



**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

**COURSE CODE : INR 106**

**COURSE TITLE:AFRICA AND WEST**

**INR 106 – Africa and the West**

**Course Development**

**COURSE GUIDE**

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## **Course Aims**

The import of this course is to expose the student to the historical perspective of relationship among Africa states in the early period and between Africa and the West before and during colonial periods.

It is important that students have a firm grip of how relationship existed among Africa states before European invasion. The relationship among Africa, Europe and America before, during and post colonial periods is also important for this course.

The rivalry between the East and the West, the place of Africa in this power game are also discussed. The new world order also formed the bench mark of this course. It is important that student understand this scenarios.

## **Course Objectives**

Each unit of this course has specific objectives, apart from the overall objectives of the course. The unit objectives can be found before any unit is discussed at length. At the end of the unit, you may want to assess yourself by going over the unit to find out how far the unit objectives have been achieved. This will enable you to know whether you have covered the unit very well or not.

## **What you will learn from this Course**

On successful completion of this course, you should be able to:

- (a) Get familiar on the evidence of Africa past.
- (b) Identify the different forms of interaction in pre colonial Africa.
- (c) Understand the evolution of Africa states
- (d) Be familiar with the arbitrary demarcation of Africans states by the colonial powers.
- (e) Understand the rivalry among Western powers during and after the partition of Africa.
- (f) Be acquainted with the Franco and Anglophone African states.
- (g) Be conversant with Elite evolution in Africa.
- (h) Be able to correlate the impact World War II on African Nationalism.
- (i) Understand the rise of military coups in Africa and relationship with the West.
- (j) Be familiar with the cold war of East and West and its impact on African states.
- (k) Be able to appraise the role of America in World scene and her influence on Africa
- (l) Be acquainted with diplomatic maneuvering of the West and East.
- (m) Be able to differentiate the emerging powers of the world, the Big 5.

## Working through the Course

To satisfactorily complete this course you are expected to read the study units, read recommended textbooks and other materials provided by the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). Most of the units contain exercise tagged Tutor- Mark Assignment. At a point in the course, you are required to submit these assignments for assessment prior to the real examination. At the end of the course, you will sit for final examination. Stated below are the components of the course and what you are expected to do.

## Course Materials

Course Guide

Study Units

Textbooks and other Reference sources

Assignment file

Presentation

It cannot be over emphasized that, you must obtain the text materials. These texts, mostly, are provided by NOUN (Study centres). You are advised to purchase recommended texts on your own at bookshops. In case you have any problem please contact your facilitator of the course in your centre.

## Study Units

There are twenty study units in this course, these are as follows:

Unit 1	Origin of Africa
Unit 2	Slave trade
Unit 3	Abolition of slave trade
Unit 4	European imperialism
Unit 5	Scramble and partition of Africa
Unit 6	The beginning of colonial
Unit 7	British administration in the colonies
Unit 8	French administration in the colonies
Unit 9	Colonial administration in South Africa
Unit 10	Colonial administration in North Africa
Unit 11	The effect of World War II on Africa
Unit 12	The rise of Nationalist Movement in Africa
Unit 13	The emergence of political parties in Africa
Unit 14	The League of Nations
Unit 15	Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) now Africa Union
Unit 16	Soviet Russia and European communist bloc
Unit 17	Military coups Africa

Unit 18	International relation; The great power after 1945
Unit 19	US and Africa relations
Unit 20	The shifting of balance of power in the 1980's

Each unit contains a number of self-assessment tests. In general, these tests are based on the units you have covered while reading. They are meant to guide your reading and assess you on how you have been able to understand the materials, you have just read. Do the Tutor-Marked Assessment, on your own. This will assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and the overall course.

### **Set Textbooks**

1. Adu Boahen      *Topics in West African History*, Longman, London,  
1966.
2. C.A Leeds *European History 1789-1914*, London, 1971
3. Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey N. Brown (Ed)      *Africa in Ninetieth and  
Twentieth Centuries*, London, 1966

### **Assignment File**

This course is designed to have many assignments with each unit having at least three assignments. These assignments are basically meant to assist your understanding of the course. This file contains all the details of the work you must submit to your tutor for marking. The marks you obtain, at the end of the day, will count towards the final mark you obtain for this course. Further information on this can be found in the assignment file itself, and later in the course guide in the section on assessment.

### **Assessment**

There are two types of assessments of this course. First, are the Tutor-Marked Assignments; second, is the written examination. In solving the questions of the Assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The assignments must be submitted to your facilitator for formal assessment in accordance with prescribed deadlines stated in the assignment file. The work you submit to your facilitator for assessment accounts for 30 percent of your total course mark. At the end of the course, you will be required to sit for a final examination of three hours duration at your study centre. This final examination will account for the 70 per cent of your total course mark.

### **Tutor-Marked Assignments (TMAs)**

These are about sixty tutor-marked assignments in this course. This is to say, each unit contains three TMAs. You only need to submit twenty-one of them. The best five (i.e the five highest score of the 21 TMAs) are taken into account. Each assignment carries 20 marks but on the average when the five assignments are added together, then each assignment will count 10% towards your total course mark. This means that the total marks for the best three (3) assignments which would have been 100 marks will now be 30% of your total course mark.

### **Assignment File**

The assignments for the units in this course are contained in the Assignment file. You will be able to complete your assignment from the information and knowledge gained in the texts, textbooks, readings and study units of this course. However, at your level, you should be able to do more research and demonstrate that you have a mastery of the subject matter and a broad, deep knowledge of the course. When each assignment is completed, send it together with TMA (Tutor-Marked – Assignment) form to your tutor or facilitator. Ensure that each assignment reaches the tutor or facilitator before the expiration of the deadline as stated in the assignment file. If, because of work load in your place of work or other reasons, you cannot meet the deadline, discuss with your tutor before the deadline, so that he can extend the deadline for you. But this must be based on concrete reasons not mere excuses. Note that extension is not the rule but essentially circumstantial exceptions.

### **Final Examination and Grading**

The final examination for INR106: Africa and the West will be three hour duration. This accounts for 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions which reflect the practice, exercises and the Tutor-Marked Assignment you have already attempted in the past. Note that all areas of the course will be assessed.

To revise the entire course, you must start from the first unit to the twentieth unit in order to get prepared for the examination. It may be useful to go over your TMAs and probably discuss with your course mates or group if need be. This will make to be more prepared, since the examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

## Course Marking Scheme

Table 1: Course Marking Scheme

ASSESSMENT	MARKS
Assignments	Best five marks of the Assignments @ 10% each (on the average) = 30% of course marks
Final examination	70% of overall course marks
Total	100% of course marks

## How to get the most from this Course

In Open Distance Learning (ODL), the units replace the university lectures and sometime handouts dished out to students by the lecturers. This is one of the great advantages of ODL: you can read and write at your own pace and at your convenient time of the day and place that suits your condition. The units stand for text that you are supposed to read in the conventional universities. The study units tell you what to read, and also give you text materials or set of textbooks in order to broaden your knowledge about the topic in question.

Each of the unit has a format, which is common to all the units. The first is the introduction to the unit subject matter, and how a particular unit is related and integrated with the other unit and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives



will enable you to assess yourself at the end of the unit. These objectives are benchmark to guide your reading and at the same time learning process. The moment you complete a unit, you must go back to the objectives to ascertain if those objectives are achieved. If you use this criterion, often, you are sure of passing the course, provided you do it convincingly.

The main body of the unit guides you through the course. If in the course of your reading, you run into any problem, telephone your facilitator or post question on web GS OLE's discussing board. Remember that your facilitators are there for you to assist you. Do not hesitate to call and ask your questions from them.

Read this Course Guide thoroughly and patiently, this is your first assignment.

Organise a study timetable – Design a 'course overview' to guide you through the course.

In your timetable, note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how your assignment relate to the units. Important information diary must be kept: when to submit an assignment, when to meet the course facilitator and date of the first semester examination must be noted. This information is available on the university website [www.nou.edu.ng](http://www.nou.edu.ng) you need other information from time to time, this can be obtained at your study centre in your state or where you reside.

Once you have a timetable of activities, adhere do it religiously. The major reason why students fail their examination is that they lag behind their course work. If you have any problem, always consult your course facilitator.

Turn to unit 1, read the introduction, and the objectives as stated for the unit. Assemble the study materials for the unit. This will include textbooks. Your textbooks are very important, patiently work through the unit. When you work through it you will know what books to consult for further reading.

Try to access the Assignment file for your next required assignment before the relevant due period for it (about 4 weeks before due dates). You must have it at the back of your mind that you stand to gain tremendously if you do your assignment very well. The objectives in the unit will guide you to know if you have gained from the unit. Always submit your assignment before due dates. This will enable you to concentrate on other future assignments and to read and pass the main examination. When you have submitted your assignment to your facilitator, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Always keep to your timetable of activities.

When eventually the assignment is returned, pay attention to your facilitator's comments, both on the Tutor Marked Assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignment.

After completing your last unit, review the course by assessing yourself, and prepare for the final examination. Make sure that you go back to every unit objectives and the course objectives listed in the course guide.

### **Tutor and Tutorials**

In this course, there are 15 hours of tutorials (twenty-two hour session) in support of this course. This is an opportunity for you to have face-to-face contact with your facilitators (lecturers). You will be informed of the dates, time and location by your study centre manager. The study centre manager will provide you with the name and phone of your facilitator as soon as you have been allocated a tutorial group.

Your facilitator will mark your script, comment on your assignments and keep a close watch of your progress. You are at liberty to consult him/her whenever you are in difficulty; don't hesitate to do so. You must mail or submit your assignment to your facilitator well before the due date (at least two working days are required). These will be marked by your facilitator and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to consult your course facilitator by phone calls, e-mail, or face to face discussion if he/she is available. The following circumstance may necessitate your consulting with your course facilitator.

- 3      Contact your facilitator if, you do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned text books.
- 4      You have difficulties with the exercises
- 5      You have a question or problem with the assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should create time to attend the tutorials. This is an opportunity to have face to face contact with your facilitator and ask questions which are answered immediately. It is

also an opportunity to raise questions on problems and challenges encountered while reading. You can prepare questions prior to your tutorial lessons. The group tutorial will enable you gain from other people's experiences and questions raised by them too. You stand to gain quite a lot from participating in the discussions.

Students in ODL must learn to recognize their strengths and limitations. No human being can "know the state of your body, and your total self more than you." You also need to be familiar with your learning goals and objectives. Your facilitator can only assist you to explore your strengths and limitations and learning objectives by assuming a facilitative role in the learning process.

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## **MODULE I**

### **Contents**

Unit 1	Origin of Africa
Unit 2	Slave Trade
Unit 3	Abolition of Slave Trade
Unit 4	European Imperialism
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### **Unit 1**

#### **Origin of Africa**

##### 1.0

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##### 1.0 **Introduction**

The early writings by many Western historians and Europeans that Africa has no history, but the history of Europeans in Africa, has been debunked by new findings. These unfolding discoveries, especially in archaeological findings, have put to rest this discourse by the white or Western

oriented scholars, that Africa has no past. This unit, therefore, introduces the learner to the various writings of white historians and the debunking of the view that Africa has no history until the coming of the Europeans. The early Arab writers and African historians have shown substantial evidence to debunk this belief.

This course will also give an insight into the understanding of the African past as written by Africans and their diverse ways of governing one another before the advent of the white colonialists.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of the unit, the learner must be able to do the following:

- (a) Discuss the role of European writers to the understanding of African past.
- (b) Identify the contribution of African civilization to the world
- (c) Explain the contribution of Arab historians to the understanding of the African past.

## **3.0 Main Content**

### **European writers and Africa**

Many Europe writers, for a long time, were of the opinion that since African societies were mainly non-literate, they were not worthy of study because history could not be properly studied in these societies, hence they had no history at all. In fact, to this school of thought, the continent contributed little or nothing to civilization.

One of these imperialists' writers, A.P Newton expressed the view that "History only begins when men take to writing. It is concerned almost entirely with written records and can make use of



material remains with which the archaeologists and anthropologists are concerned.” In the same vein, in 1951, Margery Perham, a Research lecturer in Colonial Administration at the Oxford University wrote, “Until the very recent penetration by Europe the greater part of the continent (Africa) was without the wheel, the plough and transport-animals; almost without store houses or clothes except skins; without writing and so without history.” Professor Hugh Trevor Roper of the University of Oxford in 1962 reviewed this view. According to him, “Perhaps in the future there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none; there is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness and darkness is not the subject of history. There is only the unrewarding gyrations of barbarious tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe.” G.W.F. Hegel, a German philosopher, in 1830-31 lectures, divided the peoples of the world into two: historical peoples who had contributed to the development of mankind, and non-historical peoples who had no hand in the development of humanity. Africa, according to him, was placed in the latter category.

When the exploration by the Western Nationalists began, Europe (Explorers) were astonished by the rich art, a rich culture, a rich heritage and state craft of African societies. The rich civilization displayed by Africans, made them to conclude that the advancement in civilization by Africans must depend on external stimulus arising from contact with one of the branches of the Caucasian race. In his book, *The Races of Africa*, he postulates the spurious Hamitic Hypothesis. He says:

Apart from relatively late semitic influence.... “the civilizations of Africa are the civilizations of the Hamites, its history the record of these peoples and of their interaction with the two other African stocks, the negro and Bushman, whether this influence was exerted by highly civilized Egyptians or by such wider pastoralists as are represented at the present day by the Beja and

Somali... The incoming Hamites were pastoral Europeans arriving wave after wave – better armed as well as quicker witted than dark Negroes”. Related to the Hamitic Hypothesis is the Sudanic State Theory. This theory was developed by two professors of History – J.D Fage and R.A Oliver. In their book, *A short History of Africa*, published in 1962, “all African kingdoms were essentially identical and could be referred to under the common label of Sudanic states” such Sudanic states took their origin of kingship from Egypt. This practice diffused to the rest of Africa.

The Hamitic hypothesis and Sudanic theory, assumed that there were no developments initiated by Africans. If there were any at all, like the conquest and establishment of empires, it must be traced to external influence. This tendency, in their own calculation, is to portray Africans as inherently inferior, being incapable of evolving a better administration of their immediate environment. To them, Egypt, the heart of world civilization cannot be part of Africa but the Mediterranean world. The Swahili culture of East Africa was seen by the Western writers as an Arabic invention rather than Bantu development. To justify the years of colonial rule, European writers laboured seriously to discredit the rich cultural heritage and civilization of African societies. To these writers and their western apologists, colonial era was an age of enlightenment to ‘uncivilized Africans’.

### 3.2 Arab Historians and Africa

The negative remarks about African past by colonial historians, notwithstanding, Arab scholars or historians had written a lot about African civilization before Europe incursion into Africa. There was an imperialist expansion policy of Arabs in Africa during the first century of Islam (622-722). This was the time Muslims from Arab nations gained a stronghold in Africa. Muslim traders and itinerant scholars penetrated from North Africa and then to West Africa. The ancient empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai in the West Sudan, and also central Sudanese states in Hausa land, Kaduna, Borno, Sokoto etc had a dose of Islamic influence. In East Africa, Islamic influence spread to Mozambique, North Africa and East Africa. The consequence of this is literacy in Arabic, which was the official language. Muslim scholars produced a lot of writings which includes the writing of political, biographic, culture and social history of the empires. These scholars produced a lot of Tarikhs and chronicles in the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, such works include Tarikh as-Sudan (History of Sudan) Tarikh as- Gonja, history of Gonja.

Others are Tarikh al- Fettach and Kano Chronicle. Many writers, who were non-Muslims borrowed from these writings to update their knowledge about African history.

Though some historians see the writings of “Arab scholars as representing the other side of the story which has been all too little heard amid the over-whelming clamour of Europe colonial views”. This cannot debunk the fact that historians today are familiar with empires of Western Sudan because of the writings of Arab scholars in their various Tarikhs. The writings have been able to put to rest that Africa had no past (history) but darkness, and darkness cannot survive as history of a people.

### 3.3 African Historians

In the past before written records, African Historians depended on myth, oral tradition, song and popular history. Though oral tradition has its short comings, its use cannot be done away with despite the problem of chronological sequence. In spite of short-comings, this technique has been employed for the purpose of collection, preservation and analysis of oral tradition. The palace historian, who used this method, had done it very well in the past. Legend, song and popular history had also been used to narrate the past of the people.

The absurdities written by European historians were challenged by educated African historians. The first group were Africans in Diaspora. These include Dr. Anton Wilhelm, a Ghanaian. He wrote on the contribution which North Africans (particularly the Moora) made to the development of Europe through their contact with Roman Empire in 1703. Olauda Equiano known as Gustavus Vasa, an ex-slave wrote a biography about the culture of his place of origin, the Igbo land in present day Nigeria. The contribution of Reverend Samuel Johnson, who published a History of the Yoruba in 1921, remains a valuable repository of Yoruba oral tradition for the contemporary historians, no matter where they come from.

At the end of the Second World War in 1945, professional African historians emerged to put to rest the propaganda that Africa had no written past or no history at all. In writing the African past, these historians dealt with documents of the past, written and unwritten to reconstruct African past. Prominent among these historians were K.O Dike, S.O. Biobaku, Obaro Ikime, J.F.A Ajayi and a host of others. The Publication of K.O Dike's *Trade and Politics in the Nigeria Delta, 1830-1885*, marked a remarkable departure from earlier written history of African past. The second was the establishment of Institute of African Studies and Ibadan School of History. There are specific

culture history projects like Benin and Yoruba Historical Research Schemes, Conferences of African History etc. The new historic tradition rejected the coloration of African past by the European Historians. The tradition, anchored by well-bred African historians, equipped by the validity of non-written sources of historic research, which has been promoted through interdisciplinary approach, led to the discovery and authentication of sources of African past.

### **3.3 Evidence of African Civilization**

It is generally accepted that after archaeological findings, the first man whom the modern races of the world today belong, is a single biological species called Homo Sapiens (Thinking man) who comes from Africa. Adel Patton of University of Missouri-St. Louis, Department of History in one of his lectures said Africa was the first World and which attested to the fact that the World was Africa. In Global terms, or in earliest times the cradle of humankind was found in Olduvai Gorge in the Great Rift Valley, Tanzania in East Africa; more than two million years ago. He said further, that “Alexander the Great build the city of Alexandria facing the west on the North of the Mediterranean in 332 B.C. This occurred some three centuries before Christ was born.” It was also in the city that one of the seven wonders of the world then was found, a four hundred feet tall light that could be seen from seventy miles away. By 30 B.C Alexandria city had become the world’s first great metropolis with a population of 600,000 inhabitants.

More archaeological findings revealed that an occupation of Acropolis culture in Zimbabwe is carbon-dated to around A.D 330. This is followed by four successive stages of occupation marked by changes in pottery and associated objects. In Lake Chad, a tribe called So (giant looking tribes) used pots to store grain and water, which were also discovered. The same tribe cast objects in

bronze. It is believed that the oldest bronzes in West Africa are from Ife, which latter spread to Benin.

At a site in Meroe, about 120 miles North of Khartoum, Sudan, there are evidence of slag heaps of an iron industry which was flourishing there, perhaps, as early as three centuries before birth of Christ. This industry must have existed to take care of their instrument of war, like spears and domestic chores like hoes, cutlasses and door hinges. Iron-smiting in Africa is not new up till today. It was practised from earliest time to the present to take care of our industrial and domestic needs.

Ethiopia is one of the oldest countries in the world. The beginning of Ethiopia history is traced to the Empire of Aksun, which started in 500 BC.

A tenuous link was maintained with Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, and the legendary Prester John, the famous Christian king of Africa. He enjoyed wide recognition in medieval Europe. The Abyssinians, as the descendants of Aksumites were known, fashioned a complex literate culture on a religious foundation, and a feudal social system whose basic components were the rural peasant, the warrior ruler and the priest. At the top of this hierarchy sat the king of kings on Solomonic throne. The occupants of this throne claimed descent from the biblical king Solomon and the Queen of Sheba and mythical dynastic history of some 3,000 years.

The people living within the country, we now call Nigeria dates back to 5,000BC, then the people practised settled agriculture. Better documentation exist on the Nok culture, who were iron making people living on the Jos plateau as early as 300BC, famous for their terracotta sculpture.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

In this unit, we have discussed the negative historical record written by European Historians about Africa. To debunk this, we have been able to trace the origin of man to Africa and the beginning of civilization to the same continent. Over the years, Africa had evolved from the use of simple tools to complex. Iron tools of both warfare and domestic use were discovered and used. Oral tradition had been able to sustain the African past and not written records. The new Africa historians, especially after World 11, equipped with professional training and oral tradition laid to rest the European historical belief that Africa had no past. This has gone to show that trade and interaction existed in Africa before the advent of the imperialists.

#### **5.0 Summary**

In this unit, we have looked at the early period of Africa as explained by the white historians on non-availability of written records. The believe that Africa had no history was also discussed. In the process, we have been able to bring to the fore the writings of Arab historians who, have written records of African past. From these writings, it was possible to explain the political, economic and social interactions that took place in Africa before the white invaders. We have been able to trace the contribution of Africa to world civilization.

#### **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

- (1) ‘Africa has no written record of the past, so it has no history.’ Comment on this statement..
- (2) What is the contribution of Africa to world civilization.

#### **7.0**

##### **References / Further Readings**

Adu, Boahen (1966) *Topics in West African History*, London, Longman.

Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey N. Brown (ed.) (1966). *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries*, Ibadan.



**Unit 2****Slave Trade****Contents**

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3.2 Trans Atlantic slave trade

3.3 Reasons for slave trade

3.4 Effects of slave trade on Africa

4.0 Summary

5.0 Conclusion

6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment

7.0 Reference/Further Readings

**1.0 Introduction**

This unit will trace the origin of slave trade in Africa. It will also discuss how domestic slaves were captured and sold to slavery or used within its environment. The unit will reveal to the student how Europe, on the pretext of evangelism took Africans as slaves to their land. The impact of slave trade on Africa and Western Europe will also be discussed.

**2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, the student should be able to:

- Explain the origin of slave trade

- Reasons for slave trade
- The effect of slave trade on Africa

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Origin of slave trade**

Slave trade has its origin in various nations of the world. The Greeks colonies in the Mediterranean were founded by Greek pirates, who plundered the town and sold them into slavery. In early times, ninety per cent of the population of Greece were slaves. According to Aristotle, 'Certain peoples are naturally free, others are naturally slaves'. The Roman population comprised more slaves than freeman. These slaves were drawn from Britain and other European nations, Asia and Africa. These people were the tillers of the soil, labourers, servants, court jesters, cooks, hairdressers, musicians, and gladiators. It is wrong to say that slave trade took place all over Africa. For example, nomadic Masai and other nomadic tribes, did not partake in the heinous trade. Again, in discussing slavery in Africa, distinction must be drawn from slaves captioned in wars and those who voluntarily gave themselves up in order to serve for a certain period with a master. An example of this was the pawns for debts. This people gave themselves up for unpaid debt. They served their masters for certain period of time and they leave as soon as the agreed period to serve is over. The treatment of war slaves differ from place to place. They may be sold off, integrated into the society or work for the master for life. No where were slaves more completely integrated into the family of the owner than among the coastal communities of Nigeria. To capture the scenarios of slave trade in Africa, a writer said, "It is one of the harsh and unpalatable facts of history that the principal-almost the only-industry of tropical Africa for many centuries was the trade in slaves carried on mainly by the Christian peoples of Western Europe and the Muslim Arabs." The sale of Africans into slavery began long before the birth of Christ and Prophet

Mohammed. There is evidence that African slaves were acquired not only for domestic chores, but they engaged them in the building of projects like the pyramids of Egypt. The first set of African slaves to be sold were said to be Nubians who lived South of Egypt. From here they were sold to Europe and the Middle East.

Another important source of early slave supply was East Africa. The majority of slaves from there found their way to Asia. These slaves became a substantial number in the population of Turkey, Arabia and Persia. The Arab incursions in Magrib (Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria) and the Sahara (the West Africa Region) stimulated the outflow of slaves from West Africa. Arab merchants who through Trans Sahara Trade routes invaded the Sudan, were soon attracted by the presence of slave trade in Fezzan. Before long, about one thousand camels manned by Berber merchants invaded Western Sudan. The article of trade were mainly gold and slaves from Western Sudan and glasses and ear-rings etc from North Africa. The links between Western Sudan, the Mediterranean and Middle East were multiplied and sustained by caravans who dominated the Trans Sahara Trade route. Slaves were the major inducement for the Arab traders to risk the hazards of Trans Sahara Trade route. The old empires of West Africa, Ghana, Mali, Songhai and others, derived their wealth from export of gold, “which grows on trees,” and slaves. The capital of Ghana Empire, Kumbi, was noted for its slave market, which no doubt kept supply constant by raids on the peoples living to the south. When Ghana was eventually defeated in battle by the Almoravids, many of the inhabitants were carried off to be sold as slaves in North Africa. At the peak of Mali’s glory, Mansa Kankan Musa in 1324, went to Mecca to perform the holy pilgrimage with five hundred slaves carrying gold articles. There is enough evidence to show that the Hausa states and Kanemi-Bornu region sustained their wealth through sales of slaves.

### **3.2 The Trans Atlantic Slave Trade**

The arrival of Europeans on the West Coast of Africa opened a new vista in the Africa slave trade. The Atlantic slave trade became the main pre-occupation of European nations in Africa in the beginning of eighteenth century.

In 1441, Gonzalves, one of the Portuguese explorers returned to Lisbon with ten African slaves whom he presented to Prince Henry. He received them with great pleasure. By the time of Prince Henry's death, about 700 and 800 slaves were exported annually to Portugal. Though Prince Henry was said to have condemned the practice, about 448 slaves, in 1486 and 1493, belonged to Portuguese crown alone. This figure is the annual importation of slaves to Portugal.

Brazil and Spain occupied the larger part of West Indian Islands and mainland of South America. Portugal undertook to supply slaves to Spain on contractual agreement. The Negro slaves were shipped through West India Island to Spain. The discovery of New World- North America increased the need for new slaves. The Dutch founded a company for West Africa slave trade and set up fort in Gold Coast (Ghana), in order to challenge the position of other rivals. The Portuguese, the French, the Dutch, Danes, Germans, Swedes, Spaniards and the British were all involved in the trade. They built ships designed purposely for the evacuation of slaves from West Africa. Although the slave merchants did not capture slaves themselves, local African potentates obtained the slaves and transacted sales with the European slave merchants on the coast. For instance, in Nigeria, the states of Lagos and Bonny and others, even in the interior, were ruled by chiefs, who made fortunes from the transactions. The practice was that, stronger neighbours made war against weaker neighbours and took all the inhabitants of the weaker neighbours as slaves,

who were in turn sold off at the ports to the white slave merchants. At the peak of slave ports in Africa, Britain had fourteen, Holland fifteen, France three, and Portugal and Denmark four each.

Portuguese slavery activities in the Congo and Angola were better. Here the Portuguese were free from unhealthy rivalry among the contending forces in the trade. Slaving was indirect in the Congo, but in Angola it was direct. Forts were established in the hinterland to protect the slave caravans on their way to the coast. The interior ports or forts were to checkmate African leaders who might want to intervene in their activities. An irregular tax, usually measured in slaves, was imposed on African chiefs in order to compel them to raid their neighbours for slaves. The half caste Portuguese called Pombreros and Portuguese became strong allies in the trade. It was not uncommon for this set of people to instigate war among neighbours in order to capture more slaves. To raise the number of slaves, the Portuguese governor augmented her income by manipulating slaving licences granted to slave contractors. The Portuguese war of conquest was no more than military expedition to increase the number of slaves needed to be transported through Atlantic Ocean to Brazil.

The Dutch occupation of South Africa from the middle of seventh century called for the importation of Negro, also Indian slaves to provide cheap labour. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, slaves were shipped into South Africa from West Africa, India, Cylon and Malay Archipelago. The British men found excuses for raiding settlements for slaves.

African scholars, especially historians, must be more careful in blaming the slave trade on the whites or Europeans. A cursory look at the events as they unfolded; point fingers to African rulers who did not only connive with Europeans to enslave their kin and kith, but directly aggravated the

process of slavery by burning villages to acquire slaves. The sale of African slaves from seventeenth century upward was done mainly by the African rulers themselves especially in the coastal regions. Africans became enslaved in four different ways: first, criminals sold by the head of his committee as punishment; secondly, free Africans obtained by raids of less powerful communities by Africans; thirdly, domestic slaves resold; and fourthly, prisoners of war. All these slaves were bartered for European merchandise such as gun, gunpowder, calico, rum, beads and iron and copper bars. By the beginning of eighteenth century, the average cost of a healthy male African slave delivered on board ship was N10, by the middle of the century it had increased to N15.

It is not totally true that Europeans were not captured as slaves before in Africa. In 1800, Yusuf fought the Turks who were rulers then, and defeated them. For centuries the Barbary Corsairs maintained sovereignty from the European powers. They were able to establish their superiority over Europeans in the Mediterranean waters. They captured Europeans as slaves and compelled them to build their palaces. The relationship was that of master-servant, though this did not last for long.

### **3.3 Reasons for slave trade**

The Dutch occupation of South Africa in the middle of the seventeenth century necessitated the importation of slaves trade from West Africa. The slaves worked in vineyards, grain-lands and vegetable gardens owned by the settlers. Because of their footholds in the New World, French, Dutch and Britain continued to demand and buy slaves to work in their various plantations in the New World. Carribean Island, newly acquired by Britain, with a fertile land for sugar cane plantation, needed slaves to work on these plantations when the Spaniards began to explore North

and South America between 1492 and 1504. She began to establish plantations in the areas. She again exploited mineral resources in this zone. A problem of labour arose. The indigenous peoples of this area were not strong enough to be engaged in this type of task. Spaniards who were already used to agility and strength looked for slaves in Africa to work on these plantations.

### 3.4 Effects of slave trade

A writer described the sight of a slave thus:

“The British Vice-Consul of Benghazi saw slaves who were emaciated to mere skeletons, their long, thin legs and arms and unnatural size and prominence of their knees and elbows, hands and feet, gave them a most repetitive and shocking appearance,” These slaves, greater number of them succumbed to the thirst and agony of the Saharan slave merchants whips which were in constant use. After the long journey to the coast, the slaves who were in chains ‘were herded in ‘barracoons’ until they were sold to their buyers. During the period of the slave trade about 30 to 40 million souls were lost in Africa. The most pathetic of it all was that these groups of people were the virile population who were in their middle ages. The low population of East and Central Africa was as a result of several raids in the past. The slave trade accounted for the destruction of most kingdoms. The table below shows the number of slaves handled by three major European countries involved in the trade.

Table 1 Slave Exports from West Africa by the three major powers, 1701 - 1810

England	2,000,700
France	613,100
Portugal	<u>611,000</u>
	<u>3,233,800</u>

The supremacy of Britain is clear in this calculation, she alone accounted for about 66 per cent of all slaves shipped by the three major powers. The estimate above varies from scholar to scholar but that does not mean that the number is unnecessarily high, in some cases it is less. The total loss of slaves in the period of 1701 – 1810 was about four and half million, averaging 41,000 a year. Some scholars are of the opinion or believe that the expansion of some states such as Oyo and Dahomey is traceable to slave trade. This submission is open to challenge. States like Ghana, Mali, Songhai and others attained the height of their glory without their involvement in slave trade. Gold was their main article of trade and they were known all over Africa for the possession of abundance of gold. Again, Benin rose and attained an advanced stage of development about fifty years before any European ever set his foot on the soil of Benin and two hundred years before the commencement before Europe's demand for slaves from the coastal region of West Africa.

Powerful rulers emerged in the coastal region. For example in 1750, the king of Dahomey was worth about N500, 000 from sales of slaves in his kingdom. The entreports on the coast became more populated and goods were exchanged with the European traders and those who engaged in slave trade. This created additional employment opportunity for the farmers who supply foodstuff for these people and other traders. The raid on the towns and villages left in their trail blood, 'an unmitigated misery – a crime unredeemed by one extenuating circumstance and many thousands of Africans dead'. This unmitigated scenario created by the demand of Europeans for slaves intensified inter tribal wars, which hitherto, were settled with no rancour. These wars became more and more self motivated, especially by greedy rulers, than the pre-European wars". A historian pointed out that "fighting was motivated by greed not by self-preservation or imperial ambitions; they also became more and more fatal and bloody, because of the use of fire-arms." Industries



which began before the Europeans appeared in Africa were disrupted. Such industries as bronze casting, manufacturing of cloth, beads and other local industry like smithing were abandoned during slave trade. Farming, the main stay of African economy was disrupted too.

Slaves exported from Africa were able-bodied men and women, who would have contributed immensely to the development of Africa. The sex ratio, according to a scholar, is two men to one woman. As said earlier there are no available statistics, but it was estimated by W. Rodney that about 20 per cent of the slaves who left Africa to Europe died in the Atlantic crossing called 'middle passage'. And about 16 per cent died crossing the Trans-Sahara trade route to the coast. There was abnormal stagnation in the population of Africa has shown in the table below: This is in millions.

**Table 2 : World Population-Africa,Europe and Asia (millions).**

Continents	1650 A.D	1750 A.D	1850 A.D	1990 A.D
Africa	100	100	100	120
Europe	103	144	274	423
Asia	257	237	656	847

Although this may look outrageous, it cannot be accepted as precise, but it indicates a consensus among researchers on population, that Africa has abnormal census figure of stagnation.

The only advantage of slave trade was the wealth of Europeans who participated directly in the trade. The America farmers were able to secure 'cheap labour,' (the slave's labour), to till and cultivate their soil, hence their acreage increased and more wealthy farmers emerged. The

prosperity of Liverpool and Nantes cities in the nineteenth century was traceable to the slave trade the merchants involved in. The sweat of slaves built Nantes and Liverpool! These two cities became the greatest centres in Europe because of the booming slave trade. The merchants who derived their wealth through this trade were able to buy considerable representation in Parliament.

The late development of cash crops in Africa was as a result of slave trade. The European governments were categorical about the establishment of cash-crop cultivation in Africa. For instance, in 1751 the British Board of Trade ordered the Governor of Gold Coast Castle, Thomas Melville, to stop the development of cotton cultivation among the Fante, based on certain instruction from Britain that; “The introduction of culture and industry amongst the negroes is contrary to the known established policy in this country, there is no saying where this might stop, and that it might extend to tobacco, sugar, and every other commodity which we now take from our colonies; and thereby the Africans, who now support themselves by wars, would become planters and their slaves be employed in the culture of these articles in Africa, which they are employed in America.”

A by-product of slave trade was the establishment and founding of Free- town and Liberia both in West Africa. The establishment of Free-Town was done by the British philanthropist who founded a place for the emaciated slaves at Sierra-Leone. The slaves were brought in from London, Canada and Caribbean, about 1,200 citizens. In 1822 other batch of slaves arrived and formed the new country called Liberia.

#### 4.0

#### **Conclusion**

The slave trade exposed the relationships that existed between Europe and Africa from the fifteenth century to nineteenth century. The relationship was that of master, servant relationship. Africa had no say at all in the political equation. African leaders continued to act as middle men between slave suppliers and buyers. The price of slaves cannot be fixed by them either. The effect of the trade accounted for the low population of most regions of Africa today.

## **5.0 Summary**

The unit discussed the origin of slave trade. The trade is not limited to Africa only but more prevalent in Africa. Trans Sahara Trade Routes and Trans Atlantic slave trade and their consequences were also highlighted. The reasons for engaging in this trade were listed. Impact on the economy, political and social lives of Africans and Europeans were explained.

## **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

Trace the origin of slave trade and slavery in Africa.

- (1) Slave trade contributed to the development of western Sudan in the eighteenth century.

Discuss.

- (2) Carefully account for the scramble for slaves in Africa in the nineteenth century by the Europeans.

- (3) Describe briefly the origins and growth of trans-Saharan slave trade.

- (4) Why did slave trade last for so long in Africa?

## **7.0 Reference/Further Readings**

Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey N. Brown (ed.) (1966). *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries*, Ibadan.

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**Unit 3:****Abolition of Slave Trade****Contents**

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1.0

**Introduction**

This unit deals with the abolition of slave trade. The call for the eradication of the obnoxious trade was more pronounced by Britain especially among the philanthropists and humanitarian societies. When mere pronouncements did not work, they carried the message to the British Parliament.

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At last on 25 March, 1807, a bill to abrogate slave trade was passed in British Parliament. This unit also treats the reasons for the abolition of slave trade. It also discusses why there was a strong resistant to the abolition of slave trade and how finally, the beginning of British industrial revolution put a final halt to the trade.

2.0

### **Objectives**

At the end of this unit a learner should be able to:

- (1) Discuss the origin of slave trade
- (2) Advance reasons for slave trade
- (3) Examine the reasons for the abolition of slave trade.

3.0

### **Main content**

#### **3.1 Abolition of slave trade**

There has been a great deal of controversy that surrounds the abolition of slave trade. Some historians, mostly British like Coupland, Mathieson and Mellor, attributed the abolition of slave trade and slavery to purely humanitarian or moral and religion considerations. On the other hand, some historians, William and Dike, have argued that the abolition can be traced to economic reasons. One of such writer Conton, states, “That the slave trade was abolished largely because it had now become more profitable to seek in West Africa raw materials and markets rather than slaves.”

A more careful study of slave trade abolition can both to be said to be humanitarian and economic reasons. According to Adu Boahen (1964), ‘In the first place, it should not be forgotten that the attacks on the slave trade did not really begin in Europe and England until the eighteenth century – the very century when in the realms of literature, philosophy and religion, emphasis was being

placed in the equality, fraternity and the liberty of man!’ This was the same century that John Wesley preached the equality of man. And that all men are equal before God. He condemned the slave trade on the grounds that it was ungodly and inhuman. Rousseau, Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson and Davie Defoe all condemned the slave trade and slavery mainly on moral and humanitarian grounds.

The second group of people who actually organized and launched the attack on slave trade and remained persistently in their frontal attack were men who were filled with humanitarian and evangelical outlook in their approach. They were Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, Henry Thornton, William Wilberforce, and later Fowell Buxton and James Stephen. It was this people who formed the society for the abolition of slave trade in May 1787 and British Anti-Slavery in 1823.

By the end of eighteenth century, the British West Indian Island had had enough slaves for the plantation. In fact about fifty per cent of the slaves imported were re-exported to the Islands of other European powers. The British conquest of new fertile French and Dutch islands between 1792 and 1803 led to stiff competition with other European countries. So, they hoped that the abolition of slave trade would halt the expected gain to the economy. Again, since Brazil and Cuba had more sugar and produced at a cheaper rate than theirs, and there was a surplus sugar in England that needed buyers, Britain would prefer to have markets rather than slaves. A writer, William contended that it was the accumulation of unsold sugar in Britain and the subsequent need for market that engineered the passing of the abolition bills in 1807 and 1833.

That Britain relied on African slaves for her economy is not in doubt. The textile, the sugar refinery, the shipping, which Britain is known for, and the iron industries all depended indirectly on the slaves shipped to West Indian Islands. But things took another dimension when Britain started her industrial revolution – that is the change from production by hand to production by machines.

All these industries ceased to rely on human cargo (slaves) from West Indian Islands. The ship owners were making more profits from conveying raw cotton and unrefined sugar from Brazil and United States to Europe and Britain than from conveying slaves to the West Indians. Then the traffick in slave dropped. The demand for raw material arose as more and more machines were put into use. The industrialists and humanitarians agreed that instead of importing Africa labour (slaves), they could start to encourage Africa to grow their raw materials for their industries. Thus by the early nineteenth century, it had become clear that African slaves had ceased to be an economic factor in Britain, and that Africa could serve Britain effectively by producing cash crops and finished goods could be sold to Africa too.

In Britain, especially in Liverpool, the major slave port had by 1800 become less dependent on slave cargoes. British merchants that used the port for slave cargo had shifted their attention to cotton and other goods. Profit from this business, slave trade, declined considerably and shrewd business men moved their money to more lucrative business. By the end of mid nineteenth century when the impact of industrial revolution (mass production of goods based on the use of machines) was being felt in all the European countries and in the United States, the need for slaves gradually diminished and slave trade became unnecessary.

### **3.2 British Parliament**



In 1805 the House of Commons passed a bill that outlawed any British subject to capture and transport slaves to British shores. This measure was blocked by the House of Lords. In February 1806, Lord Grenville formed a whip administration. Grenville and his foreign secretary, Charles Fox, were strong opponents of slave trade. Fox and William Wilberforce led the eradication campaign in the House of Commons. Grenville was left with the task to persuade the House of Lords to back abolition campaign. He presented a critical argument in a speech to the House of Lords on the obnoxious slave trade. He argued that the trade was 'contrary to the principle of justice, humanity and sound policy' and he criticised fellow members for not having abolished the trade long ago. When the vote was taken the Abolition of Trade Bill was passed in the House of Lords by 41 votes to 20. In the House of Commons it was carried by 114 to 15 and it became law on 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1807.

British captains who were caught with slaves in their ships were fined £100 per slave found on board. In order to circumvent the law, ships that were about to be caught by Naval Ships, dumped slaves into the sea. Thomas Clarkson and Thomas Fowell Buxton argued that the best way to stop slavery was to ban slave trade. However, it was not until 1833 that Parliament passed the slavery Abolition Act.

British anti-slave campaign was one of the most important reform movements in the nineteenth century. But the history is not without ironies. During the course of eighteenth century, Britain was one of countries that participated in the obnoxious trade. Indeed, it has been estimated that between 1700 and 1810 British slave merchants imported about three million slaves from Africa across the Atlantic. Paradoxically, the same Britain, that championed slave trade, also championed the anti-slave trade campaign. Before the bill was passed into law in 1833. Several efforts were made to

halt the trade. The Quakers, for instance, petitioned Parliament against slave trade as early as 1783 and similar petition was submitted in 1785. This time, in 1785, the petition was sent in by inhabitants of Bridgewater in Somerset. In 1823, some of the leading members of African institutions including Clarkson, Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay organized a new anti-slavery society. Like other anti-slave trade societies, this new one was a national organization with branches and network of regional and local auxiliaries.

### **3.3 Resistant to Abolition**

The abolition of slave trade or the Atlantic Slave Trade left two regions of Africa completely unaffected. Instead of stoppage, the export of slaves in the direction of East and North Africa was on the increase. The East Africa slave trade was handled by the Arabs who had settled in the coastal towns of East Africa. A few of them might have found the ways to the hinterland, but most of them relied on African leaders to sell slaves to them. The position of the region in terms of sale of slaves was made manifest in 1840 when the Arab ruler of Oman, Seyyid Said, decided to transfer his court from Muscat to Zanzitar. The aim was to inaugurate a systemic exploitation of resources of East Africa. One of these resources was the Africa slave. The expansion of crops and other plantation by Said, requested more slaves to work on these plantations. The demand for more slaves in Middle East and Arabia, prompted East Africa rulers to continue the trade. Under the tutelage of Said, and assisted by Indian finance, more and more Arab organized caravans which penetrated the whole of East Africa for slaves. These activities of the Arab reached the lakes of Central Africa and beyond. In a number of places, the Arabs established 'colonies' as centres for the collection of slaves. In the upper region of River Congo, the Arabs attacked the organizational system, which were poor, raided their villages and seized men and women for slaves.

The Nile Valley and Saharan trade routes provided other avenues for the export of Negroes to North Africa and Mediterranean. The war precipitated by the Fulani jihadist in 1804, in Hausa land, also provided opportunities for the capture of pagans for the slave trade. The Benue trough low population is traceable to the many slaves taken from the region in the past by the Jihadists. This region, called the Middle Belt in Nigeria of today, was termed pagan zone. In Bornu, the leader continued to raid for slaves in the regions South of Lake Chad; in Kano, Katsina and other towns, there were open slave markets. Slaves were the main article of trade. The same can be said of Bornu-Fezzan and Wadai Benghazi routes during the nineteenth century. The trans-Saharan trade in slaves had a unique feature of Trans Atlantic route. Apart from the fact that many of the slaves were young woman and eunuchs. The long march across the desert and heavy death toll it involved had no parallel in the history of slave trade.

Other European nations and United States did not co-operate with Britain because of the need to protect their own economy. Most of the economies of these countries depended largely on slave trade. They prevented British interference in their own affairs. The African middlemen that had made fortunes from this trade were against the abolition as stated earlier. The co-operation between slave dealers especially Spanish and the Portuguese and their ally- African merchants constituted a great obstacle to abolition of the trade.

It was not easy for British naval officers to arrest slave dealers on the Atlantic Ocean. The humanitarians and philanthropists were faced with problems after the abolition of slave trade. Thousands of freed slaves were returned to West African Coast. As early as 1772, with the efforts of Granville Sharp, one of the abolitionists, the Chief Justice Lord Mansfield, had decreed that any slave that sets his feet on the soil of England was a free slave.

The result of this was that most recaptured slaves became free and thousands of them remain in England. Most of these freed slaves became unemployed and destitute persons. To overcome the plight of these slaves, the humanitarians found a colony on the West Coast of Africa. A site on the coast of modern Sierra Leone was chosen. In early “1787, 290 black men, 41 black women, 70 white prostitutes, and six white children, 38 officials and craftsmen with their families, and one private passenger, set sail from England.” They formed the modern Sierra Leone.

In the United States, the fear that Freed Slaves might instigate the enslaved to rebel or might increase the agitation for independence led to the foundation in 1821 of the colony of Liberia which attained its independence in 1847. By 1830’s most European nations had passed the abolition act.

### **3.4 Missionary activities**

The humanitarians devoted most of their time to spreading Christianity and European culture in Africa. Between 1792 and 1804, they were involved in the formation of a number of missionary societies in West Africa. Such societies were Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Baptist Missionary Society. In 1795, the Wesleyan Mission Society sent out a party of mechanics and preachers to Sierra Leone, this group extended their activities to the Gambia in 1871, to Ghana in 1834 and Yoruba land in 1846’s. A host of other missions were established in West Africa e.g. The Glasgow and Scottish Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society, North German or Bremen Missionary Society which operated in Togo, the Evangelical Missionary Society from Switzerland in Eastern Ghana, the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in Calabar and others.

These societies did not concentrate in building churches, preaching the gospel and converting Africans they also taught new methods of preparing export crops to their own countries. In Ghana Christianity was not thought alone. These societies paid attention to the development of agriculture and legitimate trade as a substitute to slave trade. They introduced new crops like cocoa, set up plantation agriculture. They also set up settlement centres as experimental farms. The Methodist established the coffee, clove, cinnamon and orange plantation in cape coast. The Baptist missionaries set up cocoa plantations at Akropong from where they supplied pods and seedlings to farmers. Some of these societies formed companies. Basel Missionary Society in Ghana formed the Basel Trading Company (now known as the UTC) in 1859, while the Church Missionary Society (CMS) formed the West Africa Company in 1863.

The greatest contribution of missionary societies was in education. They set up elementary and secondary schools in the whole of West Africa where their activities took place. In 1841, the CMS had twenty-one elementary schools and as early as 1827, it founded the Foray Bay College, which exists until today.

The societies devoted their time to the development of local linguistic studies with a view to reducing the African languages to writing and teaching their converts how to read the Bible in the vernacular. By 1880, most local languages had been in the written form. They were the Yoruba, Twi, Ewe, Hausa, Etik and Temne. With education, a new group of African elite emerged. This group of Africans encouraged the agitation for independence in most Africa countries.

Livingstone who had explored the East Africa region persuaded the British Government to send him back to command an official expedition to explore the navigable possibilities of the Zambezi.

Two missionary organisations came to his rescue, the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UNACA). But the mission met with disaster. The Zambezi proved unsuitable for navigation and UNACA mission, broken by disease and threat of slave raids, had to withdraw. The Scots, Livingstone, countrymen, began the movement. By 1875, the Scottish churches, supported by industrialists founded mission station in the shire highland. The Catholic intervened in these activities. Suddenly in 1887-8 a series of Arab attacks, motivated by the Mahdist Movement in the Sudan, threatened the work of the missionaries in the interior. Further north, work of the missionaries was interrupted by a Swahili trader and three white fathers were forced to abandon their stations. In 1880 these Bishops and some missionaries were arrested by Arabs and luckily escaped assassination.

### **3.5 External Trade in Africa**

The vacuum created by the abolition of slave trade must be filled by another trade. Sir T.F Buxton called for the ‘civilization, commerce and Christianity in Africa. He suggested in 1839 how plantation agriculture settlements and legitimate slave trade could eliminate slave and slavery. In the following year he requested aid to establish the Niger plantation. Besides the intensification of exploration, there were few attempts to set up plantation agriculture to produce cash-crops for export in Africa, along the line of Euro-American model.

The production of palm oil, which was seriously needed in Europe, caught the attention of Europeans and Africans. The new machine in Europe and America needed oil palm for lubrication and soap for both factory workers and the populace. Oil Palm has been growing wild from time immemorial. They seized this opportunity to domestic it and cultivate it in large plantation. The

British Royal African Company (BRAC) particularly took part in the exportation of this good to Europe. The Niger Delta was the major producer of palm oil. The quantity of palm oil increased rapidly throughout the century from 1,000 tons in 1810 to 5,000 in 1830 and to 30,000 tons in 1850. Other products expected from West Africa were gum Arabic, coffee, cotton, groundnut, timber and others. The last two decades of nineteenth century saw the beginning of large scale mining by European companies.

The trade continued to increase in volume after 1842. Britain took the lead in this pursuit. Probably because she was the first industrialized nation. France was second, while Germany joined later in the second half of the nineteenth century. Other participants like the Danes, the Dutch and the Americans were behind other nations. The competition among nations in West Africa became more uncomfortable. The bitterness among the established trading houses, the small and new ones who had just joined the trade and the African traders became more evident. In the search for more trade and profits, European traders penetrated the interior. Some of the companies were eager to institute the idea of chartered companies with monopoly over trade.

The Royal Niger Company (RNC), a Chartered Company which became the prototype for other Chartered company in Africa revived the chartered company as a method of acquiring and ruling territory. It was one of the companies that succeeded. The architect of RNC, Sir Taubman Goldie went to lower Niger, the most flourishing centre for trade in palm oil produce in 1877 to acquire it.

This was a time of cut- throat competition among the European trading companies. There was constant rivalry among African chiefs over who controls the use of river Niger. The Delta chief that collected levies was in strong struggle for the controls with other chiefs. Goldie solved this

problem once and for all. He organized all British trading companies into a single company as the United African Company (UAC) in 1879. There was a competition between two French companies, the Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Equatoriale and the Compagnie de Senegal, the quest for French to establish a colony in West Africa and the advance of Germany from Cameroon to Northern Nigeria, forced Goldie to improve the organization and activities of UAC. In 1882, Goldie increased the capital of UAC from £200,000 to £1m and offered public shares.

Because of the threat from other nations, Goldie applied for charter to control the Niger territory. The charter empowered the RNC to govern the territory. This also gave him the power to prevent other European companies to trade in this zone. He must not interfere with people's customs and religion and could collect taxes to defray administrative expenses. The company was renamed Royal Niger Company.

The RNC imposed high duties on exported and imported goods and he requested that all companies in the area must obtain licence before trading and at a very high charges.

### **3.6 Political implication of New Trade**

The political implication of these economic activities was far-reaching. Like the missionaries, the European traders constantly appealed to their home government to intervene and restore peace and stability where they dominate. It was simply because of this that European powers became involved in the political arrangement of African society during the nineteenth century. The granting of charter to RNC to interfere in the affairs of the Niger territory, and the British involvement in the Asante-Fante wars in the nineteenth century are known examples. The intervention in Asante-Fante war led to the final annexation of Southern Ghana in 1874. In another



vein, French annexed Porto Novo and Cotonou in the early 1880's mainly to facilitate the activities of her traders. Appeals from German traders and missionaries from Togo land and Cameroon's gave Otto Von Bismarck the excuse to attack those areas in 1884.

The policy of legitimate trade was not truly a colonial approach, but a way of preparing the ground for colonial intervention in the affairs of the states. Between 1852 and 1861 the British intervened in Lagos, on the ground that they were replacing a ruler who was in support of slave trade for a ruler who was in support of legitimate commerce. Britain attempted to find a congenial local political ruler and work through him; building up their strength through military advice and supplies, to create states which would give added security to commerce and suppress slave trading. In North Africa, Egypt was a spectacular example of such British policy, though Britain and France participated but assisted the Khedive in his bid to free his state from Turkish control. Military officers were seconded to him by both countries for service in Egyptian army. The French successfully constructed the Suez Canal. Throughout this period there was no sign of colonial authority in Egypt.

The British calculation was that "The African states needed to be free from outside intervention if she were to pursue the policy without political control of African states". If such policy did not favour Britain, than the arrangement collapsed. That is if the colony fell under the control of other European powers. Again Africa needed to be able to withstand the strains created by European commercial, financial and cultural impact. If this worked well, the need for raw material would be rest assured. But the control of Africa began when the first condition outlined above collapsed.

In 1869, France, Italy and Britain assumed the direct control of Tunisian finances. There was also a great financial crisis in Egypt, where khedive found that Egyptian finances were no longer enough to meet interest payment on the huge debt of the state. France and Britain were then given the control. Meanwhile Britain had set machinery in motion to control the Suez Canal which was vital for her communication with the India Empire. The war between Germany and France in 1870, which ended in favour of Germany, encouraged Germany to stay off the acquisition of colony. Instead the sudden stability attained by France in 1897, was welcome by Germany. The Republicans got control of French presidency and ousted Bonaparte and monarchists from the centre of power. Almost immediately France returned to Africa to re-assert its position on the continent. Germany welcomed this development because Bismarck thought that colonial interference by France could only weaken her and divert her energies from plans to revenge against Germany. At the Berlin Conference of 1884, Bismarck played the role of 'honest broker', he did not only urge Britain to annex Cyprus, but pressed France to take Tunis, where they were worried by the presence of 20,000 Italian soldiers. In 1881, France occupied the country and Italy remained powerless in the presence of Germany's tacit support of France.

#### 4.0 Summary

In this unit, we have discussed the origin of Atlantic slave trade and slavery in both Europe and Africa. In explaining, we highlighted the various groups that eventually participated in the abolition process, and how finally the trade was stopped. We discussed the contending forces during and after the slave trade. The diplomatic maneuverings by the big powers was also explained.

#### 5.0 Conclusion

In this unit, the discussion, as explained earlier is based on slave trade and slavery. That slave trade started in Africa, may not be true at all. Slave and slavery had their origin both in Europe and Africa. Britain that spear headed the abolition of slave trade had her ulterior motives . The beginning of her industrial revolution, when raw materials were needed rather than slaves called for the abolition of the slave trade. But some scholars also argued that humanitarians and philanthropists were seriously against the trade in human beings. They saw this as against the tenets of their religion and they preached against it. However, we know that the co-operation of other nations was based on the fact that transportation of raw materials from Africa was more lucrative than slave cargoes. This encouraged them to abandon the trade. Besides, the missionary society's activities in Africa that discouraged slave trade came in when substitute for the trade was handy-the economic option.

#### 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment

- (1) Explain, in detail the controversy that surrounds the abolition of slave trade.
- (2) Why did Britain take leading part in the abolition of slave trade?
- (3) Why did the trade in African slaves last for so long?

- (4) Describe briefly the origin and methods of Trans-Atlantic slave trade.
- (5) Comment on the statement that, "slave trade ruined the development efforts in Africa".

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**Unit 4****European Imperialism****Contents**

- 1.0 Introduction
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**1.0 Introduction**

This unit is a continuation of our discussion on the influence of European political life. It also introduces the learner to the various reasons why the partitian of Africa took place. The views of other writers on this topic will also be explained. This unit focuses on European imperialism in general too.

**2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

- i. Explain why European natives partitioned Africa;
- ii. Discuss the feature of European imperialism;
- iii. Apply the knowledge gained in the unit to the understanding of imperialism in general.

### **3.0 European Imperialism**

Various arguments, especially by European Writers, were used to justify imperialism in Africa. The reasons or motives behind the act, differ from one European country to the other. But the reasons can be categorized as follows:

#### **3.1**

##### **Political and strategic factors:**

The rush or the scramble for possessions and hegemony in Africa and Far East after 1870 by European powers was dictated primarily by consideration of European power diplomacy. During the war, Bismarck was able to out play France, and Alsace-Lorraine was conceded to Germany in 1870. After 1871, when Germany and Italy became united, European governments ceased to be preoccupied with European problems. There was no room for diplomatic manoeuvre, as was the case in the past. To resolve this deadlock, the European countries looked to fresh regions to find scope for their ambitions, thus “Projecting European conflicts” elsewhere.

The statesmen were also satisfied with relative balance-of-power position in Europe. They were also prompted by peace on all parts of the world then. Each statesman was conscious of additional power obtained by another state. Italy and Germany, the new states and great powers, were conscious of having new empires. Britain, who had large colonial empires, was aware that other European powers were jealous of her expansionist policies, she started on an active colonization policy to keep ahead.

The main preoccupation of Britain was to protect established interests, and safeguard the highway to the insured markets of India, China and Australia colonies. Britain, knowing her interest, acquired strategically located possessions en route to these colonies.

The period 1875-1900 was the 'heyday' of British expansionist policy, codified imperialism. The activities of Lord Cromer in Egypt, Lord Milner in South Africa and Joseph Chamberlain had wild spread support of British government. Britain at the initial stage was lukewarm towards acquiring empires in Africa, but the British government agreed at a latter stage, that if she must acquire empires it must be selective. For strategic reasons, Britain strengthen her control over the sea routes to India, and to prevent other powers from controlling these areas, Britain retained Mauritius and Cape colony in 1815, annexed Aden in 1839, took an interest in Zanzibar and East Africa and eventually involved in Egypt and the Suez Canal.

For political reasons, possessions served as a beneficiary 'pawn' in the power game or politics of Europe rivalries. The main enemies of Britain had been France and Spain, major colonial expansionists too. Britain usual game plan was for her allies to constructively engage these enemies on land, while, with the naval power that she had, she could undermine their naval power from such bases as Gibraltar in the Mediterranean. Another factor for her greed in colonial expansion is commercial.

Britain developed extensive trade with the Mediterranean countries, including India and China. Possession of these colonies served as naval base for British naval ships and also refueling stations for ships apart from commercial or trading reason and also used as a garrison to suppress slave trade and piracy on the high seas. In addition, Britain economic or political interest against hostile

powers could be checked. As power shifted in Europe from France and Spain towards the new strong Germany and Russia, Britain extended her influence eastwards.

The western writers advanced another political argument as reasons for imperialism in Africa. They say, in order to safeguard the Africans from each other, security must be heightened around them and Europeans in the midst. They argued further that in certain regions, savage nomadic or tribal population embarked on raids or acts of pillage against their neighbours hence the need for intervention. The interest of stable government, law and order and secure trading conditions necessitated their suppression. Britain advanced this reason to expand control in West Africa after numerous conflicts with Ashante.

### **3.2 Economic Factor:**

J. A Hobson, famous British economist, following Lenin, attributed the colonial expansionist policy of those years to special new economic forces at work in the most industrialized nation of the Western and Eastern Europe. David Thomson, in his book, *Europe Since Napoleon*, says, "This economic explanation of the urge for imperialism is usually taken to mean that the basic motives were also the motives and that, whatever political, religious, or more idealistic excuses might be made, the real impulse was always one of the capitalistic greed for cheap raw materials, advantageous markets, good investments and fresh fields of exploitation".

He says further that, what Hobson called "economic taproot of imperialism was successive capital in search of investment opportunities; and that this excessive capital was derived from savings made possible by the enslaving people of the colonies or by unequal distribution of wealth.



Lenin in a pamphlet on, *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism*, described imperialism as “a direct continuation of the fundamental properties of capitalism in general. There was a conspicuous general improvement in the economic condition of workers in the more developed economy, whilst in the colonial territories, the people, argued Lenin, capitalism had found new proletariats to exploit.’

Natural resources (especially iron and coal) led to new inventions and the industrial revolution in Britain and clamp-down on slave trade, accumulated surplus of finished goods for market were readily available. There was an increase in industrial growth in other European countries. The need for colonies became more prevalent. It was discovered that overseas colonies possessed abundant raw materials wanting to be tapped. These raw materials were in short supply at home or non existence at all. Examples were gold, ivory, oil, rubber, and other minerals. The product of the tropics, especially from Africa, were got by trading without political control or tariff. The condition of trade was dictated by the imperialists, if any.

The quest for market for their finished goods was also important, despite the high population upsurge experienced in Europe. Until 1870 British manufacturers of textiles, machinery, and hardware had found good markets in other European countries. After this period Germany, France, Belgium, and other nations in Europe were able to satisfy their market demands, which they begun to protect against British tariff system. These countries begun to produce surplus for which they sought markets abroad, especially Africa. The colonies provided markets for surplus manufactured goods. In exchange they provided cheap agricultural produce for the European nations. After the abandonment of free trade regime in Europe during the 1870s, European powers became more

serious about acquiring colonies in Africa. They feared that apart from not benefiting most colonial powers would close their borders to other European nations with high tariff barrier.

In 1860-78, many investors, particularly British investors, lost heavily when central and South American states and Egypt defaulted. This gave the opportunity to look for new fields of investment of surplus capital. When Egypt and Tunisia became bankrupt, because of the uneven condition of loan, they were forced to borrow money at high interest rates from European investors. This foreign financial control over their economy preceded their occupation by France and Britain respectively. Chartered companies were used by Britain as a device for overseas expansion. For example these companies, East Africa company, the Royal Niger Company and the South Africa Chartered Company, played a leading role in the occupation of territories in Africa by Britain.

The industrial progress in Europe resulted into two major factors, which made the occupation of Africa easier for the European. The imperialistic tendencies of Europe would have been halted with the antagonist postures exhibited by Africans, but for the superior fire power of European powers. In order to take full advantage of economic potentials of Africa, railway lines were constructed to the hinterland to facilitate the evacuation of raw materials to the ports for the colonial merchants. The 'jungle' as Africa was referred to, became more dangerous because mosquito bites. The development of quinine to counter malaria turned Africa to a livable continent where Europeans could live in and no more a white man's grave.

Yet another element in the growth of imperialism was men who combined the ability of good administration with soldiery posture. They were not missionaries but welcomed an opportunity to

bring order and efficient administration out of the 'jungle'. Such men, as mentioned earlier, were Lord Cromer in Egypt, Lord Lugard in Nigeria, Lord Milner at the Cape, Marshal Lyauley in Morocco, Karl Peters in German East Africa. The extend and consolidation of European control over Africa, without these men, would have been difficult or impossible. The nature of colonization or colonialism or imperialism varied from nation to nation.

Power Game: Some writers have argued that a powerful nation was justified in seeking colonies. Then when there was relative peace in Europe, the so called balance-of-power was the vogue, the need to acquire more colonies became more pronounced. It was argued that powerful nations were justified to seek for colonies. This argument was advanced by Sir John Seeley in his book *The Expansion of England* (1883) and the Frenchman Leroy-Beaulieu. Herbert Spence (1820-1963), popularized the theory of "the survival of the fittest" an adaptation of the biological theories of Darwin to the struggles of man; Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), believed that force alone would help the nation in its struggle for life.

A failure in domestic or foreign policy and in order to satisfy public demands for preservation of national prestige as compensation for some failures in Europe made some countries to acquire colonies. This factor influenced the acquisition of colonies by France. After the defeat of 1870, Germany encouraged France to acquire colonial territories in Africa.

Christian missionaries played a prominent role in the spread of colonialism. The most famous among this group, was a Scot, David Livingstone. He was a medical missionary who was originally sent to Africa by London Missionary society. He later returned under government auspices as an explorer to open a path to commerce and Christianity. The Catholic Missions in

France, even more than Britain sent missionaries to Africa, to convert Africans to Christianity. The Catholic mission in France were very active, and they provided two thirds (forty thousand) of all Catholic missionaries. By 1875, they spread from Algeria into Tunisia and set up a religious protectorate that preceded the political protectorate. During the nineteenth century, missionaries were keen to spread the Christian faith, and also encouraged the philanthropists and humanitarians who wanted to abolish un-Christian customs among the African people. Britain justified the reason for her expansion as a means to curb the indigenous slave trade.

Racist factor was also advanced for the colonization of Africa. Some writers in the nineteenth century encourage the instinctively superiority of Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon or Europeans race over other races. In fact Germany believed that German, then, was a 'superior race'. Racist ideas were particularly popular in Britain and Germany during the nineteenth century. In 1885, Rudyard Kipling said it was the "white man's burden" to help educate and civilize the less fortunate colonial people.

The pressure of population in Europe was on the increase, but this still found outlet in migration to United States and Australia. Nationalists argued that if colonies were possessed, European nationals who wished to migrate could still operate under their various laws in the countries or colonies where they reside. Though many countries desired a "place in the sun", many overseas colonies were to prove unsuitable for large-scale European habitants. The reasons for imperialism varied from one country to another. According to David Thompson (1957):

"The sources and the nature of the urge to imperialism were multiple, and varied considerably from one country to another. It was not just that trade followed the flag, but that the flag accompanied

the botanist and buccaneer, the Bible and the bureaucrat, along with the banker and the businessman”

### **3.2 Results of European imperialism**

Though imperialistic activities can bring some benefits to both mother country or European countries and the colonies it brought along some disastrous effects on to the colonies on the long run.. At the initial stage, the coming of the Western countries brought a considerable economic advantage to the colonies. This led to the development of natural resources like cotton, cocoa, rubber etc, industrialization, improvement of agricultural methods and irrigation, which provided wealth for the population.

Modern medicine was introduced. The treatment of malaria through the discovery of quinine also put a stop to death through mosquito bites. The schools built by the missionaries increased the literate level of the colonial people and more became Christians who can read and write.

The primitive organization of governance was changed. The colonial government developed institutions of government, and provided law and order where there were anarchy and chaos hitherto. They were also said to have provided training in the art of self-governance. But generally colonial people preferred the self – rule rather than rulers from another land, however corrupt or inefficient, their rulers might be. One erroneous belief of foreign rule is that colonial peoples are in some ways inferior to rule their people, this is not so.

### **3.3 Effect of imperialism on European Relations**

Before 1880 France, Britain and Russia had carried on policy of expansion without hindrance and serious clashes. After 1880 the entry of ‘super powers’ and new competitors for the most valuable

remaining spaces on the earth resulted to high tension and negotiation of numerous secret arrangements. Though this was not so serious, especially when it related to African affairs, but still there was high tension. This was usually resolved amicably, when tension were too high. For example, when the partition of Africa reached a crescendo point it was resolved at Berlin Conference of 1884-1885.

The rivalry over Egypt and later West Africa caused embittered relations between France and Britain in the years between 1882 and 1998. Britain was always in the forefront of colonizing the best spaces on earth. She considered the natural resources of the areas, for example Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast and Gambia valuable. These areas were colonized by Britain because of their economic potentials. Egypt, had Suez Canal and this formed a bridge to link other nations of the world, apart from rich natural resources the country is endowed with.

Partly as compensation for disappointments in Africa, Italy joined the Dual Alliance in 1883. The Dual Alliance was set up by Bismarck in 1879. The motives for this alliance were complex. But it had to do with the stabilization of Germany in Europe German refusal to aid Britain in the far East against Russian expansion was a contributory factor to the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902. Britain entered into agreement with Russia in the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. The desire of Britain was to aid their rivalry in Central Asia.

The power game changed in Europe. There was no permanent friend or enemy but permanent interest. Colonial reverses were suffered by France in 1898 in the Fashoda incident, and Russia in 1905, where she was defeated by Japan. There were renewed interest of these powers in the sensitive issues of Alsace-Lorraine and the Balkans which France lost to Germany in 1870. The

abrupt manner of the Germans intervention in Morocco, which caused Algebras and Agadir crises of 1906 and 1911 led to a tightening of bonds of the France-British entente and an increased state of tension in Europe. The Italian attack in Tripoli in 1911 was a contributory factor or cause of the Balkan war.

Between 1763 and the 1870s few European powers showed little interest in acquiring territory outside their shores. The colonial ambition of France was cut short in India, North America and other areas by Britain in the eighteenth century during the Napoleonic wars. Though Britain gained Canada from France in 1763, she lost most of her colonial empires in North America in 1782. Spain and Portugal lost most of the empires in South America when they became independent after 1815.

Many European powers withdrew from Africa, except France and Britain, when slave trade was abolished in the early part of the nineteenth century. They felt since the major source of revenue had been halted, there was no need to stay behind in the colonies. Again, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had been costly for European powers in terms of lives and money. After 1815 recovery and adaptation to a period of great economic and industrial progress – industrial Revolution. They were also concerned with the problems caused by the development of liberal and national movements resulting from French Revolutionary ideas, which threatened the hitherto existing order.

There was the general belief that the cost of colonial acquisition outweighed the benefits. The experience of thirteen American colonies that revolted seems to lead credence in this direction. This was the idea of Britain during the mid-Victorian era.

The major colonial powers in 1815-1870 were Spain, Portugal, Netherlands, Britain, France and Russia. Britain was not too keen in the first place to colonize territories. All she was interested in was India and she was not keen to incur new cost responsibilities in this area too. France was keen to extend his influence to Africa, probably because of religious and economic reasons.

But the tempo of acquisition changed in 1870s. This led to titanic effort to acquire colonies at all costs. There were entry of more competitors. After the abandonment of free trade and revival of high tariff regimes, European countries were anxious to obtain key trade areas in Africa. They feared that their rivals in the colonies would do the same, imposing high tariff in their colonies and thereby excluding them from trade in their respective colonies in the 1870s, Britain under Disraeli embarked on massive aggression to acquire colonies in Africa.

During the late nineteenth century, electorate and popular press became more vocal. It was an era of nationalistic ideas, people became more interested in what the government was doing. In fact, the people became more aware and sensitive to failure and success of government both foreign and local. The imperialists needed various media to rally the support of their people. Countries which were vulnerable to public agitation for imperial ventures were Britain, France and Germany. It made the former anti-imperialist Disraeli in 1872, call on Britain to be “a great country, an imperial country.” This also forced Bismack in 1882, to embark on the acquisition of colonies, a policy he had always put off or firmly resisted.

A scholar described this period as the beginning of ‘the forceful possession of our land over the forceful possession of our people.’

4.0

## **Conclusion**



Imperialism in Africa can be described as the imposition of the super powers hegemony on powerless African states. Economic factor over rides other reasons for the colonization of Africa. In the discussion in this unit, the need to find new markets for finished goods, a by-product of industrial revolution, made the European powers to invade Africa

### **5.0 Summary**

This unit has examined the political and strategic factors that led to the partition of Africa. It was explained in this unit how economic reasons played a dominant role in the imperialistic tendencies of the super powers. Other inherent factors were also discussed.

The unit examined into the various factors of colonialism, and their combination as a tool of imperialism in Africa. The inter play of the contending powers in the power equation was also discussed.

### **6.0 Tutor – Marked Assignment**

1. Discuss the general motives of colonial territories acquisition with special reference to the nineteenth century.
2. Why did economic considerations play a major role in European imperialism?
3. Indicate with specific references, the features and forms of European imperialism.
4. List the major power groups between 1815 and 1870. Why were they at logger heads at the tail end of 1870?
5. Why did Africa lose in the power struggle in the nineteenth century?

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## Unit 5

### **Partition of Africa**

#### **Contents**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

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#### **7.0 References/Further Readings**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

The relative peace in Europe and the so called balance of power situation prompted the scramble and final partition of Africa by the European powers in the nineteenth century. The main powers in this struggle were Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy and Belgium. These super powers sat in Berlin in 1884-85 to 'share' African state among one another. The main reason(s) for the abolition of slave trade has now manifested in the forceful possession of Africa land by the colonial overlords. This unit discusses the step by step colonization or final partition of Africa to all

European powers involved. It also traces the earlier effort by the European power to have a strong hold in Africa states.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, the learner should be able to understand the following:

- i. The origin of scramble for Africa.
- ii. Why Berlin Conference took place
- iii. Which of the super powers inherited which colonies?
- iv. The role of Germany in the power equation

## **3.0 Main content**

### **3.1 Origin of European scrambles in Africa**

Despite the hazardous nature of Africa to the Europeans, many still ventured into the hinterland of Africa. The rivers were full of rapids or water falls at their mouths. Mungo Park died in the water falls of the Niger when he was said to have discovered the River Niger in Nigeria. The French, in her bid to get hold in Africa, attacked Algeria in 1830. The motives behind this invasion were varied. The French Minister, Polignac wanted Mohammed Ali of Egypt to occupy Tripoli and Tunis to punish Algeria. In his calculation, the French was to aid the Egyptian Pasha with a naval fleet and financial assistance. But, Britain had a hidden agenda, imperialistic in nature, warned Mohammed Ali to desist from such military adventurism. Britain then advised the Sultan of Turkey to punish the Pasha if he ventured West wards. The Minister quickly justified the attack on the need for France to open up Algeria for business purposes. Louis Philip who came to Algeria declared that it was France's aim to found an important colony in Algeria.

The countries that make up Magrib are Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. At the opening of nineteenth century, two distinct administrations and political system were in the Magrib.

On the one hand is independent Morocco, under Sherifian dynasty founded in 1649, on the other were semi-independent administrations in Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. The Regencies that controlled these areas were under the suzerainty of Sultan of Turkey. Algeria was administered from Turkey since 1518. Tunisia was under the Ottoman administration since the end of the sixteenth century. But in 1705, Husan Ibn Ali Aglia, usurped the supreme authority and founded the Hussein Dynasty. Libya in 1800 was administered by Yusuf, who fought the Turkeys to return to power. For centuries the Barber Corsains maintained the sovereignty from the Europeans powers. They have been able to establish their superiority over Europeans on the Mediterranean waters. They captured Europeans as slaves and compelled them to build their palaces, till their lands and row their galleys. Their relation was master-servant relationship unlike what obtained in the West African states. The sovereignty exercised by the Magrib countries over the nationals of Europe and America was unacceptable to them. From 1800 onwards they began to undermine the sovereignty of Magrib rulers either by refusing to pay 'exaction' or frontally bombarding their ports. They also took in interest the succession to the throne. They employed a subterranean method of supporting a rivalry person to the throne in order to create chaos. This game plan of undermining the sovereignty of Magrib rulers by the European powers was a manifestation of European economic imperialist agenda in Mediterranean Africa. This scenario created a launching pad, manifested itself on a major scale in the attack France unleashed on Algeria in 1830. The French invasion of Algeria had many motives behind the so called justification. This invasion was not made in the open for fear of British reaction. The French Minister, Polignac, wanted

Muhammed Ali of Egypt to occupy Tripoli and Tunis and punish Algeria. In this calculation the French were to aid the Egyptian Pasha with a naval fleet and financial assistance. But, Britain who had a hidden agenda, imperialistic in nature, warned Mohammed Ali to refrain from such military adventurism. Britain advised Sultan of Turkey to punish the Pasha if he ventured into the war.

In Morocco the imperial interests of Britain, France and Spain were made manifest. Britain saw that Morocco is strategically located. The straits of Gibraltar guarded the entrance to the Mediterranean where British trade was substantial at the time. British interest in the rise of Muhammed Ali and the occupation of Algeria by France made it more imperative for Britain to conquer Morocco. France also saw Morocco as a first-class interest. She felt that Algerian distant may use Morocco as a launching ground to recapture Algeria. Spain's interest in Morocco dated back to the fifteenth century. This diplomatic maneuvering and rivalries among these nations ensured the independence of Morocco until 1904, when France and Britain agreed to give France the free hand to annex the territory.

Husseinic Dey of Tunisia was delighted when France invaded Algeria, partly because the Dey of Algeria was his traditional enemy and partly because he felt a friendship with France would protect his own interest in his country. By 1835-55, French influence increased tremendously. The Dey went to Paris on official visit in 1846. The British held a concession for an important railway from the city of Tunis to Goletta. In 1870 Italy joined the race of scramble for opportunities and soon began to outbid their British and French rivals. Tunisian friendliness towards Italy, which Tunisia entertained as counterpoise to the unwanted imperialist aspiration of France, made France to occupy Tunisia in 1880. To justify this occupation, France alleged that the Krumirs had provided the Barber rebels with arms and ammunition. She also want to believe that the Pan-Islamic

movement in North Africa, including the Colonel Urabi rebellion in Egypt, the Mahdist movement in the Sudan, the massacre of Flatters, a French colonel, in the desert and insurrection of South Oran was more active in Tunisia.

Islamic religious brotherhood had a considerable influence in Libya. Unlike other Magreb nations, she was not easily occupied. The ideology of nationality and feeling of oneness which *Sanusiyya Tariqa* infused into the people of Libya, assumed a more complex dimension in the turn of twentieth century when France attacked the order, and when Italians occupied Libya in 1911.

South Africa was firmly under European rule, shared between the British and the Afrikaners, who were descendents of the Dutch. European traders in West Africa had traded with the coastal people for four centuries. After the abolition of slave trade the Portuguese, Dutch and Danes gradually left West Africa. Only France and Britain remained behind. British possession of Gold Coast now Ghana was an evidence of British administration in West Africa. Sierra Leone has been a British territory since 1787 for freed slaves and her traders were in Nigerian coast since 1832. In July 1884, Germany proclaimed a protectorate over Togoland. Britain was interested in Dahomey.

Britain sent Joseph Thomson to explore Kenya for the Royal Geographical society in 1884. An earlier suggestion to annex Zanzibar was rejected by Britain. This place was later proclaimed as a British protectorate.

The virtual inevitable race for colonies began in West Africa, not in 1882 or 1884 as supposed, but rather in 1879 when King Leopold of Belgians and France sent out Stanley and de Brazza to conclude treaties with local rulers in Congo Basin. This area was an exclusive preserve of the Portuguese. The sudden directive that the above mentioned powers gave to their men surprised

Portugal. Britain also felt threatened in the regions of the Bights of Benin and Biafra. She was threatened by French activities in Porto Novo and on the Niger in the early 1880's. The entry of Germany into the race was as a result of the pressure being brought to bear upon her by the chambers of commerce particularly that of Hamburg, by merchants such as S.C Godeffroy and Adolf Woermann, and bankers such as Von Hanseemann and Bleichroder. Further calls kept on coming from businessmen and missionaries on the West coast for German protection. Bismarck was waiting for an opportunity to carry along the German public with him in his decision to acquire a colony. British refusal to extend protection to German traders in South West Africa, and her failure even to response to his repeated appeals, gave him this opportunity in March, 1884 to extend protection to German traders and annex the region in April, and in May he sent an envoy, Nachtigal, with instructions to annex the Cameroons.

Because of the increase in the tempo by France, Britain, Germany and Portugal laying claims on West African Coast, the scramble for Africa had reached an advanced stage by July 1884. It was in order to draw rules and regulations that would govern this race and to avoid possibility of an open conflict among the contending forces, that an international conference was held in Berlin from 15 November 1884 to 30 January, 1885, under the chairmanship of Bismarck.

### **3.2 Berlin Conference of 1884-1885**

Some writers' believe that the Berlin Conference was Africa's undoing in more ways than one. The colonial powers used the occasion to superimpose their domain on the African continent. By the time Africa states became independent in 1950s and 1960s, the realm had acquired a legacy of political fragmentation that could neither be eliminated nor made to operate satisfactorily. In 1884 at the request of Portugal, German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck called together the major



Western powers of the world to negotiate questions and end confusion over the control of Africa. Bismarck appreciated the opportunity to expand Germany's sphere of influence over Africa and desire to force Germany's rivals to struggle with one another for territory.

At the time of the conference, 80 percent of Africa remained under traditional or local rulers. Africa at the conference had its boundaries divided into fifty irregular countries. The colonial masters superimposed their cultures and religions over one thousand indigenous cultures and religions of Africa. The new countries lacked cohesion or reason for coexistence. These groups of people merged together by colonial masters were disparate groups who really did not get along.

Fourteen countries were represented by a plethora of Ambassadors when the conference was declared opened in Berlin in November 15, 1884. The countries represented at the conference were, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway, Turkey and the United States of America of these fourteen nations, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Portugal were the major players in the conference, controlling most of the colonial Africa at that time. It was clear that the commercial interests of Leopold, Portugal, France and Germany conflicted in the Congo region. The initial task of the conference was to agree that the Congo River and Niger River mouths and basins would be considered neutral and open to trade. The Congo Free State was recognized by the powers Britain, France, Russia, United States and Portugal. It was to be run as an international organization on a free-trade basis. Based on the earlier treaties entered into by Stanley and the local chiefs, King Leopold claimed the whole of Congo. This was accepted by the conference.

The following points were also agreed upon:

- (i) The natives of these areas must not be exploited in the interest of European powers.
- (ii) There was to be freedom of navigation on the Congo and Niger rivers.
- (iii) Before an effective claim by European powers to African territories, it had to be effectively occupied.

As a result of the above rule (II), the conference refused to recognize the claims of the Sultan of Zanzibar to much of East Africa. The claim of Portugal to a vast area between Angola and Mozambique was not admitted by the members of the conference. Bismarck announced at the end of the conference in February, 1885, Germany had established a protectorate over Tanganyika in East Africa.

Following the conference, the give and take continued. By 1914, the conference participants had fully divided Africa among themselves into fifty countries.

Major colonial holdings included:

- Great Britain desired a Cape-to-Cairo collection of colonies and almost succeeded though their control of Egypt, Sudan (Anglo-Egyptian Sudan), Uganda, Kenya (British East Africa), South Africa, and Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana (Rhodesia). The British also controlled Nigeria and Ghana (Gold Coast).
- France took much of Western Africa, from Mauritania to Chad (French West Africa) and Gabon and the Republic of Congo (French Equatorial Africa).
- Belgium and King Leopold II controlled the Democratic Republic of Congo (Belgian Congo).
- Portugal took Mozambique in the east and Angola in the west.

- Italy's holdings were Somalia (Italian Somaliland) and a portion of Ethiopia.
- Germany took Namibia (German Southwest Africa) and Tanzania (German East Africa).
- Spain claimed the smallest territory – Equatorial Guinea (Rio Muni).

One of the results of the conference was that it led to an intensification of the scramble for colonies. Owing to the regulation that colonies must be properly occupied before proclamation, other European powers took this as a signal to stake their own claim quickly. The other important point of note was that European powers were able to settle their colonial disputes peacefully.

During and after the conference, the European powers sent out more envoys, administrators and soldiers who, by persuasion or force or bribery, got African rulers to sign agreements, in which they ceded away, in some cases innocently, their territories. When these rulers later realized the import of their actions, they rose up in rebellion against the colonialists. But such rebellion, which were too late, were crushed and the rulers were either killed or exiled. Local leaders like Lat-Dior, Samori Toure, Ba Bemba and Behanzia put up strong resistance right from the beginning but they failed to sustain and win the war. They eventually lost their independence. Lat-Dior of Cayor resisted the French till he was killed in 1885. Samori Toure defended his huge empire stretching from Boure to northern Ghana from 1891 until 1898 when he was captured and deported to Gabon where he died in 1900. It took the British a substantial part of the first decade of this century to suppress the resistance in Bornu and the Fulani emirates of Northern Nigeria.

### **3.3 Final partition**

By 1900 European powers had partitioned among themselves most of the African continent, though Ethiopia managed to preserve its wide independence. After the conference the rivalry

between Britain and France intensified. In order to halt French advancement, Britain proclaimed a protectorate over Niger region in 1885 and made Lagos, a separate British colony in 1861. France undertook serious military campaigns, and eventually crushed the power of the Mandingo ruler in the Ivory Coast and the king of Dahomey, by 1890. These two regions were made into a protectorate and colony respectively. Many of her possessions were now separate by those of other countries on the coast; France now worked to join them together in the interior. The unhealthy rivalry continued between France and Britain, in the process, both rushed to sign treaties with local rulers. Britain crushed the Ashanti in a short war in 1896 and made their territory a protectorate. France wanted to connect territories on the upper Niger with Dahomey. In 1897-8 this culminated in a clash in Western Nigeria. The incident in Fashoda, aggravated Anglo-French relations. However it was solved peacefully. In 1899 Nigeria became British protectorate. By 1903 France had gained most of North-West Africa, an area estimated to be about 33/4 million square miles.

In 1885 Germany advanced claims to areas already claimed by Britain and where she had already signed treaties with local rulers. Using the delimitation commission (composed of Britain, France and Germany) in 1886, the two countries settled their differences. Anglo-German agreement, October, 1886, without consulting the Sultan of Zanzibar, it was agreed that the mainland territories of the sultan extended only 10 miles interior. They agreed on the 'sphere of influence' in East Africa. Cecil Rhodes, the Cape premier, was anxious to extend British power northwards. He hoped that the region north of Boer Republic of Transvaal would be rich in natural mineral resources. There was the risk that the route to the north would be closed by possible annexations by Germany or Portugal trying to link her West African colony of Angola with Mozambique on the east. Rhodes formed a company which was granted charter by the British government. The region

was occupied by a pioneer column in 1890, the local Lobenguela having virtually lost his authority by agreeing to the Rudd Concession in 1888. The region was named Rhodesia in 1895.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The scramble for possession of territories in Africa was fierce and sometimes combative. But this did not result into open conflict among the super powers that engaged in the partition. It could be seen that Britain was in the fore front of the struggle. She succeeded in the control of coastal countries of Africa, and where there were abundant natural resources. France followed with more territories but most of these were in the hinterland. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 set the pace for the final onslaught on Africa. The rules of the game of Berlin safeguarded open confrontation among the super powers. The rulers also called to question instances where colonialists laid claim to a territory without effective occupation. The partition kept European powers busy and the balance of power in Europe was stable throughout the period in question.

#### **5.0 Summary**

Britain had been in Nigeria long before abolition of slave trade. Many explorers like Mungo Park; and even traders came in to exchange their goods with Nigerian goods.

The attack of Algeria in 1830 by France put the scramble in the fore as highlighted the need of the super power to acquire territories in Africa. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 formalized the acquisition of territories in Africa. The final partition or signing of treaties and waging war on local rulers put paid to the ambition of local rulers, who wanted to remain independent of the super powers.

#### **6.0 Tutor Marked - Assignment**

- (1) Describe briefly the extent of European influence in Africa before 1879.
- (2) Why was Berlin Conference convened in 1884-1885?
- (3) Trace the growth of influence of European powers in West Africa after 1882.

## 7.0

### **References and Further readings**

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## **MODULE II**

### **Contents**

Unit 1	Colonial System
Unit 2	Colonial Administration in Nigeria
Unit 3	French Administration in West Africa
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Unit 5	Colonial Rule in North Africa (Magrib)

### **UNIT 1 COLONIAL SYSTEM**

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2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	Colonial System
3.2	Characteristics of Colonialism
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#### **1.0 Introduction**

The word colonialism, in the Africa context, raises a lot of emotions among African elite. Another vexing issue is the oversimplification of colonial powers, such as Britain and France. Colonialism can simply be described as the capitalism of African resources by the then superpowers – Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Portugal, etc. It may be wrong to assume that what happened during colonial periods in the colonies was a result of a deliberate policy decision in London or Paris. The truth may be difficult to fathom and far less simple. The colonial influence, in West Africa, started at various periods of the states' history. The colonial period in Sierra Leone colony begun in 1787; it began for the Gold Coast colony in 1874; for Asante in 1902; for Lagos in 1861 and for the Oil Rivers in 1885; for Dahomey (now Benin Republic) in 1892 and for the Ivory Coast in 1893.

In this unit, we shall study what colonialism is all about, its characteristics, its beginning and the problem of colonialism in Africa.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

The main purpose of this unit is to enable you understand the meaning of colonialism and its characteristics as it relates to Africa. At the end of the unit, you should be able to discuss the following:

- (1) The meaning of colonialism
- (2) The characteristics of colonialism
- (3) The reasons why Europeans introduced colonial administration in Africa.

### 3.0 Main Contents

#### 3.1 Colonial System

The colonial system emerged in the colonies because a number of people in Western Europe holding certain ideas in matters of religion, social policy, politics and economics, came into contact with African peoples that held different ideas about their social, economic and political lives. To properly understand colonialism, it is imperative to appreciate the prevailing ideas in Europe, and what were the circumstances that brought Europe and Africa in contact.

Britain and France were commercial countries, and their traders had for centuries been trying to sell their finished goods all over the world. They had learned from Adam Smith (1723 – 90) that government should not influence free trade. Government involvement in trade, according to them, would be counterproductive. Every man is his own judge; they should be allowed to act as he thought best for himself. This practice lingered on in Britain that government interference in economic life of the people was wrong. That was why in England, education was left entirely in the hands of the missionaries and also the reason why the governments of other European countries were reluctant to do anything to control international trade and world market prices. They relied on price mechanism to fix prices of commodities.

In the nineteenth century, Western Europe had begun the industrial revolution. In Britain and America, people were thinking more of industrial advancement rather than the slave trade. Development of science took precedent over arts and humanities. Unlike the African extended family system, Western Europe was individualistic and competitive. The struggle for means became more evident at this period.

The Christian Churches also contributed to the colonial system. At the beginning of colonial period, Christians were at the forefront in the fight against slave trade and slavery. These groups of Christians persuaded their various governments to abolish slave trade because it was evil. Denmark obeyed the callings of the missionary to abolish slave trade in 1792, and Britain followed in 1807. After about fifty years of fruitless efforts, Britain taught that the best way to halt slave trade completely was to annex the island of Lagos in 1861, which she did. Christians also found out that some African practices were ‘ungodly’. They agreed that the best way to put a stop to this was to introduce some sanctions, which they did through the colonial masters. But France believed in centralised system of government. A process where the colonies would be ruled from Paris, but Britain did little in this regard.

Economic development in French and British colonies was geared to the needs of the colonial powers. Colonies were expected to buy the manufactured goods from European home countries whilst in return; they were expected to produce raw materials for those industries abroad. Agricultural production was on the increase while industrial revolution was denied the West



Africa colonies. Neither economic development nor widespread improvement of social services received sustained attention in French and British West Africa.

The colonial system did not evolve immediately. It took time. When it eventually started, it developed step by step. The Europeans that held this idea had to face a difficult task of integrating the political system in the African setting. But it is probable that colonial system eventually emerged. Politically, the colonies were governed by the decision taken in London or Paris, Brussels or Berlin, Lisbon or Amsterdam. The colonial masters in the colonies established for themselves position of racial superiority and influence. They were primarily concerned with the administering, developing and generally, running the colonies. They acquired the best land, the best house and most of the social amenities were controlled and dominated by them.

### **3.2 Characteristics of Colonialism**

Some of the main features of colonialism were “various forms of exploitation and plunder of colonial peoples, direct fleecing of colonies (through taxes, exaction and confiscations) coupled with economic forms of exploitation, based on export of capital”. Forced labour was used freely in the building of roads, and railway lines, feeder roads to the ports from the hinterland. This is alongside capitalist exploitation of wage labour.

In fact, this was a new form of slavery. The exploitation of land and labour is essential for the advancement of human development. This is important so long as the exploitation takes place in the same environment. But in this case, the exploitation was done in the colonies and the benefits of this were exported to the metropolitan cities of Europe. The repatriation of profits to Europe was one of the aims of capitalists or European overlords. From an African point of view, that amounted to assisting expatriation of surplus produced by African labour out of African resources. This meant the development of Europe rather than African states which produced the labour and products.

By colonial's view or any standard, labour was cheap in Africa and the amount of surplus labour extracted from African peoples was great. The amount of wages paid to African workers was very small. In fact in some cases, these wages were fixed by the employer, sometimes at a ridiculous rate, only enough to take the worker from home to the workplace and to keep the worker physically alive to perform other functions that might be allocated to him. This scenario was common in plantation agriculture, mines and some urban employment.

Second, the colonial masters combined exploitation of the African people with their subjugation, national and racial yoke. These people were barred from deciding their own future or destiny. This strategy, of ruling Africa was perfected in the metropolitan Europe and put into practice by the overseers of the colonies, who were the colonial overlords.

Third, the development in colonial states and the dependent countries, make their economies abnormally one-sided. The underdevelopment of Africa can be traced to her colonial legacy – the development of raw materials for the metropolitan economies and non-existence of meaningful industrialization programme in place in the exploited colonies.

Military power and organisation were superb. Any rebellion by African people was quickly suppressed. Technical progress made during the industrial revolution in Europe widens the gap between Europe on one hand and Africa on the other. The principles of infant training in both Germany and Britain. During the nineteenth century superior artillery, the mass-produced rifle, the machine gun, and their power use, combined with discipline and organisation of a high standard contributed to European supremacy in Africa. In Nigeria, when there was uprising in Kano against the colonial rule, cannon fire power was used to suppress the rebellion, ditto in coastal region of Nigeria and many other places in Africa. An English poet and opponent of imperialism cynically expressed it:

*Whatever happens we have got  
The maxim gun and they have not.*

### 3.3 The Beginning of Colonialism

Freetown, a settlement for freed slaves, was established by Britain before the prohibition of slave trade. A judgement of a British court in 1772 established that no man could be a slave in England. After 1807, captives by British sailors were taken to this town and it increased the population of the settlement. Because the bonafide owner of the land, King Jimmy destroyed the town, it was refounded as a company's colony in 1791 and a Crown colony in 1808: as a Crown colony because the company could no longer afford to keep it going. After the invasion of the Asante in 1806, the Fante people looked up to the Europeans to protect them against their brother the Asante. The short experience of the direct colonial rule from 1821 to 1828 was a failure and Britain wanted to abandon the Gold Coast altogether. But the traders, especially European traders and Fante people did not want Britain to abandon them. After many attempts, the annexation was proclaimed in July 1874.

The careers of Sir George Goldie and the Royal Niger Company and Cecil Rhodes in South Africa laid the foundation of British rule in the various countries. The slogan, "Open up the country, push the trade, hoist the flag; philanthropy is good, especially if it pays five percent dividends". The lukewarm of Britain towards the administration of the colonies changed immediately when Bismarck (much against his own will) decided that Germany must enter the race and obtain 'a place in the sun'. In 1884, a German empire-builder, Karl Peters made treaties in Tanganyika and convinced Bismarck that there must be a follow-up. This was the genesis of the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885. Under the Act as explained earlier, any European country which could show that it had a predominant interest in any Africa region would be accepted by the others as the administrator of the said region.

Britain would have made a costly mistake by allowing France and Germany to divide eastern Nigeria between the powers. The missionary and commercial interests of the traders were opposed to this move. Goldie, the businessman and Hewitt, the British Consul on the spot, persuaded the British government to claim the Niger Coast and the lower Niger as a British sphere of influence, had to be converted into protectorates. Lord Lugard, a legendary administrator, formed the bridge between the old humanitarianism and the new imperialism. His tolling career is Nyasaland and Uganda, before he came to Nigeria, had been devoted to putting down the Arab slave trade in the notorious Trans Sahara Trade route and the slave markets in the

North African region. He was also instrumental to the stopping of a civil war between Catholics and Protestants among the Baganda. In Nigeria, he was responsible for conquering the North and stopping slave trade in the region. Before his arrival, Northern Nigeria had experienced the invasion of their region by a Fulani Muslim Cleric, Uthman Dan Fodio. The region under the pretext of Islamization of the region had been organised into a series of Fulani emirates, which raided their pagan neighbours and exported large numbers of slaves across the desert. The three years' campaign against the Fulani oligarchy (the Emirs), who were not supported by their Hausa subjects, was part of the humanitarian tendencies of Lugard. The conquest of the North by Lugard was a welcome development to Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary. He (Chamberlain) saw this as a means to forestall the advancement of France in that direction. Lugard's race to hoist British flag in the conquered territory was part of the new imperialistic world.

France, on the other hand, was less reluctant to hoist her flag in Africa unlike Britain. In 1830s, she began the conquest of Algeria. Twenty years later, in 1854, Napoleon III had transformed France from a Republic to an empire. General Faidherbe as Governor of Senegal began pushing inland from the coastal region. In 1881, France occupied Tunis and the region of Guinea. After the Berlin Conference, France expanded her sphere of influence to cover Dahomey in 1892, Ivory Coast the following year, and 1902, she organised all her West African territories into an empire with a Governor General in Dakar.

Britain Mackinnon's Company, faced with threat of bankruptcy, requested assistance from Salisbury in December, 1890. Salisbury again failed to pass a scheme for a Uganda railway survey through the House of Commons and the company decided to withdraw. Because of this unfolding scenarios, Bishop Tucker and CMS supporters gathered £15,000 to enable Mackinnon to maintain and keep Lugard in Uganda for another year. When a liberal government succeeded Salisbury, the opposition led by Gladstone and Harcourt, had resolutely refused to sanction any assumption of imperial responsibilities in the interior of East Africa. But in order to strengthen his cabinet, Gladstone appointed Rosebery as Foreign Secretary, a man who thoroughly accepted Salisbury's estimation of vital strategic importance of holding Egypt and the source of Nile. Because of Britain's hesitation to occupy Uganda, missionaries and chambers of commerce and humanitarians, with Lugard support, mobilized public opinion throughout Britain in favour of the retention of Uganda. When Rosebery decided to send Gerald Portal as Imperial Commissioner to report the situation, Rosebery disclosed to him 'that public sentiment here will expect and support the maintenance of British sphere of influence'. British protectorate was declared in 1894.

In German East Africa, the defeat of Abushiri and the change from company to imperial control laid the foundation for the expansion of colonial rule in that region. Swahili became the official lingua franca. Some of these natives became court clerks and other sundry duties were given to them. Some of the leading Arab traders in the interior welcomed German rule; as did the Sukuma tribe in the north.

In South Africa, the Dutch East India Company, bankrupted during the era of transition from merchantile to industrial capitalism, was forced to hand the colony over to British rule in 1806. To consolidate her power, in 1812, the British sent a military force to the base to defend her

interest. In the process, 20,000 Xhosa were driven off the southern reaches of their land. British government proclaimed the area as white settlement. In 1820, 5,000 British settlers recruited from unemployed market were settled in Ndlambe land in the Eastern Cape.

British supremacy was being actively extended in Southern Africa at that time. Because of German presence in the region and her challenge in colonial acquisition, Britain extended his rule over Bechuanaland and encouraged Cecil Rhodes – the leading representative of the largest mining company – to occupy the area North of Transvaal. Rhodes was given support to provoke a rebellious war amongst non-Afrikaner white mine workers in Transvaal. Jameson then led an unsuccessful raid into the Boer Republic at Rhodes instigation. This eventually led to the struggle for supremacy between Boer and Britain. The struggle and consequent war ended in favour of Britain. Britain imposed her rule in South Africa in 1902. Following Boer's war, the last war of land dispossession was waged against Bambata, who were savagely crushed. The Union of South Africa was proclaimed in 1910.

Between 1882 and 1914, Britain ruled Egypt represented by British Consuls General. A façade of ministerial government was preserved. The Consul, Sir Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer established an economy for Egypt based on the restructuring of the budget. By 1898, colonial rule had extended to the southward of Sudan. At the outbreak of World War One, Britain declared Egypt a protectorate under a High Commissioner while the ruling house provided the pliable puppets.

### **3.4 Problems of Colonial Rule**

The antagonistic posture of African leaders to colonial rule was enormous. By the beginning of twentieth century, all Africa states were in the firm grip of European powers. The colonial powers still found it difficult to complete their task of establishing their authority firmly from end to end of their territories. The French had to fight in Ivory Coast until 1910, the British in Nigeria at least until 1914. The colonial period lasted for about sixty years. But of course, as discussed earlier, the colonial period in some nation states began much earlier.

The new crop of rulers, Europeans that emerged on African continent were faced with barrage of problems. To them, Africa is an unhealthy continent. The causes of malaria, yellow fever and sleeping sickness were unknown. In fact, many white settlers died of these diseases. Dr. Aggrey was reported to have said that malaria mosquito was West Africa's best friend, because it saved her from European settlements. Most of the natural resources of the African nations were unknown to the Europeans, apart from palm oil of Nigeria, the gold of the Gold Coast and small quantities of Cocoa, pepper and other tropical crops.

The movement of the colonial masters was also difficult. The rivers had sand bars and rapids. The rapids on the Niger cut short the life of Mungo Park at New Bussa when he was exploring the Niger. The tsetse fly in the tropics made animal transportation impossible. Everything had to be carried from the coast by head loads. It took three years to build the first Gold Coast railway line, forty miles from Sekondi to Tarkwa and nearly four years to build the first Nigerian rail line from Lagos to Ibadan. The need for capital investment in this region was obvious, but British investors were ready to invest their money in the colonies.

In Nigeria alone, there are about 200 ethnic groups. Africa has more. These different languages and great differences in customs contributed in no small measure to dearth of adequate staff. Most of them were illiterate persons, who cannot interpret the rules and order of the new dispensation. This posed a serious problem. The European staff to man the administrative cadre were not enough either. Most senior posts reserved for educated Europeans were vacant. All the technical staff that was needed in health, education forestry, public works and so on were absent. There were not enough Africans with corresponding qualification to man these offices. The colonial administration had many things to do at once in order to kick-start the administration but very little resources to do anything.

The outbreak of World War One in 1914, made Britain and France to shift their attention from colonial administration to war proper. Britain and France shifted their attention away from Africa and concentrated their resources on fighting Germany. After the war, a plan of action tagged “ten years of recovery and development” was put in place; then came the great depression from about 1929 to 1937. The prices in the world market slumped and government revenue fell too. West Africa only benefited from the war. Rearmament in Europe brought large demand for tin, manganese and diamonds; then came the World War Two.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

Colonial administration in Africa varied from one region of the continent to another. Except Liberia, which was established or founded by ex-slaves or settlers, other African nations underwent colonial administration. The hoisting of flags on the colonies of sphere of influence was not an easy one either. Wars were fought and many regions were destroyed by the cannon fire of the colonial masters’ armies. The rebellion or antagonistic posture of African leaders continued until 1914. Finally, the super powers took over the rein of power and established their oligarchies in the various colonies.

#### **5.0 Summary**

This unit has looked at the origin of colonial system in Africa, its objectives or aim of colonial administration. It has also discussed the features or characteristics of colonialism. The unit explained in details the problems encountered by the Europeans who established their rule in the continent. The role of World War One and the Great Depression on African or colonial administration were also explained. You need to understand how the issues discussed in this unit are related to the overall objectives of the unit.

#### **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignments**

1. Trace the origin of colonial administration.
2. What are the teething problems of colonial administration in Africa?

#### **7.0 References And Further Readings**

Walter, Rodney (1976). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, London, Dar es Salam.

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## **UNIT 2          COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA**

### **Contents**

- 1.0    Introduction
- 2.0    Objectives
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  - 3.1    Colonial Administration in the Eastern Provinces
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- 4.0    Conclusion
- 5.0    Summary
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- 7.0    References & Further Reading

### **1.0    Introduction**

British administration in Africa in general is premised on the removal of all formidable opposition to the imposition, expansion and consolidation of her rule over the territories. By January, 1914, the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria had taken place. Earlier in May, 1906, Lagos colony was amalgamated with the protectorate of Southern Nigeria.

Though the 1914 amalgamation gave Nigeria a common political identity – common administrative head, no uniform administration evolved in the two provinces.

In this unit, we shall study the different administrations introduced into the three major provinces – southern, western and northern. The unit will also expose the reasons why the amalgamation took place in the first place and the attendant problems that went with it.

Nigeria is used here as an example of British rule in West Africa. Other nations like Gambia, Ghana and Sierra Leone are not treated separately.

### **2.0    Objectives**

The main thrust of this unit is to enable the learner to understand the following:

- (a)    The application of colonial rule in Nigeria;
- (b)    The introduction of direct rule in the southern Nigeria; and
- (c)    The introduction of indirect rule in the northern Nigeria and why?

It will also bring home to the learners the impact of this in the Nigerian economy, political sphere and social lives of the people of Nigeria.

### **3.0    Main Content**

### 3.1 Colonial Administration in the Eastern Provinces

The amalgamation of Lagos colony in May, 1906, with the protectorate of southern Nigeria to form the new colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria was a forced marriage of convenience on the part of the British officials. The primary aim was basically economic. To cover the cost of development and expansion of the railway line embarked upon by the Lagos colony, the buoyant southern protectorate was relied upon to solve the problem. Though this amalgamation did not result into administrative fusion, the amalgamation was done without the consent of the people. But again, any rebellion was crushed.

The Akasa crisis of 1895 was suppressed by the British officials. Any uprising and rebellion were mercilessly put off. The other important feature of the military expedition, according to the plan, British rule was to be imposed by negotiation and diplomacy. Local leaders were forced to sign treaties relinquishing powers to the alien rule without option. Force was used where local leaders were repulsive to British rule.

Margery Perham addressed Africans in his book, *Africans and British Rule*, she said that:

“Let it, therefore, be admitted upon both sides that the British Empire, like others, was obtained mainly by force. Even where there was no serious fighting, news of victories nearby, or the fear of stronger weapons was often enough to persuade tribes to accept the rule of the white strangers ..... African tribes, backward, disunited, weak, were helpless before European, especially since the perfection of machine gun”.

The political arrangement of the interior did not help matters. The Igbo, Ibibio and Ogoja were fragmented and autonomous societies. Despite the presence of gun power, these autonomous villagers must be reached and treaties must be signed with them in order to bring them into the mainstream of British administration. In order to have a firm control, expeditions were sent out to conquer these areas. By 1901 after the Aro Expedition, all the hinterlands of the Eastern province were firmly under British control by 1914.

### 5.2 The Administrative Structure

The appointment of Sir Claude Macdonald in 1891, marked the beginning of the administrative set up in the area. He came with six political officials and chose Calabar as his headquarters. Some of his officials were appointed Vice Consuls. He grouped the Oil Rivers Communities into administrative districts called Vice – Consulates. Each of these consulates was centred on one of the rivers for easy communication with the interior. The area consulates were Calabar, Bonny, Opobo and Brass. These areas were regrouped into three major divisions. “Eastern has its headquarters at Calabar, centre, with headquarters at Bonny; and Western, with headquarters at Warri”. There were other changes that took place, but this may not be too relevant in this unit.

The Governor was the highest in the hierarchical ordering of the colonial service, followed by Assistant District Commissioner (Officer). There were the District Officers, Assistant District Officers. Later, there was the Resident (formerly called Divisional or Provincial Commissioners). At first, only Calabar and Owerri were the class provinces east of the Niger.



Two major challenges confronted the European administration. One, the shortage of European staff; two, inadequate communication gadgets. Because of these problems, the administration decided to govern the people through their local leaders. The method was cheap and administrative continuity was also expected. And it was assumed that it will act as a shock absorber for the introduction of alien rule on the 'primitive' people. This indirect rule was shortlived because it was visited with grievous mistakes.

The colonial officials assumed that the Igbo people were at a low level of civilization and were incapable of evolving any system of government. They did not know that the system of government in the area before their arrival was centred on the institution of chieftaincy. The issue was even more confounded. When people were consulted to present a chief to represent their interest, the idea was misunderstood. People of no status were pushed forward to represent them. In some cases, because the people believed that people presented would be sold off as slaves, presented the "never-do-wells" to them as their chiefs.

In order to back these people up with authority, certificates were issued to them as 'Warrant Chiefs'. The other recognised chiefs were called minor chiefs or headmen. These minor chiefs were Warrant Chiefs-in-waiting. As soon as any warrant chief misbehaved, he was replaced by minor chief of his area.

When Lugard emerged on the scene of Nigeria, he changed the judicial system of the East. He, abolished the rudimentary system of native treasuries attached to the pre-1914 courts, political officers presiding over Native Courts; curtailed the number of court messengers attached to each court, and introduced the idea of Sole Native Authorities through the creation of paramount chiefs and permanent presidents.

After several reports and massive correspondents, this administrative style was charged. Governor Clifford and Colonel Morehouse, the Lieutenant Governor for the Southern provinces, agreed that the Native Courts were not truly traditional. They therefore recommended that the true traditional ruler of the areas concerned must be found, and necessary traditional boundaries of clans must be mapped out for easy administration.

The increase in import duties which led to increase of goods like calico, tobacco and so on and the fall in the price of palm oil had a far reaching effect on the people. The impact on this by the second year was evident. The rumour that women were going to pay tax led to Women Riot of 1929 – 30, which took the government unawares. This was the end of second phase of British Administrative rule in the southern provinces.

The Native Authority and Native Courts staff – the clerks, the court messengers and others were youths. Most of these people were 'alien' to the areas they were posted, hence they abused the Warrant Chief System entrusted in their care. Most of these people were later retrenched and became redundant.

The need to keep Native Authority System failed by the end of World War Two. Despite the reduction in the membership, the councils and courts remained too cumbersome to cope with ever increasing demand of modern business of government with dispatch. To make the matter

worse, there were no preparations for the few indigenous elite, who in reaction to this were forming village and town unions.

This Native Authority System failed dismally in the East for the following reasons: one, because the system was not compatible with the political organisation in place before the arrival of British rule. British officials in their wisdom thought they had the answer to Native Authority System because it was effectively introduced elsewhere. The fragmented societies or stateless societal as the Eastern provinces were, cannot take the introduction of the creation of paramount chiefs and permanent presidents that were alien to their culture. These and other reasons led to the collapse of Native Authority System in 1951.

### **5.3 Colonial Administration in the Western Provinces**

By 1939, seven provinces existed in the Western Region of Nigeria. They were colonies: (Lagos), Abeokuta, Ijebu, Ibadan, Ondo, Benin and Warri (Delta province in 1952). The Mid-west was created out of this in 1963. The establishment of colonial administration in Yorubaland was as a result of the expansionist policy of Britain. The ambition of Britain assumed a definite dimension when in 1851 charges against the ruling monarch of Lagos under King Kosoko were raised. He was charged with dealing in slave trade through the outlawed Atlantic Slave Trade. Britain bombarded the island and ten years later annexed it. No matter what the argument may be on the part of the British for this onslaught, the reasons were basically commercial interests and the associated hostility against African middlemen who controlled the trade then in the region.

The tools of treaty signings and military conquests as used in other areas were used in the Yorubaland too. Besides the bombing of Lagos in 1861, military expedition was sent to Ijebu in 1892. Governor Freeman, John Glover's predecessor in office, extended the sphere of influence of British sovereignty over the neighbouring free ports of Badagry, Palma and Lekki. This was to avoid the inevitable diversion of trade from Lagos port. This became more paramount because of the presence of France in Port Novo, who had extended her influence to as near as Apa. In order to avoid open confrontation between the two imperialists, Anglo – French Convention was set up whereby the Yewa River was agreed as line of partition between Britain and French. "The chances for effecting occupation by diplomacy were finally offered by the conditions created by the 19th century warfare in Yorubaland". This was assisted in the 1880's by the Ekitiparapo – Ibadan confrontation in the Kiriji war. The tempo of Dahomey invasion of Western Nigeria did not cease either. The hinterland were outrightly conquered or given protection from their brothers.

Lagos protectorate was headed by the British Travelling Commissioner or the Resident as he was later called. He was guided by the Ordinances of Lagos Governor, to whom he rendered the account of stewardship.

British rule in Yorubaland, prior to 1914, was characterised by official domination. The Native Councils and Courts established on the basis of Native Council Ordinances of 1901 were presided by District Commissioners. The indigenous chiefs only participated as nominated members only. The coercion introduced by the British overlords eroded the traditional political

authority hitherto enjoyed by Yorubaland rulers. By 1914, Lord Lugard introduced the indirect rule system to Yorubaland, this was based on the success it recorded in the Northern provinces. Lugard placed higher administrative and judicial responsibility upon recognised Oba or Baale. The Native Authorities, as Obas were called, replaced the British Commissioners as Presidents of recognised Native Courts and Councils.

The exclusion of the elite in the scheme of things and Oyo province which served as a premier area of Lugardian Indirect Rule in Yorubaland called for total overhauling in 1930s. These further affect all Yorubaland.

British rule in Benin and Delta provinces were coercive. Since British rule in the Niger protectorate were principally based on military conquests, this practice was extended to Benin and the vast interior of the Eastern provinces. Three coercive ordinances designed and passed in Lagos in 1912 were all designed for these regions. The various uprisings against the administration of Britain in these areas, “the Ekumeku unrest in Asaba between 1898 and 1910, the Iseyin-Oke-Eho rising in Oyo division in 1916, the Abeokuta Disturbances in 1918 and Anti-Tax Riots in Warri province in 1927 – 28”; were pointers to British harsh and unacceptable administration by the Western provinces.

#### **5.4 Colonial Administration in the Northern Provinces**

The Northern provinces were the creation of British officials which they established by conquest. The main empires before the advent of their rule were Sokoto Caliphate and Borno Empire which had a long history of decentralised system of government before their subjugation by the British officials; but this does not mean that the whole Northern region had a decentralised system of government. (The Sokoto caliphate, headed by a Caliph, was administered on the principle of Tafwid (delegation of authority). He had over 20 Emirs governing the emirates. The Islamic legitimacy which all derived their powers was the binding factor.

Borno Empire was very extensive and had the Shehu of Borno at the apex of the administration. The Shehu was surrounded by advisors headed by a Prime Minister called Waziri. There were other heads of various units that got their appointment through the benevolence of the Shehu.

The Hausa states before the advent of Jihad and European incursions had a centralised system of administration. These states were Kebbi, Yawuri, and Abuja, their heads were called Sarakuna (Kings) surrounded by a class of Masu-sarauta (officials). There are other organised states in the Niger – Benue region like the Jukun, Nupe, Ilorin, Kontagora and many more who were organised and have a centralised system of administration before the coming of the European.

The first contact with the North was by the Royal Niger Company (RNC) in 1886 that attempted to consolidate its position through military activity in order to keep other European invaders at bay. The aim was also to control the economic activities of the numerous communities of the region. This was the beginning of external rule in the region.

The National African Company (NAC) signed a treaty with the Chief of Ibi in 1885, surrendering his land to the company. Ibi became the headquarters of the company. Through

diplomacy and force, Donga and Suntai became part of RNC territory. In 1897, almost all the whole of the North was under the control of the RNC. The British Government, realizing that RNC was not able to keep other Europeans away from the Northern region, made the government to revoke the charter of the company in 1900. The government then declared a protectorate over the territory claimed by the company and Captain Lord Lugard was appointed its High Commissioner.

The declaration of a protectorate over this region was merely on paper. To be able to legitimize the control, Captain Lugard had to embark on military campaigns as from 1900 to bring the vast area under British rule. The control of all the states in the North was not easy, the resistant continued in some areas like Borno until First World War. The overthrow of major political powers came at last despite the initial obstacles by the natives the British administration started with trying to overcome of these problems.

To consider the evolution of British administration, it is important to state the policy which Britain guided seriously. The major one was the declaration that their aim was not to disrupt the existing political arrangement, but to make it more humane and democratic. Thus, they claimed, their policy was to support the existing order – the traditional rulers, their councils and their customs, their courts, their customs and traditions in as much as it did not contradict the British ideals of humanity and justice. One of the problems which the British faced in trying to put their administration in place was that of insufficient men and materials with which to govern a vast territory as that of the Northern region. The initial staff comprised the officer corps of the invading army and some skeletal staff of RNC. With this development, it was impossible to introduce direct rule in this vast area of land with the manpower on ground. This problem forced Britain to accept the existing government on the ground with little modification. To justify the conquest move of the emirates by the British soldiers, they had earlier condemned the emirate type “of government as corrupt, oppressive and grossly inefficient”.

Whenever British colonial rule is mentioned in the Northern region of Nigeria, the indirect rule system comes up for discourse. This is also known as Lugardian system, “it has been defined as an administrative system having two sets of rulers – the British and the natives working either separately or in cooperation, but a single government in which the native chiefs have clearly defined duties and an acknowledged status equally with the British officials”. But certainly the status of British officials was far higher than that of native chiefs. There were considerable changes in the emirate system; changes that communicated into transforming the emirs into mere agents of the British.

The ‘creation’ of the Northern provinces came into existence through barrel of the gun – through conquest. The mere fact of defeat had weakened the existing law and the order that existed hitherto. This had affected the powers of the emirs and chiefs. During the war of conquests, most emirs were deposed or forced to abandon the throne. By 1906, no fewer than ten emirs were deposed and replaced by men chosen and installed by the British High Commissioner.

In the 19th century, most emirs, through defeat, had been forced to swear oath of allegiance in the name of Allah and the Prophet to “will and truly serve his Majesty and his representative the High Commissioner. They must cherish no treachery or disloyalty in their hearts, to obey the

laws of the protectorate (not from sharia) and the lawful commands of the High Commissioner and his Residents.

The protectorate was divided into provinces; each was placed under a British Resident who was in turn responsible to the High Commissioner. The provinces were divided into Divisions under the supervision of a British District Officer responsible to the Resident. The District Officer roles were to ensure discipline and educate the people about British policies. He controlled the emir to the messenger on what to do in a particular district, like a master over his houseboy.

The Residents and even the District Officers were superior to the emir. They had the full statutory power to control and command the areas of jurisdiction. The power of the Resident was adequately supported by a military presence in the capitals. On the other hand, the emirs must not have a standing army and was prohibited from bearing arms.

When Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu was killed in 1903 at Burmi, this brought a formal end to caliphate system of administration. The next Sultan Attahiru II installed was not designated Caliph, but styled Sultan by the British. He ceased to have anything to do in terms of control and submission to his command by other emirs. Before now, the Sultan was the political head of the caliphate.

The religious aspect of the Sultan, the supreme judge of sharia whose duties include the appointment and deposition of emirs and the enforcement of Islamic law was also put on hold. The British Government was not unaware of what they did. They were familiar with caliphate system, in the Othman Empire. They were aware that so long as its caliphate system existed, the loyalty of the individual emirs to the British High Commissioner would be limited by their loyalty to their religious leader – the caliph.

This is the end of the caliph power. Communication between Sokoto and other emirates stopped in favour of the British. The isolation created by the British rule led to artificial independent sovereign. This further weakened their will to resist the alien rule. The collective resistance by these emirs was absent. It was not until in the 1930's that the isolation came to an end, when Britain, on her own decided to give the emirs the opportunity to meet and discuss common problems "through periodic meetings – The Annual Chiefs Conferences". The High Commissioner became the new Caliph. He exercised the power of enthronement and dethronement of emirs at will. The Residents became the emirs in the various provinces and the District Officers became the traditional rulers in their districts.

Britain proclaimed new policies in order to arrest the economic power of the emirs and the traditional chiefs. They abolished the slave trade which was a backbone of the economy of the emirate. Slaves were used on the farms. They are needed for communication, for transportation of goods from the interior to the cities. Some slaves who were under very influential masters did not want freedom at all. The farm slaves were denied the opportunity to own farms which they had hitherto enjoyed while serving their masters.

The British did not abolish the Qadis courts which were operating the Maliki law. English courts, in three tiers, were also established. There was also Supreme Court in the protectorate

capital. The British officials looked into the records of these courts. Certain “canonical punishments – such as amputation of limbs for theft, stoning to death of fornicators – were not implemented”.

The payment of taxes and tributes to the emirs constitute acceptance of political dependences. But the British officials allowed some emirs and Shehu of Borno to retain certain customary taxes. With time, this was abolished. British administration was increasingly in need of financial backing to pay the salaries of British officers, African soldiers and police and to undertake public works such as offices and roads. Custom duties were not possible in the north since it has no ports. Taxes were introduced in all the provinces and districts in the north by the British administration. By 1911, a new proclamation had created Native Authorities; the taxes paid became budgets for that province. The emirs and their officials became paid employees of Native Authorities.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The new administration of the colonial government had a serious impact on the political structure of Nigerian political system. Because of the alien nature of this administration most leaders charged at it, confronted it and even fought wars with the colonial administration. Some powers of the rulers were reduced in some cases, while others were outrightly dethroned. For example, the power of Caliph was reduced to Sultanate.

#### **5.0 Summary**

This unit has focused on imposition of colonial administration in Nigeria. Britain, who was the colonial master, introduced two types of rule in Nigeria. In the south, she introduced direct rule because of the nature of the political arrangement, which was non-central administration. Every small community had its leaders and followers. In the north, because of the existence of Sokoto Caliphate and Kanem Bornu Empire, there was an administration in place on the even of colonial administration. The large land area, coupled with few administrative staff of British origin, forced her to introduce indirect rule in the north.

#### **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignments**

- (1) Account for British rule in Nigeria.
- (2) Examine the reasons for indirect rule in Nigeria.
- (3) What are the impacts of colonial rule on Nigeria?

#### **7.0 Reference And Further Readings**

Obaro, Ikime (ed.) (1984). *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann.

Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey N. Brown (ed.) (1966). *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries*, Ibadan.

## **UNIT 3        FRENCH ADMINISTRATION IN WEST AFRICA**

### **Contents**

- 1.0    Introduction
- 2.0    Objectives
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### **1.0    Introduction**

French conquest of colonies in West Africa is not different from other colonial masters, Britain, Portugal and Germany. After Berlin Conference of 1884 – 85, France had begun an aggressive policy of acquiring colonies in West Africa. Although France had contact in other coastal areas of West Africa, their efforts were mostly on the Senegal River area of hinterland. In the process, France colonized modern day Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Guinea, Dahomey (Benin).

Besides these strong powers in West Africa – Britain and France, the others Portugal and Germany held on to one or two colonies. Portugal colonized Portuguese Guinea while Germany held on to Togo and Cameroons, but lost these territories to France and Britain after the First World War.

This unit will expose to the learner what French administration in West Africa is all about. The difference in British and French administration will also be discussed and compared. The characteristics of this administration and its attendant problems and its importance will also be exposed to the learner as he/she reads through this unit.

### **2.0    Objectives**

At the end of this unit, learner should be able to:

- (a)    understand the early French administration in West Africa;
- (b)    discuss the problem of French administration in West Africa;
- (c)    explain the impact of French administration in West Africa.

### **3.0    Main Content**

- 3.1    Early French Contact and Administration in West Africa

Using St. Louis as their base or headquarters, the French began the gradual administration of the colonies. French colonialists came to think of their sphere of influence “as mere provinces overseas”. This is the basis of ‘Assimilation Policy’ of French administration in West Africa. By early nineteenth century, an original goal of French settlement in West Africa had been dropped in the light of difficulties encountered by early French settlers. French merchants like their British counterpart wanted an expansion into the interior in order to capture the trade opportunities these might present.

The French began a major eastward movement into the savanna regions under the command of General Louis Faidherbe. He was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854 and began the expansionist policy soon afterwards. This does not mean that there were no opposition to this policy. The Moors and the Toucouleur Empire under the command of Al-Hajj Umar and the powerful Almamy Samori of Wasulu constituted a cog in the French progressive expansionist policy.

By 1890, the French had signed treaties with many Africa leaders which consequently gave the French the opportunity to annex many colonies in West Africa. The conquest by French soldiers proceeded fort by fort with increasing territory coming under their control.

The French aim of increasing their interest in West Africa was basically influenced by the presence of other European powers in the region, which culminated in the late nineteenth century in the scramble of Africa by these powers. As earlier on stated, the main thrust of the scramble for the continent by the European powers were the industrialization and economic conditions in Europe which required a new approach of economic re-engineering.

By the early years of twentieth century, the French had had a strong hold on the territories now called Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Guinea, Ivory Coast and Niger. A Governor – General was appointed to administer the federalism and he was based in Senegal. St. Louis is the only place where Africans had a minimal assimilation under the original French plan. A small percentage of Africans in this town were given the opportunity to participate in the ruling of the government. Outside this place, Africans were mere subjects not French citizens. This approach by the French was based on the belief that it was unlikely that the African peoples they were colonizing would be ‘suitable’ French citizens. When the original of the original federation of the French West Africa colonies was achieved, there was no strong statement of the programme of assimilation. The French authority introduced a centralised federalist administration in their new territory – indirect rule.

France was always conscious of her responsibility of bringing French civilization to West African colonies by the policy of assimilation. This was not an easy task. In order to bring administration to the doorsteps of West Africans, France opened up the country. The plan was to establish a “great system of railways to link the great highway of the River Niger with the seaports all round the coast; Dakar, Conakry, Abidjan, Cotonou”. The system was to be completed by a railway across the Sahara but this was impossible at that time. The internal – combustion engine made this expensive construction unnecessary.



The French believed in an efficient administration. In order to achieve this, they considered three necessary things. “The staff must understand the people and be understood by them: The administration must not be hindered by misunderstanding in its own ranks. Thirdly, the system must be uniform, so that whenever an officer was posted, he would find things familiar”. To be able to achieve the above objectives, the French staffed their colonies adequately with Frenchmen. A Frenchman can find himself either in Paris or Ouagadougou. The centralised France administration made it possible for officials of any kind to pass backwards and forwards between service in France and service in Africa be it military or civilian.

The problem of communication was overcome easily. French was the official language in the colonies. And it was also the language of commerce and administration all over French Africa. Africans in these colonies were forced to learn French, and communicate in French even to their own tribesmen.

To have a uniform administration system meant that there was no variation or local coloration in the administration at all. The French officials treated the chiefs as mere subordinate government officials. A French district officer was very superior to the African leaders or chiefs. Any disobedience to the French officials was frowned at seriously.

Ward (1966) had in an article described the French administration in West Africa as follows:

“Three things struck me forcibly when I visited the Ivory Coast in 1929. One was that Africans, who, if they had been Gold Coast, would have been speaking poor English, spoke decent or even good French. The next was that the cocoa farms I saw were in beautiful condition, well-weeded clean, with shade trees at regular intervals: a great contrast to the average Gold Coast cocoa farm of those days. I asked the French how they managed it? They said it was simple: every cocoa farmer knew that if he did not keep his farm in good order, he would be turned out, and there was a waiting list of people wanting to take over from him”. (W.E.F. Ward, 1966, page 317).

This statement captured the scene of events in French West Africa.

French administration was different from British system. The French had a deliberate policy of drawing the colonies in West Africa together under a government in Dakar, and drawing his instructions and orders directly from Paris. Some educated West African leaders were given four communes of Senegal to administer. These people were given full French citizenship rights.

### **3.2 Structure of French Administration**

The hierarchy of administration in French West Africa was headed by Governor – General in Dakar. He was to report to, and take orders from the Minister of Colonies and the government in Paris. In the far interior, French West Africa was headed by Lieutenant – Governors who received their orders and finances through the Governor – General at Paris.

The Senegal administrative structure was a bit different. There were four communes or municipalities which had a conseil-general. These people were the educated West African leaders. Some of these territories elected deputies to French parliament. Some of these

renowned leaders were the then President Senghor of Senegal and M. Houphouet – Boigny of Ivory Coast. The constituent territories of France West Africa were subdivided into cercles or administrative units which were administered by commandants de cercel or district commissioners. These sets of leaders were French nationals. Then further, chefs de subdivision at local levels. The French did not utilize African traditional leaders at all. The assimilation policy to them cannot be carried too far. The cost of implementing such a programme and the tenacity of the indigenous population prevented full scale assimilation (Crowder, 1990:77). French placed on the West African colonies to pay for the administration of their colonies by them. This was done by increasing the productivity and extracting valuable resources. They enforced the production of cash crops like groundnuts, cotton and cocoa. Where the land is not suitable for the production of these crops, West Africans were forced to leave their areas to seek wage earning where conditions were favourable for these crops. Though one may say that slavery had been stopped by this period, some form of servitude continued on a large scale especially in the colonies.

### **3.3 Problem of French Rule in West Africa**

People were forced to move from where they were familiar with to places that were not known to them. This movement affected the West Africans seriously and their way of life was also affected. The forced taxation on the people did not go down well with the people, who were forced to accept this with a pinch of salt. One, they have no leaders to lead in any revolution. These so-called leaders are French nationals though West African in origin. They could not provide the type of leadership for them at this time. Second, little was done to improve the lives of West Africans, although attempts were made to provide minimal health and educational services to the people.

The long railway project that would have united the colonies was abandoned halfway because of the expensive nature of the project. This again, did prevent the unifying factor among the West African colonies. Whereas in the British colonies of West Africa some portion of the economic gain accrued to an African middle class, no such dynamic advantage occurred in French West Africa.

The war of 1914 made France to shift attention away from the colonies and concentrate all her resources on fighting Germany who had earlier on annex Alsace-Lorraine, a French territory. After the war, there were about ten years of recovery and development. This was followed by the Great Economic Depression from about 1929 through 1937. The world prices of export commodities fell and world market prices slumped and government revenue dwindled. The Second World War came in 1939. This had a serious effect on the administration of the colonies.

### **3.4 Impact of French Administration / Rule in West Africa**

French became the official language. Most French West Africans were able to communicate and speak fluent French. The indigenous language suffered. And most West Africans, 'as a way of civilization', prefer to communicate in French. The chief in the French West Africa were appointed by the French colonial overlords. The criteria, unlike the British system of

administration, were not based on birth. Indeed, the plan was to destroy the great traditional paramount chieftainships. By 1937, only about fifty of the traditional chiefs existed and they were deprived of all but their religious prestige. All they got were the metropolitan language and familiarity with metropolitan administrative practice. By and large, the chiefs became civil servants and he could be transferred. They were civil servants executing orders and laws emanating from the metropolitan country.

In order to become a French citizen, the African must be born in “any of the four communes or municipalities in Senegal (Saint-Louis, Goree, Rufisque, and Dakar), or must have held a merit position in French service for ten years, or must provide evidence of good character and possess a means of existence, or must have been decorated with the Legion of Honour or the Military Award. And once an African became a French citizen, he was subject to French law and order. He had access to French courts, was exempted from the most hated feature of colonial system in French West Africa’. The *indigenat* i.e., the penalty of imprisonment for two years by an administrative officer without trial, could commute compulsory labour which affected the majority of French West Africans, for monetary payment, and could be appointed to any post in both France and the colonies.

The distinguishing features between subjects and citizens in French West Africa were a monumental failure. By 1937, out of a population of 15 million in the colonies, only 80,000 were French citizens, and of these 78,000 were citizens because they were born in the aforementioned communes or municipalities of Senegal.

The French, between 1890 and 1926, constructed railways from Dakar to Bamako in modern day Senegal and Mali, from Conakry to Kankan in Guinea and from Cotonou to Paraku in Dahomey. The African labour was used to construct this rail lines. Forced labour employed by France took its toll in the loss of many lives that were never recorded. The railways were constructed for the evacuation of cash crops from the hinterland to the ports, where they were exported to France.

While the infrastructure of railways, roads and ports was being put in place, the French government increasingly took part in the work hitherto being performed by the trading companies and missionaries. There was a simultaneous increase in the production of cash crops such as groundnuts, palm oil, and kernel, cotton, coffee, rubber, banana, pineapple and cocoa. The increase in production of these cash crops did not translate to an increase in the living wage of the farmers. Though this created employment opportunity for the farmers, it did not improve their well being as it should. The colonial merchants and their collaborators enjoyed the windfall of export earnings. This eventually led to agricultural plantations in West Africa.

The Africans and Europeans were involved in agricultural plantation in Ivory Coast and Guinea. Barter system of transaction in West Africa was changed to coin currency and later paper currency. The introduction of silver coin in 1886 laid to rest the barter and commodity currency such as iron bars, and cowries that are prevalent in West Africa.

The total absence of secondary industries and the processing of agricultural products before exportation was a serious impediment in the wheel of progress of industrial take-off of this region. West Africa became a dumping ground for finished goods from France. Simple items

such as matches, candles, cigarettes, soap, shoes, paints, edible oil and chocolate had to be imported into West African colonies. West African states in general were turned into markets for the manufactured goods of their metropolitan countries and the producers of raw materials for their industries abroad.

Either the price of the finished goods or the raw materials were sent abroad, Africans did not determine the prices of these goods. The marketing boards set up by these colonial powers determine the prices of exported goods, while the prices of imported goods to West African colonies were determined by Europeans and Levantine trading companies.

It is absolutely clear that figures of import items increased tremendously. The figures showed that the primary industries were a great success. The value of exports from French West Africa rose from £5.3 million to £79 million. The value of imports, consisting of mainly cotton goods, cement, flour, sugar, vehicles, cars, bicycles and spirituous liquor in French West Africa rose from £11.9 million to £125.2 million.

Most of the mining industries in the sub-region were controlled by the French companies, who pay little rent or nothing to the royal fathers where these minerals existed. The mining companies obtained their concessions for a song from African rulers, and persistently refused to pay any royalties on profits to them (Adu Bohan, 1964:141).

In the social field of education, France assumed direct responsibility for education. For example, the number of school children in French West Africa increased from 11,000 in 1912 to 106,000 in 1951, while in British West Africa 1,295,000 children were in school by 1951. It can be deduced that Britain encouraged schooling more than France. Though French education was free and of better quality than British system of education, this is a product of French assimilation policy introduced to the colonies.

The total absence of tax on profits or of the regulations to compel the companies involved in the cash crops business export to plough back their profits were not in existence. The huge profits realised from these businesses by these companies were enriching only the European and Levantine shareholders and company directors. Like what is done in the metropolitan cities, these profits were usually ploughed back into the system which in turn used the money to set up secondary industries and training of manpower for secondary industries that were set up. But this was absent in West African colonies. The total neglect of industrial take off in West African states, the absence of control over prices by the Africans even of the goods they produced themselves, the ridiculously low rents paid by even the mining companies to the African chiefs, and the total absence of taxes on profits can be described as the colonial period economic exploitation perpetrated by the colonial masters and their collaborators that included metropolitan industries and their shareholder.

The placing of importance on cash crops production led to what can be described as food insecurity in West Africa today. Though this did not manifest in the colonial period but it did not mean that food was in abundance. The cultivation of food crops were abandoned for cash crops. The inherent danger of this was the malnutrition that is prevalent in most arid region of Africa. Africans were not allowed to tame the environment; instead they were forced to plant

crops that were beneficial to the colonial masters. This does not mean that farmers lost out at the end of the day; especially the middlemen among Africans were made rich. This did not translate to improved welfare and well being of Africans.

The mass movement, especially in French colonies, of farmers to cash crop region led to overpopulation in certain towns and villages and under-population in others. The movement and pattern of population today in these regions and districts reflected the past movement.

In another development, because of lack of market for the cash crops in West Africa, all the farmers had to depend on Europe for the sale of their goods. Since there was no internal demand for some of the crops being produced (cash crops), a typical example being cocoa, the West African farmer became even 'more dependent on the world market for his livelihood than the cotton-spinner of Lancashire'. The encouragement of cash crops – such as groundnuts in Gambia and Senegal, Cocoa in Ghana, palm oil in Dahomey and Eastern Nigeria – the economies of these regions became precarious and dangerous. Though this led to the emergence of new towns which acted as entreports for the colonial governments, it did not mean that the infrastructure in these towns were improved. The concentration of few amenities in these towns – Lagos, Dakar, Abidjan, Takoradi, Saint Louis and others undermined the spread of amenities to the rural areas. This is also the genesis of movement to urban areas in the sub-region and neglect of the rural areas. It can be concluded that the civilization of the colonial era was essentially an urban civilization and rural life was neglected. The rural areas remained virtually untouched and unimproved.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The French West African colonies had its structure patterned on the administrative style of France. The need to introduce assimilation policy failed woefully. This was restricted to Dakar and the four communes. Other areas and states did not enjoy this privilege, but one thing came out on the impact of French rule in West African states, the people imbibed the French culture and spoke fluent French more than the British counterparts who did not master English language as French West African people did.

French government did not involve the traditional rulers in governance as British did. The rulers in the French acquired empires and used civil servants who were transferred from one town to the other as occasions demanded.

#### **5.0 Summary**

This unit has focused on the administrative structure of France in West African states. It has also talked about the problems of French administration in West Africa. The problem of land area, language communication and others. How France tackled these problems were also highlighted and discussed extensively. The impact of Paris in West Africa, socially, economically, and politically was also explained in details. Economic exploitation, political subjugation and social imperialism were not left out of the discourse in this unit.

## **6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

- (1) Discuss Paris administrative structure in West African sub-region
- (2) What role did railway system play in the administration of French West Africa.
- (3) Discuss the impact of French Assimilation Policy.

## **7.0 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING**

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## **UNIT 4        COLONIAL RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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### **1.0    Introduction**

The problem of land is the major history of South Africa political arrangement. By 1800, conflict between white settlers and Xhosa people, the Nguni – speaking group of Bantu, had begun in the Zuurved. The Boer, the white cattle rearers, were anxious to secure enough land for the forebearers. The British government had to come in to rationalize the situation by establishing a great division between white and Bantu.

The Great Trek was simply a process of white expansion due to the pressure on land, which had been on from the earliest days of the Cape colony. The Boer left the colony with the main aim of shaking off the British rule forever to establish a community of their own which was to be governed by them.

The Great Trek added a new dimension to the problems of race relations in South Africa and sharpened the racial question more than before. In this unit, we shall take a look at the early period in South Africa and the political, social and economic implications of the Great Trek.

### **2.0    Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- (1)    identify the early period of colonial rule in South Africa;
- (2)    discuss the Great Trek and its implications;
- (3)    explain the unification process in the region.

### **3.0    Main Content**

#### **3.1    Early Period of Colonization**

The conflict between white settlers and Xhosa people begun in 1800. The various governments (colonial governments) at Cape were unable to resolve the problem. The Boer, the cattle rearers

were concerned about their cattle and the future of their sons to own cattle ranches. They need more land for this. They forced the Bantu out of Zuurveld and extended the frontier to Koonap.

Because of several conflicts and crises among this people, in 1812, the British government established a clear division between white and Bantu. About 20,000 Ndlambi and Gunumkwebe tribesmen living in Zuurveld were forcibly evicted and driven across the Great Fish River. Forts were built to guard this frontier. Zuurveld people were not pleased with this arrangement. They planned to go to war. A prophet named Makamna rose and proclaimed that their ancestral land be returned to them. Other crisis aroused. The Ndlambis fought a war with the settlers.

The British government came with the idea that the extensive land-holding pattern was responsible for the crisis. In order to curtail constant conflict because of pressure on the land, the government encouraged farmers to acquire permanent property rights in their farms instead of temporary leases; “making provision for the sub-division of farms among theirs; stopping further grants of Crown land and offering it to auction instead”. The colonial government started this policy by settling the Englishmen on small farms on the Zuurveld. This was done to defend the frontier area and create a solid block of loyal subjects in the most sensitive part of the colony. This provided a partial solution to unemployment in Britain. The 1820 settlement brought about 5,000 English people to swell the Cape white population. The introduction of Englishmen from England, affected the Cape population. The attempt to introduce a new farming technique by the colonialists failed and within a few years the settlers established on the Zuurveld had either abandoned the land for the towns, where they tended to drive out Dutch traders, or were demanding large farms and non-European labour.

This tension continued along the frontier. The pressure of “land-hunger” on both sides increased, and upheaval began in the far interior. As the struggle for supremacy continued between tribes and their leaders became more pronounced, three great figures emerged. Each of the leaders began to build a tribal empire because of the constant conflicts among the tribe; many people were forced to leave their settlements to other areas.

By about 1830, the distribution of Bantu population had been greatly affected. Wide areas in Natal, the present Orange Free State and Transvaal were virtually abandoned. Areas like Basutoland, with a very concentrated population had developed. The colonial frontier and Natal had escaped severe devastation, and already had crowded population. This was as a result of refugees driven out of Natal that had taken abode in the area.

Throughout this period, the concentration of the British government in Cape was mainly in the frontier. The interior was controlled by the native. Shaka the king of Zulu ruled and reigned in the interior. Knowing fully well that the British had superior power, he did not attempt to invade the interior. When British traders approached him, he welcomed them for the hitherto unknown material goods which included fire arms that he expected from them. He allowed them to make use of the wide area of Natal. He also recognised the existence of the British in Cape. He sent an emissary to the Cape in 1828. This was how close they were then.



### 3.2 The Colonial Rule

The pressure of land continued to have impact on Cape, as the frontier on the eastern coastal ship did not advance enough to cater for the ever increasing demand for land. In 1824, because of pressure on the land, the frontier was advanced as far as the Orange River opposite Philippolis. Farmers were taking their cattle to graze outside the colonial boundaries. The government's attempts to introduce new policy on farming increased prices of land. Government under pressure for philanthropic movement was forced to introduce a policy that assisted the employers at the detriment of the employees.

The British government in 1806 sympathized with employers rather than employees. Missionaries, who were sympathetic to the cause of the employees, were out of favour of the government. It regarded the Hottentof stallions as schools of idleness and keeping useful labour off the market. The government was determined to control labour law. In 1809, the position of Hottentofs (labour) was defined in a series of regulations that were very favourable to the white farmers. It states: "Every labourer (employee) must have a fixed address, that means he must reside with the white farmer or on one of the mission stations", he could not travel from one district to another without a pass from the local magistrate; failure to conform to these stipulations would make him liable to arrest on a charge of vagrancy. The white farmer that employed a Hottentof must enter into agreement with him; a copy of the agreement must be dropped with a magistrate. The regulation also stipulates that the farmer had the right to withhold pay from their servants.

What this means is that, the labourer is not mobile. He cannot change job as he wanted. The restriction order also forced the Hottentof to reside permanently with their master, no matter the condition they were subjected to. It is not altogether easy for labourer to take refuge in a mission settlement because of the restriction order. In 1812, a further ordinance was issued giving the white farmers the right to apprentice Hottentof children for ten years if they had grown to the age of eight on their farm.

In 1812, when the government was pleased with the driving of Bantu from Zuurveld, the action of government caught the attention of the missionaries. The indifference of the administration of Lord Charles Somerset to the injustices inflicted on Hottentof made the missionary to protest to the Governor. Somerset instructed the Circuit Court to investigate all such complaints with the utmost sincerity. The court came out with some findings. It said that the missionary accusations had been seriously exaggerated and many complaints turned out to be trivial or malicious and had no bases for protest. But two farmers were convicted for murder. Many farmers, white, were not pleased that they were brought to court to answer charges brought by the labourers (Hottentof). They were also astonished that Hottentofs and white men could be brought before the courts on the basis of equality before the law. A farmer that was summoned to appear on a charge of ill-treating a Hottentof servant, refused to answer the summon. Instead he entrenched himself in a cave on his farm. When the magistrate called for his arrest by sending the police to effect the arrest, he opened fire on the police. He was eventually overpowered and killed. His relative instigated an uprising, government put off the rioters and the ring leaders were captured. Seven of them were publicly hanged.

The Black Circuit grievance was minor, compared to the Philanthropic Movement. This movement was gathering force for the final struggle over emancipation and the missionaries addressed a lot of grievances. The London Missionary Society led by Dr. John Philip believed that blacks were capable of development to the highest level attained by Europeans. He said “the demoralizing conditions of economic servitude in which they were kept in Cape society, however, denied them any possibility of progress. He advocated that the people must be free to live in mission settlements where they should be given enough land to farm and support their families and themselves. They could also by freeing them, without the restriction order, so that they can sell their labour in any place of their choice. In 1826, he published a book called *“Researches in South Africa”*. Although he was sued for libel in Cape, the book had a serious impact in London.

Deeply impressed by the book, the Parliament in West Minister decided that the Governor should be instructed to draw up legislation removing the odious restrictions on Hottentof freedom. Acting Governor Bourke had already done so. In 1878, the 50th Ordinance was framed. Parliament added a rider that none of the provisions must be altered without reference to the King-in-council. The ordinance removed all the restrictions placed on the Hottetofs and other free coloured persons. They were placed on equal legal equality with the whites.

The effect of this act had serious impact on the economy of the whites. Most of the Hottetofs fled the farms. They found a new life in the towns, villages and mission stations. The wages of those who stayed to serve the whites rose. The farmers’ control of them was limited since their labour was now mobile. The abolition of slave trade and slavery also affected the farmers. This amounted to a revolution in the legal ethos of society and constituted a direct affront to the Boer’s sense of racial discrimination and superiority.

Because of the situation in the frontiers, the English traders encouraged the farmers to move to the interior. The interior had vast land area where their cattle could graze without hindrance. In fact they had already established themselves there before they pressed the British government to declare the place a colony. The farmers who crossed the Orange River with their herds, the missionaries on their journey to and from these stations spread the information on the condition of the areas to the white farmers.

When D’Urban arrived in January, 1834 as Governor, his aim was to secure the frontier administration. He made an attempt to move inwards. When he saw the devastated land and many farms burnt by the Bantu, he ordered that the Bantu must be driven away. He annexed the whole area between the Great Fish and the Kei rivers as Queen Adelaide Province.

The Bantu resisted the move and the missionaries raised a howl of protest at his ‘extermination policy’. Treaties were employed to settle the fracas. Traditional chiefs were selected to represent the interest of the British officials in the interior. Stockenstrom was sent out as Lieutenant Governor of the Eastern Province, and Queen Adelaide Province was handed back to the tribes. With the action of the government, the white farmers saw no hope in the area. They streamed out of the place to the North. 1886 was the year of the Great Trek.

The main aim of the Boers was to leave the colony and shake off British rule forever and to establish a community of their own to be governed on their own principles. They had grievances prominent among these was their hatred for the principle of racial equality which the British, through the 50th ordinance and abolition of slavery, seemed to be forcing on them.

The Great Trek added a new dimension to the problems of race relations in South Africa and sharpened the distinctions between peoples of different colour in the country. It also brought them into closer relationships with one another.

The colonial period of South Africa is different from other regions. The colonial masters had many issues to contend with. The issue of the white farmers versus Hottentofs, slaves and the black. The Boers, the white, were seriously bent on forcing other races in South Africa to submit to their rules. But the Hottentofs, the Blacks were struggling in the unionism of shaking off the imperialist tendencies of the Boers.

### **3.3 The Unification under Colonialism**

Changes that took place in the period between the Great Trek and 1910 was very remarkable. The Bantu who had fought the Boers with heroism and made a lot of success were now integrated into the white South African economy. Instead of going to war to preserve their independence and their lands, they became complacent, began to adopt the forms of white dominated society. This example was seen in the Ethiopian Movement that sought to form churches under African control. The growth of Bantus Movement also surfaced in their areas. The main aim of this movement was to secure the greater rights within South African society. The discoveries of mineral and the beginning of industrial revolution which was to transform the South African society from purely agrarian society to industrial one was the vogue then. There was a shift from racial struggle from the land to the towns. Categories of employment replaced territorial borders as sources of conflict fizzled out. The discovery of diamond and the beginning of scramble for Africa changed the tune of events in South Africa.

The unification left the balance of power in the hands of the conservative force. The Cape of Good Hope Parliament Act, passed before the Great Trek, made British subjects amenable to the Cape courts for crimes committed outside the colonial borders. This policy pushed the British government to extend her borders to cover the emigrants abode. But with little resources available, British was not able to cover all these areas. On the other hand, to accept the independent of the Boers posed a serious danger. Britain was also conscious of other Europeans taking over some of these areas that were not adequately occupied by her. At the time of unification, there were actually more Europeans with elementary education than the whites. The migrant labour drew Africans from every part of the union and beyond the established boundaries into the economic net of the gold and diamond mines. These people spread the knowledge of industrial life to the remote corners of the country. The change of protest charged from the hitherto civil war to civil protest based on new society of order of an enlightened protest. The short-lived South African Native National Conference was formed to fight oppressive rule.

The importance of the unification effort can be seen in the fact that it occurred at a time when Boer War and its aftermath had greatly strengthened the forces of Afrikaner nationalism. The spirit of frontier overcame the forces of Cape policy. It also showed the weakness of Britain to provide the South African community with legal and political framework to allow the social evolution demanded by economic changes to go ahead without a revolutionary upheaval.

In 1883, the German trader bought a piece of land at Angra Peguena Bay. Then the German government decided to press its claim to South West Africa. Bismardo exploited the international situation to win British official to recognise his annexation of South West Africa. In the First World War, German South West Africa was seized by South African forces. After the war, South Africa was able to obtain a League of Nations mandate to administer the place. The land was taken over by the land – hungry farmers. British control was established in this region, and British rule and policies were enacted.

Under South African administration, the territory was divided into two parts: “a police zone, including the area occupied by white farmers, the mineral deposits and the remaining reserves of the Hereros and Hottentof groups, and the Ovamboland area”.

During the rule of Germany, the West South Africa depended largely on its surplus mineral resources. Diamonds were discovered and Orange River much became a spot of the richest and mostly exploited source of mineral in the world. These reserves, when acquired by the British did not translate to increasing the welfare of the blacks in this area. The demand for labour on these fields is a further incentive to the policy of keeping the tribal reserves poor and small to ensure cheap labour.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The colonial system in South Africa is different from other regions of Africa. The administration of the colonial masters was direct. The administration limited itself to the borders only. The interior ruled by Bantu and white farmers – Boers, were ruled by these groups. The uprising and protest by Bantu was sometimes suppressed and the borders were extended to these areas.

The Great Trek added another dimension to the problems of race relations in South Africa. The movement brought direct colours and races together more than before. The struggle of frontier possession by the tribes became a struggle within a unified economic and political framework. The issue of South West Africa added another colour to the political struggle of South Africa. Because of the importance of this area, the British government forced the Germans out of this area. They finally purchased it and established their rule.

#### **5.0 Summary**

The colonial rule in South Africa can be said to be a child of circumstance. Because of serious conflict between the white and the Bantu, Britain came in to settle the conflict and established her rule. Various laws were introduced to contain the excesses of the white in acquiring more land than necessary for themselves and for their families.

The introduction of Englishman to the administration of Cape, added a new dimension to the colonial administration at the border towns. New towns developed and the distribution of Bantu population was affected. By 1830, the Natal and present day Orange State were affected. They were abandoned.

The racial war begun, when Boers employed the Hottentofs on their farms with little or no benefits. Though a law that liberated the blacks workers was enacted, it did not last long to give the blacks the right to their land.

German occupation of the West South Africa forced the British government to acquire the place. The strategic location of this area made Britain to force the Germans out of these areas. Though unification brought new social order, it espoused the racial undertone too. While the Bantu and other blacks had obtained the western education, their rights were still denied them. The new unification led to the formation of a new political movement for the emancipation of the blacks in South Africa. The Second World War returnees began this struggle.

## **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

- (1) Why did the British government fail to solve the problem of conflict on the frontier of South Africa in 1800's?
- (2) How would you explain the frequent border wars between the Bantus and the white settlers?
- (3) Examine the British rule in South Africa.

## **7.0 References And Further Readings**

Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey N. Brown (ed.) (1966). *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries*, Ibadan University Press and Nelson.

## UNIT 5 COLONIAL RULE IN NORTH AFRICA (MAGRIB)

### Contents

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Colonial Rule in Algeria
  - 3.2 Colonial Rule in Morocco
  - 3.3 Colonial Rule in Tunisia
  - 3.4 Colonial Rule in Libya
  - 3.5 Colonial Rule in East Africa
  - 3.6 Colonial Rule in Egypt
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References & Further Reading

### 1.0 Introduction

There were two broad administrative and political systems in North Africa, popularly called the Magrib, in the opening of the nineteenth century. On one hand was the independent Magrib el Aksa (Morocco), under the Sherifian dynasty of the Alawites or Filali. On the other hand, were semi-independent administrations of Regencies of Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, under the effete suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey. The Berber sentiments of nationalism reign supreme. There was no coherent form of unity among the people. Islam was used as a strong weapon of unity among the people. The connection with prophet Muhammed and the inheritance of *baraka*, the celestial union with the prophet was believed to possess inexhaustible abundance. The Filali Sudan came to be venerated by the Moroccans. He was seen as first among equals, Lord of the Believers, the great Iman (Muslim leader), commander of the faithful and the vicegerent of God on earth.

The divinity that helped the sultan provided him with the spiritual weapon to decide the fate of his followers. This came in the command of the entire Berber-Arab population.

The same cannot be said of other Magrib. Algeria was administered from Turkey. The Dey, who administered the territory and the Turkish Egypt were not cordial. There was an everlasting struggle for power.

Tunisia, like Algeria had been a boylik of the Othman administration since the sixteenth century. A Berber Arab later usurped the administration and created a dynasty which ruled over Tunisia until 1957. The dynasty had no root in Berber nationalism and brotherhood.

Libya was administered by Karamanli dynasty. The dynasty of Coloughis remained on the throne till 1885.

This was the situation in the Magrib before the invasion and consequent introduction of colonial rule. Despite the weak political arrangement by the Magrib, all the governments were sovereign. The presence of the Empress in the Mediterranean waters notwithstanding, the Magrib maintained and established their superior power over the Europeans. As said earlier in this course, they captured Europeans and made them slaves.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

- (1) Discuss the early situation in Magrib;
- (2) Analyse the independence of the Magrib before invasion by the European;
- (3) Explain the resistance to Europe invasion of the Magrib;
- (4) Draw comparison among Algeria, Tunisia, morocco and Libya during colonial rule.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Colonial Rule in Algeria**

After the Napoleonic wars (1799 – 1815), the European powers called on the Dey to abandon piracy. In 1816, the British fleet attacked EC – Djezair. In 1830 as earlier on discussed, the French invaded Algeria. The French landed 37,000 troops. The next 30 years were used to extend their conquest along the coast.

The French system of occupation of destructive killing of people was a common thing, burning of property and destroying of crops and orchards were also practiced. The Minister of War in France, General Gerard, justified the conquest of Algeria by the ‘need to open up a vast outlet for our surplus population and for our manufactured products in exchange for other products, foreign to our soil and to our climate.

The reaction in Algeria was sharp and precise. They refused to see the French as liberator from the oppressive rule of the Turks. They saw them as infidels on whom a jihad must be proclaimed. The hero of this power tussle was AbdelKader who championed the course of his people by leading a rebellion against the French rule. The support was massive from 1832 to 1847. Because of his resistant, France was forced to sign two treaties with him in 1834 and 1837. He was forced to surrender after a promise to take him to a Muslim country was struck. The pledge was never honoured.

The invasion and administration of Algeria was a turning point in the history of the country. The Berbers were systemically “deprived of their lands, to the tune of eight to nine million hectares, the equivalent of four-fifths of the area available for cultivation.”. French laws began to replace the traditional laws. The Berbers were never consulted in matters that relates to them in the day-to-day administration of their country. The repressive policy of frenchification was one of the things that broke the Carmel’s back. The policy forced them to be resigned to their fates.

The French occupation and administration of Algeria gave a bad signal to the rest of the countries in the Magrib. It became clear to them that the occupation of the other countries by the European powers was a matter of time.

By 1900, when the settlers acquired administrative and financial autonomy, the country had been transformed. Some 3 million Muslims had been killed and their lands transferred to the settlers. The remaining people were left in abject poverty.

The colonial administration in Algeria was that of plunder and waste to the detriment of Algerians. The colonial masters and their people brought from France enjoyed the fruits of Algerian labour. They transformed Algeria to suit their whims and caprices at the detriment of Algerian sweat and blood.

### **3.2 Colonial Rule in Morocco**

There were conflicting interests among the colonial powers in this country. The contending powers were Britain, France and Spain. Britain saw that the strategic position of Morocco and its interest in the Mediterranean could be made possible through the straits of Gibraltar in the northern coast of Morocco. Britain was conscious that her interest could be jeopardized by the rise of Mohammed Ali of Egypt, and French activities in other parts of the Mediterranean. Trade with Morocco then was also substantial, which is an added advantage for Britain. France, too, was interested in Morocco for obvious reasons. She had invaded Algeria and the fear that Algerian rebels may use Morocco as springboard for attack on French soldiers was possible. The possibility that Moslem brotherhood in Morocco may also assist their brothers in Algeria was not unlikely. France also had the fear that other colonial powers that occupied Morocco may push France to the interior of Africa, which France was not ready for. Spain's interest in Morocco dated back to fifteenth century. The rivalries among the colonial powers became the strength of Sultan of Morocco, ensuring the country's independence until France and Britain concluded an agreement in 1904 which gave France a freehand to annex the territory. A Franco – Spanish agreement of 3rd October, 1904 set the borders of the small northern zone that was to be occupied by Spain's colony of Rio de Oro. Germany finally recognised French rights to Morocco in February, 1909.

Until independence, large parts of Morocco were administered not by civil authorities (the *contrôleurs civils*) but by the military administrators (the officers of *affaires indigènes*). The Sultan was just a figure head. Theoretically, he retained the right to issue *dahirs* (decrees). But these decrees were based on the approval of the Governor – General.

The French interests were the forceable acquisition of the mineral deposits and the best farming lands from the Moroccans. The country was opened up to massive investment by French banks that had left funds to Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz in 1904. The banks financed construction projects and invested in mining. The colonial masters made sure that French industries were protected from other foreign investments. The French domination of industries was later consolidated by fixing the phosphate industry to state industry.



Most of the land, cultivatable and mineral deposits were controlled and seized in some cases by the whites. By 1932, 675,000 hectares of Moroccan land had been seized or forcefully acquired. One million hectares was acquired or seized a year later. The inequality between a Moroccan and a white settler's average per capita income was 20 times higher. The colonial administration was that of blunder and destruction of the existing systems in place. It is mere exploitation of the resources of Morocco to France and exportation of finished goods, at exorbitant prices, back to Morocco.

### **3.3 Colonial Rule in Tunisia**

As discussed in earlier unit, the leader of Tunisia, the Husseinic Dey of Tunisia was delighted when France and the Algerian head became traditional enemies. There was cordial relation with France. In fact, France at one time toyed with the idea of handing over the administration of Algeria to Tunisian province. Britain did not buy the idea of the close relation of France and Tunisia.

Ahmed Dey was able to modernize in order to prevent annexation of his country. Like Mohammed Ali of Egypt, Ahmed attempted to modernize the army and the navy. He spent two-thirds of the state resources on this venture. At his death in 1885, he left 120 million francs in the nation's treasury.

His successor Mohammed es Sadek "the Magnificent" was extravagant. He spent the nation's wealth on beautiful Georgian, Turkish and Circassian slave girls. The colonial master seized this opportunity to make him sign the first convention with France in May, 1863. This was after he had emptied the treasury. The aftermath of the signing of the convention was the negotiation for a loan with Messrs Oppenheim and Erlanger. The conditionalities for the loan were so onerous that at the end of the day, Dey only received in cash one-seventh of the sum. By 1869, the financial condition of the country was to worsen. The international finances had to set up a commission. On this commission, British, French and Italian interests were represented, though the greater part of the fund came from French creditors. The commission consolidated the debts and set out an outline for the financing of the debts.

Because of the prevailing economic downturn in Tunisia, European commercial financial interests were gaining more and more currency. The British got a concession for the important railway from the city of Tunis to Golletta. The Italians, in 1870, joined the race or scramble for position in Tunisia. Dey granted an Italian agricultural company an estate in Jedeida.

By 1871, the Dey began to find the relationship with French repulsive. He saw the French as exploiters. Against the interest of France, he started cultivating interest in the goodwill of the Sultan of Constantinople. The Sultan, in his response to this gesture, issued an imperial firman by the sublime port, proclaiming Muhammed es Sadek Pasha Vizir of Tunisia. He, in addition, conferred upon him 'the right of hereditary succession' renouncing the annual tributes Tunisia had owned the empire. He finally alienated the French by refusing to entertain Ferdinand de Lesseps'.

In 1878, France declared her suzerainty over Tunisia in return of French recognition of British occupation of Cyprus. There was a serious resistance but after a military promenade the Dey surrendered in May and signed the Treaty of Bardo. By this treaty, France was to control all international or foreign policy of Tunisia. By the Treaty of Marza signed in 1883, France controlled the internal affairs of Tunisia.

In the new arrangement, the Dey appointed his ministers who had limited functions, while on the side of French, Resident – General had departments under him, who reported to him on the day to day administration of the country.

Colonization in Tunisia took place both by the whole settlers and by capital. In 1956, 255,000 Europeans were living in Tunisia, one – seventh of the overall population. Capital flowed into the country. About 500 million French francs flowed into the country in the first 20 years. Accommodation network that included 2,000 km of railways, and 9,000 km of hard-surfaced roads served French farms and mines. New cities developed and the colonizers were the owners of the mines and cultivable lands in the country. One – fifth of cultivable lands were under their control. The control and administration of the farms, mines and industries that sprang up were firmly in the hands of the white settlers. Most of the urban indigenes have had lost their customers because of the importation of finished goods from France.

### 3.4 Colonial Rule in Libya

The Karamanci dynasty ruled Libya for many years. The European powers did not consider Libya as a threat to their ambition in Africa – Magrib. The French and Britain were against the oligarchy of Karamanci. There came an opportunity to Turkey, who occupied the nation in 1835. Despite this occupation, there was no serious administrative machinery in place. Thus, a *tariga*, or religious brotherhood, came to exercise administrative central in this region.

The Sanusiya *tariga* named after its founder, Sayyid Muhammed bin Ali al-Sanusi, the Grand Sanusi, in the early years did not interfere with politics. The order aimed not only of reviving Islam and infusing it with a spirit, but at bringing Islam within the reach of the people. At the last year of Sanusi's reign, he refused to be drawn into muddy waters of European politics and political calculations. He cooperated with Turkish administration of Libya. But the brothers of the order disliked and disapproved this way of life. They refused to give assistance to Turks during their war with Russia (1876 – 78). They denied an aid sought for by Urabi in Egypt in 1882 and by the Sudanese, in 1883 against British. It was when France invaded its Saharan territories and destroyed religious houses and when the Italians did the same in Cyrenaica, that the order stood up in arms against the imperialists.

The nationalistic instinct imbibed by the brotherhood *tariga*, made it nearly impossible for an invasion of Libya. Despite this the French attacked the order, and the Italians occupied Libya in 1911. In a bid to get the control of Libya, Italy introduced 'divide and rule' policy. But this did not last. After series of negotiations, the Head of the Order, the Treaty of arm Rajma was concluded in 1920. Ahmad ash-Sharif became the head of state and recognised by his people as their spokesman and ruler. This was acknowledged by two European powers, Italy and Britain.

After Italians had destroyed the houses of prayer and zawiyas, they discovered to their dismay that Libyans were attached to their brotherhood. In an attempt to appease to their conscience, they rebuilt most of these destroyed buildings.

Like other nations, the head was the Italian Consul, he was in charge and control the affairs of the nation. The Head of the Order was just a representative of his people in the nation. The resources and day to day administration was controlled by the Italians through the Head of the Order.

### 3.5 Colonial Rule in East Africa

A British company owned by Mackinnon was faced with bankruptcy. He then turned to Salisbury, a British government agent based in Uganda for assistance. But he was not successful. Salisbury in December 1891 failed to pass a scheme for Uganda railway survey through the House of Commons and the company decided to withdraw. In order to create the presence of Britain in Uganda, Bishop Tucker and CMS supporters contributed £15,000 to enable the company retain the services of Lugard for another one year. Gladstone and Harcourt led the opposition liberal to sanction an assumption of imperialist ambition in East Africa in the House. Gladstone appointed Rosebery as his Foreign Secretary. This is a man who believed in the importance of Egypt and the whites to Britain. Lugard through the British public opinion mobilized the retention of Uganda. Rosemary was able to assure Imperial Commissioner “that public sentiment here will expect and support the maintenance of the British sphere” of influence. Uganda was eventually occupied by Britain.

The Uganda ruler, King of Buganda and the British government signed a treaty in 1900. The British started the gradual process of demilitarizing Ugandans. There were imposed taxes on gun and hut. The gun tax applied to any Ugandan who possessed or made use of “a gun, rifle, pistol, or any weapon discharging a projectile by the aid of gun powder, dynamite, or compressed air”. In another development, “the possession of any canon or machine-gun is hereby forbidden to any native of Uganda including the Kings of the country”.

To react, an exemption from the gun tax, the following was the provision of the Agreement between the Kabaka (King) of Buganda and the Government of Great Britain.

*“The Kabaka will be credited with 50 gun licenses free by which he may arm as many as 50 of his household. The Queen Mother will, in like manner, be granted 10 free licenses annually by which she may arm as many as 10 persons of her household ... Chiefs of counties will be similarly granted 10 annual free gun licenses; all other members of the lukiiko or Native Council, not Chiefs of Counties, three annual gun licenses, and all landed properties in the country, with estates exceeding 500 acres in extent, on free annual gun license”.*

This is the final subjugation of Uganda under British rule. The control was total and unquestionable.

Omani Empire had a considerable impact of East African states before the coming of the Europeans. Omani themselves were able to eject the Portuguese away from their capital Muscat in 1650. The East African states were mistaken because they thought with the overthrow of the Portuguese; they would be able to exercise authority and independence from the external. Omani ruler begun to claim the rulership of East African states.

The Marzui rulers in Mombasa employed diplomatic game to seek British protection which failed woefully. Said, the ruler of Omani improved the states by infusing commercial activities. He invited many Indians to his territory and encouraged them to take up active business concerns.

One remarkable aspect of Arab penetration into East Africa was the establishment of Arab colonies in the interior. These colonies sprang up as collecting centres for slaves, ivory and food.

Britain used the anti-slavery tactics to warn the Arabs in East Africa, knowing fully well that without slavery the economic power of the Arabs would be no more. So, in 1833, a treaty was signed prohibiting all external traffic in slaves in his 'dominions' and dependencies. It also approved for the appointment of a British agent at Zanzibar or on African coast to monitor the movement of slave. Said also knew that he had to pay a price for this.

In 1873, Barghash issued the following proclamations: 'Know that we have prohibited the transport of slaves by sea in all our harbours and have closed markets for the sale of slaves throughout all our dominions ...' Yielding to this order, the Zanzibar ruler was choosing lesser of two evils, because the whole economy depended on slavery. In order to please Britain, he abided by the order and to safeguard his territorial integrity.

The Sultan of Zanzibar who had paid a visit to England fell back to traditional friendship with Britain despite the German's ambition to annex his territory. German's claim was that the sultan was not capable to choose the 'anarchy and savagery' which ravaged the territory. So, he had no right to continue to rule the empire.

By 1890, East African States were partitioned between Britain and Germany, the Arabs who operated in the region of Upper Congo were also crushed by series of military expeditions.

The British East African Company had first of all liberated the slaves, the human traffic which the empire was known for, on the coast as a tidy attempt to break the economic power of the Sultan. After 1888, Britain began to sign various treaties with the local chiefs. In 1893, the British government took over the East African Company in Uganda and declared the area a protectorate, and in 1885 did the same to Kenya. In 1920, it was declared a British colony and Britain established a firm colonial rule.

Colonialists in Tanzania justified their civilizing mission by claiming to bring law and order, economic prosperity and education to a territory devastated by internal warfare and the slave trade business.

### 3.6 Colonial Rule in Egypt

After the death of Muhammed Ali, one of the foremost leaders in the region, the rivalry of France and Britain resumed. The rivalry centred on a proposal to build a canal through Isthmus of Suez. Work finally started in 1859 by French. From this time too, Egypt continued to contract foreign loans to finance projects, which were most at time ill-planned and wasteful.

Between 1882 and 1914, Egypt was ruled by British Consuls General, while façade ministerial government was preserved. By 1907, Lord Cromer had established the colonial economy in the country. The main thrust of British rule was for tangible and economic rewards to Britain rather than improve the existing infrastructure.

At the break of World War I (1919 – 1939), the United Kingdom declared Egypt a protectorate under a High Commissioner, while the ruling house provided a puppet administration.

### 4.0 Conclusion

Between 1875 and 1914, the bulk of the African continent came under white control. Two important related processes produced the astonishing acquisition by force, the African empires. One outstanding process was the treaties entered into by the local leaders. Most of the local leaders did not understand the terms and conditions of these treaties. Second, the superior weapons used by the colonialists made the submission of opposition to the rule unquestionable. The warrior tradition of the African people cannot stand the superior weapon of the overlords. Another important factor was the Berlin Conference agreement where European powers had problems on who was to acquire what, the agreement and diplomatic tactics were employed to solve the problem. The limits of French acquisition of territories in Africa were not set by Africans but by notable rival, the British, who kept them out of lower Niger below the Bussa rapids in Nigeria. The open confrontation between French and British forces in Borgu in Nigeria and Fashoda in the Nile almost led to warfare between the two European nations.

The colonial administration was the same either Britain, France, Germany, Portuguese, etc. It was mere exploitation and deprivation of the indigenes at Africa. Raw materials were shipped to the independents, and finished goods were shipped to the dependents. The labour was cheap, but finished goods had the dictates of the colonial masters.

### 5.0 Summary

In this unit, we have discussed various ways and methods employed by the European powers to acquire and established their rules in some parts of Africa. The major European players were France, Britain and Germany. The acquisition of land followed the same pattern with other regions. Britain acquired most of the coastline nations, while France were in the interior. Britain also jostled for economically viable states, while France went for large expanse of land.

Note the importance of Suez Canal issue raised in this unit and the implication for future discussion.

## **6.0 Tutor Mrrked Assignment**

- (1) Account for the colonial conquest and administration of the Magrib.
- (2) Why did France attack Algeria in 1830 and with what consequences for Magrib?

## **7.0 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING**

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### Module 3

Unit 1	The impact of Second World War on African Politics
Unit 2	The emergence of Elite in Africa
Unit 3	Nationalist Movement in West Africa
Unit 4	Road to independence in North Africa nations
Unit 5	Road to independence in South Africa

### UNIT 1      The Impact of Second World War on African politics

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#### 1.0      Introduction

World War Two led to a chain of events which culminated into disintegration of European empires in Africa. During the war, North Africa became the scene of military operations. The British Commonwealth forces ousted the Italians from Ethiopia and fought a ceaseless war against Italian and German forces in Egypt and Libya.

Again, the French and the British recruited thousands of Africans into their forces. Many Africans served in Europe and Asia. The impact of World War Two will be discussed in detail in this unit. Other issues like decolonization of Italian Africa and the decolonization of British Africa will also be treated.

#### 2.0      Objectives

At the end of this unit, a learner must be able to discuss the followings:

- (n) The impact of the World War Two on African political system;
- (o) The decolonization of African states;
- (p) The participants in the decolonization process.

#### 3.0      Main Content

##### 3.1      World War Two and Africa

During the war, Africans recruited into the forces were made to serve side by side with their white counterparts; the myth of European superiority was destroyed. They saw the whites as equal and only separated because of the pigment of the skin. Because of the war, African states became more self-supporting than during the previous decades. When Japan overrun South East Asia, Europe became more dependent on Africa rubber more than before.

During the war European powers were forced to make more concessions to their African subjects. They made increased grants for economic development and education. Most of African workers that were not promoted before the war were given accelerated promotion.

The war also undermined the will and capacity of the imperial powers to maintain the empires. The war weakened colonial powers economically and militarily and therefore underpinned the instrument for maintenance of peace and order of the colonies. By this time, the colonial powers had to depend on the colonies for supply of military recruits in order to sustain the war. If the main thrust for colonialism was to protect the Africans from one and another against tribal wars, the argument cannot be sustained any longer, since they (the colonialists) were unable to protect one another. In addition, the brutality which accompanied the war undermined the faith of many of the imperial powers in the "sacred mission". The savagery that accompanied the war, made many African soldiers surprised that what these powers accused them of was what they now practised on a larger scale. This cannot be reconciled with the claim that the whites were civilised nations.

The treatment meted to African soldiers during the war such as discrimination in rates of pay and the treatment between them and Indian and white soldiers did not endear them to colonial rule.

The opposition and war on Nazi Germany and fascist Italy by Britain made the opposition members of resistance movement in Europe to denounce racist policy in the imperial states. The opposition to imperialism gained momentum during this period. In addition to this, by the end of the war, the major players in colonial affairs were physically exhausted and economically impoverished and the leadership in World Affairs had passed on to United States of America (USA) and Russia both of these nations had a tradition of rejection of colonialism when at least it was practised by others.

By 1945, the full economic impact of the war began to manifest. Prices of goods were rising abnormally without a corresponding increase in wages. The result of this was that many people were subjected to untold hardship. For example in Nigeria, it was this condition that gave rise to the existence of a radical trade union movement. This movement called the Railway Workers Union gave the chairmanship to Michael Imoudu. The movement was instrumental to several strikes of 1945 which almost paralysed the economic life of the nation.

The World War Two brought about a decline in revenue arising from custom duties in the 1939 / 40 seasons. This was aggravated by the closure of the French, Belgian, Dutch and German markets. This in turn affected the British colonies badly. The loss of the East Asian markets to the German called for a new economic order aimed at ensuring imperial markets for the metropolis. Britain, in her policy, imposed import restrictions on non-sterling zones in a bid to conserve foreign exchange and the supply of currency.



In order to keep the colonies under control, though not as strong as hitherto, the colonies were expected to cooperate with the Allied Forces. The prices of products of exports and imports all over Africa were brought under control. Since the East Asian markets had been lost, the only place to get vegetable oil and other commodities was Africa. This could sustain the allies throughout the war period.

To achieve this objective, the colonial administration embarked on a massive production drive in the colonies. The government even adopted a number of measures designed to increase the collection of palm kernels and extraction of oil. These include an increase in taxation of the citizens. There was also reduction in the prices of commodities bought from the farmers to increase their production in order to pay the tax obligation. But the farmers protested by not producing any more until a stable price was guaranteed by the colonial masters.

However, the plan was abandoned in the end. A definite price policy would ensure a regular supply of the commodity as it was done under the French. The adoption of a definite price policy in 1939 led to the increase by 37 percent between 1939 and 1954.

There was decline in the production of food crops. All over British territories farmers were discouraged from producing food crops. They were put under constant pressure to go to the bush to cut down palm nuts and process the oil, for according to a war propaganda slogan, "each bunch of palm nut that could be cut was equivalent to cutting down a German soldier; and each tin of oil and kernels produced could help to ruining a German gun or aeroplane on the battle field.

One major reason for the fall in revenue during the war was the shipping difficulties. Generally, the colonies depended on Britain, France and Germany for over 50 percent of their imports before the war. The figure fell drastically because of restrictions placed on the movement of ships because of the enemy. The allied forces believe that Germany may destroy any ship on their territorial waters. Products had to wait for many days at the ports awaiting the arrival of ships which never come sometimes. Goods went bad as a result and the revenue to the farmers was adversely affected in the process. Since ships were irregular, little imports reached the colonies at exorbitant prices. Even moving produce from the interior to the hinterland was hampered by little space provided for them in the railways coaches. Most of the coaches were reserved for military wares for the prosecution of the war.

The war time did not only result in the scarcity of essential commodities, but non-existence of most of these commodities. Nigerians who were alive then could not forget in a hurry the absence of salt in the market due to prohibition placed on the movement of ships and imported commodities.

Apart from the contribution of men to prosecute the war, every colony also contributed cash and materials to the war effort. In the British colonies, for example, all the chiefs were expected to mobilize their subjects to contribute to winning the war. For example, in Nigeria, the Native Administration and the emirs donated a sum of £98,000 in addition to various foodstuffs. "The contributions during the Second World War include the following: Oyo £8,000, Ondo £3,000, Abeokuta £1,400; Ijebu £1,060; and Kano £10,272 in 1942, while a further win-the-war fund of

£11,000 was raised in 1945". In all the contributions made to Britain at this period £24,041,945 out of which Nigeria alone contributed £409,255.

There was no doubt that the war caused had a serious impact on the economic potentials of African states. The war drained the resources (human, materials and financial) of African states. However, relief eventually came to African states. The importation of commodities which was stopped because of shipping problems led to a shift from imported goods to substitutes available in the colonies. The imperial government started encouraging the manufacture of these commodities within the shores of African states. The lack of imported furniture led to the establishment of carpenter workshop in Lagos where furniture were made for government offices. Roofing tiles were also manufactured locally to replace imported corrugated iron sheets.

The imposition of stringent measures on import stimulated the development of local industries. For example, local industries for the manufacture of milk, sugar and orange juice. This introduction of import-substitution industries encouraged farmers to produce more to feed these industries and there was an increase in employment rate in the colonies. Some of these industries took off in Lagos, Agege, and Abeokuta in Nigeria as well as Senegal too. It established its first oil mill during this period of war.

Food insecurity or shortages constituted one of the most serious problems, which the British government had to address while the trend almost reached a crisis point in the cities, the food producing rural communities suffered in varying degrees especially from inflation. Because of prevailing condition, the reserved food in anticipation of any emergency was brought out. The government then introduced food rationing in 1941 through a price control system directed by Captain A.P. Pullen. The policy did not only fail abysmally, it triggered off price increases in non-consumable articles.

The recruitment of able-bodied men denied African hands that would produce food crops on the farm. The food shortage was obvious at this time. The primary products also suffered because all these products were diverted to the metropolitan cities. War time shortages besides the deliberate government policy of diverting all available resources to prosecute war, denied the colonies of development. Ongoing projects were halted and new ones were abandoned. The suspension of projects such as railway and other infrastructure had a serious impact on the economic life of the people.

### **3.2 Decolonization of Italian Africa**

The dramatic changes in international scene during and after the World War Two climaxed in the changing of batons in colonial Africa. The climate of change between 1919 and 1945 was demonstrated in the depossession of the vanquished European powers. At the end of World War One, the European powers were divided among one another. So, there was no reversion of empires to Africans. But at the end of World War Two, the short-lived Italian empire was reverted back to African control.

There was doubt that this change would occur in Ethiopia. The people were poor even by African standards. There was no cohesion among the people. The Emperor, Haile Selassie had

just returned from exile after the British ousted the Italians in 1941. During the brief period of Italian rule, the powers and privileges of the hereditary aristocracy and Coptic Church had not been ousted. The emperor returned with the intention of reforming the society. Despite the British and later American financial and technical aid, he made no substantial changes in the structure of the society and the equitable distribution of power and privileges.

He set up an elective legislative body in 1957, but its function was limited to an advisory body. Haile Selassie was respected abroad and he was able to elicit international support for his territorial expansion ambition. In 1952, the ambition of Ethiopia to annex part of the Red Sea coastline was realised; when the former Italian colony of Eritrea, which had been administered by Britain was incorporated into Ethiopia. Though most of the inhabitants of this area were Muslims, they were also opposed to Ethiopian expansion.

During the partition of Africa, the Somaliland was partitioned among the Italian, the British and the French. This area had a common language, culture and religion (Islam), but no centralised government. Kenya and Ethiopia also had shares in Somaliland. By the end of World War Two, young Somalis were beginning to create a popular nationalist movement dedicated to uniting all Somali people in a single independent state. In 1950, the United Nations decided that Italian Somaliland should become a Trust Territory under Italian administration for 10 years at the end of which it became independent. Ten years later, British Somali became independent and joined the Italian Somaliland.

The United Nations was also involved in the decolonization process of Libya. The Italian colony of Libya became an independent state in 1951. This was under a constitutional monarchy under King Idris, the head of the Sannusi set of brotherhood.

### **3.3 The Decolonization of British Africa**

In October, 1945, some eminent Africans gathered in Manchester, England at a Conference organised by W.E.B. du Bois. In attendance were some Africans – Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. The conference denounced the ‘systematic exploitation’ of Africa by the alien colonial powers. It also demanded a forthright independent of colonial empires.

In 1946, the British created a legislative council for the South and Ashanti in Gold Coast, with eight civil service members, six private members nominated by the Governor. Thirteen elected by representation of the traditional authorities and five members directly elected by urban votes. This eventually led to election in 1957. On March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast became a sovereign state, with a parliament and a cabinet based on British model and with Nkrumah as Prime Minister. The name Gold Coast changed to Ghana and it became a republic in 1960.

Nigeria was advancing like Ghana towards independence, but the fast tracking of independence for Nigeria was delayed because of its ethnic rivalries which led to disagreement upon an independence constitution. However, Nigeria became an independent state in 1960. Each of the three regions were controlled by its majority ethnic leaders – Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa. The

Federal Government was a coalition of the party of the Muslim Hausa and the party of predominantly Christian Ibos.

When Nigeria became independent, the Sierra Leone followed and the Gambia was delayed because of its alliance with Senegal. The British territories in East Africa posed a serious problem because they had been less exposed to western influence than West African states. Their level of education was low. In addition, unlike British West Africa, these territories included communities of white settlers who, though they formed a small portion of the population, had influence in London and footholds in the political institution in Nairobi, Kampala and Dar-es-salaam. They also owned valuable parcels of lands in Kenya and Tanzania and, with the Asia communities controlling the export and import trades. Britain treated the three East African states as multiracial societies. It set up separate European, Asian and African electoral bodies and gave the European minorities as many seats in the legislative and executive councils as African majorities. The Kenyan situation led to prolonged struggle and violence accompanied the decolonization process at last. After serious struggle which led to the imprisonment of Jomo Kenyatta, he later became the Prime Minister of Kenya in 1963. Tanzania and Uganda also became independent in the 1960's.

In British Central Africa, the question of who to transfer power to during the decolonization process became a problem. In 1953, Britain superimposed a multiracial federal government over the territories of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. These areas have been self governing areas under the white settlers. The Nationalist Party led by Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda won the general election in 1961. He became the Prime Minister of Nyasaland. It became independent in 1963 as Malawi.

The Rhodesian government also entered into long negotiation with Britain but no agreement was reached. In November, 1965, Prime Minister Ian Smith made a unilateral declaration of independence. Britain saw this as an affront, she regarded the territory, Rhodesia as a rebellious colony and not a single sovereign state was accorded it. Finally, in 1976, Smith acceded to US pressure and agreed to transfer power to the black majority in two years. In 1979, when Smith acceded, the country was renamed Zimbabwe and granted independence in 1980, under Robert Mugabe.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The colonial masters exposed Africans to their system of government. The assistance, though forced on the colonial citizens, made the returnees after World War Two to begin to agitate for independence. Another important impact of this war was the creation of local industries in Africa at that time. In 1941, the United States President, Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met to discuss the post-war World. The result of the meeting was the Atlantic Charter. One of the provisions of this charter was the decolonization of Africa.

After the war, parliamentarians and civil societies in Britain were drumming it loud that Britain must grant independent to the colonial territories. By 1930's, the colonial masters through the introduction of schools had cultivated elite who became promising leaders in their countries. These leaders include Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Nkrumah of Gold Coast (Ghana), Senghor of

Senegal and Houphouet-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire. The role of these people will be discussed in later units.

## **5.0 Summary**

In this unit, we have discussed some salient points on the impact of World War Two on Africa. The war acted as reference point of action for the colonies. The returnees from the warfront discovered to their dismay that the whites were not different from them. The myth of white superiority was uncovered. Food shortage during the war was a common place but export and small scale industries were set up by the colonial powers in the territories.

The Atlantic charter entered into after the war made it mandatory for Britain to accept the decolonization process in her territories. It was not only Britain, but France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Belgium and Portugal followed British steps in the decolonization process.

## **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

1. Discuss the role of World War Two on the decolonization process in West Africa.
2. How do you account for the impact on World War Two on African economy?
3. African states bore the white man's burden during World War Two. Discuss.

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## **UNIT 2                      The emergence of the Elite in Africa**

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### **1.0     Introduction**

Before the coming of the Europeans to Africa, there were different elite classes in various societies. Some communities grouped certain class of people into the elite class. The ruling class that possessed special status and political, military, economic or religious functions acted as the elite of such society. In some areas, the ruling classes are the elite. In predominantly Islamic society, the Chief Imam, Sheikhs, the Emirs and the Ulamas were grouped as elite.

The coming of Europeans into Africa changed the status of elitism. The class of people who had contact with the Europeans imbibed their culture, their values and their education. This people became the new elite. The missionary activities changed the status quo of the elite class. The missionary introduced education to the territories they lived. In some areas, the idea of modern education was established in order to train new recruits for the imperialist army.

The introduction of colonial rule made education an issue. The introduction of education by the missionaries was reinforced by the colonialists. This gave impetus, after the World War Two, to agitation by the elite for independence in the various states or nations.

### **2.0     Objectives**

At the end of this unit, learners must be able to discuss the following:

- (a)     The early elite;
- (b)     The new elite; and
- (c)     The role of the elite in the emerging nations in Africa.

### **3.0     Main content**

#### **3.1     The Early Elite**

During the early states in western Sudan for example, the elite then besides the local ruling class were the Islamic writers and geographers. These sets were seen as early custodians of historical facts, writers or reference point in the history of Western Sudan. Before the colonization of Africa, European activities were concentrated in the coastal lines of West Africa, South Africa and the North African states. The Europeans came with the slogan of the 3C – Christianity, Commerce and Civilization. Hence, they were ready to cooperate with missionaries and anti-slavery movement, explorers, traders and government officials.

The missionaries operated on the assumption that if they must have a stronghold on Africa by introducing Christianity, “it had to be accompanied by thorough – going modernization of traditional Africa society”. By this, they meant encouraging the abolition of slave trade and eventually stopping the internal slave trade. They intended to introduce cash crop economy, introducing some of the new technology in Europe and above all, creating a new class of elite that will manage these revolutionary changes. Besides the above stated objective, the high rates of mortality and repatriation of Europeans through illness reinforced the earlier statement that there must be urgent need to train African missionaries, schoolmasters and other agents to replace the Europeans that have left Africa. To be able to cope, missionaries put a liberal policy on education very high on their agenda.

Besides, Sierra Leone and Liberia that offered training facilities to Africans, the old centres of European trade in Senegal, Ghana and Southern Nigeria also offered some opportunities since there was a growing demand by the local people for formal education and commerce.

South Africa offered some opportunities in this regard. The replacement of Boer (Dutch) rule by British government, made in-roads for the missionary activities in this region. The missionaries enforced the doctrine of equality and denounced the racial policies of the Dutch. The work of French and American missionaries in the new Bantu states was also significant.

### **3.2 Colonial Policies and New Elite**

The policies of various colonial powers affected the emergence of the elite in the various states. These variations concerned the introduction of western education, the role provided for an educated African in the new administration introduced by the colonial powers.

French and Portuguese colonial policy towards their colonies was similar. Both superpowers tried to create “a highly polished elite, a few shining stars, thoroughly conditioned by French or Portuguese culture”. They encouraged state financing of education in these colonies and they persuaded few citizens from the colonies to pursue further education in the Metropolitan countries. There was provision for the employment of African elite – *evolues* and *assimilados* in the colonial administration. In order to create a class for these new elite, they were encouraged to work in France or Portugal. Missionaries were also cautioned. Only missionaries that originate from metropolitan centres and sharing their colonial ideas should be allowed to operate.

Belgian policy towards its colonies was a marked contrast to the French and Portuguese. In French and Portuguese colonies, the masses remained illiterate persons, a middle class hardly existed. Much of the resources were spent on top the elite. Belgians in Congo created the most

technologically advanced colony in Africa based upon a solid lower middle class employed in the skill and semi-skilled trades. Belgian policy was anti-elite emergence. Though missionaries were allowed to operate, their activities were strictly controlled to conform to official goals. Overseas travel by Africans was discouraged. Thus, there was no elite programme, the few that eventually emerged worked exclusively within the church, and later trade unionism.

Britain, compared to other colonial powers, had no consistent policy for educated class. The missionary societies were given a free hand to operate and were given assistance more than anywhere in Africa. This gave rise to the highest number of elite in the whole of Africa. British Africa on the other hand, refused to employ the elite produced by these missionaries. Lord Lugard's theory of indirect rule which dominated the thinking of British officials up till World War Two led to the evolution of traditional African political system built upon the principle of hereditary chieftaincy. It provided no place for western elite in the super structure maintained by Lugard administrative structure. Some decided to find a place for the elite in the indirect system. Traditional arrangement as said earlier had no place for elite. Some officials, who were not at peace with the evolution of elite, could not stop their production because of the unhindered missionary activities. The contradictory policy of the British produced the paradox that Nigeria witnessed. The policy of indirect rule produced the largest western educated elite.

The Northern part of Nigeria remained conservative. The British government was conscious of the Islamic states of the North. So, western education was not encouraged, besides there was the shifting of Islamic education. The policy was to discourage missionary activities in this area. The reason normally advanced is that Lugard was keeping his pledge with the emirs that their subjects would not be forced to accept Christianity. Thus, the ideas of westernization and Christianity were controlled. Despite the fact that the North were mainly Muslims, one suspects that Islamic education would be encouraged and even assisted. Not only was the western education denied, Islamic education received no encouragement from the government yet the few missionaries schools in the North produced elite too.

The British in the Northern Protectorate were not totally opposed to conversion of the people to Christianity, but they were mainly concerned with avoiding open confrontation from the Muslim rulers if the missionaries were allowed freely in the protectorate. In keeping with this policy, the colonial government took over the control of western education and outlined the reasons for its introduction. They hoped that through western education, the sons of the emirs would be trained in order to bring them up in an "atmosphere of loyalty to the king (British)". From this set of people trained abroad, the British hoped that the next generation of native rulers may be enlightened and loyal without necessarily foregoing their own religion and imbibing ideas of Europeans. This, the British government did and unknowingly produced the elite in the North, who had Islamic education background.

The other aim was to give general primary education on a secular basis and lastly, for the teaching of the children of non-native employees of the government. It can be seen that the introduction of western education in the North was guarded in order to maintain the status quo, to ensure development on 'native line' and to prevent the bringing up of a generation of agitators as in the South.



Unlike the North, in the Southern Protectorate, western education was more freely pursued. The highly educated elements, both professional and academic, had emerged. By 1930's, they had started struggling not only equal with the British officials, they were also seeking employment on equal basis with British officials and demanding treatment as civilised men of dignity.

The French who sought elite as a fulfillment of their policy of assimilation and also spent a lot of money to achieve same. But she was not successful than British who frowned on an elite as an embarrassment to indirect rule system. France who turned her back to the evolution of *evolve* class of educated Africans, through suspicion and unwillingness to encourage missionary activities, gained the same class less than Britain that discouraged the practice.

In poorer Equatorial African territories, little individual elite class emerged. In Togoland and Cameroons where missionaries were protected from extending their activities given by the mandate which France held from League of Nations, there was a remarkable missionary activities. In Cameroons, the state was educating 1,000 in 1913 and 12,000 in 1953 while the missionaries in the same years were educating African citizens of 43,000 and 113,000 respectively. This is a reverse of anywhere in France West African colonies.

In West Africa, the level and pace of economic development acted as a factor to determine the number of elite that emerged from any colony. Ghana, though small in size, has the largest elite at this time – twentieth century, followed by Western Nigeria with Sierra Leone and Eastern Nigeria trailing. The poorer French countries were far behind.

In East and Central Africa, however, the level of economic development was not indicative of the size of elite in the said region. The reverse can be deduced from these colonies that the greater the economic development, the lesser the number of African elite. Katanga had no African elite; the Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) almost none; Kenya, Tanganyika (Tanzania) and Nyasaland very few. The rapid economic development in these regions contributed to the growth of the settlers who were the elite in colonial Africa.

When the expatriates were moving back to Europe, the white settlers took over from them. The Africa skilled labourers were not qualified to take over these posts. In the process of becoming an elite, most African middle class were constantly destroyed by the white settlers and that accounted for non-elite in these regions.

In South Africa, the railway and postal services were almost exclusively manned by Africans in 1920's. Twenty years later, almost all Africans were displaced by the white settlers. The world economic depression of 1930's hastened the process. The growing number of whites in civil service made it more difficult to change the course of events. Most of the advisers of the government were whites.

### **3.3 New Elite after World War Two**

Two hundred English speaking Africans and Afro-Americans attended a conference in Manchester, England, in October, 1945. The aging W.E.B. du Bois headed or chaired the conference. The conference was organised by younger men – George Padmore a West Indian,

Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (then Gold Coast), and Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya. The resolution adopted by the fifth Pan African Congress was different in tones and substance from previous conferences. These included a detailed denunciation of exploitative tendencies of the colonial rulers – “the systematic exploitation of Africa by the alien imperialist powers, a forthright demand for independence for black Africa and a ringing declaration to the colonial peoples of the world to unite”.

In Britain, the 1945 conference attracted little attention from the members of the public. But the fifth Pan African Congress marked the beginning of a new dawn in African politics. Laying down ideological guidelines with populist, socialist and international overtones, it stimulated the African elite to take advantage of the new international order of anti-colonial international climate. The prevailing condition at that time made the elite to seize the opportunity to ask for independence from their white overlords.

Events that were to become crucial in British West Africa, took place in Ghana. Ghana then had the highest number of elite. The transformation was also assisted by the booming trade in cocoa, which the British government had the overriding share. On the other hand, in 1945, the rate of social change in Ghana was enormous.

In December, 1947, when Nkrumah arrived Ghana, he began to build or lay the foundation of a political party. He contacted young men who were literate to form the Volunteer Group. He established a line of protest with the government by holding the government responsible for all the hardship in the country – the high food prices, shortage of food items, and the unemployment rate was on the high side. He denounced the destruction of cocoa farm with swollen shoot disease. The farmers protested, the colonial government opened fire on them and two were killed. The farmers began serious protest where European shops were looted.

Cashing in on this opportunity, Nkrumah and Danquah sent cables to the British government, the United Nations and the World Press denouncing the colonial rule and asking for self-determination-independence. An investigative panel was set up by a Commissioner. Britain then named an African judge, Henky Coussey as Chairman of the Committee. All the members of the committee were African elite. The British government accepted the recommendation of the committee and introduced a new constitution in 1951.

The full impact of Second World War was beginning to be felt on Nigerian people. Prices of goods were rising astronomically without corresponding increase in wages of workers. The result was that people who are lettered or literate began to organise themselves into protesting unions. The existence of such union as Railway Workers Union led by Michael Imoudu provided a rallying point for the agitators for equal opportunities with the Europeans. The workers constituted the elite, who in turn inform and educate the illiterate masses on the need to agitate for reform. Well-informed politicians and the workers combined to word off the oppressive tendencies of the white rule.

Another important factor which made agitation by elite significant was the 1922 constitution which had remained unchanged except for the appointment of two non-officials into Executive Council in 1942. The newspaper *West African Pilot* was also used as a rallying point for the

elite; besides whipping up political consciousness of the people, the paper, owned by Nigerian elite focused attention on the ills of the society. It highlighted the news of racial discrimination in Britain, United States of America and South Africa. The agitation of writings of the elite in the press forced the British journalist that visited in 1945, when he wrote of “a revolutionary native press which quite serious threatens the stability of this part of the empire”.

The local administration of the colonialists was much concerned about the local press. The Governor in Legislative Council said:

*“Our press is free – free to abuse, to sabotage, effect, to kill enthusiasm to impute bad motives and dishonesty to poison the springs of goodwill and foul the will of trust to impregnate the body politic with envy, hatred and malice – in short, free to do the devil work”.*

Despite the evolving scenario of the elite and their strategy, there was no political platform to realise their dream of independent Nigeria. The young students were forced to take the first step by forming Nigerian Union of Students. This was the beginning of forming political parties which would be discussed in the next chapter.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The emergence of elite in Africa can be traced to the traditional society where classes of people existed before the coming of the white people – colonialists. You must bear this in mind that elitist class was never restricted to the western world alone. The role of the missionary and the colonial masters in the evolution of the elite must not be wished away either. A complementary of the two and the last stage of evolution of new elite after the Second World War is also important.

The plan of the colonial masters was not to create elite in some instances, but the evolution came in some cases, and it became unmanageable in British West African states whose early elite forced the colonial masters to grant independence to the various nations.

#### **5.0 Summary**

In this unit, we discussed the early elite in African societies. They were the ruling class, the advisers of kings and later the Qur’anic or Islamic leaders. We also discussed the coming of Arabian writers, geographers and Islamic clerics, who wrote the history of western Sudan. The emergence of elite after Second World War was also highlighted. The impact of this people in forming opinions and unions were not left out.

The policies of colonial masters in shaping and molding the evolution of elite was also listed and discussed. The discussion in this unit will enable the learner to be familiar with the evolution of the elite in Africa and the role they played in agitation for African nations’ independence.

## **6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. Examine the role of elite in shaping the modern day African nations.
2. How will you account for emerging elite in Africa?

## **7.0 Reference & further readings**

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## **UNIT 3                      Nationalist Movement in West Africa**

### **Contents**

- 1.0     Introduction
- 2.0     Objectives
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### **1.0                              INTRODUCTION**

Nationalist movement in this unit explains the coming together of various ethnic groups to force colonial government to grant independence to the empires. Though various culture groups had diverse beliefs and customs, but they were able to combine forces to fight the colonial powers using the elite as front. The elite did not only provide the leadership, they coordinated, organised, and sometimes confronted the colonial masters with genuine reasons why they should be given independence.

After Second World War as discussed earlier, the demand for independence from the colonial masters became more vigorous. What made these movements more pronounced were the weakening of traditional authorities by the colonial masters, which acted as check and balance hitherto that were no longer there. The attack on old beliefs by the imperialists; especially the Christian missionaries, the introduction of cash crops cultivation for European market, the imposition of taxation; the opening of schools which provided training for the elite, communication network in the colonies; all these had a profound effect on the emergence of nationalism.

### **2.0                              Objectives**

At the end of this unit, learners should be able to discuss the following:

- (a)     The origin of Nationalist movements and why there was movement for independence;
- (b)     Nationalist Movements in British West Africa; and
- (c)     Nationalist Movements in French West Africa.

### **3.0                              Main content**

#### **3.1                              Nationalist Movement in British West Africa**

To act as a reminder, the effect of Second World War provided a platform for the emergence of the Nationalist Movements in West Africa. From the mid-1940's, the British West African states

began to witness the emergence of the elite. In the Gold Coast now Ghana, a militant and radical minded independence movement – the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) led by Kwame Nkrumah emerged. This replaced the less radical group, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) which was formed in 1947. UGCC was led by a moderate leader. The objective of this party, which was not nationally based, was “self-government in the shortest possible time”. Ashanti was barely represented in the party, while Northern territories remained altogether outside the orbit of UGCC activities. The working class in the cities was also left out too.

When Nkrumah had the opportunity in 1948, he broke away and formed his own party, CPP. This party ‘par excellence’ was the party of the masses. The party gave the North the first opportunity to take a shot into the vortex of national politics. CPP demanded ‘self-government now’. This was a departure from UGCC, which asked for independence “at the shortest possible time”.

With the emergence of the CPP, the political permutation changed. This also accelerated independence for Ghana. Nkrumah became impatient with the slow pace of the colonial masters; he then called for ‘positive action’ and a general strike in 1949. The colonial masters called for his arrest and subsequent trial. He admitted, in his submission, to have organised the strike. He was sentenced. While he was in prison, his party won in a general election of February, 1951. He was released and was asked to form a government. The Gold Coast became independent under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah on 6th March, 1957. The name Gold Coast was changed to Ghana the same year.

Nigeria’s political scenario presented a very different picture. In the country, the modern independence movement, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) was formed in 1944. This movement was not as militant as CPP of Ghana; in its demand for independence the objectives were not well articulated. The only prominent factor in Nigeria that time was the emergence in 1948 – 1951 of regional rivalries and parties expressing them. As a result of this situation, the period of 1951 – 1958 became a period of adjustment of interests among three major parties; the dominant party in the North and two Southern regional parties. There was also conflict of interest between the minorities and majorities.

Demand for independence from colonial rule began in the second and third decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although demands at first were for mere participation in the existing political arrangement rather than self-government. The effect of Second World War accelerated the demand for self-government. Before the formation of NCNC, the National Union of Students (NUS) organised a rally at Ojokoro in 1943, to which all existing political groups were invited. The series of meetings by these youths led to the formation of NCNC, which later changed to National Council for Nigerians Citizens when Cameroon was detached from Nigeria in August, 1944. Herbert Macaulay became the President while Nnamdi Azikiwe was the General Secretary.

In 1951, two parties emerged – the Action Group (AG) led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Northern People’s Congress (NPC) which was based in the North. The issue the new parties devoted themselves to was the constitutional proposals published in December of 1944 by the

new Governor, Sir Arthur Richards. The proposal's main aim was designed "to keep one step before public opinion". This was received with hostility by NCNC.

The constitution was rejected because of the following reasons: There were no consultation with the people before the drafting of the proposals, "the retention of the principle of nomination, the non-existence of the principle of election, the failure of the constitution to accord Nigerians greater participation in the whole process of government and administration and the accusation (difficult to substantiate) that the constitution was designed to foster the policy of *divide et impera*".

The NCNC led the opposition against the constitution. It was able to use the time lag between its publication and the date fixed for its coming into operation to send a delegation to the United Kingdom to demand for a review of the constitution, but it failed to achieve its aim. But the constitution was able to achieve a landmark. It, for the first time, created Houses of Assembly for the three regions – the North, mainly Muslims and ethnically strong Hausa – Fulani, the East, Catholic and mainly Igbo, and West, partly Anglican, Muslims and mainly Yoruba. The importance of this creation was that it discouraged a unified government, which was necessary at that time. It also gave encouragement to ethnic politics. This could be seen as the beginning of ethnic politics in Nigeria. The North saw the constitution as misrepresenting their interest, since in terms of size it controlled at least 50 percent of the population. It demanded for 50 percent representation in any central government that might be formed.

But the South were united in their approach to the criticism of the constitution. They were not happy that they were not consulted before the announcement of the constitution, and that they had no input in the drafting of the various items in the constitution. Because of the rising protest in Ghana which the local administration feared may extend to Nigeria, in 1948 the British government granted another constitution to Nigeria.

The Macpherson Constitution of 1951 attempted a compromise between the apparently irreconcilable views of the northerners and the southerners. This was apparent because of a sharp gap between the regions in terms of education and level of development. The British policy of indirect rule introduced in the North made the north to be 'overprotected' from external influence. The fear that because the southerners may dominate Northerners because of the early western education of former, the North was less concerned about self-determination or independence. These conflicting views must be harmonised if the country was to achieve independence as a single entity. But again, the constitution was heavily criticised by Azikiwe and Awolowo. Awolowo described it as "a wretched compromise between Federalism and Unitarianism".

The weakness of the constitution notwithstanding, it was the first constitution that Nigerians participated in its drafting and submissions. It then provided Nigerians the opportunity to draft and submit to constitution making in the future. Thus, the exercise provided Nigerians practical training in the art of constitution making. It also led to the formation of more political parties and it also granted Nigeria, a semi-responsible government. Action Group was formed and launched in Owo in April, 1951. It was openly declared a regional party. "One of its aims was to bring and organise within its fold all nationalists in the Western Region, so that they might

work together as a united group, and submit themselves to party loyalty and discipline". A year after AG was formed; Northern People's Congress (NPC) was formed. It did not differ from the above regional party, AG. The motto of the party was "One North, One People, irrespective of religion, rank or tribe". One of its objectives was regional autonomy within Nigeria.

The constitution, which replaced Richards Constitution, set up a House of Representatives and a Council of Ministers at the Centre. But it gave considerable powers to the regional assemblies. The first nationwide elections were held in 1952. The Action Group won in the West, the NCNC in the East, and NPC in the North. The major setback to the Macpherson Constitution was the refusal of the NPC to accept the principle of self-government by 1956. The NPC feared that with the departure of British personnel, the southerners who were well advanced in education would dominate the North. And this was unacceptable to the Northern ruling class. The fear of economic and political domination by the southerners stalled political independence for Nigeria in 1956.

Britain introduced a policy to assuage the Northern fears by giving them greater regional autonomy, and by assuring them of adequate northern representation in a federal legislative body. But the British were also gladdened by the conservatism of the northern ruling class, who can be manipulated at the slightest opportunity. After series of constitutional conferences, it was agreed that the civil service, the judiciary and the marketing boards (the main earners of foreign exchange for the British) be regionalized. The result of this serious divide, engineered by Britain made Nigeria, at independence on October 1, 1960, three nations rolled into one country.

The unity that was afar off was responsible for the delay in granting independence to Nigeria. Britain was ready to withdraw from Nigeria, so it could not be said that it was the pressure of Nationalists alone that forced them to retreat and grant independence to Nigeria. Azikiwe's statement that Nigeria was granted independence "on a platter of gold cannot be far from the truth".

In Ghana, a strike was called and the upheaval that followed led to several deaths and Nkrumah was ever imprisoned before he was released to lead his people to independence, which he did. The case did not happen in Nigeria. W.E.F. Ward described Nigeria's independence as, "an uneasy coalition of very disparate interests".

Sierra Leone and the Gambia, British colonies in West Africa presented a rather similar scenario. The factors that inhabit progressive move towards independence were the same. There were internal division among the people and also lack of economic and social development compared to Nigeria and Ghana. In Sierra Leone, rivalry between the colony and the protectorate delayed constitutional change in 1945 – 1951. The difference in population between the protectorate and the colony was a major factor too. This meant that any party that gained the support of the protectorate, and kept it, would be the party that would lead the country to independence.

During the 1930's, a movement for independence was formed. This was led by Wallace Johnson, a creole journalist and active trade unionist. His aim was to unite the country and ask for self-determination. The colonial government used the excuses of Second World War to pass eight pieces of repressive legislations in 1939 to crush the movement.



Eventually, preparation for independence began by the British government. A unitary constitution was introduced and political parties emerged. But the conflict of interest between creole and indigenes were still on. The creoles were not more than two percent of the population. After a serious and several resolutions, independence was granted on 27<sup>th</sup> April, 1961.

In the Gambia, the rivalry between the colony and the protectorate was on. The first Gambian elected parliament took his seat in 1948. For a long time franchise was limited to Banjul. The formation of political parties started in 1960. This was when People's Progressive Party (PPP) led by Dawda K. Jawara was formed. The party secured 12 – elected seats in the year's general elections. For the next years ahead, the issue in contention was whether or not the Gambia would become independent itself or would enter into agreement to form a union with Senegal. However, the last option was not practicable, so the Gambia was granted independence in February, 1965.

### **3.2 Nationalist Movement in French West Africa**

The course of events in French West Africa did not take the line of the British, especially after the Second World War. The pattern was very different. In this zone, it is difficult to discuss or talk about 'independence movements' at all. Unlike the British policy towards the West African states, the French attitude to their overseas states did not envisage ultimate independence for them, but rather find a form of association between them and France itself. This attitude was shared by all French citizens who were Africans. The African leaders, who had become assimilated (French) were very conscious of this.

The *Ressemblement Democratique Africain* (RDA), formed in 1946 primarily on the initiative of Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast was not militant at all. Even if it was, it had a close link with France. France, again, by 1950's was no longer devoted to colonial exploitation. These changes in France was cashed in on by French Communist Party (FCP), but Houphouet-Boigny had decided that his party's alliance with FCP was more of a liability rather than an asset. From 1950's upward, he sought to make his party respectable in the eye of France, and he was ready to form an association with the colonial powers acceptable to both sides.

The RDA was originally formed to act as a platform for all French West and Equatorial Africa. Increasingly, however, the various territories started forming their own parties. After *Loi Cadre* (Outline Law) reforms of 1956 – 1957, government of the territories was given limited powers to be set up by African leaders in each territory. French West Africa had hitherto operated one federal unit. From 1957 onwards, each territory developed along its own lines.

Since developments and educational advancement were not the same, the clamour for independence differs from one territory to another. Future relations with France were also determined by various leaders. Houphouet-Boigny liked a close link between each territory and France, but Sekou Toure of Guinea, much more radical in his approach to such issue favoured collective bargaining between the territories and France.

The coming to power of General Charles De Gaulle of France in May, 1958, led to many changes in the colonies. The General favoured the formation of a new unity, the Franco – African community. But he gave African leaders the option of either accepting or rejecting it in referendum of September, 1958. Sekou Toure and his Guinean section of RDA rejected the idea of Franco – African community. They regarded it as a disguise for continued French rule. To be able to take full independence, De Gaulle had made clear that was the alternative to community membership.

In the referendum of September, 1958, Sekou Toure led a campaign for total independence from France. He polled 1,134,324 as against the 56,981 votes for community. Guinea was the first to breakaway from French colonial empires. France introduced a retaliatory measure aimed at isolating Guinea. Financial assistance was withdrawn, investment in the mining fields' ceased, military equipment and civil archives were destroyed, and capital fled the country until 1960 when a new currency was introduced. Sekou Toure established fresh relations with East and West. He introduced a policy of 'positive neutralism'. Thus, Guinea became independent on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1958, while all other territories voted to become members of the community. However, Guinea independence dealt a serious blow to attempts by France to preserve any integral unity between her and the African countries. The example set by Toure was 'contagious', and by the close of 1960, all colonies under France had secured self-determination or independence. The Franco – African community policy was abandoned.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The emergence of independence in British West African nations – Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia was as a result of the determination of the elite to secure self-determination. Though in the British colonies it was accompanied by militant forces, in the French West Africa, it was achieved by persuasion, diplomacy and the determination of France to let-go the colonies. The emergence of De Gaulle in the political arena in France changed the course of history of the colonies. It was no longer the vogue to own colonies.

In all, the prevailing situation in Europe at this time did not favour colonial rule. The cost of this was telling on the economic fortunes of these colonial powers. The effect of Second World War on the colonial powers had a devastating effect on them. It also had a catalytic effect as it sped up two processes: one, the evolvement of new, more radical leadership that championed the colonies to independence; two, it provided a large group of potential followers, who were themselves informed about the need to be independent. These were the veritable instruments that led to independence in West African colonies.

#### **5.0 Summary**

In this unit, we have discussed the emergence of Nationalist Movements in British West Africa and French West Africa. The formation of parties in the region was also highlighted and discussed in detail. The importance of a formidable leadership for these movements and subsequent parties were also disclosed in details.

The discussion in this unit should enable the learner to be abreast with independence of various nations of West Africa. The key leaders like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Sekou Toure, and a host of others were also discussed.

## **6.0 Tutor Mark Assignment**

1. What were the effects of Second World War on the emergence of Nationalist Movements in West Africa?
2. Discuss the attainment of independence in Nigeria.
3. What were the contributions of the following nationalists to the independence of their countries?
  - (a) Nnamdi Azikiwe
  - (b) Kwame Nkrumah
  - (c) Sekou Toure

## **7.0 References and Further Readings**

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## **UNIT 4                      Road to independence in North Africa Nations**

### **Contents**

- 1.0     Introduction
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  - 3.1     Road to Independence in Egypt and Sudan
  - 3.2     Road to Independence in Tunisia
  - 3.3     Road to Independence in Morocco
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- 4.0     Conclusion
- 5.0     Summary
- 6.0     Tutor Marked Assignment
- 7.0     References and Further Readings

### **1.0     Introduction**

The emergence of nationalist movements in North Africa is longer than other African countries. The Berbers of the Magrib had been for centuries an intensely fierce people, who were aware of racial and national identity. This was why they refused to embrace Roman Catholic faith during the period of Roman rule, but accepted the faith when a Berber brand of Christianity, Donatism emerged.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Egypt was the centre of nationalism in Mediterranean Africa, a status which it retained by being the first to achieve independence and become, until a few years ago, 'the Sanctuary and inspiration of nationalist leaders in the rest of North Africa'. With this precedent set by Egypt, yet North African countries attained their independence forty years later, after all West Africa and most of Eastern Africa had become independent. The final emancipation of this region came when France finally withdrew from Algeria. Note that of all North African nations are not discussed in this unit.

### **2.0     Objectives**

The unit is aimed at presenting the following:

- (a)     The emergence of Egypt and Sudan as independent nations;
- (b)     The struggle and final independence of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria; and
- (c)     The role of various nations, European powers and subsequent independence of these nations.

### **3.0     Main content**

#### **3.1 Road to independence in Egypt and Sudan**

Egypt attained the centre of nationalism in the nineteenth century because of the following reasons: She attained independence before other neighbouring nations; she was able to lead the way for others to agitate for independence in their various countries. Her geographical position and rapid economic pursuits by it made it easier for it to emerge as the strongest power in the region. This also led to the concentration of European merchants in Egypt and the earlier manifestations of European technology added impetus to its growth. The role of its foremost leaders, Muhammed Ali and Ismail Pasha led to the granting of independence early to Egypt.

The first mark of Egyptian nationalism was the establishment of a parliamentary system of government by Khedive Ismail in 1866, when he created the Assembly of Delegates. The early struggle by nationalist was witnessed by other factors, which geared the nationalist to take control of the conscience of the people, by drumming it home to them that they must seek for independence from the British rule. Djamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abdul provided the platform for intellectual credentials for change. These two leaders can be credited with the origin of Pan – Islamism, in the modern sense. The substance of their teachings found reception among all North African nationalists. They preached the acceptance of science and technology for the emancipation of their countries, but it must not compromise the tenets of Islam. The infidels' way of life that cause degeneration of moral values must be rejected. These teachings and the idea that they can be incorporated and implemented within the framework of the parliamentary system of government was accepted in the Salafiya movement in Morocco and al-Hadiath group in Tunisia. It is important to note that the "return-to-pure-Islam doctrine" put side by side with modernization, was used as basis upon which nationalists had to build their ideology. All nationalists rejected a secular state.

The nationalists' movement in Egypt gathered momentum because of these factors: there was the Urabi movement that was against the alien Turks and the invading Europeans. The nationalist movement led by Col. Urabi was the first nationalist leader of note. Col. Urabi advocated for republicanism as the best form of constitution for Egypt. The prolonged stay of Britain was totally unacceptable to Egyptians, Col. Urabi then urged the service of the oppressors' alien – Turkish and the Circassian, but Britain reinstated them. This was seen as disservice to Egypt.

After the First World War, Egyptians started to revolt. Their country was used as a base during the war, they were conscripted to the army, their food and camels were commandeered, food was curtailed by the martial law under which they were governed throughout the wartime. The riot forced Britain to grant a measure of independence to Egypt. In the swift declaration of independence by Britain in 1922, the nationalist broke off negotiation on British terms. "Britain reserved for herself, pending treaty negotiations, defence and foreign policy, defence of the Suez Canal, protection of minority communities and their interests and a share in the administration of the Sudan. This cannot be said to be a good agreement or negotiation in favour of Egypt. The struggle for total independence continued.

By 1946, Egypt was a land of immense social inequalities and alarming economic contrast in the midst of plenty. Nearly 20 million people were crowded into the Nile Valley and Delta and the Suez Canal zone. In these areas, the population density was among the highest in the world, with 2,650 people to a square mile. Cairo, the capital city, had a population of 2 million people, the largest city at that time, in Africa. The farmers were small and they pay rents to landowners in

the cities. More than one-third of cultivable land was owned by Pashas, many of them descendants of Mamcuks and Circassians of Ottoman. Most of the economic activities were not in the hands of Egyptians. King Farouk, a descendant of Mohammad Ali, was an 'extravagant play-boy'.

Already in 1944, Egypt had joined the League of Arab Nations. The main objective of the league was to prevent Israel from establishing Jewish State in Palestine. United Nations decreed the partition of the Palestine between Israel and Jordan. War started between the League and Israel in 1948, but the league was defeated. This defeat exposed the weakness of its members of which Egypt was one. The attention of Egyptian politicians was now focused on the British rule in their country.

In defiance of 1936 treaty, Egyptian bandits were ordered to attack British troops and installations. Then, in 1951, the Egyptian government declared the 1936 treaty to be at an end. In 1952, a youngman staged a coup and took over the rein of governance. The leader, Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser set up a Revolutionary Command Council.

The main disagreement between Britain and Egypt had been the issue of rapid independence for Sudan. The Anglo-Egyptian relations were deteriorating by the day. Egypt was afraid that non recognition of Sudan as independent nation would drive the very real forces of Sudanese nationalism into the arms of the Egyptian. But from the view point of Britain, a hostile Egypt can be checkmated by Sudan. Nasser, who had served in Sudan, preferred a friendly Sudan, even if independent of Egypt to a hostile dependency. He therefore accepted British proposals, made in 1952, that the Sudanese people should hold elections under a constitution providing internal self-government for a period of three years before complete independence or union with Egypt. When the time came, Sudan voted to become independent republic outside even the Commonwealth in 1956.

Nasser continued to identify with nationalist movements in Africa. In 1955, he attended a conference of non-aligned nations of Bandung which issued a manifesto against colonialism in all its ramifications. Nasser was the first African leader to introduce radical socialist policies into practice. He limited the amount of land that landowners could own and distributed the rest to the poor landless peasants. He succeeded in erasing the last traces of European domination in Egypt. Britain agreed to remove her troops from Canal Zone, leaving the control in the hands of Anglo-French company that built the Canal.

Attempt by his government to build a dam in Aswan was frustrated by America, as America cannot accommodate the posture of non-aligned nation of Egypt. She withdrew her financial assistance. Nasser responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal. He intended to finance the dam from proceeds of the Suez Canal.

Britain and France were not pleased with this move. Not minding the consequences, Britain and France, without the approval of American financiers and the super powers, ordered Israel to invade Egypt without genuine cause. Through this plan, British and France troops landed in the Canal and reoccupied it. But this action was condemned by 'America, United Nations, and the Soviet Union'. Under an intense pressure, the two countries were forced to withdraw from

Egypt after serious humiliation in their home countries. This affair provided a sweeping victory for Nasser. One important point to note was the intervention of Soviet Union in African politics. The Soviet Union provided the finances for the Aswan, a strategic foothold in Egypt and Africa in general.

Meanwhile, Sudan who had achieved its independence from both the British and Egypt in the year of Suez Canal crisis, was witnessing a rough start in its embryonic stage. The Muslims and Arab speaking populations of the North, which dominated the country both politically and economically, was itself divided into a number of religions, tribal and class interests which did not belief in the western parliamentary government installed by the British. The relief of the new government came only when in 1958 the army officers led by General Abdoud seized power from the politicians. The new military regime did nothing to solve the problem of North – South dichotomy which prevailed before its existence. Britain did not solve this problem either. She administered the north and south in separate compartments, and concentrating the economic development only in the North. Though this policy was reversed only in 1949, it was too late to have any appreciable impact on the country.

When the British government was leaving, out of 800 senior posts, only 6 were filled by southerners. The first conflict was witnessed when the government was trying to transfer northern soldiers to the south and vice versa. The southern soldiers mutinied and it was suppressed. The problem of north and south divide still exist at the time of writing this unit. The country had been at war for more than twenty years ago.

### **3.2 Road to independence in Tunisia**

During the First World War, 60,000 Tunisians served in the French army. After the war, some of them were involved in Constitutional Party (Destour) and in the first representative of the organised labour movement. This gave impetus to Nationalist Movement. It was not until 1932, three years after that a radical lawyer, Habib Rugayba (Frenchified as Bourguiba) in the nationalist movement that the Destour party was formed. The party came into open to demand for democratic institution and equal rights among citizens no matter the nationalities. It was involved in the organisation of demonstration all over Tunisia. The party supported the union leaders and members, but tactically withdrew its support when the leaders of the trade unions were arrested and its activities suppressed.

Neo Destour Party as Bourgaiba's party came to be known was associated with the people. Its organisation perhaps, remained the most efficient political machine in Africa; and had a tint of communist party organisation in many respects. The smaller units were called local cell; "these were then grouped into regional federations, composed of the regional federations' elected representatives to the National Congress" from which the board of twelve party directors known as the Political Bureau was elected. Because of the organisation of the party, nationalism became rooted in the minds of the people.

A test of force by this Nationalist with France troops in 1938 left dozens killed and hundreds injured and 900 leaders of the movement were arrested. Bourguiba and his colleagues were not released until 1943.

During the Second World War, when France was occupied by Germany, Tunisian radicals used the opportunity to support France. The main aim was that after the war, France may grant them independence as they were clamouring before the outbreak of the war. But their hope was dashed after the war. In 1944, Bourguiba sought for self-government from France but had to escape to Egypt before he was arrested. He used the opportunity of his escape into exile to rally support for his struggle for self-determination. He established links with leaders like Ferhat Abbas and Alal al Fassi, and his extensive travels to Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and United States had impact on World opinion about the Tunisian question.

France, aware of these movements of Bourguiba, gradually relaxed control in Tunisia. In 1945, legislative assembly was set up, where Tunisians and French settlers were adequately represented. But this did not meet the yearnings and aspirations of the nationalists. They, therefore, boycotted the election. Strikes and demonstrations forced the French government to continually grant concessions upon concessions to Tunisia until in 1954, when French statesman, Mendes – France presided over the liquidation of French empire. In 1956, Hedi Nourreddine became the Prime Minister of Tunisia and President Bourguiba heir apparent.

### **3.3 Road to independence in Morocco**

Morocco had been under the French rule since 1912. A nationalist movement of the *effendiya* cooperated with Abdel Karim resistance movement against the Spaniards in the Rif area from 1924 to 1926. Later, Morocco league emerged as a result of fusion of two organisations. By 1932, the movement had gained a lot of support in France. They were able to publish a French review, *Maghred*, edited by Balafrej. The contact enabled them to form the idea of trade unionism and socialism. Hitherto, nationalism had been restricted to a few intellectuals, students and a few of urban dwellers. Fresh policy offer was the introduction of suppressive policy towards the nationalists. By 1937, Morocco League was proscribed.

Because of the introduction of this draconian measure, nationalism sentiments were driven underground. The open declaration and support by Sultan Mohammad V. Sidi did not wane. He was a lover of modernization and highly educated king unlike the other potentates in North Africa. The Moroccans had thought earlier that he was a docile instrument of the French administration. In fact, he had been selected in 1927 by France as Sultan because he looked pensive and controllable and never gave a picture of someone who could stand his grounds on matters of politics. During the Second World War, he was never seen in the side of the nationalists, in fact, he cooperated with French administration.

Mohammed V had studied his country, knew its weakness and strength and attempted to remedy these by a thorough modernization of his country. He agitated for combined education of the west and traditional Islamic education at infancy. His children also benefited from this education and most Moroccans.

By 1952, the differences which had begun to occur between the French administration and the Sultan had begun to surface. To France, the Sultan was guilty because he had made speeches on the need for sovereignty for Morocco; he had views that identify with nationalists movements, who had formed another party called *Istiqlal* in 1943; he had refused to sign decrees offensive to



the movement which was a design to strengthen French control on Morocco; “he had been acclaimed by Abdel Karim, the nationalist of the Rif area, he had appealed several times to Paris above the Resident-General’s heads; he had refused to denounce the nationalists”. Sidi Mohammad was eventually deposed and banished to Corsica. An old man who couldn’t read or write French was imposed as the sultan.

By deposing Mohammad, France thought that it had weakened the strength of the nationalist movement, but they were wrong. Muhammad V, in exile became more popular than the puppet Sultan. Some Moroccans thought that he had been “immortalized and had become part of the moon, and that God has now placed him in the moon to watch over us”. This provided an excellent platform for violent revolts. Unrest broke out within the formation of Army of Liberation by the nationalist movements. The French were forced to admit defeat and to agree to the independence of Morocco. In November, 1955, Mohammad V returned to his country and he was reinstated as the sultan. A representative based on broad selection was formed with Istiqlal to negotiate independence with France. Morocco was granted independence in March, 1956.

### **3.4 Road to independence in Algeria**

Effendiya, nationalist movement in North Africa, was more in Algeria than any nation. This was because the French policy of assimilation was well rooted there. French power was built on a large number of colons, about over a million in 1960. They controlled the administration and economy of the nation. In their view, Arab – Berbers could not nurse the ambition of self-rule or independence in the nearer future. This was their belief. They pursued the policies of Frenchification and integration of Algeria with France in full force.

The founder of Algerian nationalist movement was Hadj Messali, who had worked in Paris for many years. He forced L’Etoile Nord Africaine, a social organisation for North African workers, which was later turned into a political movement by Messali. His aim or objective was at variance with those of the Frenchified effendiya. He saw this group as consisting of yes men. They wanted independence from France no more no less. Because of the unseriousness of the group later on, Messali broke away, and formed the Parti Populaire Algerien (PPA). Two years later the party was disbanded and leaders thrown into jail. In 1941, Messali was sentenced to 16 years in jail by Vichy regime.

In 1943, Ferhat Abbas issued a *Manifeste au Peuple Algerien* (Manifesto to the Algerian People) in which he demanded a separate Algerian constitution. He also asked for equal political rights regardless of religion or race, the recognition of Arabic as the official language, land reform and measures of social improvement. He also demands for press freedom and the right to form political parties and trade unions, and free a compulsory education.

In order to appease the Algerians, to the attention of the Nationalists, General de Gaulle, have suffered in Algeria. He announced that Algerians could become French citizens without losing their identity as a Muslim faithful. Voting rights were also accorded to the majority of Algerians who were not French citizens, but they have to vote at a separate college. The proportion of Muslims in the assembly would be increased, but they would still remain the minority. The reforms were embodied in the 7<sup>th</sup> of March, 1944 Ordinance. Since most citizens were excluded

from this reform, the agitation was on. The nationalists were at war with the policy, which encouraged assimilation. In fact, the proposal led to the coming together of the three nationalist movements – Abbas, Friends of the Manifesto, the Reformist Ulema and the Messalists. They latter forced the Manifeste et de la Liberte (Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty). They spread the idea of an Algerian nation; and spread the desire for a constitution in Algeria, a new autonomous republic.

The Algerian nationalists formed themselves into an organisation known as *Front de la Liberation Nationale* (FLN). They launched a revolt in 1954, the year of their formation. The revolt was launched on November 1, 1954, to coincide with All Saints Day of the Catholic *peids noirs*. The war lasted about eight years. There were heavy casualties on both sides. The FLN fighters never number 40,000, but they were supported by Russia and China.

After a short period of civil war, during which about one million settlers left the country. Muhammad Ben Bella emerged as the strongest man, and later became the President.

#### 4.0 Conclusion

The common denomination in the struggle for independence in North Africa was violence. Though Egypt attained her independence earlier than others, there was peace and total independence in the Egypt until the early 1980's. Morocco came next, followed by Tunisia and the bloody war fought in Algeria made the independence a reality.

The type of violence organised by Morocco was not what France expected. The setback suffered by French army in Indo – China made her not to grant concessions to her territories in North Africa.

Independent Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria have put on the surface the struggle of Africans to shake off the colonial rule and establish self-rule in their nations. Although independence have been won not on the platter of gold like Nigeria, but with 'blood and iron'. French presence in these territories continued to cast back the bad dream of their rule. They held on to the economic nerves of these nations. Dislodging them would spell doom for them, so they remained there. Until today, the assistance of France is sought on issues that relate to technology and science in particular; after independence of these nations.

#### 5.0 Summary

The emergence of Nationalist Movements saved the day for the independence of the nations earlier discussed. In Algeria, it was a fiercest battle and civil war before independence was granted. Egypt though was granted independence in 1922, the proposals drawn and signed by Egyptian leaders gave the real autonomy to Britain. She gave several conditions for the proper independence. The nationalization of the Suez Canal opened up a Pandora box of crisis for Egypt. This led to Russian – Egyptian pact, which favoured Egypt. The condemnation of Britain and France attack, paved way for Egypt sovereignty.

The coming into the scene of General De Gaulle did not change matters either. Instead it fuelled the oil of nationalists to fight more for independence. A firm believer of plebiscites, agreed when pushed to the wall to introduce it. The people expressed their views on this referendum. They voted for independence, which they won on the platter of 'blood and iron'.

#### 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignments

1. What part did Islam play in the Nationalist Movements in Algeria?
2. Account for the evolution of Nationalist Movements in North Africa.
3. Describe the role played by any Nationalist leader in any North African country.

#### 7.0 References and Further Readings

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## **UNIT 5                      Road to Independence in South Africa**

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### **1.0     Introduction**

After the Second World War, when most African countries attained independence, South Africa was still in the firm grip of racist leader Fredrick W. de Klerk. Because of its complex nature, South African nationalist movements were not restricted to black Africans alone. The English speaking people of South Africa wanted a union in 1910; the idea was to bring together all white South Africans under a nation. The Afrikaner, the descendants of the Dutch farmer called Boers, wanted autonomy from the whites and black Africans. African nationalists comprised the Bantu tribes who fought independently to have a separate state. The whites in South Africa continued to enjoy unrestricted freedom and privileges under the apartheid enclave.

The road to independence was not smooth, but the Black Nationalist movement led the way to an independent South Africa after persistent global sanctions and pressures. In the process, many died including the leader of African Nationalist Congress, Albert Luthuli in 1967 and Steve Biko.

### **2.0     Objectives**

At the end of this unit, a learner must be able to discuss the followings:

- (a)     The rise of Nationalist Movements in South Africa;
- (b)     The role of ANC in the independence of South Africa; and
- (c)     The role of the international communities on the independence of South Africa.

### **3.0     Main Content**

#### **3.1 The rise of White Aristocracy and their Policies**

The establishment of an aristocratic status of the white minority rule has been the bane of South African apartheid system. This system allowed the white minority, irrespective of origin,

religion or accomplishment, an immeasurable access to assets of the nation; while non-white were denied the same opportunities and privileges. In Churches, this line was drawn between the Christians and barbarians, while Van Riebeeck said the proper distinction should be the civilised and uncivilized.

The aristocratic society was originally adopted as a way of life of Frontiersmen, but later taken over and repackaged to meet the circumstance of the white minority rule. The Master and Servants Act regulated these relationships. The whites even revolted in 1922 to uphold the 'Civilised Labour Policy'. Four-fifths of the members supported the move to maintain the aristocracy, whether they were poor or rich, and whether they can speak English or not. Professor P.V. Pistorius summed up the conflict in modern terms: "The bare and unshamed fact is that the European needs the Native as a labourer, but that he is not prepared to allow him to cross the economic colour bar nor to give him political equality".

The white minority acquired and commandeered land meant for the natives. The dismantling of the frontier policy created more opportunities for the white to acquire more land and throw the natives to few acreage available. The non-availability of land forced the Africans to become labourers on their own land.

### **3.2 The African Nationalism**

There was no marked nationalist movement among the whites. What they did instead of forming a formidable nationalist movement was to form a union. The union was based on speakers of English and Afrikaans. This did not make a meaningful impact on the agitation for independence. In fact, it was not set up for independence but instead it was set up to achieve a single white nation.

The emergence of Afrikaner nationalist movement was remarkable. Its two traditional enemies were British and the Africans. In the first phase of the movement, it did not only reject Dutch rule, but its culture as of their own. Though rooted in Dutch, they have their own literature and language. Their belief was to bring civilization to the barbarians. They developed in the Afrikaners nationalism, 'a sense of having been called and chosen ... a belief in a kind of supernatural or mystic creation of the Afrikaner nation'. The Afrikaner nationalist movement was parochial in its aim. Though it fought the British overlords, it was not successful at changing the status quo of members.

### **3.3 The impact of Second World War on South Africa**

After the Second World War, most nations were thinking of relinquishing their colonial empires and granting them self-autonomy. But, when Britain announced her intention of withdrawing from its colonial empires in India, West African nations were gearing up for independence. White Africans were aware that the signal for change was there and it might take place anytime. But instead of voting for change, they voted for more coercion.

Internally, the war had brought remarkable changes in the social, economic and political landscape of South Africa. During the war, most South African nationals worked in various

departments of the allied army. Most of the jobs in the cities were taken over by poor black Africans or Afrikaners. Afrikaners consolidated the economic position available, and Africans moved into the skilled and unskilled positions left for them. The war years witnessed growth in the mining industries and manufacturing in general. In fact, South Africa became the major supplier of allied arms and ammunition. Urban centres sprung up and satellite towns were not left behind. Johannesburg population increased, and towns like Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban witnessed a tremendous growth.

The economy of South Africa was affected by the war, which the country participated in and it incurred human and material losses. As earlier on discussed, the meeting of United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill gave hope to Africans. The meeting was centred on the need to grant African nations independence after the Second World War. The meeting resulted in the Atlantic Charter, which encouraged Britain to grant independence to her colonies.

The colonial masters by 1930s, willingly or unwillingly, cultivated small elite of leaders, educated in the western universities who were desirous of the need for self-determination. The leaders include some of the frontline agitators for independence in South Africa.

### **3.4 Apartheid Regime in South Africa**

After 1945, Jan Smuts, the leader of South Africa, was uncertain in the presence of pressures to change the political and economic policy of South Africa. There was no clear-cut policy then, but he realised that some urgent measures must be taken to alleviate the suffering of the majority blacks in the South Africa. In 1948, Smut party, United Party, was narrowly defeated by the National Party led by D. F. Malan. Some supporters of Malan had threatened the white voters that Smut was about introducing full political equality with the blacks which would result in a 'coffee-coloured race'.

Between 1930s and 1940s, apartheid was introduced in full swing into South Africa. South African British Minister Strijdom has summarised it, "*call it paramountcy, baaskap or what you will, it is still domination. I am being blunt as I can. I am making no excuses. Either the white man dominates or the Blackman takes over*". The political rights of the Cape Africans were denied them and those of the coloured people, amidst a long bitter constitutional conflict between 1951 and 1956 and those of the Cape Africans in 1959 their rights were also removed.

Every aspect of the lives of Africans coloured and Indians were affected by various legislation promulgated to accomplish this aim. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949 and the Immorality Act 1950, debar any cross marriages between the white and other races. The Population Registration Act 1950 made race a biological concept for registration. Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act 1952 made it mandatory for all African men and women to carry a 'reference book', a new term for a pass. This was established to restrict blacks to the rural areas. The introduction of Separate Amenities Act 1953, attempted a physical separation of whites from blacks. Indians and Coloured Conciliation Act 1965, legalized job reservation for the whites. The Bantu Education Act 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act 1959 took African primary and secondary education out of the missionary control.

The aim of the last Act was to have a control of the mind of Africans. H. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs said of the 1953 Act:

*Racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to the Natives. They cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of frustrated people who, as a result of the education they receive, have expectation in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled immediately, when it creates people who are trained to professions not open to them.*

The long succession of National Party governments did not shape the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy. Elections were held regularly among the white minority and oppositions were allowed to function within the confine or framework of all white electorate and officials. The steady growth of the party was an indication of the support it garnered among some English speaking electors as well as the greater majority of Afrikaners. The Liberal Party was more outspoken in its criticism of the regime. In 1965, the government introduced Prohibition of Political Interference Act, which made it illegal for anyone to belong to a racially mixed political movement.

### **3.5 South African Black Nationalist Movement and Independence**

There were various nationalist movements in South Africa. As early as seventeenth century, the Bantu tribe had fought various wars to create a 'Black front' for common defence. Shaka, King of Zulu also fought war with the Boer. Another important nationalist was John Tengo, who had equal opportunity to go to school. He was a degree holder. He was a force to be reckoned with in the Cape Province.

The idea of Nationalist movement emerged on the scene based on the fear that the British may disengage in the colonies and that South Africa would be handed over to the minority whites without the rights of the Africans in the transaction. The Blacks were also happy when they heard that Union of South Africa may be formed by the British High Commissioner, Lord Milner in 1908. But they were surprised that it was going to be self-government of the white community supported by "well treated and justly-governed black labour". The exclusion of Africans from the deliberation angered the Black Nationalist Movements. The methods used by the Nationalist Movements were constitutional and peaceful. They presented petitions, sent representatives to the authorities and made representation through the Native Authority. Periodically, they organised non-violence protest to drum home their grievances. None of these methods were successful.

The African National Congress (ANC), led by Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu emerged onto the political scene. They made a concerted campaign of passive resistance to various discriminatory rules and regulations, including the obvious Pass Act. Already in 1951, the Minister had proscribed the communist movement by an act. In 1953, it enacted an Act that gave the government the power to declare a state of emergency in any

province. This gave the government powers to arrest, detain and even jail any radical group or persons. This inspired many white radicals who took side with the Black or Africans. The coloured and Indians also supported the ANC. They formed a Congress Alliance, which in 1953 held a congress of the People at Kliptown near Johannesburg. There and then, a free charter was adopted. It starts with:

*We, the people of South Africa belong to all who live in it,  
and that no government can justly claim authority unless it  
is based on the will of all the people.*

The government reacted immediately and charged 156 leaders with high treason. However, the trial was bungled and after about few years, the leaders were discharged and acquitted.

Meanwhile, important changes were introduced into ANC. It subsequently split into two. The latter group was led by Robert Sobukwe, who formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959. The mass demonstration was going on despite the arrest of the frontline leaders. The most successful was a bus boycott at Alexandria in the Transvaal. In 1960, PAC launched a peaceful protest on March 21. Police opened fire on defenceless civilians, and by the last count, seventy-two were murdered by the Police at Sharpville. A few days later, 30,000 Africans marched into the centre of Cape Town; some of them were also murdered by the Police.

The Sharpville massacre became a signal in condemnation of South African government. Because of the confusion in South Africa, a state of emergency was declared, most of the leading opposition leaders were arrested and ANC and PAC were proclaimed illegal and proscribed. The ANC and PAC were left with no other option than resort to violent demonstrations and riots. The ANC was engaged in the sabotage of installation, while PAC was involved in Pogo, which aim to terrorise whites. Albert Luthuli wrote before he died in 1967:

*Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent  
knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly, at a  
closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of  
modernization? The past thirty years have seen the greatest  
number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until  
today we have reached a stage where we have almost no  
rights at all.*

The crushing of open confrontation in Pondoland, together with the massacre at Sharpville, marked the beginning of violent demonstration in South Africa. Nelson Mandela, who had been operating underground, was arrested in 1962, and in July, 1963, ANC *Umkonto Wizwe* leadership was also arrested. Mandela and eight others received life sentences

Because of the intransigence of South Africa white apartheid regime on a call to negotiate with ANC, the world imposed many of sanctions on it. The first united move to impose sanctions was made in August, 1986 by the Commonwealth of Nations (British ex-colonies). All commonwealth countries complied except Britain. The sanctions included among others: banning of air link with South Africa, banning new investment in the country, banning the



import of South African food, uranium, coal, iron and steel and banning new banks loan. On the 10<sup>th</sup> September, the European Economic Community (EEC), latter European Community (EC) and now Europe Union (EU) agreed on a package of sanctions against South Africa. It halted new investments into the country, banned exports of iron, steel and gold coins. The measure was estimated to reduce export earning of South Africa by about \$1.2 billion per year. Japan imposed a ban on South African exports of iron and steel and imposed travel sanction. United States Congress overruled the Presidential objections and banned imports of South Africa. It banned fresh investment in South Africa, and most of her investors left South Africa. The package reduced South African exports to USA by over \$700 million.

The South African government under Frederick de Klerk and his white minority leaders were forced to introduce a white referendum on reform. President de Kerk visited Nigeria, Kenya and other African countries. There was a new fact emerging which attracted the attention of the cabinet of P. W. Botha. The tendencies were that the growing economy of South Africa may grind to a halt because of the dearth of skilled and unskilled manpower in the industrial sector. There was the need to continue to recruit among the overgrowing population of the blacks. The population of the blacks at this time was put at 29 million. F. W. de Klerk said in the 1980's that, it would be impossible to maintain economic growth on the one hand, and to succeed with the implementation of the homeland policy on the other. I firmly believe, he says, that "economic growth was far more powerful agent of change than any of the other factors – including sanctions and international pressure". He added that a new secret policy formation was going on among the cabinet members, which constituted 180 degree change in the policy far away from apartheid.

By March, 1982, Mandela and three of his fellow prisoners had been transferred to a prison in new Cape Town; where they had access to newspapers and radio broadcasts. In 1985, he contacted the government that it should not hesitate to negotiate with ANC on a new constitution. 'We had been fighting against white minority rule for three quarters of a century. We had been engaged in the armed struggle for two decades. Many people on both sides had already die..... It was clear to me that a military victory was a distant if not impossible dream. It simply did not make sense for both sides to lose thousands if not millions of lives in a conflict that was unnecessary. It was time to talk". By 1988, Mandela was moved to a good accommodation and government was ready to talk.

Two important things were delaying the actual and final freedom of Mandela. The South African authorities were afraid of the Cuban mercenaries in Angola, but this was solved when they left. Another important factor was the personal reluctance of the aging President Botha to accept change, but this was solved by his suffering a stroke attack in January, 1989. This was followed by his resignation in August of the same year. His successor, de Klerk announced on 2 February, 1990 to the world that the time has come for reconciliation and reconstruction. He then unbanned the ANC and South African Communist Party. He then released Mandela unconditionally.

Economic activities of South Africa began to pick up again from 1993. This was marked by increase in agricultural production. The government did not nationalise the mobile industry. The petrol price was reduced in October. South Africa joined GATT in December. This was to

benefit South Africa after a long ban. The political situation was getting worrisome but election was called in April. ANC won the election and Mandela became the first black President of South Africa.

On May 16, 1994, at Union Building in Pretoria, de Klerk was sworn in as the Second Vice-President, Thabo Mbeki as the first Vice-President and Nelson Mandela mounted the podium as the first Black President of South Africa. He said:

*Today, all of us do, by our presence here. ... confer glory and hope to new born liberty. Out of experience of an extra-ordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.*

*.... We, who were outlaws not so long, have today been given the rare privilege to be host to the nations of the world on our own soil. We thank all of our distinguished international guests for having come to take possession with people of our country of what is, after all, a common victory for justice, for peace, for human dignity.*

*We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We ..... The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement.*

*Let freedom reign. God bless Africa!*

With this speech, South Africa attained independence after a fiercest struggle and battles.

#### 4.0 Conclusion

The independence of South Africa was not attained on the platter of gold. The struggle for political independence in South Africa did not take the same line as other African nations. Because of the plural nature of the country, the agitation followed various dimensions. The whites wanted to form a union of only the whites, excluding the black Africans, the Boers and the Indians. The Boers, on the other hand, wanted a unit or union within its orbit – the Afrikaners population. Finally, the black majority wanted independence from the apartheid regime of the white. So, every nation within South Africa formed their own nationalist movements.

The final independence won by ANC, at last, was seen as a collective independence for all citizens of South Africa. The broad-based government forced at the inception attested to this claim.

#### 5.0 Summary

The unit has traced the journey to independence of South Africa. The various roles of the nationalist movements were also discussed. The role of individuals in the struggle for

independence was also explained in the course of this unit. The roles of de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Albert Luthuli, Thabo Mbeki and a host of others were discussed. The roles of the international communities in imposing sanctions on South Africa cannot be overemphasized in the long journey to the independence of South Africa. See the table below showing various countries in Africa and important details concerning their decolonization.

## **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignments**

1. Describe the reasons for the growth of Nationalism in South Africa.
2. What role did ANC play in the liberation struggles in South Africa?
3. How do you assess the roles of de Klerk and Nelson Mandela in independent struggle in South Africa?

## **7.0 References and Further Readings**

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Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey N. Brown (ed.) (1966). *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Ibadan: University Press and Nelson, .

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### Decolonisation of Africa –Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

COUNTRY	NAME OF COUNTRY THEN	COLONIZER	DATE OF INDEPENDENCE	LEADER AT INDEPENDENCE	CRISIS
Senegal	Sene – Gambia	France	June 20, 1960	Sedar Senghor	-
Madagascar	Malagasy Protectorate	France	June 26, 1960	Philibert Tsiranana	Malagasy uprising
DR Congo	Belgian Congo	Belgium	June 30, 1960	Joseph Kasa-Vubu	Congo crisis
Somalia	Italian Somaliland, British Somaliland	Italy, Britain	July 1, 1960	Aden Abdullah Osman Daar	-
Benin	French West Africa	France	August 1, 1960	Hubert Maga	-
Niger	French West Africa	France	August 3, 1960	Hamani Diori	-
Burkina Faso	French West Africa	France	August 5, 1960	Maurice Yameogo	-
Cote d'Ivoire	Ivory Coast	France	August 7, 1960	Felix Houphouet-Boigny	-
Chad	French Equatorial Africa – Tchad	France	August 11, 1960	Fracois Tombalbaye	-
Central African Republic	French Equatorial Africa	France	August 13, 1960	David Dacko	-
Congo	French Equatorial Africa	France	August 15, 1960	Filbert Youlou	-
Gabon	French Equatorial Africa	France	August 17, 1960	Leon M'ba	-
Ghana	Gold Coast	Britain	March 6, 1957	Kwame Nkrumah	-
Nigeria	Nigeria	Britain	October 1, 1960	Nnamdi Azikiwer	-
Mauritania	French West Africa	France	November 28, 1960	Moktar Ould Daddah	-
Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone	Britain	April 27, 1961	Milton Margai	-
Tanzania	Tanganyika	Britain	December 9, 1961	Julius Nyerere	-
Rwanda	Ruanda-Urundi	Belgium	July 1, 1962	Gregoire Kayibanda	-
Burundi	Ruanda-Urundi	Belgium	July 1, 1962	Mwambutsa IV	-
Algeria	Algeria	France	July 3, 1962	Ahmed Ben Bella	Algerian War of Independence
Uganda	British East Africa	Britain	October 9, 1962	Milton Obote	-
Kenya	British East Africa	Britain	December 12, 1963	Jomo Kenyatta	Mau Mau uprising
Malawi	Nyasaland	Britain	July 6, 1964	Hastins Kamuzu Banda	-
Zambia	Northern Rhodesia	Britain	October 24, 1964	Kenneth Kaunda	-
The Gambia	Gambia	Britain	February 18, 1965	Dawda Kairaba Jawara	-
Botswana	Bechuanaland	Britain	September 30, 1966	Seretse Khama	-
Lesotho	Basutoland	Britain	October 4, 1966	Leabua Jonathan	-
Mauritius		Britain	March 12, 1968		-
Swaziland	Swaziland	Britain	September 6, 1968	Sobhuza II	-
Equatorial Guinea	Spanish Guinea	Spain	October 12, 1968	Francisco Macias Nguema	-
Guinea-Bissau	Portuguese Guina	Portugal	September 24, 1973	Luis Cabral	Guinea-Bissau War of Independence
Mozambique	Portuguese East Africa	Portugal	June 25, 1975	Samora Machel	Mozambican war of Independence

Cape Verde	Portuguese	Portugal	July 5, 1975		-
Comoros		France	July 6, 1975		-
Sao Tome and Principe		Portugal	July 12, 1975		-
Angola	Angola	Portugal	November 11, 1975	Agostinho Neto	Angolan war of independence
Seychelles		Britain	June 29, 1976		
Djibouti	French Somaliland	France	June 27, 1977	Hassan Gouled Aptidon	-
Zimbabwe	Southern Rhodesia	Britain	April 18, 1980	Robert Mugabe	Rhodesian Bush War
Namibia	South West Africa	South Africa	March 21, 1990	Sam Nujoma	War of independence
Eritrea	Eritrea	Ethopia	May 24, 1993	Isaias Afewerki	Eritrean war of independence
Sahrawi Republic	Spanish Sahara	Spain	February 27, 1976	El-Ouali Mustapha Sayed	West Saharan War

## **MODULE FOUR**

Unit 1	Cold War Era
Unit 2	United Nations Organisations and Africa
Unit 3	International Relations after 1945 and Establishment of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and later African Union (AU)
Unit 4	Coups and Civil Wars in Africa
Unit 5	Globalisation and Africa

### **Unit 1 Cold War Era**

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#### **1.0 Introduction**

The emergence of the Soviet Union and United States of America (USA) as superpowers, with a faithful of European supporters led to the escalation of hostility, tension, arms race and sometimes indirect confrontations. The unhealthy rivalry started in the 1940s and did not come to an end until the early 1990s. Throughout this period, the rivalry between the superpowers was played out in multi-scenarios: military coalition, ideology, psychology and espionage: sports, industrial and technological development, this also includes the space race, nuclear arms race, and many proxy wars.

During this period, Africa was affected in the bid to gain more allies, apart from Europe. Most African nations experimented with socialism, communism and Nigeria voted for Non-aligned policy. Like the Second World War, Africa did not lose lands and territory, but they also suffered a setback in that experimentation. This will be discussed in full.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, learners should be able to discuss the following:

- (a) The meaning of cold war;
- (b) The players in the cold war;

- (c) The impact of cold war on Africa;
- (d) The role of Nigeria in African relations with the superpower.

### **3.0 Main Contents**

#### **3.1 The Beginning of Cold War**

The tension of Cold War vibrated throughout all Europe and the World in general. The frontier between the two superpowers though uneasy, no territorial gains were made by the two super powers. There was 'containment' of each other. There was the 'balance of terror' or balance of power in the world. This was achieved because both knew the destruction that nuclear bomb could do to both sides. USA sought the containment of communism and forged numerous alliances, particularly in West Europe, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. There were repeated crises that nearly led to confrontation of the superpowers, notably the Berlin Blockade (1948 – 1949), the Korean War (1950 – 1953), the Vietnam War (1959 – 1975), the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and the Soviet – Afghan War (1979 – 1989).

The West argued that the Cold War began when Stalin imposed Soviet ideological and economic control in Eastern Europe. When Britain and U.S.A. tried to consolidate capitalism and democratic principles in Western Europe, Stalin accused them of blocking an anti-Soviet bloc. The two met in Germany and the issue of the German question became one of the bones of contention between them.

The first pitched battle between the two camps was the Greek civil war which broke out again in 1947. This was the height of battle in Europe. War broke out in Germany in 1948 and the war in Korea assumed a global proportion in 1950. Therefore, the decade of the 1950s witnessed repeated tussles and the ever present rivalry of the East and West; it also rallied the uncommitted peoples of Asia and the new insurgent nationalists of Africa to their support. The Peace Treaties of 1946 led to the eventual settlement made by the five treaties of 1946 which were determined by the Big Three, 'They were J.F. Byrnes of United States, Ernest Bevin of the United Kingdom and V.M. Molotou of the Soviet Union'. These three men dominated the international scene for sometime. David Thomson wrote, "The patient, shrewd and skillful negotiator Byrnes was usually backed by the more truculent, hard-hitting labour organiser Bevin against the inscrutable and unpredictable Molotou".

At the first meeting held in London in September, 1945, they spent three weeks to jaw-jaw but it ended in deadlock. The larger meeting was held in Paris in July, 1946. The Foreign Minister of France was admitted. There was prolonged meeting after several negotiations, it produced draft treaties for the settlements with Italy, Finland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

The Cold War drew to an end in the late 1980s following Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's summit conference with United States of America President Ronald Reagan. The Soviet leader launched the reform programme called *Perestroika and Glasnot*.

### **3.2 The Aftermath of Cold War**

Communist successes in Cambodia and Laos as well as Vietnam was seen in America as the domination of Soviet Union. France withdrew from Southeast Asia in 1974.

The defeated states were required to pay heavy indemnities. Italy claimed from Russia, Yugoslavia and Greece a total of \$300m; Bulgaria claimed from Greece and Yugoslavia sums amounting to \$70m, Finland demanded from Russia, \$300m.

Russia became Soviet Union, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia became Socialist Yugoslavia, Czech Republic as State of Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia at the end of Eritrean war of independence and South Africa had to transfer Walvis Bay to Namibia at the end of Apartheid.

### **3.3 Africa and Cold War**

The period saw the spread of communist ideology to Africa. The white minority rule in South Africa was afraid of communism. The collapse of single party rule in Eastern Europe created more fear in the minds of the apartheid regime. South Africa and Egypt were the first to embrace communism. The two countries had communist parties as early as 1920s.

After 1945, Africa was caught between the crossfire of East and West confrontation – Cold War. Anti-Communism informed every aspect of South African government's foreign policy and much of the domestic policy.

The stand of the South African government found support in the Portuguese colonial regimes of Angola and Mozambique, which hung on until 1975, and the white government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe), which only yielded to majority rule in 1980. The rule which Robert Mugabe took over was still there until the time of writing this unit.

These regimes planned to overthrow capitalism and install communism or the nationalization of state property as done in Zimbabwe. Robert Mugabe redistributed the land, hitherto owned by the white minority and distributed same to the black majority. The West was not bothered about institutionalized racism and minority rule government, if that meant keeping commercial and mining investments safe from nationalization.

The level of ideological commitment or interest in socialist doctrine varied among the different governments and African leaders. Some leaders received Soviet aid in order to combat the ruling power. The idea of communism was more pronounced in the areas where mineral and human resources that, "had been so ruthlessly exploited for the sake of profit for the few". But for other African leaders, the adaptation of this idea to the local scene was their aim.



The emergence of Marxist regimes in Africa by 1970s changed the political landscape. Portuguese Africa and Ethiopia were the first to embrace this doctrine. The irony of it was that Ethiopia had just emerged from 'archaic feudalism,' and this was happily embraced by the former colonies of Portugal, the most backward of all European powers that colonized Africa. It looked as if the most backward colonies embraced the idea of Marxism. Despite the large and high resourced areas of British colonial sphere of influence, the colonies did not embrace Marxism as a doctrine at the early stage.

The most radical of these colonies was Nyerere's Tanzania which introduced *Ujamaa* (socialism based on African concepts of family hood). The former British colonies remained relatively bourgeois about two decades after independence. The former Portuguese colonies were caught between the web of Portugal political retardation and the length sway of Portuguese fascism. The British colonies over the years then accepted and embraced Marxism. France as colonial master was closer to Britain in capitalist and sophistication, though below Britain, her colonies did not accept Marxism either. But the most radical of these colonies, Sekou Toure's Guinea adopted Leninist principle of "democratic centralism". He proceeded by constructing what was known as Stalinist regime.

It must be remembered that Britain bequeathed to her colonies the Westminster model. But this system collapsed one after the other. The liberal democratic model of more than one party system, with competition among varying political parties, civil liberties in terms of freedom of expression and organisation, an independent judiciary, fell victim to two African trends in the 1960s. Movement towards one party system, attraction to centralization of administration and the intervention of the military put paid to this approach.

Liberal democracy did not die finally in Africa either under the despotic military regime or worst days of civilian regime. In former British Africa, the Gambia maintained an uninterrupted tradition of open government policy and pluralism.

### **Belief in Socialism**

The level of ideological commitment or interest in socialist doctrine varied among all the different governments and movements which received Soviet military aid. Their main aim was not socialist revolution, but to be free of military aggression from South Africa and see independence with the majority rule throughout the continent. Had the West offered assistance, there would have been much less need to look to Moscow.

At another level the anti-capitalist, socialist outlook at the heart of communism was very attractive to people in a region where mineral and human resources had been so ruthlessly exploited for the sake of profit for the very few. But for many leaders, it made more sense to evolve an African form of socialism, drawing on African traditions than following the footsteps of the Soviet Union. See table below.

<b>AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WHICH RECEIVED DIPLOMATIC OR MILITARY SUPPORT FROM THE SOVIET UNION</b>	
Angola	Under Agostinho Neto and Eduardo dos Santos
Mozambique	Under Samora Machel
Guinea Bissau	Under Amilcar Cabral
Congo (Conakry)	Became a Marxist Leninist state in 1970, under Major Ngouabi
Egypt	Under Gamel Abdel Nasser in 1954 – 69
Somalia	Under Siad Barre. Allied in 1969, but soon changed sides to become violently anti-Soviet. During the Cold War period, it was the only government to do so under the same leader in Africa.
Ethiopia	Under Mengistu Haile Mariam, following the revolution in 1974.
Uganda	Briefly under Milton Obote in 1969.
Benin	Declared a Marxist Leninist state in 1974, under Mathieu Kerekou.

## **Cold War**

### **Fear of Communism**

Fear of communism haunted the white minority government of South Africa from the 1950s to the collapse of single party rule in Eastern Europe in 1989. South Africa, along with Egypt, were the first two countries on the continent to give rise to Communist parties – both in the 1920s. But the significance of this in domestic politics was only felt after the Second World War.

After 1945, Africa became caught up in the confrontation between America and the Soviet Union, the so-called Cold War. Anti-Communism informed almost every aspect of the South African government's foreign policy and much of its domestic policy.

### **Support from West**

All these regimes equated political opposition with a desire to overthrow capitalism and nationalize the private sector. In this, they were discreetly supported by most of Western Europe and America. The West was willing to turn a blind eye to institutionalized racism and minority rule government, if that meant keeping commercial and mining investments safe from nationalization.

The Zairean leader, President Joseph Mobutu Seseseko was similarly supported by the West for making a public stand against Communism, while at the same time he systematically stripped his country of its wealth and resources.

## **Soviet Support**

For its part, the Soviet Union was happy to give military support to the governments of Angola and Mozambique and to the ANC. They had tried to achieve their goals of majority rule through peaceful means and failed. Now they had to contemplate using violent means.

Aside from military aid, the Soviet Union also offered a number of educational scholarships to young people, mainly in the former English and Portuguese territories. But the Soviet Union gave little in the way of aid or trade. There was no great Soviet strategy for taking over Africa, and generally the Soviet Union was under informed about history, political structures and the needs of the countries it supported.

### **3.4 Nigeria's Role in International Relations**

Nigeria being the largest black nation in the world, shares the same heritage with United States of America, in the sense that it has the second largest concentration of blacks in the world. Both countries would have to deal with heterogeneous societies.

Since Nigeria gained independence, relations between the two countries were not so cordial. In the early period after independence, Nigeria proclaimed a policy of non-alignment. Because of her close relation with Britain, her colonial master, Nigeria was de facto western oriented. The opening of diplomatic mission in Washington DC was the first step Nigeria made to establish relations with USA. There were little trade between Nigeria and USA.

The largest United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was set up in Lagos, Nigeria's administrative capital then. The agency promised to assist Nigeria in developing manpower, agriculture, transportation and industries. During the civil war year period, America refused to sell arms to the Federal Government. It did not authorize the sale of ammunition for the few anti-tank weapons, which Nigerian government bought instead of British version. Nixon and Ford administrations were bent on ignoring Nigeria and her leading role in Africa. In 1973, because of Arab oil embargo, Nigeria emerged as the second leading oil supplier to USA after Canada. This led to deficits of 11 billion dollars, second only to that of Japan.

In spite of growing relations between USA and Nigeria, USA did not recognise the role of Nigeria in African affairs. The USA and Kissinger were as usual, underplaying the role Nigeria could play in the Angolan crisis. USA did not understand or refuses to understand that colonialism could stand the test of time then. The USA who had fought a war of national liberation or war of independence did not see why Nigeria should lead the war of independence for all other African nations.

The commitment of Nigerian Head of State, General Murtala Muhammed, then, radical approach to the independence of Angola when he insisted at the OAU summit that USA would not dictate the role of African leaders in the recognition of MPLA. President Ford

of United States had wanted African leaders not to recognise MPLA government of Angola. He gave conditions for the recognition. He said that Soviet and Cuban troops must withdraw from Angola before any contemplation of the withdrawal of apartheid South African forces which had invaded Angola. Nigeria was able to provide leadership for the rest of African nations in ensuring the recognition of MPLA government in Angola. He insisted that African problems should not be seen from Cold War perspective in Europe.

The establishment of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) provided an opportunity for Nigeria's leadership role. Aside from providing the financial and logistic support to the regional body, Gowon administration, more or less, dictated the pace for other 15 West African states. Nigeria was able to do this because of its population, which was more than all other countries put together and its enormous crude oil resources. It has continued to energise the integration efforts of the region. Nigeria was foremost in the intervening efforts in resolving the conflict and subsequent wars in Liberia and Sierra-Leone. The intervening force, ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was responsible for peacekeeping and peacemaking effort in the sub-region. With the assistance of external support, Nigeria was able to lead the way for elections and the subsequent installation of a Head of State in Liberia, after many years of fratricidal war.

By the mid-1970s, Nigeria was a leading player in the emancipation from colonial rule, of African states. Apart from the intervention in Angolan crisis, it was the takeover of British Petroleum (BP) and the nationalization that forced British Government to call the Lancaster House Conference in 1979. This action paved the way towards the ending of the white minority regime in Zimbabwe and the emergence of a black ZANU-PF government. Nigeria also played a pivotal role in support of SWAPO's war of liberation against South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The bulk of the financial and military support came from Nigeria.

Nigeria's success in its anti-colonial and anti-apartheid foreign policy earned the country the position of a frontline state, despite the fact that, it was far away from these nations. Evidence of a successful foreign policy initiative was the recognition accorded Nigeria at United Nations.

Emeka Anyaoku said, "Evidence of the success and recognition included Nigeria's virtually permanent chairmanship of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid from the late 1960s to the end of apartheid regime in 1994. During this period, Nigeria was easily elected as a credible representative of Africa to the Security Council and several other UN organs, and regular visits to Nigeria by envoys from Security Council permanent members involved in attempts to deal with the liberation struggle in Namibia, Angola and Zimbabwe".

Nigeria was also in the forefront of dismantling of apartheid regime in South Africa. At the opening of a World Conference for Action against Apartheid in August, 1977, Olusegun Obasanjo, the head of state said on the occasion, "foreign contractors who are

known to have links or connection with South Africa are already barred from taking part in any tenders of any kind or nature, for any transactions of construction work in Nigeria. An economic intelligence unit has been set up to ensure successful implementation of this policy directive”.

The African liberation movements were represented by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe of Southern Rhodesia and Zimbabwe and Oliver Tambo of ANC of South Africa in its bid to attain self-rule was in tandem with the thinking and aspiration of Nigeria. On several occasions, Soviet Ambassador in Nigeria gave press releases sent to him from Moscow to the Nigerian government. The Ambassadors of both countries continued to work at close quarters at the UN to achieve total liberation in Africa.

The only time when Russia and Nigeria differed in opinion on African issue was when the war broke between Somalia and Ethiopia over Ogaden. Though the Soviet Union shifted its stand from Somalia to Ethiopia, they still had substantial presence in Mogadishu.

The most important outcome of deliberations of this conference was the recommendation to set up the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear collaboration with South Africa. The conference also accepted that foreign investment in South Africa was sustaining the apartheid regime. The foreign investment into South Africa total seven billion dollars annually. Of this, Britain had over four hundred companies with nearly 1,000 subsidiaries operating in South Africa and US had 17 percent of total foreign investment in the apartheid enclave. With the pressure mounted by African leaders led by Nigeria, South Africa gained independence.

The relation with Russia was cordial. When Nigeria's supposed allies turned down her request for ammunition during the civil war, Russia came to the aid of Nigeria and supplied the arms and ammunition in order to prosecute the war. When the Russian Ambassador was returning home after service in Nigeria, he was decorated with a high nation honour.

In 1973, General Yakubu Gowon paid a state visit to the Soviet Union and on his return announced that Russia was ready to partner with Nigeria in the iron and steel complex at Ajaokuta. Hundreds of Nigerian engineers were sent to Russia to be trained in steel technology.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

During the cold war in Europe and Russia, African nations were not directly involved in the piling up of arms and ammunition. But it benefited from the cold war. Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Congo, Egypt, Somalia, Ethiopia, Uganda and Benin benefited militarily from Soviet Union.

The cold war years, gave birth to Nigeria, as a leading force in Africa. Through its non-aligned posture of not belonging to the two superpower ideological camps it was able to

forge ahead a new African order. In Angola, with a defined line of action, Nigeria secured independence for the country, ditto, South Africa which it dislodged from apartheid regime, to independence.

Nigeria's view in 1975 about African liberation was accepted by Soviet Union. The support of Russia to liberation movements in Africa is well documented. Their support for MPLA of Angola was worthy of note.

The nations like Portuguese colonies embraced Marxism, but without a resultant effect on its way to independence. British and French colonies were more sophisticated and developed than others hence they did not accept Marxism ideology.

## **5.0 Summary**

This unit has focused on what the cold war was all about and the players in the war. It also explained the role of Soviet Union and United States of America in bipolar foreign policy of the two superpowers.

The importance and impact of this war on Africa was also explained in details. While the Portuguese colonies had a dose of Marxism, the French and British colonies did not embrace this; instead they opted for parliamentary democracy and capitalism was adopted.

The role of Nigeria in Africa was discussed. The important role Nigeria played in the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe, Angola and South Africa was discussed in detail. The Non-aligned posture of Nigeria enabled it to intercede from a neutral position many conflicts in Africa.

The role of Nigeria in the sub-region and ECOWAS was also highlighted. The formation of ECOMOG, a peace monitoring military outfit and subsequent monitoring of elections in Liberia, Sierra Leone and others were explained in the course of this unit.

## **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

- (1) Define the Cold War. How relevant was this war to Africa?
- (2) Discuss the ideological camps in Africa during the Cold War years.
- (3) What is the role of Nigeria in Africa during and after the Cold War years?

## **7.0 References and Further Readings**

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## **Unit 2                      United Nations Organisation and Africa**

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### **1.0      Introduction**

The United Nations Organisation (UNO) is the highest body in the world. It has members across the world with headquarters in New York. UN has many organs, among these are: Food Agriculture Organisation (FAO), World Health Organisation (WHO), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisations (UNESCO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and others.

The secretariat is headed by the Secretary-General, the number one civil servant of the world. There are many deputy secretaries and various committees. Secretariat staff are supposed to be recruited on as wide geographical basis as possible. The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The first Secretary-General of UN was the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Trygve Lie.

The Security Council, which consists of fifteen member countries, is to see to peace and tranquility of the world. But the permanent member of Security Council had the power of veto. This violates the principle of equality among member nations. The power of veto was used, not sparing sometimes, but boldly by United States of America and other members. The unit will discuss the agencies, organs and other activities of UN in the course of this unit.

### **2.0      Objectives**

The main thrust of this unit is to get the learners familiar with UN and its agencies and organs. At the end of the unit, learners should be able to discuss the following:

- (a) UN and its organs;



- (b) The impact of UN on Africa;
- (c) The role of Nigeria in UN.

### **3.0 Main Contents**

#### **3.1 The origin of the United Nations**

After the fall of League of Nations, the United Nations Organisation began as a grand alliance for fighting the Axis and Japan. The principles of the Atlantic Charter were reasserted by the twenty-six allied nations on 1st January, 1942 in the Declaration by United Nations. The draft proposals for the new UN were prepared by the 'four sponsoring powers: the United Kingdom, United States, Soviet Union and China. This was at a conference held at Dumbarton Oaks near Washington DC, USA in 1944. An agreement was reached, except voting procedures, but this was resolved by the Big Three, US, UK and Soviet Union in February, 1945, at a latter conference. The draft charter was then discussed, modified, improved and finally signed by representatives of fifty states at San Francisco Conference in April – June, 1945. There, the United Nations was turned from war alliance to a permanent peacetime organisation for international cooperation. This came into force on 24 October, 1945.

The picture portrayed by UN is one widely representative of interests of all members. Since it is a voluntary organisation of independent states, the inside mechanisms of the organisation does not give equal opportunities and privileges to all members. It represents states not people. The axiom that without the collective concert of the great powers, peace may again elude the world cannot be ruled out. Punishment of great powers meted out on smaller nations, took place outside the UN. The organization would remain so, according to Thompson, "... Only to the extent to which its most powerful members can reach agreement among themselves".

Article 47 of the Charter set up a military staff committee consisting of the Chief of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council. The Security Council made it mandatory that strategic direction of the armed forces of UN were controlled by this committee. Though UN did not have a standing force it relied on sanctioning of erring nation.

The voluntarist character runs through other agencies of UN. A new charter provided for a new body charged with the responsibility of economic and social council. This council was charged with the responsibility of international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters. The permanent court of international justice was setup in the covenant of the league. This was continued by UN charter but charged to International Court of Justice now at The Hague, Netherlands, UN undertook Article 94, 'to comply with the decision of International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party'.

The UN's second article "is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members". It can be argued that this article did not and does not work in reality. A

subsection of the article states that ‘Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the UN to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present charter’. On this ground, France refused to discuss Algerian issue at UN. The power and privileges given to permanent members of the Security Council by the veto power violate the principle of equality, if not the sovereignty of other nations. The great powers were also taken care of in other ways to safeguard their separate sovereignty even at the expense of equality of member states.

The United States of America, a member of Permanent Security Council, insisted upon the Pacific Islands (Mariana, Caroline and Marshall Islands, for which she made trusteeship agreements) be classified as a ‘strategic area’. This should be brought under the supervision, not of the General Assembly, but of the Security Council. By doing this, she was sure that an untowards decision can be checkmated by her veto at the Council.

There has been various interventions of UN in some local wars. Suez Canal nationalization by Col. Nasser drew the anger of the big powers. The Suez Canal campaign started in 1956. There was a renewal of Israeli-Arab war of 1948, but this involved two major powers, Britain and France. The UN intervention forced France and Britain to accept to a ceasefire agreement, and it also gave a credit to UN as participating armies in the withdrawal process of the invading armies. On the other hand, it was a support for Col. Nasser’s refusal not to renounce the earlier nationalization of the Suez Canal. The ‘double standard’ diplomacy of the UN came to the fore in the Egyptian crisis. The other powers did not want either France or Britain to have upper hand in the crisis, so the UN had the day not the two powers.

### **3.2 United Nations Agencies and Functions**

The origin of International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) known as World Bank were created to perform central bank functions for United Nations. By December, 1945, the required number of governments had ratified the treaties establishing the two as public international organisations, and by the latter part of 1946, they had begun operation.

The aim of Bretton Woods conference was conceived as a system of monetary arrangement that could ensure the valuation of monetary arrangement of the world. World currency, according to the arrangement, must be in relation to gold and American dollars per ounce of gold. The American dollars took over from the British pound as the world’s central currency. The way it was set up, US controlled the affairs of the organisation. All currencies of the world were expected to establish the parity of their currencies in terms of gold and US dollar.

The IBRD, on the other hand, was specifically set up to facilitate the reconstruction work that was needed after the devastation of the Second World War. The IBRD commonly referred to as the World Bank, was given an initial take off grant of 10 billion American dollars. This organisation was given power to grant loans and underwrite private loans as

well as issue security to raise funds in order to achieve repayment recovery in European nations affected by the war.

Several ‘specialised agencies’ that already existed before UN were later incorporated into UN agencies. Some of them had existed since the nineteenth century and others were recent creations by UN. The International Telecommunications Union of 1865 and the Universal Postal Union of 1875 both were co-opted into UN.

In 1945, the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) was formed. The functions of FAO were advisory and consultative. It also involved the furnishing of technical knowledge to willing states or nations. The World Health Organisation (WHO) was created in July, 1946 and by 1960, 101 nations had accepted it. The functions of the agency are to combat “epidemic diseases, to improve nutrition, sanitation, housing and labour conditions, to promote material and child welfare, and even mental health, as affecting the harmony of human relations”.

The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) was set up to raise funds from government and members of the public to feed millions of children in the Europe, Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. The organisation was set up to be an emergency organ, but with the prevailing situation in the world, the agency survived till today. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was established in 1946. The initiators were Britain and France. It is listed in UN Charter – ‘respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion’. Its functions to diffuse knowledge, culture and international understanding among races of the world. Like other bodies, it remains a consultative body; it could not be established in any country without the state’s concert.

Other agencies are United National Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and a host of others.

### **3.3 The Impact of United Nations on Africa**

Because of economic disparity between the advanced countries of the world and Africa, the gains from United Nations are not much. This is despite the influx of specialised agencies to Africa in order to assist her to achieve greatness.

The UN and its multilateral agencies are of critical importance to Africa as the mechanism for ensuring a balanced or even distribution of economic benefits. During the creation of these agencies, most African nations were under colonial rule. The indices were abject poverty and traces of underdevelopment. These conditions were what the UN saw as capable of undermining international peace and security.

The Bretton Woods Conference which established the IMF and World Bank for a new economic order has failed. The institutions have not been able to address the inequality in the economic order. The global pattern of production and consumption is marked by high degree of inequality. In the UN Development Decade (1970 – 1980), this was a period in which the world community had implicitly undertaken the responsibility of bridging the economic gap between the rich and poor nations, the growth rate of the rich nations was six times greater than that of the poor nations. Although this does not mean that some countries in Africa are not doing better than others.

As earlier explained in this unit, the initiator of Bretton Woods institutions were United States and Britain; so, they had large influence in the establishment, management and control. In the board of IMF, US had a voting veto. It could veto any decision that did not favour US.

One major consequence of IMF and the world monetary policy in general had been the balance of payment disequilibrium. This had been experienced by most African nations, including Nigeria. Under Article 114 of the IMF, this institution is required “to give confidence to members by making its resources available to them under adequate safeguards, thus providing them with the opportunity to correct maladjustments in the balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive to national or international prosperity”. The conditionality of IMF did not only guide borrowing nations, but more importantly, the policy required countries borrowing to pursue a prescribed plan set by the bodies. The imposition of conditionality did not only affect the African nations, but some advanced countries like Italy and even UK have been critical of the IMF conditionalities. Because of this practice, Tanzanian President, Julius Nyerere once described IMF as International Ministry of Finance. Most African nations that got this loan became beggar nations.

Trade had been on since colonial days between Africa and Europe. The foreign earnings got were mainly from this trade. The law of comparative advantage had assisted Africa to continue to dominate raw material trade to Europe. In the trade business, UN introduced two bodies, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Tariffs (UNCTAD) and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). These bodies are to enhance international economic cooperation through the promotion of international trade among nations of the world. The African nations did not find equal access to the developed nations’ markets. The developed nations have closed their doors to manufacturing goods from Africa and other third world countries. The UNCTAD Secretary General, Mr. Ken Dadzie of Ghana in his report to UN said:

*A potentially serious problem of incoherence between trade policies in developed and developing countries is emerging. While an increasing numbers of developing countries are liberalizing their trade regimes in pursuit of their development objectives, the drift of trade policies in developed countries is towards greater protectionism. If the greater export efforts in the development strategies of these (third world) countries are*

*to pay off, developed countries must honour their commitment to roll-back existing non-tariff barriers.*

Several studies of UN specialised agencies, particularly the World Bank and UNDP have played up the profound economic crisis facing Africa and the rest of the developing nations. With this problem, the UN had not been able to solve these problems. Despite the universality of UN it is still undemocratic. The developed world dominates the organisation and also dictates the pace.

### **3.4 IMF, World Bank and Africa**

In this unit, the genesis of the two Bretton Woods institutions have been discussed and its influence on world economic order. But this sub-unit will discuss the impact of these institutions on African economy. The two institutions introduced in the 1970s an attempt to 'accelerate development' according to World Bank document, known as Berg Report published in 1981.

The main intention was to solve the debt crisis that hit African countries in the late 1970s, following the combination of internal and external shocks, the sharp fluctuation in commodity prices sent to the advanced countries and skyrocketing interest rates imposed on loans given to African countries. The remedy proposed was the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). This was hotly debated in Nigeria in the 1980s. The government of the day later accepted the dose of SAP. In the 1980, at the onset of the introduction of SAP, the ratios of debt to gross domestic product (GDP) and exports of goods and services were 23.4 percent and 65.2 percent respectively. Ten years later, they had deteriorated to 63 percent and 210 percent. In 2000, the debt to GDP ratio stood at 71.0 percent while the ratio of debt to exports of goods and services reached 80.2 percent, according to the World Bank's Global Development Finance. Because most African nations were unable to service their debt, the accumulated arrears on principal and interests have become a growing share of the outstanding debt. Between 1980 and 2000, Sub-Saharan African countries had paid more than \$240 million as debt service, that is equivalent to four times the amount of the total debt. An example is the Nigerian debt. "In 1978, the country had borrowed \$5 billion. By 2000, it had reimbursed \$16 billion, but still owed \$31 billion, according to President Olusegun Obasanjo.

The IMF and World Bank did not reduce poverty in Africa, but added more obstacles in the wheel of progress of African nations. They are mere instruments of neocolonialism; whose long objective is to perpetuate the plunder of the resources of Africa. The bodies were there to promote and protect the interests of global capitalism. But in fairness to these institutions, African leaders have not been able to manage their countries' resources well. Many nations are ruled by leaders who, besides staying long in government houses, are very corrupt. The developed nations must encourage balance of trade between the developed and developing nations. The conditionalities of these institutions must be more patronizing rather than difficult for the developing nations.

### 3.5 The Role of Nigeria in United Nations

After independence, Nigeria joined the UN as the 99th member of the organisation. The then Prime Minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa underlined the great importance Nigeria attached to UN. He stated emphatically that Nigeria was “committed to upholding the principles upon which UN was founded”.

Nigeria made this explicit as a Non-aligned nation. This was a bold way of defining its role in the bipolar world of East and West political divide. It may be akin to say that it really gave Nigeria an identity during the cold-war years. Under the umbrella of non-aligned membership, Nigeria, over the years, has been able to contribute to defusing tension in the cold war era. According to Emeka Anyaoku:

*“..... in 1964 when United Nations General Assembly was threatened with total incapacitation by the disagreement over the application of Article 19 of UN Charter between United States with its western allies and the Soviet Union and its own allies, Nigeria was one of the three non-aligned countries whose intervention helped to resolve the serious crisis”.*

Earlier in 1966, Nigeria dispatched troops to Congo to join the UN forces there largely because of its basic belief in international approach to peace settlement. Through its membership of the UN Conciliation Committee in the Congo, Nigeria thought it could influence the UN operations and secure a ‘moderate’ Congolese central government. Though this was an unpopular move, because it negates African interest.

Nigeria has stood by the principle of multilateralism; and this idea was supported by various governments in Nigeria. Because of the commitment to this principle, Nigeria’s Head of Government in March 20, 2003 led by President Obasanjo, along with Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal frowned seriously at any military action against Iraq because this did not have the approval or authorization of the UN Security Council. Nigeria has been among the strongest supporters of UN in peace operations all over the world. It has continued to contribute to UN peacekeeping forces not only in Africa; but also around the world, like in Sudan, the Middle East and Europe (in the Balkans).

### 4.0 Conclusion

The UN was able to put in check the rising conflicts in the world, when it was set up. It did this by checkmating uncompromising members’ agitation or protest that may lead to war. Since its creation, it can be said there was no world war, though the world experienced a long prolonged ‘cold-war’. At least the UN, though sometimes a toothless bulldog, is able to check the excesses of the big powers that control it. It is able to tame, warn and sometimes, caution the big powers in the use of veto to change the turn of events.

## 5.0 Summary

The unit has traced the formation of the UN after the Second World War to the present day. It has explained the functions of the agencies of UN. You were also told of the role of IMF and World Bank in African economy. You need to get yourself familiar with the impact of these institutions on the monetary policies of African nations. An example was also given in the course of the unit, of the role of Bretton Woods institutions on Nigerian economy. This will make you to be more familiar with these institutions. The role of Nigeria in peace mission around the world was also discussed in the unit.

## 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment

1. What is the role of the UN in maintaining peace and tranquility in the world?
2. Discuss the role of the Bretton Wood's institutions on the economies of African nations.
3. Analyse the role of UN agencies in the transformation of African society.

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### **Unit 3            International Relations after 1945 and the Establishment of Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.)**

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#### **1.0     Introduction**

The great depression of 1930s affected the whole of Europe and Africa. The need for international trade after 1945 became more important. No single country can survive without the complementarity of other nations. It was discovered that the high tariff of 1930s hindered, to some extent, trade among nations. This had also affected economic recovery. During this period, the role of GAT in reducing tariff came to the fore. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and International Trade Centre were formed to increase exports with a view of obtaining wealth with which the poorer nations, mainly in Africa, could finance their development.

This unit will in addition discuss the formation of economic blocs which eventually led to the establishment of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) that later metamorphosed into African Union (AU) in the 2000s. The problem of OAU will also be discussed. The issue of aid to Africa and the world in general, especially the developing world will be stressed.

#### **2.0     Objectives**

By the time a learner goes through this unit, he / she must be familiar with the emergency of economic blocs in the world. Again, the learner must be able to discuss the followings:

- (a)     The World Economic Order
- (b)     Aid
- (c)     The establishment of OAU



- (d) The problems of OAU
- (e) The success of OAU

### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 International Trade**

Trade among nations has some underlining rules and regulations. Most nations would like to trade with another nation if they have comparative advantage over those nations they trade with. For example, African nations have comparative advantage of producing raw materials like cocoa, coffee, hide and skin and others over European countries. These products cannot be produced in advanced countries.

Another important point is that there must be international agreements on commodity prices. But most countries in Africa do not enjoy guaranteed minimum prices for the commodities on whose export they depend on. The importing countries dictate the price of the commodities they import from Africa. Some of these products compete with synthetics, manufactured by the developed nations and prices for commodities produced by poorer African nations, such as tea, cocoa, copper, rubber and oil palm, often fall drastically. On the other hand, oil producing African nations joined the cartel of Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), founded in 1961. Despite desperate move by the advanced countries of the world to break their ranks, it has not been possible. In fact until today, OPEC has been able to dictate the price and quantity of supply of member nations.

Coffee producing nations followed the footsteps of OPEC. Brazil and Ivory Coast began to think about holding back their produce to bring about a better price. Similarly, the copper producing nations like Zambia, Zaire and others began to discuss joint policy when in 1972 the USA tried to seize Chilean copper shipments in protest at the nationalization of that nation's copper production. But most agricultural produce suffered a continuous setback. When produce boards were set up in most West African nations to regulate prices of agricultural produce, they did not last. The produce continued to be dominated by European merchants and they dictated the price.

The domination of the rich nations is an ongoing process. Lady Jackson, a British speaker at UNCTAD III said, "*The profound, even heart-rending difficulties of the rich ... are their excuse for doing next to nothing about infinitely more real and heart-rending problems of the poor*".

#### **3.2 New Economic Problems**

Economic activities were badly affected in 1970s all over the world. Though the rich nations or the developed world had grown steadily richer after the Second World War, the southern part of these nations had also shared in this affluence. Before the close of the decade, twentieth century, West Germany and Japan who had previously been highly successful were badly affected too.

The major problems of all nations were the combination of inflation and economic recession. The increase in oil price by OPEC in 1974 was spotted as the root cause of the events. OPEC requested for higher prices for its members, and there was a growing awareness that oil reserves were fast being used up. At the same time, Arab nations hit back at the West for the support they gave to Israel in the Yom Kippur war of 1973. They withdrew the supplies the west depended on. This really affected the world economic order. Prices of goods and services rose generally. This forced the developing and developed nations not only to pay for increases in oil prices, but for foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactured goods. The purchasing power of individuals all over the world fell, production slowed down drastically and unemployment level grew.

One result of the energy crisis was spontaneous search for new oil supplies. Britain and other nations intensified the effort in the drilling operations in the North Sea. The problem of inflation and unemployment persisted. But oil producing nations in Africa, for example, Nigeria fared better than most countries in West Africa. However, the oil industry did not provide the necessary employment opportunities that was the dearly needed by oil producing nations.

### 3.3 The World Economic Order

The developing nations, Africa, lacked capital, expertise and many African nations lack the basic infrastructure that could propel the development of their various areas. While the developed countries moved comfortably to the computer age and space technology, the poor nations continued to struggle to rid themselves of poverty, famine, diseases and corruption of their leaders.

#### Average Income (Approx) per head of the Population (£s p.a.)

North America	1600
Europe	880
Latin America	220
Middle East	160
Africa	80
Asia, other than Japan	50

**Source:** New African Year Book (1997 – 1998)

The problem was not simply one of lack of capital, equipment and expertise in the African nations, in some African nations like Tanzania, the environment or political instability brought about the installation of people like Julius Nyerere. He leader fought relentlessly to develop his country. Some nations still suffer from overpopulation. Nigeria today has a population of 140 million people. The resources are there, but the leadership qualities to harness these resources are not available. Again, the country depended on oil exportation while agricultural produce and production had long been abandoned during the 1970s and all energies are now concentrated in the exportation of crude oil. With these problems on hand, oil-producing African nations had to contend with poverty and rely mainly on the exportation of crude oil. They needed exportation in order to buy machinery for their industries. Too often, the prices they get from the raw

materials exported, for instance, are very low. Those countries that depend mainly on one export, as Ghana was dependent on cocoa, Zambia on copper, Ivory Coast on coffee and others, found it impossible to rely on consistent prices or even on a fair one.

Because of this prevailing condition in the third world, the United Nations called on advanced nations of the world in 1960 to provide 1 percent of their national income to cushion the effect of the economic decline on the third world countries. By the end of the 1960s, only Switzerland, France and West Germany exceeded the target. Britain did not meet the target, but donated. Loans were given to African nations interest-free. Ghana and Nigeria were trapped in the loan saga in 1970s and 1980s respectively.

Aid or assistance to Africa took many forms – gifts and loans to the skilled advice of teachers, engineers and agriculturists. The advanced world was very careful to draw a line between aids to Africa from foreign policy. When USA withdrew support from the building of Aswar Dam in Egypt, the Soviet Union quickly stepped in. The aim was to win a new ally and influence the Arab world with the action. The UN agencies are also involved in various aids to African nations.

The colonial masters have vested interest in their former colonies. Most of the assistance given by the European Community as a result of Lome Convention of 1975 went to nations formerly ruled by France and Britain. In fact, Britain directed its assistance to commonwealth nation's countries formerly ruled by Britain.

Global aid to Africa dropped from \$18 billion in 1990 to \$11 billion in 1998. The same period western leaders called for an “African Renaissance”.

### **3.4 The Formation of OAU**

The formation of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) started with the Monrovia powers. This group consisted of former French colonies in Africa. They met with Ethiopia and other African countries, the Casablanca powers, the British former colonies and others, to form the OAU in 1963, in Addis Ababa. But earlier meeting of the Monrovia powers had taken place in Monrovia in 1961. The OAU first aim was to end colonialism where it still existed and ensure self determination. Besides, it aimed to develop cooperation among member nations and promote a sense of unity throughout African continent.

On May 26, 1963, 30 Heads of State signed the Charter of OAU. The remaining two independent states Togoland and Morocco signed the treaty later. The charter was modified from earlier charter presented in Lagos earlier on in 1962. It incorporated five principles laid down at Monrovia. They were absolute equality of all states, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for the sovereignty of each state, condemnation of subversive action by neighbouring states and promotion of cooperation based on tolerance and the non-acceptance of personal leadership.

The establishment of OAU led to the dismantling of Casablanca and Monrovia groups. The English speaking group disbanded their group, but French speaking group continued to maintain the Afro-Malagasy group. Today, about 54 countries are members of OAU, which has now transited from OAU to the African Union (AU).

### **3.5 Pattern of Political Groups in Africa**

The emergence of regional groups at the detriment of the larger OAU came to the fore. Most regional bodies like Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was formed by 16 countries of the region. The idea of this regional body goes back to President William Tubman of Liberia, who made the call for the formation of the body in 1964.

In April, 1972, General Gowon of Nigeria and General Eyadema of Togo re-launched the idea, drew up a proposal and solicited support for its formation. The final protocol for the launching of the body was signed on November 5, 1976. The body had taken serious role in restoring peace and tranquility in the region. The formation of ECOMOG, the military wing, had intervened and restored peace in Cote – d'Ivoire and Liberia.

The Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (ECGLC) was formed in 1976. This body has Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda as members. Common market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) was formed in 1993. Today, COMESA has 23 members including states in East and Central Africa.

Britain, a former colonial master, had once considered the formation of an East African Federation. After independence of the three British states in East Africa – Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, returned to the idea of forming an economic federation. In 1967, they set up the East African Community. Their aim was to set up a common tariff and mutual economic assistance among member nations.

### **3.6 Problems of OAU**

Sometimes members were involved in the interference in other nations' affairs. There was a time when Mwalimu Nyerere wanted to influence the destiny of Nigeria. He recognised in April, 1968 Biafra's self-determination efforts. In Seychelles from 1977, the same Nyerere took side with the rebels against the founding fathers of independence.

There was also Tanzania's decision to close the border with Kenya; to create enough stability to force a change in government in the country, some people believe. This is an indirect interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

The invasion by Tanzania's soldiers into Uganda during Idi Amin's regime was a direct assault on the independence of Ugandan people. Tanzania's invasion of Uganda was unprecedented in the annals of African history since independence of most nations including Uganda.

African nations under OAU only frowned at the practice, but there was no sanction imposed on Tanzania for violating OAU Charter. OAU was not able to set up a strong African Command that could counter such moves in the future. The idea of setting up an African High Command or police force under OAU had been proposed in the past. A number of French-speaking countries had proposed such move, especially since 1977 invasion of Shaba province of Zaire by the opponents of President Mobutu Seseseko operating from Angola.

The King of Morocco and President of Senegal among others felt that there was a need to establish such High Command in OAU. But President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere opposed the move. Nyerere had his reasons for opposing the move. These reasons include his suspicion of France as an invisible prompter behind the Francophone stage.

There is lack of collective military self-reliance. The rise of Cuban influence in Africa in the 1970s was definitely one symptom of the need to be self reliant in Africa. Cuba with a population of 15 million people controlled the military hardware of the whole of Africa with a population of 400 million. More often than not, most African nations relied on Cuban troops, even medical supplies to augment their needs.

The large army African nations keep are armies that specialised in coups and repression of its own people, not the armies that can defend Africa against an external aggression. Cuban troops, for example, were used to stern South African challenge in Angola in 1975 and 1976.

The support for frontline states was lacking. The special role of frontline states was not accorded a priority before now. There must be strong military defence in the frontline states in order to counter any insurgence or external aggression from without.

The level of development in Africa, generally speaking, is low. Most nations do not remit their dues to OAU. The low finance of the body delayed and sometimes debarred the progress of the regional organisation. The setting up of a high command, the expansion of infrastructure in Africa are lacking for now.

The problem of civil war in Africa based on tribal sentiments is a major problem for the OAU now AU. The war in Sudan that started some forty years ago is still on. The genocide in Rwanda and Liberia still lingers on in the minds of many African nations. The AU was not able to curb the excesses of militia groups in Africa. Even in Nigeria today, though an internal affair, AU has not been able to mediate in the Niger Delta crisis. Instead, UN intends sending a representative to mediate in the crisis. The Nigerian Government once again, has set up a committee to study and recommend solutions to the Niger Delta crisis.

The problem of border conflict is still with nations of Africa. The Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) in the Southern Province of Morocco was forcibly incorporated into Morocco. After many years of war, it was recognised by OAU as a

nation. This made Morocco to withdraw from OAU in 1985 in protest. The border conflicts between nations are still on. The Bakassi Peninsula was finally ceded to Cameroon in 2008 after several clandestine conflicts, crises and battles; though this cession was made possible by Nigeria's policy of abiding by the decision of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). This oil rich peninsula was in Nigeria, hitherto, before it was ceded to Cameroon at World Court. The National Assembly in Nigeria is still not happy with the action of the last government.

Most of the African nations still depend on the former colonial masters for assistance and directives. The Monrovia and Casablanca power blocs in AU, till today, are influencing the continental body. French former colonies take scripts from France and play along the scripts. Any deviation, until today, is seen as deviance to laid-down procedure.

### **3.7 African Union (AU) Transition to AU**

## **4.0 Conclusion**

International relations after the Second World War was dramatic. The superpowers were settling down gradually forming new alliances and cooperating with other nations in order to protect and project their interests. This culminated in forming new bodies which cater for both economic and political spheres of their nations. In looking for markets, the developed world continued to depend on African markets for their finished goods and raw materials for their industries.

On the other hand, Africa, which has most of its nations under colonial rule, were bracing up for independence. Most of them, especially the elite led the struggle for independence. It was during this period that OAU was formed.

## **5.0 Summary**

Sometimes unit has discussed the various international relations starting from 1945 to the present day. It also treated the issue of international trade among nations. The beneficiaries of the trade were also mentioned in the course of the unit. Problems of the new economic order were also treated in the unit. OAU formation and the inherent problems of the international body were also explained in the unit. The unit will enable the learner to appreciate the role of OAU or AU in Africa.

## **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

- (1) Discuss the role of OPEC in the international oil market.
- (2) Trace the origin of OAU or AU. What are the problems confronting the body today?
- (3) OAU was a toothless bulldog. Discuss.

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## **Unit 4                      Coups and Civil Wars in Africa**

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### **1.0      Introduction**

During the scramble and partition of Africa, the colonial masters did not bother about ethnic identities and boundaries. Most of the nations were annexed based on economic and political considerations of the colonial overlords. For example, Nigeria was amalgamated in 1914. The North, the West and East nationalities were never consulted when this was taking place. Even the north is not a monolithic region, as we were made to believe. There are more than 100 linguistic nationalities in this region. The three major regions are different nations forced into marriage of inconvenience by the colonial masters.

This disagreement among the nationalities in a nation forced many of them to demand for self-determination. An example was when the Igbos in Nigeria demanded for a nation of their own – the Nation of Biafra.

Besides the turbulent take-over coups, the unit will also discuss civil wars in Africa, in Nigeria and the military rule. This scenario will form the basis for further discussions on political and economic quagmire that had beclouded Africa since then.

### **2.0      Objectives**

By the time you go through this unit, you should be able to discuss the followings:

- (1)      Why coups in Africa?
- (2)      The impact of coup in Africa;
- (3)      Civil wars and its consequences on Africa;
- (4)      The role of the West in the crisis.



### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 Coups in Africa**

The first coup in Africa took place in Egypt, when Col. Gamel Abdel Nasser overthrew the incumbent government. Britain was not only surprised but joined forces with France to disarm the coup plotters. The intervention of USA and USSR assistance made the coup a success. After this coup, there has been more violent take over of governments in Africa.

By 1960s when most African nations got their independence, in fewer than four decades after, there were 80 violent changes of government in Africa. “Only 13 out of the 48 sub-Saharan African countries have achieved non-violence changes of government and only in the remaining four countries – Zimbabwe, Djibouti, Namibia and Eritrea – has there been no change in government at all since independence”. Though the situation has changed today, thirty-one countries in the continent have gone through periodic and sudden violent changes. Nigeria has witnessed about eight different coups, most violent and brutal. Sudan, Uganda, under General Idi Amin, Ghana, Burundi and Benin Republic have all gone through one violent change or the other, five times each; Chad and Burkina Faso four times; while Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Congo, Comoros Island and Central Africa Republic have had three violent changes of government.

That some countries did not witness violent changes does not mean that the citizens were not deprived economically of their rights and privileges. While Zaire had no coup d’etat between 1965 and 1996, the citizens were more deprived, brutalized and made miserable under the despotic rule of Mobutu Seseseko. Zimbabwe has been under the rule of Robert Mugabe since independence in 1980. Paul Biya of Cameroon has been in government since the resignation of late Ahmadou Ahidjo on November 4, 1982.

**Table 1: Countries with Armed Conflict/Civil Strife or Severe Political Crises in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Armed Conflict/Civil Strife (Category 1)	Severe Political Crises (Category 2)	More or Less Normal Political Situation (Category 3)
Angola	Cameroon	Benin
Burundi	Comoros	Botswana
Congo (Brazzaville)	Djibouti	Burkina Faso
Kenya	Ethiopia	Cape Verde
Lesotho	Gambia	Central African Republic
Liberia	Madagascar	Cote d'Ivoire
Rwanda	Malawi	Eritrea
Senegal	Mozambique	Equatorial Guinea
Sierra Leone	Niger	Gabon
Somalia	Nigeria	Ghana
Sudan	Mali	Guinea
Tchad	Zambia	Guinea Bissau
Togo		Mauritania
Uganda		Mauritius
Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo)		Mozambique
		Namibia
		Sao Tome and Principe
		Seychelles
		South Africa
		Tanzania
		Zimbabwe

**Source:** Adedeji, Adebayo, et. al., *Nigeria: Renewal from the Roots? The struggle for democratic development*. Zed Books, London and ACDESS, Ijebu-Ode, p. 16, (1997 and updated to 1998).

### 3.2 Conflict in Africa

The delineation of boundary among nations was defective. Most nationals were found in different countries. For example, Yorubas are in Nigeria, Benin and Togo. Some Nigerian nationals were also in Cameroon. Despite the referendum that some southern Cameroons agreed to unite with the other part of Cameroon, this problem created a lot of clashes between Nigeria and Cameroon.

On 16 May, 1981, some soldiers from Cameroon accused Nigerians of crossing to their country. This led to fracas or clash between Nigeria and Cameroonian soldiers at Rio del Rey, the border river. Five Nigerians were killed by Cameroonians, and three others were wounded. In retaliation, Nigerians attacked the Cameroonian Embassy in Lagos.

In a bid to douse the tension, the Cameroonian government apologized for the action and Nigeria agreed to repair the damaged Embassy. After this scenario, other clashes had occurred between Nigeria and Cameroon. The issue of oil rich Bakassi Peninsula was taken to United Nations Court at The Hague. The settlement was that Nigeria should cede this peninsula to Cameroon, and some villages were ceded to Nigeria. The villages have been moved, the final ceding of Bakassi Peninsula took place in August, 2008.

The Western Saharan question is another example that will be discussed here. King Hassan forced Madrid, during the country's crisis of succession, to sign agreement with

her to hand Western Sahara over to Morocco and Mauritania. The Western Sahara did not see the same identity with the two countries, so the victory was shortlived.

The Polisario guerrillas in Western Sahara fought back the hegemony of the Moroccans which forced King Hassan to fight a long and costly war too, with Western Sahara. Eventually, Western Sahara attained independence and was accepted by OAU.

The problem in the horn of Africa came to the fore when Emperor Haile Selassie came on the scene. In order to secure independence from Ethiopia, Eritrea Assembly approved a federal constitution, thinking that her autonomy over internal affairs was fully guaranteed. This was adopted by the UN General Assembly by 52 votes to none with five abstentions. The Federation became effective on 15th September, 1952.

But Ethiopia had its own way of interpreting the Federation. Haile Selassie was determined to undermine the independence of Eritrea. Eritreans thought they should be able to protect their free trade unions, free press and their local assembly in the new Federation, with the support of United Nations.

On March 22, 1955, the Emperor's representative was sent to the Eritrean Assembly where he declared: *"There are no internal or external affairs as far as His Imperial Majesty is concerned... The affairs of Eritrea concern Ethiopia as a whole and the Emperor"*. In order to dismantle the governmental apparatus set up by Eritrea, the Emperor sent an occupation army to be stationed in Eritrea. This guise was to protect Eritreans from external aggression. He then abolished the trade unions and independent political parties.

Petitions were sent to UN and major European powers but there were no responses. The Head of State of Eritrea, Tedla Baivu protested to the Ethiopian government. He was removed and replaced by an Ethiopian official, Asfaha Woldemichael.

Under pressure, intimidation, bribes and persuasion, Emperor Haile Selassie forced the Assembly to vacate the Federation. On 14 November, 1962, troops occupied the streets of Asmara while the MPs passed the Act abolishing the federation and making Eritrea the 14th Province of Ethiopian Empire.

The emergence of Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) forced the Ethiopian government to go into many battle with Eritrea. The liberation army grew from less than 2,000 in the late 1960s to over 40,000 in 1978, holding down more than 20,000 Ethiopian soldiers.

The success of the liberation army became more evident. One by one the major Eritrean towns began to fall until at the end of 1977, only the capital, Asmara and parts of Massawa and Assab remained under Ethiopian control. Despite the Soviet Union military support, the nationalist movement continued to carry the day.

By 1990, the nationalist forces had captured Massawa, cutting the Ethiopian supply lines. The ruling President Mengistu Haile Mariam fled to Zimbabwe on 21 May, 1991. The

USA then presided in London in order to provide an orderly transfer of power. The Secretary General of EPLF became the provincial head of government of Eritrea. By July, 1992, the two countries signed an agreement. Ethiopia recognised the right of Eritrea to self government.

The problem of Sudan is still with the country until the time of writing this course. The North and South are involved in internal conflict since independence. It has led to many lives being lost in that country. Communication and peace have eluded the country. Despite the intervention of UN and peacekeeping operation strategy, the people have not known peace and tranquility in the region.

The redivision of the South started the problem. In an election, the anti-divisionist won 63 of the 116 seats, but James Tomburam, a pro-divisionist, was appointed the President of the region by the President, Jafaar El-Nimeiry and Joseph Lagu, the most active proponent of redivision was made one of the Vice Presidents in place of Abel Aliev, leader of the unit group, in June 1982.

The election marked a sharp deterioration in relations between the Khartoum government and the South. As the region's economic power deteriorated and the national government pressed ahead with plans for Jaglei Canal and oil production, which were expected to benefit the North more than the South, the South began to attack Sudanese army.

The problem of North, South dichotomy is still with the government of Sudan until today. The problem remains and no intervention from UN and other nations of the world had improved the relationship between the South and the North. The West either in crisis or peace played a prominent role. In war time, they supplied arms and ammunition to either the rebels or even to the government of the day. Their relationship in conflict areas is either 'positive' or 'negative', they are never neutral in African affairs.

The most recent widespread and frightful violence in Africa during the last decade of the twentieth century were those of Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Sierra Leone and eastern Zaire. In Rwanda, this took the form of orchestrated genocide in the history of mankind. The planners were hardcore militant Hutu tribe on their brothers, Tutsi and other fellow countrymen. The Hutu and Tutsi made up some 15 percent of the population of Rwanda and Burundi. These tribes spoke the same language and shared the same religious belief. The only distinction between the two was those of class or caste rather than ethnicity.

In April 1994, the Presidents and members of the governments of both countries attended a regional conference in Dar-es-Salaam. This was in attempt to implement the earlier accord by the two countries. They were made to board the same plane back home, but the plane was shot down and all members of government died in the crash.

Between April and July 1994, about 800,000 Tutsi may have been killed. An insurgency seized this opportunity to seize the capital, Kigali. As a result between one million and two million Hutus moved en masse into neighbouring Kivu province of Zaire.

The UN, USA and Europe intervened to relocate the mass of people back to their countries. The world condemned the genocide. The movement and settlement in the border towns created problems in Zaire.

The war in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Somalia were inter-cine conflicts among the warlords and their fellow citizens.

### 3.3 Coups and Civil War in Nigeria

It is regrettable that the election in the Western Region in 1964 which would have determined whether the Northern People's Congress (NPC) or the National Council for Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) strategy would be successful ended in chaos because they were forcefully rigged. There was total breakdown of law and order in the country in late 1965, as protesting groups went on rampage. It was under this condition that the military staged the first coup in Nigeria, on January 15, 1966. This coup was planned, implemented and carried out mainly by majors in the Nigerian Army.

The motives for the coup plot, according to them, were idealistic and the coup plotters had widespread political grievances nursed by the population as a whole. During the broadcast, Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu said:

*"The aim of the Revolutionary Council is to establish a strong, united and prosperous nation, free from corruption and internal strife. Our method of achieving this is strictly military but we have no doubt that every Nigerian will give us maximum cooperation by assisting the regime and not disturbing the peace during the slight changes that are taking place.*

*..... our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places, those that seek bribes and demand 10 percent, to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers or VIPs at least the tribalists, the nepotistic, those that make the country look big for nothing before international circles, those that have corrupted our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deeds.*

During the coup, the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Northern Premier, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Western Premier, Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, the Minister of Finance, Chief Festus Okotie Eboh and many military officers were killed.

Though at the initial stage, the coup was welcomed with even more jubilation and greater expectation, General JTU Aguiyi Ironsi who took over the mantle of leadership did not give or provide a meaningful purpose for the regime. This situation increased northern

resentment to the coup and in the process; a counter coup was staged by northern elements in the armed forces.

Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon became the Head of State after the counter coup. General Ironsi was killed in the counter coup and many natives of Igbo extraction were murdered in the northern part of the country. There was a mass movement of Igbos from the North to the East.

Last minute attempts to save the situation also failed. A meeting was called by General Ankrah of Ghana at Aburi. Many Nigerian senior military officers attended the conference. Agreement was apparently reached that Nigeria could operate a loose federal structure and regional autonomy. Gowon, on reaching Lagos was advised against such agreement. Because of the failure to abide by the Aburi Accord or Agreement, Col. Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu declared a secession of the Eastern Region of Nigeria and named it Republic of Biafra.

Instantly, this led to a civil war in 1967. This weakened the economy and brought disorder and large-scale loss of lives and properties. The Igbo resisted Federal troop's onslaught for two years. The Federal Government at the initial stage called it a police action, but when Col. Ojukwu formally declared a State or Nation of Biafra, the Federal Government carried the war to the Eastern region.

Biafra rallied some support from African nations. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania supported the cause of Biafra. Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia also gave his support to Biafra. Some arms were provided by France and Portugal. Because USSR was in support of Nigerian Federal Government, Britain rose from her slumber to support the government, of course, because of economic gains.

The United Nations and OAU did their best to mediate between the two brothers. More casualties were recorded on the Biafran side, especially among the civilians. They suffered from hunger and deprivation. The crushing of the Biafra by the Federal troops forced the Biafran soldiers to surrender on January 12, 1970. Though Gowon declared at the end of the war, 'No Victor, No Vanguish', the scars of tribal warfare and separatism has not healed well even until now.

In one of his writings, Kirk Green (1967) warned Nigeria that

*“the tragedy of 1967 is that many of its seeds were not, as is often claimed, sown in October, 1960 or even July, 1966, but in the 1950s or as some see it, in 1914, or may be even in 1900 itself”.*

It was a widely held view of Nigeria's colonial power, Britain, that the country was bound, sooner or later, to disintegrate since it was a mere geographical expression. Sir Hugh Clifford, who was the Governor of Nigeria from 1919 to 1925 said this much when he stated that Nigeria is “a collection of independent native states, separated from one

*another.... By a great distance, by differences of history and traditions and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers (1920)".*

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The colonial masters, in their wisdom, have accepted that the nations created were mere geographical expressions. Nations were not given the right to exist based on their ethnic coloration or tribal cooperation. The forced co-habitation had its consequences.

After independence, most nations discovered, to their dismay, that they were forced into marriage of convenience by the colonial masters. The example abound where nations split based on tribal reasons. In many instances, it led to civil wars. The civil war in Liberia, Nigeria, and Rwanda are cases in point.

The intervention of the military in government at least, to some extent, held their countries together. In some cases, the coup palaver set-back the democratic process that would have endured in the countries concerned. In other cases, the military were more corrupt than even the civilians they accused in the first place.

The West, either in peace or war, maintained their relations with Africa; even when strained. In some cases, they support the nationalists and in other cases, the government in power. But their economic interest overrides other interests.

#### **5.0 Summary**

In this unit, coups and conflicts in Africa were discussed. Various countries that were involved in the coup attempts were also discussed. Because the barriers created by the colonial masters were artificial, clashes were often recorded at the borders. In some cases, the case was referred to UN for adjudication. The case in mind is in the Nigeria / Cameroon clash over oil rich Bakassi Peninsula. The UN Court had given its judgement on the issue, and Nigeria and Cameroon complied.

The role of the west during peace and war was also discussed extensively. It is important for the learner to note that conflict in Africa is not a foreclosed issue. It may be fueled by the colonial masters perhaps because of their selfish ends. The democratic process that would have solved the problems of conflict has not taken deep root in Africa.

#### **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

1. Discuss the reasons why coups take place in African countries.
2. What are the roles of the UN during crisis in Africa?
3. The Civil war in Nigeria was a tragedy. Explain.

#### **7.0 References and Further Readings**

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## **Unit 5                      Globalisation and Africa**

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### **1.0      Introduction**

Globalisation has assumed a major topic of discussion and concern in economic circles since the mid-1990s. As the nations of the world intensify their efforts to market their commodities, propelled by a wide potential for greater growth, it presents an unparalleled opportunity for developing countries to raise their living standards. But again, the gains of development could only be harvested in the developed market if their goods and services compete favourably in these markets.

Concerns are therefore raised in developing countries of marginalization by the developed world. This new phenomenon raised a lot of misgivings among the third world countries. What then is globalization? What are the implications of globalization for African nations? What are the potential benefits and risks?

To answer all these questions raised, the next segment of this unit will discuss them extensively. In situating the answers in this context, it will be easier and clearer to identify the benefits and probably losses of this phenomenon to African nations.

### **2.0      Objectives**

At the end of this unit, students should be able to explain and discuss the followings:

- (a)      Globalisation;
- (b)      The effect of globalization on Africa;
- (c)      Challenges of globalization;
- (d)      Problems and prospects of globalization.

### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 What is Globalisation?**

To an expert, “globalization in its liberal sense is the process of globalizing, transforming of some things or phenomena into global ones. It can be described as a process by which the people of the world are united into a single society and functioning together. This process is a combination of economic, technological, socio-cultural and political forces”. Other experts see globalization as the integration of economies throughout the world through trade, financial flows, the exchange of technology and information and the movement of people and services.

The extent of this new phenomenon is clearly reflected in the volume of trade that takes place among nations of the world. The rising importance of the trade and capital flows is reflective of the significance of this trade. An increasing large volume of trade and increase in GDP is generated in activities linked directly or indirectly to international trade. There has been a tremendous cross-border financial flow, particularly in the form of private equity and portfolio investment, compared with the past.

A lot of families, especially in the third world countries benefit from a lot of remittance from developed world. In addition, the revolution in technology and other communication have made communication easier and better than hitherto. The much improved technology in communication has enabled individuals and corporations to base their economic choices more on the quality of the economic environment in different countries. Economic success in today’s world is based not on relative resource endowments or geographical location as it used to be in the past. Market perception and predictability of economic policy now take precedent over other considerations.

Globalization is first and foremost a result of the expansion, diversification and deepening of trade and financial links among nations of the world, especially in the past ten years. The indices of these are multilateral trade tariff reduction and trade liberalisation efforts. Increasing trade, a benefit from globalization, has given consumers and producers a wide choice low-cost goods, which attract more advanced technology and facilitated a more efficient use of global resources. Greater access to the international market allowed countries, even third world countries, to exploit their comparative advantage to produce more goods and services for the international markets.

The rapid increase in capital and private investments flows has raised the resources available to countries. This in turn has also accelerated their level of development beyond a perceived pace. The openness to foreign investments, especially in the developing economy has increased the capital flow from such countries. It has also increased employment rate too.

#### **3.2 Effect of Globalisation on Africa**

African countries have no known good macroeconomic policy. Those countries that have good macroeconomic policies are able to take advantage, respond quickly and

appropriately to changes in the international environment. Certainly, those countries that are open to trade and capital flows on a free and fair basis; and are able to attract international capital benefit more from globalization.

While globalization rewards good policy, it also punishes bad policy or increase poverty in countries with poor policy. This underscores the importance of flexible and well-informed policy-making, of solid, articulated institutions and transparent governance. Countries especially African countries are sometimes bypassed by the gains of globalization because of bad policy and an unarticulated financial set up to achieve the gains of globalization.

The trade that now emerges is built on an unacceptable level of social inequalities to vulnerable communities and groups, or causes global ecological or environmental damage and disregard to our future generations cannot be said to be conducive to sustainable development.

Established and large companies especially the Trans National Corporations (TNCs) came in to Africa and brought in the finished goods at cheaper rates than goods produced in Africa. In some cases, they established industries in African nations, employed cheap labour and produced goods that compete favourably with African articles. In Zimbabwe and Nigeria, the textiles industries were worst hit. Today, most industries in these countries have been closed down because of the competition with foreign textiles. The tyre and battery industries in Nigeria suffered the same fate. This led to the retrenchment of workers that worked in these industries. These workers were family breadwinners with children in schools and house rent to pay. The importation of second-hand clothes from Europe has forced many workers out of business.

In Kenya, the women who were involved in the local production of local bags were negatively affected when bags were produced en masse in Japan and sold in East Africa. Many second-hand bags, shoes and belts flooded the Nigerian markets too. Companies that produced these goods have been closed down. This created a lot of unemployment in the country. Though many Nigerians are involved in the sale of these goods, government cannot get tax from most of these traders, and besides, most of these goods are smuggled goods.

In Mali, foreign investors have taken over the major revenue earning enterprises such as tobacco and textile industries. In Nigeria, the oil sector is dominated by external investors. The only airline in Mali was taken over by foreign investor. The African markets have become a dumping ground for European goods and from the East, all in the name of free trade. In Zambia, the spirits, motor and textile industries are dead.

Massive unemployment is a commonplace in Africa. In Zambia for example, retrenchments and industrial close down has led a staggering number of over 200,000 people out of employment over a period of five years since 1992. In Nigeria alone, there are over about five million unemployed persons. With 93 universities in Nigeria, more graduates may join this train very soon.

### 3.3 The Challenges of Globalisation for Africa

Globalization will continue to increase interdependences among different countries and regions. It may also reinforce partnership between the advanced countries and the rest of the world. In order to sustain this relationship, the advanced world could open up their markets for products from developing nations, especially the goods they have comparative advantage to produce. In addition, the reform efforts of the African countries will need to be adequately supported by funds from the international organisations based on concessional terms.

The World Bank must accept the proposal of debt forgiveness presented by poor nations to it. This will enable these countries to solve their financial problems. World Bank has recently begun implementing the framework for action to resolve the external debt problems of heavily indebted low-income countries including their large multilateral debts. Three African countries – Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire and Uganda are among the countries to be considered. Nigeria has also enjoyed debt forgiveness from Paris and London Clubs, after negotiating its way out of the debt peonage by paying up a substantial part of the debt, and having the rest forgiven.

The challenge facing African nations is their inability to design public policies so as to maximize the potential benefits from globalization and to minimise the downside risks of destabilization or marginalization. The Sub-Saharan Africa has made substantial progress toward macroeconomic stability:

- “There has been continued improvement in overall growth performance. Average real growth has increased from less than 1 percent in 1992 to over 5½ percent in 1996, and this positive trend is expected to continue;
- There has been some successes in bringing down inflation – many countries have already achieved single digit inflation rates, and for the region as a whole, average inflation is expected to fall from the peak of 60 percent in 1994 to 17 percent in 1997;
- Countries have also reduced their internal and external imbalances. The external current account deficit has fallen from an average of 15½ percent of GDP in 1992 to about 9 percent projected for this year, while the overall fiscal deficit has been cut from almost 12 percent of GDP to 6 percent over the same period”.

African governments have also made considerable move in opening their gates to world trade. To lend credence to this, 31 Sub-Saharan African countries have accepted the obligations of Article VIII of the IMF's Article of Agreement since 1993. Most countries have moved ahead with trade and exchange liberalisation. They have also eliminated multiple exchange rates and non-tariff barriers, and also lowering the degree of tariff protection.

A study by IMF, African Department shows that the number of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with “restrictive” exchange rate regime declined from 26 in 1990 to only 2 in

1995, while the number of countries with a “substantially liberal” trade regime rose from 26 to 28 over the same period.

In Africa, the restructuring of many countries economy is gaining currency. Throughout Africa, government intervention in economic policy is on the decline. Price control activities, which interfere with price mechanism has been reduced and agricultural marketing has been liberalized, especially in Nigeria where government has adopted privatizing state businesses. Private individual and organisations have been enjoying this policy. Fiscal policy has also been encouraged. Steps are being taken to rationalize tax systems, to reduce exemptions and enhance administrative efficiency. Attention is now shifting from white elephant projects to channelling expenditure to key social services, particularly in health and basic education.

- **Maintaining macroeconomic stability and accelerating structural reform:**

As the continent enters the “second phase of adjustment”, the emphasis must be to maintain economic stability and to reinforce the implementation of structural policies that will make the economies more flexible, encourage diversification, and reduce their vulnerability to exogenous shocks. These include further reforms in the areas of public enterprise activity, the labour markets, and the trade regime. Governments must also ensure that public services – including transportation networks, electricity, water and telecommunications, but also health services and education – are provided in a reliable and cost-efficient fashion.

- **Ensuring economic security:**

Establishing the right framework for economic activity addresses the second requirement of policy – removing the sense of uncertainty that still plagues economic decision-making in most Africa. The direction and orientation of future policy must be beyond question. This requires the creation of a strong national capacity for policy formulation, implementation and monitoring. Moreover, the transparency, predictability and impartiality of the regulatory and legal systems must be guaranteed. This goes well beyond the respect of private property rights and the enforcement of commercial contracts. It also involves the elimination of arbitrariness, special privileges, and ad-hoc exemptions, even where these are intended to encourage investment.

- **Reforming financial sector:**

As the Interim Committee observed during its April ( ) meetings in Washington, an open and liberal system of capital movements is beneficial to the world economy. However, rising capital flows place additional burdens on banking regulation and supervision, and require more flexible financial structures. This aspect of globalization thus confronts developing countries with a new challenge – to accelerate the development and liberalisation of their financial markets, and to enhance the ability of their financial institutions to respond to the changing international environment. Much remains to be

done to reform and strengthen Africa's financial systems, many of which are weak and poorly managed.

- **Achieving good governance:**

National authorities should spare no efforts to tackle corruption and inefficiency, and to enhance accountability in government. This means reducing the scope of distortionary rent-seeking activities; eliminating wasteful or unproductive uses of public funds; and providing the necessary domestic security. Many African countries will also have to undertake a comprehensive reform of the civil service, aimed at reducing its size while enhancing its efficiency. In short, governments must create confidence in their role as a valued and trusted partner of private economic agents.

- **A partnership with civil society:**

Finally, African governments will need to actively encourage the participation of civil society in the debate on economic policy, and to seek the broad support of the population for the adjustment efforts. To this end, governments will need to pursue a more active information policy, explaining the objectives of policies and soliciting the input of those to whom the policies are intended to benefit.

### **3.4 Globalisation's Problems and Consequences for States in Africa**

Critics believe that globalization is nothing but a new order of marginalization of the African continent. Though it is a universalisation of communication, mass production, market exchanges and redistribution, rather than engineering new ideas and developmental orientation for Africa, it subverts Africa's autonomy and power of self-determination. By design rather than accident, Africa's poverty level has been on an astronomical increase despite the continent's abundant resources. In fact, the burden of debt by African nations has reached two trillion dollars (World Bank, 1994). It has crippled industrialisation in Africa. This is evidenced in the area of cost of production, which has become unassumingly high in most nations of Africa e.g. Nigeria. Other inhibiting factors are subversion of local products through high importation of various types of goods, currency devaluation and depletion of foreign reserves. This clearly raises the problems of marginalization, which according to Ake (1996), is in reality the dynamics of under-development.

In another vein, while it is true that globalization encourages free trade among nations of the world on an international level, there are also negative consequences, because some countries try to protect their national market. The main export of African nations is usually unprocessed agricultural goods. It is very difficult for these countries to compete with industrialized nations of the world that subsidise their own farmers. Because of stiff competition, the African farmers are forced to sell at the dictate of foreign buyers.

There is a constant exploitation of foreign workers by the advanced economy. Because of lack of employment opportunities in African countries, most skilled Africans have moved

to industrialized world. The mass movement of this people and due to lack of protections, companies from the industrialized world are able to offer workers enough salary to entice them to endure long hours of work under unsafe working conditions.

Nation-states in Africa today are unable to define the rules and regulations of their economy, production, credits and exchange of goods and services due to the invading menace of globalization. It has imposed heavy constraints on the internal management dynamics of almost all the countries of Africa. For example, unmindful of the governed, Nigeria government under President Olusegun Obasanjo increased fuel price to 50 percent in 2000. The inability of African leaders to resist imposed policy options at cost to African nations has created “*inequality in the status of the members of the “villagised” world*”. This was amplified by Madunagu (1999) when he said:

*The result of globalization in Africa, is basically a competition between centres (Developed world) and the slums (Africa) of the village where preponderant majority of the people daily sink deeper into poverty and misery.*

The imperialistic cultural dimension of globalization, particularly in the area of internet connectivity which has been used as bait for wooing Africa and other developing world to a global village has done more damage to our cultural value, ethics and morality. It has exposed Africans to the unsanctity of cultural imperialism. Coded in form of human degradation, the blue film for example, which is alien to African cultural practice, has exposed, especially the teenagers to a world of fantasies and unrealistic copulation of drugged partners. The Yahoo, Yahoo boys, as they are called in Nigeria, has created another class of fraudsters among the youths. Instead of using this means to enrich their education, youths in Nigeria use the opportunity to defraud foreigners, who also want to make quick money from the oil rich Nigerian environment.

*A sort of cultural imperialism which will seek to enslave the African mind, leaving in its wake a cultureless or culturally disoriented people (may become a permanent feature of Africa and or people)”.*

It has been argued that globalization has damaged Africa’s natural environment and, ‘in balance cost and benefit’, it has been disaster for Africa both in human and material resources that are present in Africa. The UNDP’s Human Development Report 1996 states that:

*Twenty countries in Africa (today) have per capital income lower than 20 years ago. Two-thirds of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) are in Africa. A food-surplus continent twenty years ago, Africa is now food-deficit (UNDP – HDR, 1996:2).*

The important points to note is that globalization through its “heavy constraints” is changing the way in which major institution heads think and operate across nations and

within nations. Globalization is shaping their action and inaction, what people do and what they don't do. In fact, their identity is gradually changing and how they see themselves too. This is actually disturbing in Africa. Thorbecke (1997) said of Africa, that "is the only developing region where poverty is increasing", considering that:

*African governments (now) seem to have lost control of the policy making process, and are under pressure to accept the dictation from creditor nations and financial institutions. Governments (African) now tend to discuss development issues less with their nationals, and more with donors and creditors, about debt repayment, debt relief and rescheduling and paradoxically about more development assistance (which rather than develop them further their underdevelopment and dependency) (emphasis mine) (Nwaka, 2000).*

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

Globalization is an important phenomenon in the history of mankind. It is not a system that one can wish away. The advent of globalization especially after the cold war has a serious impact on the social, economic and political lives of nations of the world.

The beneficiary, it seems, is mainly the advanced world, while African nations, because of its contribution to world trade, continue to wallow in poverty and degradation. Barrier to trade is daily becoming an elusive thing, while unrestricted borders permeate the third world countries, especially Africa. Goods from the advanced societies continue to receive acceptance in African while agricultural products which were mainly from Africa receives less patronage.

The only opportunity opened to African nations, if the system would not be a one-sided affair, is that African nations must find a level playing ground. The policy framework must be standardized to face exterior changes. The action and inaction in the face of mounting pressure to open borders must be adequately checked. Less dictation from IMF and other monetary class must be put into check.

#### **5.0 Summary**

The unit has focused on what globalization is all about and the impact of this on Africa. On what globalization is, it was explained that simply put, globalization is the transforming of some things or phenomena into global ones. It is the unification of world trade. It could also be defined as the integration of economies throughout the world through trade, financial flow, the exchange of technology and information and also the movement of people and services.

Several points were raised on the effects of globalization on Africa. The impact of globalization include among others, the following: it increases poverty in Africa; it leads to mass exodus of skilled manpower from Africa to advanced world; it created



unacceptable levels of social inequalities; and it led to mass unemployment in African nations because of the shut down of industries that cannot compete with goods from the industrialized nations.

Challenges of globalization were also discussed in the unit. They include that the World Bank accept the proposal on debt forgiveness, efforts in African nations must be geared towards reducing inflation, continued improvements in overall growth performance, countries must reduce their internal and external debt balances and African countries must open up their borders to external trade.

## **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

- (1) Globalisation is a necessary evil. Discuss.
- (2) How do you explain the impact of globalization on Africa?
- (3) Analyse the problems of globalization of World Trade.

## **7.0 References and Further Readings**

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