1st was Ramses II, but Dodson also noticed the head of the God Hurs on the coffin of Shishanq 1st, a symbol that had not been seen in previous royal burials. (We note that the mummy of Shishanq 1st was not found, only his coffin and canopic chest).

Michael Sanders has mixed up all controversial ideas in his chronology. He cuts several hundred years out of Egyptian chronology to make it fit with Biblical chronology and seems to follow Rohl's theories. Most scholars equate the Biblical Shishak with the Egyptian king Shishanq 1st but Sanders rejects the evidence for this. He puts Shishanq 1st's time between 701BC and 754 or 755BC, and considers him the first ruler of an Assyrian Dynasty (not Libyan) put in place at the time of the invasion of Tiglathpileser III under his Governor (Idi-Bi'lu), the Shishanq Prince of Me in the Piankhy Stela. But Sanders has failed to notice that Me is an old Egyptian abbreviation of the Libyan tribe Meshwesh's old name, the place of origin of the pharaoh Shishanq 1st. Me, Meshwesh, was commonly scripted on some of the old Egyptian reliefs during the second millennium BC; it is much older than the threats of Tiglathpileser III to Palestine and Egypt.

Sanders also equates the Biblical Shishak with Ramses II, and says that he took the treasures of Jerusalem in 915BC not in 940BC. He also argues that the Kingdom of David (*Peace of Allah be upon him*) was established

in 969 BC not in 1012 BC as Rohl says. But the Torah itself mentions that Shishak (Shishanq 1st) was the pharaoh who raided Palestine and who took the Jerusalem house treasures, so the chronology of Sanders is against not only the Conventional Chronology but against Biblical history also.

Lastly, the very important thing we could add here is that a quick glance at the Karnack relief reveals that the Pharaoh was wearing a doubled crown, which donates a 'unitive' king; putting a double crown was an old royal Egyptian habit. Ramses II was not an unitive king, because Egypt during his reign and during the whole New Kingdom period had been already united. Shishanq 1st, on the other hand, found Egypt divided into two kingdoms during the 21st dynasty: a political kingdom had been held by the Tanis governors in Lower-Egypt, and a religious kingdom had been held by the Thebes priests in the Upper-Egypt. Shishanq 1st brought down the priest's influence in Thebes declaring a united kingdom of Egypt with the doubled crown as the symbol of unity. Ramses II never put a doubled crown on any statue that described him. We can argue from this that the relief of the Karnak wall must concern Shishanq 1st, not Ramses II or Ramses III or any other New-Kingdom pharaoh. This also suggests that it was Shishanq 1st indeed, who was the pharaoh who founded the Libyan 22nd Dynasty, united the Egyptian kingdom and directed a campaign into Palestine at a time when the Israeli kingdom was divided between Jeroboam and Rehoboam immediately after Solomon death (*Peace of Allah be upon him*).

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NOTES

¹An unbelievable surprise happened when we were writing this research was that a conference was held in the Leiden University titled "The Libyan Period in Egypt". It was attended by many international scholars including Kenneth Kitchen, Aidan Dodson and others.

²See: Kubaissi (2000), p.158.

³The Serapeum is a huge underground catafalque which was anciently used by Pharaonic Egyptians to bury their mummified sacred Apis Bulls.

⁴See the Our History Encyclopedia, p 201-202.

⁵Our History: *ibid*, p 202.

⁶See Pope (2007), p.2.



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PROJECT MONITORING AND EVALUATION IN UGANDA

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The practices of fifty three Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) in Uganda were examined in order to assess whether they attached strategic value to project monitoring and valuation. It was found that monitoring and evaluation activities were given low priority compared with other related project activities within the framework of project cycle management. Budgetary constraints partly explained this attitude and approach to project management. To some extent International NGOs and other donor agencies share the blame for this kind of mentality by not providing specialised training in monitoring and evaluation techniques for local project staff.

BACKGROUND

A project can be looked at as ‘a unique set of coordinated activities with definite starting and finishing points, undertaken by an individual or organization to meet specific performance objectives within defined schedule, cost and performance parameters’ (BS 6079: 2000). Pinto sees projects as goal-oriented programs of interrelated activities, of finite duration and to a degree unique (Pinto, 2007). Kerzner (2003) sees a project having the following broad attributes:

- They have specific objectives to be accomplished within certain recommended specifications;
- They do have defined start and end dates;
- They have funding limits;
- They have human and non-human resources (money, people and equipment); and
- They are multifunctional, that is, cut across several functional lines.

Looking a little closer Kerzner (ibid) sees projects having the following characteristics:

- They are *ad hoc* endeavors with clear life cycles;
- They are building blocks in the design and execution of organizational strategies;
- They are responsible for the newest and most improved products, services and organizational processes;
- They provide a philosophy and strategy for the management of change;
- Their management entails crossing functional and organizational boundaries;
- They involve the traditional management functions of planning, organizing, motivation, directing and control;
- The principal outcomes of a project are the satisfaction of customer requirements within the

constraints of technical, cost and schedule objectives; and

- They are terminated upon successful completion of performance objectives.

WHY EVALUATION

One of the most important phases of a project cycle is that of monitoring and evaluation. In monitoring a project it is important to set clear milestones and events against which progress will be measured. Such check points serve as an essential form of feedback that ultimately help project personnel to stay committed and motivated to the task ahead. They help to monitor if the project is on schedule and within the recommended budget parameter. Feed back of such a kind has been called “*the break fast of champions*”. People thrive on it. By giving people a well-conceived set of milestones and events, you provide them with a map to track their own progress and allow them to become excited about the project. They know what the project goal is because you have reminded them of it. They appreciate what the project goal is because you have clarified it. The check points (milestones) and activities provide points on the map that each individual can use as a tracking system to check progress (Alan and Barry 1999).

Evaluation of a project is closely associated with monitoring. Monitoring and evaluation usually happen together. Monitoring answers questions such as: have we done the things we said we were going to do? If not, why not, and what needs to change? (Graham 2002). Evaluation is a relatively structured analytical effort undertaken selectively to answer specific management questions regarding project funded assistance or activities. It is a management tool that plays a vital role in agency decision making, accountability reporting and learning. It is an important source of information about the performance of a given project funded activities, programs and strategies (USAID Training Manual, 2004).

An evaluation exercise is meant to answer questions such as: have we achieved what we set out to achieve? If not, why not, and what might we need to change? There are seven vital purposes for conducting an evaluation of a project:

- To explain unexpected results whether positive or negative;
- To determine if customer or beneficiary needs are being met;
- To identify unintended impact so that an explanation can be given;
- To explore special issues such as project sustainability, cost effectiveness; efficiency and relevance of a project to the beneficiaries;
- To make recommendations for program/ project improvement;
- To distill lessons for application in other similar setting; and

- To test the validity of upheld hypotheses and assumptions underlying certain results framework.

This paper emphasizes the fact that both governmental and non governmental organizations require effective and efficient monitoring and evaluation of projects and programs if success is to be registered. In the case of community-based organizations working in rural areas to transform the quality of life of the population, the need for timely monitoring and evaluation of projects become even more pertinent. The exercise should be done continually for the case of monitoring, and periodically when it comes to evaluation. An organization can not effectively transform people's lives if it does not develop and be in possession of clear monitoring and evaluation tools, and plan of action to be executed.

THE INVESTIGATION

Planning and implementing a project of whatever scale usually involves a set of steps called the Project Cycle. This is a natural sequence in which a project is planned and activities carried out. The steps include: Project Identification, Preparation, Appraisal, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation (Mulwa, 2007; Umar, 2000). The activities of fifty three (53) community-based organizations operating in Northern Uganda were investigated. These organizations were supported by International NGOs such as CARE International, ACORD, Save the Children in Uganda, Action Aid, Oxfam Great Britain, and ACORD. A preliminary investigations carried out during a training session suggested that these organizations did not have effective monitoring tools and evaluation plan in place for the different projects they were executing (see ACORD 2004). It emerged during one week of training that the leaders of the community based organizations did not find fundamental strategic value and importance in monitoring and evaluation of projects. To them, what was important were project preparation, design and implementation as tabulated in Table 1.

No.	Project cycle phase/ issue	Score
1	Project implementation	52%
2	Project preparation	18%
3	Project appraisal	12%
4	Project identification	11%
5	Project monitoring and evaluation	7%
6	TOTAL	100%

Source: Primary Data collected in 2004

Table 1: showing the value and importance that 53 project leaders attach to the different phases of a project cycle.

STUDY OBJECTIVES

1. To establish reasons why monitoring and evaluation of projects were not taken seriously by project leaders of community-based organizations in Uganda; and
2. To determine and stipulate the need for strategic project monitoring and evaluation by community based organizations.

STUDY APPROACH

The study focused mainly on fifty three (53) community-based organizations whose leaders were interviewed on the basis of focus group discussions approach to information generation. The study was limited to organizations and their leaders working in Northern Uganda but it is evident that these organizations represent the general characteristics of community-based organizations operating in Uganda.

RESULTS

Not one of the fifty three Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) studied had appointed and specialized Monitoring and Evaluation Officers to help the management team by giving feed back in respect to project execution based on the objectives, and the associated outputs and activities. It was evident that the Chief Executive Officers or Program Managers of those CBOs were the people responsible for monitoring and evaluation of project activities and objectives. This constituted an overload on the Managers which prevented them from executing the specialized duties and responsibilities associated with that office.

Due to the fact that in all these CBOs there was no specialized Monitoring and Evaluation Officer recruited, no standard/good monitoring tools were developed to effectively track progress in the respective organizations in question.

In 83% of the CBOs studied, there was no budgetary provision for external evaluation of the projects. It became clear that 97% of the CBOs depended on donor agencies to execute there project activities. Thus it was the donors, such as ACORD, Save the Children in Uganda and Action Aid, which were able to indicate where the CBOs needed to show improvement and present success stories. The independence of CBOs became compromised.

The study revealed that none of the CBOs had a budget allocated specifically for training in monitoring and evaluation of project activities, or how to develop strategic monitoring tools to execute project activities. The budget provision available was for the general training in project planning and management only.

It emerged that the CBOs consider external evaluation, whether formative or summative as a waste of

resources such as funds, equipment, time and manpower. The leaders of these organizations believe that evaluation should be done by the staff of the respective organizations and the findings presented to the members of the senior management team for discussion and possible resolutions. The perception that monitoring and evaluation of project activities is and should be associated with national and international NGOs was found to be strong.

The leaders of the CBOs emphasized that because of budgetary constraints, and the fact that over 90% of their budget is donor driven, project implementation is considered the most important function that they should be engaged (see Table 1). To the leaders of the CBOs, other aspects inherent in the project cycle management should not be treated with the same level of attention, including committing attendant resources as compared with the phase of project implementation.

DISCUSSION

It emerged from the study that the community-based organisations attach limited value to the notion of project monitoring and evaluation. In all cases there was no budgetary provision for training in monitoring and evaluation of projects. One then wonders why the donors have not taken this concern and challenge seriously, when they know that any organization looking for success should ensure that clear monitoring tools and evaluation plans are developed for tracking progress and for reporting purposes. It is from monitoring and evaluation of projects that lessons can be learnt and best practices distilled and carried forward for continuity and replication in other related areas of work. It comes as no surprise that the performance of the CBOs studied have been poor in terms of effective and efficient service delivery.

On their part, international NGOs like ACORD, Oxfam Great Britain and Action Aid have been careless in not emphasizing the value and importance of monitoring and evaluation of projects by the CBOs. This attitude can be equated to a mother who keeps on breast feeding the child even when the child is 9 years old! At the age of say 2 years, we expect that the child should be weaned from breast feeding, and given the opportunity to develop more independence. By keeping the child to continuously breast feed, a mother is not only preventing herself from undertaking other important duties of development, but, importantly, preventing the child from developing into a self reliant and useful human being in society. This is a legacy in Uganda associated with a number of international NGOs that work in partnership with local NGOs and CBOs. By not effectively building their capacities so that they are independent, and capable of doings by themselves they are perpetuating failure of CBOs to effectively perform.

The study suggests that the lukewarm attitude adopted by CBOs in Uganda is a product of ill equipping and inadequate exposure to the strategic values and

imperatives of monitoring and evaluation of projects. If these organizations were consciously and deliberately made to appreciate the need for effective monitoring and evaluation of projects, we would not have seen this kind of attitude and practice prevailing. It is a fact that no organization can succeed in realizing its intended goals and objectives if there are no clearly well developed and approved monitoring tools and evaluation plans in place.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study suggests the following actions:

- International NGOs and other donor agencies should insist on the need and importance of project monitoring and evaluation. This can be done by allocating specific funds for that duty and responsibility. Donor funds should not only be spent on implementation of project activities; other aspects of the project cycle management like monitoring and evaluation should be reckoned with in budget estimates.
- A culture of continuous and periodic project monitoring and evaluation should be instilled if fundamental community transformation is to be realized in Uganda. Arising from monitoring and evaluation reports, strategic actions can be taken to address emerging issues as revealed.
- Every Community-Based Organization should recruit a specialist Monitoring and Evaluation Officer. All International NGOs operating in Uganda have such specialists. It would be good to see this culture trickle down to CBOs.
- All frontline project staff members of CBOs should be required to attend a course in project monitoring and evaluation. Such a course would demystify the notion that project monitoring and evaluation is a resource wasting activity.

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'HONOUR KILLING': A EUPHEMISM FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST NON-CONFORMISTS

Dr Bruce Duncan*

Kemal Yildirin's article on "Honour Killings" (Yildirin 2011) evokes Burns' immortal phrase, "man's inhumanity to man". Maiming and killing are motivated by as many reasons as there are atrocities and those identified separately as "honour" killings are not unique in the annals of criminality. The context of the growing awareness of familial killing tends to downgrade other violent and murderous occurrences; it is important to see "honour killings" as just one amongst many other acts of violence and murder – another visible part of the huge iceberg of viciousness and slaughter.

This paper aims to unveil some aspects of cultural degradation and expose the inexplicably warped mind-set that harbours and then launches violence. In essence, this polemic seeks to understand the perpetrator(s) as individuals, separating the person from the deed, because it is not credible to believe that perpetrators grow up as conscious "honour crime" clones or acolytes. "Evil" behaviour has many roots.¹

The victim(s) too, must be understood and a global legal framework to provide protection and justice for targeted individuals should be operative. Justice must be balanced against the factors causing the offence. However, the violence of "honour crime", in whatever form, is the net result of many factors and this needs to be addressed with understanding.² All behaviour, like a spider's web, is caused; to just remove the web (the behaviour) does not adequately address the problem. The *causes célèbres*, the spiders, must be analysed in order to address the psychological, sociological and human factors that motivate such destructive actions. Violence is best curbed at its source. Nevertheless, the actions of the person(s) responsible for "honour killings" cannot be condoned. Furthermore, preventative and supportive services must be open options for crippled survivors and those who grieve the loss of a loved one. Let us view "honour killings" against violent crimes per se, glimpse some British realities, consider their probable origin, take note of red herrings, ponder some conundrums and then conclude with "Tomorrow". We will commence our journey with a synoptic view of the hydra-headed monster of violence.

VIOLENT CRIMES PER SE

It is incredible, that according to the Bible, Jehovah ordered the killing of defenceless women and male children³ the sparing of young girls so that the Israelite men could rape them⁴ and that Islam demands the death of unbelievers. No amount of apologetic manoeuvrings can explain the authorising and commitment of such horrendous violence and

genocide, perpetuated and conducted to uphold the honour of the religious deity, the creator God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and heavenly father of believers⁵. Other examples are found in Joshua 1:9, 6:1–21 and 8.18,24,25,26, Deuteronomy 7:16 and Numbers 31:1-2 and 17, 18.



Figure 1: Why in the name of a deity?

Nations throughout the world have had and still maintain their death camps. We remember, for example, the British Empire's internment camps during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). It was here that starvation, brutality and cold-blooded killings took place in the name of a Christian Queen and country (Fig.2).



Figure 2: Why in the name of Empire?

Source: 1st-art-gallery.com

The horrors of the three hundred and forty three Pol Pot created "Killing Fields" (late 1960s to mid-1970s) in Cambodia (the notorious S-21 Prison and Choeung Ek extermination centre) where children and adults were ruthlessly exterminated; all in the name of a hideous political system, shocked many. Inexplicable delays in bringing culprits to justice are only now seeing some of the surviving members of the regime facing trial for their alleged crimes against humanity (Fig.3).



Figure 3: Why in the name of ideology?
Source: flickr.com

Mao Zedong's (1893–1976) genocide ranks high on the list of crimes against humanity where, with Russian complicity, his psychopathic despotism brought sorrow that has left an indelible blot on the history of the Chinese nation, all in the name of the envisaged People's Republic (Fig.4).



Figure 4: Why in the name of liberation?
Source: kasamaproject.org

The evidences of the 15,000 Final Solution camps, constructed throughout Nazi occupied territories (built during 1939–1942) were spawned by Hitler's jingoism and xenophobia. The ghoulish evidence that still challenges a silent deity and impotent world continue to cause shock and horror and stir emotional roots – all in the name of what was called the Third Reich (Fig.5).



Figure5: Why in the name of Ethnicity?
Source: www2.dsu.nodak.edu

The gulags of the USSR were Josef Stalin's pitiless dungeons in which to confine those who dared to seek another political ideal. His paranoid grip on power will remain as a gruesome blot on the pathway that led from the frying pan of despised monarchical hegemony into the fire of violent dictatorship. It is estimated that around 50 million perished in Soviet gulags between 1930 and 1950⁶ (Fig.6).



Figure 6: Why in the name of Country?
Source: americainchains2009.wordpress.com

The Japanese internment camps built to accommodate, torture and murder "the enemy" during WW II and other "hell on earth" facilities built in the name of Country were so-called divine Emperor-sanctioned venues where those who were "different" were maltreated and killed. See Figure 7.



Figure 7: Why in the name of the Emperor?
Source: dailymail.co.uk

It would be difficult to find a nation where individuals have not been subjected to State sponsored terror, rape, murder, maiming and inhuman treatment just because he/she was "different". Who does not believe that clandestine, government-backed intimidation, violence and murder still rules?

What of the "civilised" countries of Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Chile, Somalia, North Korea and ...? Violence in the name of ...

In 1785, the renowned Scot, Robert Burns penned the immortal words:

"Many and sharp the num'rous ills
Inwoven with our frame!
More pointed still we make ourselves
Regret, remorse, and shame!

And Man, whose heav'n-erected face
The smiles of love adorn, -
Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn!"⁷

BRITISH REALITIES

How is it possible that a 21st century devotee of any religion, proponent of a political system and follower of a philosophical paradigm can, with purposeful planning, callously maim/kill another person because she/he has not conformed to tradition – in the United Kingdom?

What kind of ego needs to inflict violence to ensure that "image" is kept sacred? What kind of society impinges subjectively on the individual rights of one of its members to ensure that group identity is cloned at the expense of personal choice? Where, in our global village, do these so-called "honour killings" atrocities occur? These and many other questions come to the fore when considering what is inappropriately termed as "honour killings"? Surely the phrase, "honour killings" is an ironic misnomer because there is nothing honourable about hurting or killing another person – is there?

The media has reported on the outrageous orchestrated killing of children, men and women⁸ where, in some cases the killers have been mothers, fathers, uncles and brothers; where some twelve murders a year are perpetrated within the United Kingdom's South Asian communities to satisfy "honour"⁹. The arrival of immigrants, some of whom remain enveloped in their traditionally emulated strains of violence, have placed this issue firmly on the United Kingdom's societal agenda.

Alarmingly, a 2006 BBC poll for the Asian network covering upwards of 500 young British Asians of the Sikh, Hindu, Muslim and Christian religions reported that 1 in 10 young Asians said that they could condone the murder of someone who dishonoured their family. The "dishonouring" concept excluded issues that were divorced from defined sexual promiscuity and arranged relationships. Research failed to uncover recent statistics.¹⁰

Detective Chief Inspector Gerry Campbell¹¹ of the Metropolitan Police (UK) told the media, "Young women are predominately the victims of honour-based violence but we are seeing an increase in young men and boys – it is now about 15% of the total numbers ... adding that 25% of their cases involved people under the age of 18"¹².

In welcome support, Nazir Afzal, from the UK Crown Prosecution Service (December 2009), is quoted as saying that the Metropolitan Police will be ensuring that "we don't miss cases"¹³.

PROBABLE ORIGINS AND RED HERRINGS

Included in the stated macro-picture is the equally macabre micro reality called "honour" killings to redress so-called family honour. "Honour" crime involves violence, including murder, committed by people who want to defend the reputation of their family or community ... Honour killing is the murder of a person accused of bringing shame upon his or her family ... It happens worldwide, from South America to Asia"¹⁴.

Interestingly, the majority of "honour killings" occur within Islamic and Hindu-dominant countries. Paradoxically, it is important to note that there is no religious text in either the Quran or the Hadith that give credence to this practice. It is also difficult to understand that whilst Hinduism forbids the killing of animals, to slaughter a relative is not problematic for the "honour killing cadres". What, then, are the origins of this twisted practice?

"Honour killings" apparently germinated in ancient feudal social structures and were entrenched in chauvinistic and violently enforced patriarchal, tribal settings. Many individuals from these nations now tend to live in predominantly poor, ghettoised, migrant communities¹⁵ in western countries.

It might be that the influence of The Codes of Hammurabi (1780 BC) and Assura (1075 BC) had become part of the cultural knot that tied the peoples of that part of the world together where, for example, a woman's virginity belonged to the family and females were "below" men.

"If a virgin of her own accord give herself to a man, the man shall take oath, against his wife they shall not draw nigh. Threefold the price of a virgin the ravisher shall pay. The father shall do with his daughter what he pleases (Code of Assura).

This obscene custom was noted, too in Roman society. Citing Goldstein, cited in an Ohmynews article states, "Honor killings were permitted in ancient Rome ... [where] female adultery was a felony and the state 'actively prosecuted' male family members who did not 'take action' against the women in their family ... the Roman statesman Cato said, 'If you catch your wife in adultery, you can kill her with impunity ...'¹⁶. Did Roman colonisation also absorb this culturally foreign demon? Interestingly these practices predate the Islamic and Christian religions.

Of relevance, too, is that Sharia Law permits retribution by family members but the "eye for an eye"¹⁷ rule does not gel well with many people.

Officially, India¹⁸ and Pakistan¹⁹ do not condone "honour killings" but it would appear that there is an overall tardiness to stamp out the practice.²⁰

The long-standing assumption that women are the property of men is also at the root of “honour killings” and in some countries the legal system endorses the concept (even if subtly) by not guaranteeing individual rights, personal security and protection. Some have been conditioned to believe they are entitled to kill those whom they perceive as having stood against male authority. The Taliban, for example, will not allow girls to attend school.

CONTRADICTIONS ABOUT WOMEN

“Violence against women is perhaps the most shameful human rights violation, and it is perhaps the most pervasive. It knows no boundaries of geography, culture or wealth; as long as it continues, we cannot claim to be making real progress towards equality, development, and peace” (UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan).

“Violence against women, as defined in the 1993 United Nations declaration states, “is a manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men ... it is the essential and ultimate social mechanism by which women are forced into subordination position”²¹.

Contrastingly, the Old and New Testaments of the Bible give a different biblically sanctioned view of the place of women in familial and social hierarchical. There is often a dichotomy between the traditional interpretation of the status of women in the church and society and how modern Christianity perceives women. To enter into this minefield of polemic debate is outside the scope of this paper. However, readers may care to read the Pastoral Epistles and Corinthians to understand that men were to lead, hold senior ministry positions and women were to be subject to men (including their own husbands). One can wonder how much of this teaching came also from Roman society.

ACCORDING TO THE UNITED NATIONS²²

1. “Honor killings had been reported in Egypt, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Pakistan, Punjab, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, Yemen, and other Mediterranean and Persian Gulf countries, and they had also taken place in such countries as France, Germany and the United Kingdom, within migrant communities.
2. “In some locations, attacks or killings have been perpetrated against women by individuals who are not close relatives, often in the context of enforcement of [male initiated] religiously-sanctioned+ social requirements such as wearing [the] hijab or engaging in more open interaction with unrelated males [a forbidden activity].
3. “One example is the current trend in the Iraqi city of Basra, where authorities report that around

fifteen (15) female corpses are discovered monthly; the victims are believed to have been killed by [male] groups who seek to enforce [male-] sanctioned behaviour on women.”²³

4. UNICEF has reported that 5,000 brides are killed annually in India because their marriage dowries are considered insufficient. Widney Brown, advocacy director for Human Rights Watch, says that these killings are similar to the killings in countries where Islam is practiced, because they have a similar dynamic in that the women are killed by male family members and the crimes are perceived [by many] as excusable or understandable.
5. According to the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC), the Taliban, too, enforce their archaic customs generated by males within their restrictive and controlled society. At best, their Mullah’s do nothing to stop the practice.

CONUNDRUMS

- It would appear that religious dogma and day-to-day practice do not always fit snugly together.
- Culture and politics tend to nullify religious teachings. The overall Pakistani and Indian tolerance of the many “honour killing” incidents continues to raise questions about religious and political efforts to address the issue.
- Are ritualistic religious ceremonies compensatory mechanisms to accommodate or deaden the conscience to commit and/or accept atrocities?
- Do structured prayer times, religious clichés, good works, attendance at places of worship and blind devotion to a written script make any difference to “honour killings” devotees? Or do these provide an escape hatch to deaden the conscience?
- The Papacy initiated the infamous Crusades thus giving birth to horrors that could not readily be condoned within the covers of the New Testament by even a suspect Papacy. The Crusades are amongst the many “holy wars” and “King and Country” violence that show yet again the overall ineffectiveness and ambiguity of a supposed ethical religion.
- Jihadist visionaries wrote new meaning to 11 September (USA) and 7 July (UK). Their “God is great” cries drowned in the blood of some 3000 people. A religiously customised ideal motivated fanatics.
- Beguiling rhetoric alongside Goebbels-like propaganda introduced the spectre of Weapons of Mass Destruction and initiated a 20th century stampede to main, kill and destroy. Both Tony Blair (later to become a practising Roman Catholic) and George W Bush (a practising

evangelical Christian) unleashed unbelievable horror and anguish. Their deity presents as being a vicious, capricious and merciless divinity – in contrasts to those who live out the words reported to be from the Christ, “Blessed are the peacemakers ...”²⁴. What convoluted pedantic wriggling can escape the meanings and implications of those words?

It would appear that an age-long custom has not been addressed by religion but in some cases exists within the garb.

The DNA of a traditional practice remains impervious to “outside interference” and is watered by political, religious, nationalistic and other sources – each possibly linked to apathy.

TOMORROW

This cauldron of inhumanity continues to bubble as the growing incidence of “honour killings” becomes public. However, it would be puerile to believe that the reported facts and figures reveal the full picture. Much has still to be done to offer sanctuary to those who dare not speak out. More must be done to educate, reform cultural settings and provide professional help to those who motivate, commit and subtly condone this aberration.

Violence is endemic in nature and in humankind. What is the answer – in the name of humanity?

The spider continuous to spin its ghastly web – and, in so doing, the cycle continues in the name of ...

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³ The Bible records many such instances where to satisfy the honour of his name, slaughter was divinely orchestrated. .

⁴The Bible (NIV).Numbers 31.

⁵ Some would argue that the deity of Islam is not the same as the Jewish and Christian god.

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RE-POSITIONING TOURISM IN GHANA

Dr Alexander Ayogyam*

Marketing as a management function evolved from a philosophy that recognises the customer as an important entity, that to be successful in a competitive environment the needs of customers must be supreme. This philosophy of business demands an analysis of the needs of the customer because marketing decisions are peculiarly difficult to make because there are so many factors in the environment that affect fiscal policies. The firm must organise marketing investigations not in a manner that would suit the firm's projections but the investigations should be undertaken with scientific care and conceptual honesty. There should not be any trace of discrimination since it would not aid the development of marketing research (Halbert, M. 1965).

This paper reports a study of the tourist behaviour (studying the social, economic and psychological influences affecting the tourists' decisions) at the consumer level (Chrisnall, 1994). It is useful in dealing with complaints and prejudices by easily identifying the causes that underline them. Under this research, surveys are conducted in order to study the opinions and behaviour of tourist who visit Ghana. The supervisors at the tourist sites must design questionnaires to solicit expectations and comments from tourists as they visit and leave respectively. These expectations and comments could be used to give a perfect touch to the product. The research is also concerned with finding out the age group, socio-economic status, culture of the visiting tourist. When these characteristics about tourists are discovered, it will give some vital information about what decision to take concerning the product to be offered.

A customer may accept or reject a product or service being offered dependent on cultural norms. This shows that cultural anthropology has a place in marketing research; i.e. cultural studies must be embraced during the development of marketing research (Rieseman, D 1950, Mead, M, 1947).

In an attempt to satisfy the customer's needs the institution must submit itself to criticism by the customer, to unravel his or her hidden agenda. Any good information that is obtained from the customer serves as the raw material for the management of the institution to make good policies and to redirect the day-to-day operations of the business (Peters J and Waterman, R.H, 1982). In an address read at a forum organised by Ghana Tourism Federation (GHATOF) by a Minister for Tourism, poor sanitation problems are crippling the promotional efforts of the tourism industry (Azumah M.J 2009). According to the German ambassador to Ghana Maurias Haas and reported by Ghana News Agency (GNA), poor sanitation and street beggars in Ghana deters most German tourists from visiting the country. He further

stressed that if urgent measures are not taken, Ghana stands the risk of loosing her tourists and reasonable revenue since German tourists spends closer to \$50 million annually on travels. Another GNA news item carried a story on a collaboration between National Service Scheme (NSS) and Ghana Tourist Board to work together to establish a tourism data bank. This was to assist (GTB) to reach every corner of the country for information. According to a Business and Financial Times report, Ghana made revenue of \$640million as at September 2006 as a result of 323,156 tourists coming to Ghana. Jake Obetsebi (a former tourism Minister) noted that a target of \$1.5 billion could be realised by the end of 2007 if effective promotional efforts were adopted. These statements by the Ministers indicated that there is a gap between the producer and the consumer in the case of Ghana Tourism Authority and international tourists. It is therefore implied that most tourist firms and institutions are at the verge of losing touch with the actual needs of their tourists or customers. It is therefore important to access some information from current customers and the expectations of potential ones in order to decide accurately.

This paper examines the impact of marketing research on major policies or factors that are likely to influence the demand for the products or services that Ghana Tourist Board (GTB) has to offer to tourist (both local and international). The paper would also discuss the positive impact marketing research could have on the challenges facing the tourism industry in Ghana.

TOURISM IN GHANA FROM THE LATE 1980's

The attention of the Government on tourism became intense during the 1980's. It was around those years that tourist arrivals began to rise steadily; tourism started bringing in significant foreign exchange. For instance, in 1998, the expenditure of tourists in Ghana was \$285 million, making tourism the third largest earner of foreign exchange ranking behind minerals and Cocoa exports.

In 1993 the Government established the Ministry of Tourism to underscore its commitment to tourism development. With the help of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Tourism Organisations (WTO), the government of Ghana drew a 15 -year development plan for the period [1996-2011].

Most developing countries like Ghana have a single motive for developing tourism. This motive is economic, and is at two levels - international and local. At the international level, tourism is expected to bring in foreign exchange and increase Government Revenue. At the local level tourism is expected to create jobs, assist regional development and thereby improve the quality of life of local residents (Addo 1995).

Within the period 1988-1998 the economy of Ghana grew from \$55.34m to \$284.96m. This represented an annual average growth rate of 41%. In 2011, the 15-year development plan is about to end but there are some recent developments in Ghana that are likely to accelerate growth in the tourism sector. It will be important that tourism sites owners and entrepreneurs take note of these developments and adopt actions to ensure that their packages are presented in a way that will continue to attract tourists to the country.

The oil discovery in Ghana about four years ago is a positive development for the tourist market. First of all, this will be significant for Ghana's oil economy; the amount of oil imported into Ghana will be drastically reduced. Secondly, fuel shortages may be avoided and this will have a significant positive impact on tourism. A situation where in 2010 Ghana could not access crude oil on credit which resulted in fuel shortages for some time may be avoided.

In the financial year 2009/2010 a dramatic Cocoa price difference developed between Ivory Coast and Ghana. The price per tonne in Ghana was about \$158 while that of Ivory Coast was about \$286 per tonne. Ghanaian farmers who lived close to the border separating the two countries began to smuggle produce into the Ivory Coast to take advantage of the higher prices. If this trend continues, the national tonnage figures will decline and tourist may lose interest in visiting Ghana to learn about the Ghanaian Cocoa industry. Further, investors might be encouraged to invest in Cocoa businesses in the Ivory Coast rather than Ghana.

Such developments suggest there is a need to urgently scan the tourism sector with a view to preventing a foreign exchange decline and maintaining domestic revenue at tourist sites. The development of tourism in Ghana is being hampered by a myriad of factors which prompted the following research questions:

- What is the right medium for communication exchanges?
- Are tourism managers applying the exact comments of tourists in their redesigns?
- Can prices for products and services affect tourists' interest?
- Through what means must tourism managers reach their targets?
- Does it really matter to employ people with knowledge in tourism so as to yield results?

All of these questions need to be addressed using results from the research if tourism targets are to be achieved.

A RESEARCH MODEL

Marketing research has an important part to play in the process of tourism development. In particular, it should be able to present the industry with detailed ideas and knowledge with regard to the factors likely to influence

demand for the products and services that tourism sites have to offer. Such ideas would also assist in tackling the challenges mentioned above. Marketing research in this study would involve the following specific research areas:

- Customer Needs Research
- Product Research
- Pricing Research
- Promotion Research
-

These research areas are equally important and need to be integrated as shown in Fig. 1. (Note that Fig.1 also highlights the need at all research stages for qualified staff and operating funds. Some funds are required even to design a questionnaire and structure interviews. These matters need to be addressed prior to any research being conducted).

Tourist

**Expectations → Product Research →
Pricing → Promotion**

[Moderating Variables: Human Resource and Funding are needed at each stage]

Fig. 1: A Marketing Research Model

The first step in this model is to understand tourist's expectations; these are the standard against which all other activities must be measured.

Apart from assessment of customer's current need, research also involves forecasting likely trends in consumers' preference relating to styling, product and quality. Strengths and weaknesses need to be identified across each specific attribute with an emphasis on objectivity - any attempt to forge or misrepresent information must be discouraged.

The second step is to screen the product, to see whether it meets the customer's expectations or not. If the answer is no, we need to ask to what extent the existing product deviates from the expectation. The efforts required (in terms of human resource and funds) are then assessed to either make additions to the old product or develop an entirely new product.

The product-mix at a particular location is another factor that needs to be determined so that in the one trip a tourist would have the benefit of a wide experience of what Ghana has to offer. A single product located far from other sites would have to have a strong attraction to make travelling to the site worthwhile.

The design of a product has become an increasingly important influence in the buying of many types of goods. Product research is therefore needed to evaluate what customers expect in terms of visual appeal, location and comfort. Expectations are dynamic

because what pleased people a few years ago is unlikely to satisfy them today. This assertion cannot be challenged in any way because a tourist who was impressed by the visual appeal or the comfort of a product about two or three years ago is not expecting to meet the product in the same state in subsequent visits. Again, product design needs to be dynamic in today's tourist market since it is not uncommon for a manufacturer to be genuinely surprised and disappointed when something he has designed and about which he is expert fails to sell (Pilditch, J 1994 and 1997).

Depending on the objective of the country, the manager could find out the best prices tourist must pay in order that it may be achieved. Usually during pricing, the objective could be maximization of revenue, survival of the business, beating the competition and many more (Boone and Kurtz, 1999). On July, 02, 2011 the Chief Director of the Ministry of tourism demanded for the price list of all hotels, recreational centres and prices of food items to ensure that it does not scare potential tourists. In most cases, if the design of the product remains unchanged, the demand of the tourist is likely to be elastic. In view of that, there is a need to identify the degree of price sensitivity on the part of the tourist (that is how tourist would react to a particular price). It is important to do pricing research because too high a price may cause the tourist to consider other options. At the same time price is an indicator of the quality of the product so there is a paradox when it comes to fixing price. These two arguments call for a candid pricing research so as to set an acceptable price. Again, it is important to note that tourists come from different locations (local and international) so a careful assessment of the applicable pricing strategies must be done. The tourist centre will have its own price objectives but the price needs to be fair to both the service provider and the customer.

The final stage involves a kind of research that would enable the country's tourism sector to communicate the benefits of their products to the outside world. There are various means by which the awareness can be created but the research would come out with the appropriate means of transmission. If the right medium is not used for the communication, tourist from outside the country's borders cannot be reached. Different media requires different cost outlays, hence it is important to select the appropriate media for the exercise and yet be operating within the cost limits set. This research is therefore very significant because when the right button is pressed, tourist from far and near would patronise the offerings available.

SOME TOURISTS SITES IN GHANA

The research team considered it necessary to demonstrate the use of the model by asking questions in the questionnaire that pertains to the various stages explained above. The tourism products being offered as at today included the Kakum National Park, Boti Water Falls, the Monkey Sanctuary at Fiema, Okomfo

Anokye's sword at the Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital, the Ashanti Museum at Ejisu, the Ndaakoya Festival in the Upper East Region of Ghana, Paga Crocodile pond, Nzulezu Village in the Western Region, Bugum Festival in the Northern region, to mention a few. The question is: can these existing products be improved to meet the taste of tourists?

The research began with an assessment of customer's needs at the popular Kumasi Zoological Gardens. The Zoo is located in the Ashanti region of Ghana and it had been noted that it was no longer attracting even local tourists. Clearly the Zoo needs to redesign its current package with a view to encourage tourists to make repeated visits.

The research activities were made up of questionnaire administration and general observation. The visitors to the Zoo were given the opportunity to make suggestions as to how management could improve on their services. Over a two week period the research team contacted 120 tourists. Of this number, the greater majority were children and foreigners.

Results

The first question asked was: Can tourists be expected to participate in providing information to tourist businesses? The results for the case study at Kumasi Zoo are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Medium of Communication

Issues	(Frequency) No. of Tourists	%
Tourists participating in interviews and completing questionnaires	86	72
Tourists themselves volunteering information to management	34	28

Source: Field data

The second question asked was: How reliable is the reporting of information provided by tourists? The results are in Table 2.

Table 2: Completeness of Views Communicated

Issues	(Frequency) No. of Tourists	%
Final report carrying exactly what was communicated	92	77
Final report carrying some omissions and/or additions	28	23

Source: Field data

The third question asked concerned client attitude towards pricing. The results are tabled in Table 3.

Table 3: Price Sensitivity

Issues	(Frequency) No. of Tourists	%
Tourist who were prepared to pay more for better services	69	58
Tourist who will stop visiting if the price is increased	51	42

Source: Field data

The fourth question asked concerned how tourists heard about the Kumasi Zoo.

Table 4: The Impact of Various Information Sources

Issues	Frequency	%
Tourist who visit through word of mouth invitation	46	38
Tourist who visited after listening to a radio or television advert	41	34
Tourists who visited accidentally	33	28

Source: Field data

The fifth question asked was: Should employees at tourism sites be people with theoretical knowledge on tourism alone? The results are in the table 5 below.

Table 5: Employee knowledge base in tourism crucial to success

Issues	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	37	31
No	83	69

Source: Field data

Applying the Chi-square distribution

H_0 : Knowledge in tourism is crucial

H_1 : Knowledge in tourism not crucial

$$E_1 = E_2 = 0.5S$$

Where E_1 and E_2 are events and S is the sample space. The expected values for the two events are the same. $E = 0.5 \times 120 = 60$

Events	O	E	O-E	(O-E) ²	(O-E) ² /E
Yes	37	60	23	529	8.81
No	83	60	-23	529	8.81
	120				17.62

The calculated Chi square is 17.62 whereas the critical value at 1 degree of freedom at 5% confidence level is 3.841. Since the calculated figure is much bigger than the critical value H_0 is rejected and H_1 accepted.

DISCUSSION

Clients at the Kumasi Zoo showed a complete readiness to supply information to the Zoo's management team. Seventy two percent of the sample communicated their preferences through a questionnaire or at an interview, while 28% volunteered information. Of the two mediums, the formal means of communication proved best because the information received was a lot more comprehensive. The ideas expressed gave the management team many clues as to how the Zoo could be more innovative in the future.

Table 2 contains data on the exact presentation of information as it was given on the field. The percentage of tourist who claimed that the final report contained the exact information as it was given on the field was 77%, while 28% of those who volunteered information found that some of their information had been distorted. These data indicate that some interviewers needed more training. It is vital that information supplied be treated objectively if it is to be useful in guiding future management.

The results in Table 3 show that 58% of participants were prepared to pay more money if the Zoo could improve on its present products. This group was not asked what improvements they would enjoy but they were probably ready to give this information if asked. Further work is required to test this proposition. Another group, 42% of tourists, were sensitive to increased pricing. Their attitude seemed paradoxical when the two cases are considered.

The results in Table 4 suggest that more effective promotion of the Zoo could yield results for management. Out of the total number that was used for the exercise, 73% visited the Zoo because they had been recommended to do so by a friend or the media. Only 28% of the number went there without any recommendation. It can therefore be argued that the management of Kumasi Zoo can rely totally on accidental visitors.

The use of Chi square on table five has rejected the null hypothesis H_0 . It is therefore clear from the research that employees at various tourists' sites need not have formal knowledge in tourism in order to perform.

CONCLUSION

Many African countries including Ghana have a huge tourism potential but progress is being hindered by several factors, including insufficient market research. The lack of research results in a lack of vital information that could be used to repackage the offerings available. The researcher is of the view that appropriate products, correct pricing, and promotion backed by market research are crucial in assisting tourism managers meet their challenges and achieve the best results.

The research indicated that management should not rely on volunteers for useful information all the time. Rather they use more formal methods (like formal interviews and questionnaires) to obtain information from customers. On their part, interviewers should be careful to remain objective in reporting information, ensuring that it is reported in an unadulterated form. This calls for a constant search for means of collating primary data with the help of an approved instrument.

The research has show that management at the Zoo must be very circumspect when instituting charges for their products because 43% of the tourists are likely to have elastic demand. They may quickly change their demand patterns when there is upward adjustment in price.

A lot of people are likely to visit the Zoo if friends and relatives who had already visited the place give it a good recommendation. This reminds management that visitors must be given their monies worth if they are to be relied upon to promote the tourist site to family and friends. Television advertisements are good means of reaching the public providing the animals shown are in good condition and visually attractive.

Overall, the results encourage the view that marketing research is important, because product design, price, promotion and the other issues discussed impact positively on tourist.

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THE TELL-TALE SIGN OF THE ALL-SEEING EYE

Dr K R Bolton*

The symbol of the All Seeing Eye appears regularly among writings by conspiracy theorists. It is alleged that the reverse of the Great Seal of the USA is a Masonic symbol and proves that Masonry was involved in the founding of the USA¹. It is also widely believed that the All Seeing Eye is the symbol of the Illuminati², and where the symbol appears that is evidence of a continuing Illuminist influence. While there is much exaggeration and outright falsification based on individual bias, often religiously based, there is also the antithetical position of certain Masons, especially from the Anglophone United Grand Lodge, stating that there is little significance to the symbol, and that where the symbol appears in association with subversive movements, these are not 'genuine Masons'³. Although this writer has not been able to find any reliable evidence that the All Seeing Eye is in

¹ For a scholarly work on the founding of the USA by Freemasons and the dichotomy that occurred between Masons and Puritans see: Nicholas Hagger, *The Secret Founding of America: The Real Story of Freemasons, Puritans & the Battle for the New World* (London: Watkins Publishing, 2007).

² The Order of the Illuminati was a crypto-Masonic secret society founded by Professor Adam Weishaupt in Bavaria, Germany, in 1776, to overthrow the Church and all monarchies, and to establish a communistic universal republic. See: Prof. J Robison (1798) *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, (Massachusetts: Western Islands, 1967).

³ There are branches of Grand Lodge Masonry, or 'Regular Masonry', that do however proudly cite the involvement of other forms of Masonry in revolutions as part of a wider Masonic heritage. For example, the Portuguese Scottish Rite, which works under the Grand Lodge, acknowledges the important involvement of the Grand Orient in the creation of the Portuguese Republic in 1910, part of a revolutionary ferment that culminated in the 1917 Russian Revolution:

'For reasons concerning the history of Freemasonry in Portugal, the Grand Orient Lusitano was deeply involved in those events and made of that participation a case of honor and pride. Institutions are made of history; it is important for Regular Freemasons to acknowledge the contribution all Freemasons have made to the history of our Republic 'Centenary of the Portuguese Republic' (5 February 2010, Loja Luz Do Orienet No. 80, ('A Lodge Working in the Ancient & Accepted). Scottish Rite under the Jurisdiction of the Grand Legal Lodge of Portugal (Regular)').

fact the symbol of the Illuminati, the debunkers of all critiques of Masonry are also often in error or are being disingenuous. This essay examines some examples of the All Seeing Eye as a graphic indicator of conspiracies⁴.

IS THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES A MASONIC SYMBOL?

Some branches of Masonry, particularly the Grand Orient of France with its tradition of radicalism, atheism and rationalism, acknowledge that many brethren were involved in the American, French and other revolutions⁵. The enigmatic symbols on the reverse side of the Great Seal of the USA, more familiarly seen on the US One Dollar Bill, have long caused much speculation as to whether this is a sign of the Masonic influence on the USA. However there have recently been attempts at refutation, contending that the combination All Seeing Eye and triangle or pyramid motif is not a symbol of Masonry, or at least was not until after the American Revolution and the designing of the US Great Seal; and that any subsequent use of the symbol by Masonry is not widespread.

⁴ While allegations of 'conspiracy' often appear exaggerated, even less scholarly is the stance of those 'sceptics' who insist that any form of *conspiratology* is delusional or ignorant. Scholarship accepts that the Thuggee was a criminal conspiracy based on religion, or that the Mafia is a criminal conspiracy based around Sicilian families reaching back centuries and spreading out from Sicily to encompass the world. Yet when someone suggests that Freemasonry, Illuminati, Bilderbergers, Zionism or the Council on Foreign Relations might be involved in political and economic conspiracies this is laughed out of academe with arrogant derision. For a consistently worthless, error-ridden attempt to debunk conspiracies under the guise of intellectual sophistication see: Lindsay Porter, *Who Are The Illuminati?* (London: Collins and Brown, 2005). For example, Porter describes the contentious *Protocols of Zion* as a forgery purporting to expose 'secret Jewish rituals'. (p. 74). It is evident that Porter has not read some of the material she ridicules.

⁵ For example, the Portuguese revolution of 1910: A M Goncalves, *Breve historial da Maconaria em Portugal, Pel Irmao Mestre Macom*, R L Anderson No. 16 Grande Loja Regular de Portugal/GLLP, 14° Grau do Rito Escoces Antigo e Aceite. *A shortened History of Freemasonry in Portugal*. English translation by W. Bro. Don Falconer, *Pietre-Stones Review of Freemasonry*, <http://www.freemasonsfreemasonry.com/arnaldoGeng.html>. On the March 1917 Russian Revolution see: Richard L Rhoda, 'Freemasonry in Russia', <http://www.mastermason.com/hempstead749/RussiaMas.htm>

The British Columbia and Yukon Grand Lodge for example, operates a website with a section devoted to refuting anti-Masonic theories. On the US Great Seal the Canadian Masons write:

‘Of the four men involved in designing the USA seal in 1776, only Benjamin Franklin was a Freemason, and he contributed nothing of a Masonic nature to the committee’s proposed design for a seal. ... Congress declined the first committee’s suggestions as well as those of its 1780 committee. Francis Hopkinson, consultant to the second (1782) committee, used an unfinished pyramid in his design. Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, and William Barton, artist and consultant, borrowed from earlier designs and sketched what at length became the United States Seal. None of the final designers of the seal— William Barton, Charles Thomson, Sir John Prestwick —were freemasons’. The single eye was a well-established artistic convention for an “omniscient Ubiquitous Deity” in the medallic art of the Renaissance. The first ‘official’ use and definition of the all-seeing eye as a Masonic symbol seems to have come in 1797 with The Freemason’s Monitor of Thomas Smith Webb — 14 years after Congress adopted the design for the Seal... Neither the eye nor the pyramid have ever been uniquely Masonic symbols, although a few Grand Lodge jurisdictions incorporate them into their seals. The combining of the eye of providence overlooking an unfinished pyramid is a uniquely American, not masonic, icon. There are no available records showing the all-seeing eye, with or without a pyramid, associated with freemasonry prior to 1797...⁶

This Masonic refutation has widely appeared elsewhere in both Masonic and non-Masonic sources including for e.g. an entry in Wikipedia. There are a number of important points that need questioning.

EARLY MASONIC USE OF THE ALL SEEING EYE

The website Pietre Stones Review of Freemasonry is a site that accepts articles only from Master Masons of the United Grand Lodge (UGL) and those recognised by the UGL. It is therefore an authoritative source from that perspective. In a section illustrating ‘Masonic Tracing Boards’⁷ there are a number which depict the

⁶ Grand Lodge of British Columbia & Yukon, ‘Anti-Masonry Frequently Asked Questions’, Section 2, version 2.9, II SYMBOLS, 3. ‘Is the eye and pyramid a Masonic symbol? No’. <http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/anti-masonry/anti-masonry02.html>

⁷ Masonic Tracing Boards comprise symbols for the instruction of Masons as they are initiated into each degree. They are laid out on the chamber floor and form the basis for lectures on Masonic allegory, history, ritual and doctrine relevant to that degree. Any

All Seeing Eye as a major symbol. The earliest shown is not from the USA or from the American Colonies but from Germany and goes back to 1770; well before the designing of the US Great Seal. Illustrations of early tracing boards incorporating the All Seeing Eye motif include:

- ‘Ancient Tracing Board, Germany, 1770’⁸.
- ‘Lodge Union No. 129 Kendal 1772’⁹.
- ‘1796 Union Lodge, Boston’¹⁰.

George Washington’s Masonic Apron, given to him as a gift from the revolutionist General LaFayette, includes the All Seeing Eye, and dates to 1784¹¹.

Ironically, the Canadian Masonic website includes a section headed “Masonic Art”. One of the examples is a painting by the Florentine artist Jacopo Carucci, entitled “Supper at Emmaus” (1525). The Masons involved with this website have isolated the All Seeing Eye and Triangle detail from the painting, presenting three enlarged images of it¹². Of twelve examples of “Masonic art” given by the Canadian Masons, three feature the All Seeing Eye. One is labelled ‘eye in a triangle’¹³. Another is Washington’s apron featuring the All Seeing Eye¹⁴.

In an article entitled “The Masonic Landmarks” by Dr Athena Stafyla, written for *Pietre Stones Review of Masonry*, she (or the webmaster) includes illustrations of both the Great Seal of the USA and a painting (presumably Masonic) of Egyptian masons working on an incomplete pyramid¹⁵. The pictures are carried

symbol on a Tracing Board is therefore of importance to Masonry.

⁸ R Robinson, ‘Collection of Masonic Tracing Boards’, <http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/TBs.html>

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ ‘Brother Washington’s Masonic Apron’, Grand Lodge of Free & Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania, <http://www.pagrandlodge.org/mlam/apron>

¹² ‘Eye of God’, Masonic Art, Grand Lodge of Yukon & British Columbia, <http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/art/pontormo.html>

¹³ ‘Eye in a triangle,’ ibid., http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/art/eye_triangle.html

¹⁴ ‘George Washington’s Masonic apron’, http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/art/washington_apron.html

¹⁵ Dr A Stafyla, ‘The Masonic Landmarks’, *Pietre-Stones Review of Freemasonry*, <http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/athena1.html>

without explanation. The pyramid without its capstone symbolises the work of Masonry, which is to complete the perfection of humanity, as per the Enlightenment and the humanistic and often communistic doctrines which were used as a means of subverting the Traditional social order of Europe and elsewhere from the 18th Century. The Masonic doctrine is that the initiated Freemason is working to craft humanity towards Perfection.

ALL SEEING EYE ON THE DOLLAR BILL

Reporting on an exhibition of Rosicrucian MSS at the Rosicrucian Museum, San Jose, Gary Singh writing in *Metro* reports a conversation he had with the curator on the Great Seal and the All Seeing Eye:

‘We then come back to Roerich’s volume and discuss the Great Seal of the United States and the all-seeing eye. I mention it’s amazing that it took so long for the seal to make it onto the back of the dollar, and that I wonder why George Washington and crew didn’t put it there from the beginning. “Yeah”, said Armstrong. “Considering they were all Masons”¹⁶.

Discussing a book by the Rosicrucian author, mystic and painter Nicholas Roerich:

‘Roerich, a Rosicrucian, played an influential role in the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, as he was the mover and shaker behind FDR putting the Great Seal of the United States and the all-seeing eye on the back of the \$1 bill. The eye is a Masonic and Rosicrucian symbol dating back centuries’¹⁷.

The influence on the Roosevelt Administration to get the All Seeing Eye on the Dollar Bill came via Vice President Henry Wallace, a devotee of Roerich and a 32° Mason. If the All Seeing Eye was **not** a Masonic symbol one must wonder why it was considered so important by Roerich, Wallace and President Roosevelt? In a eulogy to Wallace as a Mason, Masonic researcher Dr Robert L Uzzel 32°, writes:

‘In 1934, while serving as Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace, for the first time, saw a picture of the reverse of the Great Seal of the United States and took it to the President. He reported: “Roosevelt, as he looked at the colored reproduction of the Seal, was first struck with the representation of the all-seeing eye — a Masonic representation of the Great Architect of the Universe. Next, he was impressed with the idea that the foundation for the new order of the ages had been laid in 1776 but that it would be completed only under the eye of the Great Architect.

Roosevelt, like myself, was a 32° Mason. He suggested that the Seal be put on the dollar bill’¹⁸.

Masonic authority Manly Hall¹⁹ believed that the Great Seal represents a specific occult influence on the founding of the USA:

‘On the reverse of our nation’s Great Seal is an unfinished pyramid to represent human society itself, imperfect and incomplete. Above floats the symbol of the esoteric orders, the radiant triangle with its all-seeing eye... There is only one possible origin for these symbols, and that is the secret societies which came to this country 150 years before the Revolutionary War... There can be no question that the great seal was directly

Henry Wallace was imbued with occult doctrine, particularly that inspired by Masonry. He regarded the USA as having a manifest destiny to lead the inspired by these orders of the human Quest, and that it set forth the purpose for this nation’²⁰.

Wallace saw the task of brining the world into a new world order, and he saw that mission symbolised in the Great Seal. He wrote, alluding to the Masonic significance of the unfinished pyramid, the Masonic conception of God as the Great Architect of the Universe, and the motto on the Great Seal referring to a “new order of the ages”:

‘It will take a more definite recognition of the Grand Architect of the Universe before the apex stone [capstone of the pyramid] is finally fitted into place and this nation in the full strength of its power is in position to assume leadership among the nations in inaugurating ‘the New Order of the Ages’²¹.

Wallace’s interpretation of the “new order of the ages” was that of a “new **world** order”, not simply a new era for the USA (hence the reference to the USA leading the nations into this international regime). This “new

¹⁸ Dr R L Uzzel, *Henry Agard Wallace 32 Degree – Prophet of Agrarianism*, www.srmasons.org/council/journal/uzzel.html

¹⁹ Hall was a 33° Scottish Rite Mason who headed the research school of the Rosicrucian Order at San Jose. He was honoured by *Scottish Rite Journal*, which called him ‘The Illustrious Manly P. Hall’ in September 1990, and honoured him as ‘Masonry’s Greatest Philosopher’.

²⁰ Manly Hall, *The Secret Destiny of America* (Los Angeles: The Philosophical Research Society, Inc., 1944) p. 174.

²¹ H A Wallace, *Statesmanship and Religion* (New York: Round Table Press, 1934) 78-79.

¹⁶ G Singh, ‘Mystic Pages’, *Metro*, 24-31 March 2004, <http://www.metroactive.com/papers/metro/03.24.04/rosicrucian-0413.html>

¹⁷ G Singh, *ibid*.

world order” has now become quite familiar after President George W Bush announced its official inauguration, being ushered in by the war against Iraq²². His son, President George H. W. Bush, reiterated the aim fourteen years later when stating, in specific reference to the motto of the Great Seal: ‘When our Fathers declared a “new order of the ages”, they were acting on an ancient hope which is meant to be fulfilled’²³. The reference to an “ancient hope” implies something arcane that would be recognised by the initiated.

ALL SEEING EYE OF GRAND MASONRY

The All Seeing Eye is an important symbol in Grand Orient and associated forms of Masonry on Continental Europe. United Grand Lodge Masonry can eschew the subversive nature of the Grand Orient and others by the simple expedient of stating that they are not “true Masons”. Be that as it may, this oft-cited difference did not prevent important figures such as Benjamin Franklin being initiated into the revolutionist Lodge of the Nine Sisters in Paris, nor Thomas Jefferson lauding the noble virtues of Illuminist Adam Weishaupt²⁴. Grand Orient Masonry and its derivatives are of an illuminatist nature, aiming to overthrow all traditional social orders, to inaugurate a world order ushered by a faithless, materialistic rationalism, as a prelude to establishing a universal cult, as was seen in the aftermath of the French Revolution when rival cults contended on the ruins of the Church and unleashed new forms of un-reason.

The Grand Orient of France (GODF), the mother of the Grand Orient throughout the world, does not disguise its rationalist, humanistic and revolutionary pedigree:

‘But in this period when the new ideas of Liberty, and Equality were to be born, which would lead to the French Revolution and the Republic, France entered the age of enlightenment. From being a sort of “Club” as in England, the Masonic Lodges which very quickly spread in our country became a sounding board for these great new ideas and turned into places where debates about the emancipation of Man and Society took place. The Grand Orient de France which was set up in 1733 and was, until the end of the 19th century, the only Masonic Order in France, is still fighting for these ideals’²⁵.

²² George H W Bush, US Congress, 6 March 1991.

²³ George W Bush, Second Inaugural Address, United States Capitol, 20 January 2005.

²⁴ V Stauffer, *New England and the Bavarian Illuminati* (Columbia University Press, 1918), p. 312; cited by N Hagger, op. cit., p. 142.

²⁵ Grand Orient de France, ‘History’, http://www.godf.org/foreign/uk/histoire_uk.html

The motto of the GODF is that of the French Revolution, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*. That is to say, the Revolutionaries adopted the motto from the Freemasons. The GODF adds:

‘Thus Lafayette received a sword from George Washington in honour of the part played by French Freemasons in the American War of Independence. In this way, the preparation of the ideas of Liberty and Equality in the Masonic Lodges contributed to the great reforms of the French Revolution...’²⁶.

The GODF claims to be continuing the legacy of various revolutionary thinkers and activists including the most extreme anarchists Blanqui and Bakunin whom they identify as Grand Orient Masons:

For the freemasons of the Grand Orient de France, the search for progress has always been the force behind their reflection and their activities, to such an extent that this principle is an integral part of the tradition of this form of Masonry. We are the heirs of men and women who all, in their own way, worked to improve Humankind: Voltaire²⁷, La Fayette²⁸, Garibaldi²⁹, Auguste Blanqui³⁰, Victor Schoelcher, Emir Abd-El-Kader, Louise Michel, Bakounine³¹. Jean Zay, Félix Eboué, Pierre Brossolette and so many others whom we are proud

²⁶ *ibid.* (These entries seem to have been deleted since assessed in 2006).

²⁷ Voltaire and Rousseau were the primary ideological inspirers of the French Revolution. They are depicted on the posters of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man & the Citizen*, along with Masonic symbolism. G Hancock and R Bauval, *Talisman: Sacred Cities, Sacred Faith* (London: Penguin Books, 2005), p. 21. Voltaire was escorted during his initiation into the Nine Sisters Lodge in 1778 by de Gebelin and Benjamin Franklin. G Hancock and R Bauval, *ibid.*, p.460.

²⁸ Lafayette served with the American revolutionary army, and later drafted France’s *Declaration on the Rights of Man & the Citizen*.

²⁹ Garibaldi along with Mazzini, were the primary Italian revolutionaries, the latter founding a worldwide movement of which Young Italy was a constituent. Garibaldi became the first Grand Master of Memphis-Misraim Masonry. G Hancock and R Bauval, op. cit., p. 422.

³⁰ Blanqui was a precursor of Karl Marx, and the Communist League derived from Blanqui’s League of Just. D Conway, *A Farewell to Marx*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 146.

³¹ Mikhail Bakounine was the organiser of the Anarchist movement and the primary rival to Karl Marx for leadership of the First *Internationale*.

to know have enriched our Lodges with their presence. Therefore, the Grand Orient de France is a vigilant defender of the principles contained in its motto which is also that of the Republic: “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”³².

Therefore, when academics have a clichéd tendency to ridicule “conspiracy theories” on Masonry as simplistic and ignorant, they would do well to consult the Masonic literature, including that of the present day.

As one would expect, the All Seeing Eye makes its looming appearance in the symbols of both the Grand Orient and the French Revolution.

- The card of the Cordeliers Club that depicts the All Seeing Eye above the word “Surveillance”³³. It is pertinent to ask whether this supposed ‘Eye of Providence’ or ‘Eye of God’ is in reality the eye that sees all under a totalitarian state?
- The Symbol of the Grand Orient de France includes an All Seeing Eye above the Masonic Compass & Square, surrounded by the *Ouroboros* serpent³⁴.

³² ‘Our Values’, Grand Orient de France, <http://www.godf.org/index.php/pages/details/slug/nos-valeurs>

³³ http://www.histoire-fr.com/revolution_francaise_monarchie_constitutionnelle_2.htm. The ‘Club of the Cordeliers’ or ‘Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen’, were ultra-revolutionaries founded in 1790 to guard the ideological purity of the French Revolution. Significantly, the Club was named after the place of its foundation, a former monastery that had been seized from the Church and taken over as *sta*³³ Grand Orient de France, ‘History’, http://www.godf.org/foreign/uk/histoire_uk.html

³⁴ Ibid. (These entries seem to have been deleted since assessed in 2006).

³⁵ Voltaire and Rousseau were the primary ideological inspirers of the French Revolution. They are depicted on the posters of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man & the Citizen*, along with Masonic symbolism. G Hancock and R Bauval, *Talisman: Sacred Cities, Sacred Faith* (London: Penguin Books, 2005), p. 21. Voltaire was escorted during his initiation into the Nine Sisters Lodge in 1778 by de Gebelin and Benjamin Franklin. G Hancock and R Bauval, *ibid.*, p. 460.

³⁴ A depiction of the GODF symbol appears at: ‘The secession of the Grand Orient de France’, *Loja Luz Do Oriente* No. 80, http://luzorientale.blogspot.com/2008_05_01_archive.html

- The Temple of the GODF features the All Seeing Eye at centre place³⁵.
- 1848 GODF medal commemorating the French Republic. This shows an All Seeing Eye within a triangle, around which is the GODF motto: ‘Liberty, Equality, Fraternity’³⁶.
- The symbols illustrating the French Revolutionary *Declaration on the Rights of Man and the Citizen* feature the All Seeing Eye radiating above Moses-type tablets etched with the *Declaration*. Below that symbol is the self-devouring serpent, *Ouroboros*³⁷.

It is also of interest that the title page of the seminal *Encyclopedie*³⁸ compiled by the rationalist philosophers³⁹ under the direction of Denis Diderot, intended as a compendium of scientific knowledge to repudiate the ‘superstition’ of Christianity, is decorated with esoteric symbolism. Leading American Atheist Conrad Goeringer, in writing on the contribution of Freemasonry to revolutionary ferment, states that the central figure of the title page is Lucifer, surrounded by the compass and square symbols of Masonry⁴⁰:

If the bible was the holy book of the Christian enlightenment, then the *Encyclopedia* was the inspiration of the Enlightenment. Here was a compendium of human knowledge dealing with arts, sciences mechanics and philosophy which swelled to some 36 volumes by 1780. Begun by the Atheist Diderot in 1751, the *Encyclopedia* bore the imprints of Voltaire, Montesque, Rousseau, Buffon, Turgot and others. Gracing the title page of Diderot’s compendium in the first edition was a drawing of Lucifer, symbol of

³⁵ A depiction of the GODF Temple appears at: C Hoddap, ‘Women not flocking to the Grand Orient of France’, <http://freemasonsfordummies.blogspot.com/2011/04/women-not-flocking-to-grand-orient-of.html>. Hoddap is a 33° Scottish Rite Mason.

³⁶ H Nguyen, ‘Symbols of Revolution’, <http://halleynguyen294.wordpress.com/category/symbols-of-revolution>

³⁷ *Declaration of the Rights of Man & the Citizen*, <http://libertyeverywhere.blogspot.com/2010/12/declaration-of-rights-of-man-and.html>

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ The so-called *Encyclopedists*.

⁴⁰ Rt. Hon. Dr J Morley, M.P., ‘Denis Diderot (1713-1784)’ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, 1902, <http://www.1902encyclopedia.com/D/DID/denis-diderot.html>

light and rebellion,⁴¹ standing beside the masonic symbols of square and compass.⁴²

Why did the rationalists and humanists of the French Revolution, supposedly eschewing “superstition”, decorate their new holy writ with arcane symbolism? The answer is that such creeds are intended not as the end of religious worship, but as a stepping-stone by which traditional faiths are destroyed, to be replaced by a universal humanistic religion where man replaces God, and where the ultimate step is to enthrone a leader as Man-become-God.

The French Revolution, as the forerunner of the communistic revolutions, attempted to abolish Christianity. Amongst the anti-Christian fervour babies were baptised not to the “Father, Son and Holy Ghost”, but to “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”. In 1793 the word Sunday (*dimanche*) was dropped, the Gregorian calendar was replaced by a French Revolutionary Calendar, it was prohibited to ring Church bells, display the crucifix, or hold religious processions. Robespierre’s Cult of the Supreme Being was officially inaugurated in 1794⁴³, opened by hymns to the Supreme Being sang by the Paris Opera choir⁴⁴. Yet these subterranean forces did not intend Paris as the capitol of the world, nor even Washington, but Jerusalem, a dream kept alive for centuries in the secret societies.

JERUSALEM: WORLD CAPITAL

In Jerusalem, the United Nations (a truly *United*

⁴¹ 18th and 19th Century radicals, including Freemasons such as the anarchist leaders Proudhon and Mikhail Bakunin, regarded Lucifer or Satan in romantic terms as the archetypal rebel. Bakunin for example, wrote: ‘Satan is the eternal rebel, the first freethinker and the emancipator of worlds’. M Bakunin (1883) *God & State* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), p. 112. Karl Marx wrote plays and poems extolling Satanic themes, including *The Player* and *Oulanem*. According to Australian Labour history scholar Dr Bob James, Marx was an initiate of the Loge des Philadelphes, as were the French radical Blanc, and Italian revolutionaries Garibaldi and Mazzini. R James, *Secret Societies and the Labour Movement*, Biennial Conference of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, Wollongong, 1999; *Radical Tradition*, www.takver.com/history/secsoc01.htm - 21 Carducci, a leader of Italian Republicanism and of Scottish Rite Masonry, wrote a lengthy poem, *Inno a Satana* (1863) lauding a revolutionary Satan.

⁴² C Goeringer, Conrad. *The Enlightenment, Freemasonry, and The Illuminati, Part I - The Enlightenment*, <http://www.atheists.org/Atheism/roots/enlightenment/>

⁴³ G Hancock and R Bauval, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 20.

Nations) will build a Shrine of the Prophets to serve the federated union of all continents: this will be the seat of the Supreme Court of Mankind, to settle all controversies among the federated continents, as prophesied by Isaiah. David Ben Gurion, First Prime Minister of the State of Israel⁴⁵.

Jerusalem holds a central place not only for the three Abrahamic faiths of Christianity, Judaism and Islam, but for Freemasonry, possibly the result of the influence of the Knights Templar whom some researchers regard as the fathers of Masonry⁴⁶, and whom the Masons themselves acknowledge as such in their tradition. A major aim of the Freemasons, like the messianic Jews, is the rebuilding of the Temple of Solomon, around which Masonic rituals and allegories are based. Therefore, Masonry can be expected to have a special interest in the creation of the State of Israel.

The importance of Jerusalem to Masonry was stated by Albert Pike, when describing the 30° of Knight Kadoth, when the initiate learns of Masonry’s Templar origins, where it is explained that the Templars seeking to destroy the Papacy, aligned themselves with the Patriarch at Constantinople, the Templars’ ‘secret object [being] the re-building of the Temple of Solomon on the model prophesied by Ezekiel’⁴⁷. Leon Zeldis 33° Adjunct Grand Master, Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite for the State of Israel, describes the importance of Jerusalem to Masonry, which happens to corresponds to messianic Judaism:

‘...King Solomon’s Temple already appears in the Old Charges of Operative Masons used by medieval Lodges and many legendary and ritual features of various Masonic degrees are related to its construction and architecture. For both Christians and Jews, Jerusalem is the focal point of the world, the place where heaven and earth touch each other (Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem)’⁴⁸.

Masonry therefore staked its mark on the borders of Israel. On the Egyptian-Israeli border a marker has been erected by Masonry, consisting of a pyramid, the dividers and compass symbol of Masonry and the two columns or pillars, *Binah* and *Chokmah*, of the Cabalistic Tree of Life, a feature of Masonic Temples.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ David Ben Gurion, *Look Magazine*, 16 January 1962.

⁴⁶ M Baigent and Richard Leigh, *The Temple and the Lodge* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1989).

⁴⁷ Pike 815-16

⁴⁸ L Zeldis,

⁴⁹ J Golden, ‘Mason’s making a move in Israel, and a closer look at the Road Map’, *Golden Report*, 23 February 2005, ‘Masonic Monument in Eilat’,

One of the most overt displays of Masonic symbolism is to be found on the Supreme Court building of that City. The building is replete with Masonic symbolism, and the crowning glory is the All Seeing Eye. Jerry Golden, a researcher resident in Israel, displayed numerous photographs of the Supreme Court building. In accord with many conspiracy theorists Golden ultimately attributes this to the Illuminati. While there is no direct evidence of this, the Masonic symbolism is nonetheless apparent. Of additional interest is the involvement of the Rothschild banking dynasty in the construction of the building. Golden writes:

‘Showing the architectural design of the New Israeli Supreme Court Building designed and paid for by the Rothschilds reflects the presence of Free Masonry ... The Supreme Court building sits on a plot of land opposite the Knesset and next to the Foreign Ministry and the Central Bank of Israel.⁵⁰

The Rothschild involvement in this overtly Masonic construction is perhaps the first *reliable* evidence of a Rothschild connection with Masonry. Golden writes:

The Engineers who were chosen for this job by the Rothschild’s were the grandson and granddaughter of Ben-Zion Guine from Turkey who worked for Baron Rothschild: Ram Kurmi, born in Jerusalem in 1931, and Ada Karmi-Melamede born in Tel-Aviv in 1936⁵¹.

A plaque dedicated to the Rothschilds has been placed on the Supreme Court building. The emblem at the top left of the plaque is a radiating All Seeing Eye. Most evident, however, is the All Seeing Eye on a large pyramid that stands on the top of the Supreme Court building looking over Jerusalem. Golden states of this:

‘The first thing you will notice is the pyramid with the All Seeing Eye just like the one you will see on the American dollar bill. It sits in a circle to the left⁵².

The Rothschilds were intimately involved with the construction of the Supreme Court building. They were responsible for securing the site of the building, and the choice of architects. A picture honouring Lord Rothschild et al adorns the entrance of the building. Golden states:

‘The Rothschilds made several stipulations with the Israeli Government before the building began, among them were: The Rothschilds would pick the plot of land to build the Supreme Court; they would use their own architects, and no one would ever know how much the building cost. It took them four years to build this structure with many secrets built into it.

After passing through security the first thing you will notice on the left wall is a large picture. From the left you will see Teddy Kollek, then Lord Rothschild, on the right standing you will see Shimon Peres, and sitting at the bottom left Yitzhak Rabin⁵³ Dorothy de Rothschild mooted the idea in a letter to the Israeli Government⁵⁴.

There is much more about the building that is of an arcane character. Golden describes the walk from the shadows to the light shining through a large window. From out of the window there is the large eye and pyramid construction looming above. Here the motifs appear as illumination from darkness, as one ascends steps towards the All Seeing Eye and pyramid. The walk is reminiscent of a journey of initiation, or illumination:

‘But this is where our journey begins as we begin to enter into the building, for this entire journey is intended to bring one from darkness into the light, and become an Illuminated one. You first enter into an area with very dim lighting, but as you look up the stairs you see the bright light that comes from a very large window that overlooks parts of Jerusalem.⁵⁵

Thirty steps to the Supreme Court and three specialised libraries are reminiscent of the 33 Degrees of Scottish Rite Masonry.

‘Here it is very important to count the steps; there are three sets of 10 steps, making a total of 30. As you ascend these 30 steps you come from the darkness into the light. And from here you can see the world or in this case the city of Jerusalem like you have not seen it before. It is also worth mentioning that on the left side you will see the old Jerusalem Stone, some even believe these same stones were used in the second Temple, but I have

Cassiopaea Forum, 9 August 2010,
<http://cassiopaea.org/forum/index.php?topic=19165>

⁵⁰ J Golden, ‘The Roots of Evil in Jerusalem’, 21 February 2011, <http://www.thegoldenreport.com/special-reports/5-the-roots-of-evil-in-jerusalem>

⁵¹ J Golden, *ibid*.

⁵² J Golden, *ibid*.

⁵³ J Golden, *ibid*.

⁵⁴ ‘The Israeli Supreme Court: Landmark of Jerusalem Architecture’, *The Jerusalem Insider’s Guide*, <http://www.jerusalem-insiders-guide.com/israeli-supreme-court.html>. While this tourist website alludes sarcastically to ‘Masonic conspiracy theories,’ and mentions that the pyramid was inspired by the tombs of Zechariah and Absalom, it is not suggested why the All Seeing Eye is on the pyramid.

⁵⁵ J Golden, *op. cit*.

no way to prove that. On the other side you will see the smooth modern wall. There are 6 lamp stands going up that speak to man in his journey to gain knowledge and become illuminated. But once again I feel it necessary to tell you that it's very important to the ones who built this building that everything be perfect and in their order of things, even numerically. For a moment lets go back to the top of the 30 steps⁵⁶, as we know there are 33 Degrees in Free Masonry but the last three are the ones of higher learning ...⁵⁷

Are these references to 30 steps plus a three-tiered library just a juggling of numbers to reach 33 and thereby fit into Golden's theory? Firstly, it can be stated that 33 Degrees refer to Scottish Rite Masonry. Secondly, Masonic authorities refer separately to the first 30 Degrees of the Scottish Rite. 'The degrees above the 30th Degree are sparingly conferred in London by the Supreme Council as distinctions for services to the Rite'⁵⁸.

Since there are 33 Degrees in the Scottish Rite, that leaves the three highest degrees considered as being separated by higher forms of initiation. It would seem apt that a three-tiered library corresponds to the three highest degrees of the Scottish Rite, and that moreover, those three tiers are themselves on separate ascending levels. Additionally, the 30°, that of Knight Kadoth, is where the initiate learns of the Templar origins of Masonry, as stated by Albert Pike, the primary authority on Scottish Rite symbolism, allegory and ritual.⁵⁹

The positioning of the three levels for three different categories is analogous to the three highest degrees of the Scottish Rite. Golden states:

'This is a very large and expensive Library, but there is something else about this one that should be mentioned. The first tier is only for Lawyers; the second tier is only for sitting Judges. The highest and third tier is only for retired judges. Which also speaks of the order of things in the Illuminati, as one

must be accepted and move to the higher level before the knowledge at that level is available to them. And directly above that third tier is the Pyramid with the All Seeing Eye⁶⁰.

There are five courtrooms in the shape of a Jewish tomb, with three judges sitting in each room: 'Above the seats of the Judges there are smaller pyramids that shed light onto the Judges as they sit over those who are brought up from the prisons cells below'. The light being shed on the judges emanates from crystals, which in occultism are regarded as 'batteries' for cosmic energies.

These occult and Masonic correspondences suggest that the Supreme Court building, in which the Rothschilds took an intimate interest, was constructed for purposes other than merely handing out sentences in the Israeli justice system. Such a building crowned with the pyramid and All Seeing Eye accord with the requirements of a World Court for a New World Order, the aim of the ages' old traditions of occult societies to establish Jerusalem as the capitol of the universal republic.



*Dr K R Bolton is a 'contributing writer' for *Foreign Policy Journal*, and has been widely published in the scholarly and broader media on a variety of subjects, from geopolitics to metaphysics. His latest Book "Revolution from Above" was released by Arktos Media in September 2011.

⁵⁶ It is at the 30° where the Mason learns of his origins from the Knights Templar and that the aim of Masonry is the restoration of the Temple of Solomon as the centre of a universal republic.

⁵⁷ J Golden, op. cit.

⁵⁸ F L Pick and G Norman Knight, *The Pocket History of Freemasonry* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), p. 239

⁵⁹ A Pike, *Morals & Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, prepared for the Supreme Council of the Thirty Third Degree for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States: Charleston, 1871*. Text online at: <http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/apikefr.html>

APPENDIX: MASONRY SYMBOLS



Grand Orient de France symbol

⁶⁰ J Golden, op. cit.



Grand Orient 1848 Medal

<http://al.idata.over-blog.com/296x300/3/69/11/05/dfghj.jpg>



The Cordeliers Club card belonging to Robespierre, architect of the French 'Reign of Terror'

http://www.histoire-fr.com/revolution_francaise_monarchie_constitutionnelle_2.htm



French revolutionary symbol

<http://halleynguyen294.wordpress.com/category/symbols-of-revolution/>



Title page to the Encyclopaedie: <http://www.1902encyclopedia.com/D/DID/denis-diderot.html>



Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen

<http://libertyeverywhere.blogspot.com/2010/12/declaration-of-rights-of-man-and.html>



Masonic marker at Eilat <http://cassiopaea.org/forum/index.php?topic=19165.0>



Supreme Court Jerusalem

<http://www.thegoldenreport.com/special-reports/5-the-roots-of-evil-in-jerusalem>

BOOK REVIEW

Title: *Revolution from Above*

Author: Dr Kerry Bolton,

Publisher: Arktos, UK, 2011

Most of us have noted inconsistencies in international affairs from time to time. For instance, how was it that the UN could declare a no-fly zone over Libya yet NATO forces could fly over Libya nightly to practice strategic bombing? Regrettably, few of us have the capacity and the will power to look behind the media façade to find out what is really going on but Dr Kerry Bolton is one who has. In his latest book Bolton takes us into the shadowy world of a plutocratic super elite bent on social manipulation on a grand scale, presenting irrefutable evidence of a sustained plan to build ‘a World State built on the edifice of Mammon’.

Central to Dr Bolton’s argument is his proposition that Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World* provides the model for the extreme social changes seen in the West over the past century. (Huxley was himself involved in the process, e.g. his participation in the Timothy Leary LSD episode). He also shows how the super rich are masters in the use of non-profit, tax-exempt public bodies to advance their purposes – the Council for Foreign Relations, and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations being chief amongst them. Perhaps most troubling, although perhaps not altogether surprising, is his evidence that the CIA has been central in social programming projects across the globe.

In three central chapters Dr Bolton gives evidence of revolution from above, revolution by stealth and revolution by degeneracy. The chapter ‘revolution from above’ focuses on the activities of William Boyce Thompson, who used the American Red Cross Mission to front his support the Bolsheviks in Russia at the end of World War I. The intervention of US forces in Russia under General William Graves is largely forgotten history which makes good reading; it will come as some surprise to readers holding to a conventional Cold War view that Graves showed contempt for White Russian forces and a willingness to overlook atrocities practiced by the Red Guards.

In ‘revolution by stealth’, Bolton references the formation of the Fabian Society by a coterie of international bankers (Cassell, Rothschild and Rockefeller, etc.) and their front, the London School of Economics and Political Science. Concomitant with this was the development of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory and the eventual immigration of principal German theorists to the US, out of which came Herbert Marcuse, the ‘Father of the New Left’ and the US New School for Social Research.

In ‘revolution by degeneracy’, Bolton deals with sexual politics and the key contribution of Kinsey’s research into sex, gender and reproduction (commencing 1941) most of which was funded by the Rockefeller family.

He also deals with the ‘psychedelic revolution’, Leary’s LSD campaign (promoted by the CIA and funded by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations), and presents evidence that the degeneration of music and art since the end of the Second World War was also contrived by the plutocratic banking community.

In a further chapter, Dr Bolton explores the rise of the New Left; the manufacturing of the tertiary student revolt in the 1960s by the Rockefeller funded Student League for Industrial Democracy and the promotion of feminism under people like Gloria Steinem (recruited by the CIA and funded by the Ford Foundation). He also discovers direct links between the self styled World Controllers and the politics of population control, and notes the support for such policy by the Good Club, an ad hoc society of US billionaires.

Bolton sees George Soros’s ‘colour revolutions’ as sinister and focuses Maurice Strong’s influence in the development of the Climate Change dogma as part of the outworking of ‘permanent crisis’ policies hinted at by Huxley and promoted by the Club of Rome.

This is a book rich in detail, a strategy necessary to establish once and for all that there is an elitist agenda operating that is directly responsible for the extreme social changes that we have seen over the past century. Central in this has been the deliberate attack on the nuclear family structure, a strategy common to Marxism and the banking fraternity, who both see the family as the primary obstacle to tyranny.

Dr Bolton does not suggest strategies for opposing such an agenda but he has highlighted the problem for us with evidence that cannot be refuted.

JSP

Revolution from Above can be obtained from Arktos Media Ltd, 11 Murray Street, London NW1 9RE United Kingdom; direct link for ordering <http://www.arktos.com/revolution-from-above.html>

LETTERS

Dear Editor,

The following advice on teaching English in the People's Republic of China may be helpful to other people seeking this kind of work experience.

WANTED: College Graduates to teach university students in the Peoples Republic of China: free apartment and good salary; teach 12 – 18 hours per week; telephone and internet computer provided; no knowledge of Chinese necessary; air tickets refunded; domestic travel allowance.

If the internet advertisements were newspapers the employment appeals from Chinese university international offices would resemble that above. Colleges and universities in the Peoples Republic of China need native-accent oral (spoken) English teachers. Those successfully recruited find resume enhancing professional-level work, in some cases for many years.

Schools usually require a degree but any major will do. A TESOL certificate, which can be obtained quickly and inexpensively through the Internet, can help the applicant's chances. It might be better, though, to take one of these easy Internet courses after you are in China and on the job, because the need is drastic and hiring is fast. A few schools request a telephone interview perhaps to ascertain accent and sanity. I talked to one university president for much less than a minute, and immediately got an offer from their foreign affairs office.

I recommend that you teach public college or university. Forget the other TESOL billets.

How does one get in touch with these institutions? The Internet is where to begin; chinatefl.com or coachdevelop.com might well do it all for you, although a number of other suitable sites exist, e.g. eslcafe.com and eslteachersboard.com.

Unfortunately, many of the job sites allow postings from private headhunters (recruiters). It is probably not wise to deal with them. Offer your services only to the schools' foreign affairs or international offices. Some of the recruiters' offers are hard to distinguish from college-university generated advertisements. A few recruiters even refer to "our school" as if they work there. After a spell of perusing some of the listings, a reader should be able to discern adequately. One way is to look for "foreign affairs office" or "international office" in the e-mail address or in the advertisement itself.

The schools will need a scan of your degree, a scan of the information page of your passport and a *simple*

resume or Curriculum Vitae. They may ask that you e-mail a scanned color photograph also.

Placing your resume or a brief description of your education and experience on a few of the TESOL Internet sites (above) is a quick way to Chinese public university or college employment. (This is very easy to do – even for a computer klutz! Don't be shy – try it!) You can even post your scanned picture on some of these boards. Not long ago, I used this approach for the first time since I've been teaching in China. I received several, several offers. Most were offers from normal private schools and recruiters, but there were plenty of solid offers from the foreign affairs or international offices of public universities.

Public and private colleges and universities in China put off the signing of contracts for perhaps a month after verbal agreement. At one famous university here, where I came in at the last moment, plenty was going wrong for them regarding the hiring of foreign teachers. They very much had me over a barrel, however, because I had barely made it back into China and was short of money. Yet, the foreign affairs people, and other relevant staff seemed disorganized, and unsure about how to proceed in hiring more badly-needed English instructors. Besides, our quarters were much less than we incoming teachers had expected. Therefore, both secure, (since they were short-handed), and at the same time, a bit peeved, (about getting a large room, with a toilet, instead of the usual apartment), I decided to chance requesting a written addition to my contract. I asked that the school sign me on as an associate professor. (I had come in to China with a master's degree). A week later, they answered. *Yes!*

To get into China, you must go to a Chinese consulate or embassy and apply for a visa. This is best done after you have been hired. Same-day and next-day visas are available. You must get there early in the day because consulates close early in the afternoon.

This is tertiary-level teaching. Therefore, the schools are not that particular regarding appearance – beards, dress, looks. Most anything not "off-the-wall" is okay. They *do* expect responsible behavior, and decent work-ethic.

Early on I worked as instructor, and then professor, for a Chinese and Canadian joint-venture institute. As one of their teachers, I held forth for eleven months at a couple of public colleges. With my latest well-known-university signing, my resume was looking spectacular.



Maoming University Campus, PRC



**Dr Clair Lasater has taught Spoken English at Hainan University, Ling Ling University (now the Hunan University of Science and Engineering), Maoming University and Shunde Polytechnic. He is presently teaching at Shandong Jiaotong University.*

Next I lectured over 350 students at yet a different great public university. The second semester, the school underwent a name change. Both names are superb – but the more recent sounds more impressive. So, now my CV affirms pedagogy at two public colleges, and three public universities.

I owned the title, there, Professor of English. It's in my contract. Besides that, the English Department awarded me a red-stamped certificate that says I am a professor. The story gets better. I've been holding forth in the P.R. of China, now, for nine years.

I have "Professor of English" on my C.V. so many times, at this juncture, that now I do not even ask for the title. I feel I don't need it. If I list a new the college or university, on my C.V. these days, I inscribe my position, "Foreign Expert".

I take no credit for this serendipitous gracing of my resume. I did not plan it. Yet, I must declare, that this particular case of promotion points to a career track more profound than following the more common TESOL language academy route.

If you are over 64, you may have trouble working these schools, unless you apply to those in the north-eastern parts of China. Older academics will probably need to labor a bit harder to get a position. I believe you must contact the international offices directly by email or telephone to crash through this barrier.

St Clements University – E-Journal *Veritas*

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Contributors may contact the editors for advice on publication if they wish – email above. Otherwise the following guidelines are offered:

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- Research Reports
- Notes
- Letters to the Editor re published articles
- Book Reviews

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- Their current place of work – title, address
- A head and shoulders photograph of themselves
- Their email address

SUBMISSION

All articles must be submitted by email

FORMAT

Contributors are asked to observe the following format where possible:

Title: 14pt Times Roman Font

Name: Author's name and brief biography together with a head and shoulders photo

Body: 10pt Times Roman Font for text

9pt Times Roman Font for tables

References in text: In the text ALL quotations must have quotation marks and a reference, e.g.

James said 'all dogs are brown' (James, 2002)

Reference List: List in **author's surnames alphabetically**

We observe the Harvard format, i.e.

- For a book: P.Jones (2001): Water Management, Raven Press, London.
- Journal reference: W.Smith (1998): 'Lemon Growing', *The Journal of Agriculture*, V.45-2, p.10.
- Reference to work listed directly preceding: *ibid*, p.20
- Newspapers: *The Star*, 3 September 1986
- Report: Australian Bushfire Commission Annual Report, 1997, p.71
- Unpublished thesis: M.Broad, "The Utility of Cross Referencing", M.Ed. Thesis, St Clements University 1999

