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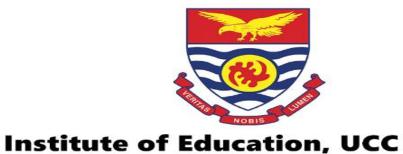
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Ministry of Finance

Trade Union Congress

Institute of Education, UCC

COLONIZATION AND NATIONALISM IN AFRICA: EBS 403/403J

UNIT ONE
DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS-INTRODUCTION
IMPERIALISM

- Curtin (1971) has asserted that *imperialism* is a word of many meanings, whereas Schumpeter (1951) has complained that the term *imperialism* has been abused as a slogan to the point where it threatens to lose all meaning.

- The cause of this problem is that, historically, the term *imperialism* has been used in different contexts and has, thus, meant different things to different peoples at different times.

- to the term *imperial* which derives from the Latin word *imperialis* (from *imperium*), meaning *command* or *pertaining to an emperor or empire* (Safra and Yeshua (2003).

- Schumpeter (1951) defines imperialism simply as the general disposition on the part of a state to unlimited forcible expansion.

- Lake (2001) imperialism refers to the effective domination of one political community by another.

- Smith and Zurcher (1955) imperialism as the official policy of extending the sovereignty or dominion of a state, especially the acquisition of territory outside its natural boundaries which is inhabited by other peoples.

- Safra and Yeshua (2003), imperialism is a state policy, practice, or advocacy of extending powers and dominion, especially by direct territorial acquisition or by gaining political and economic control of other areas.

- **imperialism** refers to a situation whereby a more powerful state extends its influence beyond its borders and exercises power in the territories of other states, dominates the political, economic, and social lives of those states, and, consequently, has the ability to decide policy for the subordinate states, and this ability may entail substantial delegation of decision-making authority to elite members of the colony.

- imperialism helps highlight the relationship between history, on the one hand, and all other sciences, on the other hand, considering that imperialism usually establishes relationships between states.

- Lake (2001) imperialism is a form of international hierarchy and one of the oldest known political institutions, characterising relations between peoples.

- Michael Doyle (cited in *Ibid*.) also maintains that imperialism leads to the establishment of relationships of political control imposed by some political societies over the effective sovereignty of other political societies.

- Kemp (1972) imperialism generally means principally or exclusively the relationship between advanced, imperial countries and colonial or semi-colonial areas falling within their formal or informal empires.

- Colonialism refers to the combination of territorial, juridical, cultural, linguistic, political, mental/epistemic, and/or economic domination of one group of people or groups of people by another (external) group of people.

- As with any large-scale, multidimensional, and socially holistic phenomenon, there is incomplete transferability of the characteristics of one form of European colonialism upon another.

- Heterogeneous material practices and imaginaries emerged from and within European colonial systems.

- colonialisms are extensive, porous, and dissimilar imagined and material (re)orderings of the world.

- Frictions and power struggles between European powers as well as colonial subjects for the control over territory, markets, labor, and ideology shaped the patterns of European colonialism.

- Colonialism is a practice or policy of control by one people or power over other people or areas, often by establishing colonies and generally with the aim of economic dominance.

- In the process of colonisation, colonisers may impose their religion, language, economics, and other cultural practices.

- a policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically
- Colonialism has been the most frequent way for one group of people to dominate another.
- Colonialism is the maintenance of political, social, economic, and cultural domination over people by a foreign power for an extended period (Bell, 1991).
- Colonialism has often led indigenous people, such as tribal groups, to become a minority in an area they once were the majority (dominant) group.
- Colonialism is domination by outsiders.

- **Nationalism** is a complex, often problematic concept for social scientists.

- there are **three critical areas of agreement**.

- First, the rise of nationalism is historically specific. Nationalism emerged in the late eighteenth century, appearing first in Europe, then in North and South America.

- Second, nationalism exemplifies an ideological movement, promoting the autonomy, unity, and sovereignty of those gathered in a single territory.

- Finally, nationalism evokes a strong collective sentiment.

- Nationalism is an idea and movement that holds that the nation should be congruent with the state. As a movement, nationalism tends to promote the interests of a particular nation, especially with the aim of gaining and maintaining the nation's sovereignty over its homeland

UNIT TWO

THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS AND ITS EFFECTS

- The first African contact with the outside world did not occur in the fifteenth century.

- In the 15th century, after taking Ceuta in 1415, the Portuguese discovered Madeira in 1418.

- The Azores were first sighted in 1439, and in 1441, Cape Blanco (the white cape) was rounded.

- Diniz Diaz and Nuno Tristão discovered the island of Arguin in 1443. Diniz Diaz reached the mouth of the Senegal River and Cape Verde (the green cape) in 1444 – 1445.

- In 1460 when Prince Henry the Navigator died, his captains were abreast of Sierra Leone.

- The first European contact with **Ghana** was made in January, 1471 when two Portuguese explorers called Pedro de Escobar and Joan de Santarem arrived near Shama on the coast.

- In 1472, they reached the coast of modern Nigeria.

- In 1475, Fernão Gomes, a Lisbon merchant, reached the island of Fernando Po.

- In 1483, Diogo Cão anchored at the mouth of the Congo river; in 1488, Bartolomeu Diaz sailed as far as the Cape of Good Hope.

- in late 1497 Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa and in the spring of 1498 became the first European to reach India by a sea route.

The Order of Europeans' Arrival in Ghana

- The first European contact with Ghana was made in January, 1471 when two Portuguese explorers called Pedro de Escobar and Joan de Santarem arrived near Shama on the coast.

- In December, 1481, another Portuguese explorer called Don Diego de Azambuja led an expedition to build a castle at Elmina and completed in 1482 and named **Sao Jorge da Mina**, later named the **Elmina Castle**.

- The chief of Elmina at the time, named **Kwamina Ansa**, which the Europeans corrupted into **Karamansa**, opposed the building of the castle initially, but later gave in.

The Order of Europeans' Arrival in Ghana

- In 1554, for example, John Lock led an English voyage to buy some gold at Shama.

- He went back with other items like ivory and pepper.

- This visit encouraged further British expeditions to participate in the trade on the coast of Ghana.

- The British made their first settlement at Cape Coast.

- they built the Cape Coast Castle in 1664. Later, the British spread their influence to other towns like Komenda, Anomabo, Kormantine, and Winneba.

The Order of Europeans' Arrival in Ghana

- The Dutch made their first contact with Ghana when in 1598

- some Dutch adventurers set up small trade posts a short distance from the Portuguese forts.

- **In 1637, the Dutch captured the Elmina Castle from the Portuguese.**

- **In 1642, also, they seized the Portuguese fort of St. Anthony at Axim and forced the Portuguese to leave the coast of Ghana for good.**

- From the middle of the 17th century, other Europeans were also attracted to the wealth of Ghana.

- In 1642, the Danes arrived from Denmark and built the Christiansborg Castle at Osu in 1660 and the Fort Prinzenstein at Keta.

The Order of Europeans' Arrival in Ghana

- The Swedes came down in 1647 while the Brandenburgers from modern Germany arrived in 1682.

- the Swedes and the Brandenburgers did not stay long in Ghana.

- The Swedes built Witsen Fort at Takoradi about 1640 and a lodge at Christiansborg, Osu, were driven away by the Danes in 1659.

- The Branden burgers built a fort at Princes Town in 1685, but left in 1709 on account of poor trade.

- By 1800, all the European trading nationals had left the Ghana, except the British, Danes and the Dutch, who believed that the country still offered some economic opportunities.

Circumstances Leading to the Advent of the Europeans

Four broad circumstances have been identified to account for the coming of the Europeans to Africa.

- *Scientific Curiosity*-Some arm-
1. chair geographers in Europe had propounded the theory that there was a bottomless sea in Africa beyond Cape Bojador.

- *Economic and Commercial Forces-*
1. the Europeans wanted to take part in the trade which had developed between the peoples of the Western Sudanese states and the Berbers of North Africa.
2. the Europeans wanted to reach India and the Far East by a sea route around the coast of Africa
3. demand for slaves during the period.

Circumstances Leading to the Advent of the Europeans

- *Religious Motives*

1. the Europeans wanted to reduce the Muslim influence in Africa.

2. the Europeans wanted to strengthen the hold and expand the territories of the Christian Church

- *Political Reasons*

1. the Portuguese who led the exploration wanted to expand their small country of Portugal into a leading European power.

2. Political rivalry

UNIT THREE

REASONS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARTITION OF AFRICA

- **Economic Reasons**

1. *The Need for Markets for the Sale of Surplus Manufactured Goods*

2. *The Demand for Raw Materials*

3. *The Need for Outlets for the Investment of Surplus Capital*

- **Political Factors**

1. *Ideological Orientation*-The belief that it was the 'whiteman's burden' to civilise the rest of the world

2. *Balance of Power*-The Berlin Settlement which followed the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 created a balance of power in Europe which made it difficult for any European nation to expand its territories within Europe itself.

3. *Diverting Citizens' Attention from Internal Difficulties*

- **REASONS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARTITION OF AFRICA**

- **Social Factors**

1. *Colonisation as a Solution to European Unemployment and Population Growth*

2. *Propagation of Christianity*-to save others from what they saw to be *barbarism* and *savagery*.

3. *The Desire to Stop Slavery*

Effects of the Partition on Africa

- the partition brought to an end the independence and sovereignty of the traditional empires, kingdoms and states-Africans lost control of their own affairs

- It altered the course of the political history of Africa.

- many Africans lost their lives through the wars of conquest the Europeans waged against states that resisted their rule-Others died as a result of disrupted lifestyles and movements of people and animals among different disease environments.

- African population became disorganised-The wars of conquest perpetrated several evils which forced many people to emigrate from their states.

Effects of the Partition on Africa

- the partitioning powers shared the lands of Africa without much regard to ethnicity-that the colonial powers imposed arbitrary borders on the African continent and divided people belonging to the same ancestry or ethnic group into two or more states and put them under different European colonial powers. E.g…………..

- the imposition of artificial boundaries introduced immigration regulations, visa systems, etc. to control the movements of people from one region of Africa to another, which sometimes make travelling very worrisome.

- African culture and institutions like local government and customary courts were all destroyed during the period of the partition

Effects of the Partition on Africa

- the partition widened the already strained relations between Africans and the Europeans which had been caused by the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

- producers and exporters of agricultural products or minerals and importers and consumers of surplus European manufactured goods.

- colonial authorities used part of the revenues generated from taxing the African subjects to improve the colony's infrastructure:

1. building roads,

2. bridges, and

3. ports that connected the interior to the coast, and to the outside world

Effects of the Partition on Africa

- Colonial rule also brought elements of Western culture, from the French and English languages and Western political models and automobiles.

- **NB:**

1. the construction works were undertaken with the prime objective of conveying the agricultural and mineral resources from the interior to the ports for shipping to Europe.

2. The railway lines were also constructed to link the coast with the mining areas and cocoa farming regions. the roads, railways and ports were constructed with the sole aim of ensuring the maximum exploitation of the resources of Africa for the benefit of Europe, and not for the benefit of Africans at the time or future generations.

UNIT FOUR

METHODS ADOPTED FOR THE IMPOSITION OF COLONIAL RULE

- **INDIRECT RULE**

- as a type of local administration by which the British made use of 'legitimate' African traditional institutions and personnel to administer their colonial territories.

- British in certain instances had to 'create' warrant or 'artificial' chiefs.

- The basic objective was to eventually establish Western democratic institutions and practices without destroying the native traditional set ups.

- British in certain instances had to 'create' warrant or 'artificial' chiefs. The basic objective was to eventually establish Western democratic institutions and practices without destroying the native traditional set ups.

REASONS FOR ADOPTING INDIRECT RULE

1. Lack of sufficient administrative officers
2. issue of insufficient imperial funds
3. large size of the country and lack of transport and communication facilities
4. The British also appeared to have admired the existing traditional political and social institutions which were highly developed.
5. The British hoped to obtain ready markets for their surplus manufactured goods.
6. The desire of the colonial government to make the chiefs rather than the educated elite the link between the government and the indigenous people was also a factor in the adoption of Indirect Rule in the Gold Coast.

REASONS FOR ADOPTING INDIRECT RULE

7. Linguistic problems

8. because the system had been experimented with and worked successfully in some African countries like Uganda and Nigeria.

FEATURES OF INDIRECT RULE

- Indirect Rule was applied variedly in British West Africa.

1. Governor

2. Resident Regional and District Commissioners

3. the Native Authority,

4. the Native Treasury

5. the Native Courts

6. the Native Police and Prisons

7. the Provincial Councils of Chiefs.

ADVANTAGES OF INDIRECT RULE

- It helped solve the problem of lack of enough British personnel to man the administration of the vast British colonies in West Africa.

- It helped the British administer their vast colonial territories without incurring much expenses.

- the system contributed greatly to the preservation of native institutions and traditions.

- It brought about the spirit of self-help.

- It brought about the maintenance of law and order in the traditional areas.

- **ADVANTAGES OF INDIRECT RULE**
- Indirect Rule served as a kind of local self-government, where the chiefs were used by the British to rule their own people in their own traditional way
- It protected the British administration from possible social uprisings which might have developed if they had adopted direct rule.
- It enabled most native groups and tribes in Ghana and in other areas to come together.

DISADVANTAGES OF INDIRECT RULE

- created division among the people in the traditional areas as some people together with the chiefs embraced and enforced the system of Indirect Rule whiles other people in the traditional areas opposed it.

- no centralised traditional political authorities (Eastern Nigeria-Emirs)

- created mistrust and loss of confidence in traditional rulers. (colonial governors reserved the right to approve of the enstoolment and destoolment of chiefs)

- chiefs became corrupt because under the Native Treasury system

DISADVANTAGES OF INDIRECT RULE

- intensified pre-existing communal differences based on ethnicity, language or religion.

- The system was undemocratic because the British could appoint warrant chiefs or artificial rulers in communities where there were no recognised traditional rulers

- chiefs also became autocratic and ruled cruelly.

- chiefs became corrupt because under the Native Treasury system

- most collected more funds than necessary and failed to account for them.

THE FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY OF ASSIMILATION

- the French **verb assimiler,** meaning "**to cause to resemble**"

- Assimilation refers to processes whereby groups or peoples with distinctive identities become culturally and socially fused.

- The concept may also be seen as a process whereby people and cultures would produce a new people and a new civilization

- The French assumed that their civilization and culture had attained the highest possible standard and set out to impose this standard on other nations whose civilization they considered to be inferior to their own.

- They set out on this civilizing mission (mission civilisatrice) in the strong belief that the other people - be they white, black, brown or yellow-were capable of being assimilated into French culture.

THE FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY OF ASSIMILATION

- They assumed that what is good for the French as a nation was also good for other nations.

- the black peoples of Africa and the yellow peoples of Asia were to be transformed into Frenchmen.

- The French assimilation was a form of direct rule that was to systematically transform Africans into French citizens

- The principal aim of the policy of assimilation was to transform educated Africans, who were successfully assimilated into French men and women into bona fide black Frenchmen

- The transformed or assimilated Africans or Asians were to speak, live, laugh, eat, behave and think like Frenchmen.

THE FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY OF ASSIMILATION

- The territories in which they lived were also to be identical to the provinces in France, administratively, economically and politically.

- The French so firmly believed in the excellence of their culture and civilization that they thought Africans should be compelled to belong to it.

- The French were of the belief that after exposing their African subjects to the French language, manners and other aspects of their culture, the Africans would prefer the foreign cultural values and institutions to their own.

- They believed that after the Africans had accepted the French language, Christianity, monogamous marriage and the virtue of French ideas and institutions, they should be treated like Frenchmen in Europe politically, socially and economically

FRENCH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

- She colonised a relatively large number of states on the continent.

- Algeria, Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), Chad, La Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Benin (formerly Dahomey), Mali, Niger, Senegal, Guinea, Togo, Gabon, Congo and Madagascar.

- The French conquest and annexation of African and other overseas territories in the nineteenth century was the work of Frenchmen on the spot in those territories rather than the French public in France.

- Jules Ferry was the first French political leader to put forward a coherent colonial policy.

- In 1883, when Jules Ferry came to power in France for the second time, he urged that France should speed up the colonial advance to Africa.

STRUCTURE OF THE FRENCH COLONIAL SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

- Minster of colonies
- Governor General of AOF & AEF
- Lieutenant Governor
- Commandant De Cercle
- Commandant De Subdivison
- Chef De Canton
- Chief De Village

- France grouped her territories in Africa into a federation.
- The number of French overseas territories in West Africa was nine.
- This was the highest in the entire continent.
- They constituted the Federation of French West Africa (FFWA) also known in French as Afrique Occidentale Francaise (AOF).
- The AOF territories were Senegal, Mauritania, Guinea, La Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Togo, Burkina Faso (Upper Volta), Benin (Dahomey), Mali and Niger.
- Dakar in Senegal was the headquarters of the federation.
- other territories in French Equatorial Africa (FEA) which comprised colonies including Gabon, Ubangiu Chari (now Central African Republic), Chad and Congo with Brazzaville as its capital). Madagascar was also one of the French colonial territories in Africa.

- In 1945, Togo and Cameroun were also placed under French and British rule under the Trusteeship Council (TC)

- A hierarchy of institutions was put in place to help in the administration of the federation.

- At the apex of the structure was the Minister of Colonies based in Paris, France.

- He was responsible to the French National Assembly and cabinet.

- Beneath the Minister on the hierarchical structure was the Governor-General.

- The Governor-General who was resident in Dakar was the administrative head of the French Federation of West Africa.

- The Governor-General was the representative of the French government in the Federation and was responsible for the implementation of policies.

- He had to take advice from a body called the Council of Government (Counseil de Government).

- The council met once a year to hear government policy from the Governor-General and to discuss the federal budget as well as the budget of each colony.

- The Governor-General served as the link between the government of metropolitan France and French West Africa.

- Every French territory was headed by a Lieutenant-Governor, who was the administrative head in the colony.

- Each Lieutenant Governor was assisted in his work by a council called *Counseil d' Administration*, which he was expected to consult on certain issues concerning the colony, especially the budget.

- In 1920, a decree was passed to create another body called the Privy Council to advice the Lieutenant-Governor.

- Each territory was divided into units called *cercles* (that is, provinces or regions) each of which was headed by a political officer called the *Commandant de cercles* (provincial commander). In all, there were 118 *cercles* in French West Africa.

- The *cercles* were further divided into sub-units called sub-divisions each of which was under an officer called a Chef de Sub-division (the equivalent of the British District Commissioner).

- A sub division was divided further into cantons and each was placed under the administration of a chef de canton, who was an African chief.

- The Chefs de Canton were in most cases ordinary people of ability whom the French colonial administrators appointed to occupy the position.

- It should be noted that the term chief (chef) as used by the French was quite different from that of the British.

- A Chef de canton could be transferred from one province or cercle to another and as such, they acted as civil servants implementing orders and laws emanating from metropolitan France (Stilwell, 2002).

- bottom of the hierarchy was the village head called *Chef de village* who was often the traditional head of his community.

- He was responsible for the collection of taxes imposed by the colonial government. He was also expected to maintain law and order and order the arrest of criminals and organise relief in times of disaster, like floods and locust invasions.

- In French West Africa there were some 2, 000 *chefs de canton* and around 50,000 *chefs de village*

Reasons for the Adoption of the Assimilation Policy

- They first had to do with the revolutionary doctrine of the equality of man.

- involved France's belief in the superiority of her culture.

- the attitude of France toward the peoples of Africa. The French regarded Africans as peoples without history, without any civilization worthy of the name, constantly at war with one another and fortunate to have been put in touch with the fruits of French civilization. (Africans as barbarians)

Qualifications or Requirements for French Citizenship

- the person had to be eighteen (18) years or above.

- one must be able to speak and write the French language proficiently.

- the person had to be a Christian and preferably professed the Catholic faith

- one had to denounce polygyny.

- to demonstrate evidence of sound moral character.

- the individual must have served the French colonial government for about ten years.

- the person had to possess adequate means of livelihood.

- should have done the requisite period of military service and should have been decorated with the Legion of Honour or the Military Award

Rights and Privileges of the African French Citizens (Evolués)

- the assimilated Africans were recognized as nationals of Metropolitan France and were given equal social status as the white French.

- the black Frenchmen had the privilege to marry French spouses.

- they were subjected to French law and had access to French courts.

- payment of taxes by the citizens was based on fair assessment.

- the citizens had access to further their education in French schools abroad

- the citizens could commute compulsory labour for monetary payment.

- the citizens enjoyed political rights and could therefore vote and be voted for to serve in the French National Assembly in Paris.

Positive Effects of the Policy of Assimilation

- It afforded some Africans the opportunity to be assimilated into French citizenship. Examples of such beneficiaries were Blaise Diagne, Felix Houphouet Boigny, Galandou Diot and Leopold Sedar Senghor.

- Infrastructural facilities including sea and airports, railways, roads and telephone lines were provided by the colonial administration to give a facelift to the colonies.

- They enjoyed improved education and standard of living. They were gainfully employed and had the opportunity to be educated in French educational institutions.

Negative Effects of the Policy of Assimilation

- the categorization of people into citizens and subjects

- It failed to assimilate the people. Only a small fraction of subjects were able to meet the stiff requirements put in place to convert Africans into French. These include the ability to speak, read and write French, adherence to the Christian faith and so on.

- Africans, under the policy, were made to denigrate on their own cultural values and institutions.

- it sought to compel African Muslims to shun their faith in favour of Christianity, particularly the Catholic faith so as to be assimilated.

- The policy was criticized for depriving Africans, particularly the subjects of their rights and freedoms. They were for example, denied the freedom of association.

REFORMS IN THE FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY

- The criticisms conflated with other factors compelled the French colonial authorities to initiate reforms in their method of administration.

- This led to the changing over from the assimilation policy to the association policy.

- The reforms did not come at once. They were preceded by the holding of the Brazzaville Conference in 1944 and the Loi Cadre Reform of 1956.

- Before we delve into the policy of association, let us first take a look at the first two preceding events at which the reform measures were taken.

Features of the Policy of Association

- The dual citizenship system which was a major feature of the previous assimilation policy was abolished.

- Corollary of the abolition of the categorization of citizens, the repressive and the most hated aspects of the assimilation policy-the covee, indignat (on-the-spot administration of justice) and prestation (the system of compulsory labour) were also abolished.

- The disregard for the African culture as being inferior to that of the French disappeared.

- The association policy gave due recognition to the chiefs as the natural leaders of the people.

- The new policy gave greater autonomy to the administrative officer in each colony. In this regard, each territorial government was given the power to establish its own civil service and recruit personnel to staff it.

Features of the Policy of Association

- Local Territorial Assemblies were established in the eight colonies.

- It allowed each territory to develop according to its own capability and resources.

- It granted universal adult suffrage to all Africans in French African territories. This gave all adults possessing the relevant qualification the right to elect their representatives into the local assemblies.

- It gave the Africans the right to form political parties in their respective colonies so they could participate meaningfully in the political activities of their countries.

- The indigenes of French African territories were again given the right to organise and belong to trade unions.

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UNIT FIVE

- **IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE ON AFRICA**

Positive Political Impact

- It led to the establishment of peace and freedom in the continent.

- It led to the appearance of the present geo political features we find on the African continent.

- introduced into most parts of Africa at least two new political institutions which have been maintained since independence. The institutions are the new judicial system and the bureaucracy or civil service.

- One of the good things that colonialism left for Africa was the institutionalisation of the professional army.

- the birth of a new type of African and Pan-African nationalism..

Negative Political Impact

- Some of the artificial national boundaries that were created for the new African states cut across pre-existing ethnic groups, states and kingdoms.

- The artificial boundaries created serious border disputes between some independent African states.

- the arbitrary nature of the drawing of the artificial boundaries has led to a situation where each African state is composed of a miscellany of people with different cultures, traditions of origin and languages

- different sizes with unequal natural resources and economic potentialities.

- loss of African sovereignty and independence

- The weakening of the indigenous systems of government was another visible negative political impact of colonialism.

Positive Economic Impact

- provision of infrastructure-roads, railways, telegraphs, postal services, telephone, airport and seaports, which were nonexistent in pre-colonial Africa.

- Development of primary sector of the economy. (minerals)

- One other significant economic impact of colonialism in many parts of the continent was the introduction of money or cash economy, which had some interesting effects.

- The introduction of currency and its attendant banking services and the tremendous expansion in the volume of trade between the colonies in Africa and Europe

Negative Economic Impact

- total and deliberate policy to discourage industrialisation and the processing of the locally produced raw materials and agricultural products in most of the colonies.

- destroyed the local industries and crafts that existed in Africa in pre-colonial times.

- attempts were made to diversify the agricultural economy of the colonies. On the contrary, the production of single or at best two cash crops became the rule.

- The concentration on the production of cash crops during the colonial period compelled Africans to ignore the production of food crops for their own consumption

- The colonial presence also led to the appearance of an increasing number of expatriate banking, shipping and trading firms and companies on the African scene.

Positive Social Impact

- the construction of ports and railways and the resultant expansion of commercial activities dramatically changed the face and accelerated the pace of urbanisation in Africa.

- urbanization

- the provision of a lingua franca for each colony or a set of colonies.

- The spread of Christianity and Islam was facilitated by colonialism.

- Religion-Christian missionaries and Muslim clerics took advantage of the peace and orders as well as the patronage and in some areas the positive encouragement provided by colonialism to push their activities further and further inland.

Negative Social Impact

- the creation and widening of the gap between the urban and rural areas..

- inadequate and unevenly distribution of infrastructure

- escalating famine due to cash crop production mainly

- Colonial education had a profound impact in African societies (westernization)

- the lingua franca which was promoted through the educational system, has had a regrettable consequence of preventing the development of some of the indigenous languages into national languages or lingua franca.

- the African was meanly looked upon, humiliated, denigrated and discriminated against.

- Negative effect onAfrican culture.

IMPOSITION OF COLONIAL RULE, RESISTANCE AND GENERAL EFFECTS

Methods of Imposing European Colonial Rule on Africa

- The colonial masters adopted *two measures* or *methods* to impose their rule on African states.

- the *signing of fraudulent treaties* which were never satisfactorily explained to the chiefs who signed such treaties. Armed with such bogus and fraudulent treaties, the colonial powers claimed that African rulers had surrendered their sovereignty to them.

- *military conquest* for the establishment of colonial rule. In an attempt to impose colonialism in Southern Ghana, the colonial authorities attempted to intimidate and humiliate some of the chiefs by imprisoning them or sending them into exile.

IMPOSITION OF COLONIAL RULE, RESISTANCE AND GENERAL EFFECTS

- The colonial authorities exiled the following chiefs:

- King Aggrey of Cape Coast was exiled to Freetown in Sierra Leone in 1866.

- King Kwabena Gyan, the Omanhene of Elmina, was also exiled to Freetown in 1872. King Amoako Atta of Akyem Abuakwa was exiled to Lagos in 1888.

- King Asafo Agyei of New Juaben was also exiled to Lagos in 1877.

- King Tackie Tawiah I of Accra (Otublohum) was imprisoned in the Elmina Castle in 1878.

- The last King to be exiled was Prempeh I of Asante in 1896 to Sierra Leone and then to the Seychelles Island in 1900.

IMPOSITION OF COLONIAL RULE, RESISTANCE AND GENERAL EFFECTS

- In Nigeria, Jaja of Opobo was first exiled to Accra in 1887 and then taken to the West Indies.

- Ijebu, a group of Yoruba, were attacked and defeated in 1892. The Benin Kingdom in Nigeria as well as Ilorin and Dida were also attacked and conquered in 1897.

- Then in 1906, Sir Frederick Lugard who later became Lord Lugard was given the task of conquering Northern Nigeria.

- Lugard finally succeeded in conquering the Fulani Empire.

- The states in Eastern Nigeria were also conquered one at a time.

IMPOSITION OF COLONIAL RULE, RESISTANCE AND GENERAL EFFECTS

- By 1909, the whole of Nigeria had been conquered.

- All these were attempts to break the power of the chiefs and make the imposition of colonialism easy.

- The exile of Prempeh to Freetown and later in 1900 to the Seychelles Island did not mean that Asante, at least in practice, was a colonised territory.

- However, in 1900, the British Governor Sir Frederick Hodgson went to Kumasi and arrogantly demanded that the Golden Stool should be handed over to him as the new sovereign of Asante.

- The consequence was the Yaa Asantewaa War, a nine month rebellion at the end of which a defeated Asante was annexed to the British Empire.

WEST AFRICAN RESPONSES TO THE COLONIAL SITUATION AND THE RECOVERY OF SELF-RULE, C. 1880s – 1960

- The concept of nationalism can be interpreted variously in many contexts. The *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced learners* explains nationalism in the following two senses:

- (1) the wish for political independence of a group of people with the same language, culture, history, etc.

- (2) the belief that your nation is better than other nations. Nationalism can also be defined as the feeling of devotion to one's country and the interest of its people. It, again, means the efforts to defend or recover one's country's sovereignty from domination. In relation to the last definition, there is evidence to show that the spirit of nationalism permeated the West African sub-region before the outbreak of the Second World War.

WEST AFRICAN RESPONSES TO THE COLONIAL SITUATION AND THE RECOVERY OF SELF-RULE, C. 1880s – 1960

- the founding of independent African churches: non-mission churches, including the MDCC, Nigerian Christian Movement (NCM).

- The next evidence is the elites' demand for good governance.

- The third evidence was opposition to land alienation or the land question. This opposition highlights the nationalism of the educated elites and the press of the time.

1. For instance, in 1894 Ghana, the colonial government introduced what was called the Crown Lands Bill. The aim was to make all wet lands, forest lands and minerals the property of the queen of England. In other words, all the land in the country was to be declared government property. i.e. the Crown Lands Bill had provoked nationwide protest which was led by the educated elites.

WEST AFRICANS AND ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

- There were attempts in colonial times by West Africans to assert themselves economically.

- The NCBWA, e.g., made such an attempt by setting out an economic policy at its first session in Accra in 1920 and reaffirmed at subsequent meetings. It stated that "… the time has come for … the formation of a Co-operation, to be known as the British West African Co-operative Association … to found Banks, promote shipping facilities, establish Co-operative Stores, and produce buying centres, in such wise as to inspire an maintain a British West African National Economic development".

- Africans such as John Ayew of Ghana and J.K. Coker of Nigeria, in their respective countries, tried to organise farmers' co-operatives.

- The co-operatives purchased the farmers produce, especially cocoa, with the intention of shipping it co Europe and the United States of America. Their aim was to by-pass foreign firms, but their attempts were not successful.

WEST AFRICANS AND ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

- Tete-Ansa formed three liability companies.

- First, he founded the West African Co-operative Producers Ltd., which was inaugurated in Accra in 1925 and registered in England and Nigeria in 1928.

- The second company, the Industrial and Commercial Bank Ltd., was originally registered in England in 1914 by a group of businessmen and financiers but acquired by Tete-Ansa in 1924. Its residence and operations were transferred to Nigeria in 1928, and a small branch was established in Accra shortly afterwards.

- The third of Tete-Ansa's companies was the West Africa American Corporation, which was incorporated at Delaware, U.S.A., in March, 1930. All these were attempts at economic nationalism.

- Several attempts were made between 1930 and 1937 by West Africans to break the foreign monopoly. A.T. Ocansey was one West African who joined Ayew and Tete-Ansa.

POST-WORLD WAR II NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA

- **The struggle for independence in West Africa and by extension Africa, has been analysed to have gone through four main stages.**

1. The first stage was the pre-Second World War elite agitation. For example, the NCBWA agitation for good governance, economic nationalism, etc.

2. The second stage is the involvement of West Africans in the World War II in the struggle against Adolf Hitler's Nazism and Benito Mussolini's Fascism.

3. The third stage is the violent agitation for full independence after the Second World War.

4. fourth stage is the armed movement against white government, manily in the 1960s. This was particularly in the southern part of Africa.

POST-WORLD WAR II NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA

- The Second World War saw the emergence of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. as the two super-powers in the world.

- These two new super-powers put pressure on the imperial powers of Europe to compel them to grant independence to their colonies.

- the birth of the UNO in 1945.

- The next point is that the war was believed to have been motivated by the desire to fight against conquest, tyranny and inhumanity.

- The rise of radical politicians, known as the Leftists, in France and Britain, is one of such factors.

- In France, the Socialist-Communist majority in the Chamber of Deputies in 1945 was very important.

- Britain, the accession of the Labour party to power around the same time, was also very important.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA

- Three factors are said to be responsible for the rapid decolonisation process in British West Africa.

- The first one is the upsurge of nationalism.

- The second factor is the nature, objectives and activities of the nationalist movements that were launched in the post-World War II era.

- The third factor is the actions as well as reactions and responses of the British. This was one of the factors that made the greatest contribution to the liquidation of colonialism. After the war, there was shortage of essential commodities.

- A number of political parties were formed to take advantage of the existing state of affairs and regained independence for British West Africans.

INDEPENDENT WEST AFRICA: THE CHALLENGES OF THE NEW NATIONS

- They were faced with the question of social cohesion within the context of the existence of varied cultures.

- The next challenge was the security of the new nations and their continued survival as nations. the real issues were the threats of subversion, secession and sabotage, and a threat of foreign intervention attendant upon these.

- political system to be adopted

- corruption at all levels of society.

- lack of resources in the face of the aspirations of the people and their new governments.

- the political elites or ruling groups who came to power lacked the confidence

Development Model

- In the period following independence, two development models dominated the world political economy arena.

1. Communism:

- refers to the ownership of property and the means of production and distribution by a community as opposed to ownership by individuals.

1. Capitalism:

- refers to the ownership of property and the means of production and distribution by individuals as opposed to community ownership.

Independent West Africa within the International Community

Pan-Africanism

- Pan-Africanism refers to the African consciousness and the love and devotion towards Africa and the peoples, institutions and societies of Africa.

- It is a movement that is dedicated to the total liberation of Africans and the projection and appreciation of the African personality.

- Pan-Africanism seeks to redeem Africa, provide freedom for Blacks and to demonstrate the ability of Blacks to govern themselves and the world.

- Again, it seeks to show that Africa has a contribution to make to world civilisation.

- This movement emerged in the diaspora and led to the emergence of a number of Black movements being established in the Black Diaspora.

Independent West Africa within the International Community

Pan-Africanism

- The peak of all these activities occurred between 1900 and 1939 with Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois and others being the moving spirit.

- There were a number of activities within this period. Perhaps the single most influential and pragmatic of all the Pan-African Congresses was the one held in Manchester in 1945.

- This conference was attended by people such as Peter Milliard, Jomo Kenyatta, Peter Abrahams, Kwame Nkrumah, etc. this conference is credited with being a major turning point in the independence revolution and the resultant demise of colonialism.

- This was a victory for Pan-Africanism. This was, however, not the end of Pan-Africanist activities.

- The movement still continued to work to remove all relics of imperialism and colonialism.

The Organisation of African Unity – OAU

- African independent states all favoured regional integration for one reason or the other.

- There were difference between them on the kind of integration to establish.

- By 1961, there had been two clear blocs, the Casablanca Group and the Monrovia Group.

- The Casablanca Group was made up of Ghana, Mali, Libya, Guinea, Algeria, Egypt and Morocco.

- This group supported a strong political union along the lines envisaged by Kwame Nkrumah's 'United States of Africa'.

The Organisation of African Unity – OAU

- The Monrovia group was made up of Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, etc. this group supported a loose federation that would not affect the sovereignty of the independent African states.

- Despite the differences, both groups showed a commitment to integration, the total liberation of all other colonies, and the policy of Cold War neutrality. The result of their commitment was the formation on May 25, 1963 of the OAU.

- The Charter which established the OAU was signed by thirty African heads of state and governments that were all independent.

- The Charter provides us with the means to understand the real aims of the OAU.

- These aims could be summed up as the protection and defence of the territorial integrity of the continent, elimination of colonialism, maintenance of peace and the formation of a solid front against the Cold War.

West Africa and the Organisation of African Unity

- West Africa was a key player in all the deliberations in the run-up to the formation of the OAU.

- Apart from Kwame Nkrumah and his activities, other countries like Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, etc. also played important roles.

- OAU was seen by these countries not as a union of solidarity and brotherhood, but also as an avenue to protect their territorial and political integrity.

- The OAU platform also presented them with acceptance and legitimization which were very much needed in the international community.

The United Nations Organisation

- It was the Second World War that gave birth to the United Nations Organisation.

- The failure of the League of Nations to prevent another major global war heightened the need to establish a new global body which would be absolutely committed to maintaining world peace.

- Africa in general and West Africa in particular had been an important part of the Second World War and the post-Second World War decolonisation.

- By 1960, the continent had come to be seen as one that had largely attained sovereignty and was ready for a relationship with the rest of the world.

The United Nations Organisation

- Between 1945 and 1960, the United Nations had very few West African members.

- This was because the UN did not admit dependent territories.

- The situation changed after 1960 when the UN General Assembly allocated five seats on the Security Council to Africa and Asia.

- The reason was that by this time, a number of countries on the continent had regained independence.

- It must be mentioned that the UN had the aim of bringing an end to colonialism when it was established in 1945.

- The world body saw that it had a mission to emancipate and liberate colonial peoples. This was the beginning of the relationship between the UN and West Africa. This relationship was to deepen in the course of time.

West Africa and the United Nations Organisation

- settlement of disputes and peace-keeping operations. For example, during crises in Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire, the United Nations mobilized forces and sent them to these areas to maintain peace law and order.

- UN served as an ally in the decolonisation process and the total liberation of Africa. Many West African countries regained their independence through the activities of the UN.

- UN is regarded as a benevolent imperialist institution. the Trusteeship Council, was created with the view to taking care of areas referred to as *mandated territories*.

West Africa and the United Nations Organisation

- UN a partner in development not only in West Africa, but to Africa as a whole. The UN has been striving hard to promote a higher level of economic development in all countries around the world. (World Bank)

- the United Nations provides technical assistance to needy West African countries.

- UN provides a forum for countries to meet and share ideas and to articulate their views on world issues

- Through its agencies such as the International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), and others, the United Nations has been striving to improve the status of all people, including refugees, in the areas of health, education, nutrition and social welfare.

West Africa and the United Nations Organisation

- The United Nations is, further, committed to promoting the welfare of workers throughout the world. International Labour laws

- the existence of the International Court of Justice, as an organ of the United Nations, has encouraged many countries, including West African states, to accept international law as a substitute for war.

I. The Organisation has, in addition, successfully mediated between border disputes between some member countries.

II. For instance, in 2002, the United Nations settled the dispute between Nigeria and Cameroun over the ownership of the Bakassi Peninsula in favour of Cameroun.

UNIT SEVEN

- **PROTO-NATIONALISM IN AFRICA: 1900–1945**

Definition of proto-nationalism

- Proto-nationalism is the term used to refer to the attempts made by Africans during the colonial period to secure **participation** in the government of the colonies.

- It was different from radical post-Second World War nationalism which was all about the nationalists' demand for a **complete end** to colonial rule.

- Thus, proto-nationalism was a feature of the political struggles of Africans before World War II.

FEATURES OF PROTO-NATIONALISM

- manifested itself in a way that distinguished it from the one that emerged later after the Second World War.

- the nationalist leaders did not ask for the immediate granting of political independence from their colonial overlords, even though that was their long term goal.

- was also characterized by mild or non-violent protests.

I. sending of delegation to London to seek audience with the Secretary of State for the Colonies to express their grievances

II. writing and dispatching of petitions through cablegram messages

III. holding of conferences.

IV. ARPS of the Gold Coast & NCBWA sent separate delegations to the Secretary of State in London over certain grievances the natives were nursing.

FEATURES OF PROTO-NATIONALISM

- Proto-nationalism was again characterised by the use of legal, constitutional, non-violent and step-by-step methods by the nationalists to make their demands known to the colonial authorities.

- nationalist activities centered on and were led mainly by the African educated elite, also known as the **intelligentsia** and in very few cases, some traditional rulers.

FEATURES OF PROTO-NATIONALISM

- limited in geographical spread and were confined to the areas designated as the 'colony', as in the case of British empire.

1. Mainly urban centres dotted along the coasts such as **Accra, Cape Coast**, **Mankessim, Saltpond and Sekondi-Takoradi** all in Ghana;

2. **Lagos** and **Calabar** in Nigeria; Freetown in Sierra Leone and Cape Town in South Africa to mention but this few.

- joined forces and formed movements and associations to press for improvement in the social, political and economic conditions of life of the indigenous people.

1. ARPS of the Gold Coast,

2. NCBWA

3. Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM).

Factors that led to the Development and Spread of Proto Nationalism

- The introduction of cash crops by the Europeans, which replaced the previous subsistence economy of the people with cash or money economy was one prominent factor that sparked off storms of protest.

- domination and monopolization of the colonies' trade and the commerce sectors by the leading expatriate trading firms, banks and insurance companies. (PZ company)

- The indirect rule regime which strengthened the position of the traditional rulers in the society also fueled passions and urged on the nationalists to keep up the protests.

- The relatively low number of the educated natives on the legislative and executive councils in the respective British colonies was another source of protest.

- The introduction and spread of the Christian religion in the colonies also sensitized the people about the negative aspects of the colonial system.

UNIT EIGHT

NATIONALISM AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Nature of the Post Second World War Nationalism

- The nationalists changed their demands for institutional and administrative reforms, as well as demands for improvement in social and economic conditions of life to ask for an early end to colonial rule and the granting of independence to the colonial territories.

- Militant and radical methods like boycotts, strikes by workers and open demonstrations were employed alongside the previous non-violent methods of sending petitions and delegations to seek audience from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London.

1. E.g. the 1948 riot

UNIT EIGHT

NATIONALISM AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Nature of the Post Second World War Nationalism

- Many successful strikes were organised by workers in many urban areas such as

1. Dakar in Senegal,
2. Lagos in Nigeria,
3. Accra in Ghana,
4. Kampala in Uganda,
5. Mombasa and Nairobi in Kenya
6. Dar el Salam in Tanzania.

UNIT EIGHT

NATIONALISM AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Nature of the Post Second World War Nationalism

- Formation of mass movements during the period which were political parties by their outlook.

1. Examples of such bodies or political parties were the United Gold Coast convention (UGCC) and the Convention People's Party (CPP) formed in Ghana in 1947 and 1949 respectively.

2. Others included the National Council of Nigerian and Cameroon (NCNC), the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP).

3. Their membership embraced all the people, including the "commoners".

UNIT EIGHT

NATIONALISM AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Nature of the Post Second World War Nationalism

- political activities were no longer confined to the few urban centres dotted along the coasts, but spread to all parts of the colonies.

- The literate society had enlarged during the period and for that much, newspaper publication was effectively used to spread the nationalists' message to the rest of the people.

1. Some of the newspapers were the Evening News edited by Nkrumah, Morning Telegraph, Cape Coast Daily Mail and The Ashanti Times, all in Ghana.

- The nationalist crusade had international dimension.

Factors Responsible for the Increase in Tempo Nationalism after the Second World War

- The factors are many and for the sake of convenience and clarity, they are divided into two; **internal** and **external** influences.

- The internal factors are considered first and have been further divided into **political, economic** and **social**.

Internal Factors

Political factors

- One most prominent factor that contributed to the increase in the pace of nationalism after the war was the return of the ex-servicemen.

Factors Responsible for the Increase in Tempo Nationalism after the Second World War

Internal Factors

Political factors

- The ruling ideology at the time of the war was another factor.

1. After having fought alongside the allied forces, including Britain to free some sections of Europe from German domination,

- the militant nationalists were desirous to overthrow colonial administration after the war so that Africans themselves will have the opportunity to manage the affairs of their own countries of birth.

- radical activities of the educated African natives, popularly called the intelligentsia

- crucial role played by the radical political parties and trade unions that emerged after the war.

Economic factors

- Introduction of new system of marketing.

1. the governments took over the marketing of the agricultural produce and raw materials, exported them, setting up marketing boards

2. Discrimination in obtaining import license

- shortage of imported goods resulting from the effects of the war.

1. This left in its trail high levels of inflation and black marketing.

2. high prices of commodities made life unbearable for most Africans leading to conditional sales of European commodities in some colonies.

3. Blamed the colonial governments for having collaborated with the expatriate firms to cheat the African.

4. boycott of European goods in Ghana in 1948.

- low wages for miners

Social factors

- African were overwhelmed, overawed, puzzled, perplexed, mystified and dazzled by the activities of the whites

1. The ability to kill a man and again raise him from the dead (anesthesia)

2. Big houses and other constructional activities

3. motor cars, motorcycles, bicycles, gramophones, telegraphy, the telephone

4. glittering Western cloths

5. new ways of ploughing and

Social factors

- whites were not superior beings but just ordinary human beings who were even more cowardly than the African.

1. noticed that they could challenge the whites after the war. A Ghanaian soldier, Seth Anthony for example, rose to an officer rank of major and was put in the command of whitemen.

2. He proved equal to the task.

3. And as they bathed, ate, slept and even chased the European women together, the attitude and respect the blacks had for the whites got eroded.

Social factors

- urbanization came with its attendant problems of high unemployment and lack of accommodation.

- The role of newspaper publication cannot be down played.

1. Many newspapers were published and circulated during the post war time to help raise the awareness among the people and to educate them on the need to support the nationalist agitations for self-government.

2. News for political information flowed freely from the urban centers to the rural areas to facilitate the education process through such newspapers as the Evening News.

External Factors

- The Atlantic Charter issued jointly by the US and Britain (rights of countries)

- the birth of the UN, which was formed as another world body to replace the defunct League of Nations which failed to avert a recurrence of another global war.

- The contribution of the US and the Soviet Union that emerged after the war as super powers.

- The role of the British Labour Party cannot be downplayed.

- The defeat of Britain by Japan

- The West African Students Union (WASU) and the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) also made an impact.

- The Pan-Africanist leaders like Dr. William Edward. Burghardt Du Bois (styled the father of Pan-Africanism) and others also organised lectures, symposia and seminars at which they rekindled the nationalist flames.

Consequences of the Post War Nationalism

The struggle by the Africans to free themselves from colonial domination and exploitation, otherwise known as nationalism in Africa, yielded many positive results.

- it led to an increased creation of awareness among the people to join forces to demand political freedom from their colonial overlords.

- Nationalism in British Africa provided the training ground for most nationalists many of whom became national and political leaders in their respective countries.

Kwame Nkrumah,

Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria,

Julius Nyerere of Tanzania

Sekuo Toure of Guinea

- **Some African States and their dates of attainment of independence**

State	Year of Independence	Political Leader	Political party
Egypt	1922		Wafd
Libya	1952	King Idris	Sanusiyya Brotherhood
Morocco	1956	Habib Bourgiba	Neo-Destour Party
Tunisia	1956		
Ghana	1957	Kwame Nkrumah	Convention Peoples Party
Guinea	1958	Sekuo Toure	
Tanzania	1961	Julious Nyerere	TANU
Nigeria	1960		
Uganda	1962	Milton Obote	Uganda People's Congress
Algeria	1962	Ahmed Ben Bella	National Liberation Front