**COURSE
GUIDE**

**POL 121
INTRODUCTION TO AFRICAN POLITICS**

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INTRODUCTION

POL121 Introduction to African Politics is a three-credit unit course for undergraduate students in Political Science. The materials have been developed with the African continent in view. This course guide gives you an overview of the course. It also provides you with relevant information on the organisation and requirements of the course.

COURSE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims are to help you understand the theory and practice of African politics; the problems associated with governance in Africa and the way forward. The broad aims will be achieved by:

i.   Introducing you to African politics, its origins, nature and character.
ii.   Demonstrating how Africa's encounter with the Europeans had created a legacy, this substantially influenced, and indeed determined the practice of politics in the continent.
iii.   Equip you with the knowledge and understanding of the internal forces that are subtly manipulating African politics and the tools that will assist in achieving true liberation.

To achieve the aims set out above, POL 121 has these broad objectives. Besides, each unit also has specific objectives. The unit objectives are at the beginning of each unit. I advise that you read them before you start working through the unit. You may refer to them in the course of the unit to personally monitor your progress. On successful completion of the course, you should be able to:

a.   Define and conceptualise the nature of African politics.
b.   Understand the colonial influence on the nature and character of African politics.
c.   Appreciate the modalities of nationalist agitations and the manner of colonial disengagement
d.   Explain the predominance of foreign influence in African politics.
e.   Know the interplay of economic interests/forces and political events in Africa.
f.   Offer explanations for political instability in Africa.
g.   Explain why a military regime cannot be a viable alternative to a democratic government and the self-serving arguments behind the advocacy of the one-party system in Africa.
h.   Understand why African states are marginal players/actors in world Affairs.

WORKING THROUGH THE COURSE

To complete the course, you are required to read the study units and other related material. You will also need to undertake practical exercises for which you need a pen, a note-book and other materials that will be listed in this guide. The exercises are to aid you and to facilitate your understanding of the concepts and issues being presented. At the end of each unit, you will be required to submit written assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of the course, you will write a final examination.

THE COURSE MATERIALS

The major materials you will need for this course are:

i.   Course guide
ii.   Study units
iii.   Assignment file
iv.   Relevant textbooks including the ones listed under each unit.
v.   You may also need to listen to programme and news on the radio and television, local and foreign.
vi.   As a beginner, you need to read newspapers, magazines, journals and if possible log on to the internet.

STUDY UNITS

There are 21 units (of five modules) in this course. They are listed below:

Module 1   Background to African Politics

Unit 1   Nature and Character of African Politics
Unit 2   Politics in Pre-Colonial Africa
Unit 3   Origins and Problems of African Politics
Unit 4   Primordial Politics and Conflicts in Africa

Module 2   **Colonialism and Nationalism**

Unit 1   Meaning and Nature of Colonialism
Unit 2   Problems and Legacies of Colonialism
Unit 3   Meaning, and Nature of Nationalism
Unit 4   Nationalism and Decolonisation Process

Module 3   **Neo-colonialism and African Economy**

Unit 1   Meaning and Features of Neo-Colonialism
Unit 2   Neo-Colonialism- Its Mechanism and Impacts
Unit 3   The Political Economy of African States
Unit 4   The Doctrine and Reality of African Socialism

Module 4   **Political Instability and Sustainable Democracy in Africa**

Unit 1   The Military in African Politics
Unit 2   Contending Explanatory Models of Instability
Unit 3   Democracy and Constitutionalism
Unit 4 I   nstability and Crises of Succession in Africa

Module 5   **Race/Gender Relations and World Order**

Unit 1   Racism and Liberation in Southern Africa
Unit 2   Gender Politics in Africa
Unit 3   Gender Affirmative Action and Government Response
Unit 4   Africa in International Affairs
Unit 5   Africa in Search for a New World Order

TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES

Certain books have been recommended in the course. You will have to supplement this by reading from the library or purchase them.

ASSESSMENT

An assessment file and a marking scheme will be made available to you. In the assessment file, you will find details of the works you must submit to your tutor for marking. There are five aspects of the assessment of these courses the tutor marked and the written examination. The marks you obtain in these two areas will make up your final marks. The assignment must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment under the deadline stated in the presentation Schedules and the Assignment file. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will account for 30% of your total score.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

You will have to submit a specified number of the (TMAs). Every unit in this course has a tutor-marked assignment. You will be assessed on four of them but the best three performances from the (TMAs) will be used for computing

your 30%. When you have completed each assignment, send it together with a Tutor marked Assignment form, to your Tutor. Make sure each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline for submissions. If for any reason, you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor for a discussion on the possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless under exceptional circumstances.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination will be a test for three hours. All areas of the course will be examined. Find time to read the unit all over before your examination. The final examination will attract 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the kind of self-assessment exercise, and tutor-marked assignment you have previously encountered. You should use the time between completing the last unit and taking the examination to revise the entire course.

COURSE MARKING SCHEME

The following table lays out how the actual course mark allocation is broken down.

ASSESSMENT	MARKS
Assignments (best three assignments out of four marked)	30%
Final Examination	70%
Total	100% of course score

COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME

Units	Title of work	Week Activity	Assignment (End of Unit)
Course Guide	Introduction to African Politics		
Module 1	Background to African Politics		
Unit 1	Nature and character of African Politics	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Politics in Pre-Colonial Africa	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Origins and problems of African politics	Week 3	Assignment 1

Unit 4	Primordial Politics in Africa	Week 4	Assignment 1
Module 2	**Colonialism and Nationalism**		
Unit 1	Meaning and Nature of Colonialism	Week 5	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Problems and Legacies of Colonialism	Week 6	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Meaning and Nature of Nationalism	Week 7	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Nationalism and Decolonialisation process	Week 8	Assignment 1
Module 3	**Neo-Colonialisation and African Political Economy**		
Unit 1	Meaning and features of Neo-Colonialism	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Neo-Colonialism: Its mechanisms and impacts	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit 3	African Political Economy	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit 4	The Doctrine and Reality of African Socialism	Week 12	Assignment 1
Module 4	**Political Instability and Sustainable Democracy in Africa**		
Unit 1	The Military in African Politics	Week 13	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Contending Explanatory models of Instability	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Democracy and constitutionalism in Africa	Week 15	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Instability and crises of succession	Week 16	Assignment 1
Module 5	**Race/Gender Relations and World Order**		
Unit 1	Racism and Liberation in Southern Africa	Week 17	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Gender Politics in Africa	Week 18	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Gender Affirmative Action and Government Response	Week 19	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Africa in International Affairs	Week 20	Assignment 1

Unit 5	Africa in Search of a New World Order	Week 21	Assignment 1
	Revision		
	Examination		

WHAT YOU WILL NEED FOR THE COURSE

This course builds on what you have learnt in your secondary school/ordinary level government. It will be helpful if you try to review what you studied earlier. Second, you may need to purchase one or two texts recommended as important for your mastery of the course content. You need quality time in a study friendly environment every week. If you are computer-literate (which ideally you should be), you should be prepared to visit the recommended websites. You should also cultivate the habit of visiting reputable physical libraries accessible to you.

FACILITATORS/TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

Information relating to the tutorials will be provided at the appropriate time. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must take your tutor-marked assignments to the study centre well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to contact your tutor if you need help. Contact your tutor if:

- You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings
- You have difficulty with the exercises
- You have a question or problem with an assignment or with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment. You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to-face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly.

You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn a lot from participating in discussion actively.

ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First is the Tutor-Marked Assignments; second is a written examination. In handling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The tutor-marked assignments are being done online. Ensure that you register all your courses so that you can have easy access to the online assignments. Your score in the online assignments will account for 30 per cent of your total coursework. At the end of the course, you will need to sit for an examination. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

Usually, there are four online tutor-marked assignments in this course. Each assignment will be marked over ten per cent. The best three (that is the highest three of the 10 marks) will be counted. This implies that the total mark for the best three assignments will constitute 30% of your total course work. You will be able to complete your online assignments successfully from the information and materials contained in your references, reading and study units.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for POL 121: Introduction to African Politics will be of two hours duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of multiple-choice and fill-in-the-gaps questions which will reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. It is important that you use the adequate time to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way, a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you where to read, and which are your text materials or set books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a

lecturer might give you an in-class exercise. Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit.

These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your set books or from a Reading section. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

1.   Read this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.
2.   Organise a Study Schedule. Design a 'Course Over' to guide you through the Course, Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Whatever method you choose, you should decide on and write in your dates and schedule of work for each unit.
3.   Once you have created your study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason why students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late to help.
4.   Turn to unit I, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
5.   Assemble the study materials. You will need your set books and the unit you are studying at any point in time. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
6.   Keep in touch with your study centre. Up-to-date course information will be continuously available there.
7.   Well before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates), keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.
8.   Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them, if you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.
9.   When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.

10. When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.
11. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

CONCLUSION

This is a theory course but you will get the best out of it if you cultivate the habit of relating it to political issues in African politics.

SUMMARY

The course guide gives you an overview of what to expect in the course of this study. The course exposes you to the rudiments of African politics. It guides you to understanding the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial politics, African politics and helps you to comprehend the contemporary courses of underdevelopment, wars, and military intervention in politics, corruption and other issues in African continents.

MAIN COURSE

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MODULE 1   BACKGROUND TO AFRICAN POLITICS

INTRODUCTION

This module explains the major components of African politics particularly the events that preceded the flag independence of most African states. The two factors that are of great importance in these periods were the devolution of powers by colonial authorities that attracted the nationalist and induced them to convert their movements to political parties and the modification of the electoral system and constitutional adjustments that made it technically possible for political parties to seek power constitutionally. These factors are responsible for the current problems of the modern African states because it foisted on these states a mixture of authoritarian structure and liberal democratic models of governance. These irreconcilable differences have pitched African leaders against themselves, thereby struggling to retain power at all cost and appropriating to themselves the influence and privileges of office to the detriment of the ordinary citizens of these states. The resultant of the primitive accumulation of wealth by the African ruling class have been unending wars, sit-tight syndrome, coup d'état, underdevelopment etc. This module is made up of four units that will form the bases for further discussion on the background to African politics.

Unit 1   Nature and Character of African Politics
Unit 2   Politics in Pre-Colonial Africa
Unit 3   Origins and Problems of African Politics
Unit 4   Primordial Politics and Conflicts in Africa

UNIT1   NATURE AND CHARACTER OF AFRICAN POLITICS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Background to African Politics
        3.2   Party-Politics in Post-Independence Era
        3.3   Recurring Political Instability
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will be introduced to African Politics. This is a follow-up to your study of Introduction to politics. This unit will introduce you to the application of the major principles and concepts you have studied. The various issues that will be examined in this unit include the colonial background of African politics, the structure and nuances of political party formations in the post-independence era, and the major indices that define the nature and character of African politics. The unit will introduce you to the factors that are responsible for unstable political systems in Africa, and problems associated with such upheavals.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss the major features of African politics
- trace how African politics is largely characterised by instability
- explain the factors responsible for this instability.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Background to African Politics

It is difficult to explain and analyse the nature and character of African politics without taking into account the encounter of these states with foreign influence, under colonial rule. What is now described as a colonial legacy is an admission that this asymmetric colonial relation had a formative, if not disruptive or destructive influence on politics in Africa. Almost six decades after that threshold popularly referred to as the "African Year of Independence", it would amount to self-delusion to claim that African states today are free from the corrosive effects of European values, systems and institutions. Indeed, the manner these foreign models were grafted into African indigenous structures, continue to have consequences for contemporary African politics.

The key issue here is whether an ex-colonial, new state in Africa, and a plural society, composed of old nations can evolve viable political systems, institutions and structures that can sustain political order. The reality today is that the African post-colonial political setting is a confusing mixture of authoritarian and democratic parliamentary/liberal institutions. While the ideas of the supremacy of the law and the structuring and organisations of a political community from which authority derives were consciously introduced by the colonial administration, corresponding consciousness that the ultimate control of government power lay with the people were lacking. According to Jordan (1978:60), the absence of these elements of modern constitutionalism added to the existing confusion due basically to the co-existence of

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elements belonging to three constitutional traditions: pre-colonial African constitutionalism, the constitutional system of indirect rule and authoritarian administration and the Western model of liberal democracy.

This created an almost irreconcilable gap between the authority of a strong and effective government struggling to modernise and integrate, and the liberty of the citizens, who were anxious to translate the pre-independence "revolution of rising expectations" into concrete developmental fulfillments. The failure to resolve this conflict, which had its roots in the colonial era, was the major dilemma faced by African leaders in the immediate post-independence era. Rather than find solutions to this problem, the inheritors of political offices were so much pre-occupied with the struggle for power and appropriating to themselves the privileges of offices vacated by the colonialists that little time was left for constructing political agenda appropriate for a developing society.

In a recent commentary on Africa's unique sociological setting, Henry Kissinger (2001:203) remarked thus: "in no other continent did national borders emerge so directly and intrinsically from the way the imperial powers delineated their spheres of control". Awolowo's (1947) description of Nigeria as a "mere geographic expression", a phrase arising from the country's colonial origin is, therefore equally applicable to most African states. This explains why unlike in most countries in the world where the state preceded the nation, in Africa the nation precedes the state.

Consequently, it is difficult in African states to wrest a national consciousness from among a plethora of ethnic groups or forge a national identity where centrifugal forces are strong.

3.2   Party-Politics in Post-Independence Era

In the movement towards national independence of African states, political parties were in the vanguard of that struggle. In Nigeria, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), led by Herbert Macaulay, and later, Nnamdi Azikiwe gave nationalist struggle a boost. In former Gold Coast, now Ghana, the struggle for independence was initiated by the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), until Kwame Nkrumah broke away and formed the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP), proclaimed Positive Action and won independence for Ghana in 1957. In Sierra Leone, the Sierra Leone National Council, (SLNC), in the Gambia, the Peoples Progressive Party, in Zimbabwe, both ZANU and ZAPU formed the Patriotic Front to demand self-government, and eventually led their countries in the immediate post-independence era. In South Africa, the ANC struggled, not for independence, but majority rule from the apartheid regime.

During the struggle for independence two factors accelerated the pace of

parties' formation: the devolution of power by colonial authorities who attracted the nationalists, and induced them to convert their movements to political parties, and the modification of the electoral system and constitutional adjustments that made it technically possible for political parties to seek power constitutionally Sklar, (1983). It is a fact that political parties were the prime force in the struggle for independence in Africa; it is however an irony that immediately independence was granted, they became sources of instability and undemocratic policies. The reason for this is not farf etched. Unlike in the advanced democracies like Britain where the party system is at the centre of parliamentary government, political parties in African states are rarely institutionalised, lack clear cut ideology, are not issues or programme driven, not properly organised, lack party discipline and are not mass-based movements, that can speak for the whole country.

In his study of political parties in French West Africa, Morgenthau, (1964).336-41) made a distinction between what he called "patron" and "mass" parties. By Morgenthau's definition patron parties were weakly organised, undisciplined, with little direct membership participation. The individuals were of interest to patron parties only to exercise their franchise. Most parties in Africa fit into this category. In the rare cases like in Ghana, Ivory Coast or Guinea where we had "mass" parties, citizens were often mobilised or driven by ideologies to perpetuate leaders in office. Although Smith (2003: 151) described the distinction as "less neat in fact than in definition," yet it gives us an idea of the organisational structure of parties in most African states in the early years of independence.

We must, however, admit that despite the observed deficiencies in parties their leaders were wise enough to close ranks, and forged a common front to demand, and win-self-government for their countries. But they faced the first major challenge in transiting from anti-colonial agitators to managers of newly independent states. Because these parties were a curious combination of traditionalism and liberalism, they were therefore unable to reconcile these conflicting values. Traditionalism enjoined political leaders to take care of everyone regardless of party differences. However liberal democracy dictated that government should alternate between the majority and the minority. But in a continent where divisions are along ethnic or religious lines, the opposition, often the minority ethnic groups, usually found it difficult to understand the idea of their permanent exclusion from power, along with the privileges it confers. Under this circumstance, the political process boils down to a quest for domination, even repression, not alternation in office.

This is the context within which the tug of war arena developed, and which in turn defines the nature and character of African politics.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1.   Explain the Western system of indirect rule in Africa.
2.   Explain the five leadership styles among African leaders.

3.3   Recurring Political Instability

The combined effect of the problems we identified above is that political instability has become a recurring feature of African politics. Being plural societies, African states are divided along segmental cleavages. These cleavages may be religious, ideological, linguistic, regional, cultural, racial or ethnic in nature; which are advanced in their primordial forms, or promoted, at times, extra-territorially. The fundamental assumption of the western model of democracy is that politics arises out of a diversity of interests, which can be aggregated, reconciled and resolved, using established rules and mechanisms. But because in Africa there is an absence of agreed traditions in politics, rival groups or claimants to political offices employ illegal or unconstitutional means, including enlisting the support of the military, to secure the advantage. The consequence is recurring political instability.

In every political system, those who are in power face democratic opposition, who would normally replace them, either to change or modify existing policies. But in Africa, the ruling party equate opposition with treason, or in the extreme are defined as "separatists" or "secessionists" Desperate to contain what is ideally a legitimate contribution to constructive dialogue, the sitting government often pushes the opposition groups underground, where they remain and continue as potent threats to political stability.

4.0   CONCLUSION

We have introduced you to the course of African politics. We began by acknowledging the impact of colonialism on the nature and character of African politics. We also recognised that society just emerging from colonial rule had many ills to correct and many problems to solve and that the failure of African political leadership to frontally confront this challenge is at the root of political crises in Africa. We identified the salient features of African politics and explained why political instability is a recurring decimal in the continent.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we have discussed in general terms the nature and character of African politics. In subsequent units, we shall discuss in greater details all the relevant issues, events and episode-past and present – that have

defined the complexion of politics in Africa. In specific terms, the basic issues we addressed in this unit include:

i.   The impact of colonialism on the evolution of extant political values, process and systems in Africa.
ii.   Failure of African politicians to abide by the rules of the game and the consequent volatility of African politics
iii. The wide gulf that exists between the government and the governed, arising from failure on both sides, to reconcile authority with liberty.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Identify and discuss the major features of African politics.
2.   Discuss citing appropriate examples of the sit-tight syndrome in African politics.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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Sklar, L.R. (1963). Nigerian Political Parties Power in an Emergent *African Nation*. New York: Nok Publishers International.

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UNIT 2   POLITICS IN PRE-COLONIAL AFRICA

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The long period of foreign rule in Africa and the success of colonial ideologies have led to the mistaken belief that traditional institutions if they ever existed, are hardly relevant today, or were of any enduring value or impact. This unit examines the importance of traditional institutions to the colonial enterprise, and how their incorporation into the colonial administrative structure facilitated the attainment of the colonial objectives. The unit recognises that traditional institutions suffered erosion in their influence and legitimacy, yet in the post-colonial era they are witnessing revival and resurgence in their importance.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss the political and administrative systems that existed in African societies before the colonial era
- describe how colonialism displaced traditional institutions from their primacy, eroded their influence and subordinated them to educated Africans in modern government
- explain the mechanism being used to transform colonialism from symbolic to constitutional relevance in many African states.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   African Traditional Political Institutions

In this unit, we are concerned with the traditional form of authority. The legal-rational acquired through established laws and the charismatic authority accepted as a result of the personal qualities and attributes of

a leader are not strictly relevant to pre-colonial African society. What distinguishes traditional authority from the other two is that it has become part of the pristine life of the African people i.e. it is neither learnt, borrowed nor acquired but inherent in the people.

We can therefore define a traditional society in Africa as a territorially or tribally defined community which existed before the intrusion of colonial rule, and led by traditional rulers and chiefs, who constituted traditional political elites. To modern or European societies which are structurally differentiated and complex, traditional societies are not only pre-industrial, simple but also agrarian-based settings. According to Mengisteab, (2003) pre-colonial African societies had "a rich tradition of political, economic and social institutions that dealt with the allocation of resources, law-making and social control. He noted that in some parts of Africa the powers of rulers were restricted through the institutions of the council of chiefs, while in others, such as Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) and Rwanda, the rulers were more absolute.

It is a fact that before colonial penetration it is impossible to speak of a single political system in Africa since there were various systems in different parts of Africa. The differences, perhaps, were due to local adaptations, the structure of power, as well as the size of the polity. Despite these differences, all the pre-colonial political systems in Africa possessed all the key attributes of a modern political system. It was explained that in a political system there must be a set of interactions resulting in the authoritative allocation of values. Evidence exists that in pre-colonial Africa, goals were set, human and material resources allocated and policy and objectives pursued. Also, all the key elements identified in Robert Dahl's definition of a political system-power, rule and authority- were visible in these societies.

The colonial anthropologists made a primary distinction between a state and stateless societies. But rather than being stateless societies, in pre-colonial Africa, there was the nominal appearance of the state structures. We can identity certain features such as:

First, unlike the modern system, there were no elaborate legislative, executive, judicial and bureaucratic institutions to maintain law and order and adjudicate in disputes.

Second, the model of governance was not embodied in a written document while the machinery of government does not intrude into the private realms of individuals and groups. Instead, pre-colonial societies lived by unwritten constitutions, based on customs and conventions.

Third, it also incorporated a system of social sanctions and checks and balances which prevented violation of norms by the people and extreme leadership tyranny. The idea of a chief in the council is not new to Africa. For example, the Asante in Ghana, for instance, had chiefs elected for specific tasks such as finance and defence (Jordan, 1978).

A major feature of traditional Africa was the decentralisation of governance and authority. In the "Mind of Africa". The African form of democracy-"communocracy", which is based on consensus, is close to what some post-independence African leaders now call democratic centralism. The idea is that once a decision is taken, no participant in the deliberations, even when he disagrees initially, could openly refuse obligations arising from the decision. Disputes were also settled through the consensual system, and narrowing of differences through negotiations, without producing winners and losers. The three fundamental principles of pre-colonial Africa as outlined by Legese (2000) were:
a.   Curbing concentration of power in an institution or person
       (separation of powers)
b.   Averting the emergence of a rigid hierarchy (devolution of
       powers).
c.   Avoiding the settlement of disputes through adversarial procedures
       (Alternative dispute resolution).

Other characteristics include respect for ancestors, elders, (gerontocracy) rights of individuals, and community norms and laws. Membership of lineage, kinship, and ethnic groups assured numbers of protection of rights of both the strong and weak. Despite their merits, African institutions of governance had some limitations. Participation of women in political institutions is limited, and the systems are too complex to cope with the challenges of modern developmental oriented government. These and others are the reasons for our assertion.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Describe the features of a traditional political system?

3.2   Impact of Colonial Administration on Traditional Institutions

Rather than strengthen their claims to legitimacy, the encounter of traditional rulers with colonial administrators weakened them in many ways. First, traditional rulers were perceived by their subjects as willing tools of colonial control and collaborators in repression. In Abeokuta, for example, Alake Ademola was forced to abdicate in 1948 in protest against the payment of colonial imposed taxation. By relying on the

co-option of traditional authorities, colonialism undermined their legitimacy. Hoogvelt (1978:1071) stated that colonialism invested chiefs with more power than they traditionally enjoyed in return for their support and cooperation. The effect was to create a distance between the chiefs and their people, thus opening political space for new educated elites.

Secondly, colonial inherent logic set in motion the process that progressively weakened the power, and eroded the influence of traditional rulers, even where they were initially supportive of colonial administration. The introduction of Western education and culture introduced a more liberal value within the colonial milieu; a value that questioned the absolute grip of traditional rulers over their subjects. A debate thereby ensured on the relevance of acquired status which traditional rulers relied upon for their legitimacy vis-à-vis achieved status, which educated African nationalists professed. The debate was eventually resolved in favour of emerging educated nationalists who spoke the language of liberty, freedom and democracy and whose claims to be the natural successors to white rulers, were strengthened by their successful explosion of the myth of white superiority. The fact that the first generation African traditional rulers were not educated made African growing intelligential to view them as irrelevant to post-colonial Africa. The explanation for this is simple. The African state today is a creation of imperialism; it inherited the characteristics of the colonial state and, by extension largely ineffective in advancing the interests of society.

As Mengisteab (2003) argues "the African state, run by functionaries whose interests are closely tied with external forces can hardly be expected to link itself with its institutional roots…". Noting the detachment of Africa's present from its past, it was posited that "the post-colonial era is not as differentiated from the colonial era as the colonial era from the pre-colonial era". In other words, if there is any continuity in African political structure, it is only from the colonial to the post-colonial and not from the pre-colonial to the colonial.

What colonialism achieved therefore was to displace traditional rulers from their primacy. From the re-organisation of the emirate system in Northern Nigeria, the desecration of the authority of the Ashante in the old Gold Coast as symbolised in the revered "Golden stool", to the disruptions of Buganda in Uganda, the Mendes in Sierra Leone and the Wolofs in the Gambia, colonialism successfully alienated traditional rulers from the people. It not only destroyed the consensus-based equilibrium of Africa, caused tensions between the educated elites and traditional rulers, and also foisted political dualism, or what Sklar (2003: 3-25) called: mixed polity" or "mixed" government" in Africa.

3.3   Resurgence and Relevance of Traditional Institutions

In recent years, many states are coming to terms with the relevance of traditional institutions and seeking to incorporate them into the machinery of modern government. This revival or resurgence led Richard Sklar, (1993) to coin the concept of "mixed government" to describe the trend in which traditional institutions are now accepted as occupying the second dimension of political space; behind the sovereign state. Before discussing the nature of this resurgence, it might be necessary to ask: What is responsible for it? The answer lies both in the unceasing demands by traditional rulers to seek more relevance and recognition by the holders of state powers that they could play more than symbolic role, in modern government. It was also admitted that despite efforts by constitutional makers to consign traditional rulers into the dustbin of history, people in many African societies continue to owe allegiance to the institution of traditional leadership (Oomen, 2003). Added to this is the realisation, especially in Anglophone countries where this revival is higher, that Britain has successfully shown through the monarchy institution in England, that traditional institutions could be safely integrated into the modern government. Indeed, the success of the indirect rule system bears eloquent testimony to the utility of traditional institutions.

In many African states, traditional institutions and rulers are being recognised, accommodated and given more political weight in different ways:

i.   In the kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland the two dimensions of power-traditional and modern-coincide, or are the same, in the sovereign state. For example, King Letsie III of Lesotho functions as the head of state.
ii.   The 1992 Ghanaian constitution established a National House of Chiefs and restricted the state from appointing or refusing to recognise chiefs. 30% of the seats in the district assembly were also reserved for chiefs.
iii.   In South Africa, despite the association of many chiefs with the apartheid regime, the country's 1996 constitution recognises and protects the institution, status and role of traditional leadership, according to customary law. The South African interim constitution of 1994 specifically provided for a constitutional monarchy in the Kwazulu Natal province, to accommodate the powerful Inkhatha freedom party, led by Chief Butulezi.
iv.   In 1993, Uganda amended its constitution to legalise the coronation of the Kabaka of Buganda, Mutebi II. Also, when the constitution was fully redrawn in 1995, chapter 16 was solely devoted to the traditional rulers.

In Nigeria, though traditional rulers are yet to be given constitutional role, they have proved useful as unofficial consultative organs of governments, and in resolving disputes. A body known as the Advisory forum of Traditional Rulers and Eminent persons on Peace and unity in Nigeria was set up in the country to discuss issues that could threaten or disrupt national unity.

A major factor why traditional institutions are considered a relic of the past is due to its undemocratic nature. But it is unlikely to expect that an institution which rests its claims to legitimacy on tradition will yield ground to the forces of democratisation which swept across the continent in the 1990s. But astonishingly, the revival of traditional institutions in many African states coincided with the post-cold war era, when the push towards democracy gathered steam in Africa (Englebert, 2003). There are possible explanations for this anomaly. One is that democratisation opened the political space, and the traditional rulers, like other groups, regained their voice in the process. Another factor is that the economic crises in many African states were interpreted by citizens as a failure in state capacity. To survive, many citizens found the safety net in other forms of sub-national identity to substitute for the state. Osaghae, (1995) noted an increase in ethnic associations and solidarities in the wake of structural adjustment in Nigeria. Therefore, traditional institutions have valuable characteristics that can assist democratic governance and promote development.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1.   Suggest possible roles for traditional rulers in modern government.
2.   What do you understand by the mixed government?

4.0   CONCLUSION

Pre-colonial African traditional institutions occupied pre-eminent positions in the lives of African people. They exercised both symbolic and executive powers, only restrained by customs and traditions. Colonialism displaced them from their primacy and only accommodated them within the colonial apparatus if it was convenient to do so. Therefore under colonial rule traditional rulers relied on colonial authorities to function, and retain their legitimacy, thereby making foreigners the real power behind the throne. Since independence traditional rulers have begun moves to regain their lost status, and are now reasserting themselves in a way that will make their relevance transcend the symbolic, to the substantive. The extent to which they will succeed in this respect will depend on how far they can lay claims to legitimacy, beyond mere tradition, or circumstances of birth.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we have examined the place and role of traditional institutions and rulers before the colonial period. We have carefully outlined how colonialism reduced them to subordination if not subservient positions. We underscored how they competed with the educated elites in the struggle to succeed colonial rulers and why they failed in inheriting the vacated colonial throne. We finally recognised that traditional rulers are beginning to gradually gain their relevance in modern government and administration.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Explain how the British system of Indirect Rule benefited from traditional political institutions in a given British Colony.
2.   In what ways are traditional political institutions relevant to the modern government?
3.   Describe the ways colonial rule eroded the structures and values of traditional institutions.

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UNIT 3 ORIGINS AND PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN POLITICS

CONTENTS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In Unit 1 we discussed the nature and character of African politics. Another way of looking at the issues raised in this unit is to look at them as problems confronting African politics. Certainly, these problems were created by certain historical forces, though external in nature, but were reinforced by other factors, internal to the continent. This unit will also discuss the origins and problems of African politics.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- state the benefits of colonialism on African politics
- discuss the problems created by colonialism to African politics
- explain the challenges facing African politics due to the effects of colonialism.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Benefits of Colonialism on African Politics

The title of this section is not intended to convey the impression that there was no politics in pre-colonial Africa. This mistaken view believed

in some quarters, will form the subject of a latter unit. Rather we are interested here with politics in post-colonial Africa, the origins and its associated problems. It is tempting to say there was nothing of value in colonialism; even if those benefits were not originally intended by the authors of the colonial script. This will be uncharitable and will amount to an incomplete history of colonial rule in Africa. Among the benefits of colonialism on African politics are:

i.   **Creation of Nation-State**
      Foreign rule created modern nation-states, with defined boundaries and capitals. Before colonial rule, there were hundreds of clans, lineages, city-states, kingdom and empires, with "shifting and indeterminate frontiers". Reader (1998:604) argues that "whatever the iniquities of colonial boundaries, they also contributed to peace in the continent". He contends that virtually all the wars in Africa since the colonial period have been intra-state, and not interstate. It should be noted, however, that most of the wars have been attributed to the indiscriminate and arbitrary boundaries bequeathed to the continent at the independence of these states.

ii.   **Western Education**
      Africans were introduced to western education which ironically equipped them with tools of resistance. As it is well-known education stimulates people to want what they do not have. British colonial administration established Achimota College in Gold Coast, Yaba Higher College in Nigeria, Fourah Bay in Sierra leone and Makerere in Uganda. The French established William Party School in Dakar. In Nyasaland, present-day Malawi, Africans were educated at Lovedale. The curriculum was through foreign. Instead of dividing seasons into rain and harmattan, that would have been appropriate for the tropics, Africans were introduced into temperate classification into spring, summer, autumn, and winter. This foreign content, notwithstanding, colonial education produced many Africans who later became leaders in their countries.

iii. **The mandate system**
      The League of Nations mandates under which former German colonies were assigned to victorious European nations stipulated that they should be governed as "a sacred trust of civilisation'" until they could stand on their own feet. This injunction was implemented in various ways. In her colonies, Britain substituted the idea of paramount chiefs/kings with the familiar institution of constitutional Monarchy. When France discovered that kinship was no longer compatible with her republican tradition, it was abolished.

iv.   **Economic Activity**
        Relative peace and security also stimulated economic activity. The overriding priority of colonial administration was to make the colonies self-supporting. This was the purpose of the amalgamation then in Nigeria in 1914. Western education emptied the villages, populated the cities, increased mobility and urbanisation. If urbanisation forced Africans to mix, even if they failed to congeal, it created an awareness of their similarities, as well as their distinctiveness from others. Ali Mazrui argues that colonialism made Africans realise they are one: " sentiment was created on the African continent-a sentiment of oneness' (Mazrui 1978:38).

3.2   Challenges posed by Colonialism on African Politics

We may have attributed some gains to colonialism in some areas. But this is not to deny that, in other vital areas, colonialism created problems for African politics, in its system and process, as well as the policies pursued by its practitioners in the continent. Gabriel Almond et al., (2003) identified systems, process and policy as three critical areas to view politics and assess government. This section deals with the first two. Let us now discuss the critical problem areas in African politics to colonialism.

3.2.1 Lack of Institutionalisation

The absence of effective political institution is a major problem in African politics. This has, in turn, contributed to the inability of most African states to establish and sustain political order. Huntington, (1981) argues that, unlike developed countries, most third world nations, including Africa lacked "strong, adaptable, coherent political institutions". Worse still, virtually all African states have borrowed foreign institutions developed for a different setting. He identified the following systems and process deficiencies:

i .   L ack of well organised political parties;
ii.   Inefficient bureaucracies;
iii.   Low degree of popular participation in public affairs;
vi.   Ineffective structure of civilian control over the military, and
v.   Absence of relatively effective procedure for regulating succession, and resolving political conflicts.

The implication of these systems and process deficiencies is the failure to create political order in Africa.

3.2.2 Tribalism/Ethnicity

Tribalism is one of the dangerous legacies of colonial rule. Tribes had existed before colonial rule, but the arbitrary manner the partition of Africa was delineated complicated tribal relations. The world tribalism, according to the Oxford English Dictionary was coined in 1886; and was used to refer to a condition where "no national life, much less civilisation, was possible". In Africa, tribalism has a negative connotation, though there are ethnic groups in other parts of the world, who are equally, or highly antagonistic as those in Africa, their differences like the one between the Serbs and the Croats are attributed to religion, not the tribe. Consequently, the relations between the Maasai and Kikuyu in Kenya, the Hutu and the Tutsi in Rwanda and Burundi, the Zulu and Xhosa in South Africa are perceived in competitive, and sometimes, acrimonious terms. This was also promoted in the service of colonialism.

3.2.3 Double Allegiance

The other negative implication of ethnicity in African politics is that it has made the task of nation-building difficult. Colonial policies promoted the view that every African, belonged to a tribe, just as every European belonged to a nation. Since a tribe was defined as distinct cultural units, with a common language and a single social system, the impression was created that every tribe could stand on its own; with any multi-ethnic arrangement viewed as a burden, and a violation of cultural purity.

The disservice of this policy to nation-building effort in Africa is that while 19th century Europe witnessed the unification of Germany and Italy, in the 20th Century, colonial rule perfected the policy of divide and rule in Africa. Africans, therefore, found it difficult to accept the boundaries of the nation-states as legitimate when those boundaries had their origins in an alien rule.

3.2.4 Crisis of Modernisation

Africa like most third world states is said not to be politically developed. The ingredients of political development include rationalisation of authority and differentiation of structure. But social Darwinism places Africa at the bottom of the evolutionary ladder (Smith 2003:44.53). Because most African States are in a hurry to m o d e r n i s e, to escape from the trap created by their past; a gap inevitably developed between the limited capacity of institutions and the expanded levels of political mobilisation. Huntington (1968:45) developed this proposition from de

Torque Ville's thesis which says "among the laws that rule human societies, there is one which seems to be more precise than others. If men are to remain civilised or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which equality of conditions is increased". This is not the case in Africa.

3.2.5 Weak Political Authority

Politics in Africa are not supported by values that strengthen a representative government. To remain in power most governments in Africa substitute power for authority. The conception of state power and authority of government in developed countries differ. In America, for example, rather than the creation of authority and accumulation of power, the system works best with limitation of authority, division and devolution of powers, checks and balances, and recognition and guarantee of rights. In the federalist, No 51, James Madison had the American experience in mind when he advised on how to frame a government which is to be administered by men: "the great difficulty lies in this". You must first enable the government to control the governed, and in the next place oblige it to control itself". For most African States, the two goals have remained an elusive dream.

3.2.6 Weak Economic Base

Most African states are still struggling to provide for their citizens' necessities of life. For this reason, most people view competitive party-based politics as an unnecessary waste of scarce resources, while elected political structures and their salaries and other perquisites as a needless drain of resources that most African economy can hardly support. In terms of cost-benefit analysis, there is the widespread belief that the poor performance of most governments in Africa does not justify the huge amount spent to erect and support democratic structures. It is instructive that in Nigeria, most citizens opposed the recommendations by the National Revenue Mobilisation and Fiscal Commission that the salary of political office holders in the country is increased by over 100 per cent.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1.   Examine the origin of African politics.
2.   What are the benefits of colonial legacy to African politics?
3.   In what ways is tribalism related to double allegiance in African politics?

4.0   CONCLUSION

Modern politics in Africa had its roots in the colonial period. The central proposition of this unit is that colonialism was a mixed-grill for African politics while recognising that the score sheet is loaded more on the negative side. Cicero wrote over 2000 years ago that history "is the witness that testifies to the passing of time; illuminates realities and vitalises memory". Close to half a century after African year (1960), African leaders by a new approach to governance should begin to rewrite a new positive history for African politics. This is the only way that the colonial encounter, no matter how long its history, or deep its impact, in creating problems for African politics, will become a footnote in future narration and analysis.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we established that colonialism created major problems for African politics. We also noted its positive effects in some minor areas. We observed that the problems are in the area of systems and process, which also influenced the dominant policies adopted by the political class in the many African States. We also identified as a major bane of African politics the manner the political leadership substitute excessive use of power, for its declining authority.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Explain the relevance of tribalism/ethnicity in the Analysis of African politics.
2.   How is the problem of nation-building in a given African state related to the concept of double allegiance?

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UNIT 4   PRIMORDIAL POLITICS AND CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

CONTENTS

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

Unlike in developed countries of the world where class, and to some extent, race are major issues in national politics, in Africa what has been described as primordial factors are more salient. Issues that readily come within this category include ethnicity, language, religion and growing level, elitism. These factors have come to define African politics in many ways. This unit will discuss the interplay of these major factors. It will also highlight how the multi-ethnic nature of post-colonial states in Africa has made the recourse to primordial politics almost inevitable.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- state the role of ethnicity and other primordial factors in African politics
- mention the connection between elites and class and their place in African politics.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Character of Primordial Politics in Africa

3.1.1 Ethnic Politics

Ethnic or tribal politics is one of the most disturbing social crises in Africa. Depending on the concept used i.e. whether ethnicity or tribalism, its means a general feeling of allegiance, attachments or

loyalty to one's primordial group at the expense of the others. In most states, electoral constituencies were drawn to coincide with ethnic territorial boundaries. Accordingly, ethnic groups became the power base of politicians and political parties. To get elected, politicians are invariably compelled to play on ethnic sentiments.

This situation has made it difficult for a national leader acceptable to all communities to emerge in post-independent African states. A leader is first and foremost seen as a representative of a particular group, and his leadership position at the national level is cited as evidence of domination of one ethnic, and the marginalisation, or exclusion of the other groups.

In pursuit of ethnic politics, most African states have discarded merit and embraced ethnic balancing or what is commonly referred to as federal character in Nigeria. This idea of ethnic arithmetic has the consequence of imposing nepotism and mediocrity at the expense of merit in governance. Other negative impacts of ethnic politics include incessant struggles for superiority, sit-tight syndrome, threats of secession or division, ethnic nationalism and prolonged civil strife, which assumed genocidal levels in Rwanda and Liberia in the early 90s.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

How can the problem of ethnic politics be solved in Nigeria?

3.2   Causes of Primordial Conflicts in Africa

The question of ethnicity in Africa has been on t h e ground before colonialism. It was however after colonisation that the issue of ethnicity became more pronounced. The reason is that colonial rule brought together the number of people with different ethnic affiliations, and divergent religious and cultural beliefs. This forced merger led to the emergence of separatist movements, either for regrouping, or outright secession; which invariably led to conflicts and wars. A distinction must be drawn between inter-state and intra-state conflicts while recognising that the two could be mutually reinforcing. In the immediate   post-independence period, Africa witnessed many inter-state wars, reflecting many border disputes and the politics of the Cold War. Examples are Morocco vs Algeria, Ethiopia vs Somalia and Guinea vs. Senegal. In recent years, Africa also witnessed more intra-state conflicts in Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, D.R. Congo, and Uganda.

Origins and causes of conflicts in Africa are varied and complex, and rooted in international and national arenas, encompassing economic, political, cultural and social parameters. Among the international factors are the consequences derived from the end of the Cold War and its

aftermath, the role of international arms merchants, hostile international environment, as well as the globalisation and liberalisation of the world economy-which have generated a sense of political and economic insecurity in Africa. However, internal factors have contributed more to igniting intra-state conflicts. These include circumstances surrounding the attainment of independence and the multi-ethnic composition of the independent states. Factor subsumed under the generic label "governance" include exclusion or perceived exclusion from the political process, for reasons of personal, ethnic or value difference; lack of social-political unity; lack of genuine access to national institutions of governance, centralised and highly personalised form of governance, and perception of inequality and discrimination.

Because of the implications of the conflict for peace and development, efforts are now being directed by all stakeholders to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. But these efforts can only succeed if causes of conflicts are known, whether, social, political, or economic; the level of conflicts are determined - is it a crisis, or war; and the costs of dealing with the conflicts-financial, institutional and human are considered. Responsibilities for conflict prevention and resolution should be delineated along with sub-regional, regional and international levels. African conflicts have persisted because of inadequate resources, limited financial assistance from international agencies, to enable Africa to deal with conflict-related commitments, including refuge assistance, and failure of preventive diplomacy, in the final analysis, resolution of conflicts lies with the conflicting parties and third party intervention cannot be successful if the conflicting parties are unwilling to stop the carnage.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Identify the causes of political conflicts in Africa.

3.3   Negative Connotations of Primordial Terms

There are problems and academic controversies associated with the description of some terms like tribe or tribalism in pejorative terms. The controversy, and indeed confusion originates from the Europeans. The term in modern time is almost exclusively reserved to describe conglomeration of in the Third World, particularly in Africa. The term is hardly used to describe human groups in Western Europe and even Russia. Similarly, the application of the term is indeed extended for the description of other social relations issues, beyond politics. For this reason, the word or label has acquired negative or pejorative connotations because it is intended to diminish or relegate the image of Africans in relations to their European counterparts (Adeyemi, 2001).

For the Africans, the word "tribe" provokes negative emotions and reactions because it is always asserted that where the label sticks and is manifested in political and social relations, it constitutes an impediment to development. This assumption is widely disseminated by the Europeans and accepted "a priori" by others without any scientific basis to validate it. This has led to interventions from other scholars to give correct meaning, context and interpretation to the world. Andreski, a Social Scientist contends that the use of the word tribe exclusively for Africans is ambiguous; and that there is no technoscientific basis to describe a group of people of about a million in Europe as a nation while numerous groups in Africa forming millions of population with distinct cultural traits are described as a tribe. Andreski, therefore, concludes that judging by the known criteria of nationhood-common history, and language, population, and shared aspiration for the future-the groups referred to a tribe in Africa qualify to be called nations, if not under international law, but under sociological considerations. Today, with the possible exception of United Germany, it is not common to find a single nationality forming a nation-state under international law, but a conglomeration of nations forming states (Huntington 1997:28).

4.0   CONCLUSION

Analysis of politics in developed countries of the word, more often than not, follows class perspective. Where other sub-national criteria are at work, more elevated terms such as nation, or grudgingly, race are employed. But in analyzing Africa politics, or interpreting conflicts, primordial labels like the tribe, ethnic, or religious affiliation of politicians are preferred as a basis of classification or analysis. African politicians themselves do not help matters because when it suits them they rely on their ethnic base, either to promote their political fortunes or career and when they are at disadvantage blame the same for their woes. No country in the world is not segmented along one cleavage – class, ethnic or racial – or another. But to continue to promote primordial values, to the detriment of merit or national interest constitutes a disservice to the aspiration of decent and refined politics in Africa.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we discussed the origin of primordial politics in Africa. We also discussed how it is related to the primordial issue of national questions, which most states in Africa are presently confronted with. We also discussed how the label tribe has been used in negative terms to describe African politics. We recognised that there is no society in the world without one form of division or the other.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. How appropriate is the term "primordialism" for the description of politics in Africa?
2. Explain the negative connotation of the term "tribalism" concerning African politics.

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MODULE 2   COLONIALISM AND NATIONALISM

Unit 1   Meaning and Nature of colonialism
Unit 2   Problems and legacies of colonialism
Unit 3   Meaning and Nature of Nationalism
Unit 4   Nationalism and Decolonisation Process

UNIT 1   MEANING AND NATURE OF COLONIALISM

INTRODUCTION

This module is an exposition of the twin concept of colonialism and nationalism. The basic driving force behind colonialism is economic interest. It was this interest that motivated the Europeans to embark on the adventures of expeditions and missionary activities that culminated in colonial rule. On the other hand, nationalism is an act of political consciousness concerned primarily with achieving independence for the different African colonies from foreign rule, to bring to an end the issues of humiliation, exploitation, injustice and discrimination inherent in colonial maladministration. The major focus of this module is to explain the three major objectives of colonialism which include; having access to raw materials; to provide markets for the sale of manufactured goods, and as an avenue to invest surplus capital. It is never an act of civilisation, rather an imposition of the strong upon the weak. The four units of this module created the avenue for further insight into these political concepts.

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

Colonialism was a major phenomenon in Africa for about a century and during the period a dominant-dominated relationship was created between the metropolitan powers and African colonies. The objective of colonialism was economic but the "dual mandate" system was deceptively proclaimed to convey the notion that exploitation involved a sacred duty towards the exploited peoples. It is said that the colonial subjects must serve the colonial interest, but in return, they must be "civilised", and "protected". This unit examines the origin and objectives of the colonial enterprise. It further explores its economic, political and military dimensions and analyses its consequences and impacts on African politics and societies.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- trace the origin and objectives of colonialism in Africa
- explain the nature and character of colonialism
- distinguish between a colonial territory and an independent nation.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Origin and Objectives of Colonialism

Colonialism is represented as a continuation of the European encounter with, and penetration of Africa, after the era of the slave trade, and what was described as "legitimate trade". The basic driving force behind colonialism is economic. It was this motivation which encouraged Europeans to embark on the adventures of expeditions and missionary activities that provided the convenient forerunners, which facilitated the imposition of colonial rule. In his "Towards Colonial Freedom", Nkrumah (1947) identified the three fundamental doctrines in the philosophical analysis of imperialism as:

a.   the doctrine of exploitation;
b.   the doctrine of "trusteeship" or partnership; and
c.   the doctrine of assimilation.

From this doctrine, we can see the connection between slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism, its contemporary manifestation–as different forms of imperialism or exploitation.

But to disguise its economic motivation, the Europeans found it convenient to present the colonial enterprise as fulfilling for the African people, a "civilising mission", otherwise described by the "imperial destiny". But in 1885, the year when the partition of Africa was concluded, Jules Ferry exploded this myth and stated the three objectives why European nations desired colonies i.e. to have access to raw materials, provide markets for the sale of manufactured goods and as a field for the investment of surplus capital. Colonialism was not an act of civilisation, the origin of colonialism is nothing else than the enterprise of individual interests, a one-sided egotistical imposition of the strong upon the weak (Nkrumah, 1973:19).

We can therefore define colonialism as the policy by which the "mother country", the colonial power, binds her colonies to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her economic advantage to secure trading routes and safe ports. To give effect to the desire, the scramble for colonies in Africa began among the leading European nations; Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and Italy. At a conference in Berlin (i.e. 1985), chaired by German Chancellor, Otto Von Bismarck, African territory was carved out to gratify European greed and prevent wars among them. The conference, therefore, ratified France's 1881 colonial sway over Tunisia and Britain's seizure of Egypt in 1882. The year 1884 witnessed the establishment of the first German colony at Angra Pequena in South West Africa, followed by the occupation of Togoland and Cameroon. Portugal took over Angola. Italy colonised Somaliland, Spain and France established a joint protectorate of over Morocco, while Leopold II of Belgium established a personal rule over "Congo free state", a colony sixty-six times the size of Belgium. In virtually all cases, colonies were established by force of arms and it was through a similar process that Germany lost her colonies after her defeat during World War I. But rather than apply the Wilsonian principle of self-determination to Africa, the colonies were passed over to the victorious nations, as mandated nations under the League of Nations.

In administering their colonies in Africa, European powers established different patterns. Britain was famous for its policy of Indirect Rule, a system which successfully adapted and integrated traditional institutions into her colonial administration. In her colonial policy, Britain is widely believed to be more pragmatic than her European counterparts by recognising the need to preserve indigenous cultural values and social structures where they did not jeopardise colonial interests. As Smith (2003:36) put it. "Britain's need for political control and the maintenance of stability was consistent with the preservation of indigenous practices." On the other hand, France pursued the policy of assimilation. This was intended to create a new African French elite, through Western education.

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Its effect was that local political elites identified closely with Europe and European culture. (The assumption behind assimilation policy was that local culture was an obstacle to the spread of European civilisation).

The enduring effect of this policy is still evident today in former French colonies in Africa. The application of the policy of assimilation in its extreme found expression in Algeria, among others; a colony regarded by France as a department of Paris. Similarly, Portugal treated her African colonies as an extension of the government in Lisbon. But whether in British, France or Portuguese colonies, the essential feature of colonial government was a fusion of politics and administration, which Adamolekun (1993) labelled as "administocracy". A "minimum government" which administocracy provided was regarded as consistent with the requirements of a colonial economy which needed a regime of law and order, at limited cost, to thrive.

To Cohen (1973) colonialism entails the following: "economic exploitation combines with political domination and the superimposing of European control over indigenous political authority". What is critical is that colonialism seeks to reverse the power relations between t h e two countries.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What is the relevance of the policy of assimilation in French African Colonies?

3.2   Nature and Character of Colonialism

It is not easy to separate the whole colonial enterprise into its separate dimensions. However, it will serve the academic purpose, and enrich analysis if we attempt to de-construct colonialism into its economic, political and military dimensions.

3.2.1 Economic Character

A colonial rule is by definition a system of economic exploitation; the alienation of Africans from their lands, the enactment of chieftaincy and mineral ordinances, and the encouragement of the production of cash crops. The selective construction of railways and roads were meant to serve colonial objectives. Indeed, the hospitals and schools, which later became unintended by-products or benefits of colonialism, were originally intended to serve the basic health and clerical needs of expatriate colonial staff. Nkrumah (1947) listed what the colonial powers did to sustain this economic objective.

a.   Colonies were made non-manufacturing dependencies.
b.   Colonial subjects were consciously prevented from acquiring the knowledge of modern means and techniques for developing their industries.
c.   Colonial subjects were made simple producers of raw materials through cheap labour.
d.   Colonies were prohibited from trading with other nations except through the "mother country". In short the slogans "trade follow the flag" and "buy British and trade imperial" eloquently demonstrate the economic character of colonialism.

3.2.2 Political Character

The partition of Africa at Berlin in 1884/85 was largely a political exercise. It was meant to create and preserve these colonies as spheres of influence for the political leverage and diplomatic manoeuvres of the colonial powers. Indeed, possession of colonies was a mark of the imperial prestige and status and an instrument of foreign policy by the European nations in their competition for world domination (Cohen, 1973). The political character of colonialism can also be viewed from the fact that what eventually became the territories of post-colonial states in Africa were negotiated at the Berlin conference. But although these boundaries were drawn regardless of ethnic, language or cultural factors, the inherited colonial territories were accepted as sacrosanct and inviolable by African states after independence and endorsed as such by the international community. Consequently, most African states today are multi-ethnic and culturally diverse societies. This colonial bifurcation, in some cases, fostered by the policy of divide and rule continues to have profound consequences for national integration efforts or what has come to be described as the national question in African states today. Similarly, the adoption of the language of the colonial master as the lingua franca, the embrace of Western education and culture as well as a Western legal system, including the preference for the Western fashion of liberal democracy, have far-reaching and enduring implications beyond politics in Africa today. Nkrumah (1947) confirmed the links between the economics and politics of colonialism when he wrote: "the basis of colonial territorial dependence is economic, but the basis of the solution to the problem is political".

3.2.3 Military Character

The military institutions which most African states inherited at independence, just as the states themselves owe their origins to colonial rule, so by orientation the African military was infected by the values, mechanics and techniques of the Sandhurst or Mons military training schools. In the recruitment policy into the army, the policy of divide and

rule and the device of balkanisation were employed. The objective was to recruit those who would not rebel against the colonial authorities.

To achieve this colonial power preferred the uneducated, small ethnic groups and conservative people to the educated, dominant ethnic groups. In Nigeria, this translated to the army having more recruits from the Muslim dominated North than the Christian oriented South. Lord Lugard, in particular, believed that the educated constituted threats to colonial rule since according to him, "they are liberal, argue a lot, critical and radical", and as a result could not make good soldier". Lugard argued that in the military that "brawn" was more important than "brains". This consideration, which was reflected in the recruitment policy in other colonies, debarred and prevented the Ashanti of the old Gold Coast and Sulu of South Africa (two famous warrior groups) from joining the army.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Describe the political character of colonialism in Nigeria.

3.3   What Aided Imposition of Colonial Rule

We already know that colonialism does not represent Africa's first encounter with Europeans; it merely consummated the relationship and made it overtly political. Before colonialism what Africa experienced was a form of imperialism purely economic relations - which includes exploitation and inequality, but exclude domination. This is why Smith (2003: 23) sees imperialism as a mere economic concept while colonialism as a social and political concept. However, this conception was not meant to deny the inherent economic impetus behind colonialism, but merely an attempt to subsume it within the social forces and political arrangements that helps in sustaining colonial rule. We can now identify the major factors beyond the civilising mission thesis that facilitated the imposition and sustenance of colonialism.

a.   Technological   developments   in   communications   and transportation improved access of European countries to Africa. Technology also provided opportunities for acquisition of and control over Africa. Technology made it possible for Europeans to develop new trade routes, especially the construction of railway lines into the interiors.
b.   Relatively advanced military weapons made it possible to seize African territories by force and their incorporation as colonies.
c.   Advances in medicines enabled Europeans to survive in otherwise inhospitable climates.
d.   Availability of fertile land and valuable mineral resources in many parts of Africa promoted colonialism and in some cases, encouraged settler policy.

e.   Initially, water routes or habour were keys to colonial penetration, and were critical in penetration to the hinterland.

In other words, landlocked areas were not of feverish interest to colonialists except where they were rich in mineral resources or could be penetrated via adjourning colonies. For example, when Mango Park 'discovered" River Niger he was reported to have said "A gate is open to every commercial nation to enter from West to the Eastern extremes of Africa.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Colonialism was not meant to serve altruistic purpose no matter the pretensions of its proponents to the contrary. It represented the fulfilment of the imperial ambitions of Europeans after slavery was discredited as an economic ideology. Indeed, colonialism itself did not succeed for the period it did without a supporting ideology with which it was rationalised. But in the fullness of time and like in all deceptive games, the pillars and superstructures of colonialism crumbled and collapsed in the face of pressures mounted by the nationalists. Africa was not the only continent that suffered from colonialism, but unlike Asia and Latin American countries where alien rule lasted longer, the continent is the least able to recover from the shock and exploitative consequences of colonial rule.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we discussed the origins of colonialism in Africa, formalised at the 1884/85 Berlin conference. We also underscored its economic objective and stated the political and military dimensions of colonialism, without which its economic objective will be difficult to achieve. We also identified the factors which aided the imposition and the sustenance of colonial rule in Africa. We finally outlined the imprints and features of colonial society.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Account for the significance of the 1885 Berlin conference to colonialism in Africa.
2.   Explain and justify the concept of the "Civilising Mission" as a basis for colonial rule.
3.   Briefly explain the links in the three dimensions of colonialism.

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UNIT 2 PROBLEMS AND LEGACIES OF COLONIALISM

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
    3.1 Background to the Problems and Legacies of Colonialism.
        3.1.1 Political Legacy
        3.1.2 Economic Legacy
        3.1.3 Socio-Cultural Legacy
    3.2 Colonialism as an Imperial Ideology
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that colonialism produced in Africa consequences far beyond the period when the alien rule was terminated. Those impacts are so deep, and the consequences so eroding on the social fabric of the African society that it is now convenient to labels such as colonial legacy or heritage. Colonialism may not have completely transformed African society and people but it did not exactly leave Africa the manner it met it. This unit will discuss the problems associated with, or consequent to, colonial rule, and the political, economic and cultural consequences it created for the continent and its people.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss the political character of colonialism and the emergence of mini-states in Africa.
- mention the reasons for the weak economies of African states and their external orientation
- explain the role played by colonialism in the fragmentation of African societies.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Background to the Problems and Legacies of Colonialism

It is only logical that before we can reasonably discuss the problems and legacies of colonialism that we settle or agree on a point of departure. It seems convenient that we commence from the period of independence, using 1960 as a base year. What we now call colonial legacy took the colonial powers more than a century to plant and nurture; it was only when the forces of nationalism made the colonial business a riskier enterprise that colonial powers took steps to firmly root the crumbling pillars of alien rule in the consciousness of the African people. What most people now refer to as the history of colonialism is the drama of the Europeans who were eager to come to Africa but were reluctant to leave. But the real history of colonialism did not stop or terminate in 1960, or any other year, but its unbroken chain continued afterwards and have been sustained in many forms as the colonial heritage. Close to half a century after "Africa year", there is no denying the fact that the influence of colonialism on Africa remains crippling. In the post-colonial era, African leaders could not sustain the euphoria of anti-colonial nationalism and failed to convert it into a rallying platform to build a nation out of colonially created artificial boundaries.

Why this was so can be explained from the factor of colonialism which transformed Africa from a purely traditional, to quasi-modern societies, in which traditional authority exercised by chiefs   was displaced and replaced with charismatic or achievement- oriented legitimacy, claimed by educated nationalists; who eventually took over from the Europeans. However, this created a major challenge for the immediate post-colonial era due to the failure of African leaders to sustain the nationalist euphoria and transform it into an adhesive or sinew to forge a new national identity.

The colonial powers were deliberately hesitant, partial and reluctant to prepare African colonies because of the need to preserve and safeguard their interest. What the skewed negotiation for independence between the Africans and the Europeans produced was a post-colonial state, with overdeveloped bureaucracy relative to other political institutions. This distorted state structure gave birth to new brands of coercive organs like the police and military which though served colonialism so well but was not suitable for Africa (Smith 2003).

3.1.1 Political Legacy

When the former colonies emerged as independent states, they found themselves composed of varieties of tribes, social structures and cultures that were emotionally distant from one another. By extension, post-

colonial states were weak political entities, invested with political independence but lacked the muscles to assert their sovereignty. These states were new to independence and power but we are anxious to prove the legitimacy of their national interests. Forging these diverse people into a single nation was not easy because it required more than geographic proximity. The citizens of these states were naturally oriented almost entirely towards their sub-national groups and were loosely identified with their new country or its government. More often than not, an African country becomes an independent state without a nation to provide a foundation. Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, has within its borders at least ten major ethnic groups, among which the pull of centrifugal forces led to a civil war in the 60s, and are still potent today (Baradat, 2000).

3.1.2 Economic Legacy

Since we have largely identified colonialism with the economic interests of the Europeans, it is therefore not a surprise that its impact is more visible here. Colonialism created a dual economy in Africa, two economic systems co-existed within the society, but one was disarticulated or not connected with the other: the village subsistence economy which served local needs and the modern economy which fed the needs of international commerce (Onimode 1981:96). This has resulted in the contemporary African economy, according to Aluko into "an inconsistent combination of circumstances" of African states not producing what they consume and not consuming what they produce. Cash crop-based, mono-cultural economies, foreign orientation and dependence and fluctuations as well as vulnerabilities constitute the essence of national economies. The loss of control of production to foreigners, the external orientation of the economy and the manipulations of the international economic system has contributed to the destruction of Africa's pre-colonial self-reliance.

In pursuit of its economic interest, colonialism fused political and economic relationship into one. In his comparative studies of African colonies, Berman (1934) observed that colonialism established the state as the source of economic development, which was later transformed by African leaders into an arena for managing and manipulating political (class) conflict.

The mercantilism ethic inherent in colonialism also encouraged the introduction of commercial, together with a money economy. Western trade brought with it the profit motive, which is the basic goal of the capitalist system, encouraged the idea of competition, which fostered individualism but destroyed the classless nature of African society. Among the Ibos in Nigeria and Creoles in Sierra Leone, African

merchant elite emerged and this transformation led to a new commercial practice distinct from what existed in the traditional African societies.

3.1.3 Socio-Cultural Legacy

A complete true historical account of colonialism is that the European wars of conquest dislocated and disintegrated African political institutions economic structures and social systems and super-imposed their own. Britain not only welded different ethnic groups to make Nigeria a "geographic expression" but also coined and gave the country a name. This is a common heritage for most African states except for a few like Ghana (formerly Gold Coast), Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), Congo, which once changed to Zaire, before it reverted; Rhodesia, which split into Zambia and Zimbabwe, with the latter's capital, changing from Salisbury to Harare, among others. But these harmless, but symbolic changes have not in any significant ways altered European cultural penetration of Africa. The reasons are as stated below:

First, Europeans imposed their different languages on the colonies, which eventually became the official language or lingua franca of these countries after independence. Consequently, rather than use Yoruba, Swahili or Fanti to communicate, English, French or Portuguese is now being employed today as a language of wider reach in Africa, even among inhabitants of the same country.

Second, the colonial rule also selectively introduced educational opportunities, and unevenly promoted the adoption of Western culture within the same state. The effect is that at micro and macro levels, Africa remains divided. In the coaster areas where Western influence is understandably dominant, what we have are strong imitations or mimicry of the western way of lives, but in the hinterlands where alien penetrations are restricted Western influence is limited, because it is being resisted. Colonial education itself was limited and not oriented to serve the developmental aspirations but to produce clerks and interpreters, who served the needs of colonial administration. According to Smith (2003:35), seventy-five years of British rule in West Africa left one hospital for 30 million Nigerians, a ratio of doctors to inhabitants of 1:60, 000, and only half the children of one province surviving beyond their fifth year. Nigeria and Gold coast could only boast of one university each, University College of Ibadan and University of Legion.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Identify the major social-cultural legacies of colonialism.

3.2   Colonialism as an Imperial Ideology

Colonialism is one of the most important events in international relations or politics. It has not only defined relationships; it represents a policy to some people, a force to others and an experience to all. Many reasons; political, economic, cultural and psychological have been identified to have been responsible for colonialism. What is however relevant here is that European powers employed colonialism to have a foothold in Africa and Asian countries.

The partition of Africa at the Berlin conference, held in Germany between Nov. 1884 and February 1885 formalised the intrusion of the European power into Africa, which began through the activities of their trading companies, the signing of treaties with Africa rulers, and their conquest and subjugation of their domains. As a result, Britain established control over 4 million square miles of territory, France ruled over 3 ½ million and Belgium with about 1 million (Adeniran, 1983:194). A major policy of colonial rule was the policy of divide and rule. This was to ensure complete domination and to prevent organised resistance against their rule from hitherto homogeneous ethnic group balkanised into separate states: Due to this artificial partition, the Yoruba and Hausa were divided between France in the Benin Republic and Britain in Nigeria.

This division was further strengthened when Britain adopted the policy of Association to rule her colonies while France preferred the policy of assimilation to administer her territories. Worse still, French and English languages, the official language of colonial masters became the lingua franca in the respective colonies, which further compounded efforts at integration after interdependence (Nkrumah, 1963: 216 – 222).

Just like it began colonial rule was sustained by force, but the colonialists particularly, the British were diplomatic enough to know when to apply the brake. France, however, suffered the bitter consequences of defeat in the Algerian War of Independence. Portugal was also late in accepting the reality that independence must be granted to her colonies because they were seen as an extension of the territories of the imperial powers.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   What is the term colonial imperial ideology?

4.0   CONCLUSION

Today, African states are free from political domination; but the legacies of that foreign rule are still almost intact. In addition to these legacies, colonialism also created problems that have continued to define Africa presently. Therefore, the challenge before African political leadership is how to shake off this externally created syndrome, and reshape African political, economic and social institutions towards meeting the true needs of African society. What makes this challenge a difficult one is the conditions of post-colonial dependency, which most African states currently face?

5.0   SUMMARY

We have briefly examined the problems and legacies of colonialism. We de-constructed this legacy into its political, economic and socio-cultural manifestations. We also recommend that Africa must free herself from this crippling colonial legacy to truly develop.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What do you understand by colonial legacy? Explain how it is shaping Africa today.
2. Distinguish between the political and economic legacies of colonialism and how they are related.
3. Explain why Western influence is not evenly distributed across a given post-colonial state in Africa.

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UNIT 3   MEANING AND NATURE OF NATIONALISM

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Definitions and Conceptualizations
        3.2   Classifications
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Nationalism may be seen in different angles by different people at different periods. To the Europeans, it simply means "national feeling" as was demonstrated in the German and Italian unification in the second half of the 19th century. But in Africa, nationalism; especially in the post-World War II era meant opposition to the foreign or alien rule and desire for self-government. This unit examines the meaning of nationalism, its different conceptualisation according to several scholars and the factors that stimulated nationalist movements in Africa.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

•   define nationalism in Africa and distinguish it from the European-based variant or form.
•   state the different classifications of nationalism
•   mention the factors that influenced the growth of nationalism in Africa.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Definitions and Conceptualisations

A discussion of the phenomenon of nationalism in Africa must begin with an attempt at first distinguishing related concepts of nation, nationality, state and nationalism. A state is a political institution while a nation is an intangible, sociological concept. A nation-state, therefore, is a fusion of the nation(s) into a state. Within a state, it is possible to have people of different nationalities.

As a result of the legacy of colonial rule, most states in Africa are multi-national. However, nationalism in Africa is far from the desire for self-determination by different ethnic groups, rather it represents opposition to colonial subjugation and desire for self-government. Given the dominant-dominated context of colonialism, it created awareness and consciousness among Africans to resist foreign rule, to put an end to the humiliation, exploitation, injustice and discrimination inherent in colonial subjugation.

Nationalism can be described as an act of political consciousness concerned primarily with achieving independence for the different African colonies from foreign rule. Nationalism is also taken to mean self-assertion against the humiliating and exploitative tendencies of colonialism. For our purpose, we can define nationalism as the patriotic sentiment or activities on the part of groups of people held together by the bonds of common experience and their assertion of their inalienable right to be free to determine their common desires.

3.2   Classifications

Some Political Scientists have described nationalism in Africa as a child of the twentieth century. Coleman, (1958) in particular, insisted that it is a misuse of the term to apply the expression the rise of nationalism to describe independence movements in Africa. He argues that since most African states at the terminal stage of colonial rule were not yet nations, it is misnomer to adopt the term nationalism. Coleman preferred to describe them as reactive anti-colonial movements or movements for independence, rather than nationalist movements. He categorised these movements into three kinds. The traditionalist, the syncretic and modernist independence movement. We will now elaborate on each of them.

3.2.1 Traditionalists

The traditionalists are those immediate spontaneous movements of resistance led by the likes of Jaja of Opobo in British, and Samore Taore in French territories. European scholars writing from the European perspective, called these traditionalists as nativistic to describe the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, or the Messianic or madhistic movement of Sudan. Contrary to these views, these traditionalists offered legitimate resistance to the Europeans, when after the abolition of the slave trade, they sought to penetrate Africa using unfair trade, and later direct foreign rule. For their bravery or in European perceptions, effrontery, Jaja of Opobo was exiled to the West Indies; Ovwerami of Benin lost his empire and was deported to Calabar where he died. Kosoko lost the battle against the occupation of Lagos and was later expelled to the mosquito-infested town of Badagry.

3.2.2 Syncretism

The syncretic movements are the separatist religious movements led by Rev. James Johnson aimed at preventing the white-man from controlling the religious beliefs of the African people. These breakaway kinds of movements from the Anglican, Methodist and Catholic churches realised that the European churches were themselves organs of colonial rule. In colonial Nigeria, we could categorise kinship groups such as the Imo State Union, Egbe Omo Oduduwa, as syncretic in form and character. According to Esedebe (1978:88), separatism began to manifest in churches in West and South African churches as from the 1870s; and the cause of this important secession was not only opposition to European control, but a positive desire to adapt the message of the church to the heritage of the African people. The syncretic argued that if the Queen of England was the head of the English church, so the African paramount chief must provide leadership for these breakaway churches. These churches rather than being centre of worship became fora for political agitations. To guard against this, the Portuguese firmly restricted the entry of protestant missions into their territories because they were seen as "the advance-guard of African nationalism".

3.2.3 Modernists

The Modernist nationalists, which Coleman preferred were the economic and labour groups, principally trade unions and co-operative societies, and the professional middle-class movements led by Western-educated Africans, who fought against racism and discrimination and struggled to advance the wellbeing and economic status of members of their group. Coleman's preference for the modernists is because these were educated Africans who have travelled to Europe and North America and have picked up the language of democracy and freedom from the American war of Independence and the vocabulary of liberty, equality and fraternity, made popular during the French Revolution. Within this group, one can include the pan- Africanists and the Trans-territorial movements. These were movements based in Diaspora, spurred by racial consciousness and spearheading agitations for the advancement of the interest of the coloured and African peoples. Examples include Marcus Garvey's National Association for the Advancement of coloured People and the Back to Africa movement.

In retrospect, we can say that James Coleman was in error to have made this distinction between these three categories. The correct approach or interpretation is to look at the objective of these different groups and not the means or methods they employed. In all these groups, the sentiments of nationalism were reflected, irrespective of who led it, or the means and methods employed and the fact that none of the three can

be treated in isolation. The important criteria in nationalism are resistance to alien rule, protest against maltreatment and the desire for self-government.

One major feature of nationalism in Africa is that it was a reactive movement rather than assertive nationalism in the sense that the presence of a common enemy – the European colonisers brought nationalists together. But when the enemy disappeared, they disintegrated. It is important to emphasise that nationalism is essentially a political movement motivated primarily to eradicate colonial domination. The presence of colonial rulers contributed to it because it was then easier to distinguish between "them" and "you", and "theirs" and ours". That visibility factor is important, because if the colonisers were not visible, then the need to show the discrimination and subjugation inherent in the colonial rule would have been difficult to establish.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Nationalism in Africa, especially in the second half of the 20th century was essentially opposition to alien rule and demand for political independence. The movement succeeded largely because nationalists were able to deploy the same liberal weapons of self – determination and democracy, also employed by the West in their struggle in the two world wars. However, with political independence, African struggle for genuine national liberation was far from being won.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we have examined the phenomenon of nationalism in Africa. We recognised that resistance and opposition to alien rule took different forms, but were all aimed at the same objective. We also identified the internal and external factors that stimulated nationalist activities, yet the role of World War II as a major catalyst to nationalism was noted.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   How valid is the view that the Second World War was a major catalyst to nationalist agitations in Africa?
2.   Discuss one major feature of nationalism in Africa?

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UNIT 4   NATIONALISM   AND   DECOLONISATION PROCESS IN AFRICA

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Nature and critique of African Nationalism
        3.2   Differences in Tempo of Nationalism
        3.3   Impact of Nationalism
        3.4   Nationalism after Independence
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we have discussed the concept of nationalism in the African context but in this unit, we shall emphasise the influence of the concept about the struggle by African nationalist for decolonisation and independence.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

•   explain the import of colonialism on African people
•   appreciate the contribution of African nationalist to decolonisation.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Nature and Critique of African Nationalism

There are two ideal types of approaches open to any colonial people struggling for independence. The two types can be examined from experiences of countries like Nigeria and Gambia, on the one hand, and experiences of Algeria, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, on the other. In between these two cases are the cases of Mau-Mau of Kenya and the Gold Coast (now Ghana) which combine the method of type A group of countries with the method of the type B group of countries. A colony can

either adopt a constitutional, evolutionary approach to independence – that involves a gradual constitutional process of evolution of power as was the case in Nigeria from the 1950s, through 1960.

With the type B situation, the choice open to the nationalists was not the luxury of a round table conference; but the dictates of the battlefront-struggle through military force to wrest power from an unwilling colonial power. The Zimbabwean approach typified the military option towards independence.

The question may be posed: what determines a given course of action open to the colonised people? In an attempt to answer this question, many factors must be considered. Perhaps the most critical relate to whether or not a given colonised people had presence or absence on its territory a sizeable colonial settlement. Where the settler population is high like Rhodesia, Kenya and Algeria there is high resistance to nationalist struggle, but in the West African colonies of Nigeria Gold Coast and the Gambia, already labelled as the "White man's grave", the opposition to nationalism was less militant. In other words, while the constitutional approach was irrelevant in the former, it was suitable in the latter. In Algeria, France had to face the humiliation of defeat in a war of liberation waged by armed nationalists. In the case of Portuguese colonies, Portugal was the first colonial master to come to Africa and the last to leave, in the mid-1970s, fifteen years after t h e African year of Independence.

In some settler colonies, the option of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was employed. The idea was to accord dominion status to the white settlers while the blacks remained under minority white rule as Ian Smith attempted to do in Rhodesia in 1965. However, under the pressure of sanctions, Ian Smith could not sustain for long his illegal declaration of independence.

3.2 Differences in Tempo of Nationalism

Between British and French colonies

It is evident from the history of nationalism in Africa that the movement towards independence began earlier in the British colonies than the French colonies. The activities of the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBW) and the formation of the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in the early 20th century were pointers to the early embrace of nationalist struggle in British colonies. Many factors accounted for this amongst which includes:

i.   **The British Policy of Indirect Rule**
It created a division between the traditional rulers and the educated elites. Because the educated Africans were excluded from the colonial administration, they, therefore, portrayed the traditional rulers as agents of colonial rule. To moderate opposition to their rule, the British rulers deliberately introduced constitutional reforms to accommodate the educated elites which in turn, speeded their agitation for right to fully control their affairs. On the other hand, the French policy of direct rule consciously made African French-educated elites member of the French parliament. The idea was to give them a false sense that they were part of the administration of their colonies. For instance, in 1946, M. Houphouet – Boigny, who later became the President of Ivory Coast, in response to clamour for independence said: "there are no separatists on these benches…" In the same vein, Leopold Sengor of Senegal was quoted to have said: "The French Union must be a conjunction of civilisations, a melting point of culture it is a marriage rather than association (Nkrumah, 1965:24).

These words, coming from leading Africans were confirmation that the French policy of assimilation which was aimed at producing an elite class was a success in her colonies in Africa.

ii.   **Political Parties**
Unlike France, Britain did not discourage her colony from forming political parties. For example, while the first party emerged in Nigeria in 1922, no political party was formed in any French colonies until after World War II.

iii. **Restriction of Western Education in French Colonies**
French colonial administration directly limited the spread of Western education to a few Africans. Missionaries were not allowed to build schools until 1943. The only grammar school for the whole of French West Africa was ECCLE Normale Willita Penty in Dakar, Senegal.

In summary, while Britain consciously and gradually worked her colonies towards independence, France and to a greater extent, Portugal saw their colonies as extensions of the metropolitan, mother country.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Account for the differences in the tempo of nationalism between the British

and French colonies in Africa.

3.3   Impact of Nationalism

The nationalist movements made a lot of impacts on the course of the decolonisation process in Africa. They can be summarised as follows:

i.   The enactment of Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1945-50 led to an improvement of social amenities. It also contributed to the establishment of higher institutions, construction of roads and health institutions.

ii.   Nationalism also provided training grounds for new African political leadership in the post-independence era, and also inculcated political education into the masse.

iii.   It accelerated progress towards independence for many African colonies. On the eve of World War II, only Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt were independent. By 1959, six independent African states joined the league: Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Ghana and Guinea. 1960, African Year of independence witnessed the granting of independence to seventeen African states, including Nigeria.

It must be stressed that this phenomenal increase was as a result of the intensification of nationalist struggle, especially in the 1950s. It began with the Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955; Cairo solidarity conference held in Cairo in 1956, that ratified the decision of the Bandung conference; conference of Independent African States held in Accra Ghana in 1958 and the All-African Peoples Conference also hosted in Ghana in the same year. Delegates at all these conferences condemned colonialism and racialism and agreed to set up the continental framework to secure independence for the remaining African colonies (Okoye, 1964).

3.4   Nationalism after Independence

After independence, the immediate task which faced newly independent African states was how to create a stable relationship between the nationalist parties and the machinery of government, inherited from the colonial powers. Thus, the negative need to be politically de-colonised was replaced by a positive desire to ensure the security of the new states to build a new nation. For African states, the European experience in nation-building provided a clear model for them to follow. What is however different in the African experience in nation-building is that unlike in Europe, the international

environment has not been equally supportive. Also while it took European countries centuries to nurture their nation-states to maturity; African states do not have the comparative luxury of time to transform intonations.

At the point of independence, virtually all African states were at t h e pre-industrial stage. In the European case, particularly in Britain, industrialisation helped to break down existing ways of living and methods of social organisation. Industrial Revolution ensured that low productivity agriculture yielded place to high productivity manufacture, the primacy previously accorded to land - a fixed factor of production, shifted to capital, a mobile factor, as well as the transformation of rural but dis-articulated life, into a more integrated urban society. These positive by-products of industrialisation were absent in Africa of the 1960s and therefore deprived the continent of the benefits of the lever of take-off needed at the point of independence.

From the European experience, the development of transportation and communication systems; the drift from the village to the urban centres; the emergence of industrial towns and the spread of factory system of production, aided more integration of citizens across societal divides. All this facilitated the process of forging national consciousness. Jordan (1978: 10-13) called this "Integrative Nationalism ", as distinct from the Africa experience, which he labelled "Disintegrative Nationalism". The former serves as a unifying force, but because the latter works on the contours or the fault line of a nation-state, as it is in most African countries, it constitutes a dis-integrative or destabilising forces. With the possible exception of Tanzania where its ethnic groups (about 120) of almost equal sizes have successfully contained the pull of centrifugal forces; in most African countries, tribalism has remained the engine of ethnic consciousness, before and after independence. The Tutsi and Hutus acrimonies which spilt into about five African countries: Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania and Zaire (now Congo), and often assumed genocidal proportions, represents the extreme of the crises of nationalism in post-independent Africa (Meredith 2006: 480 – 523).

4.0   CONCLUSION

Nationalism and decolonisation process in African colonies took different forms. In some colonies where the revolutionary option was taken, the governments that were formed in the immediate post-independent era sought to distance themselves from their former colonial masters. This was aimed at giving true meaning to their political independence. On the other hand, in the colonies where the gradualist constitutional approach was followed,

it was done in such a way as to preserve the interest of the former colonial masters. These different and contradictory approaches later created divisions among African states and leadership and contributed largely to lack of common purpose and resolve to confront the forces of neo-colonialism in the continent.

5.0   SUMMARY

The unit discussed the two major approaches to decolonisation and exposed the position that what determined the approaches adopted by African nationalist was a reflection of the nature of their colonial settlement/background. We finally examined the impact of nationalism and recognised that it was the major factor in forcing the colonial masters to reluctantly disengage from Africa.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Account for the differences in the tempo of Nationalism between the British and French colonies.
2.   In what ways is the struggle for independence in Algeria different from that of Nigeria?

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MODULE 3   NEO-COLONIALISM AND AFRICAN SOCIETY

Unit 1   Meaning and Features of Neo-Colonialism
Unit 2   Neo-Colonialism- Its Mechanism and Impacts
Unit 3   The Political Economy of African States
Unit 4   The Doctrine and Reality of African Socialism

INTRODUCTION

The major objective of this module is to help you understand the reasons why Europeans bequeathed to African states the kind of political or flag independence without accompanying economic independence. The three doctrines of colonialism which has persisted even after independence are assimilation, trusteeship or partnership and exploitation. The continued existence of these three doctrines even after independence is what is referred to as neo-colonialism. The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subjected to it is, in theory, independent and has the outward manifestations of sovereignty, both in reality, its economic and political systems and policies are dictated and manipulated by the former colonialist. The economic implications of neo-colonial state are made manifest in this module and this negative implication will continue until African with courageous leadership and political will, mount the saddle as leaders. For easy comprehension and understanding, the module is made up of four units.

UNIT 1   MEANING AND FEATURES OF NEO-COLONIALISM

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Definition of Neo-Colonialism
        3.2   Origins of Neo-Colonialism
        3.3   Features of Neo-Colonialism
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Neo-colonialism is a policy by which a foreign power binds territories to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her economic advantage. Rather than attaining genuine sovereign status, a neo-colonial state is granted what is called 'flag' independence. With neo-colonialism, it then became almost impossible for African states to translate into concrete terms the pre-independence revolution of rising expectations. Thus, within a few years of independence slogans such as "seek ye first the political kingdom and every other thing shall be added unto it" turned into a mirage, or pipe dream. This unit discusses the concept of neo-colonialism, its origins and features.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- expose you to the origin and concept of neo-colonialism
- explain the relevance of neo-colonialism to post-independent African society
- state the major features of neo-colonialism.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Definition of Neo-Colonialism

The concept of neo-colonialism was developed to describe the phenomenon where the attainment of political independence by the African States was not accompanied by economic independence. In other words, it is being applied to describe a situation where the acquisition of juridical independence has not succeeded in eliminating colonial exploitation. In one of his earliest books, written in 1945, but not published until 1962, Kwame Nkrumah (1962:1) identified three doctrines of colonialism as the doctrine of exploitation, the doctrine of trusteeship or partnership, and the doctrine of assimilation. But with neo-colonialism, the essence of these doctrines was retained in a subtle, but even more effective form. In an earlier book, Nkrumah (1963:173) set the stage for a more profound and incisive definition of neo-colonialism. In his 1963 publication, Nkrumah attributed the creation of pawn or client states", who are independent in the name", to the covert subtleties and manoeuvres of neo-colonial forces. Also, in his 1965 publication, which drew the anger of the State Department in the United States, (Nkrumah, 1973:311) and which many believed led to his fall in 1966, Nkrumah was more profound and penetrating in his description and exposition of neo-colonial intrigues and manoeuvres in Africa. He described neo-colonialism "as the last stage of imperialism," Nkrumah wrote: "The

essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has the outward trappings of sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside". (Nkrumah, 1965)

Under direct colonialism, where the institution of the colonial powers could be easily identified, colonialists were compelled to justify their rule, like Lord Lugard did, in his Dual Mandate (Lugard, 1922). But with neo-colonialism the picture is different. As Nkrumah explained "neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from, it, it means exploitation without redress" (Nkrumah, 1965).

From the writings of other scholars such as Frantz Fanon, Samir Amir, and Julius Nyerere the evils and intrigues of neo-colonialism were revealed. In the early 1960s, in the aftermath of African independence, Frantz Fanon in the "Wretched of the Earth" warned of the dangers posed to true African independence, the un-liberated condition of the African States, whose economies were still dominated by the former colonisers. (Fanon, 1968).

Julius Nyerere, also bemoaned the absence of such things as a national economy in the African States, and described the neo-colonial status of African States, as reflected in the "various economic activities… owned by people outside its jurisdiction, which are directed at external needs, and which are run in the interests of external economic powers (Nyerere 1978:338).

A Nigerian scholar Iweriebor (1997:30) in his conceptualisation, argues that neo-colonialism is not simply economic control and exploitation, but a comprehensive phenomenon, whose objective is to fashion subordinate peripheral capitalist societies in the third world".

3.2 Origins of Neo-Colonialism

In his short, but scholarly work on neo-colonialism, Iweriebor (1997:3) identified four stages in African transition to a neo-colonial status. During these stages which, according to him, spanned a period of five centuries, Africa was subjected to both open exploitation and subsequently, underdevelopment of her economies. Iweriebor's classifications are, perhaps a summary of Water Rodney's ***How Europe underdeveloped Africa,*** or Basil Davidson's book, with the title: ***The Black Man's Burden*** – Africa and the Curse of the Nation-state.

The first epoch of African encounter with the Europeans was the period of the slave trade from the 15th Century to the early 19th century, when the slave trade was abolished, to pursue what was called 'legitimate

trade'. During this period Africans were parcelled and shipped to Europe and North America to provide cheap labour. The "surplus value" produced as a result of this massive exploitation contributed significantly to the industrialisation of Western Europe.

The period of mercantile trade or imperialism from the early to late 19th century constitutes the second era of exploitation. This epoch inaugurated in Africa the operations of British Companies like the British South African Company, British East African Company and the united African Company as well as companies of other colonial powers, like France, Portugal and Spain. (Iweriebor 1997:4). But, because Western imperialism considered the exercise of sovereignty by Africa as exemplified in several treaties of friendship, signed with African traditional rulers objectionable, they pressurised their home countries to colonise Africa. This was the antecedent to the scramble for, and the eventual partition of Africa in Berlin in 1885; which set the stage for the third epoch.

The era of colonial domination was that of direct political domination, economic exploitation and cultural imperialism. When it suited the Europeans, this colonial subjugation of Africa by superior firepower was justified on the altruistic ground of "civilising mission". In other instances, it was based on the myth of racial superiority. The tenor of this era was the forceful conversion of African land and resources, as well as African rulers as colonial agents, under ordinances issued in the name of the Crown.

But the more enduring consequences of the colonial era were the establishment of the structure, and institutions to foster African economic and ideological dependence on the West. This was achieved through the development of export crops tied to external vagaries, commerce "base" tied to Western outlets and "investment" in extractive industries. Colonialism also created a bourgeois class which Nkrumah (1970:10) called "African bourgeoisie," and described them as a "class which thrived under colonialism", and benefiting still "under post-independence, neo-colonial period".

This class-political, economic and intellectual – have been mentally and psychologically subjugated that it could only conceive its society from Europe prisms, and apply models and tools provided by Western Imperialism. This class, ironically, also include some of the nationalists who championed the anti-colonial struggle but were yet to wean themselves from the imperialist grip. This class in Iweriebor's words: "represented African rejection of colonialism, but as a class, it did not reject the Western Colonial model.

The colonial-era inexorably, set the stage for the fourth epoch, the neo-colonial stage, which is the focus of this unit.

The root of neo-colonialism in Africa therefore has both internal and external dimensions. The ideologically backward and reformist nationalist leadership that succeeded the colonial powers and pursued economic and political interests against the common interests of the people, constitutes the internal dimension. The external dimension is represented by Western "neo-imperialism" represented by t h e Western Capitalist States which offer various tempting financial, educational, and advisory aids to the new African States" (Iweriebor, 1997:5).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1.   Identify the four stages in African transition to a neo-colonial status.

3.3   Features of a Neo-Colonial State

A neo-colonial is a client or pawn state, which enjoys nominal independence, but lack the essential attributes of a sovereign state. In other words, a neo-colonial state is a n independent name but is bereft of the power to pursue independent action that will result in self-reliant development. According to Nkrumah, because it was no longer possible to reverse the momentum generated by anti-colonial nationalism, "old fashioned colonialism" was everywhere on the retreat. To safeguard and preserve their economic interest, the imperialists took a retreat and resorted to a neo-colonial arrangement, as a tactical expedient.

In a neo-colonial state, the power exercising control is often the former colonial power as it is in most Francophone African countries. The only exception was Guinea, under Sekou Toure, with a single dissenting No Vote to a proposal for a French Community at the 28th September 1958 referendum, organised at the instance of General de Gaulle. For this courageous decision, Guinea was made to suffer reprisals. It is also possible for another country, apart from the mother country to maintain a neo-colonial relation with another. A case in point is South Vietnam, which was colonised by France but maintained a neo-colonial relation with the U.S.A. Also, Congo, a former colony of Belgium, whose economy in the 60s was controlled by a consortium of foreign financial interests, is another variant of a neo-colonial relationship (Nkrumah 1965:10).

A neo-colonial state is also, usually, faced with internal contradictions. According to Nkrumah, to make it attractive to the citizens of such states, it must be shown to be capable of improving their standard of

living. But this can only be achieved at the expense of neo-colonial interest, which is to keep African countries, economically subjected. A state in the grip of neo-colonialism is also not a master of its destiny and this constitutes a threat to world peace. In the Cold War era, the two super-powers employed neo-colonial states as pawns or proxies to fight their limited wars. The crisis, which engulfed Congo on the attainment of independence, was a manifestation of neo-colonialism.

Being the final and perhaps, the most dangerous stage in capitalist development, neo-colonial powers are never sensitive to the interests of the people of a neo-colonial state. Indeed, t h e authority to govern is not from the people, but the metropolitan power. It can even come from multi-national corporations, which dominate economies of African countries, because of their pervasive, and often, negative mode of operations.

The pervasive impact of these new global actors which operate across national frontiers has been illustrated by Joseph Nye (2000:8) thus: presently at least 12 transnational corporations have annual sales that are larger than the gross national product (GNP) of more than half of the states in the world. The turnover of companies such as Shell, IBM, or General Motors is larger than the GDP of countries such as Hungary, Ecuador or the Democratic Republic of Congo. Neo-colonialism is not an exclusively African phenomenon. Rather, it has been an established practice in other parts of the world, especially in Asia and Latin America.

Lenin (1917), inquired whether imperialism is in its "Last stage", or in the words of Nkrumah (1964) in its' highest stage" in the era of neo-colonialism. It is based on exploitation, fragmentation and penetration. This was further elaborated by Galtung in his structural theory of imperialism. The process includes an uneven trade pattern or flow of an asymmetric or unfair trade relations, and protective tariffs. The second component of dominance is fragmentation. The picture here is that of coordinated and united rich counties versus a disorganised and dis-united periphery. Also, while the centre countries establish links in different directions, the poor countries concentrate their activities to the centre. For example, this was achieved in the early years of independence, by given African countries associate membership of bodies like the European community, which amounted to de facto second class membership.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Evaluate the contributions of Kwame Nkrumah in exposing the dangers of Neo-colonialism to new states in Africa.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Neo-colonialism, otherwise called post-colonial dependency is a major feature of most African states today. The neo-colonial structure was deliberately put in place by the former colonial masters to ensure that their vital interests were not endangered in the newly independent African states. This was achieved through many forms: economic links, military ties, and political associations. African states were still largely dependent on the West, particularly their erstwhile colonial master.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we defined neo-colonialism, especially within an African perspective. We traced its origins and its major features as a post-colonial, imperial ideology in Africa. We explained that its major objective is to sustain the exploitative relations between African states and their former colonial masters.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Explain the factors responsible for the imposition of neo-colonial structures in the African States after their independence.
2. Identify and explain the major features of a neo-colonial society in Africa.

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**UNIT 2   NEO–COLONIALISM ITS   MECHANISMS AND
             IMPACTS**

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Mechanisms of Neo-Colonialism
        3.2   Impacts of Neo-Colonialism
                3.2.1 Political Aspect
                3.2.2 Economic Aspect
                3.2.3 Military Aspect
         3.3   Neo-Colonialism and African Dependence
                3.3.1 Multinationals as Engine of Growth
                3.3.2 Strategies to Combat Neo-Colonialism
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

After we discuss the origins and features of neo-colonialism, we must examine its mechanism and impacts. Though the objectives of colonialism and neo-colonialism are similar, their mechanisms differ. The impacts of both are related since neo- colonialism help in sustaining the conditions created under colonialism. It is understandable why neo-colonialism is operating in a subtle form, compared to the open method employed during the colonial era. The reason is that the predominant world values in the second half of the 20th century were not only intolerant of foreign domination but also rejected alien rule in all its manifestations. This accounted for the change in strategy by the former colonial masters and their new device of packaging the old wine in a new bottle. This unit deals with the mechanisms of neo-colonialism and its impact on African society.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

•   explain the methods employed by neo-colonial powers to achieve their objectives in Africa
•   mention why they had to employ new tactics to serve neo-colonial ends
•   explain the effects of neo-colonialism on Africa today.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Mechanisms of Neo-Colonialism

Neo-colonial control can be exercised or sustained in a country through many devices. To Nkrumah, the Balkanisation of Africa into small states is the major instrument of neo-colonialism (Nkrumah 1963:173). The objective is to create small and fragile states with neither the manpower nor resources to provide for integrity and viability. To survive, they must cling to the erstwhile colonial masters. France, for example, does not believe in the idea of ultimate independence for her former colonies; she preferred to keep them as tightly closed preserves.

Under the pretext of "aiding economic development" in her former colonies France created financial institutions like F.I.D.E.S and C.C.O.M (Nkrumah 1963:175). In reality, those institutions were created to sustain the classical metropolitan-satellite relationship between France and her former colonies. According to Nkrumah, the balkanisation of French West African federation and French Equatorial Africa, two large French territories governed as separates entities, during the colonial period, into numerous states at independence, was in pursuit of neo-colonial objectives.

At the Third All-African Peoples Conference held in 1961, which outlined the major manifestations and denounced neo-colonialism, some of its other mechanisms were identified. These include the propping up of puppet governments like in Congo under Mobutu Sese Seko, or foreign-inspired fragmentation as it was the case in the Katanga province, where Moi Tshombe became an agent of neo-colonialism. Nkrumah, (1967) in his book gave a detailed account of the activities of neo-colonial forces in Congo that led to the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. Apart from using loans, monetary aid or technical assistance to infiltrate African economies, neo-colonialism also employs military pacts, and the establishment of military bases, to ensure African dependence in military terms. (Offiong,1980:62).

Neo-colonialism is a form of neocolonial dependency. According to a recent memoir by a French official, France in the 1960s punished and even helped assassinate African leaders who opposed French policies. France was also given open-ended permission to intervene militarily in these countries. It was also reported that France auditioned a potential President of Gabon before allowing him to take office. Emperor Bokassa of Central African Republic was also on record to have called President de Gaule of France, "papa" (Goldstein, 2004:471).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Critically examine the role of foreign aid in African politics.

3.2   Impact of Neo-Colonialism

We already know that colonialism was a huge economic enterprise, with other dimensions political and socio-cultural. So is neo-colonialism when it transformed into the "Last stage of imperialism" (Nkrumah, 1974). Therefore, neo-colonialism has its political, economic, military and cultural aspect which we are now going to separately assess, for analytical purposes.

3.2.1 Political Aspect

We also know that African definition and conceptualisation of democracy is Eurocentric. Africans borrowed foreign systems, institutions and even process, and look toward the examples of the West when they seek to consolidate democracy. So democracy is not consolidated when it does not conform to western tradition or precepts. To nourish or renew the practice of democracy African leaders travel to western cities to learn about or rework their political systems. Thus neo-colonial mentality was not accidental, it was deliberately ingrained in the consciousness of African nationalism Davidson (2000: 13) called it "advisory democracy" to enable neo-colonialists to retain levers of interest and influence.

a.   **Retention of Colonial Frontiers**
      Former colonial masters prefer the "moderate and responsible" nationalists to become the favoured recipients of power vacated by Europeans. But the "radicals" and malcontents", who saw the dangers of "neo-colonialism, nation-statism" and pressed for inter-territorial federalism for Africa, were carefully identified, and often prevented from assuming power. Because the moderates were eager to assume power, they accepted the frontiers of colonial partition and embraced the idea of fragmented nation-states. This was how neo-colonial intrigues laid the political foundation favourable for the sustenance of its interests in Africa.

b.   **Acceptance of Language of Domination**
      An uncritical view of the imposition of a foreign language may be considered merely as a cultural aspect of neo-colonialism. It, however, has a deeper political connotation. The unwritten law of the decolonisation process in Africa was that new nationalists had to be fluent in at least one European language particularly that of the colonial master, as well as the culture and history of that language (Davidson 2000: 106).

This was a pre-requisite before an African could be considered as having been "modernised" or westernised, without which he was not qualified for political leadership in independent Africa. This was to demonstrate the unbroken chain between the colonial era and the present era, the use of language as a weapon of political domination, and to further re-classify Africans today as "Anglophone," Francophone or Lusophone.

Apart from the imposition of foreign languages as the lingua franca in most African states, including some North African States where there has been a strong Arab language renaissance, the use of language in a non – innocent form, began with the dawn of colonial rule in Africa. When Europeans came on their expeditions, they claimed to have "discovered" a "Dark" continent, as if Africa never existed before they came, and with all the connotations the label dark, or black. Africans were also "pacified" when colonial rule stopped "inter-tribal" wars, as well as the urgency to "westernise" the "natives" to "detribalise Africans. The import of this was to portray the Europeans as the standard of humanity, to which Africans, even after independence must aspire. As argued by Iweriebor (1997:63) the designation of Africa, along with Asia as the third world includes "assumed political, social, cultural, and probably even mental underdevelopment, each of which has its descriptive sub-categories."

3.2.2 Economic Aspect

Having succeeded in the political aspect, it was then easier for neo-colonialism to accomplish its economic object and consequently Africa's sustained exploitation, dependence and underdevelopment. Neo-colonialism has therefore deepened African trade trap/gap, unequal exchange as well as resource and wealth depletion. In an article entitled "Looting Africa" in the Time magazine, its authors acknowledged that the tradition which began when Africans were "plundered by Slavers, its animals by Poachers and its mineral wealth by Miners", continues today under neo-colonialism (Bond; 2006:55-56). Africa's unfair integration into the international capitalist system has also promoted export dependence, and falling terms of trade; due to high levels of price volatility, associated with primary production.

In the 1980s, prolonged economic downturns forced many African States to embrace the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) as a strategy for recovery. Iweriebor, (1997) described SAP as the "Highest Stage of Neocolonialism" because it was an attempt to re-colonise African countries. From Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda and other African countries where SAP was accepted as neo-liberal orthodoxy, the programme converted the states "into the executive agencies of Western

imperialism". By accepting t h e IMF package the sovereignty of these states was therefore compromised through the activities of the IMF.

3.2.3 Military Aspect

Through military ties, neo-colonialism succeeded in enforcing and consolidating its grips on the African States. The military aspect of the triple – neo-colonial strategy was speedily affected in the early 1960s. Nkrumah (1967:XII) revealed that in 1966, there were seventeen foreign airbases, nine naval bases, owned and operated by members of the North Atlantic Organisation (NATO). Besides, foreign military missions were established in Kenya, Morocco, Liberia, Libya, South Africa, Senegal and Ivory Coast. Key NATO countries also possessed three rockets sites and atomic testing range in North Africa.

In Nigeria, though Tafawa Balewa was forced by domestic pressure to abrogate the Anglo – Nigerian Defence Pact, his and subsequent Nigeria administrations depended on British military institution (for example Sardhurst) for the training of the country's military officers. Balewa was not restrained in his patronising remarks about Britain: "We are grateful to the British officers whom we have known, first as masters and then as leaders and finally as partners, but always as friends "we shall never forget our old friends" (Aluko, 1981). Not a few post- independence African leaders were of this frame of mind. This mindset was critical in the recolonisation of Africa's leadership, peoples and society, under the invisible regime of neo-colonialism.

3.3 Neo-Colonialism and Africa's Dependence

3.3.1 Multinationals as Engine of Growth?

A multinational corporation (MNC) is a corporate organisation that owns or controls the production of goods or services in at least one country other than its home country. A multinational company generally has offices and factories in different countries and a centralised head office where they coordinate global management. Multi-national corporations emerged on the world scene in the post-World War II era. These global giants became an economic necessity when it dawned on the colonial masters that direct rule was no longer realistic; and they needed a replacement that would serve the goal with equal, if not greater efficiency. Though America was a forerunner in the global penetration of trans-nationals, in Africa, European countries leveraged on the ties they maintained with their former colonies, to re-establish informal control, through these corporations. Thus, in Africa Unilever, B.P and Royal Dutch Shell, Philips and Peugeot Automobile took over European manufacturing, petroleum, electronics and automobile business interests

in Africa (Oatley, 2000). Just like colonialism, the regime of multinational was promoted by the West as "engine of growth". This is based on the assumption that their operation generates what economics call "positive externalities" in the host country; promote foreign investment, transfer of technology, and management expertise, and efficient allocation of resource.

Experience in Africa has shown that multinationals, rather than promote growth operate as instruments of capitalist domination. Oattey lamented:" it seems incongruous to achieve political independence from colonial powers and yet continue to struggle under the economic dominance of the colonial powers multinational firms". From the list of the multinationals already mentioned it is obvious that they always engage in critical areas of the national economy, in which the government is more interested and where conflict of interest often arise. This conflict of interest sometimes push multinationals, to dabble in the domestic politics, or try to undermine the security of the host country: the extreme is their strategy of beating around codes established to regulate their operations.

Vernon (1998: 28) provides a clue why this conflict of interest cannot be avoided: "the regime of a nation-state is built on the principle that the people in any national jurisdiction have the right to maximise they are well being, as they define it…. The MNC, on the other hand, is bent on maximising the well being of its stakeholders from global operations". And more often than not, they succeed in this contest of power through devices such as "inter-locking directorship and cross-shareholdings: (Nkrumah, 1974:259). In 1979, Nigeria took a rare, but a bold step when it nationalised the assets of the British Petroleum. The official reason given for the action was to prevent Nigeria oil from getting to the enemies of Africans in apartheid South Africa. But the un-stated and more convincing motivation was to force the hands of Margaret Thatcher led the British government in the then protracted negotiation for Rhodesian (now Zimbabwe) independence (Aluko; 1981:212).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What are multinational corporations?

3.3.2   Strategies to Combat Neo-Colonialism

This analysis of neo-colonialism is not complete if we fail to recommend "a correct and global strategy" to defeat it. Therefore the only way to discover and expose neo-colonial intrigues is to examine the nature of the struggle for independence. If the liberation movement is firmly established, the colonial power invariably resorts to a "containment" policy to stop any further progress, and slow or deaden its impact.

But the machinations of colonial power were bound to fail if the nationalist leaders maintained a clear spirit of vigilance and cultivated genuinely revolutionary qualities. The correct strategy should be preventive in nature; aimed at preventing a state from becoming a puppet or client state. But where neo-colonialism has become established African states must unite and deal with neo-colonialism on a Pan-African basis, otherwise, Euro-American forces will continue to undermine, selectively, African core interest.

For obvious reasons, Kwame Nkrumah's advocacy of a continental union for Africa was unpopular in the early sixties. The reason is not farfetched. Most African leaders were conscious and jealous of their newly won independence and were not prepared to compromise it in the name of African unity. But in this age when efforts are being made to convert the barrier of colonial imposed boundaries into a bridge of opportunities for cooperation among nations, Nkrumah's suggestion, in retrospect, has probably proven to be too attractive an idea to be ignored. Indeed, the establishment of the African Union in 2001 is a step in this direction.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Neo-colonialism in its operations modified the mechanism of direct control, for a subtler, and disguised strategy of manipulation of the economies of African states. Consequently, exploitation is more efficient under neo-colonialism while resistance to it elicits less mass support. Before granting independence to the African States, the colonial masters took conscious steps to prepare the minds of Africans for "Flag" independence, even if it would mean handing over power to those who would collaborate with the Europeans in the exploitation of Africa. Whether it relied on the operations of multinational corporations, unfair trade arrangements, or foreign aid manipulation, neo-colonialism would not have succeeded if not for the fertile ground provided for it by African political leadership. Therefore, solutions to the problems created by neo-colonialism can be found within, then outside Africa.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we discussed different mechanisms employed by neo-colonialism to achieve its objectives. We also examined the political-economic and military aspects of neo-colonialism. We further analysed the role being played by Multinational Corporations in carrying out exploitation in the name of business activities. We also added that the concept of foreign aid is a major factor in Africa's external indebtedness and consequent underdevelopment.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   How valid is the view that multinational corporations are "engine of growth in Africa?
2.   Describe the major mechanisms of neo-colonial control in Africa.
3.   What are the major dimensions of neo-colonialism in Africa?

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UNIT 3   THE POLITICAL   ECONOMY OFAFRICAN STATES

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Concept of African Development
        3.2   Neo-Colonialism and African Development
        3.3   The first Development Decade
        3.4   Challenges of Industrialisation and Globalisation
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

African political economy emerged from the circumstances of her forceful integration with the international capitalist system. Through the successive and combined impact of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism, African's economy today is not only underdeveloped but also almost prostate. More than four decades of "flag" independence have also failed to free African states from her precarious dependence and near- stagnation. Rather than adopt correct development models, most African states have merely copied foreign-inspired growth models that are unsuitable for a developing society. The effect is that, to date, most African economies continue to suffer from exploitation and underdeveloped. This unit examines the negative impact of neo-colonialism on African development analyses the effectiveness of the structural adjustment programme, and recommends a more appropriate policy response to African crises of underdevelopment.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- identify the major features and character of African political economy
- explain the role of neo-colonialism in the deepening of African dependence and underdevelopment
- discuss what can be done to free Africa from the stranglehold of neo-colonial forces.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Concept of African Development

The dominant theme of the penetration thesis is that the process of African development was arrested as a result of her encounter with Europe. During these five centuries of encounter, Africa was subordinated to and served the economic, political and psychological interests of Western imperialism. Worse still, after political independence, when Africa was expected to pursue a genuine programme of economic transformation, a developmental model, that have been programmed to perpetuate her underdevelopment, was imposed on the continent (Davidson: 1992).

Economists are united in their views that growth is not synonymous with development. Growth through can raise the general standard of living, and it is also a powerful weapon against poverty; but not everyone can benefit equally from growth (Lipsey, 1963:715). In other words, growth cannot eliminate all the major characteristics of an underdeveloped society. One, (1977; 139) grouped the major characteristics of underdevelopment under six headings: economic, agricultural, demographic, cultural, political and technological.

Nnoli (1981:29) dissected development into the economic, social and political aspects. Economic development, according to him, is concerned primarily with growth in GDP, industrialisation and capital formation. Social development emphasises the institutionalisation of Western social norms and behavioural pattern while political development focuses on political stability and institutionalisation of goals and means for achieving them. These three strands belong to the Western model of development.

But the Marxists have a different conception of development. They see man as the centrepiece of all development activities. Development, according to the Marxist, is a dialectical phenomenon in which individual and society interact with their environment and transform it for its betterment (Nnoli, 1981:36). Development, along with this perspective, changes in man's humanity and creative energies, not in things. It is a process of actualising man's inherent capacity to live a better and more rewarding life. It also implies increasing skill and capacity to do things, greater freedom, self-confidence, and material wellbeing.

African Development, therefore, implies those political, economic and social attributes that will make the continent to chart the course of dynamic and self-reliant development. Beyond the statistical indices, the tangible parameter of development is qualitative rather than quantitative. While the former deals with the ability to use the state apparatus to

realise the potential of a nation, the latter is merely concerned with measurable performance.

A society whose citizens are educationally cultivated, such that they can mobilise the latent resources to achieve maximum output, with minimum effort can be said to be developed. Society is also developed if resources are fairly distributed among its citizens, the economy is not vulnerable or unduly exposed to external forces, and its political system is stable.

3.2   Neo-Colonialism and African Development

First Development Decade
Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana blazed the trail as the first Black African colony to attain political independence on March 5, 1957. This historic landmark was due to Nkrumah's radical nationalism and his deviant anti-colonial posture, as reflected in his slogan: "we prefer self-government in danger to servitude in tranquillity". But Nkrumah did not see Ghana's destiny as being separate or distinct from the African destiny. In his view, the independence of Ghana would be meaningless, if it was not linked with the total liberation of African territories" "our task is not done and our safety is not assured until the last vestiges of colonialism have been swept from Africa" (Nkrumah 1957:240).

Like Nkrumah, many African leaders realised that much-desired economic independence would not naturally accompany political freedom. It was when they discovered that the legacy of colonial capitalism was deeply entrenched and resilient than earlier imagined, that they changed their famous anti-colonial slogan thus "political independence is meaningless without economic freedom". Having realised that the struggle had just begun "independence was then considered, not an end in itself, but a stage, the very first stage of the peoples' revolutionary struggle" (Nkrumah 1973:485).

In the early sixties, having just emerged from colonial rule, compared with the developed nations, African States are economically weak. The long dependence on European and American financial and technical assistance has prevented the growth of local capital and robbed them of technical knowledge to develop their resources. Till date, African greatness remains at the level of her vast potentials. Nkrumah wrote: "we have in Africa the paradox of poverty in plenty and scarcity in abundance" (Nkrumah 1961:ix-x). However, the search for outside aid to remedy this situation lay Africa open to a grave and new danger, which not merely threatens but could even destroy the continent's hard-won freedom.

In the immediate post-independent period, most African Countries, embarked on national development programmes, with the sole objective of achieving the economic breakthrough. The so-called first "Development Decade" in Africa was characterised by the adoption of Western-inspired economic policies, based on import substitution strategies and transfer of technology. Under the pretext of collaborating with the developed world, deceptive phrases such as "partners in progress" and "development aid" crept into the economic vocabulary of African States. But if properly analysed, aid is harmful to African interest. It is an instrument of recolonisation: "Aid to a neo-colonial state is merely a revolving credit, paid by the neo-colonial master passing through the neo-colonial state and master in the form of increased profits".

Therefore, the multilateral financial institutions like the World Bank and IMF through which these aids are channelled as conveyor belts are mere agents of international monopoly-finance capital. In the same manner that multi-national corporations, rather than being "engines of growth", are agents to foster African underdevelopment. Though these corporations, according to Nwankwo, claim to provide development finance and technology transfer, on the contrary, they are engaged in clandestine accumulation of capital, and restrict competition by establishing economic control in their spheres of operation (Nwankwo 1981:31-90).

African countries, during this period, also retained structures and patterns of economic activity, which helped to sustain neo-colonialism-production and export of raw materials, dependence on bilateral and multilateral agencies for development finance, and dependence on the West for the supply of industrial machinery. If Africa failed to achieve economic take-off in the first Development Decade, the 80s was also "the lost decade", because of African inability to recover from the economic crises of the decade. (Baradat 2000:284).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What role is the specialisation of Africa in primary produce playing in sustaining the continent's neo-colonial status?

3.3   Challenges of Industrialisation and Globalisation

Today with the whole world passing through the process of globalisation, neo-colonialism has entered a new phase. Through international trade, international migration and foreign direct investment, the process of interdependence among nations has been fostered. But Africa has not largely benefited from the capacity of globalisation to enhance the

frontiers of growth and development. The fruits of globalisation have not spread evenly around the world, because Africa, like most developing countries, is precariously positioned in the present interdependent world, now labelled, a global village.

The challenge before Africa today is how to reverse the unfavourable terms of trade between her and the developed world. Mbaya Kamkwenda, UN Resident co-coordinator in Nigeria captured the essence of this challenge succinctly when he said:

The world is being globalised and Africa cannot afford to stay out of the process.

***But she cannot resign herself to entering it with both hands and legs bound. She has to be a player and handle her insertion into the dynamics in the light of the development path that she defines for herself and thinks that is the best for the well being of her people.* (Nigeria Tribune January 14, 2003).**

Neo-colonialism is, by far not the only problem militating against African development; even if it is a critical factor. Industrialisation and its associated problems in t h e economic realm have paradoxically turned against the continent. In the view of Baradat while industrialisation has produced great wealth for developed countries, it has created a new kind of slavery for developing countries: "The new slaves be they industrial workers or neo-colonial suppliers of cheap raw materials, are exploited more fully than those of the previous eras, because of the efficiency of modern system". (Baradat 2000:4).

The African States must radically break away from the development model designed by the West, or the hybrid of a system, disguised as "a mixed economy". Instead, the paradigm shift must be informed and dictated by African needs and aspirations. The public sector should be converted to become the new engine of growth. We must understand that wrong policy prescriptions are responsible for the increasing phenomenon of "failed state" in Africa. But this is not a justification for states to abandon initiatives in national planning and economic development. Therefore, because of the undeveloped nature of the private sector in Africa, a development programme which relies solely on the market forces, or what Adam Smith refers to as the "invisible hand," work against the realisation of development objectives in Africa.

Fourthly political stability is another pre-requisite for sustainable development. Therefore, African States can only pursue a programme of uninterrupted development under an atmosphere of political stability. This is one surest way to realise the goal of African development.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What is the impact of globalisation on African economy today?

4.0   CONCLUSION

Development is the goal of every society, whether advanced or simple. But what has made development efforts difficult in Africa is the history of her relations with other parts of the world. Whether defined in terms of slavery, colonialism, or its contemporary manifestations, neo-colonialism- Africa had, and continues to be at the receiving end of the global divide. Therefore, only a just re-arrangement of this international relationship can alter African position positively.

5.0   SUMMARY

We have defined and identified the main features of African political economy. We also explained why Africa is still trapped despite many years of independence. We also suggested strategies to bring about genuine development.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Identify the main features and characteristics of African political economy
2.   Assess the role of the Breton Wood institutions in the attempts by the African States to grapple with the crises of development.
3.   What is the relationship between political stability and economic development?

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UNIT 4   THE DOCTRINE OF AFRICAN SOCIALISM

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Concept and Basic Tenets of African Socialism
        3.2   Historical Context.
        3.3   The Critique and Reality of African Socialism
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The doctrine of African socialism was popular in the immediate post-colonial era. It was applied as a rallying point, and a convenient mass mobilisation strategy, which replaced the dying concept of anti-colonial nationalism. African socialism rejects the fundamental Marxist proposition of class distinctions, economic antagonism and revolution as the realities of African societies. This unit discusses the doctrine of African socialism and how it differs from utopian and orthodox socialism. It examines the various views by African socialists, offered a critique and related their optimism to the objective reality of the African society.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the doctrine and tenets of African socialism
- differentiate African socialism from orthodox Marxist socialism
- evaluate the success of African socialism as a post-colonial ideology.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Concept and Basic Tenets of African Socialism

The basic tenets of African socialism can be summarised as follows: as a doctrine, it identifies with the historical progressive movement of African people; as an ideology, it seeks to create an identity for Africans that will transcend tribal or sectional boundaries; and as a social system, it concentrates power in the hands of the political elite to direct the affairs of their people, as they deem fit.

Since socialism is a way of life in traditional African society, a socialist society can only be built by those who believe in and whom themselves practise the principle of socialism (Nyerere 1968:204). Apart from reducing the role of the individual within the society the basic principles of African socialism are manifested and reflected in the family, the nature and theory of society, as well as the role of the state and government.

A major principle of African socialism is that man has no distinct personality separate from that of society; his destiny or future is inseparable from that of society. Therefore the prosperity of the individual is the prosperity of his brethren (Otite 1978:144). The family is also a major factor in the success or failure of African socialism because as an agent of socialisation or primary unit of enculturation, it is responsible for the production of social capital and the continuity of egalitarian African value, modelled on the concept of brotherhood and kinship symbolism.

African socialism does not believe in the Marxist prediction of the "withering away of the state". On the contrary, the government was urgently needed to provide the capital required for socio-economic development to meet the "revolution of rising expectations" that arose at the dawn of independence. Also, apart from adopting revolutionary language during the anti-colonial struggle, the only radical step embraced by African socialists was nationalisation; which was seen as one way of improving the material comfort of Africans. This was seen as another way to safeguard the hard-won independence of African states, from being lost to neo-colonial forces. In Nyerere's words; "to nationalise in Africa is to socialise--- in our country nationalisation means socialism" (Jordan, 1978:41).

The adoption of African socialism has inevitably encouraged African leaders to promote a one partly dominant regime, a phenomenon which Sekou Toure once described as "Democratic Centralism". The argument is that having sufficiently mobilised the people under a strong national organisation during nationalist agitations, it was only rational to allow the emergent political leaders at the threshold of independence to retain power, undistracted by divisive opposition elements, to pursue the programme of economic development of African states. It is, therefore the responsibility of the party to put forward the goals of the state while the government should carry them out. The trend towards a one-party state in order to remove, according to Otite, antagonist pockets of power, has become "a concomitant of African socialism (Otite 1978:148).

In the perception of African socialists, traditional African societies are classless, egalitarian and conflict-free. Though it is possible to discern something close to a client-patronage, or dependency relationships

between the rulers and the led, especially during the infrequent moments of succession, yet, the overall structure of African society is that of harmony and unity of purpose.

Also, because African societies rest on communalistic values rather than a network of economic relations, it is possible for "we feeling" as against "I feel" to prevail. The egalitarian structure of African society also influenced the conception and exercise of power. Since all units and actors within the society are complementary power like every other organ of the society is exercised on behalf, and for the good of the society.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What are the major tenets of African Socialism?

3.2   Historical Context of African Socialism

Proponents of African socialism submit that socialism is at home in Africa. Pre-colonial Africa, according to them, was largely socialist or communalist until colonial penetration brought about a monetised economy, which is integral to the capitalist system. Tom Mboya argues that Africans need not learn socialism because it is indigenous to them. (Mboya 1963:163). In Africa, an individual does not have a personality different from the community. According to Nkrumah, the "free development of the individual is a pre-requisite for the free development of their society (Nkrumah: 1964).

In pre-colonial Africa, there was no private ownership of land, or primitive capitalist accumulation, which is a feature of a capitalist society. The central thesis of African socialism, therefore, is that African society is classless and that the collective approach was central to the definition of societal goals and ends. Also in African society, power was held in trust by the rulers on behalf of the ruled, in pursuit of goals determined by all. A ruler could not be autocratic because there were accepted norms for leadership recruitment, legitimisation, as well as social sanctions to check excesses. African socialism is, therefore, by definition African culture-bound: it is humanist and egalitarian, a defence of African communalism and a mechanism for reflecting on Africa's originality, cultural and social exclusiveness, in spite of other diversities in the continent (Otite 1978:141).

3.3   Critique and Reality of African Socialism

It is important to appraise the success or otherwise of African Socialism both as a theoretical solution for African socio-economic problems, and also as an ideology, for mass political mobilisation. This is necessary

because the doctrine was propagated as if it possessed readymade answer that would cure the problems of African economic dependence, political instability and social inequality.

However, the reality in African today, many decades after political independence, and the adoption of African socialism is that most African states are still dependent on their former Western colonial powers. Rather than preside over national and self-reliant economies, the present generation of African leaders glory in neo-colonial, client states who in theory, according to Nkrumah, possess all the trappings of independence, but in reality, their economic system and political policy are directed from outside". (Nkrumah; 1965:ix). Consequently, the political economy of African states is not only asymmetrically tied to the international capitalist system, but operates in ways that make them vulnerable to the vagaries of the economies of the metropolitan Powers. The present plight of Africans in the prevalence of deepening economic crises of poverty, gross income inequality and unemployment can therefore be attributed in part, to the failure of African socialism.

Also under the guise of nationalisation, most African states opted for the wrong indigenisation policy, which has only succeeded in promoting indigenous bourgeoisie who now emerged as powerless, corporate boardroom members without effective control. In the process, these big companies rather than promoting indigenous entrepreneurship, are merely serving as agents of foreign business and commerce.

Politically, if the adoption of African socialism could be justified in the 1960s as a necessary post-colonial ideology to replace nationalism, it has only succeeded afterwards to produce a crop of African leaders, who created a cult of personality around themselves while pretending to be the messiahs of their people. In the process, Nyerere became popular as "Mwalimu" (The Great Teacher) while Nkrumah was called "Osagyefo"; (The Redeemer) (Azikwe 1976:74) all in an attempt to portray themselves as indispensable or as a human personification of their respective states. In summary, the reality of African states does not indicate that African socialism has fulfilled the objectives ascribed to it.

4.0   CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it is obvious that both at the dusk of colonial rule and the threshold of independence in Africa, African socialism was a popular concept. Its popularity and general acceptance derived from the perception and belief of African leaders that it could be made a tool for political legitimation and economic transformation. But it was not long before many realised that African socialism was a mere charade,

especially when the expected transformation of the economy of African states did not materialise.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have been exposed to the doctrine of African socialism. We have tried to show the distinction between African socialism and doctrinaire socialism. We explained why African leaders embraced African socialism as a post-colonial ideology. We further gave reasons why it failed to meet the aspirations of an average African citizen.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Define the concept of African socialism and elaborate on its tenets.
2. Assess the views of various African leaders on African socialism and identify where they differ
3. To what extent can you say that African socialism succeeds as a post-colonial ideology.

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**MODULE 4   POLITICAL   INSTABILITY   AND
               SUSTAINABLE   DEMOCRACY   IN
               AFRICA**

INTRODUCTION

The concept of political instability will be properly understood with the
realm of knowledge and comprehension of stability. A political system is
said to be stable where there is the general acceptance of political
outcomes among political actors as well as a consensus about the
legitimacy of the institutions that oversee political conduct. Political
stability is an eventual outcome of a patterned political process and a
sustainable political culture. The hallmark of political activities in Africa
and other third world countries include electoral violence, civil wars,
communal conflicts, banditry, kidnapping and military coups. In this
module, explanations are made on why political instability is a regular
occurrence in Africa and why it is difficult to achieve sustainable
democracy with its full ingredients of periodic elections, universal adult
suffrage, free press, independent and unbiased judiciary, freedom of
speech and association etc. This module has been sub-divided into four
units.

Unit 1   The military in African Politics
Unit 2   Contending Explanatory Models of Instability
Unit 3   Democracy and Constitutionalism
Unit 4   Instability and Crises of Succession in Africa

UNIT 1   THE MILITARY IN AFRICAN POLITICS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
       3.1   Origins and Changing Roles of the Military
       3.2   Explaining Military Interventions
              3.2.1   Forms of Intervention
              3.2.2   Reasons for intervention
       3.3   Military as a Modernisation Agent
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The military has become an important factor in African politics.
Before 1966, any discussion on African politics could have scarcely mentioned the military. But afterwards, it became difficult to fully discuss or analyze African politics without a prominent place being accorded to the military. Almost every country, in the continent, has witnessed either a military coup or has been threatened by one. Despite the current spate of democratisation in the continent, the role of the military either as the guarantor of the state's security or the custodian of the constitutional order is still pivotal. This unit examines the origins of the military institution in Africa, the erosion of its professionalism as a result of its involvement in politics, and the role of the military as a modernisation agent in Africa.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

* explain the role of the military in African politics
* explain the reasons why the military has invited itself or been invited as an arbiter in political conflicts
* appreciate the imperative for the military to revert to its constitutional role, and resist the temptations for an overt political role.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Origins and the Changing Role of the Military Institution in Africa

The military in Africa, as it exists today, was created by colonial rule to enhance its imperial interests. It was conceived as a vital wing of the colonial apparatus to pacify the various groups and defend various territories against external aggression. The nature of the military which African states inherited at independence reflected the different colonial policies of the Imperial powers. While the military in the British was trained at, mainly, Sandhurst military school, those from French territories were brought together under the Federation of French West Africa. But despite the differences, from one country to another, the common pattern is that the military in independent Africa did not severe links with the former colonial authorities.

In most African states, they also shared the pattern of recruitment, largely drawing the rank and file from one ethnic group, relatively small size

at independence, but which was enlarged as the situation demanded. For example, in 1966 the size of the Nigerian army was 10,506 men, the officers' corps was only 51 of whom 330 were of combat status (Luckham 1975:90). But the small size does not stop the military from intervention in politics. When the Togolese military staged a coup in 1966, it has a total of 250 soldiers.

The phenomenon of a coup in Africa which first began in Egypt in 1952 is a reflection of the changing perception of the military about its role in the political system. What S.P. Huntington (1964) in the "Soldier and the State" referred to as "the general politicisation of social forces and institutions" occurred when the military felt, it had values that extended beyond defence but also included a sense of how society should be organised. But the military cannot do this without subverting its tradition of professionalism, political neutrality and subordination to political leadership.

Every military regime, no matter how benevolent, is usually described as an aberration. It is considered as a violation of the military's guardian role in the body polity, and a prescription for recurring instability. By its training and disposition, the military is ill-suited for the civil society, and by its nature, it is inherently unstable because it does not provide established mechanisms for an orderly succession. As Odetola (1978) argues, because the military is commandist in structure and paternalistic in orientation, its basic norms and values run counter to the objectives of a democratic and developing society. The military's projection of its custodian role to include an overt political role has consequently damaged its professionalism and created what can be described as "the tension between military capabilities and political responsibility (Howe, 2001:2)

3.2   Explaining Military Interventions

3.2.1 Forms of Intervention

Before explaining the reasons for military interventions in Africa, it is important to first distinguish military involvement in politics from military intervention in politics. The former relates to the performance by the military of its constitutional role of defence against external aggression, while the latter is when the military assumes formal political power, formulates and executes policies;

In describing forms of intervention, Smith (2003:176) noted that the type of intervention, of the different forms that are of more academic interest, in what he called "supplantment". This is the act of taking political control by force and replacing civilian institutions with military leadership forming "a self-appointed junta, with absolute power

unconstrained by any civilian political institutions." Government is run by decree, constitutional and parliamentary procedure, popular consent is outlawed, elected assemblies dissolved and political parties are abolished. Another form of intervention is when the military displaces one civilian regime and replaces it with another. Huntington (1964) also classified military coups into four categories:

a.   **Guardian Coup**: A new military regime leaves the prevailing economic system intact, bring about minor change and install an interim administration to provide stability before handing power back to civilians.

b.   **Veto Coup**: This occurs when the military supplants a civilian government that is committed to radical social and economic reforms that will be to the detriment of the wealthier classes in society.

c.   **Anticipatory Coup**: This occurs when the military intervenes to pre-empt power passing to a revolutionary or radical government. The 1991 coup in Algeria when the military prevented the Islamic Salvation Front from taking over after winning the general elections in the country is often cited (Smith 2002). The annulment of the June 12, 1993, presidential election in Nigeria also illustrates this form of intervention.

d.   **Reforming Coup**: This is when the military itself carry out the fundamental restructuring of the state and society and introduces a new ideological foundation. The Gamel Nasser's coup of 1952 in Egypt was a case in point. Whatever the forms of intervention carried out by the military, what is critical when a coup occurs is that the fundamental civil-military divide is blurred. The government no longer emerges through the ballot but by bullet and coercion replaces consensus as a basis of administration.

3.2.2 Reasons for Military Interventions

It is difficult to generalise on the reasons or theories behind military coups in Africa because the motives for coups differ from one country to another. Yet we can identify some factors that can singly, or in combinations push the military to seize power. They include.

a.   **Inability of Civilian Government to Govern Effectively**: Once the civilian government fails to maintain law and order, and is unable to cope with the challenges of governance, that government is inviting a military coup. This was the case in Nigeria in the First Republic when the government could not

maintain essential services, and had to rely on the military to restore order after it practically broke down in the old Western region (Luckham 1991:17). This was also true of Sudan in 1958, Congo in 1965, and the Malagasy Republic in 1972 (Jemibewon 1978:4). Jemibewon (1978) disclosed that Colonel Afrifa, a prime mover of 24th February 1966 coup hinted that the coup option would not have been considered if there was any other to remove Nkrumah from power.

b.   **Corruption among Political Leaders**. This is either by diverting public funds to party coffers or for the personal enrichment of officeholders, to the detriment of public welfare. In January 1966, Nzeogwu claimed his coup was aimed at removing "ten percentres" from power. Abacha levelled a similar charge against Nigerian politicians in his coup broadcast of December 1983.

c.   **Absence of Peaceful Means of Changing Governments**. During the 1960s, most civilian governments in Africa turned their countries into authoritarian one-party state and where there was more than one party, the ruling party rigged elections to remain in power. Once all opportunities for coming into power through peaceful means have been blocked, the opposition encourages and openly calls on the military to intervene. During the Second Republic in Nigeria, the opposition popularised the axiom "Those who make peaceful change impossible makes violent change inevitable".

d.   **Personal and Corporate Interest of the military**: Coups in Africa have been attributed to the personal ambition of individual army officers, and at times, the corporate interest of the army as a whole. It is generally believed that the army does not move against a civilian government except its interest has been threatened. For example, when President Ahomadegbe of Dahomey (now the Republic of Benin) Republic humiliated his chief of Army staff, a coup was staged the next stage to remove him from power.

In Nigeria, Ben Gbulie (1981:13) observed that Zak Maimalari's meteoric rise from the rank of Captain to Brigadier in three years was a major cause of disaffection within the armed forces, which remotely spurred aggrieved officers to stage the 1966 January 15 coup to remedy what they considered "unmerited promotion… "as scandalous as concentrating all the most important of Nigeria's military installations and its best institutions in the North."

e.   **Fragile and Weak Political Institutions**. African states are yet to develop strong political institutions to manage and resolve political crises. This is unlike in advanced countries, where institutions have been tested, are matured and have developed self-regulating mechanisms to cope with political tensions. But in Africa where the military is the only institution sufficiently organised, in addition to its monopoly of an instrument of violence, there is added incentive for it to come in when there is a conflict as a strategically placed arbiter. This view which was largely attributed to Huntington was corroborated by S.F. Finer (1962:21) thus: "where public attachment to civilian institutions is weak or non-existent military intervention in politics will find wide scope-both in manner and substance".

f.   **Psychological/Contagious Effect**. This is the tendency of military officers to emulate their colleagues who have successfully staged coups in neighbouring countries. What is otherwise called "bush fire effect" or what Ali Mazrul once called pan "African empathy" was carefully chronicled by Jemibewon (1979). The army mutinies in East Africa started in Zanzibar on 12 January 1964 spread to Tanganyika on 20 January, to Uganda on 23rd Jan., and to Kenya on 26 Jan 1964. Also, the first four coups in Francophone countries began in Zaire on 20th Nov. 1965, Benin Republic on 22 December 1965, the Central African Republic on 1st January 1966 and Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso on 3rd Jan. 1966. In Anglophone West Africa, Nigerian and Ghanaian coups were staged on 15th January and 24th February 1966 respectively.

g.   **International Conspiracy**. This theory attributes military coups to foreign agents like the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and powerful multinational corporations. A declassified CIA report later confirmed a widespread rumour that the intelligence body was involved in the coup against Kwame Nkrumah (Odetola1978:32:33).

In the final analysis, explaining military interventions in Africa is not markedly different from the analysis of military intervention in other societies, especially Latin American countries. Broadly, we can group these factors into two: environmental and organisational approaches. Much of our discussion so far have emphasised factors and issues specific to Africa, which suggest that the environmental explanations are more relevant to Africa.

However, Luckham (1977:4) has laboured with some degree of success to advance the course of what he called "organisational strain". As he explained: "unity in format makes it possible for the military to act swiftly and decisively: integral boundaries insulate it from external conflict and preserve unity in command. Yet these features also made the army more prone to revolt and rebellion; to t h e fratricidal conflict in which brothers became Judases".

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Give reasons for military interventions in Africa.

3.3   The Military as a Modernising Agent

Due to the recurring nature of coups, and consequently military regimes in Africa, some scholars have attempted to ascribe some measure of legitimacy, to this occurrence, thereby presenting the military as an agent of modernisation. This is despite the conservative bias of political science, by which any deviation from democratic norms or the introduction of elements of coercion in the process of government is considered as abnormal.

S.P. Huntington who is prominent in this school asserts that military officers are frequently indifferent or hostile to needs of political institution-building…" Nordlinger also argues that the military is inept, or politically incapable since they view politics as a regulated conflict in which competition and compromise are transformed into government by fiat. However, those who hold the view that the military could be transformed into agents of modernisation argue that in a developing and modernising society such as in Africa, the government must contain elements of coercion to be effective and show authority. The western concept of a government and a "loyal" opposition along parliamentary system is said to be unsuitable for Africa as a basis of legitimate rule. Given the ethnically diverse nature of post-colonial states in Africa, the multi-party system failed because it reflected pluralism and distrust within the political system. To escape from this, the military, just like the idea of one-party system, came to be viewed as more capable to cope with this political turbulence (Odetola, 1978).

The questions that readily come to mind are: what is it about the military that enables it to serve as alternative government? Can the mere presence of the military ensure political stability, or promote economic development? In finding answers to these questions we must recognise that in a few African counties, like Egypt and Libya, at least in the early years, the military was able to establish authority and legitimacy, and achieved effectiveness, not by simple physical threats but primarily by

adapting its organisational characteristics to the needs of a developing political society. While the military retained its organisational characteristics of order discipline and hierarchy to remain cohesive, it appropriately responded to the requirements of compromise and persuasion. For this reason, the military is always regarded as a potential factor of stability in Africa.

But the military balance sheet in Africa neither recommends it as the agent of political stability nor as an alternative government. From one African country to another, the military has performed poorly in governance and has repeatedly failed to hold the nation together peacefully. In Nigeria, before its disengagement from power in 1999, the military which was not a party to the struggle for the country's independence ruled for many more years than the politicians. Yet rather than succeed as corrective regimes or salvage the country, it subverted the civil society and almost dismembered the country.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What role can the military in Africa play in promoting political stability?

4.0 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it is obvious that military involvement in politics is not only an aberration but also evidence of political underdevelopment in Africa. It has also contributed to the erosion of military professionalism as opined by S.E Finer that the military engages in politics with relative haste but disengage if at all, with the greatest reluctance. Although, public opinion recently in Africa seems not to view

military rule with favour, while the global community is equally opposed to it, yet the recent coups in Mauritania (August 2008) and Guinea (December 2008) as well as subtle military threats to civilian governments in other states, are pointers that Africa is yet to keep pace with established civility in other parts of the world.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have examined military interventions in the politics of African states. We traced the colonial origins of the African military and discussed how the military violated professionalism, abandoned its traditional combat role and became involved in politics. We also identified factors that have encouraged military coups in Africa and how these incursions have not fostered political development in Africa but weakened the institutionalisation of democratic political culture.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Using one African country as a case study, examine factors contributing to the military coup in Africa.
2.   "No matter how benevolent, a military rule is not an alternative to a democratic government" Discuss.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2   CONTENDING EXPLANATORY MODELS OF INSTABILITY

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
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                3.3.1   Institutional Fragility or Weakness
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                3.3.3   Political Economy Model
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5.0   Summary
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1.0   INTRODUCTION

The problem of political instability in Africa has continued to attract scholarly attention. Two broad approaches have emerged in an attempt to provide explanations for it: The Western explanatory model and the political economy paradigm. The former provides liberal, while the latter radical, explanations for political instability in Africa. This unit examines the two approaches and attempts to identify the model that is more suitable for a better understanding of political instability in Africa.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

•   identify the indices of political instability in african society
•   mention the two popular perspectives on political instability in Africa.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Defining the Concept of Political Instability

To properly understand the phenomenon of political instability, it is important to comprehend the concept of stability. A political system is stable where there is widespread acceptance among the actors about the rules of the game, as well as a consensus about the legitimacy of the institutions regulating political conduct. Also, the process of leadership

succession is only regular, but predictable, and anchored on an enduring and sustainable political culture. Today conventional wisdom has assigned the virtue of political stability to the developed countries, whilst the reverse of instability with its associated ills, are attributed to the politics of Africa, and other third world countries.

In African states, manifestations of political instability include electoral induced crises, military coups, communal Conflicts and civil wars. These crises have been so grave and recurring that they have attracted the attention of political scholars. Since 1945, in the opinion of Smith (2003) both inter-state and intra-state conflicts moved from the developed to developing countries, especially in Africa. An estimate put the number of deaths from a civil war in Southern Africa alone at 1.5 million. At the end of 1990s over 40,000, Angola citizens were physically handicapped. The 10 year-civil war in Sierra Leone resulted in the death of about 200,000 lives (Smith).

The search for a solution for the problem of political instability, for most African states, is labelled the national question. This question is so central to politics in Africa and is therefore related to stability, development and legitimacy. Stability is a condition for development. Such stability is not the stability of the colonial period, which Mahatma Gandhi once described as the peace of the graveyard'. 'Rather it is stability that promotes the dynamics of meaningful change. Development for Africa is trying to outgrow the stage of underdevelopment, and alter the prevailing vicious cycle of dependence and marginalisation, where Western nations pull the strings that determine African collective existence. Legitimacy set the limits of the government to government to the citizen such that the government is conscious of it and set limits on its power, and at the same time, it is recognised by the governed, such that acceptance of the authority of government is based on the peoples' consent (Ajayi 1992). In Africa, politics is beset with instability due to crises of development and legitimacy.

3.2   Explaining Political Instability

Reaction to colonial rule dictates the type of government that came into existence in the various independent African states. Those countries that gained political sovereignty through constitutional struggle inherited the Western model of parliamentary or presidential democracy, as a colonial legacy. The package of this model contains the following political ingredients: periodic elections, universal adult suffrage, free press, independent judiciary and legitimacy of freely elected leaders. The model also recognises the existence of political parties, the struggle for power among these parties, the assumption to power of the winning party, the existence of opposition parties, and rejection of access to power through violent or unconstitutional means.

However, these features of constitutional democracy were observed in the breach in virtually all African countries. The basic questions are: What are the reasons for the violation of these basic norms in African politics? Why w a s the model not properly handed over to the new states? Two contending schools of thoughts/paradigms has been used by scholars to explain the phenomenon of political instability in Africa. The first is the Western /Modernisation school of Apter, Rustow, Huntington, etc. The Western perspective can be further sub-divided into modernisation and ethnic pluralism explanations. The second is the Political Economy explanation championed by Walter Rodney, Samin Amir, and Immanuel Wallerstin etc. Water Rodney's book **How Europe underdeveloped Africa** is a classic on this model.

3.3   Modernisation Model

3.3.1 Institutional Fragility or Weakness

The modernisation model identifies institutional fragility or weakness and lack of established culture in political competition as the basic cause of political instabilities in Africa. This school contends that African countries are experiencing a rapid rate of modernisation, and that the various changes taking place tend to weaken African traditional institutions. On the other hand, modern institutions capable of regulating new political behaviour are non-existent, and where they exist, they are yet to take root in the culture or tradition of the various African societies. For political life, the implication is that in Africa, there are no agreed set of rules and procedures capable of regulating political interactions, resulting in the use of unconstitutional means to gain elective office.

While desperate rival and opposition groups employ all means including enlisting the support of the military, to unseat those in power; the party in power employ state machinery to either suppress or ban opposition elements.

3.3.2 Cultural Pluralism/Ethnic Conflict

The second explanation of the Western model is African cultural pluralism or ethnic conflict. The central argument of this model is that various groups exist in the new states of Africa and these groups engage themselves in intense conflict to influence and dominate political power. The various groups are said to be culturally distinct from each other in terms of language, social organisation, values, beliefs etc. the groups also have different interests and aspirations and tend to use the various resources available to assert their differences and power to other groups. The argument goes that before colonialism the different groups functioned as self-contained communities. However, when colonial rule

forced them to live under one centralised political authority, the relation among them became one of competition for the allocation of resources and other forms of colonial favour. On the attainment of independence, the struggles and competition among the groups continued with the majority seeking to control and dominate key positions in government institutions, while the minority groups struggle for recognition and fair deal in the distribution of national resources. Political life in Africa therefore became an organised desire by the various groups to advance and protect their particularistic interest, thereby creating a tug of – war political arena in Africa.

3.3.3 Political Economy Model

However, the political economy model challenged the premise of the Western school and described it as static, a-historical and non-explanatory. The political economy model is anchored on finding solutions to what accounts for competition among political actors? Why are resources scarce in African states? According to the political economy school, the search for meaningful answers to the above questions needs to go beyond what modernisation and cultural explanations could offer. The major argument of this approach is that the political life of a particular society is a reflection of its material base. Thus political values, beliefs and institutions that shape political behaviour at a particular period have their roots and also reflect the material base or mode of production of that society. From the above theoretical explanations, the school contends that the material conditions that influence and shape African politics include poverty, underdevelopment and dependence (Davidson 2000: 12-25). The political economy identifies poverty as a common feature among African states. The problems of poverty, underdevelopment and dependence have created an economic base, which in turn generate political problems in African states. But the school argues that African countries are poor not because of a cause of nature, but because their resources have historically been exploited for the development of Western Europe. Furthermore, this school contends that the ethnic conflicts in Africa represent the economic interests of the various groups in society, which compete among themselves for scarce resources. Ethnic prejudice and antagonisms are also prevalent and do take violent character where business and pecuniary interests are involved. But where they agree on these issues members of different ethnic groups live together in harmony.

The political economy model argues further that political elites by definition represent a certain economic interest in society, and always seek power to control the use of scarce resources to cater to their interest. It is also not true as the modernisation theorists' claim that there are no rules or procedures in African states, but rather politicians have devised means to circumvent these rules. In very rare cases where promising

leadership have merged in African states, the international community has the means to manipulate the internal politics to keep African states within the orbit of the international capitalist system. Therefore, to prevent external subversion African politicians are forced to be less assertive in international relations, and thus align themselves to the dictates of Western countries (Nkrumah 1963: 194-204).

Furthermore, the political economy perspective traced African political predicament to colonialism. Colonial rule not only carved out states along ethnic lines, but it also fostered ethnic particularism, encouraged the policy of divide and rule and adopted the expedience of uneven development in various African states. Consequently, these problems created by colonialism have imposed a peculiar character in Africa today.

According to Claude Ake, African leaders are in an office and not in power. Therefore, to adequately capture what Denis Austin called the "Africa's Predicament" we need to examine the internal dynamics within the continent in conjunction with its location in the world capitalist system.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1.   What are the major arguments of the political economy school?
2.   Explain the major argument of the modernisation school.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In every academic discourse, there is always more than one side to an issue. This multi or plural perspectives not only enriches understanding but also helps in expanding the frontiers of knowledge. What one can draw from the contending schools in the analysis of political instability in Africa is not to return the verdict that one is valid, and the other is not. Rather it is to appreciate that each of the two is based on a different premise. While the Western model looks at what is; the political economy approach goes beneath the surface by providing the historical context for what is. Beyond the value judgment that may colour any academic discussion, a more objective approach is to look at the beneficial aspects of the two models, without rejecting either of them.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we have examined the two contending models of analyzing political instability. The Western model traces the problem to the weakness of African political institutions, but the political economy approach explained that a combination of historical circumstances provides more reasonable explanations for political instability in Africa.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Explain the major arguments of the Western model of analysing political instability in Africa.
2.   What are the linkages between poverty and the stiff competition for political power in Africa?

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3   DEMOCRACY AND CONSTITUTIONALISM IN AFRICA

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Liberal democracy, in its party-based competitive form in Africa, is a legacy of colonialism. Since the attainment of independence, and the adoption of the Western-styled model, African states have been grappling with how to build and nurture democratic principles and practices. This unit will discuss how African countries have fared in this journey to democracy. The unit will also explore the possibility of a model of democracy that might be suitable for the peculiar African political context.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

•   explain the meaning and practice of democracy within the African context
•   state the problems militating against democratic sustenance and consolidation in Africa
•   explain how Africa states can develop a type of democracy suitable for their political setting.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Concept of Democracy

Democracy is a concept that virtually defies definition. The popular definition of democracy offered by Abraham Lincoln as "government of the people by the people and for the people" gives the impression that all citizens have the opportunity of participating or influencing the process of governance. But because the world has advanced beyond the

Greek-city states, participatory democracy is no longer feasible, hence the necessity for representative democracy. The most basic idea in a democracy is that political power comes from the people and that government is legal when the governed consent. This is the basis of the theory of social contract as canvassed by political philosophers, in different forms, from Plato to J.J. Rousseau.

After colonial rule, African states focused on developing democracies styled after those of their former colonial masters. The problem of grafting democratic principles of competitive party politics, periodic elections, and struggling for political offices, which are alien to Africa, has been blamed as partly responsible for democratic failures in Africa. Others have located the problem around the pluralism of most African states, echoing Aristotle who said: "it is difficult to achieve and maintain a stable democratic government in a plural society". But beyond these preliminary points, the problems of democracy, democratisation and constitutionalism in Africa lie in the failure of African leaders to appreciate that democracy, has both philosophical as well as procedural content. While principle Democrats are concerned with the goals of democracy, the process democrats favour on how to achieve democracy (Baradat, 2000:113-120).

A constitution is merely a charter of governance; it prescribes how the power of the state is to be distributed and the process of its amendments. Constitutions define the limits of government authority, thereby automatically establishing and safeguarding human rights. A constitutional democracy is, therefore, a form of government which is defined and regulated by a constitution and whose procedure cannot be altered except by a method accepted by its citizen. Constitutionalism is not restricted to adherence to a codified or written constitution but also embodies customs and conventions as practised in British democracy.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

In what ways is ethnic plurality a factor of instability in African Politics.

3.1 Challenges of Democracy in Africa

From the above it is obvious that democracy cannot be taken for granted; its form or contents, survival and growth depend on the collective will and commitment of the African society as a whole. Despite the numerous differences, which exist among African countries such as level of economic, social and political developments, territorial and population size, and colonial experiences, there are nevertheless, some common problems that face democracy and democratisation process in Africa. The politics of poverty fosters the formation of groups and classes with

conflicting material interests, and this tends to divide society into hostile camps of peoples, often armed with strong (ideological) convictions on how society should be organised. For instance, the struggle which has been raging since 1983 in Sudan between the SPLA in the South and the North over control of central government was an organised effort by the Late John Garang led the South to have access to power, to ameliorate their conditions of poverty.

Poverty also accounts for ignorance and lack of political education, the abridgement of political rights and duties, and lack of an appropriate political culture. In Africa where political culture is not well developed, there is limited emphasis on political participation, voters education, respect of the rule of law, tolerance of opposition, and supremacy of the will of the people, as expressed in a free and fair electoral process. Two related components are critical in understanding political culture: The attitude to the political institutions of the state, and the degree to which citizens feel they can influence and participate in the decision-making process. In Africa, the civic culture or political efficacy, which is most likely to ensure political stability is either low or even absent. In a parochial political culture of Africa, citizens see themselves as distant from the government, and not a participant. This problem in turn accounts for lack of patriotism among the citizens because of the disconnect between power and responsibility.

Rather than being a means of empowerment, power in African states is being applied as an instrument of domination. As Kissinger, (2001) put it; in the absence of overriding shared values, self-determination amount to partition and majority rule to domination". Despite the problem associated with democracy in Africa, some scholars such as Ake, (2003) argued that democracy is feasible and achievable in Africa. This is not by transferring wholesale the Western model of democracy, but the type that meets the peculiar needs of Africa; that will de-emphasise the manipulative role of the political elites, and possibly ensure political integration of African States.

In a few African countries, there were electoral contests in which the incumbents were defeated by the opposition parties. In 1991, in the Benin Republic, Mathew Kerekou lost to Nicephore Soglo, in Zambia, in October of 1991, Kenneth Kaunda was defeated by Fredrick Chiluba, while in Malawi, Bakili Muluzi was victorious over Hastings Banda. But in Ghana, Adu Boahen could not unseat Rawlings in the 1992 presidential elections. A similar fate befell Gilchrist Olympio, against Eyadema in Togo. In Kenya, Arap Moi narrowly defeated the trio of Kenneth Matiba, Oginga Odinga, and Mwai Kabaki in 1992. But today in most of these countries the former sit–tight leaders are gradually yielding their thrones, though reluctantly, to the opposition or cleverly

anointing successors. In Ghana, Rawlings lost his grips on power to the opposition, but in Senegal, Senghor, deftly handed over to Abdou Diouf, in two instances of change of guards.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What are the impediments to Liberal democracy in Africa?

4.0   CONCLUSION

Democracy is essential, a contested concept, which adds to its controversial nature. Yet in developed nations of the world peoples have lived under and benefited from democratic governments, no matter the label ascribed to it. However, in Africa, most states are still grappling with the task of establishing the basic rudiments of democracy, let alone sustaining or consolidating it. In effect, since independence, most states in Africa have been in throes of transition from semi-oligarchic, authoritarian, to representative government. While conceding that Africa is at liberty to adapt the practice of democracy to its peculiarities, we must recognise that the principles and essence of democracy are universal in nature.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this Unit, we have examined the concept and principles of democracy. We have equally stated the problems and challenges   facing the democratisation process in Africa. We also recognised the need for Africa to design a democratic framework that will take account of its peculiarities, without compromising the imports of democracy as a political philosophical concept.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   What is your assessment of the success of democracy in Africa?
2.   Identify and explain the challenges facing democracy in Africa.

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UNIT 4   POLITICS AND CRISES OF SUCCESSION IN AFRICA

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
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    3.2   Party Politics and Instability
    3.3   Manifestations of Instability
        3.3.1   Secession
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        3.3.3   Military Coups
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5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The crises of leadership succession are related to the problem of political instability in Africa. This twin problem is a result of the failure of African states to truly embrace the basic requirements of party politics and principles of democracy. This unit will explore various manifestations of political instability in Africa, and how they have contributed to the failure of African states to properly integrate and to address the crisis of state authority.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the relationships between leadership succession and political instability
- identify the various symptoms and manifestations of instability
- iii.know the factors responsible for political crises and weakness in state capacity.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Explaining the Crisis of Succession and Instability

We have briefly explained the concept of political instability in Unit 3 of this Module. Our task here is to enrich that discussion by stating the link

or nexus between the crisis of succession and political instability. One of the requirements needed to identify a democracy that is consolidated is how it can meet the transfer of power test, or what Ojo (2006) called the "two-election test". He explained that democracy is consolidated when "a government that has itself been elected in a free and fair context is defeated at a subsequent election and accepts the result." What is more important is accepting the result when the incumbent government is defeated at the polls and without hesitation voluntarily hands over to the winning party.

This criterion is perhaps the major hurdle to democratisation and a major factor in political instability in Africa. Since independence, most African states have been grappling with this challenge.

In Ghana, the failure of the opposition to change the C.P.P. government led to a military coup in 1966. In 1983, the Shagari's administration could not satisfy the two election test. In both Kenya and Zimbabwe, a hurriedly packaged, but potentially vulnerable inclusive governments saved the two countries from descending to anarchy. Liberia and Sierra Leone, for the greater part of the 1990s, experienced protracted civil wars.

Beyond the crises associated with problems of leadership succession other factors also combine to produce political instability in Africa. But the significance of each factor will vary according to the circumstances of each country, history, level of economic development, and place within the international system. The Nigerian civil war which raged for 30 months produced social-economic, as well as political consequences, which successive regimes have not completely solved almost four decades after it ended. In Sudan, the ongoing civil war has cost more than 2 million lives and displaced more than 4 million others, according to a 2003 estimate (Smith, 2003).

In developed societies, the values that are associated with the stability of political systems are moderation, bargaining and accommodation. These values according to Almond and Verba, (1963) are usually considered to be correlated with the level of a nation's political culture. In their studies, they found out that for most African states there is an absence of political stability because political attitudes do not recognise the primacy of territorial and constitutional arrangements, as well as the legitimacy of authority and willingness to accept the outcomes of the rules of the game. As a result rather than transit to, or consolidate democracy, what we see is constant regression to authoritarianism. And as posited by Gill (2000) "the danger of authoritarian regimes is that the weakness of institutional procedures for resolving disputes creates significant potential for instability".

In recent times, there are rays of hope of stability in some part of Africa. Botswana, though a small country provides a good record of stability. Ghana and Nigeria have also met the two election test. In Angola, a General election was held, the first in fifteen years after a civil war and the signing of a peace agreement.

3.2 Party Politics and Instability

Political parties have been recognised by most states as necessary for political stability. Huntington, (1968) has provided the most elaborate statement of this relationship. According to him, political parties help a state to absorb the increasing level of political participation, which is usually generated by modernisation.

In his words "the stability of a modernising political system depends on the strength of its political parties". A party, in turn, is strong to the extent that it has institutionalised mass support. However, in Africa, due to many factors, political parties are weak and far from being institutionalised. They lack coherent organisation, not cohesive, incapacitated by lack of independent sources of funding and afraid of competition. Consequently, citizens confer low legitimacy on parties and party systems.

What a closer study of African politics has revealed is that politicians selectively manipulate party structures, systems and arrangements to suit vested interest. The single-party system which usually finds it difficult to incorporate all elements within a state without coercion used to be a popular brand in Africa. Similarly, the values inherent in multiparty option, which was meant to take into account the diversities of a typical African State are always eroded by the sweeping influence of the dominant party, as Nigeria presently experience with the People's Democratic Party (PDP). But the two-party systems, which has proven to be the most effective means of moderating polarisation, given the experiences of Euro-American democracies, is not always a popular model in Africa. In the final analysis, if we recognise that China and Russia have made a success of one-party system, Britain and USA of two-party, and Germany and France of multi-parties, it then becomes clear that what is important for Africa is the legitimisation and institutionalisation of parties in African political framework.

We can safely adapt to Africa the data generated by Mainwaring and Scully (1995) in their studies of Latin American countries, about the ingredients of party system institutionalisation. These are:

a.   The rules governing party competition are commonly observed, widely understood and confidently anticipated;

b.   There is stability in the number of parties competing for office.
c.   Parties are strongly rooted in society, affecting political preferences, attracting stable electoral support and demonstrating continuity in ideological terms;
d.   Political elites recognise the legitimacy of electoral competition as the route to the office; and
e.   Party organisation exists independently of powerful leaders, with well-resourced nationwide organisations and well established internal procedures for recruitment to party offices.

A cursory look at these criteria will reveal that party systems in Africa are both a negation and violation of them. In Africa rules governing competitions are skewed in favour of incumbents; parties are banned or selectively unbanned; they lack clear cut or differentiated ideological positions and rely on patronage from members in government to survive. For these reasons, parties out of power in African states increasingly find it difficult to survive. And it is common wisdom that the demise of party systems, especially the competitive type, as was witnessed in many African states in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and even up to 2000 is a recipe for political instability. In Africa rather than deepen party systems, or consolidate democracy, what has been enriched is the idea that the only way to protect one's interest is to acquire and hold on to a monopoly of power, to the exclusion of other groups.

3.3   Manifestations of Political Instability in Africa

There are many instances and manifestations of political instability in Africa. These incidents were either caused by internal or external factors or a combination of some of them.

3.3.1 Secessions

Secession may be defined as the formal separation of a region from a nation-state of which it formerly constituted an integral part. For example, when an ethnic group or a combination of them threatens to separate. Where secession is threatened, the parent state may seek to placate the dis-satisfied group by offering various constitutional concessions aimed at devolution of power, or creation of states. But this was not sufficient to switch the Eastern region of Nigeria from the direction of secession in 1967. Alternatively, the parent state may respond with repression like when the parent state of Ethiopia imposed nationality under its amended constitution (Ghai, 2000). Other repressive measures may range from cultural assimilation to genocide.

In those African states like Eritrea and South Sudan where secession threats were actualised, national governments often by force of arms

frustrated the bids to prevent the breakaway regions leave with its rich mineral deposits. In Congo, the secession attempt of the mineral-rich Katanga province, inspired by neo-colonial forces, was countered by the United Nations peacekeeping force (Nkrumah 1967:18-20). In Morocco, King Hassan threatened a resumption of war if the people of Western Sahara voted for any United Nations (UN) planned referendum (Smith 2003:196).

3.3.2 Civil War

Civil War may be a direct result of military response to secession or may arise due to other factors. In Nigeria superior military force was used to suppress the Biafran rebellion against the federal government. Problems arising from the failure of African states to fully integrate may also lead to civil wars. The nation-states in Africa were not built on a basis of common religious, cultural, linguistic or racial factors. The only common identity was anti-colonial nationalism. For this reason, a crisis of integration have been rearing for most African states because most of the national governments are failing in winning the full commitment of their citizens.

3.3.3 Military Coups

We have discussed extensively in unit 2 the military in African politics. We can only add here that a military coup is another manifestation of instability. Military putsches are not only a disservice to the military itself but also disruptive of the larger civil society. Incessant coups create high turn-over which the victorious coupists view as a tactical necessity to assure them of the loyalty of the rank and file. Mass executions that normally follow abortive plans and the forceful retirements of soldiers whose loyalties cannot be guaranteed constitute a drain on the national resource already spent to train them. It may also breed counter-coups, thereby promoting more instability.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What is the relationship between secession and civil war in Africa?

4.0   CONCLUSION

Crises of leadership succession are a major factor in political instability for many African states. This instability has manifested in many forms: secession bids, civil wars, military coups and failed states. During the Cold War era, the economic buffer and security umbrella provided by the two superpowers ensured that scores of Africa states, which though stumbled from one crisis to another, yet retained their nominal status.

But in the post-cold War era, many are either under instant threats or engulfed in civil wars when the external backings were withdrawn. This has forced many African leaders to begin to look inwards for solutions to the problem of political instability. It is only when it is recognised that the crisis of state authority or government legitimacy is at the roots of African political predicament, that a search for a solution can be said to have begun.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this Unit, we examined how the crisis of leadership succession has often led to political instability in Africa. We noted that the lack of institutionalisation of party systems is also central to what is now called democratic deficits in Africa. We outlined the major features of instability and observed that we can hardly separate political failures from the economic crises, which many African states presently confront.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Explain the factors responsible for the crises of succession in Africa.
2.   How can party-politics contribute to political instability in Africa?

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MODULE 5   RACE, GENDER AND WORLD ORDER

INTRODUCTION

Racism is a psychological concept that connotes a sense of superiority of white people over black people. To prove the inferiority of the Africans or blacks, any valuable discovery by them are mostly attributed to the whites since Africans or blacks are portrayed as incapable of superior thinking. However, like race, gender is used to connote a kind of a group of people. Politically speaking, gender is being used to denote certain connotations of unequal perceptions, views, abilities, roles, relevance and rewards that society assigns to the two sex categories, particularly the female or feminine or women group. In contemporary society, the female gender is considered the weaker of the human race and as such, should not be allowed to participate in highly tasking endeavours especially politics. This module tries to harmonise the difficult but very important issues of race and gender in a world order of globalism. This module is divided into five units for better clarifications and comprehension.

Unit 1   Racism and Liberation in Southern Africa
Unit 2   Gender Politics in Africa
Unit 3   Gender Affirmative Action and Government Response
Unit 4   Africa in International Affairs
Unit 5   Africa in search of a New World Order

UNIT 1   RACISM AND LIBERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
    3.1   The Concept of Racism
    3.2   Racism and Universal Declaration of Independence in Southern Africa
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Since the coming and eventual settlement of whites in the Southern part of Africa, the question of race/racism has become an issue in African

Politics. The problem began during the period of total exclusion of majority blacks from the electoral process; through the era of the struggle for power-sharing between the minority whites and the majority of blacks. Today, the major issue is how the whites who, hitherto, were used to power and privileges are adjusting to the reality of black majority rule. This unit examines the changing fortunes in the power relations between the whites and blacks in Southern Africa and their implication for political stability in the continent.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

* determine the place and role of race and gender in african politics
* know the unique, and often violent character of the struggle for majority rule in southern africa
* understand the eventual establishment of black majority rule and peaceful race relations in southern africa.
* examine the new world order of globalism.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   The Concept of Racism

After the success of the abolitionist movement, the myth of colour superiority was invented. Therefore, racism was a psychological concept that deepened the sense of blacks' inferiority to whites, while slavery was purely economic in nature because it made cheap labour available to the whites. To prove the inferiority of the Africans or blacks, anything of value uncovered by them was attributed to the whites since Africans were portrayed as incapable of superior thinking. Indeed, the myth surrounding racism was responsible for racial segregation in Europe as well as the institution of t h e white minority in Rhodesia, and the apartheid regime in South Africa. Adolf Hitler's support for anti-Semitism" which proclaimed the superiority of the Aryan race and the elimination of the Jews was the highest point of racist hatred.

In 1920 and the 30s, the emergence of the New Negro Movement in the U.S A. and the National Congress of British West African (NCBWA) in the colonies brought about a re-awakening. Marcus Garvey, W.E.B Dubois, Kwegyir Aggrey, Casely Hayford and others were in the lead of Negroes who sought to restore the dignity of the African race, which climaxed in the great "Marches" of the Negro to Washington, the Solo effort of Miss Rose Parks who refused to give up her seat in a Bus at Alabama in 1955, and the celebrated legal case of Brown versus Board of Education in the U.S.A. in the 60s, Martin Luther King Jnr.

before his assassination also led the popular civil disobedience movement to promote racial equality of his dream. Other groups involved in the struggle were the Congress of Racial Equality, the Blacks Muslims and the "blacks Power" movement (Azikwe, 1970: 141 – 143).

3.2   Racism and Universal Declaration of Independence

In November 1965 lan Smith made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence without altering the political arrangement, which excluded the blacks from the political process in the country. In December of the same year, in line with the resolution of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Ghana led some African States to break diplomatic ties with Britain, protesting against Wilson's government support for the illegal racist regime in Rhodesia. In Namibia, formerly South West Africa, the situation presented a unique example of the struggle against both colonialism and racism. A former German territory, Namibia was handed over to South Africa by the League of Nations as a Mandated territory. Since the formation of the United Nations in 1945, South Africa refused the UN's supervision of her mandate over Namibia (Garuba, 1987).

In 1966, the UN General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia and placed the country under the control of a newly created United Nations Council for Namibia. South Africa challenged the UN's action but the international Court of Justice (ICJ) in 1971 ruled in favour of the UN and declared South Africa's continued presence in Namibia as illegal. But South Africa ignored the ICJ ruling and continued to administer Namibia as an integral part of South Africa until 1978 when the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance devolved some power to Namibia. For the African states, especially the front line states, the liberation struggle in Namibia was linked with that of Angola.

Angola not only shared its Southern border with Namibia, but South African troops also invaded the country (Angola), in support of the US-backed UNITA, and against the Soviet Union backed MPLA.

In a rare show of solidarity, African states using the platform provided by the OAU backed the radical MPLA and succeeded in securing independence for Angola, from Portuguese rule in 1976.

With Angola's independence, South Africa, therefore, failed in her bid to create a buffer state that would have insulated Namibia from freedom fighters under South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), and the Pan African Congress (PAC), and indeed South Africa itself from the urban guerrilla strikes of the banned African National Congress (ANC). A combination of intra and extra- African factors forced the hands of

the UN to adopt Resolutions 385, of 1976 designed to ensure an orderly transition, of Namibia to independence and 435 of 1978 which requested the UN Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Namibia. In December 1988, Cuban and South African troops withdrew from Namibia. In March 1989, Namibia became independent under the leadership of Sam Nujoma, effectively marking the end of colonialism in Africa.

4.0   CONCLUSION

For a long time, even after the end of formal colonial rule, racism and white minority rule remained a major problem which black Africans confronted in their relations with the white settlers. But with determination and sustained struggle Africa is today free of apartheid, or minority rule of any guise. In South Africa, the personality, sacrifice and forbearance of Nelson Mandela, along with the integrity of the African National Congress as an organisation were central to the end of apartheid, and the establishment of black majority rule. Since 1994, the ANC has been in power for over a decade, one hopes in ruling the country, party's leadership will not substitute dictatorship of the majority for what is fought against-domination-and won a well-deserved victory. The ANC leadership crisis which led to the resignation of Jacob Zuma has now climaxed in the 2008 resignation of Thabo Mbeki. Wole Soyinka wrote in 1994, "Rwandan is our (Africa) nightmare, South African is our dream". Time will tell if the ANC will keep the dream alive.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we defined and explained the concept of racism and how it was perfected and formalised as the official policy of the South African government – Apartheid. We noted the role of the ANC in resisting minority rule through armed struggle, the collaboration of leading Western nations with apartheid South African; the gradual loss of credibility of the apartheid policy as racial ideology and the eventual dismantling of the system, and the institution of majority rule in South Africa.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Assess the role of the ANC and Nelson Mandela in the resistance against apartheid.
2.   Account for the role played by the Western Powers in sustaining apartheid until it collapsed in 1994.

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UNIT 2   GENDER POLITICS IN AFRICA

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
       3.1   Defining Gender
       3.2   Factors Responsible for Marginalisation
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

For long, African has been grappling with the problem of creating a fair, just and equitable arrangements among its different peoples. One single development that has challenged the mainstream agenda is how to enhance the role of women in politics and governance. This unit defines gender as distinct from women advocacy. The unit also examines t h e status of women during the colonial era, and how colonial rule affected the role of women then and now.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- know gender as a global concern and how it has become a major issue in african   politics
- understand the factors responsible for the relative marginalisation of women in public life
- explain efforts being done nationally and globally to empower women and increase their access to power.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Defining Gender

We must note at the beginning that women or men, male or female in politics do not convey any scientific meaning. For this reason, we will prefer and adopt the word "Gender" which has more academic value or utility. The term gender derives from the Latin noun "gender: which means kind or group. Until recently the word was used as a grammatical concept to classify word into masculine, feminine and neuter.

Today, it has acquired political connotation and is being untidily used to denote the different and unequal perceptions, views, roles, relevance and rewards that a society assigns to the two sex categories particularly the female, or women group.

In the world today, the female gender has always been considered the weaker of the human race. Women are generally considered, as "softies" who should be kept away from strenuous activities, especially politics. Initially, women took this as a sign of respect from the understanding their delicate physical features. However, over time they have come to resent this treatment that has consigned them to a secondary role in society; which is preventing them from-having equal chances to show their equal potentials and capabilities with men. This equal access cut across all facets, of human endeavours: sports, economy, and social activities, including politics. It is the political aspect of this discrimination that is of more importance to us in this unit.

Before discussing the African context of gender problems and challenges, it is important to stress that there is no human society where women are not discriminated or marginalised. The reason is that to be male or female goes along with many stereotypes that eventually imposes both role performance possibilities and imitations/ opportunities of different kinds. In the world today, though women constitute about 50% of the world population; and in Nigeria, according to the 1991population census, they account for 51 per cent of Country's population, yet they do not occupy comparative positions in public offices.

Worldwide women only began to vote in national elections a little more than a century ago. In 1893 New Zealand was the first country to recognise the right of women to vote. Other countries followed. Switzerland in 1971 was the least economically developed country (EDC) to allow female suffrage. Except for key Arab nations, most countries, have accepted role for women. The first woman other than a monarch to become a head of state was President of the Presidium of Mongolia, Y.N. Shaataryn, and the first woman Prime Minister was S.R. Dias Bandaranaike of Ceylon, now Sri Lanka in 1960

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Define the concept of gender equality.

3.2   Factors Responsible for Women Marginalisation

As noted in the previous sections, the political importance of women began to reduce during the colonial period. However, the relegation hit the critical mark when the colonialists left and the female gender found

itself absent from the administration of post-colonial African states. More than four decades after independence, women are still struggling to make an active and meaningful representation, or participation in politics, if not gender parity, will remain a tall dream. We can identify the followings as several factors responsible for this:

a. **Social-Cultural Factors**
    Gender differences are created and sustained by society through its traditional customs, conventions, norms and regulations. The patriarchal system in Africa has contributed to the inferior roles ascribed to the female by society, and not by nature. The overall impact is that a woman is constructed by the society to occupy subordinate positions vis-a-vis men. This has also led to the stereotypes that portray women as timid, submissive and passive. Men, on the other hand, are competent, rational and independent. Religion preaches; culture enforces and the people accept these norms skewed against women.

b. **Economic Obstacles**
    Apart from colonialism which had a damaging effect on women economic status, the present economic system which is based on acute competition which, in most cases, does not favour women. Political campaign everywhere in the world is always a very expensive project. While men are willing to take risks, including taking loans or selling their properties to finance their electioneering, women are averse to taking risks or lack tangible properties to take an active part in politics.

c. **Political Obstacles**
    Until recently, political parties in most African states do not provide a level playing field for both male and female aspirants. Most African governments still fail or refuse to promote and implement gender-friendly national laws and international conventions that can enhance unabridged access for women in politics and government. A United Nations statement once blamed the low number of women in government to the refusal to give women a fair deal in the nomination process.

d. **Statutory Hindrance**
    The existing laws in some African countries do not give recognition to women as equal to men. Until 1988, a married Nigerian woman was given discriminating leave and housing allowance, while her husband obtained rebate in taxation on her behalf and her four children. Yet women prefer to be married because society discriminates against the unmarried woman.

e.   Lack of Equal Access to Education
In Africa, most families prefer to send the male child rather than the female child to school. The boy is considered the pillar of the family and the key to the continuation and retention of the family. The girl's education is not as important because she is expected to stay at home to help nurture her sibling and to be married off soon. It is therefore not surprising that women constitute the majority of the illiterate population in most African communities. Their lack of education makes them ineligible for either elective or appointive political offices. According to Lawal (2006:336) factors responsible for the disparity between men and women can be grouped into three:

a.   Situational explanation - which examined the different roles played by women at each stage of their adult life. These include "the burdens of motherhood and the role of housewife, both of which discouraged political participation.

b.   Structural explanation – the existence of gender inequality in other sectors of society such as economy, law and education.

c.   Socialisation explanation - which analyzed the childhood socialisation process of males and female into different participatory roles.

It is restating the obvious to say that women globally have been and remain second-class citizens economically, politically and socially. Current statistics are enough proof. No country has achieved gender equality socio-economic or political. Today women constitute 70 per cent of the world's illiterates (Boyer, 2003) women are less likely to have access to paid employment. Life for women is, on the average, not only hard and poorly compensated, it is dangerous. As the UN report put it, "the most painful devaluation of women is the physical and psychological violence that stalks them from cradle to grave" (UNDP 1995:7).

4.0   CONCLUSION

In African society, the patriarchal system has consigned women to the backstage in the scheme of things. This is reflected in the power structure in Africa today that has survived the colonial interlude. Under patriarchy, motherhood is a crucial factor which excludes women from politics, and the fact that the home front will necessarily clash with the demands of the public sphere. To prevent this potential source of conflict, women education is discouraged, thereby giving men undue advantage to monopolise the centre stage in politics and government. However, in recent times efforts are now being made nationally and internationally to give women more than a token representation in politics.

5.0   SUMMARY

The unit examined the issue of gender politics in Africa. We noted that women participation in politics is low. We traced the changes in the status of women from the pre-colonial, through the colonial, until the present era. We identified the major impediments to women participation and their subsequent marginalisation.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Examine the factors responsible for the marginalisation of women in African politics.
2.   Suggest ways of enhancing the role of woman in African politics.

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UNIT 3   GENDER AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Since the 1995 Beijing platform of action for gender equality, concerted efforts have been made at national, regional and global levels. These multi-layered approach has brought into sharper focus the problems being faced by women, thrown up some challenges; but have also created openings for women in the organised private sector, institutions and organisations, governmental and non-governmental, at both national and international levels. This Unit examines the developments in the clamour for gender parity, especially since 1995, the challenges posed by the trend and the progress made so far.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Affirmative Actions and Progress Made

To address the problem and reverse the trend two international conferences were called in 1985 and 1995. They were to devise strategies for women advancements in various countries, and they have had significant effects on the political agenda. Since the Nairobi 1985 and 1995 Beijing declaration women have continued to challenge the dominance of men in politics.

Popularly referred to as the call for Affirmative Action or gender equality, the advocacy group, or protest movement is agitating for the amelioration of the social, economic and political plight of women. This movement is not restricted to Africa. It is a trend that has assumed global attention, particularly in parliamentary democracies.

In the world today, women empowerment is now being recognised as a precondition for, and also an indicator for the level of success in the attainment of human development. The world has now accepted women rights as human rights and has designated 8th of March every year as International Women's Day. Earlier in 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was being worked out, an earlier draft which stated "All men are equal" "was changed to "all human beings are equal" on the insistence of the female members of the drafting committee. The question now is: did the change of language change the position of women?

The United Nations charter also pledges equal opportunity for men and women. Yet within the global body women hold only 36 per cent of key positions. In 2000 the United Nations also proclaimed eight-point Millennium Development Goals (MDGS). One of the objectives targeted for the year 2015 is the goal of woman empowerment and gender equality.

The 1995 Beijing Declaration demanded 30 per cent women representation in government. Apart from the fact that the average woman representation is less than 5 per cent, the few who are so elected or appointed benefit from tokenism" or pity extended to them, and they find themselves operating in male-dominated environment, thereby aggravating their feeling of marginalisation.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What are the objectives of the 1995 Beijing platform of Action?

3.2   Nigerian Response

In the Nigerian National Assembly today there are more female Senators and House members than it was in the Second Republic when there was only one Senator and a female Speaker of House of Assembly. There are bodies such as the Ministry of Women Affairs headed by a female minister, a National Commission for Women Affairs, Nation Council for Women's Societies, women wings in virtually all the political parties, and female heads of parastatals, especially NAFDAC, where a woman demonstrated that women in government can perform equally, or better than men. Two former Nigerian female ministers have served the World Bank, Ngozi Okonji Iweala as President and Obi Okwesili as the Regional chairperson of the world financial institute.

In Nigeria, the National Gender Policy, which replaced the National Policy on Women, came into force in 2006. The goals of the National Gender policy is to "build a just society devoid of discrimination, harness the full potentials of all social groups regardless of sex or circumstance, promote the enjoyment of fundamental human rights and project the health, social, economic and political development of all citizens…" The policy is premised on certain principles:

1. Commitment to gender mainstreaming as a developmentapproach and tool for achieving the reform agenda.
2. Recognition of gender issues as central to and critical to the achievement of national development goals.
3. The realisation that effective and results-focused implementation demands a cooperative interaction.
4. Promotion and protection of human rights, social justice and equity (National Gender Policy 2006)

To achieve the objectives of the national gender policy, Nigeria signed and ratified the various relevant international instruments, treaties and conventions. They include the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), Solemn Declaration for Gender Equality, African Protocol on Peoples Rights and Rights of Romen (APPRRW) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Since the adoption of these Protocols development policies in Nigeria are no longer gender-blind, but gender-biased or friendly.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

State the objectives of the National Gender Policy in Nigeria.

3.2   African Response

In Africa today, women issues centre on access to education, child marriage, teenage pregnancy and women and development. African governments generally have also responded positively to this challenge by committing themselves to continent specific development goals, as expressed in the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR), adopted in 1981; the Women Rights Protocol of 2003 and the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Government, among others. Beyond Africa, it is now accepted globally that Promoting gender equality is a development strategy for reducing poverty levels among men and women, improving health and living standard, enhancing the efficiency of public investments, and a prerequisite for the achievement of sustainable development.

Some African countries have made progress in giving better access to women in political representation. Uganda, Cameroon and Mozambique have achieved measurable result. According to the United Nations Human Development Index, women in Mozambique and Cameroon have 16 and 14 per cent quota, respectively, reserved for them in parliament. In Uganda 39 out of 51 woman parliamentarians once took their seats through affirmative action. Presently, Gabon has actively promoted gender parity to the level that the countries now boast of women generals in its army. Uganda's Vice President and the Head of the civil service is a woman (Lawal, 2006:332) though this data represent progress by African standards, the record compares poorly with countries like Britain and USA were female representatives in their parliament jumped from 2.9 and 3.7 per cent in 1980 to 9.1 and 9.0 per cent in 1994, respectively.

3.3   Global Response

UN Decade for Women (1976 –1985)
During the decade, a comprehensive survey on the role of women in development was produced. This was meant to be the first stage in developing effective strategies to reduce gender inequalities and improve the status of women around the world. At the United Nations Conference on Women held in Copenhagen in 1980, an action programme was approved. Its main theme, tagged "Forward- Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (FLSAW)" was approved at the third UNCW, held in Nairobi in 1985 (Steans and Pettiford 2005: 172).

The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)
This convention was developed by the Commission on the Status of Women (CEDAW). CEDAW represents the first international treaty dealing with the rights of women in the global context. The convention set out an international standard for the term "equality" between men and women. It also covers not only the granting of formal rights but also seeks to promote equality of access and opportunity. CEDAW also created a specialist body within the UN's organ to monitor states compliance with the treaty obligations.

4.0   CONCLUSION

There has been greater awareness in the last two decades about the status and role of women in politics and government. This renewed advocacy is centred on how to improve the status of women, increase women participation in public life, and gaining access to power. There is no doubt progress has been made in many spheres. Yet there are still

many problems and challenges to confront. What is obvious today is that the world has moved from the cultural trap and prejudices of the past, and has now embraced a new, and more gender-friendly paradigm. African states can help advance the status of women if they enact pro-women legislation and outlaw discriminatory policies.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we discussed the various gender-based affirmative actions since 1995. We identified the various conventions signed by Nigeria, Africa and the world levels. We highlighted the problems and challenges being faced in actualising the objective of women equality.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Identify and briefly explain the objectives of the various gender-based conventions signed since 1995.
2.   Explain with relevant examples from African countries the progress made in achieving gender equality in the continent.
3.   Describe the efforts being made by your country (Nigeria) to enhance the status of women in politics and government.

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UNIT 4   AFRICA IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
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1.0   INTRODUCTION

Today it is impossible to separate the affairs of Africa from the agenda of the world as a whole. However, in the past international relations was conducted as if Africa was not part of the world system. But there is a difference between being apart, and is considered a vital link, or a significant participant in world Affairs. This unit will discuss the manner Africa was introduced into international Affairs, and how this has affected Africa's present role and contribution in international politics.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

*   explain how Africa was introduced into World Affairs
*   Know the role of power in explaining Africa's contribution to world Affairs
*   identify measures to improve Africa's capacity for meaningful participation and contribution in world Affairs?

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Background to African Role in International Affairs

It is not by accident that African states at independence were introduced into modern international affairs, most significantly, in the direction desired, by their former colonial masters. This is not to deny that there were no international intercourses among African kingdoms in the pre-colonial era. What separates international relations of that era from its contemporary setting is that it was not properly structured, organised or conducted based on codified international laws and conventions.

Ofoegbu (1980:25) confirmed that "past interactions and past relationships which constituted the earliest international political systems were not global in nature". In contemporary terminologies, international relations in the pre-colonial era were regional and local. It was not possible to internationalise the practice of inter-state relations then because the world had not witnessed the revolution in transportation and communication technology. This localised nature of international Affairs was not peculiar to Africa but extended to other regions. For example, the Chinese Empire which was Feudal covered 130 states and lasted for 300 years. The ancient India Kingdom system was based on hegemony, which did not accept other kingdoms as equal.

African international system emerged from the European based system. Initially, both were based on the primacy of kings, who owned or symbolised the states. In Europe, the states, though independent of one another, were, however, united by dynastic marriages and near identity of interests of the reigning monarchies. Later the forces of nationalism displaced the kings from their overarching positions and transformed citizens from being subjects of the kings to that of the state. This was African inheritance from colonialism whereby international relations and by extension foreign policy is conducted by the government in the name of the state, and on behalf of the citizens. But before their disengagement European powers forced Africa to fight in their wars. It would have been more appropriate to label World War I and II the Great Wars because the issues that led to the wars were European disputes, and America became justifiably involved in the wars because they affected her vital interests. But that was not the case for Africans, who were geographically remote from Europe, had no immediate interests, but were dragged to fight in the war because they were subjects of the major belligerents. In effect, the war became truly World Wars because of the involvement of Africans.

Also, the pattern adopted in most European colonies was to extend to the first internal self-government, and later full independence. Put differently, colonial masters delayed granting to Africans power to conduct their foreign relations, not only because they felt that there were few Africans competent enough to handle the field, but more importantly because of the fear that any injudicious exercise of this power may jeopardise their core interests.

Such interests included ensuring that these colonies after independence does not fully break ties with the former colonial masters, or pursue unduly radical foreign policy. To demonstrate these important foreign affairs was more often than not made a department in the presidency. In Nigeria during the First Republic, the Prime Minister was in charge of foreign relations and Commonwealth Affairs (Akinyemi 1984). This

arrangement was done to ensure that Tafawa-Balewa, despite the country's verbal commitments to the principles of non-alignment would steer Nigeria in the direction of British interests.

This consideration was important in the early years of independence, when Africa was divided into two blocs: the Monrovia group which preferred functional co-operation; and the Casablanca because which favoured immediate political unification. Balewa, a leader of the Monrovia bloc, believed in "unity of aspirations", and used his leadership of the group to frustrate the radical positions of the rival Casablanca on many issues. These include the Congo crises, the status of the provisional government (GPRA) in Algeria, the assassination of Sylvanus Olympio, and the testing of atomic bombs by France in the Sahara desert (Nkrumah 1963:144).

Indeed, what emerged as the compromise charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, owed much to the cautious aspirations of the Balewa led Monrovia bloc. The implication of this for Africa's role in international affairs is that most Africa states emerged as actors on the world stage, tamed at both national and continental levels.

3.2 African Contributions to International Affairs

If African states are weak in all the dimensions of power, it stands to reason that they cannot make significant contributions to World Affairs. They, therefore, fall within the category of what Ofoegbu called new states in World Affairs. African states are new entrants into world scene because they are products of the post-1945 decolonisation process. They are also Third World countries, a classification which followed the pre-Revolution division of France into three estates-noble, clergy and the commoners. African position could be likened to that era when the commoners were "nothing" in the power equation, but were nearly everything" in terms of population.

Gunnar Myrdal, winner of the Nobel Prize for economics in 1974 once described the label third world on Africa, along with Asia and Latin America, as "diplomacy by language". If the original meaning of "Third World" by Alfred Sauvy, who coined the term in the early 1950s, was meant to refer to countries outside the great power blocs, it has served the additional purpose of ranking according to positions, values and contribution in the world power hierarchy. It is not open to debate that, even within the third world, Africa occupies the bottom of the ladder, while Africa South of the Sahara, is the least in this global power configuration (Smith 2003:10-11).

We already know that Africa can assume world role at two levels: national and continental. Some African states like Nigeria have played a key role in peace-keeping operations in troubled spots in the world such as Congo, Sudan and Lebanon. Indeed, Nigeria, notwithstanding domestic economic pressure mid-wived and largely financed the ECOMOG operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Egypt has also leveraged on her warm relations with the United States to successfully mediate in the Middle East peace process. After the dismantling of the apartheid structure, South Africa has also benefited from the high moral stature of Nelson Mandela, and this has rubbed off on the continent as a whole. The manner the Truth and Reconciliation Commission handled its assignments after full disclosures of wrongs committed under apartheid also demonstrated that South Africa was ready for even global role. A country like Libya is now interested in shedding her pariah status, has renounced its support for terrorism, and is now seeking to become a reliable partner in promoting world peace.

Recognising the role of t h e economic factor in t h e global ranking, Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo; Algeria's Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Egypt's Hosni Mubarak and Senegal's Abdoulaye Wade floated the idea of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). Its founding documents were signed by fifteen countries, in which they pledged to promote democratic principles, popular participation, good governance and sound economic management. They also agreed to set up an African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to monitor their performance and punish defaulters. The objective was to make Africa a new destination for foreign investments, trade and to attract debt relief concessions. NEPAD's slogan is "Better Africa, Better World".

No doubt African states have been net recipients of aid from the rest of the world. Before he left office, President Bill Clinton got US Congress to to enact African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Similarly, while in office Tony Blair of Britain put in place the African Commission. There are other initiatives such as the Jubilee 2000, HIPCS, MDGS, Rollback Malaria, meant to assist, and reverse Africa economic fortunes. At the same time Africa, over the years has been making her modest contribution, especially in the area of human capital. Apart from Africa in Diaspora, whose contributions, including the involuntary ones at the early stages, helped to build Euro-American economies; many voluntary migrants have Joined to add to the pile. Africans have served and continue to function as top executives of international organisations and specialised agencies. Prominent among the first group are Teslim Elias, Adeoye Lambo, Bola Ajibola, Adebayo Adedeji and Emeka Ayanoku, all from Nigeria; Helen Johnson Sirleaf from Liberia; and Koffi Anna from Ghana. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala of Nigeria is top in the second group, of those currently in office. Beyond the symbolism of being

Africans, such appointments are of more concrete significance as the career of Koffi Anna as United Nations' scribe indicated. We shall discuss in the next unit the efforts of Anna to democratise the United Nations especially in the area of giving an African face to the Security Council.

3.3   Strategies to Enhance African Role in International Relations

According to Ekeh (1978:331) "solutions to problems demand contexts and sometimes models. Relying on the earlier work of Eberhard (1968), Ekeh posits that because the new nations operate under "historical disadvantage", the modern "world time" context will work against the strategy of physical isolation from world affairs.

In the early years of her nationhood America successfully chose isolation until she was compelled by external factors to enter international relations. China also chose isolation or autarky until it was no longer politically expedient. On the other hand, Japan took the route of insulation. This entailed opening her doors to foreign trade and technology but closing or restricting them against the intrusion of the foreign culture. Ekeh argues that if isolation is no longer practicable in the modern world, can Africa choose insulation? If insulation worked for Japan in the 19th century, could it have worked for Africa in the 20th century, or this century?

The importance of discussing contexts and model is that if the former is properly understood, and the latter is correctly chosen, the combination can fast-track the process of national development. This is significant because we already know that Africa is weak internally, and with that background, little or nothing can be achieved externally. But no model will work in the absence of political stability.

Therefore, the first challenge is how to create conditions in Africa that will promote political stability. It is well known that no nation or society can generate, or sustain economic growth and development in an atmosphere of political crises. If the Sudanese political crises are protracted; if Somalia is in turmoil, and if Ivory coast continues to fester there is no way Africa will not be distracted, or be able to benefit from peace dividends, or indeed, make any meaningful contribution to world peace and security. Kissinger, (2001:201) once lamented that America has no properly articulated African policy and argues that "the continent's contemporary problems are a challenge to a world that aspires to build a global order.

In the early days of independence, a few African leaders, notably Kwame Nkrumah canvassed for a single African voice so that the continent can

earn respect in world affairs. In the worlds of the late Ghanaian leader, citing the examples of the United States and the former Soviet Union, "a single representation, resting on the strength of a whole continent, would be more positive in its influence than all the separate representations of all the African states put together (Nkrumah 1963:195).

Though with the passage of time and the consolidation of national sovereignty of African states, this proposition has lost attraction; yet the idea of a more politically integrated African Union (AU) is closer to Nkrumah's vision.

In intents, if not in form, African Parliament, the NEPAD initiative and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), have the potentials to give to Africa the benefits of continental solidarity, and possibly eliminate what Nkrumah called "irredentist dissensions".

4.0   CONCLUSION

It is obvious from the foregoing that the challenges of modern international affairs are more than those of pre-colonial Africa. Revolutions in transportation and communication have encouraged contacts among peoples, contributed to the spread of ideas and greater interdependence among nations. Africa's late entry into the international arena has certainly imposed limits on her capacity and constrained the aspirations of her people. More worrisome, globalisation is increasingly making the world a global village; which makes it more challenging for Africans to explore every available opportunity for self-expression, and more relevance within the world community.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we have examined how Africa was cautiously but deliberately introduced into international affairs. We discussed Africa relatively weak position in all the dimensions of power. We observed the limited contribution Africa is making in international affairs. We finally suggested what can be done to improve Africa's bargaining position with other regions of the world.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Explain how colonial legacy affected Africa's role in international Affairs.
2.   What is your assessment of Africa's role in World Affairs?
3.   How realistic is the idea of political unification as a means of enhancing Africa role in International Affairs?

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UNIT 5   AFRICA IN SEARCH OF A NEW WORLD ORDER

CONTENTS

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        3.2   History and Structure of World Order
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1.0   INTRODUCTION

Africa is often described as, potentially, the world richest in resource endowments, but the poorest in concrete development. It is not difficult to explain this paradox, which had its roots in the forceful integration of the continent into an unjust international system. Therefore, it is understandable if Africa today occupies a precarious position in the world, and plays a marginal role among the comity of nations. This Unit will examine Africa position within the present world system and the attempts being made to re-negotiate for better terms for Africa in the reigning world order.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you are will be able to:

•   have an idea about the concept of world order
•   understand why Africa is not favourably positioned in the present world order
•   know what is being done, or can be done to improve Africa's status in the world.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Concept of World Order

World order is a system of relationships that prevail among state actors during a particular period. In the economic realm, mercantilism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are forms of order. Before the success of the abolitionist movements, slavery was another form of order known

to history. Some of these different world orders were deliberately conceived, designed and established. Others have occurred as a result of the interplay of forces and elements that are inherent in the global political and economic relationships.

What is, however, significant about the order, domestic or international, is that it is never neutral; because it is always biased towards one side or the other of the spectrum of contending political values.

This is the more reason why no world order has been a direct product of global negotiation or consensus. Before 1914, world order was synonymous with European order, and it was settled on terms decided by the leading European nations. During the inter-war period (920-1939) Adolf Hitter's attempt to re-negotiate the terms of world order by force of arms led to World War II. The European-based world order suffered its first major decline in World War 1 and collapsed almost irretrievably consequent to World War II devastations. In the post-war II-era America briefly dominated the world in all the dimensions of power, until the Soviet Union attained nuclear parity in 1950, and strategic equivalence, with the United States in the 1970s, which transformed the world into a bipolar structure.

The bi-polar world order lasted for over four decades, in the middle of which the decolonisation process brought about independence to many African states, and along with it, the power to determine their foreign relations. But the successive eras of the slave trade, "legitimate trade" and colonialism had weakened Africa's capacity and power potential to make substantive inroads into world politics. Just like every other third world nation in Asia and Latin America, African states came to be described as "new states" that had to enrol into international arena cautiously and could not speedily cut off the ties from their former colonial masters.

The import of this historical excursion is to stress that world order is a legitimating of power over justice. In simple words "might is right". According to Akinyemi (1993:42) "the elements of the principles and institutions which constitute a world order are usually laid down by the victors, partly to regulate relationship among them, but mostly to regulate their relationship with the defeated and others. Similarly, Hedley Bull (1977:77) says the order is not merely an "actual or possible condition or state of affairs in world politics", it is also regarded as a value. In effect what makes a particular region or country dominant in given world order is power differential and not innate superiority of race, culture or ideas.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Explain the concept of world order.

3.2   Africa's Position in the Present World Order

Given the long years of colonial exploitation and consequent underdevelopment, Africa's position in the present world power structure is understandably weak. There is an old saying that if you don't know where you're coming from, you can't at least know where you're going. From our studies so far, there is no argument about Africa's immediate or distant past. What may be in doubt is the direction of Africa's future and how to proceed. But Africa cannot become a respectable actor in world Affairs if her status of underdevelopment is not reversed. Walter Rodney (1974) wrote: 'any diagnosis of underdevelopment in Africa will reveal not just low per capita income and protein deficiencies, but also the gentlemen who dance in Abidjan, Accra and Kinshasa when music is played in Paris, London and New York". With this background, we can now discuss the position of Africa in the present world order.

In the immediate post-independence era African states sought relevance in the ideologically divided world. Most African states joined their Asian counterparts in the Non-aligned Movement, thereby proclaimed their neutrality, or what African leaders preferred to call "positive neutralism". The objectives of non-alignment were clearly articulated at the 1955 Bandung conference: non-commitment in the world's ideological blocs, preservation of independent rights and ability to judge world issues on their own merits and without undue external influences; and avoidance of routine and entangling alliance with the major powers (Ofoegbu 1980:132). But despite these rhetorical commitments, most Africa leaders found it difficult to distance themselves from their erstwhile colonial masters with whom they were bound, politically, economically and culturally. Despite independence Britain dictated the pace for her former colonies either as members of the Commonwealth of nations, or associate member of the old European Common Market.

Also, within the more global United Nations Organisation, African States neither played a major role in its formation nor participated in drawing its charter. Indeed in 1945 when the United Nation was founded, African states, except for Ethiopia and Liberia were still colonial possessions. Thus the UN at inception was a compromise organisation in that it reflected the Wilson an idea of national self- determination, as well as the strategic imperative to restructure the world to preserve the interests of the victorious nations in World War II. The United Nations served a dual purpose for the United States; it quickened the pace of de-colonisation and weakened Europe by destroying the last vestiges of

British and French Empires. Though post-1945 decolonisation expanded the number of sovereign states, and by implication membership of the United Nations, yet t h e African States did not enjoy comparative power leverage or enhanced diplomatic manoeuvres within the global body.

In 1961, African States occupied more than a quarter of the UN seats. The ratio is a bit higher today. Within the General Assembly of the United Nations, African member states exercised power and enjoyed privileges commensurate to their status as sovereign, independent states. But the UN charter did not invest the Assembly with the substantive function of security but to discuss "matters of common interest to members". But there is no African permanent member in the Security Council where the real power lies. To justify the selective membership and privileged status accorded to five permanent members with a veto; it was argued: "the allocation of responsibilities among organisations and the definition of powers, the composition should reflect t h e difference of power, with the emphasis on the military element" (Goodrich 1974:60).

In effect, the United Nations in its enabling charter legitimised and improved on international law and order, which had its roots in the 1648 treaty of Westphalia, 1815 Congress of Vienna, the 1899 Hague system, 1919 Versailles Treaty and Vienna conventions on diplomatic privileges and immunities. Worse still, when it was discovered that the inherited Euro-America biased world order did not reflect Africa's interest, Africa could not effectively challenge it, because what was needed to succeed was more than "flag" or nominal independence.

3.3   Re-Negotiation for a New World Order

It is not always easy to change or negotiate for a new order. The reason is that the beneficiaries of an existing order will seek to perpetuate the status quo because it favours them. On the other hand, the victims of a reigning order or those who find it unjust will seek to undermine, and possibly overthrow it, even by force. For this reason transition from one order to another is usually marked by force. Yet in the recent world, history has recorded two non-violent transitions to new world order: the first is the transition to a bipolar world following the loss of European colonies in Africa and Asia; the second is the transformation of the world from 1990, confirming the emergence of the United States as the only superpower, in all power dimensions (Akinyemi 1993:42).

But the transitions we have noted above, rather than liberate Africa have instead reinforced Africa's weak positions, even while opening up little space for her Asia and Latin America counterparts to manoeuvre. This is why Ali Mazrui said that the primary concern of t h e third world is the achievement of justice in the world community, even at the

price of the order. Mazrui's intervention, therefore, raises the questions: order as defined by whom? And in whose interest? Hedley Bull (1977:78-79) also agrees that consideration of justice is different from considerations of law because the law is a-moral. He listed demands for justice in world politics to include the following:

a.   Removal of privileges or discrimination.
b.   Equality in the distribution or the application of rights between the strong and weak, the rich and the poor, the black and the white, and the nuclear and the non-nuclear powers.
c.   More equitable distribution and benefits from the world resources.

Many people, including a former African UN scribe, Koffi Anna believed that no meaningful re-negotiation for a new world order could be achieved without a reform of the United Nations machinery and procedure, especially in the composition of the Security Council. Not a few people are of the view that an injustice was written into the terms of the United Nations charter which prescribe a system of collective security that cannot be applied against UN permanent members.

Before he completed his two terms in office Anna put in motion the machinery for the reform of the UN and accepted in principle the need to expand the permanent membership of the Security Council. Already three African countries: Nigeria, Egypt South Africa are front-liners hoping to occupy the single African slot if approved. They are hoping to possibly join Germany, Japan Indian and Brazil from other regions. Africa seems to have a stronger moral case since it is the only region in the world without a permanent seat in the Council. But success in world politics is determined more by considerations, or dictates of power politics, prudence and interest, and not moral posturing.

In addition to making the Security Council be truly representative of the realities of today's world, Anna also sought to strengthen democracy, promote rule of law and uphold human rights across the world. In September 2000, the United Nations launched eight-point agenda Millennium Development Goals, with the target date set at 2015. The objectives include:

a.   Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger.
b.   Combat HIV/Aids malaria other diseases.
c.   Attainment of universal primary education.
d.   Promotion of gender equality and women empowerment.
e.   Improve mental health.
f.   Ensure environmental sustainability.
g.   Reduce child mortality.
h.   Develop a global partnership for development.

It is expected that if these reforms are carried out and the MDGS achieved, we may well be moving in the direction of global power shift. Onimode (2001:214) was full of optimism when he said: "if global power can shift to the Pacific Rims within one generation, then it can also shift to Africa, Latin America and the rest of Asia before the middle of the 21st century".

No doubt, the anticipated reform of the United Nations is central to the goal of attaining an equitable global order. From Boutros Ghali's "An Agenda For Peace" to Koffi Ana's "Millennium Reform Agenda", the United Nations now under Banki Mon faces many challenges: the multi-sided crises in the Middle East, especially the disputes generated by Iranian uranium enrichment programme; the dangers posed to the world by North Korean nuclear explosion; the increasing welfare gap between the global North and South; the world food crisis, the environmental nightmare caused by the depletion of the ozone layer (global warming), and threats of fundamentalism and terrorism. These are urgent world problems that require a more pro-active, and united international response, in which Africa, necessarily, has a role to play.

Without prejudice to the expected reforms of the United Nations, it should not be carried out, as to weaken, or cripple the capacity of the organisation, but rather to enhance the performance of its functions. In the specific case of the proposed enlargement of the Security Council, and hopefully, its permanent membership, where high discretion in the use of veto has become the norm, greater caution is required to avoid an unwinding size that may entrammel the Council.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE s

What role did Koffi Anna play to improve Africa's position in the present world order?

4.0   CONCLUSION

The demand for a just or more equitable world order will continue to be a contested issue in world politics. And it will not abate until that time when the factor of power politics, or the notion of "might is right" is downgraded in interstate relations. While recognising that power is to politics; what energy is to physics, we may not achieve the goal of building a just world order if power remains the prime factor in interstate relations. With self –help as the most prudent means of survival in the anarchical setting of international politics, the reality of the state. Interdependence in the present globalised world should advise realists that not all issues are amenable to military solutions.

In the late 19th century Africa fell, and surrendered to colonial rule, after the impact of superior force. But today the reigning orthodoxy is no longer brute force, but the power of ideas. The continent deserves a giant leap forward to justify Pliny the Elder's saying "out of Africa always something new".

The world is beginning to realise this reality as Bill Clinton, during his extended tour of Africa in 1998 remarked: "what can we do for Africa or about Africa? They were the wrong question. The right question is: what can we do with Africa? Clinton may have dressed up his speech with a gloss of optimism, however, African leadership must be careful not to mistake hope for achievement.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we have defined the concept of word order and situated it within its historic context. We discussed the progressions and the dynamics of world order, especially from the era of European domination of the world, to the present period when America is indisputably the world leader. We noted that Africa presently occupies a weak position relative to other regions of the world. We also observed that the world is currently experiencing a gradual power shift in the direction of Asia, and hope that African will seize the initiative and benefit from this momentum.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Account for the factors responsible for Africa's marginal role in the present world order.
2.   How can the reforms of the United Nations improve African position in world   Affairs?
3.   Suggest strategies that can enhance Africa's ranking in world Affairs.

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