
UNIT 3 NATIONALISM AND ITS LEGACY

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

The term nationalism refers to an ideology based on the notion that people who have a sense of homogeneity rooted in a concept of a shared history and a common ethnicity, cultural heritage, language, or religion should be united in a single nation-state free of "alien" political, economic, or cultural influence or domination. The consciousness of group identity and sense of the alien transform nationalism into an ideological war and the struggle gets linked to political aspirations.

Nationalism is an ambiguous concept. Scholars debate the meaning and role of nationalism. Political leaders and regimes use it as a means to influence and manipulate public opinion; and the general public may regard nationalism as an emotional attachment to a mythical identity. Compounding the difficulty of defining nationalism is the fact that the term has been applied to a variety of phenomena that may be related to but are distinct from nationalism i.e. patriotism, chauvinism, xenophobia, racism, and popular sentiment. These terms are more limited than nationalism or are extreme manifestations of some aspect of the concept. Nationalism is not simply a sentiment that focuses on group distinctions, nor is it simply loyalty to the state. That concept is appropriately called patriotism. An excessive or belligerent form of patriotism based on a belief of superiority of one's own nation or state is chauvinism. Finally, any analysis of nationalism is complicated by the impossibility of disentangling its role from that of other political, cultural, and economic influences,

Nationalism in the form of anti-colonialism has been linked primarily to Asian and African independence movements. Economic exploitation of the Third World by Western colonial powers

has been a major theme of anti-colonial rhetoric. The more radical of the arguments, ideologically based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis, have sought to explain the poverty of the Third World as a result of deliberate colonial policies of exploitation and suppression of commercial and industrial development — policies that are held to account for the economic wealth of the West. Within the first three decades after the Second World War, nearly 50 African and more than 30 Asian states became independent as Britain, France, the Netherlands, and later Spain and Portugal lost their colonial empires. Until recently this process of decolonisation had been considered part of the last phase in the history of nationalism.

3.2 CHARACTER OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Primarily Africans who had recently acquired education, literacy, and social and economic power led the nationalist movement. Among the early champions of nationalism was James Africanus Horton of Sierra Leone, a black scientist and businessman. He believed that European models of education would help modernise the continent and pull Africans out of their desperate living conditions. In some ways, Horton shared the Europeans' racist view of Africans as “backward” and “primitive”. These leaders considered nationalism to be a decisive break with traditional African ways of thinking about themselves and their communities.

By emphasising a break with pre-colonial cultures, African nationalism lost the opportunity to build on Africa's own achievements. The continent had centuries-old history of self-rule, including federations of independent villages and clans. But the nationalists looked instead to the history of Europe and the United States, where people had gained greater independence by forming nation-states in the 1700s and 1800s. African nationalists believed that Africans could gain equality and self-respect in the modern world only by having their own nations. They realised that they might have to keep Africa's indigenous political and cultural traditions under control. But they saw no other way of ending the abuses of colonial rule. For better or for worse, nation-building on the European model became Africa's destiny.

3.3 COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

Abolition of slavery and the Christian reform movement engaged Europeans in the internal affairs of African states in a big way. Simultaneously, the mission to stamp out slavery became, for many Europeans, a justification for bringing African territories under their control. During the late 1800s they divided the continent into colonies. But Africans did not surrender their resistance to colonialism. Violent protests played a crucial role all through the three phases of colonisation, consolidation and decolonisation of Africa by the European powers, [As discussed later, it put a great pressure on the colonies of white settlement from Algeria in North Africa and Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia and finally South Africa in the southern African peninsula, and forced the Western countries to concede freedom and sovereignty to the Africans in their countries.]

As the pace of European imperialism increased, many African peoples also became very concerned. Fears that Europeans would seize all the land led to a number of armed conflicts. Some of these developed into full-scale wars. Well-equipped armies from Europe invaded Africa to secure territorial claims. By 1919, Europeans had taken over the entire continent except for Ethiopia and Liberia. European imperialism now moved into a new phase — establishing a colonial administration that would maintain order and provide economic benefit for the governing nations.

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3.3.1 Impact of Colonialism on African Societies

Colonial governments brought roads, railroads, ports, new technology, and other benefits to Africa. However, their policies also damaged traditional economies and dramatically changed patterns of land ownership and labour. Although the colonial system provided opportunities such as education, jobs, and new markets for some Africans, it left many people poor and landless. In addition, the emphasis on cash crops produced for export made African societies dependent on foreign nations. Little was done to develop trade between the colonies. As a result, many African nations still trade more with overseas countries than with neighbouring states.

Colonial rule disrupted the traditional political and social institutions that had developed in Africa over centuries. As Europeans carved out empires, they destroyed existing kingdoms and split up or combined many ethnic groups. Soon, the colonies they created became African nations consisting of diverse groups with little in common with their fellow citizens. Furthermore, European powers destroyed much of the political and social control of traditional African chiefs and rulers. They failed, however, to establish lasting replacements for these authorities. Finally, European colonialism introduced Africans to various aspects of Western culture. African schools and universities came to be based on European systems of education and religion. But other parts of Western culture have not taken root as firmly. This resulted in a chaotic situation that has persisted since independence.

3.4 RISE OF NATIONALISM IN AFRICA

Nationalism has been perhaps the strongest force in Africa but its influence varies greatly from area to area. As in Asia, nationalism in Africa is an exotic concept; it is the end product of the profound and complex transformation, which occurred in Africa since the European intrusion. It is in one way a response to the challenges of alien rule or of the intrusion of the disintegrating forces. It is largely a reaction against outside domination, against imperialism and colonisation. In the words of a leading spokesman of African nationalism, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, the aim was to achieve a "mental emancipation" from a servile colonial mentality.

Invasion of their lands, difficult work conditions, unfair colonial laws, a discriminatory social system and abusive taxes engendered among the natives resentment towards the Europeans. This fed the seed of African nationalism. "The demand for identity in the sense of acceptance as equals is indeed the basis of much of African nationalism".

The contemporary emphasis on cultural nationalism is widely reflected in current writings, in speeches by nationalist leaders and in a growing number of studies by Africans of African history and life. "It has usually been accompanied by a quest for an African history which would in effect reflect glory and dignity upon the African race and in particular instil self-confidence in the Western educated African sensitive to the prejudiced change that he has no history or culture. In short, there has emerged a new pride in being African." 'Negritude' was a literary and cultural movement, which tried to develop a sense of pride in being blacks as well as Africans.

In Africa, as in Asia, most of the leaders of the nationalist movements are western educated, who have absorbed the revolutionary ideas of the west but have had to fight for a place in their own society and lands. James S Coleman thus appraises the African version of this common phenomenon:

[N]ationalism whence it is most advanced has been sparked and led by the so-called detribalised, western-educated, middle-class intellectuals and professional Africans: by those

who in terms of improved status and material standards of living have benefited most from colonialism; in short, by those who come closest to the western world but have been denied entry or full terms of equality.

African nationalism is not only a foreign import; it has also been affected in many ways by external influences including from the colonial powers themselves. Political parties, labour organisations, and other associations and groups, as well as many individuals in the metropolitan countries, particularly Great Britain and France, have given a great deal of encouragement and support, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, to the political awakening of Africa. As people of African descent, strongly conscious of the struggle for racial equality, it is not surprising that many Black leaders and their organisations in America took special interest in Africa and Africans. They were the organisers and champions of Pan-Africanism, African Personality etc. Some of the important leaders of African nationalist movements, including Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, advocated these ideas.

3.4.1 Factors of African Nationalism

African nationalism is composed of many factors; some of these are common to nationalism everywhere, and others arise from the particular conditions of the African environment and experience. James S. Coleman listed the following factors:

Economic

1. Change from subsistence to a money economy
2. Growth of a wage-labour force
3. Rise of a new middle class

Sociological

1. Urbanisation
2. Social mobility
3. Western education

Religious and Psychological

1. Christian evangelisation
2. Neglect or frustration of western educated element

Political

1. The influence of traditional authorities
2. Forging of new 'national' symbols.

3.4.2 World Wars and Nationalism in Africa

Although Africa did not play a significant role in either the First World War or the Second World War, the wars had a major impact on the continent. Africans participated in the war efforts, and African colonies supplied the European powers with food and raw materials. A number of colonies changed hands as a result of the wars, and the wartime struggles inspired Africans to seek their own freedom from European domination.

First World War: There was fierce fighting among the Allies and Axis in Africa. From the African perspective, the primary aim of the First World War was to oust the Germans from their colonies in

Africa. Military campaigns took place in four main areas: the German colonies of Togoland, Kamerun (present-day Cameroon), German South-West Africa (Namibia), and German East Africa (Tanganyika-Tanzania). Africans became involved in these campaigns on the side of the Germans or the Allies (Britain, France, and Belgium in Africa), depending on which European powers governed them at the time.

During the war Africans were forced to participate directly and indirectly as soldiers, supply carriers, agricultural producers, and in many other occupations. Some African troops served in Europe and the Middle East with the British and French. African soldiers and labourers in the war effort had poor training and equipment and received inadequate medical care. An estimated 250,000 Africans were wounded or killed in the war.

Many Europeans feared that the war would change political attitudes in Africa, awakening a desire for independence from colonial rule. While the war did inspire some calls for freedom, the European concern was largely unfounded. Africans achieved unexpected gains in employment in jobs previously limited to whites, such as managers and colonial administrators. For the most part, however, such gains were short-lived and the old colonial orders were restored.

Second World War: The same story was repeated but more aggressively in the Second World War. The near defeat of Britain, France, and other European nations in the war, combined with the devastating effect on their economies, ended European claims to "great power" status. Instead, two new super powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—came to dominate world politics. Both these super powers were hostile to colonialism. In addition, criticism of colonialism surfaced in the newly created United Nations,

In Africa, the Second World War unleashed forces of nationalism that contributed to the rise of independence movement. Wartime demand for African products and raw materials stimulated economic growth and helped bring about social change on the continent. Many Africans who served in the armed forces acquired literacy and other skills. Returning to their homelands, these troops often faced low wages, inflation, and other economic problems. Few felt they had been adequately rewarded for their wartime service.

After the war the colonial powers generally tried to regain their authority over Africans, which had been relaxed during the conflict. However, the Europeans faced a changed atmosphere in which large numbers of Africans saw colonial policies as unfair. Many Africans assumed that the end of the war would bring about reforms and greater freedoms. They expected improvements in housing, education, health care and employment benefits. They also believed that they deserved the same freedom from oppression that had been the basis of the war against Germany, Italy, and Japan. Such feelings fuelled the movements that eventually led to the independence of European colonies throughout the continent.

3.5 RESISTANCE AGAINST THE COLONIAL INTRUDERS AND THE END OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

The resistance against the colonial intruders was an ongoing one. The opposition continued as unorganised passive resistance, above all against the tax collection. In some places there were strikes among African workers in mines and plantations, but these seldom resulted in a permanent organisation of the African workers (South Africa was an exception); Communist parties were organised and were successful in some more industrialised areas.

Where no organisation existed which could channel the discontent, and where such organisations were suppressed, the reaction against oppression and proletarianisation often took religious forms. Messianic movements and black separatist churches expressed discontent in a symbolic language, which illiterate Africans could easily understand. The religious protest gave them a meaning in the social and economic chaos in which they found themselves in. These mass movements originated especially in the mining communities in periods of economic crisis. They were particularly strong in Liberia, Congo/Zaire/Congo, DR, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Production problems during Second World War and the growth of nationalism forced the colonial powers to accept the right of the African workers to organise themselves in trade unions. Trade unions were formed in many colonies before the birth of nationalist parties. But the colonial powers and the companies did their utmost to make the mass organisation powerless and force the trade unions to limit themselves to strictly non-political, 'pure' trade union activities. The International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICFTU) dominated by trade unions in Western Europe and North America, too, thought that trade unions should not engage in politics. They competed for influence on the new African trade unions with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) with the help of members in all Socialist countries encouraging the anti-colonial attitude of the workers.

The companies also contributed to the division among the African workers by raising the wages for certain categories of workers, and improving their standard of living in comparison to that of farm workers or household servants. But even those who received better wages could never reach the same positions as the Europeans. Trade union demands, therefore, were often concerned with ending this racial discrimination. But those who had been most impoverished and exposed were the farm labourers, the peasants, and the unemployed, *lumpen* proletariats of the towns, rarely, if ever, became organised.

In countries where the trade unions were strong, such as Guinea, Tanzania, Kenya, and Zambia, they had many links with the nationalist movement. But colonial oppression prevented them from participating openly in politics. The co-operation, therefore, often simply meant that the same persons had positions in both the trade union and the political organisation.

A spontaneous anti-colonial feeling often developed among the peasants in communities, which had been radically transformed by colonialism. But this resistance was mostly passive, for instance, a refusal to pay taxes or to follow the advice of the colonial agronomists. Very rarely did any peasant take an active part in the nationalist movements.

In Africa, in the 1940s and 1950s, there were violent protests against the colonial powers in, among other places, Nigeria, the Gold Coast (Ghana), Uganda, the Sudan and the Ivory Coast. In some cases there were armed uprisings particularly in Kenya, the Cameroon, Algeria, and Madagascar. But everywhere except in Algeria, the colonial power managed to crush the revolts.

At the root of these revolts was the deep economic and social crisis caused by the colonial plunder. For the masses at large the theft of land and compulsory cultivation of export crops brought hunger and misery. Before colonisation the fertile coast of Algeria had been able to supply people with both corn and mutton. But the French settlers introduced vineyards (to grow grapes for making wine) instead. The people soon began to suffer from starvation. In 1954, when the liberation war was started by the national liberation front, the FLN, less than 1,000 Europeans owned more than one seventh of all arable (cultivable) land, while more than half a million Algerian families in the rural areas were landless.

In Cameroon an armed uprising began in 1955 when the radical party UPC (Union des Populations de Cameroon) was declared illegal. UPC had demanded the withdrawal of French troops, an end to Cameroon's status as a United Nations mandate, and a radical land reform with the slogan 'the land to those who till it'. Without protest the UN allowed the French troops to crush violently the revolt.

Peasants' struggle for 'bread and freedom' began and spread mainly among the Kikuyu in Kenya, whose best pastures had been taken over by large European farms. A secret mass movement arose, and its members were sworn in by a loyalty oath. The colonial regime replied with mass arrests, but this only made the members more militant. In 1952 Jomo Kenyatta, later the first president of Kenya, said that the Mau Mau movement hurt the cause of the Africans. But because Kenyatta, too, was arrested when a state of emergency was declared half a year later, he became the figurehead of the movement.

According to official figures, at least 11,000 Africans were shot by government troops and white guards and 90,000 were put into concentration camps during the years of the Kenya struggle. The peasant army killed about 2,000 persons, of whom only about 30 were Europeans. In 1954 heavy bomber planes and 50,000 soldiers were engaged in the war. The revolt was crushed, and by 1955 it was practically over. The leader of the peasant movement was arrested before the armed revolt started and the movement had neither the weapons nor properly thought out plans needed for victory.

In North Africa, the nationalists had a strong popular support. In these cases one can speak of a 'conquered independence', since the colonial powers were in the course of losing their political and in some cases also their military control of these colonies. The pressure forced them to give up.

The colonial powers were, however, able to prevent the radicalisation and mass mobilisation through timely concessions to moderate leaders—before any large uprising developed in majority of the colonies. Political powers were granted to the leaders who did not have to engage in a lengthy mass struggle to achieve their goal,

The popular movements in the French colonies were also weak which allowed the colonial power to break up French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa into small states. This made it easier for the French to continue their domination through the policy of 'divide and rule'

In 1957, Ghana became independent, In 1958, it was Guinea's turn, and in 1960 a number of French, British and Belgian colonies were granted independence. With the exception of the Congo (Zaire) and Guinea everywhere transfer of power took place in an orderly manner and the metropolitan interests continued to wield influence even after independence.

There were exceptions to this decolonisation pattern. One factor which slowed down and complicated the process was the presence of a large number of white settlers in Algeria, Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. The Portuguese colonies were another case: their colonial power (Portugal) was itself underdeveloped and dependent on other powers, and could benefit from its colonies and their raw materials and labour power only by continued military occupation. The fascist colonial regime in Portugal did not even allow the most moderate nationalist organisations in Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome, Guinea—Bissau, and Cape Verde.

The granting of independence was not the result of a very far-sighted and planned colonial policy. As late as 1956 the British and the French governments jointly attempted to overthrow president

Nasser in Egypt, in collaboration with Israel during the so-called Suez conflict. The idea then was to quell all nationalist tendencies. But the United States refused to support the British as long as the crisis lasted.

3.6 INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN AFRICA

Between 1957 and 1993, nearly 50 African states achieved independence from colonial rule. The first sparks of resistance to foreign control took shape much earlier. Independence movements developed throughout Africa in the mid-1990s. Although they followed different paths, they shared a common beginning: resistance to domination by foreign powers. Unfortunately, once in control, many of these independence movements imposed their own form of domination. As a result, modern Africa continues to wrestle with many of the same political problems that motivated the independence movement of the past.

3.6.1 The Independence Era

Two factors played a significant role in accelerating the pace of political change in Africa after the Second World War. First, the moral basis of the war against imperialist and racist dictatorships provided a weapon for those desiring independence from foreign rule. The nations allied against Germany and Japan claimed to be fighting for self-determination—the right of people to rule themselves. This call for self-determination made it difficult for European powers to deny the same freedom to their colonial subjects in Africa, who had provided soldiers for the war effort. Secondly, the Second World War imposed a severe financial strain on Europe. Britain and France, in particular, suffered physical and economic devastation, and maintaining their colonial empires became increasingly difficult.

3.6.2 African Political Parties

Before Second World War, organised protest against colonial rule was centred in organisations such as labour unions, student groups, social clubs, and religious groups. After the war these associations became better organised and focused increasingly on political issues. The first local and regional African political parties grew out of these groups. Many of them opposed colonial rule and supported freedom movements.

Where strong and capable leaders emerged, the early political parties broadened their bases of support to include members of different social, cultural, and economic groups. Parties such as the Convention People's Party in Ghana and the African National Congress of southern Africa were able to overcome their differences to challenge both European authority and the Africans who worked with colonial officials.

Despite some early successes in unifying diverse groups, these political parties still had to overcome enormous obstacles. Most developed in towns and cities, where Africans could easily get together and share ideas. The lack of communication, poor transportation, and the vast distances of the African continent hampered building ties with rural areas. Within urban areas, often parties were organised along the ethnic or social groups.

Two general types of political parties emerged in Africa at this time, "Patron" parties sought to recruit leading members of local society who could attract support and organise voters. This type of political parties reflected a traditional approach that relied on the personal authority of established

African leaders. "Mass" parties bypassed traditional leaders, working instead through local party branches to build support that was not based on personal or tribal loyalties.

The political organisation of patron parties reflected existing social structures and power relations. Mass parties, on the other hand, received support from the masses and gained power as a result of popular calls for liberation from colonial rule. These two types of parties differed in their strategies. Patron parties typically chose to work for gradual independence within the existing colonial power structure. Mass parties often rejected any compromise with colonial authorities and insisted on immediate freedom and in time a great variety of individual political parties and independence movements arose to challenge colonialism.

3.6.3 European Response

As the opposition to foreign control increased and became better organised, colonial powers adopted different strategies. Some European nations understood the difficulty of maintaining control over their colonies. They began to work with African political parties to expand the rights of Africans and increase their participation in government. Other European nations, fearing the loss of political power, colonial wealth, and international prestige, cracked down harder on indigenous peoples and placed greater limits on their freedom.

The Portuguese chose the second path, increasing their military force in Africa and intensifying political repression. As a result, independence for Portuguese colonies such as Angola and Mozambique came much later than it did for most other African colonies. In addition, during the 1960s and 1970s, ideology divided the independence movements in these two colonies. In Angola the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) adopted communist principles and had support from the Soviet Union and Cuba. Meanwhile, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) received backing from South Africa, the United States, and other Western powers. When Portugal finally granted independence to Angola in 1979, a civil war erupted between MPLA and UNITA that only began moving toward a peaceful conclusion in the late 1990s.

Britain and France took the other path, gradually expanding political freedom in their colonies. Beginning as early as the late 1940s, both nations granted many colonies local self-rule, with Africans assuming various leadership positions. Final authority, however, still rested in the hands of the colonial powers. With many British colonies, this arrangement gradually gave way to independence within British Commonwealth. Nigeria and Ghana, for example, came to enjoy the same relationship with Britain as other Commonwealth countries such as Canada or Australia.

The French were less committed than the British to total independence for their African colonies. In some places France tried to crush African political parties and independence movements, which led to increasing unrest and violence. Even after granting independence to a colony, the French often continued to influence local political parties, interfere in elections, and send in troops to reverse developments considered unfavourable to French interests.

Even colonies that enjoyed local self-rule turned to violence to achieve full independence. In Kenya, for example, the political right of Africans expanded significantly after Second World War. However, it took the violent Mau-Mau uprising of the 1950s to convince Britain to give Kenya full independence. The French faced growing unrest in their North African colonies. In 1954 they granted independence to Morocco and Tunisia so they could focus efforts on Algeria, the most important colony of white

settlement in the French African Empire (Francophone Africa). But after committing huge sums of money and tens of thousands of troops to fighting in Algeria, the French were finally forced to pull out in 1962.

3.6.4 After Independence

Many Africans today face the same kind of political and social challenges that independence movements and political parties promised to solve by expelling colonial masters. African nations inherited artificial boundaries that divided ethnic groups and led to future border conflicts. In many states the parties that hold power still reflect ethnic and social divisions. Urban groups continue to control power and too often ignore the needs of rural populations. Powerful leaders have often used their positions of authority to promote their own allies, punish political enemies, and enrich themselves and their friends.

Despite such problems, the growth of independence movements and political parties established important traditions of democracy and the rule of law that had been absent under colonial rule. Their achievement in winning independence also serves as a reminder that the people can change society, even in the face of repressive government.

3.7 NEO-COLONIALISM AS THE NEW TACTICS OF IMPERIALISM

After independence, some African nations declared their political allegiance to their former European rulers—such as Britain, France, and Belgium—and continued to rely on them for economic assistance. This policy became known in the 1960s as neo-colonialism. Not all African nations chose to pursue neo-colonial relationships. Those that had gained independence after violent struggles against European powers, such as Algeria, usually chose to remain non-aligned, or neutral, or they developed close ties with the Soviet Union or non-Western countries. In many cases, these African countries adopted economic systems based on socialism rather than capitalism. They associated capitalism with the exploitation they had suffered at the hands of Europeans.

For the most part, the African nations that followed the neo-colonialist path, such as Ivory Coast and Malawi, had been granted independence without conflict. Their relationships with their former colonial rulers remained friendly and often involved financial and technical support. Although the neo-colonial nations continued to suffer from economic exploitation, they felt that many of the economic and social changes introduced under colonialism were positive. They followed the path of Western-style capitalism.

The leaders of the neo-colonial states proposed to do more rapidly what colonisation was supposed to have begun in modernising the economy. Following the colonial model, these states continued to follow export-oriented economies and emphasising mining and cash crop agriculture. Instead of carrying out agriculture reforms, they allowed foreign landowners to hold onto the property they had acquired with colonial patronage. They also kept their economic institutions closely linked to foreign capitalist systems. To keep peasant majorities under control, they favoured a single party government rather than full democracy.

The neo-colonialists assumed that economic development would occur in orderly stages. They believed that profits from agriculture and mining would create a market for industry, which would attract foreign and local investors. However, the transition from one stage to the next did not take

place as planned. Although certain countries managed to create an illusion of economic success, they soon discovered that the path to prosperity was more difficult than assumed. To survive, many neo-colonial governments, began to depend on loans from foreign countries and international organisations, and ran up enormous debts. By the 1980s debt payments were draining resources away from programs such as education and health care.

In the long run, neo-colonial policies led to a number of unintended consequences: limited political rights for the people, slower economic growth, decreasing food production because of the emphasis on export crops, the collapse of social services, and increasing political corruption. Overall, neo-colonialism has been a dramatic failure in Africa, leading to serious political and economic crises throughout much of the continent.

3.8 DEVELOPMENT AND REFORM

In the early years of independence, African nations followed different paths. They took steps to control their economies and provide employment for their people. They created state-run industries and passed laws protecting these industries from Foreign competitors. They also greatly expanded the government's role in developing the infrastructure and social services. Many governments borrowed heavily to finance these development plans, but much of that money was lost due to mismanagement and corruption.

In the 1980s worldwide economic developments including a major recession and very high interest rates made matters worse for hard-pressed African nations. As their debts mounted, African leaders turned to institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to refinance their loans. To qualify for debt relief, borrowers were required to undergo "structural adjustment". This meant adopting reforms aimed at reducing government spending and control over the economy, promoting the growth of private enterprise, and relaxing trade restrictions to allow foreign businesses to compete with local businesses. It was hoped that these policies would reduce inflation, make markets more efficient and stimulate long-term economic growth.

The success of structural adjustment programmes has been mixed. Many experts agree that they helped stabilise local African markets and economies, but they did not promote long-term growth. Some experts argue that structural adjustment actually held development back by cutting government funding for improvements in infrastructure and education that are necessary for continued long-term growth. In addition, advances expected in agriculture and industry did not take place. Again, critics charge that development in these sectors of the economy has been hurt by poor transportation and roads, lack of access to credit, and poor education — all areas where funding was cut under structural adjustment programmes.

3.9 SUMMARY

Nationalism in the form of anti-colonialism has been linked primarily to Asian and African independence movements. Economic exploitation of the Third World by Western colonial powers has been a major theme of anti-colonial rhetoric.

Primarily Africans who had acquired education, literacy and social and economic power led the nationalist movements in African countries, like Asian countries, from colonial rule.

Africans did not play a significant role in the World Wars, but these wars had a major impact on them and turned out to be the breeding ground for nationalism in Africa. Africans participated in

fighting and their countries were supplier of food and raw materials to the European powers. From the African perspective, the primary aim of the Second World War was to oust the Germans from Africa. Many Europeans feared that the wars would change political attitudes by awakening Africans to independence from colonial rule. The Second World War unleashed forces of nationalism that contribute to the rise of independence movement. Wartime demand for African products and raw materials stimulated economic growth and helped bring about social change on the continent. Consequently, 50 African colonies got independence between 1957 and 1990. The apartheid regime in South Africa also bowed out to the principle of one-man-one-vote in 1994.

Organised protest against colonial rule centred primarily in organisations such as labour unions, social clubs, student and religious groups. The first local and regional political parties grew out of these groups. Many of them opposed colonial rule and supported freedom movements. This type of political parties reflected a traditional approach that relied on the personal authority of established African leaders. Patron parties typically chose to work for gradual independence within the existing colonial power structure.

Mass political parties, on the other hand, received support from the masses and gained power as a result of popular calls for liberation from colonial rule. These parties often rejected any compromise with colonial authorities and insisted on immediate freedom. However, by emphasising a break with pre-colonial cultures, African nationalism lost the opportunity to build on Africa's own achievements. African nationalists believed that Africans could gain equality and self-respect in the modern world only by having their own nations. For better or for worse, nation building on the European model became Africa's destiny.

3.10 EXERCISES

- 1) What led to the rise of nationalism in Africa? To what extent was it externally influenced by colonial powers?
- 2) Write a brief note on the impact of the two World Wars on African nationalism.
- 3) Give a brief account of the Independence movement in Africa.