Such type of socialism would accommodate changes that capitalism brought, yet it would respect African values. It will also sustain egalitarianism which means equality of responsibility for all individuals.

Another principle of Nkurumaism is Pan Africanism. He was a strong advocate of Pan Africanism and he believed he must find African solutions to African problems. This is only possible when Africans unite. Divided we fall, united we become one of the greatest forces of the world. Another principle was the Neo-colonialism. This concept was first coined by Nkrumaism or Nkrumah in his book titled "Neo-colonialism, the last state of Imperialism. Such the state has all the outward trappings of sovereignty, but its economic system and political policies are or were directed from outside. Therefore, Nkrumah believed in political neutrality. That is, not taking sides with US or Soviet Union. Yet we believe it will take ages for their countries to develop Ghana. Nkrumah saw himself as an African Lenin, hence he believed Nkrumaism was an ideology with similar recognition status as Leninism. These ideas formed the ideology of the CPP i.e. Social Justice, Pan Africanism, Self Determination, African Personality and Anti-imperialism.

In pursuant of his ideas, he adopted socialist policies and practices in ruling Ghana, he created a welfare system, he built schools and roads, provided for healthcare and introduced free education. He attempted to industrialize Ghana to reduce dependence for foreign capital and technology, so that Ghana would be truly independent and free from Neo-colonialism. He established man stake-hold enter

He discouraged private ownership and nationalized major industries. He tried to reconditionalise and develop the country side by establishing sound development committee to ensure that people become responsible maintenance and sanitation. Along with, he established farms to produce cash crops where youth workers will be employed and established the Kwame Nkrumah institute to teach his social and Nkrumaism ideas. The policies brought all of opposition from different quarters especially the cocoa farmers who are forced to pay heavy taxes. Because of the opposing, he proposed constitutional amendment that would make him president for life CPP the only political party and hence Ghana became one party system or state while he transformed into a dictator and authoritarian leader.

Authenticity by Mobutu Sese Sekou

Pol 123 Africa Politics

He seized power in Congo, Kinshasha in 1965 with the assistance of the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) during the cold war. However, he later became a dictator and a liability to the Democratic Republic of Congo and established a popular movement of revolution in 1970 and made it mandatory for all citizens to join the party. 1970 he was elected president unopposed. He propounded the doctrine of authenticity which means return to authentic African values. He believed that Africans have ways of organization before the coming of Europeans but colonialism corrupted these values. Therefore, authentic those practice and concept and values of the colonialist. One important pillar of authenticity is identity hence Sese Sekou renamed his country in 1971 to Congo Zaire and Zaire meant an old North.

CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

The weather at trophic Africa is said to be very hot around the year and it changes temperature during a year. Some part experience Mediterranean climate. Rainfall in Africa average more than 100-400 inches.

Africa has large straight desert which is the Saharan Deserts. There are forests such as Equatorial rainforest and savanna etc.

Africa has five (5) climate regions.

1.Savanna 2. Tropical rainforest 3. Deserts 4. Mediterranean areas 5. Semi-arid.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF AFRICA

Rivers also favour resettlement and population growth. Through the river, Africa has access to other continents. Many of African features are also difficult for other continents. Most of the rivers has not been navigable. Deserts are sparsely populated and they are valueless

PEOPLE OF AFRICA

For a long time, scientists believe that men originated from Asia half a million years ago but later found Africa. These demonstrated that man species who are Homo sapiens gave birth to at least 1 million years in Africa. Man was found in Kenya. Other findings have demonstrated that Africa is the oldest of civilizations in the world. Africa is the home of civilization

POPULATION

Africa has a population of about 800 million and 19% of the world- Africa is blessed with diversity of languages who speak about 800 languages.

LANGUAGE

Niger Kodojanian, Nile Saharan group, Click language, Afro-Asiatic language.

Out of the language, Bantu is widely spoken, it includes Swahili, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo and Tiv.

Under the click language include Choi Choi, Hottent. The Afro-Asiatic group include the Arabs, Barbers, language and Amaric

Generally, Anthropologists have divided Africa into seven main Anthropological groups:

Semites: Arabs, Jews.

Hamites: Ethiopians, Barbers people of West Sahara.

Bantus: Negroid of Central and Southern Africa

The two Negro: Central, Western Africa and Sudan.

Bushmen: Primitive people in the Kalahari Desert of Africa

Pygmies of Congo River basin

PEOPLE OF AFRICA

The continent of Africa has been divided into two past parts. We have North Africa and black Africa.

Black Africa is referred to as Sub-Saharan Africa while North Africa is regarded as Saharan Africa.

Saharan Africa is bordered from the North from the Mediterranean area extending Southwards into the Sahara Desert. It covers countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, and Spanish Sahara. These countries are culturally and historically more related to Europe and Middle East. The Sub-Saharan Africa comprises tropical Africa, Western Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa. Therefore, studying Africa is like studying two continents in one.

TOPIC 2

COMMON MYTHS HELD ABOUT AFRICA

They had limited knowledge about Africa. The Europeans held certain myths about the continent of Africa.

1. Africa was a land without a past and without a history. That the history of Africa only started with the contact with the Europeans. That was when Western civilization was introduced into Africa. For instance, A Professor in Oxford University Hling Trever and this dated as far back as 1965, taught his students that "Africa has no historical records to illuminate its past" That perhaps in the future, they will become history to teach but at the present, there is none. There is history of Europeans in Africa, the rest darkness and darkness is not a subject to history.
2. Africa had no form of civilization whatsoever, rather, Africa was regarded as a primitive, barbaric, archaic and uncreative continent who offered no attraction for scholarship that is inhabited by savages who went naked or barely covered with animal skin. People were poverty stricken, witchcraft, illiteracy and backwardness.
3. Another Philosopher by name David Hume stated that "I am apt to suspect the Negroes or rather Africa are naturally inferior to the white. There was never a civilized nation or any other complexion than white, nor ever an individual more eminent in action or speculation". He also stated of Black Africa that "No manufacturer among them, no arts, no science" Africa was technologically backwards and the less endowed with technological resources, least endowed with material resources. It has poor soil, irregular rainfall.

   Environmentally, Africa was the most unfriendly of all continents because it was inhabited by pest, tse-tse fly disease carrying parasites, Guinea worm etc.

   How true these myths are!

1. It is not true that Africa had no civilization. Indeed, Africa was the cradle of civilization. It was discovered that earliest form of civilization has flourish among the river Nile were Agriculture first started. All other notable medical civilization was first reported in Egypt.
2. In terms of Art notable civilization includes the Nok culture which flourished between the 4th and 5th century B.C and the terracotta of Ife and the Bronze sculptures of Benin. The Ganda civilization in fact, Benin civilization was so impressive to the early Dutch, who paid glowing tribute of what they saw. They wrote "The town seems to be very great, when you enter it, you go straight in a broad street, not paved but seems to be even

IGBO TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Igbo traditional political system has been described as diffused (decentralized), segmentary or acephalous. Power is diffuse through the lineage and clan system. There was no over hatching system of political organization but villages and towns formed their own political societies and these societies were dominated by village heads, family heads and elders. The primary political unit was the family presided by the family head. The number of families constitute a kindred and a number of kindred form a lineage and number of lineages form a village.

1. **The village council of elders:** Comprises all family heads and headed by the oldest man of the family known as the Okpara. The village council made a king for the village. Also, some title holders known as the Ozo wielded some degrees of power, sometimes they could be consulted by the elders, they could be consulted by the elders, they could settle certain disputes and they presided over meetings. Also, addition to the village council. Secret societies also provide for checks and balances.
2. **Age-grades:** Comprises all males exercising some powers over their members. They undertook development works such as road construction, market construction. They also prosecuted offenders and brought them before the council of elders. They also enforce the decisions of the council of elders among their members. They serve as armies to defend the community from eternal aggression.
3. **Judiciary:** No specialized system of law but customs and traditions served as laws. Judicial functions were exercised right from the family, clan, village council, title holders, age-grades, shrine and secret cults or societies.

There is also abundant evidence that Africa had large well organized political system before the advent of colonialism e.g. the Hausa state, Sokoto caliphates, Ashantis empires in Ghana, Benin kingdom, Oyo empire, Kanem Borno empire, Songhai empire, Mali empire, Ganda empire, Bunyero empire

1. These kingdoms were characterized by the presence of a centralized authority. They had a king, paramount rulers. They had chiefs and sub-chiefs, they had citizens and states. Most of them were founded through conquest but the power of the ruler varies from one place to another.
2. The kingdoms were marked by complex administrative machineries.

3. They have judicial institutions for settling disputes.
4. They had judicial personnel and procedures for making appeals
5. They had machineries for collecting taxes and specialized military machineries.
6. Some of them were very vast and comparable to the European empires
7. Many of the kingdoms thrive or flourish for centuries and decades until eventually weakened by colonial rulers. Some were strengthened by colonial rule depending on their relationship with their colonial masters.

OYO EMPIRE

FEATURES

1. Diffusion of powers: - The Oyo kingdom was headquartered at Oyo town which was the largest of the Yoruba towns. The central administration was headed by the Alaafin who wielded the overall power in conjunction with the council of officials known as the Oyo-mesi. The council made policies and supervised their implementation in the different districts, each town were administered by an Oba known as Baale. The Baales were supervised by the Oyo-mesi assigned to their districts. Each Baale could appoint smaller chiefs at the village.

2.A system of checks and balances: - Alaafin was a semi-divine figure and he did not always appear in public but in actual fact, he was a figure head because it is the Oyo-mesi that actually rule in effect. The Alaafin had to consult the Oyo-mesi on any major decisions in order to avoid arbitrariness. Therefore, we can say the Oyo-mesi checkmate the power of the Alaafin. It was the Oyo-mesi that will select and dethrone the Oba. The head of the Oyo-mesi was known as the Bashuron. The Bashuron could reject the decisions of the Alaafin and give his own instructions to the council for implementation in the district. When an Alaafin become autocratic, he ran the risk of becoming unpopular and the Bashuron will present him with a calabash and ask him to commit suicide or leave the kingdom. As the Bashuron has so many Counterbalancing power over the Alaafin, so also his power was checkmated by the Ogboni cult headed by the Olowu. Every proclamation of the Bashuron was subject to approval by the Ogboni cult or Olowu. Oftentimes, an Olowu who was close to the Alaafin could be used by the Alaafin to checkmate the power of the Bashuron. Another form of checkmate was provided by the military leader headed by the Are-o Kakanfo (field marshal). The military could stand into power whenever there is civil unrest or crises in the empire. The military were accountable to the Alaafin for their

appointments and to the Oyo-mesi for their promotions. The Kankafo was not expected tonsuffer any defeat in a battle. If he did, he is expected to go on exile or honourably take his life. This pervasive system of checks and balances has been referred to as trainal democracy

3. **The fusion of powers.** There was no clear separation of power between the arms of government. The powers of the Alaafin and his chiefs were both executive, judicial and legislative in nature e.g they made policies and laws of the land. The Alaafin and his council also constituted the highest ear of the land and settle very serious criminql matters. At the town level, the Baales settle all legal issues but referred the very seriousone's to the supervisory Oyo-mesi. The Ogboni cult was also important in supervising the laws made by the Oyo-mesi. They also participate in the resolution of very serious issues. The Age-grades known as the Elegbe enforce judiciwl decisions. They arrest offenders and carry out public and similarly crafts and guilds and trade associations also wielded challengeous powers over their members some times more than their state.

KANEM BORNO EMPIRE A.D 800-1808

The Kanem Borno empire was located in the Chad region established by the Sefawas dynasty in the world. At the height of its power, it stretches from Kano in the West to Dafur in the East and Fezzan in the North. The empire lasted from the 9th to 19th century and its capital Njini. The empire ruled very powerfully and became prosperous of the trans-sahara trade under very powerful rulers such as Ali Ghaji and Mai Idris Alooma. The main features of the Kanem Borno empire are:

1. It is a monarchical system

2. It has a system of official hierarchy. It had a standing army and it has a recognisable leadership system.

The administration was so elaborate headed by a Mai who was the supreme controller of legislative, judicial and executive functions. He was the nominal commander in chief of the armed forces and also the religious head of the empire and also the controller of trade. He constitutes the last court of appeal. He makes all appointments, promotions and discipline. He made all important policies that were binding on the subjects. The council of officers assist him in the day-to-day administrations and advise him on important matters. The empire was split into four parts. Each of them administered by the king's representative. The Northern part was administered by Eunuchs called Yerima, then the Southern part was

ruled by Eunuchs called Kaigama. The Eastern part was ruled by a noble called the Mestrema and the Western by part by a noble called Galadima The empire vassal states (conquered in Battle) which were under the control of the king's servant named Chimaga. They remitted regularly the revenue collected in their state.

There was a standing army headed by the Kaigama. It was divided into two divisions:

1. An infantry division: the home divisions concerning the king's body guards who protected the king and the empire
2. Calvary division: It was the bush army who fought all the battles. In each of the two army divisions, there were twelve units. Each unit was commanded by an officer called the Kachalla. At the zenith of its power, the military were equipped with up to date fire arms imported from North Africa.

The judiciary: - It was headed by a chief justice called Maina Kanendi who was considered second in rank to the king. He was usually joined by twelve herbal judges to hear the lower court. The king's court was the last court of appeal. Another official known as Talba kept all records of procceedings in the court of appeal. Within the hierarchy of officials, the Queen mother called Magira was also very influential. Also, the Galadima who was also the head of the king's government. The Ciroma was the governor of the king's capital. Although, officials provide the necessary function for a sound administration.

THE FULANI EMPIRE

The Sokoto caliphate was established after the fight of Usman Dan Fodio. The empire extended over large territories of Northern Nigeria, superimposed over several Hausa old kingdoms.

The caliphate was divided into Emirates with two headquarters in Sokoto and Gwandu. Sokoto was the capital of the Eastern emirate which encompassed Kano, Katsina, Bauchi, Gombe, Yola while Gwandu was for the Western emirate; Illorin, Kontagora, Argungu. Therefore, the caliphate comprises of confederation (no strong central government) emirates which were subject to the overall discretionary power of the caliphs in Sokoto. The Emirs were the caliphs' representative in the Emirate. He was the chief executive as well as spiritual head of the Emirates and was expected to rule according to the Islamic injunction. He controlled the economy, raised taxes, maintain law and oder and control all

religious affairs. He made laws were there were no express injunction of Islamic laws. Each emirate was represented in Sokoto or Gwandu by an ambassador called the vizier. The Emirs were assisted by a council of officials who advise them on the administration of the Emirates which officials includes the Waziri who is considered as the prime minister and the Madawaki who is the commander of the army and also the Galadima who was the chief administrator of the empire capital. Sarkin Fada who was the head of palace workers, Sarkin Dogarai, the head of the police, the Sarkin Ruwa in charge of water resources, Sarkin Pawa the head of butchers, the Maaji, the minister of finance, the Emirs treasurer, the Yari the officer in charge of prisons.

Each Emirate was divided into districts headed by the Hakimi. Each district had villages headed by a chief (Sarki) and the chiefs of the village were appointed by the Hakimi. Through the chiefs, taxes were collected and passed onto the Emirs who then pay tributes to Sokoto and Gwandu. There was an elaborate system of taxation and different forms of taxes were collected:

Haraji (land taxes), Jangali (cattle taxes), Lizya (tax paid by slaves, aliens or strangers), the zakat (tax on morable property). The legislative functions of the caliphate were fulfilled by Islamic law called Sharia and the supreme law of the land but supplemented by the Emirs laws and instructions. Judicial functions were performed by the Emirs who constituted the highest court of the land and all criminal cases and land dispute and could pass a death sentence. The district court were presided by trained judicial personnel known as Alkali who adjudicated based on Sharia law and village head handle minor offenses in the village.

TOPIC 4

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

In other times, it was mentioned that Africa was being colonized or ruled by colonial powers. Colonialism may be defined as a system of domination involving territorial acquisition of one indigenous majority area by a foreign minority invader.

Nature of Colonialism

It involved two main elements:

1. Domination
2. Cultural dissimilarity

In some instance, the colonizers are willing to make some concession to colonized, but in most cases, the colonizers do not make concessions to be colonized, rather they seek cultural synthesis with the values of the whole country. In some instances, the colonizers do not interfere with the culture of the people they colonize. Also, in colonialism, there is usually no counter acculturation where the colonizers borrow from the civilization of the colonized. On a significant scale this is because of unsurmountable racial prejudice and ethnocentric arrogance. They have a divine mandate to rue over the world. Essentially, colonialism is based on the doctrines of superiority. In most cases, the colonizers saw it as a universal mission or a contribution to civilize barbarians and savages (white man's burden). Some of them also felt they were mandated by God to bring salvation to the pagans. This attitude translated into expansionism and modern colonialism. In colonialism, the fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonizers are made and influenced by colonial rulers in pursuit of their personal interest. The colonized society is usually robbed of its own historical line of development. It is also externally manipulated and transformed to fit the interest of the colonizing metropolis. Most often, the colonialist government hardly obtain these objectives, therefore modern colonialism essentially aims at making the peripheral society subservient to the metropolis and the metropolis in turn, claims exclusive rights to possession of the colony. Colonialism is usually achieved through aggression, military conquest or settlement.

Colonialism often go hand in hand with colonies but necessarily so. It is possible to have colonies without colonialism but it is impossible to have colonialism without colonies. There are three (3) major types of colonialism:

1. <u>Formal Colonial Rule: -</u> The indigenous rulers are replaced by foreign rulers or their representatives. They performed essentially functions of government such as levying of taxes, administration of justice, control over the military and police and takeover of diplomatic relations.
2. <u>Informal Empire:</u> - In this type, a weaker state remains politically intact and independent. It conducts its own foreign affairs and there is no colonial administration set up but there is a foreign big brother nation which occasionally interfere with the vital aspect of the policy such as finance and economy. It also guarantees for self, certain privileges and rights such as un—equal treaties, protection of foreign citizens from indigenous laws. Free trade regimes, low import duties, the right to station foreign troops on territorial waters, placement of consuls who may intervene in domestic

policy in advisory capacity. Any attempt to undermine their advice will lead to threat of military intervention. There is usually a collaborative elite which has indigenous legitimacy and authority to rule, but it functions more in the interest of big patron. Informal empires are hardly motivated by the desire for prestige rather by the desire to secure a significant economic interest.

3. <u>True Colonialism and Imperialism:</u> - (Non-colonial influence)
In this form, there is actually no colonial domination, no special economic rights. However, the economic and military right of the country gives it the opportunity to influence the quality of weaker states around the globe and this has become the typical pattern of international relation. The term colonialism and imperialism are often used interchangeably but are not necessarily the same. Colonialism involve political control and domination, but imperialism is more broadly used to refer to political or economic control exercise formally or informally. Imperialism is quite extensive and involve formal or informal control in order to secure the control of stronger patron that is able to defend his own national interest and enforce it worldwide in the international systems. The slave trade gave birth to legitimate trade due to the campaign by Britain and other rested issue or interest. In 1807, they were about to put a stop to slave trade (Atlantic). This marked a turning point between African –European relationship. The search for new trade products such as palm oil and cotton for industries, the new interest in Geographical explorations, missionary activities, growing knowledge in tropical medicine, improved communication as a result of the discoveries of the steam ship and the telegraph are all the factors that combine to make Africa attracted to the Europeans.

THE REASONS WHY AFRICA WAS COLONIZED

1. The discovery of Gold and Diamond in Southern Africa in the 1860's and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 all led to the assumptions that Africa was a tropical treasure house and these attracted the Europeans to the continent.
2. The Industrial Revolution in Europe: - This highlighted the need for markets and sources of raw materials. Therefore, European powers were encouraged to acquire colonies so that they can supply their country with the needs material market.

3. The activity of one industrialist called Cecil Rhoder who was one of the greatest imperialist financers of the 19th century. He encouraged Europeans government to venture into empire building and investment which could lead to massive profit. He told them that funds invested in colonies would yield better returns to them than the ones invested at home because such investment will be shielded from economic crisis at home. Most European government began to sponsor trading farms to expand their trade into Africa. They empowered them to negotiate economic treaties with Africans local authorities and possibly to settle in some African areas. These trading companies constituted pioneer expansion and profit.
4. The political struggle among Europeans powers: It was believed that the acquisition of colonies and overseas expansion were associated with power and prestige such that these states which attempted to expand tended to increase their political image and statues.
5. Sometimes, European powers attempted to expand in other countries to checkmate their rival expansionist's drive on the world. Before 1870's, Britain had a steady ruling involvement in Africa politically and economically e.g. in 1808, Britain established the settlement of Freetown, Sierra Leone to settle free slaves. By 1814, Britain had taken control of Cape colony and it founded the colony of Natal in South Africa. This move led to the Boers wars of resistance. Which culminated in the final defeat of the Zulu people in 1879. Similarly, in 1862, the British established the colony of Lagos and laid claim to Basuto land (present day Lesotho) in 1868, they also claimed Tunisia in 1881 and Egypt in 1882.

   Similarly, the French interest in West Africa was growing steadily. First, they established colony over Equatorial Guinea and a station of St. Loius (in Senegal).

   The Dutch are not left out. First, they established a fueling station at the tip of Southern Africa in 1659 after their arrival in 1652. So also, some non-European Turks incorporated part of Northern Africa into the Ottoman empire. In all, Portuguese were the most active of all European traders. They established strong trade relations in the Central African areas namely Congo Brazzaville, Congo Zaire and Angola. By 1700, they established a small colony in Angola.

Thus well before the partition in 1885, Europeans has established trading posts and colonies in Africa but as we can observe, they were restricted mainly to the coastal areas. The interior of Africa however, felt European impact during the

Atlantic slave trade, when the coastal chiefs carry out raids into interior Africa to procure slaves for shipment across the Atlantic Ocean. It can be said therefore, that relatively few areas in Africa came under colonial rule by 1870's. This includes Lagos, Freetown, The Gold Coast, St. Louis.

THE GREAT PARTITION OF AFRICA

From 1884 to 1885 marked the beginning of meaningful subjugation of the African continent as it heralded (ushered) the institutionalization of the European rule in Africa. This was the partitioning of Africa among various European interest. The event itself was precipitated by King Leopold II of Belgium whose ambition was to absorb to the

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Provoked the rivalry of other European powers who now joined the race for acquisition of colonies. Therefore, in order to avert major conflict within themselves and put an end to territorial encroachment.

European powers met at the Berlin conference in 1884 to 1885, to fashion out modalities for claims over African territories. At this conference, Africa was partitioned into areas of influence without right to historical and linguistic affiliations among the African people.

The conference stipulated among other things that any European power taking over any African territory should first of all, notify other powers of its intentions to avoid clashes. Also, such claims were to be followed by effective occupation of the territory before they can be recognized. However, the conference stipulated that there should be free trade and navigation along the African rivers. Also, the conference recognize the free Congo state claimed by King Leopold to the annoyance of Britain and France. As a result of the conference, European powers began to rally round African chiefs to sign treaties of protection or to cede away their territory. African leaders on their part, signed these treaties under pressure, compulsion or deception. By 1900, almost all of African countries had been claimed by European powers. The British established a small colony over the Gambia in 1888 and a Protectorate in Gambia's interior in 1893. Then they matched the two in the year 1935 to become present day country of Gambia. The British further expanded by setting up an administration in part of Northern Zambia in 1899 to 1900. Similarly, they extended their jurisdiction over Uganda and Nigeria by 1902.

They established jurisdiction in Gold coast in Ghana in 1901. They equally expanded their control into the interior of Sierra Leone in 1895. The French declared a Protectorate over Madagascar in 1895 and officially occupied it by 1886. They also conquered Dahomey (Republic of Benin) in 1892. They colonized Ivory Coast in 1893, the Chad in 1907 to 1909 and Morocco in 1912 and completed their invasion of Central Sudan in 1902. Belgium annexed the Congo Zaire in 1808 and South West Africa (Namibia) 1885 that is the German's the included Togo and Cameroon. However, these territories were passed unto the League of Nations after the defeat of Germany in the second world war. South Africa under Britain, Cameroon and Togo land were given to Belgium. The Portuguese formally secured Angola, Congo Brazzaville, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe and Spain annexed the Fernando island.

REACTION TO AFRICAN COLONIAL INCURSION

The conquest of Africa took place within 25 years between 1880-1905. Africa fell to the European power. But the Europeans discovered that there is a difference between signing of treaties and the actual suborn nation of the people (Africans). It was more difficult for them to control the African even though it was easier to get them to sign agreement with them. This is because of the strife and skillful resistance that Africans put up. African reaction to colonial rule varied widely from place to place. From brave, open and long confrontation of powerful armies of the Ashanti, Dahomey (Benin Republic) to prolonged Guerilla warfare of the forest areas. As Michael Growder observed that even in those places, they had won clear cut victories, there were new outbreaks of resistance among the native continued to reassert (reconquer) their independence. On the whole African reaction to colonial situation was determined by certain factors.

1. The form of political organization, whether small, stateless or large political entities.
2. The type of leadership and its mobilization or mobilizing ideologies
3. The perception of interest in terms of dangers and benefits.

1.Large organization had centralized systems, they mobilized their people quickly and they confronted the Europeans face to face (overtly). Once the leadership was subdued, the whole community was subdued.

The smaller stateless communities did not have a unifying organization, no overall leader to look up to and they don't have the same interest. They engage

more in guerilla warfare. Nevertheless, they were able to mobilize the superior weapons of the enemy for a long area, e.g. the coastal area of Cote D'Ivoire.

2.This determine the reliance of the leaders to hold forth and the duration of the struggle. Some leaders were not ready to accommodate any foreigner and they fought vehemently e.g. chief of Satiru of Sokoto state who declared himself to be a Madhi (Saviour) and ignited a rebellion against the British government, fighting with bows and arrows, axes, and even some guns which he collected from soldiers sent to fight them. Later, the British government devastated the Satiru, they dissociated themselves and were willing to help the British. Therefore, these collaboration of the Emirs led to the successful establishment of British rule.

Similarly, Alhaji Umar of Tukolor empire fought the French and prevented their penetration through Senegal rivers. Samori Toure of mandigo empire, he put up a strong resistance for 15 years and manufactured useful copies of European arms to fight them. Other leaders include Bai Buch of the Temne empire, King Nana of Itsekiri. The Mende and Temne rose up a rebellion against the imposition of Hut Tax in 1989.

3.The perception of interest: - In terms of benefit or danger, some saw Europeans as friends. The Ashantis of Ghana were in control of the slave trade in the Gold Coast. They saw the Europeans' coming as a threat to that control. The Ashantis championed a rebellion against the British. It is on record that the Ashantis fought the longest resistance against the colonial rule. They killed several British armies and prevented them from entering Kumasi in 1896. In 1900, they fought one of the fiercest battle against the British. In some areas, the Europeans arrived during time of ethnic rivalry. And were of independent. Some leaders saw the Europeans as their savior from stronger African rivals, therefore, they collaborate with them. However, when it was clear to them that the Europeans were not there to help, they turned to resistance. E.g. the leader of Nyamwezi called Uramba collaborate with the Europeans in 1890 and accepted protection from their rivals. In some instances, economic consideration determined or dictated the reaction of Africans. The Malatous and some of the Liberian areas saw the whites as coming to give the opportunity of consolidation or consolidating their powerful economic and political position in the society. Therefore, they help to the whites to spread Christianity and to advance their goals. They soon realize the Europeans had their own motives, therefore, they revolted. This led to the expulsion of Africans from churches e.g. Samuel Ajayi Crowther. As a result, these Africans established the independent African churches. Similarly, the existence of Europeans created

conflict between them and the Arabs in East Africa (the Arabs dominated the Africa trade).

In the Niger Delta area of Nigeria, a powerful slave trade dealer saw the British as a threat. The British allied with King Dappa Pepple of Bonny. Dappa Pepple saw Alali as their threat and dethroned Alali in 1837 and exiled him from the Niger Delta. This were in British interference in Niger Delta politics. When the later perceived Dappa Pepple a threat to their control of legitimate trade, they exiled him in 1844 from Bonny. The above case and others demonstrate how internal politics among African communities played the Africans into Europeans hands. In Algeria, the main resistance force against the French was that of Abdel kadir. Because some Muslim groups opposed him, they collaborated with the British. The Ashantis allied with the British against their enemies. The French allied with the Yoruba's of Ketu against Dahomey. The French allied with the Bambaro people against Samori. Generally, some communities collaborated and later resisted. Others resisted and later collaborated. Northern Emirs resisted the understanding of British rule until they were assured of non-interference of their religion even though they comprised, although they do not let their children attend European schools

MAI MAI REBELLION

One outstanding example of African resistance to colonialism was the Mai Mai rebellion in German East Africa (present day Tanzania). The Germans realized that Tanzania was poor in terms of mineral resources and they decided to force the natives to work on experimental farms. The native includes; Hehe, Chaggas, Nyamezi. They grew cotton, sisal and coffee and forced them to produce on the farm. The natives felt it was a wasteful venture aimed at taking them away from subsistent agriculture. The Germans introduced payment of Hut Tax. They attempted to drive off the Germans leading to the 1905 rebellion at Matumbi Hills of South Africa and it spread to Ngeni land. The rebellion has no political leadership but it was led by Keleto cult priest. The rioters used magic waters which were supposed to have magic powers. This encouraged the natives to be violent against the whites as it was believed that drinking the water will render the bullets powerless. The water would protect the users from harm. The priest preached the unity of Africans and the glorious future they would have when the whites were driven away. The rioters attracted Arab shop keepers and killed some Europeans, destroyed German stations.

Soon the movement spread to other part of East Africa where other natives rose against the imposition of Hut Tax. The German responded ruthlessly to the challenges of the rioters, killing many natives and destroyed their villages. By 1907, all forms of resistance had been suppressed and the Germans moved in to consolidate their powers of Tanzania. Although the movement was not very successful, it was the beginning of modern nationalism in Africa. Hostility of Africa had an influence on evolution of colonial policy or policies in East Africa as they became more careful not to subvert their customs so as not to provoke another uprising. New policies were made to stimulate agriculture as a source of revenue and to protect African from the hands of the German officials who use excessive maltreatment.

SHANA NDEBELE UPRISING

Another important protest against African colonialism took place in Southern Rhodesia that is present day Zimbabwe. Cecil Rhodes who was the founder of the British South African company. He invited British settlers to settle on the Shana and Ndebele land. When they arrived, he gave them commanding positions in the affairs of the areas about the African inhabitant.

In 1893, they fought the Ndebele people and took their land and their cattle. After succeeding, they started infiltrating the Shana land and subjected the native to HUT Tax collections or collect through raiding and harsh labour policy.

Also, they continuous exerting of land and cattle coupled with the Rinderpest epidemic which struck the remaining cattle drove the people into desperation. Therefore, in 1896, the Shana who were experiencing lack of rainfall blamed the Europeans since their gods had not appeared. They joined the Ndebeles against the British settlers. Like the Maji leadership, this rebellion was headed by the religious leaders. The British South African company could not fuel the rebellion therefore the British government intervened with military forces. At the end, Cecil Rhodes sought for peace. The Ndebele accepted but the Shana refused until a batch of military forces were dispatched against them and suppressed them in a bloody manner. The native authority system was re-organized to checkmate European excesses. Yet by 1923, the settlers had annexed the whole territory. It must be noted the Shana Ndebele uprising and other similar incidences conditioned the development of mass nationalist movement in Southern Rhodesia in 1950's.

Another benchmark resistance was the Ethiopians resistance of Italians in a face to face encounter at at the battle of Adowa also in 1896, where the Ethiopians crushed the Italians and declared their independence under emperor Menelik. Also, Hottentos (of South Africa) of the Copegennisular rose against Dutch encroachment on their land (Holland) in the 17th century. The Dutch had no choice but to resort to peaceful negotiations with the Hottentos. The Xhosa people rose against British attempt to claim their land in the 18th century and the Zulus also fought remarkable wars with the British. Yao people of South West Tanzania fiercely resisted colonial rule, their leaders wrote letters to the leaders in Swahili language quoting he would rather die than surrender to the Europeans. He quotes; "If the Europeans wants friendship, I will be their friend and if they want me and my people to be their subject, I won't agree and if they want war, he is ready". At last, he was finally crushed with machine guns. Among the Hehes, their leaders preferred to commit suicide. In the Southern Angola's, the natives engaged the Portuguese and defeated them in 1904 only to be resubordinated in 1915.

Another level of resistance was in opposition against colonial policies. Such opposition often took the form of tax riot, revolt against forceful recruitment into the army. In South Eastern Nigeria, some women carried out a riot against the British in 1929 against women tax. First, the British imposed the warrant chiefs who were not used to them. The chiefs were warranted to levy taxes on women although the women refused, the warrant chiefs went ahead to exert this tax. The women of Aba and Owerri in response, organized themselves, attacked the British and destroyed their stations in Aba, Calabar and Opobo. Therefore, the British had to introduce reforms. Certain groups however welcomed the colonial situation and became the new elites. The Europeans co-opted them to participate in their affairs; some civil servants, teachers and soldiers. To them, colonialism elevated them from lower status. Although the Europeans had superior weapons advantage, they did not find the infiltration of Africa a walk over. It took them 25 years. Indeed, certain parts of Africa were not occupied until second decades of the 20th century including Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Eastern and Central Nigeria.

REASONS WHY AFRICANS' RESISTANCE FAILED

1. Superior weaponry: African armies relied on obsolete war equipment such as bows, arrows, spears etc. These could not withstand the European sophisticated artilleries made by European technology. Their econmy also supported them.

2. **The inability of some states to take advantage of guerrilla warfare:** Many engaged in open confrontation with the Europeans at their peril. This gave the Europeans the fullest advantage over them. The forest regions however were most suited for guerilla warfare than the savanna. Hence the most difficult situations for the Europeans were those parts of Africa that resorted to guerilla warfare.
3. **Peace meal resistance:** Africans resistance was weak because it was not united. It was undertaken on a stage by stage basis, making their conquest cheaper for the invading powers. The Europeans were most united despite their differences e.g. the British turned down Samari's conquest to fight the French.
4. **Political rivalry:** Given the multiplicity of kingdoms and rival states on the African continent, the French and British had no difficulty aligning themselves Africans e.g. the Fantes against the Ashantis, the Ibadan against Ijebus, the Bambaras against the Chikolos. The political quarrel played the Africans into the hands of the Europeans. It helps to state opposition factions against any ruler who was a threat.

TOPIC No. 5

COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA

French Colonial Rule In Africa

The French had eight (8) colonies in Africa (Afrique ocdentale Francais). This includes or comprise of Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Guinea, Senegal, Niger, Upper Volta, Mauritania and Mali. They also had a colony called Equatorial Africa (Congo Brazzaville), Gabon, Central Africa republic. The French believed that their administration was the best in the world, so they adopted the policy of assimilation. In that policy, Africans would be regarded as Black French citizens only in their skin. Similarly, their customs were replaced by the French way of life. Also, the French patterns of education, languages and ideas will be adopted. The citizens of Black French were governed from France. Federation of West Africa was headquartered in Dakar West Africa and that of Equatorial Guinea was headquartered in Congo Brazzaville. Each headquarter was ruled by a governor who was based in a headquarter either in Dakar or Brazzaville and is accountable to the Governor General. The Governor General s accountable to the secretary to the state. The Governor General controlled the budget and the federation. He had a council of advisers elected from the colonies for

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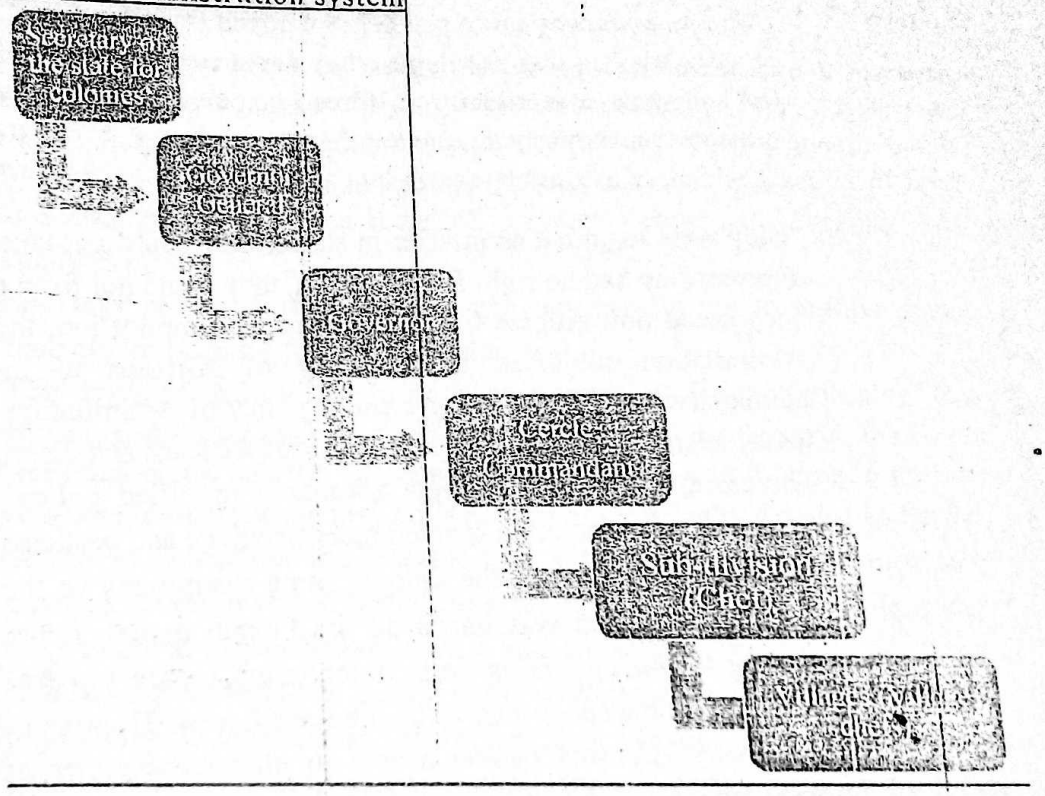
administrative purposes. Each of the colonies was divided into Cercle which was ruled by a Cercle commandant. Each Cercle was subdivided in division ruled by Chefs de divisions. Traditional rulers were placed straw Chefs. These straw Chefs were mainly old soldiers and retired civil servants who were tutored in French administration. Although, where the French found very strong traditional rulers, they did not overthrow them. Instead, they used indirect rule e.g. Northern Cameroon and Upper Volta, Senegal. The French operated on dual citizenship and other groups were called subjects. The citizens live in St Louis and Dakar.

French administration system



SENEGAL

In Senegal, France operated a system of dual citizenship, therefore, they had the citizens and the subjects. Senegal was divided into two sections:

One section was called communes which comprises Refuque, Dakar, Goree, St. Louis.

The Communes were inhabited by citizens; the rest was administered as a protectorate. A protectorate has not lost its sovereignty while colonies have lost their sovereignty. The Communes were administered like the French man. The citizens in the Communes were treated as free French citizens and those in the protectorate were treated like subjects. The citizens were more favoured and enjoys more privileges. They were excluded from the taxes, forced labour, forced military conscription. They were subjects to French law. They could vote and be voted for, they could seat in parliament in Paris, they have rights to education overseas and many more privileges enjoyed by the citizens. The subjects on the other hands had less privileges; they could not vote and be voted for, they paid tax and were conscripted into forced labour and military services. They were subjects to customary laws and indigent laws (laws made by the colonial masters e.g. freedom of speech, expression, association)

They were regarded as inferior in status, they could not take up appointment in France, they had no right for education, they could not form political parties and they could not criticize the government. By implication, the French system of Assimilation subjected the majority of Africans to indigenant form of administration. The French system or policy of Assimilation later came under a lot criticism for the inhumane treatment of Africans and discriminatory practices. Therefore, the French moved towards a modified policy which was called Association. Association granted more privilege and participation to Africans. It sought to reproduce in the colony, same institutions as those in France. The educational system was based on the French model. It provided training for Africans to take up jobs as clerks, interpreters, teachers in the French Association dominated in the senior cadres by the French men. Through the policy by French men, many Africans gained access to elite class either as civil servants or politicians. The indigent system was also modified were people were granted freedom of association and were also allowed to participate in local government administration and send their representatives to the French assembly in Paris.

BRITISH INDIRECT RULE

The British colonies in Africa include; Nigeria, Gold Coast (Ghana), Sierra Leone, Kenya, Uganda, North and South Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe). It was referred to as indirect rule. It implies government by the existing local intermediaries and institutions. This implies dealing indirectly with the citizens.

Indirect rule was a creation of Lord Lugard, a British administrative affair who had created this system as a governor of Tangayika (Tanzania) and later introduced it to Hong Kong. Between 1906 and 1912, it was later introduced to Nigeria by Lord Lugard between 1912 and 1919.

REASONS FOR INDIRECT RULE

1. **Shortage of European personnel:** He chose this method due to shortage of European personnel to fill in government positions. West Africa was regarded as white man graveyard, had little settlements due to harsh weather conditions, pests and diseases. On the hand, the weather of East and Southern Africa was regarded paradise because the weather was conducive
2. **Shortage of funds:** The British were very careful not to involve much financial responsibilities in their colonies.
3. **The type of Administration in existence:** In British colonies, this encouraged Lugard to adopt indirect rule. In Northern Nigeria, the rulers were autocratic and the citizens were submissive and this made indirect rule easy to operate e.g. they collected tax and maintained peace and order. The main idea behind indirect rule was that Africans should be allowed to develop in their own life with little or no interference, therefore the leaders were allowed to handle while their authorities were gradually decreased. The British viewed their people in the colonies as subjects that would one day attain independence, therefore, they favoured a production of gradualism designed to prepare people for self-government in the future. The local political institutions were constituted into native authorities supported by native court of law and later by native treasuries. As such, indirect rule was an exercise and training into local self-government. Africans were sent to schools and employed as clerks and officials in the lower level cadres in the civil service to serve as interpreters, artisans and technicians.

POLICIES THEY DO

Africans were sent to schools, employed as clerks and officials in the lower level of the representatives and civil service. Those who met voting requirements and ownership was given rights to vote and run for elections into colonial legislature. This helped to groom an elite class that facilitate the colonial exploitation even after independence. Indirect rule varied in different parts of Africa. Unlike the West Africa, the settlers in the white man's paradise (Eastern Africa) did not favour gradualism and so this influenced the British administration to make definite distinction between Africans and Europeans. Africans were not allowed to live in the same place as Europeans. The English minorities were in charge of the government and the collection of the charge of the government and the collection of taxes.

The British were not in hurry for Africans to learn how to govern themselves. It can be said that British colonial policies was more stringent and harsh to the white man's paradise. Indirect proved more successful in areas of with strongly established chieftaincy and traditional institutions. Hence, Northern Nigeria served as a model for Indirect rule and the Emirs were subjected to less supervision by the British. It was less successful in Southern Nigeria especially the Eastern parts which didn't have the required conditions I.e. there were no recognized rulers and even were they could be found, they were not autocratic and the subjects were not doggedly responsive to them. Close supervision was undertaken because of this. Their chiefs lacked legitimacy and did not earn respect from their people. In most cases, the people were reluctant to pay taxes to them. Indirect rule was relatively more successful in the Southwest because the people were already used to traditional rulers. It helps to protect some African traditions that could be lost through colonial rule but it had its negative repercussions. That it had in African societies. For instance, it's said that indirect rule intensified existence communal difference based on ethnicity, language and geographical regions. This is especially in Nigeria (the divide and rule phenomena). Communal sentiments were somethings. Sinned by the chiefs themselves. One effect of indirect rule was that it creates an atmosphere of acrimony and suffering (hatred, conflict etc.) in the post 1945 e.g. between the chiefs and the people who joined the mass based political parties.

BELGIUM COLONIAL POLICY

The main colony of Belgium was Congo. The Congo free state had been created as a personal fief of king Leopold II of Belgium 1885 and finally became the

colony of Belgium in 1908. Belgium rule over the Congo was highly centralized and based in Leopold village (capital of Congo as at the time) and Brussels. Colonial policies were formulated by minister in administering the colony. Belgium rule was extremely paternalistic and based on three main pillars

1. Roman catholic church
2. The state and
3. Big business

The Belgium saw Africans as people to be cared for and in returns Africans were expected to be obedient and law abiding to the Belgium government education was restricted to elementary land and no college were established. The Congolist were factory workers, mines and the stones etc. by 1960 when Congo became independent it had fewer than 20 college graduate's inn the whole country. Hospital were, better housing and sanitation provided, better working condition constitutes with fringed benefits for the workers, yet the Belgium did very little to encourage political activities among Africans. Africans were only allowed to have representative in local council who were appointed not elected. Hence the Africans based preparation in the acts of self-government because of Belgium policies.

PORTUGUESE PARTERNALISM

Portugal was the eldest colonial power in Africa. Its colonies include Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, san tome and principe. Portuguese colonial policy has been termed Christian paternalism. The Portuguese declared their paternalism as that of the three C's (Christian, colonizing and civilizing). Their colonies were considered to be in a state of social degradation therefore the Portuguese hope to change these colonies to be like Portugal sand the people Portuguese. The colonies were regarded as part and parcel of the mother country and could not become independent at all. Indeed, the colonies were regarded as overseas province of Portugal. The Portuguese sort to achieve solidarity and brotherly live with colonies. Their way of colonialism was based on racial equity but not cultural equity. The Portuguese envisage the assimilation of their Africans subjects with equal right and citizenship for those who met the stipulated condition of becoming assimilate, the condition are:

1. Ability to read and write
2. Abandonment of tribal culture
3. The acceptance of Portuguese culture

4. Ownership of properties

However very Africans were able to meet these conditions or qualification. Elementary schools were established and Africans were encouraging to read and school children were encouraging to the glory and pride of Portugal. Portugal embarked on the policy of state nationalism. However, the policy required huge financial resource to implement especially expenditure on education that will encourage many citizens for assimilation. Portugal was a relatively poor nation and it lack immediate resource license the policy of state nationalism, never really succeeded in very few were assimilated even than then. They were provided few jobs opportunities within the colonial setup. Most junior and subordinate position in the administration were conspired into the army. Generally, the lack of education couple with the administrative product jobs and limited economics growth restricted development in Portugal colonies. In the 1930s the Portuguese embarked on the system at scale of economics exploitation and increase free labor to cultivate cotton to boost Portuguese economy.

NATIONALISM AND DECOLONIZATION

Decolonization indicates the process of dismantling the whole colonial super structure. In fact, Africa, the experience of western Europe capitalist exhibition, plundering, oppressing and domination lasted for about 500years that is since the first time that poetry explorers set their feet on Africa soil(1500-1900s). generally, in that way, this was not what tools place in Africa. Hence when talk about decolonization in Africa, we are or merely referring to the processes for replacing colonial masters from the commanding height of politics and economic institutions with Black men. That been the case, is uncertain whether the independence which follows the liberation will result in a compromised solution between the white colonial masters and the black leaders of whether it will about genuine freedom from European domination. Africans' domination from Europeans was attained through a series of events that captured the essence of African nationalism. Nationalism may be conceived as strong feelings for one's nation. It signifies love, respect, and pride with one's culture or customs, traditions and constitution of one's own nation.

However, African Nationalism was essentially different from European nationalism which was based only on anti-social feelings and to a small extent, the African continent.

African nationalism can be traced as far back as the 19th century when the Europeans first attempted to colonise Africa. That move was met with stiff resistance from Africans. For many quarter and at a high cost to many African

leaders. Some lost their lives, some were exiled in the process of the opposition. Resistance continued till the end of 19th century to the early part of the 20th century when the whole parts of the continents was effectively colonized. Indeed, though at the end of colonization, there was uneasy tension among or in many countries as Africans continued to challenge the Europeans' policies in their various colony or colonies.

Between 1920's and 1930's, opposition to colonial rule swept across the entire African continent. It resided only to explode in 1940's and 1950's, culminating (end result of something) in the declaration of independence in the 1960's by many African nations and this is what we refer to as modern nationalism. African nationalism was a product of different but converging elements and interests which became crucial to the awakening of political racial consciousness.

1. Educated elites: - Has special grievances especially in the British and Portuguese colonies because of their inability to find psychological and material fulfilment. Many who attained West African education were unable to find employment.

   In the British colonies, the elites face a lot of contempt and discriminatory attitude from British officials and could not be employed in the same level with European counterparts with the same qualification and there was wage differentiation between them. Such alienation caused so many tension and animosity among or between the elites and the Europeans. James Coleman has attributed the problem to the fact that most of the early colonial officials came from the upper class and saw Africans attempt to imitate them as offensive. European attitudes were a result of class and snobbery as they could not contemplate how a peasant black man could be transformed into an upper class English man. This aroused political consciousness in British colonies among the educated elites and this explained the rising Nationalism or nationalist consciousness in British Africa, earlier than French Africa were the elites enjoyed employment opportunities and similar privileges as their French counterparts.

2. There were also professional groups: - They constituted an economically privilege stratum in the society and they needed full social status for Africans, they also wanted political enfranchisement and political participation, as such they were engaged to overthrow the colonial officials and take their place. The petty bougeorsie.

3. **The Top Bureaucrats:** - These are those who had been influenced by western values expected to profit from the Africanization of the civil service and its policies will favor them.
4. **The wealthy cash crop farmers:** - Those who were farming export crops who formed powerful associations and sometimes joins peasant farmers to protest against colonial agricultural policies which offered them.
5. **An emergent entrepreneurial class:** - who were eager to break into the import export along with the Europeans. There was also a large informal set up in the urban areas comprising small shop keepers, petty traders, market women, etc. who were eager to change colonial situation for several reasons.
6. **Urban proletariat:** - who wanted better wage and working conditions.
7. Traditional chiefs and elders: - who had come to identify with the aspiration of the educated elites.
8. **The mass of unemployment and down trodden citizens:** - who were lacking for better living conditions, employments, health care and educational opportunities for their children.

All these interest converged to give a boost to the anti-colonial liberation struggle but as Coleman observed, Nationalism was not merely an accumulation of grievances, it was an awareness of greater opportunities and possibilities.

The Medium of Expression

1. **Ethnic and Tribal unions:** - These emerged significantly from the 1920's in the urban areas. These associations were formed to protect ethnic members against the result of urban alienation and anonymity. They also tried to provide mutual aids to the members of ethnic groups. Although their objectives were not political, as such, they provide strong breeding ground group for Nationality e.g. Egbegbeo, Egbe Omo Oduduwa, the Igbo federal union.
2. **Trade Unions:** - From 1930's, there was proliferation of free society groups in the urban centres in response to certain situations in the colonial state. The groups include: - Civil service union, Professional association of teachers, Trade unions youth corps etc. Although, they were founded on different reasons, they became a political element for the nationalist movement. The serve as a vehicle for the propagation of

new ideas and political consciousness. They were breeding ground for political leaders and springboard for emergence of political parties.

3. **The Independent Churches Movement:** - Africa nationalism also acquired religious forms of expression. Indeed, it was a significant channel of expression against the white man's domination. It was characterized by Nationalist breaking away from European dominated churches and founding their own separatist churches such as the United Native African Church which broke away from Anglican, The order of Cherubim and Seraphim. These churches were influenced by the works of Edward Blyden who sharply criticize Europeans churches for their intolerance of African cultural practices and customs especially the practice of polygamy.

   Many of the churches were modelled after Negro Religious sets in America. In French Africa, some radical Muslim groups rose against traditionalist practice in Islam and founded the Wahabist and Mahadi movements in Islam. Generally, religious movement created a ripe climate for the mushrooming of congresses, political parties, and interest groups. Those led by these groups became attachment of nationalist movement and very active in protest movement e.g. J.G Campbell of the Episcopal church in Lagos was a political figure in pre-world war I politics and later assumed the leadership of the National congress of British West Africa.

4. **The Media:** - The media was a strong instrument for political agitation and criticism of colonial policies. They criticized Nationalism, inequality and discrimination policies of the colonial states. It was a very powerful channel for spreading ideas of nationalism e.g. Accra Morning Post, 1935, West African Pilot, Daily Newspapers 1937, Lagos daily service of 1938 founded by Nigerian Youth Movement. Renaissance African life and fortune and New Africa. All these became outlaws for nationalist propaganda in England and the demand for the recognition of Africa.

5. Political parties became the main vehicle for base national groups, congresses, leagues e.g. National congress for British West Africa. Aborigines Rights Protection (Gold Coast). Nigerian National Democratic Party 1923 by Herbert Macaulay, NCNC 1924, R.D.A 1946, U.G.C.C (United Gold Coast Coalition 1941). Northern Rhodesian African congress 1948, A.G 1951, N.P.C 1951, Democratic

party Guinea, Democratic block of Senegal, The Ghana congress party, G.C.P, Sudanese Nationalist Unionist Party, Progress Union of Mauritania, The Democratic union of Chad, Togo Land congress party, Tanu Tanzanian Nationalist union etc.

Some of the parties had strong ethnic based support. In French Africa, some of the parties were nurtured from Paris abroad. Some became mass parties with strong ideologies, political leaders and strong support from other organization. Other elites parted with weak political parties and representing only certain interests.

EXTERNAL FACTORS (EVENTS)

1. The Post world war two events: - African colonialism took a new turn and it became more attractive in the period following the first world war. The period between 1st and 2nd world war was marked by economic hardship for European nations. In the colonies, things became more scarce and inflation was on the increase. Therefore, colonial powers came under critical attacks at home and abroad. It was considered very irrational for them to continue to maintain empires in the face of crushing economic burdens. For instance, the British labour party which had been enthusiastic about empire building was forced to relinquish the idea because of economic burden of reconstruction and the loss of territories. Therefore, European powers hit hard by the war were willing to make concessions to Africans in order to lessen the financial burdens on them. Many were forced to re-appraise the political future of the colonies.
2. The United Nation charter 1945: - In Asia, Europe and America which influenced African's nationalism. First UN charter in 1945 which declared that all people in the world were entitled to self-determination and political organization.
3. Bandum conference held in Asia in1955: - That conference explained the principles of self-determination by Asian states such India and Burma which had already obtained independence. Africans were encouraged to follow suit. They were given tips on how to articulate colonial ideas and organize anti-colonial movements. These provided inspirations to African leaders.
4. The role of Ex-service men: - who were recruited by the Europeans to fight alongside their people in the second world war came to the realization

that white man's superiority was a myth. That the whites were also human like them. Therefore, this helped the service men dismantle the notion that they were inferior to the whites. On return to Africa, they narrated their experience to their countrymen. This encouraged them to challenge their discriminatory colonial policies.

5. The Pan African congress: - Some were organized in Paris in 1918-1919 by W.E Dubois and Bloisie Dagne (Senegal). At that congress, it was resolved that they should ask the allied powers to give more consideration for Africans to participate more in their own development. Similar congresses were held in Lisbon in 1923 and New York in 1927.
6. The role of African students abroad: - Between the two world wars, there was a rising increase in numbers of students in Britain. A key figure by name Ladipo Solanke, while proving his studies said or felt that unless Africans at home and in diaspora recognized and developed the spirit and principles of self-help, unite and cooperate among themselves, they will continue to suffer the result of racial prejudice from other races. In 1924, he organized the Nigerian Progress Union in Britain which metamorphosed into WASU. By 1945, WASU had become a social and political centre for Nigerian students in UK. Their journal moved WASU, provided early literacy outlet for members and leaders. Through their activities, the agitation and improvement for education and African students. They help to articulate the meaning of independent which meant an end to alienation, better living standard and control over their destinies. Through these activities, they stimulated racial concessions or consciousness especially in British West Africa. Their influence spread both at home and abroad and they were able to unite nationalist educated elements with traditional rulers.
7. Africa Activists: - The activities of Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican Negro sought to unite all negro people of the world into one body. He emphasized that Africa was the homeland of all Negro and preached independence of Africa as the only salvation for the negroes. He urged them to work towards a glorious end which is freedom. He advocated a home for every race, Palestine for the jews, Ireland for the Irish, India for the Indians and Africa for the Africans. He proposed that Africans should use force to drive away Europeans from their continent. Garveys work provided a great motivation to later African nationalists and had a long lasting effect on post world war II Negro renaissance. As negro turn increasingly to glorify Africans culture

and past, a cumulative of these influences created mass awareness of the colonial situations. It led to the rise of civil societies association, agitation from university students, mass discontent among semi-educated elements out of which emerged professional activists. They brought in new mobilization skills and organization. New self-consciousness and new analytical objectives. They spearheaded mass nationalist movement involving diverse social groups and ethnic groups for the purpose of overthrowing colonial regimes. This resulted to mass protests, strikes, civil unrests etc. involving thousands of people in many African countries.

TYPES OF DECOLONIZATION

Decolonization is a process rather than an act. In Africa, there were two major types of decolonization; i.e. violent and peaceful decolonization

1. **Violent decolonization:** Was achieved through armed struggle. Algeria, for instance, witnessed such struggle. Also in Portuguese colonies and in most of the settler colonies (white man's paradise) with white minority regimes, the struggle was much more protracted and violent. In the Eastern and Southern area of Africa, the colonialists were reluctant to relinquish political power and these resulted to a more bloody process of colonization. In Portuguese Africa, some movement emerged to fight for independence e.g. N.P.L.A, Liberation movement of Angola, B.A.I.B.C (African independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde), Fretimo (of liberation force front of Mozambique); these movements engaged in guerrilla warfare and pave way for the independence of their countries Zimbabwe, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia etc. Algeria gained independence in 1962, Kenya 1963, Tanzania 1961, Ghana 1957 and of course many African countries got in 1960. In Kenya, Mao Mao movement waged a protracted nationalist struggle against the British using militants to protest against the colonial system. On the other hand, the nationalist movement of Portuguese Africa led to the radicalization of the society because they were based on Marxist, Leninism revolutionary ideology of philosophy. The movement mobilized different classes of people including the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the nationalist FNLA were powerful movement against the colonial masters in Portuguese Africa
2. **Peaceful Decolonization:** - This is the situation whereby nations waged verbal struggle rather than physical violence struggles. They negotiated

their independence in a peaceful way and almost commonal atmosphere. Therefore, their independence was received on a platter of Gold. Nigeria and most of the French colonies excluding Guinea and Congo had a choice in their future, whether they wanted complete independence with no economic independence with membership with French community with those economic and military relation to French. Only Guinea voted for complete independence with no ties with France. In any case, France colonial administration was the friendliest. Peaceful colonization resulted to the imposition of pro-western and pro-colonial leadership in the French colonies. In Nigeria, decolonization was peaceful and most nationalists did not suffer more than a few days' incarceration because they didn't have to suffer as other nationalists waging anti-colonialism wars. They were ready to be accommodating to the British authority even after independence and they didn't do much to change the character of the colonialism and the economy they had inherited. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe favoured a gradual takeover where Nigerians will go through a two phase training totaling 15 years before taking over power. Similarly, Chief Awolowo in his book titled "Path to Nigerian freedom, 1947", he states that Nigeria welcomed the relationship with Britain and saw them as a trustee which was main supervise, Nigerians match to a civilized maturity. He paid glowing tribute to colonialism. In Ghana, the nationalists were considered as less threat to capital interest. As such, the British supported the convention people party (GCPP). In fact, the British encouraged divisions within the rank of the nationalists to ensure the emergence of over moderate faction of the elites as leaders to whom they will hand over power. Decolonization in the Belgium Congo was also peaceful because the population was totally unprepared for self-government as a result of illiteracy, tribal wars and lack of Africans with the requisite or required administrative and professional skills for governance.

TOPIC 7

FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING AFRICAN POLITICS

After independence, scholars have been at lost as to how to approach the study of African politics since independence. They have come up with four different

approaches through which they sort to understand political phenomenon fr[illegible] independence.

1. THE MODERNIZATION SCHOOL (Political Development School)

Modernization is understood as a process of keeping in a step with latest global trends in Nations building and transformation of society from traditional and simple to developed and complex systems. The modernization school flourished among Americans scholars in the mid 1950's championed by scholars such as Madonn Levy, Tallcott Parsons and ultimately Max Weber and a comparative politics approach. It's used only in comparative politics. It was embraced in Africa in the early 1960's after independence. The early proponents of the school in Africa include James Coleman, David Aster and Aristide Zolberg. Modernization theory when applied to African society or societies, seeks to present a modern statehood. It is conceived mostly in the Western world.

Africans were finally on the part of becoming Westernized. Modernization theory is depicted in the study of early African nationalism and politics.

- Modernization in Africa encompasses economic, political, and social change
- Economically, modernization implies rapid industrialization and economic growth. It implies equitable distribution of resources.
- Politically, modernization implies expansion of political institution, rationalization of political or government apparatus, concentration of power, increase political participation and expanded capacity or capacities for citizens growing demands and political institution building.
- Socially, modernization implies cultured change and increased mobility for citizens or individuals.

Result of Modernization

Modernization would provide a foundation upon which African countries get political stability and African countries will become like the West, transformed from underdevelopment to developed economy. They will be transformed from

poverty to prosperity, from military rule to democracy, from bad governance to good governance.

Result of Modernization

Modernization scholars identified six main challenges which confronted African states in their bid to transform from traditional to modern state.

1. Problem of Identity: - i.e. festering a sense of purpose and belonging among culturally diverse groups.
2. The problem of Legitimacy: - This has to do with consensus (agreement) on how to obtain legitimate means in the exercise of authority and power.
3. The challenges of political participation: this means the involvement of citizens in the political and decision making process
4. The challenges of distribution of resources: it deals with the equitable distribution of resources. That is their marginalization act in the aspect of the dist4ibution of resources.
5. Problem of integration: How to integrate the many competing groups interest within the new state framework.
6. Problem of penetration: That is how to make the presence of government felt throughout the country.

Remedies to Modernization Challenges

The task of politics therefore is to create enabling conditions in the new African states to face these challenges.

From the mid-1960's, it was becoming clearer that African countries were not attaining the objectives of modernization at all. In fact, many of them were increasingly failing to sustain previous gains of independence let alone making progress towards westernization or modernization. Therefore, modernization scholars turned their attention to try to explain the sources of African politics or political decay and inefficiency in African countries. They blamed the contradictions in the development process in African societies and also the role of military in African politics

Criticism of Modernization Theory

1. Modernization assumed that the western development model is desirable for African states which may not be the case

2. It fostered a misplaced emphasis on technological development trying to look like the west to the neglect of many crucial process taking place on the African

countries e.g. it emphasized industrialization to the neglect of Agriculture which played an important role in African economic growth.

3. It took over the role of traditional institutions and norms in the development process of African societies.

4. Takes no cognizance of inequalities, conflicts emergent in the African continent

5. It emphasized the role of economic forces above other forces in nation building.

6. Modernization theory virtually overlooked the external context of African politics. For instance, issues critical to African politics include racial injustice, pan Africanism and the role of international institutions. Negritude socialism are not treated with the consensus they deserve.

7. Samuel Huttington observed that aid modernization will lead to awakening political institutions which would not be able to cope with the demands placed upon them by an increasing literate and mobilized electorate. Therefore, it will be better to focus on strengthening the political institutions and instruments of control.

However, modernization has provided the foundation for the analysis of post-colonial African politics, it has helped to identify some of the major problems confronting African societies.

2. DEPENDENCY/UNDERDEVELOPMENT SCHOOL

This originated from Latin America where it was founded by Paul Baron whose work tilted "The political economic growth 1957" was rooted in New-Marxist political economy. The proponents of this school of thought includes Andrea Gunda Frank, Celso, Furtado and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Franz Farnon, Samir Amir, Walter Rodney and John Saul. According to dependency/underdevelopment scholars, politics is a reflection of global and economic relation. Therefore, explanation for political actions may be rooted in material terms. The unit of analysis is not the individual as the state but classes and the global economic systems. As such, they emphasized trade relations, capital flow, mode of production, relations of production, economic structures and economic trends.

There tools of analysis are:

Tracing the historical aspect of unequal relations between the third world and the expanding African whole economy overtime. They argued that Africans or the root of Africans systematic impoverishment could be linked to European

5. Lope-sided representation (one-sided) of state units at the centre. Since the units may not be equal in size or receive equal treatment, there is usually a strong possibility of lope-sided distribution of cost and resources which may result in fiscal crises.

PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

This is based on the doctrines of parliamentary supremacy which believes that ultimate power resides in parliament (legislature). Therefore, all leaders are bonafide members of the parliament. Parliament is the supreme organ of authority; no other institution overrides its decisions.

FEATURES

1. Political leadership functions are divided between a ceremonial head of state and an executive head of state/government.
2. Collective responsibility: That is, the cabinet operate basis of collective responsibility, meaning that ministers are collectively responsible for their actions to the legislature. Therefore, all ministers must support cabinet decisions regardless about their private feelings about the matter. They must all tell the same story otherwise resign from their offices. The principle of collective responsibility also implies that the electorate will their ministers as one group (unit). The cabinet members must submit to parliament and defend their policy or policies before it.
3. The relationship between parliament and cabinet is a very significant factor in the functioning of a parliamentary system. The cabinet functions as the executive arm for executing legislative decisions. Therefore, it must maintain continuous consultation with parliament on policy issues.
4. Individual responsibility: - Collective responsibility does not cancel the fact of individual responsibility. This means that each individual minister is responsible for his own actions and decisions of the department under his control.
5. There is no effective separation of powers: - The British system serve as the world's model of parliamentary government otherwise known as Westminster model. In the British model, ceremonial head of state is the queen, she performs the following functions:
   a. She performs opening and closing of parliament
   b. She dissolves and summons the parliament
   c. Appoints the prime minister and other heads of common wealth
   d. She performs all ceremonial events enshrined in the constitution
   e. She is a symbol of justice and honour.

P1

The head of Government: - Is the prime minister. He is the leader of the majority party.

a. He selects cabinets, disciplines and can post them.
b. He appoints other members of government
c. He chairs the cabinet and its committee
d. He coordinates the policies and supervises the work of the ministers
e. He oversees international and domestic affairs.
f. He is responsible for party discipline.
g. He is the political head of the civil service over appointment and promotion
h. Exercises patronage and dispenses title
i. Communicate government decisions to the queen and advice on when the cabinet is to be dissolved.

Generally, the British parliamentary system relies on the functions of an effective two party system. It also relies on the institution and monarchy which symbolize/personifies the unity and identity of the British nation.

Parliamentary practice in Africa

Following independence, parliamentary system was adopted especially by former British colonies. It was firmly entrenched in states that had significant and politically dominant white settler population e.g. Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South Africa. In those areas, the whites had a deeper understanding and appreciation of parliamentary supremacy. Former French colonies on the other hand rejected the model because of its difficulties and failure in their states. Senegal however, attempted to adopt the system after independence but soon abandoned it. Many former British colonies had their post-independence constitution fashioned after the British Westminster model e.g. Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Uganda, Malawi, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, Belgium Congo etc. The Nigerian 1960 constitution denote a parliamentary system of government which differed slightly from the British but basic provisions were fashioned after them.

i. It provided two legislative chambers at the centre and at the regions but members of the upper house were selected from the region house. The senators at the upper house were not members of the lower house or cabinet members. They could be removed if they committed a crime or they become incompetent. Members of the lower class serve for terms drawn from single member districts. Executive work was vested on the president who represented the British monarch. He was the commander in chief of the armed states and he could convey and dissolve the parliament. He

imperialism which brought Africa to a global economy in a structurally unequal manner. They also argued that in the world economy, the relationship between the core and the periphery (less industrialist countries of the third world) is skewed such that the benefits that are shared are unequal to Africans disadvantage. This is because the core has many market advantages, it has superiority in technology and communication, it has wealth etc. So, from the onset, the third world has a decided disadvantage and vulnerability. In addition, colonial economic policies has helped in perpetrating and institutionalizing third world vulnerability to external economic force and this has constrained and limited movement forward by African leaders on the eve of independence. Theorists have continued to emphasize those economic factors which has continued to haunt and limit African's options

Criticism to Dependency School

The school neglect the cultural aspect of development. The theory is not based on empirical data. One area of difficulty of dependency school is that it has an almost pessimistic view about Africa's prospect because they believed that Africa has entered a trap from which it is virtually impossible to extricate itself and this limits the checks of African leaders

It does not take cognizance of the importance of ethnicity, civil wars and political catastrophe of the 1970's and 80's. Hence, it ignored political processes taking place on African continent. It does not have the ability to identify and explain patterns of relationship between African states and specified industrialized countries.

It is theoretical and not based on empirical studies and ongoing events in Africa, rather, it favored debates and arguments.

ADVANTAGES

1. However, this theory gives us an insight into the nature on the constraints on Africa's development.

2. Its attribution to external forces or factors in explaining African's predicaments is also useful

3. By providing historical, economic and external limitations operating on African's environment, it places African's problems within a socio-economic context.

4. It illuminates our understanding of African politics by highlighting the inequalities that underlies Africa's political activities.

THE STATE SCHOOL

Was formulated mainly by African scholars. The school placed political factors rather than economic factors as well as cultural factors at the centre of analysis. It emphasized the importance of the state and state factors in understanding root of African political and economic crises of the 1980's. Therefore, it is considered a mere realistic explanation of African politics. Richard Sklar for instance, argued that Africa's class relation is determined by relation of power and not of production. The state is therefore, considered as the primary moving force behind all social and economic occurrences in African continent. The state leaders are considered responsible for the occurrences and political determination of the continent. The focus of study is the state apparatus, its use of power, its relation to demonstrate good and its relation to the international economy. It is assumed to be an autonomous entity with its own rights, interests and weaknesses. Political scientist worked within this framework to seek to uncover the character of the state in the post-independence era. They study institutions such as political parties and patterns of institutionalization through which power is expressed. They look at leadership style, patrilineal relationship, identify patterns of personal rule and note gradual weakness of African state. In their zeal, power holders are seen as having used their offices to earn personal gains at the expense of the people's need. Thus, African leaders had to pay for the continents predicament such as food crises, debt crises, civil wars and crimes of governance. The main contribution to state school is that it stresses the internal power of Africa but it does not define the limit of state power. It sees political conflict as revolving exclusively around the states. But we know that politics cannot be reduced only to the activities of actors and the national field.

This led to the emergence of new synthesis which strived to maximize the strength of the previous approaches and minimize their weakness call political integration framework. This framework focuses on the relationship between the state and society in order to understand the political dynamic of African state. It looks at logical factors at work in Africa and how they change over time. It looks at the key component of African politics as official institutions, individuals, social groups, traditional authority, trade networks, multi-national corporations etc. I t tries to understand their interactions. Political competition is seen as the struggle over material and Nomadic resources, over identity, interests, singles and over institutions.

TOPIC 8

MODERN AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND REGIMES-POST COLONIALAFRICA

Government is the most important political institution. It is the machinery by which society is organized to achieve its ultimate goals. It is the only organ that exercise exclusive use of legitimate forces in making decisions and goal enforcement in a given territory. According to Appadorai (substance politics), Government may be defined as an institution through which the will of the state, its aims are formulated, expresses and realized. To this effect, government may be regarded as the administrative organ of the state, but in the real sense, government comprises the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. From the above, the state is a very significant aspect in definition of government. The state is better defined by certain characteristics

1. **A Territory**: - A clearly defined geographical territory of land and such territory may have peculiar features like mountains, rivers, seas but here is no state that is on a body of water.
2. **Population (Human Population)**: - This may vary in size but it is bound with ties or mutual protection. It may be either homogeneous or heterogeneous population. Conflicts are less likely in homogeneous populations than in heterogeneous populations. Indeed, most African states at independence were heterogeneous entities.
3. **Sovereignty**: - Simply means the supreme power of the state over its citizens to make decisions that are binding on all. The sovereign state has control over its own affairs and it is independent of external domination and recognizes no power above it.

From the above, government is the actual fact in the hand of the state which translates its will into reality. Of course, the will of state is diverse but it includes protection of citizens and their defense from external aggression and internal dangers, facilitation of socio-economic development and provision of a good life. However, government differ and can be classified in different phases. Two of the most important ways of classifying government are:

i. According to how political power is distributed amount units whether federal, unitary or confederal state.
ii. On the basis on how political power is shared by the leaders whether a presidential or parliamentary system.

Often, nations with Homogeneous populations would adopt the unitary system while these others would adopt the unitary system after a protracted period of National crisis and disunity e.g. France. In a unitary system, political power is centralized or concentrated in the hands of a visible sovereign entity. Power is not constitutionally divided between the different levels of government, instead, the other units derive it or their powers from the centre or the central government

which could choose to strip them of such powers at any time. Because of these centralization tendencies, unitary government could have such things as a national police force, a one court system and a unified public service. Intrinsically, unitary systems appear to be more authoritarian and exercise more local control over authorities. This makes them more effective in tackling local problems since the government can easily put resources together for developmental purpose.

Unitary government have broader powers of taxation which helps them to finance their programs. However, citizens tend to feel alienation or alienated from the government because the leaders are far removed from the problems. Also, since authority comes from the centre downwardly, citizens may feel disenchanted to make their views known, as such government may fail to take consideration of their interest in policy making.

Federal System of Government

Few of the world state are federal systems and the number has continued to decline over the years. At the moment, the standing federal system include U.S.A, Germany, Australia, Netherlands and Nigeria. Generally, federalism exists in countries with several races and ethnic groups because it helps to unite Nations with strong minority groups who desire to maintain their own identity.

FEATURES OF A FEDERAL STATE

i. Power is divided between a central national government and the component unit e.g. states and provinces. The national government controls foreign affairs, military defense, currency and customs.

ii. States and local government have no veto power over federal government and federal government exercises its own powers without interference from the component units.

iii. A constitution: - A precondition for federalism is a constitution which is supreme and written down. However, a constitution cannot be amended without the approval of the state.

iv. A dual or multi-court system: - As each level of government has its own court to enforce its law.

v. There is a national supreme court which exists to interprete the provisions of the constitutions through judicial review and to resolve any problem between the federating units.

vi. A bi-cameral legislature with the state in representation

Confederal System of Government

The world has very few confederations and the most notable example is Switzerland and the UAE. A confederation is formed by a league of nations or states who forge a coalition to cooperate with each other. Certain powers are delegated to a central federal government but most powers are retained by the federating unit, which can veto the actions of the national government. African government adopted different shades of formal and informal patterns of relationship in an attempt to build effective political system after independence but in all, they adopted forms of government similar to Western system of government. With regards to the internal division of powers, most African states chose the unitary system rather than the federal system of government because of the following reasons:

1. **Stability:** - Since the unitary does not involve power sharing, it minimizes incidence of clashes and dead logs between the units of government.
2. **Uniformities of purpose:** - Encourages uniformity in policy and government programmes
3. **The court system:** - Centralization allows for a single court system, as such, it avoids the possible conflict that may arise from having different court systems.
4. **Cost:** - African governments considered the unitary system to be much cheaper as federalism involve excessive number of administrative units and institutions often with overlapping functions and wastage of funds.
5. **Shortage of Personnel:** - It was envisaged that the problem of shortage of trained personnel would be aggravated with the establishment of two or more government levels.
6. **Colonial Antecedents:** - The adoption of the unitary form of government by most African states was encouraged by the precedent laid out by the patterns of colonial administration in the colonies. This was particularly through the French and Belgian colonies whose administration operated the unitary system.
7. **Need/Expediency for unity:** - There was the need to overcome the divisive force among the diverse population of many countries by building strong unitary government to meet the challenges of some economic and political development that confronted the new African states at the time. Some African government went further to draw administrative units, overlapping ethnic lives so as to de-emphasize ethnic/tribal interest and loyalties. That way, they expected to breakdown tribal ethnic divisions in order to promote national unity through strong central government. On the other hand, very few African states adopted the federal system of government. They considered federalism to be the best compromise in the

peculiar situation they found themselves. African countries which accepted federalism considered some of its advantages.

i. It allows for local differences and desires should be taken into consideration in implementing regional legislations and policy implementation.

Rational Nationalist Organization

The Yoruba had hierarchical organization that respected the institution of kinship. In Nigeria, political power became regionally based as evident from the result of the first election. Given the circumstances, it was difficult to solve national unity, as such the federal option was considered the best compromise.

3.The campaign strategy of the political leaders: - Closely related to the problem of ethnic diversity, the political leaders continue to appeal to the religion, cultural differences and rivalry to mobilize support for themselves at the expense of national unity. Consequently, ethnicity emerged as a significant base of power in Nigeria. Indeed, chief Awolowo was reported to have said that Nigeria is not a nation but a mere Geographical location.

There are no Nigerians in the same sense as Englishman. Tafawa Balewa states "that the Nigerian people are historically different in background, religious beliefs and customs and do not allow any sign of willingness to unite. Indeed, the first election in the first republic necessitated the creation of coalition of government. NCNC moved for unitary government but it was defeated and a federal government or system was adapted for Nigerians. Power was divided after the American and Australian patterns.

Nigeria adopted a bi-cameral legislature, Congo adopted a uni-cameral parliament and Kenya adopted a federal constitution slightly different from Nigeria but later abandoned it for unitary form of government. Federalism, however has been discovered to have its own limitation.

1. The emphasis on regional government can promote the penetration of regional parties and hamper the growth of a unified National movement.
2. Multi-party system and regional based parties encouraged by federalism, also necessitated the reliance on coalitional politics and it tends to restrict government ability to act decisively and swiftly.
3. Dead-centred Government: - Federalism tends to produce weaker states and facilitate authoritarian take over.
4. Fragmentation: - Many federal states suffers from extreme fragmentation of local government in attempt to chatter for diversity of intensions.

performed all ceremonial duties. However, the De-facto (real) executive power resided with the prime minister who supervised day-to-day administration and policy implementation. One area of difference with the British model was that the constitutional court was given powers of judicial review and could settle dispute between central and regional unlike British. However, few years after independence, most British colonies which adopted British model either modified it or abandoned it because of difficulties of system operation.

Historical circumstance: - In which the parliament system design in Britain was quite different from African experience, therefore support for the principle of parliamentary supremacy was lacking in Africa.

ii. The British system had the queen as monarchy. They had the benefit of the system institution of monarchy as a symbol of unity and identity for the British people, but African states lacked similar institutions. Also, a subterfuge position was created in the minds of the people.

iii. Difficulties of the system: - Many African countries found the processes and procedures of the parliamentary system to be confusing, difficult, cumbersome and very slow. Often, the lack of knowledge of the rule of debate, voting methods, role of party leaders and working of the committee system more because few had participated in the colonial parliament.

iv. The parliamentary system in Britain rested on the operation of two party system whereas many African states adopted many party systems.

v. Absence of checks and balances: - The parliamentary system provided no external system against its system therefore, the role of opposition was necessary to provide an internal check, criticism, alternative policies. But most African independent parties had overwhelming support, as such, there was no opposition parties. Where they existed, they were very weak, frustrated and posed no threat to majority party. In some African states, they imbibe one party system and completely outlawed opposition parties.

vi. African parties were carried over from independence movement rather than being political parties in true sense. Their structures and discipline and platforms were not developed as to perform effectively the role they were meant to play in the parliamentary system.

PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Features

i. Single leadership: - All executive powers are vested on a single political leader who combine both ceremonial and executive functions

ii. Elections: - The president is elected directly or indirectly by the people and is responsible to the people.

iii. Cabinet members: -This is the responsibility of the president to appoint, discipline and dismiss ministers and they are individually responsible to the president.

iv. He is the commander in chiefs of the arm forces.

v. He is the chief diplomat and implement foreign policies.

ADVANTAGES

i. Concentration of powers upon single individuals or leader may encourage uniformity and speed of action.

ii. In times of civil unrest, concentration of powers may promote stability and effectiveness in government e.g. president can result to the use of emergency powers to bring the situation under control.

iii. It enhances the possibility of overcoming political dead-logs and the centre.

iv. It may promote a sense of national unity since the president is the chief executive authority and symbolic in the mobilized public support.

DISADVANTAGES

Concentration of powers on a president may actually be a threat to the safeguarding of democratic freedom because it can limit the ability of other branches to checkmate the executive.

TOPIC 9

AFRICAN IDEOLOGY

Ideology is a pattern of political thinking that forms the activities and practices of certain people.

African Socialism

Julius Nyerere was from Lione, an ordinary school teacher through his engagement in Frido unionism to become Tanzania's president.

He advocated that in rejecting colonialism, Africa must also reject capitalism and its production method and return to traditional community based method of production. According to him, capitalist production based on individual land ownership, class and status differentiation based on wealth. He believed the European version of socialism is borne out the agrarian revolution created landed and landless classes. Therefore, the two revolutions planted the seeds of conflict in society, as such Europe and socialism was borne out of conflict between capitalist and proletarian. Nyerere believed that African socialism was different from European socialism because it was founded on the principle of Brotherhood