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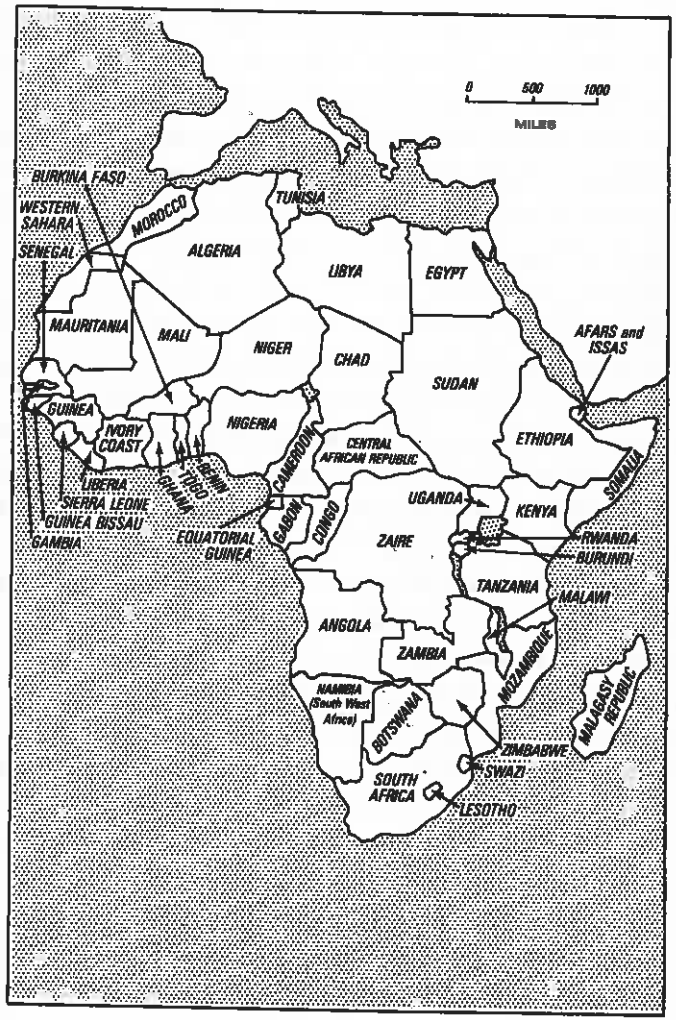
The Struggle for Independence

By 1920 colonial control was pretty well established in Africa. The Chilembwe uprising, in a sense, marked the end of an era, for increasingly after World War I many Africans diverted their energies to working within the colonial context. They accepted European domination as a temporary situation from which they could acquire certain skills needed to survive and to advance their societies. Europeans interpreted this reprieve as indicative of their superiority and testimony to the righteousness of their cause to "civilize" Africans. Officials of the colonial powers thus proceeded to strengthen their contacts with African rulers, merchants, and the mission-trained by involving them in the administration. All the colonial powers sought Africans to assist in local government. Many traditional rulers accepted judicial, police, financial, and public works responsibilities, which were performed with varying degrees of autonomy. This led to a gradual, sometimes unconscious transformation of traditional rulers into de facto civil servants. Those new responsibilities (1) provided a means for acquiring a knowledge of how the colonial system worked and how it might be used to advantage for Africans; (2) facilitated the development of political and economic links with influential Europeans who aided in the growth of educational and political

institutions; (3) enabled Africans, especially rulers, to share the wealth, however disproportionately, through government grants, tax commissions, salaries, and commercial arrangements.

Reliance on indigenous participation in the colonial administrations meant that the governments had to train Africans for a variety of tasks. Largely because of their longer presence in the territories and because governments sought to economize, missionary schools played a major role in training not only catechists, but also teachers, medical assistants, craftsmen, interpreters, translators, and clerks. These trained personnel were obviously vital to colonial administrations. Britain during the early days of colonial rule subsidized mission schools and gradually increased expenditures on education generally. The French devoted more attention to government schools, which developed alongside mission schools. The Dakar Medical School, Lycée Faidherbe, and William Ponty Normal School were key institutions the French established in Senegal between 1910 and 1920. By 1940 government schools operated in several of the French colonies. Both Belgium and Portugal gave a privileged position to the Roman Catholic mission schools through special subsidies and official statements of support. In addition, a sizable number of Africans received a university education in British and French universities, and a few were trained in Belgium, mostly in religion. In these ways the colonial government created a class of evolués from which were drawn African personnel for administrative work. It was largely from this group of Africans that the core of the emergent nationalist elite appeared.

The nationalist elite also included members from labor groups, whose history may extend back to a strike in Freetown in 1874. A clearer case for unionization, however, occurred with the formation of the Nigerian Civil Servants Union in 1912. But it was the era of the 1920s and 1930s that witnessed a great organizational flurry of trade unions: the Nigerian Mechanics Union (1921), Association des Anciens Elèves des Pères de Sheut (Belgian



Independent Africa

Congo, 1925), Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (Southern Rhodesia, 1927), Sierra Leone Laborers' Union (1929), Tanganyika Territory African Civil Service Association (1922), which became the Tanganyika African Association (1929), Uganda African Motor Drivers (1930), African Civil Servants' Association (Nyasaland, 1930), Nigerian Union of Teachers (1931), and the Labor Trade Union (Kenya, 1937); trade unions did not become legal in the French colonies until 1937. In all colonies organizations concerned with general welfare matters appeared in the cities and towns. In short, the 1920s and 1930s represented a proliferation of unions and welfare groups, both of which, especially the unions, were attracted to ethnic and supra-ethnic issues, thereby contributing to the adaptation of rural and traditional patterns of behavior and interests to the more urban, modern setting. In a short time, therefore, unions and welfare societies became part of the nationalist vanguard in several colonial territories.

In general, the nationalist elite had a relatively good Western education, was part of the growing cash economy, which was urban-based, read more widely, and was thus more aware of local, national, and international developments than other Africans; all of these factors raised aspirations to the point where the elite began to realize its lack of real power, and thus its basic insecurity in the colonial situation. In short, this group eventually felt the need to protect and improve the African lot through political action.

The Second World War and its aftermath contributed immensely to emergent political nationalism. Africans witnessed the fallibility of Europeans during the war; they experienced European dependence on African troops and material aid; they learned new technical skills and gained a wider perspective on world affairs; they met and exchanged ideas with Asians then engaged in ridding themselves of domination by the same powers ruling Africa; they also were influenced by African-American

soldiers; some of them experienced better social treatment in Europe than in Africa. Africans with these kinds of experiences would not submit to a continuation of the status quo in their countries, and they were encouraged by the post-war sentiment that supported political self-determination. The great symbol in this connection was the United Nations, whose anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist, and anti-racist posture became more vocal as new Asian nations joined the communist nations on issues of self-government for colonial territories. All of these forces influenced the trend toward national liberation in the African countries after World War II. Much of the success of that resurgent nationalism stemmed from the pioneer efforts of the African people in Africa and in the diaspora between 1900 and 1945.

The visual and expressive arts, built on age-old traditions, also played a major role in this epochal transformation to independence. Historical and decorative reproductions of African life and leaders gave a deeper meaning to nationalist movements while poetry and story-telling by the griots, songs of praise, work, protest, and inspiration, as well as dance energized those movements and added to the vision of independent societies. The arts indeed remain a vital and integral part of African history.

The quest for African independence was thus a mosaic of various uneven forces that will be more closely scrutinized first in a discussion of pan-Africanism, and second in an examination of specific territories.

The Pan-African Movement

The development of significant cross currents of mutual influence between Africans in Africa and the diaspora that developed during repatriation in Sierra Leone and Liberia continued in a variety of less dramatic ways. The great United States repatriationist of the 1850s, Martin Delany, who was persuaded that the

American Civil War would bring freedom and equality to African-Americans, became frustrated over the persistence of racism and cooperated in launching the Liberian Exodus Joint Stock Steamship Company to encourage emigration to Africa. The American Colonization Society continued to send an annual average of one hundred African-Americans to Liberia during the late nineteenth century. Bishop Henry M. Turner of the African Methodist Church spoke widely in the United States and Africa about African culture and the advantages of repatriation. His newspapers reached readers in the United States and Africa, and he was instrumental in securing opportunities for Africans to study in the United States; several separatist churches in South Africa sought links with his AME church. John Chilembwe's links with African-Americans during the 1890s have already been discussed. "Chief Alfred Sam" from the Gold Coast established offices in the United States to facilitate emigration to Africa. And although Booker T. Washington was neither a reunionist nor advocate of African culture, he became a vigorous critic of Belgian atrocities in the Congo, and sent several teams from Tuskegee Institute to develop cotton plantations and experimental agricultural stations in Togoland, Belgian Congo, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Several African schools, notably Achimota College in Ghana, the Zulu Christian Industrial School, and the South African Native College at Fort Hare, were modeled after Tuskegee. These were efforts on the part of United States blacks to maintain physical and spiritual links with the homeland.

In 1900 Henry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidadian lawyer living in London, took steps to solidify those cross currents of mutual influence between Africans and their descendants. London had long been a place where blacks from the West Indies, United States, and Africa had become acquainted as businessmen, journalists, scholars, and travelers. Thus Sylvester Williams's appeal for a conference to discuss common problems met with an encouraging response. Blacks from Africa, the United States, and

the West Indies met and agreed to coordinate their actions against racism and to protest the alienation of African lands. "Pan-African" seems to have been used for the first time to describe this type of coordinated activity at an international level. Although this first effort did not establish any firm organizational structure for maintaining itself, it did lay the foundation for the development of a unified ideological movement in the interest of African people.

This pan-African conference of 1900 must be viewed in the context of the times: African-Americans were being denied their rights as citizens and were suffering the physical terror of lynchings; Europeans' aggression in and their partition of Africa had received international sanction by the Berlin Conference; European settlers had already alienated land and were fighting a war to entrench white supremacy in South Africa; the United States had established a colonial empire in the Caribbean and Pacific and was about to launch the "big stick" policy toward its southern neighbors. The black response to these developments locally alternated between violence and nonviolence, while at the international level several key blacks sought to rally support through their writings and organizations.

In Africa there was J. E. Casely Hayford, a Ghanaian lawyer, political theorist, and practitioner, and author of *Ethiopia Unbound* (1911), in which he appealed to African people to defend their culture, institutions, and racial integrity. In 1919 he founded the Congress of British West Africa (CBWA) as a united effort to achieve those goals. At its first annual conference in 1920 the Congress attracted delegates from Sierra Leone, Gambia, Nigeria, and Ghana and passed resolutions calling for the vote, more and better schools, and equal opportunities. Protests were made and deputations were sent to London, and in the 1920s Britain extended a limited franchise to several of the principal cities in West Africa, and in 1926 Achimota College was founded. Limited though these gains were, they resulted in part from the pressure of organized elite Africans seeking unity.

The significant increase in the black student population in Britain during the interwar years created a sizable reading constituency for works by Casely Hayford, Amy and Marcus Garvey, C. L. R. James and George Padmore of Trinidad, and DuBois of the United States. The following list of organizations formed in Britain at the time illustrates the great activity on behalf of pan-Africanism: British Guiana Association, League of Colored People, UNIA, Gold Coast Student Association, Gold Coast Aborigines Protection Society, Somali Society, Kikuyu Association of Kenya, etc.

The most active and successful of the organizations in Britain at the time was the West African Student Union (WASU), which appeared in 1924 out of the coalescence of several student groups. Led by the Nigerian Ladipo Solanke in London, the WASU began as a social group and eventually became a center for the discussion of political ideas and action. Solanke visited several West African cities where he collected funds and set up branch offices as local channels of communication and support. Not as many Africans were studying in the United States at the time, but in 1927 a Trinidadian named George Padmore, who had arrived in the country in 1924 and attended two African-American colleges, sought the assistance of Nnamdi Azikiwe, a Nigerian student then at Howard University and later at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, to help in organizing an African student group. Although important, this movement remained small until during World War II, when African students in the United States formed the Association of African Students in the United States and Canada in 1941. Over the years, therefore, these student organizations in Europe and the United States became a gathering point not only for students but for politically conscious African people from Africa, the West Indies, and the United States. Several of the present African heads of state and other leaders were affiliated with student organizations.

Pan-Africanism took a dramatic turn in the United States when

Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican, arrived on the scene in 1916. He had traveled widely in the West Indies and in Central and South America, where he had protested against white exploitation of blacks; he had spent two years in England agitating against racial injustices. In London, Garvey met Duse Mohammed, a Sudanese pan-Africanist publisher of the *African Times and Orient Review,* who reportedly inspired the Jamaican toward more radical agitation for black pride and freedom. Finally, Garvey read about Booker T. Washington's self-help efforts and the establishment of Tuskegee. He wrote Washington and planned to consult with him, but Washington died before Garvey arrived in the United States. In any case, Garvey believed that the black man should go beyond self-help programs, and develop economic, political, and military power at an international level. He thus organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) with branches throughout the black world. His newspaper, *The Negro World*—a weekly that appeared in English, French, and Spanish—made a strong appeal for black unity, pride, and organization. He established the Black Star Line for the purpose not only of transporting blacks in the diaspora to Africa but also to initiate commercial relations between the diaspora and Africa. Garvey organized several businesses and cultural and social groups to make blacks independent of whites. He adopted a flag (black, red, and green) and negotiated for land in Liberia. Garvey's radical program and enthusiastic reception among blacks in the diaspora and the possibility of establishing a base of operations in Africa that might undermine European colonialism and commerce caused the United States, Britain, and France to bring pressure on Liberia not to grant land to Garvey's organization. Finally, Garvey was convicted in the United States of using the mails to defraud; he was deported in 1927.

While Garvey's projects failed, his impact on African peoples was enormous. He contributed immeasurably to the development of a consciousness of Africa in the diaspora, and to race pride and

organization in the diaspora and Africa. Kwame Nkrumah and Azikiwe, both of whom attended African-American colleges in the United States, have paid tribute to Garvey's influence on nationalism in Africa. Nkrumah named Ghana's fleet of ships the Black Star Line and placed a black star in Ghana's flag. Garvey's influence reached members of the West African Student Union whom he addressed on several occasions, and for whom he provided hostels in London. A branch of the UNIA was organized in Lagos in 1920, and subsequently in Sierra Leone, Senegal, and South Africa, among other African countries; not only did news of Garveyism reach eastern and southern Africa, but according to one of Garvey's contemporary critics, W. E. B. DuBois, the Jamaican's movement penetrated even Asia.

In the United States W. E. B. DuBois, who had also played a major role in the pan-African conference of 1900, also continued his efforts to sensitize and organize leaders in the black world. A prolific writer of books, DuBois, for about twenty-five years (1910–1934), edited *The Crisis,* the journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the United States. He interpreted his role with the journal as one of educating blacks on the conditions of the black world and protesting white aggression and exploitation of black people. He also convened four Pan-African Congresses (1919, 1921, 1923, 1927), which called for African local self-government, educational opportunities, freedom to practice their customs, and the protection of their land rights. Petitions of this nature were presented to the League of Nations. Mutual support was established with Casely Hayford's CBWA, underscoring the common concern and approach of the two organizations and symbolizing the unity among black men and women in Africa and the diaspora.

A consciousness of African links was also manifested in education. Pioneer efforts in research and teaching about Africa were undertaken by Carter G. Woodson in 1916; the inauguration of an African studies program was begun at Howard University by

William Leo Hansberry in 1922; participation with DuBois in the pan-African conferences of the 1920s was combined with teaching and research in African history by Rayford W. Logan and William Leo Hansberry at Howard University. Lincoln University in Pennsylvania pioneered in educating Africans while the Howard and Meharry Medical Schools trained most African physicians in the United States before independence. Although conducted largely in academia, these and similar activities by other African-Americans helped to prepare the way for future leaders with a full awareness of the continuing links between Africa and the diaspora.

The great depression stalled but did not kill the pan-African movement. Indeed, some United States blacks and others resident in the country from Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad emigrated to Ethiopia between 1930 and 1934. They had hoped to reestablish their roots on the continent. However, budgetary constraints and the Italo-Ethiopian War forced most of them to return to the United States.

The invasion of Ethiopia by Italy in 1935 ignited a pro-Ethiopian reaction among many Africans and in diaspora communities in Europe and the Americas. Organized groups of persons of African descent in the United States and Britain in particular mobilized efforts to rally blacks worldwide and to contribute money and supplies, and to send advisers to assist the Ethiopians. Several efforts also were mounted to send military volunteers to that embattled country.

These sentiments and activities heightened the pan-African consciousness of Africans and African-Americans and contributed to greater efforts by them to seek political responsibility for their communities. An example of greater political assertion in the United States came with the organization of a lobby, the Council on African Affairs in 1941 under the leadership of Max Yergan, Paul Robeson, William Hunton, and W. E. B. DuBois. In international bodies and the United States, this group addressed

issues that affected African people at a time when few agencies existed for this purpose. Such groups kept African issues alive and helped to sustain the pan-African tradition.

In 1945 Nkrumah, Padmore, Makonnen, and others organized the fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England. Although DuBois was elected president, continental Africans and a few West Indians were in control. Resolutions passed by this conference called for freedom and self-determination for Africans, reflecting the critical involvement of a new generation of Africans influenced by Casely Hayford, Garvey, DuBois, and others in the tradition of pan-Africanism. This new generation became the leaders of the independence movements in Africa during the 1950s and 1960s.

The cultural component of pan-Africanism made a dramatic appeal, especially among French-speaking Africans whose reverence for DuBois and Garvey was tempered by the French assimilationist policy, which caused them to pursue the cultural rather than the political route. The greatest impact on French-speaking Africans, therefore, came from the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and Negrismo in Cuba. Writers like Alain Locke, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, DuBois, and others from the United States, Claude McKay from Jamaica, Eric Walrond from Guyana, Nicolas Guillen of Cuba, Jean Price-Mars from Haiti, and others represented the international group of black writers who had a particular influence on their French-speaking brothers, especially on Leopold Senghor.

Two blacks from the diaspora, Aimé Cesaire of Martinique and Leon Damas of Guyana, joined hands with a continental African, Leopold Sedar Senghor, to found the negritude movement and its periodical, *L'Etudiant Noir.* This movement thus became the dominant force among descendant Africans in the French-speaking world. It focused on physical and cultural exile but did not call for independence. Two more radical voices in France came from Kodjo-Tovalou Hovenou of Benin and Tremoko

Kouyata Garan of Mali. Each founded his own publication and became a militant challenger of the colonial regime. Both men were in contact with Garvey and DuBois.

Senghor and his colleagues published in 1931 *La Revue du Mond Noir,* a monthly journal about African people throughout the world. He, Damas of Guyana, and Aimé Cesaire of Martinique emerged as leading proponents of the concept of negritude, or cultural pan-Africanism. A landmark was reached in 1947 when Alioune Diop of Senegal founded *Présence Africaine,* which ranked as the major international journal in English and French about African peoples. This venture led to the formation in 1956 of the International Society of African Culture with headquarters in Paris; Richard Wright and James Baldwin from the United States were part of that endeavor. The Society has published many outstanding volumes; translations of books by DuBois and Padmore have also been published. African-Americans in the United States founded an affiliate, the American Society of African Culture, and published the *African Forum.* These and other cultural currents paved the way for the World Festival of Negro Arts, which convened in Senegal in 1966 with President Senghor as host. Three years later the Pan-African Cultural Festival convened in Algeria, the adopted home of the late Frantz Fanon, the Martinican pan-Africanist ideologue for African liberation. These conferences represented the high point of cultural pan-Africanism, complemented the political pan-African conferences, and dramatized the fact that slavery and colonialism did not sever the links between Africa and the diaspora.

The pan-African initiative from the diaspora was in fact planted in the homeland when Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Jomo Kenyatta, and other nationalists carried the struggle onto African soil. This transition from the diaspora to Africa symbolically occurred when Nkrumah returned to Ghana in 1947 and began his political campaign, which he regarded as the beginning of the liberation of all of Africa.

Western and Equatorial Africa

British-Controlled Territories

Nationalist sentiment had manifested itself in the Gold Coast as early as 1871 when the Fanti agreed to a constitution that attempted to combine African and European ideas of government to insure Fanti freedom and independence after the anticipated British departure, which did not come. The wave of colonialism cut short that freedom thrust, but it continued to survive in other forms, mainly in the coastal area among a growing educated elite whose income came from participation in the cash or Western-style economy. An example in Ghana was the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society (1897), and in Nigeria, the People's Union in Lagos (1908). In 1919, as we have noted, J. E. Casely Hayford and others organized the Congress of British West Africa (CBWA) in an attempt to unify and coordinate the political activities of the West African political elite.

Herbert Macaulay, a grandson of Bishop Samuel Crowther and participant in the CBWA, became more involved in local Nigerian issues, and when Britain revised the colony's constitution to allow for elected representatives in 1922, Macaulay formed the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), which won elections during the 1920s. But, although both the CBWA and NNDP reflected accelerated nationalist sentiment, both were reform-oriented, and once elected to office the leaders began to develop rapport with the administration.

Women too were part of the protests and struggle for freedom. They too resented the derogation of their culture, the usurpation of legitimate authority, the imposition of taxes, and arbitrary and unfair economic opportunities. Perhaps the best known challenge by women to these kinds of grievances occurred in southeastern Nigeria. In 1925 a group of women began to protest against the colonial administration and in 1929 some ten thousand women

marched to the administrative center, where troops fired on them. When the confrontation ended, over fifty women had been killed. The situation was temporarily resolved but deep-seated resentment remained.

A more radical nationalist movement was the several youth leagues of the 1930s. This youth movement reflected the growing influence of young people with a territory-wide concern. The Nigerian Youth League appeared in 1932 to seek reform in education; the Nigerian Youth Movement (1934) in Lagos clearly articulated a national concern for economic and social issues. It established branches in various cities and in 1937 won Nnamdi Azikiwe's support. Isaac Wallace-Johnson, a trade unionist, formed the West African Youth League in Sierra Leone to help bridge the gulf between the Krios and the indigenous inhabitants. Also in 1938, J. B. Danquah established the Gold Coast Youth League to discuss colony-wide problems. In each of these leagues, the political focus of Africans was elevated to the higher level of national consciousness, and this was made more effective, in the case of Nigeria, when Azikiwe used his *West African Pilot* (newspaper) as a vehicle to disseminate national sentiments (Azikiwe had previously served as a reporter for the Baltimore African-American newspaper and participated in protest groups while attending school in the United States); the *African Standard* in Sierra Leone had a shorter duration but served a similar function.

Clearly, therefore, contemporary nationalist movements were evolving in West Africa prior to World War II. It also seems apparent that although colonial governors and other European officials held that only traditional rulers had the support of the people, changes that not only took account of the "new voices" but also included them in the political structure were taking place. Direct election to the legislative council came in Nigeria in 1922, in Sierra Leone in 1924, and to the Gold Coast in 1925. Although this franchise was limited, and included only coastal towns (where traditional influence was less decisive), and while

the Africans still had no real political authority, a trend toward greater African involvement was set in motion and probably would have continued even without the influence of World War II.

During the years immediately following World War II Britain pursued its policy of gradualism by promulgating new constitutions for the Gold Coast and Nigeria in 1946 and Sierra Leone in 1947. Although regional advisory councils and representation of the north was provided for the first time in the legislative council of Nigeria, and while Ashanti obtained a voice in the Gold Coast legislative council, and greater representation was provided for Sierra Leone's indigenous inhabitants, the constitutions came too late and met resistance in Nigeria from the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) founded by Azikiwe in 1944, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), organized in 1947 by Danquah and others in the Gold Coast, and the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) under Milton Margai in 1951.

Kwame Nkrumah, whom Danquah appointed as secretary of the UGCC in 1947, proceeded to build a strong nationalist base under the slogan of self-government. After a series of protests and a successful boycott of European goods in 1948, Nkrumah left the UGCC and in 1949 founded the Convention People's Party (CPP), which appealed more to the masses. In 1950 he called for a general strike and boycott, which ended in violence and led to his imprisonment. Thus martyred, Nkrumah led his party to victory in the elections in 1951, and became prime minister. Although the British remained in ultimate control, power was shifting to the nationalists. This culminated in a more liberal constitution in 1954 and, finally, independence in 1957.

In Nigeria, opposition to the 1946 constitution led to a second one in 1951 that attempted to balance the regional diversities nourished by earlier colonial policies. At the same time, however, regional and ethnic consciousness deepened and was manifested in the Pan-Ibo Federal Union, the Ibibio State Union, Yoruba Egbe Omo Oduduwa, and the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC),

each expressing an ethnic nationalism that had to be accommodated within the artificial borders of Nigerian nationalism. Consequently, the 1951 constitution further entrenched regionalism and ethnic particularity as the NCNC dominated in the east, the NPC in the north, and the Action Group (AG, 1951) among the Yoruba in the west. The federal legislature with ministers chosen from the regional assemblies did not have the appeal of the regional governments, which were in closer touch with their constituencies. That was where the major leaders—Azikiwe (NCNC), Awolowo (AG), and Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauno (NPC)—assumed power. Another divisive factor was the aim of the NCNC and AG for early autonomy, while the NPP delayed out of fear that the southerners' longer exposure to European institutions and ideas would dominate the larger, more populous northern regions (see page 211). However, greater cooperation and unity were achieved in 1957 when a new constitution provided for a federal prime minister to choose his own cabinet. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the NPP was agreed on as prime minister and the NCNC joined the NPP to form the government. Although each region was granted autonomy, the way was open to independence, which came in 1960.

Political activism in Sierra Leone was also accelerated by British constitutional reforms after World War II. The National Council of Sierra Leone (NCSL) was formed in 1950 through the merging of several semipolitical groups of Krios under H. C. Bankole-Bright. The program of the NCSL, therefore, very naturally reflected the Krio interest in preserving their elevated status in the country's modern or western sector. The Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), on the other hand, was organized in 1951 to represent indigenous inhabitants of the protectorate, but Sir Milton Margai insisted that it take a territorial approach. In spite of Margai's insistence, the SLPP, which in fact comprised semipolitical organizations of protectorate Africans who greatly outnumbered Krios, was dominated by the Mendé and Temné, whose

key attributes were large numbers and educational and commercial opportunities acquired during colonial rule. Largely because of that background and the fact that the SLPP initially appealed primarily to traditional authorities, the nationalist movement in Sierra Leone lacked much of the militancy seen in neighboring territories. The party did succeed, however, in fashioning several coalitions, and in 1960 was joined by the NCSL. Independence was achieved in 1961. With independence for the tiny territory of Gambia in 1965, British colonial control in West Africa became history.

French-Controlled Territories

In 1914 Blaise Diagne, an educated Senegalese who was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies to represent the four communes in Senegal, became a symbol of black achievement as the first African to fill such a position. Diagne played a key role in recruiting Africans to fight with the French during World War I; in 1916 he secured passage of legislation conferring citizenship on African inhabitants of the communes while at the same time retaining their traditional customs. But Diagne was a product of a French assimilation policy that committed him to conviction of the superiority of French civilization. He is reported to have remarked, for example: "I am first of all a Frenchman, and secondly an African." Little in the direction of African freedom could be expected, therefore, from Diagne. When he died in 1934 his seat was filled by Galandou Diouf, who was followed by Lamine Gueye, founder of the Senegalese Socialist party, which affiliated with the Socialist party in France. Diouf and Gueye also accepted the idea that Africans should assimilate into French culture.

In fact, the thrust for independence in French-speaking Africa did not really emerge until the 1950s. There were, however, certain post–World War II factors that paved the way for that thrust.

When France fell to the Germans in 1940, Felix Eboué, a black man from Guyana who was governor of Chad, declared support for de Gaulle. Eboué, therefore, played a key role in the Brazzaville Conference (1944), which convened to reconsider the relationship between Africa and Free France. The delegates to the conference were all European except Eboué, but the decisions taken there had a decisive impact on the resurgence of nationalism in French Africa. The conference delegates supported administrative and economic decentralization, the establishment of territorial assemblies, programs of economic development, and the suppression of the repugnant policies of forced labor and the *indigenat.* The details of these proposals were to be worked out by a constitutional assembly in which Africans and Europeans would be represented.

The Brazzaville Conference of 1944 was both a plus and a minus for African nationalism. Not only did it refuse to consider independence as a legitimate option, it went on record as recognizing that "the aims of France's colonizing mission in her colonies preclude any thought of autonomy or any possibility of development outside the French empire." On the plus side, however, in addition to the reforms proposed, African political parties emerged to chart the way to the future.

In October 1946, the constitution of the French Fourth Republic was approved by referendum and included a number of provisions pertaining to a redefined relationship between France and its African colonies. Citizenship was conferred on all inhabitants of the empire; the *indigenat* and forced labor were abolished; the colonies became overseas territories of an "indivisible" France and could elect representatives to the national assembly and the consultative assembly of the French Union in Paris; and elected assemblies were provided for each territory. The Investment Fund for Economic and Social Development was established to finance social and economic projects. These were substantial reforms, but most Africans in the French territories could not meet the prop-

erty and educational qualifications to vote. Moreover, only the national assembly in Paris had any real power, and the main concern in that body was metropolitan France. As a small minority, the African representatives had to seek allies in order to secure support on African issues. In short, terminology, procedures, and perhaps some attitudes had been modified and Africans had a measure of representation in Paris. (Several Africans became ministers of state in Paris: Felix Houphouet-Boigny, for example, held a prominent post in each cabinet from 1956 to 1959.) Real power, however, remained in the hands of the European French, and the great majority of Africans continued to live in a colonial situation largely uninfluenced by the recent changes.

However imperceptible at some local levels, times were in fact changing. In the Ivory Coast, for example, cash agricultural production (cocoa and coffee) increased rapidly and created problems over such issues as prices, government subsidies, and labor. These and other grievances led to the formation of the African Agricultural Syndicate (1944) under Houphouet-Boigny, son of a royal Baoulé family, a medical doctor, and a wealthy farmer. In 1946 he was elected to the constitutional assembly. From that base, and his status as an affluent and educated African, Houphouet-Boigny played a key role in convening a conference of West and Equatorial African leaders in October 1946 to unify their political action for liberal reforms. The result was the formation of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), an interterritorial (French West and Equatorial Africa) party under Houphouet-Boigny's leadership. With the exception of Senegal, the RDA dominated the political movements in the French tropical African colonies. In Senegal, where the Socialist party was strong, Leopold Senghor, born outside the four communes, led a drive that resulted in the formation of the more militant Senegalese Democratic Bloc (1948), which relied primarily on the rural voters. Senghor sought one or at the most two strong federations within the French Union. The RDA, however, remained the dominant party, especially after it ended a brief alignment with the French communists in 1950. The party became more amenable to the French government, and Houphouet-Boigny became minister of health in Paris. As an interterritorial party and with increased support through Houphouet-Boigny and the socialists in Paris, the RDA's appeal mounted and it assumed the leadership of the nationalist thrust.

External forces had a great impact on political evolution in French Africa. Especially significant was the French defeat in Dien Bien Phu and the commencement of the Algerian revolution, both in 1954; independence for the French protectorates of Tunisia and Morocco in 1956; nationalist advance in Ghana; the integration of part of Togo into Ghana (1956), the demand for a unified Togo, and subsequent political reforms in Togo. It was becoming clear by the mid-1950s that self-government for Africans would alter the framework of the French Union. Thus in 1956 the *loi-cadre* (outline law) delineated a new policy: Each French colony received a measure of autonomy, with ministerial government responsible to territorial assemblies elected by universal suffrage. Although France retained control over foreign and military affairs and to a lesser extent over finance and justice, the route to independence was unfolding. The *loi-cadre* was influenced to a great extent by Houphouet-Boigny and reflected his interest in territorial links with France. Senghor and others (federalists) criticized the *loi-cadre* and advocated unity of the territories. In 1957 Sekou Touré, a Guinean trade unionist, formed an interterritorial trade union to unite the workers behind political federation. The federalists believed that "Balkanization" would create too many small, poor units that would be unable to withstand the political and economic pressures of the great powers. In addition to not having the backing of Houphouet-Boigny and his supporters in Paris, the federalists had to solidify their own positions in their respective territories. This necessary

involvement in local affairs diverted efforts from the pan-Africanist route enunciated by Touré, Senghor, and others.

Out of general political unrest in France, mainly resulting from the Algerian crisis, Charles de Gaulle regained power in 1958. With the hope of stabilizing developments between France and its colonies, de Gaulle presented another constitution that offered the overseas territories internal self-government within a community (a replacement of the Union), which, with a European French majority, would control foreign affairs, the military, and certain aspects of economic and financial policies; the alternative was immediate and complete independence, which, as clarified in the campaign for the referendum on the new constitution, would risk the loss of French aid and diplomatic support. Only Guinea, led by Touré, opted against the constitution and achieved independence in 1958. Having thus taken that step, Guinea suffered the abrupt and disruptive consequences: withdrawal of French aid and personnel, ejection from the French franc zone, general diplomatic isolation by France and most of its African and Western supporters, and petty destruction of facilities—telephones, elevators, electricity, etc.—in Conakry, Guinea's capital.

But Guinea joined Ghana as the second country in tropical Africa to gain independence from colonial rule, and the temptation was not long resisted in the other territories. Thus, in 1960 the remainder of French West and Equatorial Africa became independent: Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Upper Volta; Madagascar also became independent in 1960 as the Malagasy Republic. All of these received the blessings and diplomatic and economic assistance of France and the Western world, but Guinea remained isolated, not only by France but largely by its Western and African allies.

Eastern Africa

Heightened political consciousness in Kenya was manifested in the emergence of several action-oriented organizations during the 1920s, centered around the Kikuyu who, living near the colonial capital of Nairobi, were most affected by land alienation, low wages, and racial discrimination, and could more readily perceive the general political suppression of Africans. Their first political organization was the Kikuyu Association, founded in 1920 to protest land alienation. But in 1921 the more militant East African Association, which included Kikuyus, Buganda, and other Africans living in Nairobi, emerged under the leadership of Jesse Kariuki and Harry Thuku. Thuku, a clerk in the treasury department, also organized the Young Kikuyu Association, while James Beautah formed the Young Kavirondo Association which attracted members of the Luo. These organizations attacked land alienation, tax and labor policies, and the requirement that Africans carry identification cards. When Thuku's program seemed to be appealing to groups outside Nairobi, he was arrested in 1922. This led to the formation of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1924; in 1928 Jomo Kenyatta became its secretary-general and editor of its journal. Kenyatta was later sent to London to present grievances to the British government, and while in London he studied at the London School of Economics.

By the 1930s political activism spread beyond Kikuyu borders as the KCA gained favor among other groups. The organization supported the 1939 dock strike in Mombasa; that action coupled with KCA's increasing threat to the status quo led the government to declare the association illegal in 1940. It reportedly continued, however, under the cloak of the Kikuyu Farmers and Traders Association, reflecting the economic motivations involved. World War II delayed the supra-ethnic movement, but its appeal remained not only among the Kikuyu, but also among groups of Luo, Masai, Nandi, and others.

Although official British policy led to the appointment of one African to the legislative council in 1944, a second one in 1947, and the appointment of one to the executive council of twelve in 1952, the European settlers were still determined to maintain their supremacy in Kenya. Consequently, the Kenya Africa Union (KAU) was organized in Nairobi in 1944 by a small group of Africans, including several from the ex-slave community of Freretown. In 1947 Kenyatta became the president and Tom Mbotela (of Freretown) the vice president. The main concern of the KAU was essentially the same as the other groups, but increasing emphasis was placed on African representation on the legislative council and direct elections. When protests failed to secure redress, the KAU gradually moved to strengthen its unity and commitment by the practice of oath-taking. Meanwhile, urban militants also increased their agitation, which led to violence. There was indeed much to precipitate militant political action: rising prices and low wages, unemployment, many acres of unused land in the white highlands while Africans were being evicted and sent to overcrowded reserves, general insult, and the thirst for freedom. Blacks in Kenya thus pursued a course of protest that culminated in the Mau Mau rebellion in which ninety-five Europeans were killed and approximately thirteen thousand Africans lost their lives, including Mbotela. The government declared an emergency in 1952 and it lasted until 1960. Kenyatta and others were arrested. But the important point is that although the resistance was suppressed, the government was forced by it to confront the issues. Some land reform occurred and the franchise for Africans was introduced in 1956.

Although it may be said that Africans were now on the move to independence in Kenya, the only colony-wide body that spoke for them was the Kenya Federation of Labor under Tom Mboya. There soon emerged two political parties, however. The Kenya African National Union (KANU) appeared under the leadership of Kenyatta supporters, including Mboya and Oginga Odinga. Its

membership was mostly Kikuyu, Luo, and Kamba, while the other party, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), was headed by Ronald Ngala and appealed mainly to the smaller ethnic groups who feared domination by the larger groups. When KANU won the elections in 1961, the leaders demanded the release of Kenyatta, which occurred later that year. He thus assumed leadership of the party, and when federal status was created in 1963, he became prime minister and led the country to independence in December of that year.

In neighboring Tanganyika the situation was markedly different, partly because no single ethnic group was large enough to dominate the others, and partly because it was a trust territory to which political self-government was promised by the United Nations Charter. But indigenous political activity had an earlier history than that. In 1922 Martin Kayamba, a civil servant, organized the Tanganyika Territory African Civil Service Association, which in 1929 became the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). Although TAA was not a mass organization, it did focus attention on the country as a whole and thus contributed to the foundation of nationalism in the territory.

Other political trends were perceptible in Tanganyika during the 1930s and 1940s. Benevolent societies sprang up in several towns, while the TAA continued to protect the interest of African civil servants. *Kwetu,* the first independent African newspaper in the country, also appeared during the 1930s. Significantly, Swahili, the territorial language encouraged by the government, provided a basis for cross-ethnic, cross-territorial communication and cooperation that occurred as more and more Kenyans and Tanganyikans studied at Makerere College in Uganda. Unity of purpose was not achieved until after World War II, but the foundation for it was laid during the 1930s.

By the end of the war, TAA leadership became largely Makerere-trained and much more oriented to rapid political change. Meanwhile, the appointment of four Africans to the legislative council

in 1945 and one in 1951 was part of an official British policy of parity among Africans, Europeans, and Asians. The continuation of that policy would have meant the maintenance of an inferior status for Africans, but this could only be altered by a strong united front by them. It was with the return of Julius Nyerere from a sojourn in England in 1952 that such a step was taken. Nyerere, a teacher, proceeded to make TAA a mass organization, which, in 1954, became the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). TANU opposed racial parity and sought majority rule. At the same time, the party disavowed racism against settlers. In fact, many Asian and European settlers were attracted to Nyerere's moderate stance and joined TANU. In 1955 and 1956 Nyerere visited the United Nations where he won international status. He proceeded to lead TANU to electoral victories, which resulted in independence in 1961.

Offshore from Tanganyika, the island of Zanzibar witnessed a momentous thrust for independence. After 1945 the Arabs began organizing political groups in the hope of replacing the British. Several of those groups united to form the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) in 1956. When a British commission recommended elections for 1957, the Africans and Shirazis formed the Afro-Shirazi Union, later renamed the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP). Hostilities characterized relations between the two parties as Afro-Shirazis boycotted Arab businesses, and Arabs evicted Afro-Shirazi farmers. This reflected the character of past relations between the privileged Arab landowners and businessmen on the one hand, and the majority—landless Africans—on the other. The ZNP established a coalition with the pro-Arab Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, and controlled the government at independence in December 1963. But in January 1964, it was displaced by a coup that placed Obeid Karume of the ASP in power. Later that year Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined to form Tanzania with Nyerere as president and Karume as vice president.

Nationalism in the other East African colony, Uganda, was

greatly influenced by Buganda, the wealthiest region in the country and the one in which indirect rule had entrenched a strong commitment to particularism and separatism. Moreover, the kabaka, his ministers, and subordinate rulers were practicing Christians who themselves encouraged their people to accept the faith. In short, British policies and Western influence in general made Buganda a unique region in Uganda and worked against political unity in the colony. The British encouraged local councils, and African politics generally retained a local rather than a colony-wide focus. Consequently, when Britain undertook to develop a unitary government in the 1950s, Kabaka Mutesa II, supported by his lukiko (council), demanded self-government for Buganda. The kabaka thus appeared as a nationalist leader for Buganda and a threat to the colonial government, which deported him in 1953.

The deportation of the kabaka provided another issue around which politically conscious Ugandans could rally. The Uganda National Congress (UNC), which was formed in 1952 with the objective of uniting all Ugandans for independence, capitalized on the deportation issue and helped to force Mutesa's reinstatement. The UNC and other groups also denounced the economic exploitation of Africans by Europeans and Asians. In response to these developments, Britain introduced a ministerial system of colonial government in 1955, and the direct election of Africans to the legislative council in 1958. Britain also conceded special status first to Buganda, and later to the kingdoms of Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole, and Busoga, while the smaller groups were to receive direct administration. In 1961 the UNC under Milton Obote allied with other groups, including the Kabaka Yekka party in Buganda, and formed the Uganda People's Congress, which convened a conference to formulate the constitution that led to independence. By that document Buganda was allowed to appoint its representatives to the national assembly, while other regions elected theirs. These were costly expediencies that, how-

ever, did lead to a semblance of unity, and to independence in 1963. The kabaka was elected president and Obote became the prime minister.

Central Africa

The Central African Federation became a catalyst to African nationalism in central Africa. In Nyasaland (Malawi) the African Congress, which was founded in 1944, became more militant as Henry Chipembere and Kanyama Chiume assumed leadership in the 1950s. They sought experience and a broad understanding of Britain and Nyasaland when they persuaded Hastings Banda, who had remained in touch with his country during many years of residence in the United States and Britain, to lead the Congress. Banda returned in 1958 and undertook such a vigorous campaign against the federation that he was arrested and the party was banned in 1959.

The Northern Rhodesian African Congress Party, organized in 1948, lost some popular support after the failure to prevent the inauguration of the Federation, but it proceeded to organize branches throughout much of the country, and during the early 1950s Kenneth Kaunda, Harry Nkumbula, Simon Kapwepwe, and others began a determined approach toward a new nation, Zambia. In 1958, Kaunda, Kapwepwe, and others formed the Zambian African National Congress (ZANC), after having split with the more moderate Nkumbula. In 1959, however, when the government declared an emergency to prevent a "plot" to kill all Europeans, ZANC was banned and its leaders were arrested. The next year the ZANC leaders were released as popular heroes; they then organized the United National Independence Party (UNIP) with Kaunda as president.

At least by 1960 it was obvious that the Federation's continued existence was in serious doubt. (It was finally dissolved in 1963.)

Banda was released from detention and had talks with the Colonial Office; in 1961 his party swept the elections, two years later internal self-government was achieved, and in 1964 independence was proclaimed. In Northern Rhodesia, following elections in 1962, Nkumbula joined Kaunda in forming a coalition government. The 1964 elections, based on a wider franchise, gave Kaunda a clear majority. He then became prime minister with his party in full control of domestic affairs. In October, independence was achieved.

Britain thus chose to dissolve the Federation instead of maintaining it by increased force. But there was still Southern Rhodesia where some whites had opposed the union from the beginning and where, by 1960, an increasing number of whites pressed for complete independence. A major step in that direction occurred in 1962 when the right-wing Rhodesian Front defeated the more liberal United Federal Party. On the African side, repression had already banned the National Congress, which was formed in 1957. But Joshua Nkomo, a trade unionist, and others reorganized in the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in 1962. Unfortunately for the African cause, regional, ethnic, and personal conflicts led to a split of the nationalist ranks and the formation of the Zimbabwe African National Union under Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole in 1963. This split divided African loyalty, seriously weakened the nationalist cause, and enabled the Rhodesian Front more effectively to scrutinize, isolate, and arrest the leaders. The Rhodesian settlers, unlike those in Malawi and Zambia, had been in direct local political control since 1923 and thus had deeper roots in the institutions of their adopted home. Their unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 confirmed this fact by further entrenching their minority racist regime over millions of Zimbabwians in violation of international law and sentiment.

The United Nations voted for economic sanctions against Rhodesia but because several of the powers—notably the United

States, Portugal, and South Africa—refused to comply, the measures failed. However, ZAPU under Nkomo and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) under Robert Mugabe and their guerrilla armies continued the struggle from bases in neighboring countries.

When Portugal's dictatorship collapsed and its African colonies moved toward independence, Rhodesia lost a valuable ally. South Africa and the United States saw the trend and pressured the Rhodesians into negotiations that led to the country's independence as Zimbabwe under Mugabe in 1980.

In the central African territory of the Congo, Belgian paternalism and censorship pretty effectively prevented the Congolese from being influenced by the nationalist movements in neighboring territories and from developing their own liberation thrust until the late 1950s. However, two important antecedents of Congo nationalism were the ABAKO (Alliance des BaKongo), a cultural society organized in Leopoldville (Kinshasha) by the BaKongo in 1950, and a social group formed in 1953 by Abbé Joseph Malula. The latter group published a journal, *Conscience Africaine,* which in 1956 published a manifesto calling for gradual political participation for the Congolese. This moderate manifesto elicited an impatient response from the ABAKO, which held that freedom should be granted then, 1957. But this was a limited view from only one ethnic group. Moreover, Belgian policy in 1957 began to show signs of serious response to the times. In that year the government inaugurated reforms allowing Africans to participate in urban government and the election of city councillors. These reforms were the immediate stimuli to the growth of political parties and the development of militant nationalism.

ABAKO was transformed into a party under its leader, Joseph Kasavubu; CONAKAT (Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga) appeared under Moise Tshombe; and the only trans-ethnic or national party, the MNC (Movement National Congolais), emerged under the leadership of Patrice Lumumba and Cyrille Adoula. (Lumumba's politics were influenced by his experiences and contacts at the All African Peoples' Conference convened by Nkrumah in Ghana in 1958.) Political protest and demonstrations against unemployment and segregation led to riots in Kinshasha in 1959, and were followed by the formation of other parties, most notably the PSA (Parti Solidaire African) under Antoine Gizenga. This accelerated pace of political action caused Belgium to convene a meeting in Brussels in 1960; the Congolese leaders demanded and received a promise of independence in six months.

The unity manifested in Brussels by the Congolese leaders was not maintained in the Congo. Neither national cohesion nor leadership had been allowed to emerge under the Belgians; the institutions that might have met those needs—high schools and universities—were not created until 1955 and 1956. The May elections preceding independence, therefore, were marked by ethnic and regional conflicts, with Lumumba's MNC coming closer to a national party with a plurality of votes, which enabled it to form a coalition government. Independence came in June 1960, with Lumumba as prime minister and Kasavubu as president.

In neighboring Angola, the African quest for freedom led to the formation of the two major political organizations in the 1950s. The Uniao das Populacoes de Angola (UPA) was founded among the BaKongo in 1954, but in 1958 the organization took a more nationalistic approach and sent Holden Roberto to several African countries to establish links with other nationalists. The UPA aim was national liberation of Angola. Almost simultaneously, the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) emerged as a coalescence of several groups in 1956 under Mario de Andrade. The MPLA demanded self-determination and the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Angola. In 1960 the Portuguese reacted to the intensification of nationalist activities by increasing the number of troops in the colony; later that year sev-

eral incarcerated nationalists were shot in Luanda. Then in February 1961, several thousand Africans were killed in a rebellion associated with the MPLA. Further disturbances in March resulted from UPA-initiated strikes. These events of 1961 pierced the wall of censorship that for decades largely concealed the injustices and discontent of the Angolans from the outside world.

Portugal's announced reforms—abolition of the *indigenato* system and of forced labor, and in African representation on legislative councils in Portuguese Africa—did not halt the quest for independence. In 1962 the UPA and several other groups formed the Provisional Government of the Republic of Angola with a national liberation army, both headed by Roberto. The UPA and MPLA proceeded to establish headquarters in neighboring Kinshasha, Congo. This enabled both groups to maintain continuous contacts abroad and to funnel aid and guerrillas into Angola. However, after the OAU decided in 1963 to provide funds to the UPA, the MPLA offices were shifted to Brazzaville. These developments underscored the deepening schism in the Angolan nationalist movement, and adversely affected the liberation cause.

Shortly after guerrilla activities broke out in Angola in 1961, the Portuguese reinforced their military forces in Mozambique. At the same time, Mozambique shared in the Portuguese reforms in 1962 and 1963. But the Mozambique nationalists were no more deterred than the Angolan patriots. The Frent de Libertacao Mozambique (FRELIMO), which was formed in 1962 out of the merger of several political groups, spearheaded the movement to unify Mozambicans, develop literacy programs, establish offices and seek aid abroad, and to train cadres to lead the liberation movement. FRELIMO elected for its president Eduardo C. Mondlane, whose background included membership in an African students' organization and education and teaching experience in the United States, where he retained close links with whites and African-Americans. As chief spokesman for Mozambique's nationalist struggle, Mondlane, traveled widely in Europe and the United States to inform the outside world and to seek assistance. In 1963 FRELIMO, like UPA, was promised support by the OAU.

Mozambique was long influenced by its more highly developed neighbors, South Africa and Rhodesia. Lourenco Marques and Beira were popular resorts for white Rhodesians and South Africans; Beira remained an important transit port for Rhodesian goods; and South African mines relied heavily on migrant labor from Mozambique. In addition, the three powers—Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa—had economic and military agreements, the implications of which were far-reaching not only because of South Africa's economic and military strength, but also because of Portugal's close ties with the United States and membership in NATO.

As late as the 1970s, when most African countries were independent, the Portuguese colonies still struggled with seemingly no prospect of early liberation. Then in 1974 the revolution in Portugal overthrew the dictatorship there. Thus, already strained economically and militarily and fighting a losing battle in its colonies, Portugal was forced to retrench. Consequently, the first European power to colonize Africa became the last to withdraw.

Portuguese Guinea, the poorest of the colonies and the one that was virtually lost to the guerrillas, obtained its independence in 1973 under Amilcar Cabral. Angola and Mozambique followed in 1975 under Agostinho Neto and Samora Michel respectively.

Ethiopia and Northern Africa

The defeat of the Italians at Adowa in 1896 assured the Ethiopians independence until Mussolini's aggression just prior to World War II. In 1930 Ras Tafari was crowned as Emperor Haile Selassie I, and five years later the Italians avenged their

defeat at Adowa by invading Ethiopia. Neither the major countries nor the League of Nations, which Ethiopia had joined in 1923, exerted the pressure necessary to restrain Mussolini, who proclaimed the country's annexation to Italy in 1936. Although the emperor fled and sought support in Europe, the Ethiopians took to the hills and fought a guerrilla war.

There was an international outcry but the League of Nations, although moved by the emperor's appeal for help, did not stem the tide. Descendant Africans abroad rallied around the symbol of their identity. C. L. R. James, a Trinidadian living in London, organized the International Friends of Ethiopia and led protest demonstrations on behalf of Ethiopia. In Washington, D. C., William Leo Hansberry, Ralph Bunche, and William Steen were joined by Hosea Nyabongo of Uganda and Malaku Bayen of Ethiopia to form the Ethiopian Research Council to rally support around and funnel support to the African state. Protest movements also developed in Jamaica, Barbados, St. Kitts, and Trinidad.

A group of Caribbean and United States physicians in New York organized the Medical Committee, which sent medical supplies to Ethiopia, while other groups throughout the country raised money to assist the cause. This was a time of commitment to African identity: A number of African-Americans adopted Ethiopian names and small schools were formed to teach African history and languages. And at least two African-Americans, John Robinson and Hubert Julian, joined the Ethiopian armed forces. But after the emperor's exile, the cause seemed lost. Over the next several years guerrilla attacks were mounted and finally Britain dispatched troops to dislodge the Italians as part of World War II. The emperor thus regained the throne in 1941.

During that struggle Bayen and several African-Americans had founded the Ethiopian World Federation, which became the major pan-African organization in the United States at that time. It had branches throughout much of the country and the

Caribbean. Its newspaper, *The Voice of Ethiopia,* advocated the substitution of black for the term Negro. In fact, a number of African-Americans called themselves Ethiopian. After the return of the emperor to Addis Ababa, the federation was given land on which some of its members settled. Others developed the movement into Rastafarianism in Jamaica. And still others continued to foster pan-African activities.

Several black technicians from the United States and the Caribbean went to Ethiopia as teachers, mechanics, and pilots. They were employed in the government and in schools; some organized a pilots' school, which trained the first Ethiopians to serve in the country's air force and the Ethiopian Air Lines.

The Italo-Ethiopian War revealed the depths of identification blacks around the world felt with Ethiopia and Africa. The pan-African network was thus strengthened by the event.

In 1941, British troops and Ethiopian guerrillas recaptured the country and restored the emperor to his throne. The British troops also evicted the Italians from Eritrea and Italian Somaliland and placed both under military rule. In 1950 the latter became a United Nations trust territory administered for ten years by Italy; in 1960 it was united with British Somaliland to form the independent Somali Republic. In 1952 Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia and ten years later became an integral part of that country, but it won its independence from Ethiopia in 1993. The Italians also lost Libya to the British in 1942, and in 1951, with United Nations assistance, it became independent.

The situation in Egypt and Sudan was much more complicated. Britain had occupied Egypt in 1882, established the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium over Sudan in 1899, and declared a protectorate over Egypt in 1914, when Britain went to war against Turkey, Egypt's nominal ruler. The protectorate was terminated in 1922, but British troops remained in the Suez Canal zone, a fact that became a key target of Egyptian nationalists. But before the problem was resolved, World War II made Suez a vital military

ase for the British, and the exigencies of war caused her interrence in Egyptian politics to assure the formation of a proritish government.

Following the war, Egypt expended considerable energy on eveloping the Arab League and resisting Zionism. Charges of orruption, incompetence, and misdirection of the war against srael in 1948 led to the officers' coup d'etat in 1952 and the subequent emergence of Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1954 as prime minister; in 1956 he became president, thereby marking the end of monarchical rule in Egypt. Nasser undertook a series of social nd economic reforms, especially agrarian reforms, which won im widespread popularity among Egyptians. In foreign affairs is emphasis was to unite the Arab world, which led to the shortved federation of Egypt and Syria in the United Arab Republic 1958), but his vigorous denunciation of imperialism and his ynamic promises to help liberate the colonized attracted many frican nationalists to Cairo. With Britain's forced evacuation of uez in 1956, Nasser's popular image permeated much of Africa nd Asia. His charisma, success in dealing with the great powers, nd assistance to nationalists encouraged and accelerated the ace of national liberation in many parts of Africa.

Even before Nasser, Egypt was a major influence in Sudanese olitics. The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium provided for equal esponsibility over the Sudan by both England and Egypt, but following a Sudanese rebellion in which Egyptians were implicated n 1924, the latter were removed from Sudan's administration by Britain. This action opened more civil service posts (at the junior evel) for the Sudanese. By 1930 Britain began to develop a concerted policy for southern Sudan. This reflected a recognition of basic ethnic, regional, and religious differences between the northern and southern regions of the country. Thus, the southern policy encouraged southern indigenous customs to replace Muslim Arab influences. Northern officials were transferred from southern provinces, local languages and English were encouraged

over Arabic, and Arab dress and names were discouraged by southerners. However, by the 1940s this policy became secondary to World War II, and after the war Britain began to respond to nationalist pressures in Asia and Africa in general, and to northern Sudanese pressures in particular. The concept of unity prevailed over any idea of separate development. Two political parties emerged: the Ashiqqa, which favored union with Egypt; and the Umma, more southern-based, which sought a national state. In 1953 Britain and Egypt decided to let the Sudanese determine their own status in 1956. Riots during the transitional period of 1954 and 1955 highlighted the depth of disunity in Sudan. Although unionists (supporters of union with Egypt) and nationalists, northerners and southerners, Muslims and non-Muslims (which mirror the long and complex history of the Nile Valley) revealed deep division in Sudan, the government in power, the National Union Party (Ashiqqa), passed a resolution in 1955 declaring the country independent. This act further alienated southern groups in Sudan, in particular the Dinka, who spearheaded a separate nationalist movement.

At the western end of northern Africa are Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, all former French territories. Algeria, which by World War II had about a million Europeans and eight million Algerians, was regarded as an integral part of France, although most of the indigenous inhabitants did not acquire French citizenship and were not represented in the government. Morocco, with about 400,000 Europeans and over 11 million Moroccans, and Tunisia, with approximately 250,000 Europeans and 4 million Tunisians, were protectorates, ostensibly administered on behalf of the traditional rulers. Although the three territories were ruled in the interest of France, which favored the European settlers, the states of Morocco and Tunisia facilitated a smoother evolution to independence.

French-educated Tunisians formed the Neo-Destour party in 1934 under Habib Bourguiba, whose agitation led to his arrest in

1938. Although he was released during the German occupation of Tunisia, the allied victory reestablished French rule and thus assured a continuation of the liberation struggle. General postwar problems and guerrilla warfare by the Tunisians led to internal self-rule as a transition to independence in 1957, with Bourguiba as president.

Political organization and the nationalist movement solidified in Morocco with the formation of the Istiqlal party in 1944. When it became clear in the early 1950s that Tunisia would become independent, France decided to concentrate on holding its most valuable territory, Algeria, which revolted in 1954. Morocco, which revolted in 1955, thus received its independence in 1956 under the sultan.

The Algerian Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), which led the guerrilla war, was formed in 1954 with the coalescence of several groups opposed to French rule. French settlers in Algeria not only had considerable economic and political stakes in the country, they also had an important influence on metropolitan French politicians. As the guerrilla war continued, the Algerians received the support of Nasser and the Arab world, and nationalists in independent and colonized countries of Africa. But the key support, moral and material, came from Tunisia and Morocco, which bordered Algeria and offered refuge and outside contacts for the guerrillas. This was obviously a conflict that the French increasingly realized they could not win. Thus, under Charles de Gaulle a cease-fire was negotiated and independence was achieved in 1962 with Ahmed Ben Bella as president.

Independence came to Basutoland as LeSotho and Bechuanaland as Botswana in 1966; Swaziland as Swazi, Rio Muni and Fernando Po as Equatorial Guinea in 1968; the Comoro Islands in 1975; Djibuti as Afars and Issas in 1977.

15

The Transformation in Southern Africa: South Africa and Namibia

South Africa

The struggle for self-government by indigenous Africans was so protracted and confronted such inhumane policies and actions in South Africa and Namibia that the region became a symbol for international struggles. The role of the United Nations, especially in regard to Namibia as South Africa's mandate and the blatant racially abusive policies there, aroused the moral indignation of most countries. Few governments could withhold criticism of the situation there, and the issue came to be regarded as central in pan-African relations. The struggles in South Africa and Namibia became larger than individual countries; the South African struggle in particular became a global symbol of struggle for freedom and human rights. For these reasons, they need an extended discussion.

Of all the examples of continued white domination, South Africa was the most striking. While nationalism led to concessions and ultimate independence for most other black states, the white South African government intensified its restrictions