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Colonization and Independence in Africa



THE CHOICES PROGRAM

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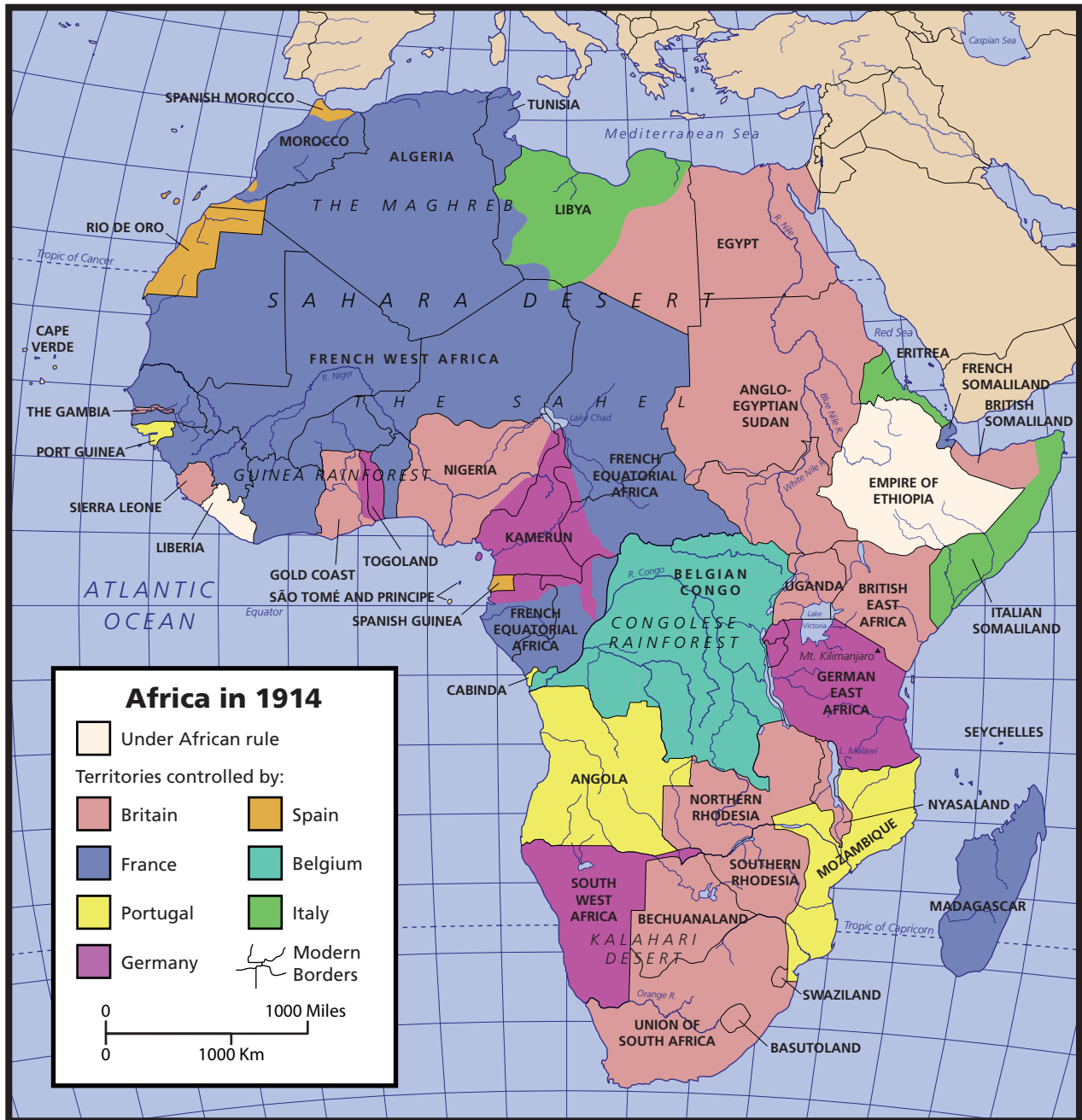


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The Colonization of Africa



Introduction: Colonialism and the Telling of History

Between November 15, 1884 and February 26, 1885, representatives from fourteen countries came together in Berlin, Germany to divide the continent of Africa among European powers. Although European countries had already claimed parts of the continent, the Berlin Conference paved the way for the colonization of Africa.

The colonial system Europeans imposed denied Africans the ability to decide their own political and economic affairs. European powers exploited Africa's natural and human resources for their own economic benefit, while arguing that they brought morality and economic development to Africans. At the Berlin Conference, European leaders argued that the "civilization" of Africa depended on their involvement in the continent.

“All the Powers exercising sovereign rights or influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being....”

—General Act of the Berlin Conference,
Article 6, February 26, 1885

At the time and in later years, European powers claimed that there were benefits to colonialism and glossed over the violent, racist, and destructive aspects of colonial rule. Many Europeans saw Africa as an uncivilized place without history. But Africa was made up of vibrant and evolving societies, with diverse values, languages, and economies. Many African states had long histories of relations with foreign countries prior to the Berlin Conference.

Africans resisted European colonialism throughout the colonial period. While African experiences and voices were silenced in

European accounts of colonial history, these African voices give a much fuller picture of colonialism.

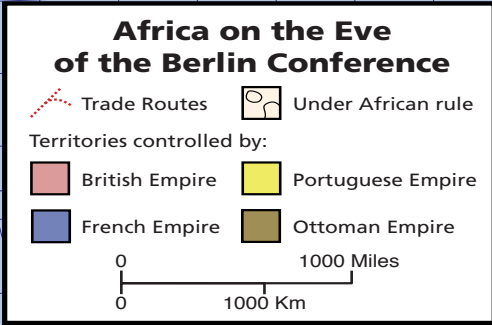
“History will one day have its say, but it will not be the history that is taught in Brussels, Paris, Washington or in the United Nations.... Africa will write her own history, and to the north and south of the Sahara, it will be a glorious and dignified history....”

—Patrice Lumumba, first prime minister of
independent Democratic Republic of the
Congo, 1961

In the coming days, you will explore the history of colonialism and independence in Africa. In particular, you will consider the perspectives of Africans and the ways in which they responded to European colonialism.

The history that you will read is a general one. Africa is a vast continent—more than three times the size of the United States—with more than fifty countries and hundreds of ethnic groups and societies. African experiences of colonialism were diverse. Nevertheless, there are common themes that help us better understand the continent's colonial history and legacies.

In Part I, you will explore Africa in the nineteenth century, and consider the changes colonialism imposed on African governments, economies, and societies. In Part II, you will consider African resistance to colonialism. You will examine the colonial experiences of Africans in four cases: Ghana, Algeria, Kenya, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. (These are the names they go by after independence.) In Part III, you will explore how African countries won their independence in the mid-twentieth century. You will also consider the effects of colonialism and African independence on the continent and the world.



Africa in the nineteenth century was made up of hundreds of societies and communities. These societies had different forms of government, and diverse economies, cultures, languages, and values. For example, the Asante Kingdom of West Africa ruled an area about the size of modern-day Ghana. They had a strong central government, a standing army with modern weapons, and a system of roads throughout their empire. The Asante were agriculturalists and traders, and collected payment from the communities under their influence.

In contrast, the Igbo of West Africa did not have a centralized government, and most Igbo communities were governed by elected assemblies who ruled by consensus, rather than by a single leader. The Igbo were heavily involved in trade, with trade routes linking them to merchants in North Africa and the Middle East, as well as European traders along the western African coast.

In East Africa, the Maasai were a seminomadic group ruled by male elders who decided the important matters of their communities. The Maasai raised cattle, and traded with neighboring agricultural communities for food and other goods.

Although some general statements about colonialism in Africa are possible, it is important to keep in mind that each of Africa's diverse societies experienced and responded to colonialism in unique ways.

Part I: Africa and the Imposition of Colonialism

Colonialism is a system in which one country takes control of the political and economic affairs of another nation, and imposes policies to control the population. Although European control of some parts of Africa lasted for hundreds of years, the majority of the continent was colonized from about 1884 to 1960.

Colonialism changed African societies in significant ways. For example, colonial rulers shifted the focus of African economies toward trade with Europe and grouped diverse and hostile societies within new colonial borders. But this period was not a complete departure from those that came before it. Relations between Europeans and Africans stretched back hundreds of years. What made the nineteenth century different was that Europeans wanted to take away African sovereignty—the right of Africans to rule themselves.

Africa Before Colonialism

Africa had long been connected to the rest of the world—Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and the Americas. These ties were based mainly on trade, but also on religion and culture. European colonialism would fundamentally alter these connections.

How was Africa connected to the rest of the world?

For centuries prior to European colonialism, Africans traded with other parts of the world. In East Africa, port cities like Mogadishu, Mombasa, and Zanzibar traded gold, ivory, and iron for cotton, silk, and porcelain from the Middle East and Asia. By the nineteenth century, trade routes from the east coast had expanded deep into the interior, linking African societies from as far west as present-day Angola with this transcontinental trade.

North African trade had an equally long history, and was centered around the Mediterranean Sea. This body of water connects North African cities like Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, and Cairo with ports in southern Europe. The

Part I Definitions

Colonialism—Colonialism is the acquisition and exploitation of territory by a foreign power for its own economic and political benefit.

Imperialism—Imperialism is a policy of exerting cultural, economic, or political influence over other societies. Colonialism is a form of imperialism, but imperialism includes a broader array of policies that powerful states use to influence the affairs of weaker states.

southern tip of Spain is just nine miles from northern Morocco.

At various points in its history, North Africa was under the control of the Phoenicians, the Roman Empire, Arab Muslims, and the Ottoman Empire. North Africans traded with communities across southern Europe and the Middle East, as well as with societies across the Sahara Desert in West Africa. As manufacturing grew in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, trade expanded. North Africans exported gold, grains, textiles, and other goods in exchange for European manufactured products.

Trade also brought new ideas and customs. In particular, religions like Islam and Christianity had a significant effect. Islam arrived in Africa during the life of the Prophet Muhammad, when Arabs conquered North Africa in the seventh century. Christianity has an even longer history on the continent, with Christian sects developing in Egypt and Ethiopia as early as the third and fourth centuries. While many Africans converted to Islam and Christianity, many more combined new religious customs with their existing religious practices.

Along with trade and religion came foreign settlement and culture. Africa's coastal cities became cultural blends. For example, European and Ottoman merchants settled along the northern coast to take advantage of trade

Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Atlas Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. I, 1572. Wikimedia Commons.



People along Africa's coasts had a long history of international trade prior to the nineteenth century. This German engraving from 1572 shows the island and city of Mombasa, part of present-day Kenya. Mombasa was a key port for East African trade with Asia and the Middle East.

opportunities. In the east, Africans, Arabs, and South Asians developed diverse cities based on international trade. The Swahili language—the most widely spoken language in much of East Africa today—developed as a blend of Arabic, Persian, and African languages.

What were the effects of the slave trade on Africa?

International connections also brought violence and change. As early as the seventh century, Arab and African traders in East and North Africa traded in slaves. Captives from Africa were sold in Arab slave markets alongside slaves from across the Middle East and Europe. Many became slaves in the territories of present-day India, Saudi Arabia, China, and Spain. Between 1600 and 1900, approximately 5.5 million people were enslaved in the East African slave trade.

As the slave trade on the East African coast continued to grow, a new slave trade

began along Africa's west and central coasts in the fifteenth century. In need of labor in their new American colonies, Europeans looked to this new Atlantic slave trade, exchanging guns, textiles, and other items for enslaved Africans.

The Atlantic slave trade enslaved and transported people on a scale never seen before. Conditions for Africans enslaved by this trade were exceptionally brutal and dehumanizing. The slave trade destroyed lives, tore communities apart, and led to great population loss. But this trade affected the diverse societies of these regions in different ways. Some African groups were able to take advantage of their superior military power

or access to European guns, and participated as traders. Others saw their entire communities wiped out.

Race was used to justify the Atlantic slave trade. Many whites believed that blacks possessed “weak” character traits like laziness, disobedience, and stupidity, and that slavery was God's way of punishing them. Slave traders also argued that enslaving Africans was actually a blessing to them, since it introduced them to Christianity. They thought that by removing Africans from their “heathen” land, they were actually ensuring their eternal salvation.

The Atlantic slave trade led to the forced enslavement of approximately twelve million Africans by the mid-nineteenth century. Millions more died before reaching the Americas.

What halted the Atlantic slave trade?

The idea that the slave trade was immoral

became widely accepted across Europe in the nineteenth century, thanks in part to the vocal opposition of formerly enslaved Africans and African Americans. In 1807, Britain became the first to abolish the trade. Other countries quickly followed suit, although illegal slave trading in the Atlantic continued until the 1860s. The slave trade on the East African coast increased after the end of the Atlantic slave trade, and continued until World War I.

How did the end of the slave trade affect economies in Africa?

The abolition of the Atlantic slave trade ushered in a period of relative peace for the regions most affected by this trade. It ended the wars and raids for slaves that had disrupted West and Central Africa for nearly two hundred years. At the same time, it was a period of great economic change. The slave trade had made international trade an important element of economic life in these regions. In the decades that followed the abolition of the slave trade, Africans began to grow and trade new items, like spices, coffee, peanuts, cotton, rubber, and ivory. This trade connected many more African societies with the world economy. While the slave trade had primarily involved powerful groups and individuals, this trade in products allowed new groups to participate as producers, merchants, and buyers.

The nineteenth century was a period of economic and political development across the continent. For example, by 1830, Egypt had factories producing cotton, wool, silk, linen textiles, leather, sugar, paper, glass, guns, and gunpowder. Societies in North and East Africa strengthened their militaries, building factories to produce weapons and establishing armies of professional soldiers. While some governments, like those of the Luba of Central Africa and the Oyo of West Africa, were in decline, others like Ethiopia, Madagascar, and Buganda were expanding and strengthening their control over their territories. Some states wrote constitutions and established political unions. African intellectuals spoke out against the racism and discrimination they faced from Europeans.

How were Europeans involved in Africa during this period?

The nineteenth century was also a period in which Africans faced growing European involvement in Africa. In most cases, this involved the expansion of trade—something that many Africans welcomed. European adventurers led expeditions to learn about the interior regions. They built relationships with Africans there and developed trade ties for European merchants. Christian missionaries often followed closely behind, establishing churches and schools to convert Africans to Christianity. Missionaries gathered information about the regions, which later helped Europeans extend control over the interior of Africa. Although some missionaries would speak out against the abuses of the colonial system, most believed that European control was necessary to bring “civilization” to people they viewed as inferior.

In only a few cases did European encroachment amount to control of significant territory in the nineteenth century. For example, South Africa was settled by Europeans in the 1600s. By the 1850s, this region was carved up into colonies controlled by the British and the Afrikaners, descendants of early Dutch settlers. Algeria became a French colony in 1830, and European settlers there numbered approximately one million by the end of the century. But outside of these isolated cases, European influence in Africa remained small and limited to coastal areas. All of this would change in a few short years at the end of the nineteenth century.

Europe's Conquest of Africa

The European conquest of Africa, also called the “scramble for Africa,” occurred during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It was a period of European imperialism across the world, as European countries also claimed territories across Southeast Asia. The European conquest of Africa was as far-reaching as it was fast. In 1880, about 80 percent of Africa was independent. By 1900, Europeans had laid claim to all but the African territories of Ethiopia and Liberia.

Why did the European powers want to claim Africa?

The most important factor that motivated European colonial expansion was economic gain. The Industrial Revolution, which began in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century, transformed the economies of Western Europe. No longer based on farming and handmade products, industrialized European economies mass-produced manufactured goods in factories. The forced labor of enslaved Africans on the plantations of the Americas provided money and resources that fueled this economic revolution.

As other countries caught up to Great Britain, the competition intensified to find sources of raw materials and to sell manufactured goods. Africa had palm oil, cotton, cocoa, rubber, and other raw materials desired by European companies. In the 1870s and 1880s, Europeans found vast reserves of gold and diamonds in South Africa. Many Europeans hoped that similar discoveries would be made in other parts of the continent.

Rival European companies competed with each other and also with local producers and traders as they worked to establish themselves in Africa. African merchants retained some control over prices—for example, by withholding supplies when prices were low in order to drive prices back up. The power of African traders helped convince European governments that taking control of territories in Africa might be necessary to guarantee the profits of their companies.

Social and political factors also encouraged European involvement in Africa. Countries did not want to fall behind in the competition for national prestige and economic growth. In some cases, European countries claimed territory just to keep it from falling into the hands of their rivals.

Europeans used racist ideologies to justify actions overseas, just as they had used them to justify the slave trade. Many in Europe believed that there were significant biological differences between people of different races and ethnicities. Although this theory is false, these ideas made many Europeans feel justi-

fied in taking possession of territories overseas and ruling over the people of Africa and Asia.

“We come among them as members of a superior race and servants of a Government that desires to elevate the more degraded portions of the human family.”

—David Livingstone, British missionary and adventurer who traveled extensively in central and southern Africa, late 1850s

What was the Berlin Conference?

By the late nineteenth century, European countries like Britain, France, and Portugal had been colonizing other nations for centuries. Some European countries held colonies in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia.

European control of Africa began slowly. In many cases, European companies initiated it by attempting to establish exclusive trading rights in particular regions of the continent. These companies negotiated treaties with African leaders in order to control trade and exclude rival companies, using military force when necessary.

In the late nineteenth century, European governments began stepping in to take control of these territories. For example, by the early 1880s, France had taken control of parts of what are today Senegal, Gabon, the Republic of the Congo, and its colony in Algeria. Britain had influence in Ghana, Nigeria, Egypt, and Sierra Leone, as well as South Africa. Portugal had claims in Mozambique and Angola, Germany in Namibia and Cameroon, and Italy in Eritrea and Somaliland.

King Leopold II of Belgium also looked at Africa with interest. Competition between King Leopold and France over a region in Central Africa heightened European rivalries. German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck arranged for an international conference to be held in Berlin, Germany in 1884-1885, in part to reduce the possibility of conflict among the European powers. At the Berlin Conference, countries agreed on a set of rules for “carving up” Africa.

Representatives from fourteen countries came together for the conference. Not a single African representative was at the meeting, and few of the participating diplomats had ever set foot on the African continent.

The Berlin Conference set the guidelines for Europe's colonization of Africa. According to the Berlin Treaty, countries would need to have their claims to territory in Africa ratified by the other European powers. Delegates recognized the Congo Free State (the territory in which King Leopold had established his influence in Central Africa) as a free trade area under Leopold's personal control. The Berlin Treaty also recognized treaties between Europeans and African leaders as legal claims to territory. Significantly, European countries were now required to occupy the territories they claimed.

How did Africans initially respond to European expansion?

After the Berlin Conference, the pace of European expansion in Africa picked up speed. Companies and government representatives from France, Britain, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Belgium all raced to make treaties with African leaders in order to establish their claims to the continent.

Initially, many Africans responded positively to increased European involvement. Treaties usually promised not only trade, but also good relations and protection. Many African leaders believed that allying with Europeans would protect them from threats they faced—whether from other, hostile European groups, rival states, or even their own subjects. Europeans often took advantage of divisions among African groups, for example, by joining with weaker groups to crush a stronger rival. But many African leaders were hesitant to sign agreements that infringed upon their authority by forbidding them to enter into treaties with other European countries. Oftentimes, Africans were tricked or misled about the content of treaties with far-reaching consequences.

“No man if he understood would sign it, and to say that a savage chief has been told that he cedes all rights to the company in exchange for nothing is an obvious untruth. If he has been told that the company will protect him against his enemies, and share in his wars as an ally, he has been told a lie, for the company have no idea of doing any such thing and no force to do it with if they wished.”

—British Captain F.D. Lugard, discussing treaties negotiated between the Imperial British East Africa Company and the Mwanga in present-day Uganda, 1890s



This British political cartoon from the late nineteenth century shows Cecil Rhodes, a British businessman, straddling the African continent. Many British leaders at the time hoped to create a continuous stretch of British-controlled territory in Africa, linking Cape Town (in South Africa) to Cairo (in Egypt). European leaders believed they had the right to claim land in Africa despite opposition from African people.

Edward Linley Sambourne, *Punch*.

Missionaries in Africa

Before the late nineteenth century, missionaries were few and far between in Africa. Missionaries' presence was limited to pockets of coastal areas, despite widespread interest in expanding inwards to the interior of Africa. Important developments led to an increase of missionary activity. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and advances in transportation and tropical medicine improved missionaries' access to the inland regions of Africa.

Missionaries came to Africa from the colonizing countries—France, Belgium, Great Britain, etc.—as well as other parts of Europe and the United States. They believed that converting as many Africans as possible to Christianity would “civilize” Africans and save them from their “backwardness” and “primitiveness.” Missionaries promoted Christianity as morally and spiritually superior to local religions. Africans often resisted these claims by either refusing to practice a new religion or by blending Christianity with their own practices and beliefs.

Colonial authorities welcomed the presence of missionaries in African colonies and often subsidized their activities. As a result, missionaries played an important role in the day-to-day control of African subjects and in strengthening European imperialism. Missionaries ran schools, which instructed African students in the colonial language; oversaw large tracts of land, which were farmed using African labor; set up health clinics and treated the sick with Western medicine; and traveled to remote regions to spread Christianity and change indigenous cultures. In some colonies, mission work was most the common occupation for foreigners.

One legacy of missionary work in Africa is the number of Africans who practice Christianity today. In 1910, an estimated 1.4 percent of the world's Christian population were African. By 2010, this figure had grown to over 23 percent.

Most Africans had assumed this era of relations with Europe would be the same as in previous years. African leaders did not consider it possible that they would lose the ability to govern themselves. But European's actions soon made it clear that their plans for Africa were very different.

How did Africans resist European encroachment?

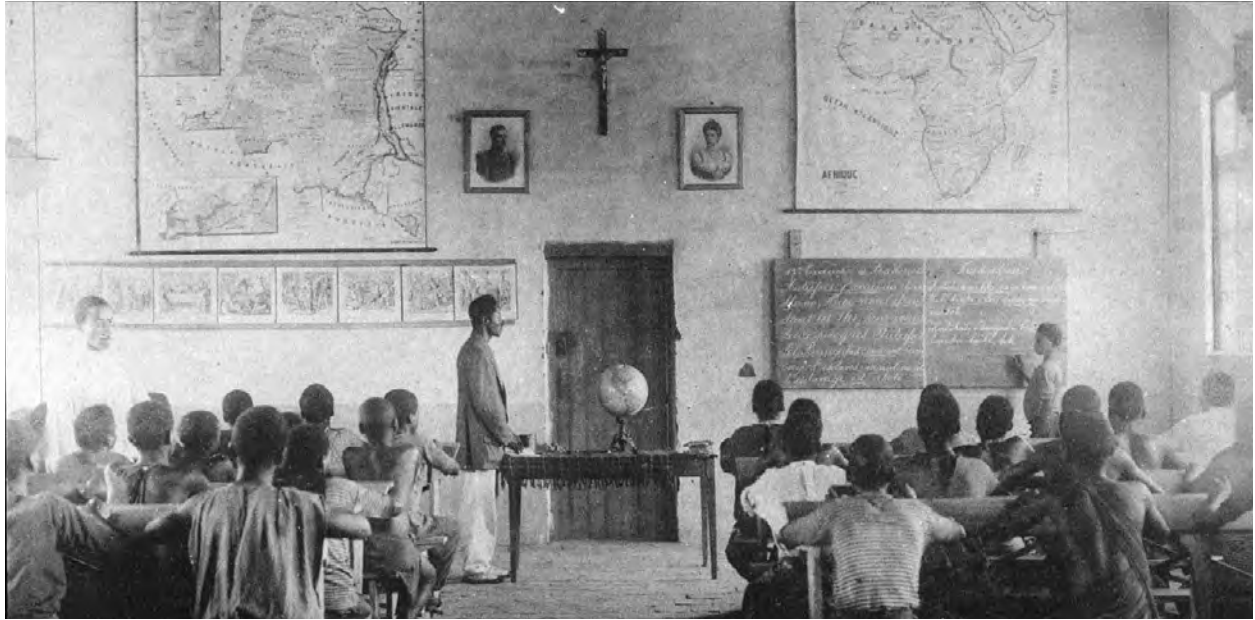
The Berlin Treaty required Europeans to occupy the territories they claimed. In some cases, Europeans established their authority through diplomacy, but in most cases they used military force. As Africans recognized Europe's true intentions, they resisted in a variety of ways. African responses to European invasion were diverse, but all aimed at the same goal: preserving their right to rule themselves.

“I have listened to your words but can find no reason why I should obey you—I would rather die first.... If it

should be friendship that you desire, then I am ready for it...but to be your subject that I cannot be.... I do not fall at your feet, for you are God's creature just as I am.... I am Sultan here in my land. You are Sultan there in yours. Yet listen, I do not say to you that you should obey me; for I know that you are a free man.”

—King Machelamba of the Yao in East Africa
to German commander
Hermann von Wissmann, 1890

African groups used a range of methods to oppose European occupation. Some used diplomacy to try to convince Europeans to withdraw. Some forged alliances with Europeans, hoping that their new allies would respect their sovereignty. In other cases, groups tried to discourage European interest in Africa. For example, in Senegal, a leader named Lat Dior Diop forbade his people from growing peanuts, convinced that the French would leave if they could not get the goods they desired.



Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library

A mission school in the Belgian Congo around 1914. The colonial administration in the Belgian Congo granted land to missionaries for schools. In exchange, the mission schools trained Africans to work in agriculture, the transportation and communications sector, the army, and the lower ranks of the colonial administration. Mission schools in the Belgian Congo focused on primary education. Colonial authorities feared that education beyond the primary level would create a class of highly-educated Congolese who would challenge colonial authority through writing and political organizing.

As Europeans continued to extend their control, many Africans abandoned diplomacy for confrontation. African armies fought Europeans on the battlefield, and used guerrilla warfare to attack European forces. In areas with large Muslim populations, resistance was not just in defense of sovereignty, but also in defense of Islam. Many feared that foreign domination by Christian powers would be disruptive to their cultures and religious practices.

Europeans responded to armed resistance with military force, inflicting devastating losses. For example, at a battle near Karari, Sudan in 1899, British troops and allies killed eleven thousand Sudanese soldiers, while only forty-seven of their own were killed.

What advantages did Europeans hold?

Europeans had a number of significant advantages. Fueled by the Industrial Revolution, European countries had vast material and financial resources to devote to their wars in Africa. European countries had professional

armies and navies, while most African states depended on volunteers and conscripts who could not remain at war for long periods. In addition, the Atlantic slave trade had significantly depleted African populations, leaving many states unable to resist European expansion.

Europe's biggest advantage was technology. Advances in tropical medicine, transportation, and military technology meant that Europeans could move troops further into the interior of Africa than ever before. European militaries had the Maxim gun, the world's first self-powered machine gun. African armies had outdated weapons, in part because at the 1890 Brussels Convention, European powers had agreed not to sell advanced weaponry to Africans. The two African leaders who won battles against European armies—Samore Touré of the Wassoulou Empire in West Africa and Menelik II, emperor of Ethiopia—were the only two African leaders who were able to obtain some of these advanced weapons.

In addition, after the Berlin Conference, European countries were united in their aims for Africa. Any disagreements between the European powers over African territory were settled by negotiation. So while Europeans were able to manipulate the divisions among African groups, Africans were unable to take advantage of divisions among Europeans.

Africa Under Colonialism

By 1900, Europe had laid claim to all of Africa except for Liberia and Ethiopia (see box). It would take years for Europeans to formally govern all of the territories they claimed. Nevertheless, they quickly set to work establishing new systems to achieve their colonial aims.

The European powers' primary goals in colonizing Africa were to obtain raw materials and sell their manufactured goods in African economies. They built roads, railways, and telegraph and telephone lines to support their businesses. They established medical facilities for Europeans living in Africa, set up schools

to educate a handful of Africans for semi-skilled jobs, and, most importantly, acquired land and labor to extract the continent's raw materials.

How did European powers restructure the economies of their colonies?

European countries manipulated African economies in order to extract the maximum amount of raw materials. They reorganized African economies to grow cash crops such as peanuts, cotton, wheat, timber, palm oil, and coffee for export, instead of crops for local consumption.

In places like Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, and Algeria, this cash-crop economy was dominated by European settlers who had come to Africa hoping to make their fortunes. Colonial authorities confiscated the most fertile land and sold it at reduced cost to these settlers. European landowners were able to collect huge profits largely because of the very low wages they paid African workers.

Preserving Independence: The Experiences of Liberia and Ethiopia

By 1900, only two African states had retained their independence: Liberia and Ethiopia.

Liberia had been established by the American Colonization Society in 1822 as a home for free African Americans who wished to return to Africa, as well as for enslaved Africans freed by the U.S. Navy when the slave trade was abolished. While the United States was unwilling to see Liberia recolonized, it did allow Britain and France to interfere in Liberia's internal affairs, dominate Liberia's economy, and seize land along Liberia's borders. Although Liberia was able to avoid becoming a European colony, this independence was largely in name only.

Ethiopia's experience was more extraordinary, and it became a rallying point for Africans across the continent and the world. In 1889, Italy signed the Treaty of Wuchale with Menelik II, who was about to be crowned emperor of Ethiopia. The Amharic-language version of the treaty stated that Menelik could use Italy's assistance to negotiate with the other European powers if he wished. The Italian-language version, on the other hand, made this a requirement. On the basis of this provision, the Italians claimed authority in Ethiopia and renamed the region Italian Abyssinia. When Menelik's appeals for help from the other European powers failed, he began to import advanced weapons and strengthen his control of the region.

Fighting broke out between Ethiopia and Italy in 1894. The Battle of Adowa in 1896 was a total defeat for Italy's army, which was outnumbered nearly six to one by Ethiopian troops. Later that year, in the Treaty of Addis Ababa, Italy annulled the Treaty of Wuchale and recognized the absolute independence of Ethiopia. Ethiopia's ability to remain independent from colonialism has been a source of great pride for Africans and people of African descent throughout the world.

In West Africa, the economy developed differently, with African farmers growing cash crops on their own land for export. While colonial officials forced some communities to grow these crops, others embraced the new economy. In some West African colonies, independent farming allowed Africans to improve their standard of living. But in many places, earnings were so low that Africans needed to grow subsistence crops as well in order to survive. Many European colonial administrators argued that since Africans could grow their own food, they were justified in keeping African wages low and providing no benefits or services to workers.

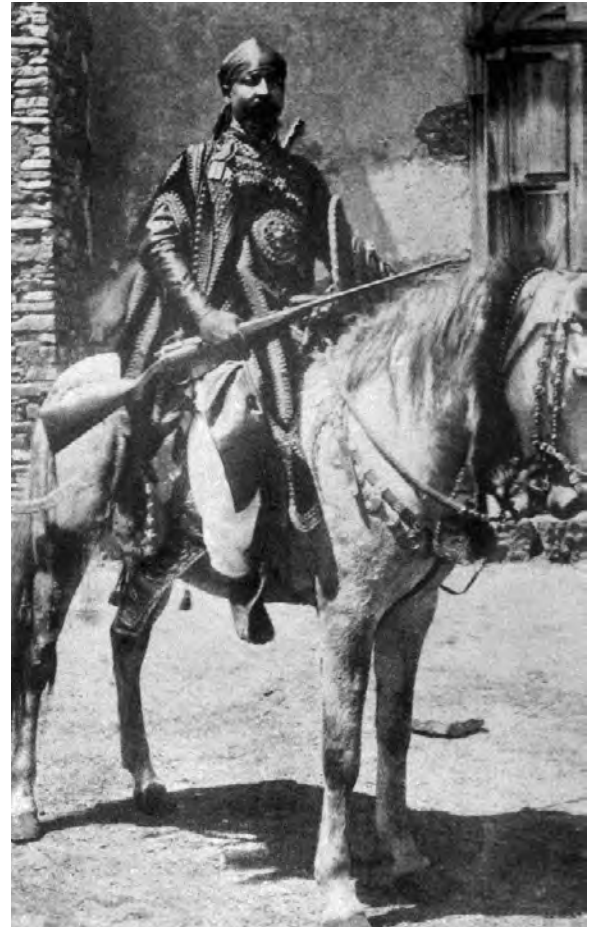
“I have always noticed that whenever the budget of a native family was properly and regularly kept, it never managed to make ends meet. The life of a native is, in fact, a miracle.”

—French colonial administrator

In other regions, mining was the primary economic activity. For example, the Belgian Congo became a source of copper, cobalt, and diamonds. In South Africa, gold and diamonds made up more than 80 percent of all exports by 1910. Mining wages were also low, and Africans performed the most dangerous jobs.

In Central Africa, in places like the Congo Free State, Cameroon, and Gabon, European governments allowed European companies to run the economy, often with very little oversight. Many of the worst abuses of the colonial system were perpetrated by these companies.

“We had to go further and further into the forest to find the rubber vines, to go without food, and our women had to give up cultivating the fields and gardens. Then we starved. Wild beasts—leopards—killed some of us when we were working away in the forest, and others got lost or died from exposure and starvation, and we begged the white man to leave



Luigi Naretti.

This photograph shows Ras Mengesha Yohannes, an Ethiopian leader in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He fought against the Italian army and helped preserve Ethiopian independence at the Battle of Adowa in 1896.

us alone, saying that we could get no more rubber, but the white men and their soldiers said: ‘Go! You are only beasts yourselves.’”

—A Congolese man to a British official, 1903

How did these new economies put Africans at a disadvantage?

The European powers made each African colony dependent on the production of only a handful of goods. This increased production and efficiency and, therefore, European profits. But this system meant that small changes in the price of a particular good could have serious effects on the economic well-being of a



Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-93266.

Building infrastructure such as railways and roads was a top priority for colonial officials. Often built by African laborers, the railways played a critical role in transporting raw materials from the countryside to the ports, where European merchants could export goods to Europe. The bridge in this photograph was part of the railway linking British colonies in present-day Uganda and Kenya with the Indian Ocean.

colony. While Europeans might make less of a profit, Africans could face serious economic hardship.

The European powers also geared their colonial economies entirely toward trade with Europe. Previously, there had been trade between different parts of the African continent, but now all trade was directed overseas. Colonial authorities built roads, railways, and other transportation to link interior regions with port cities where goods could be shipped to and from Europe.

Europeans did not want to develop industries in the colonies that would compete with their industries at home. So, for example, while Sudan and Uganda exported cotton, both colonies imported cotton goods and textiles manufactured in Europe. Similarly, Côte d'Ivoire imported tinned cocoa and chocolate made in Europe from their cacao. Africans

were at a great disadvantage in this trade, because prices for raw materials were significantly lower than the prices for manufactured goods.

Colonial governments also levied a variety of taxes on African individuals and villages in order to raise funds for the colonial system. Officials argued that Africans benefited from colonialism, and so Africans should help fund the colonial system. In reality, the colonial government spent very little on services for Africans, such as education and health care. Instead, most resources were put toward services for Europeans and boosting the colonial economy. In order to pay the high taxes imposed upon them, Africans had to earn money by working for European businesses and settlers.

European colonial policies so greatly favored Europeans that most African traders

and middlemen were forced out of business. European banks refused to grant loans to African entrepreneurs. In Egypt, the most industrialized African state prior to European colonization, British and French policies pushed Egyptian factories and the Egyptian government to bankruptcy.

How did colonial powers govern African societies?

The colonial powers made political and social changes to increase their control of the colonies. European leaders drew new boundaries and grouped together diverse and sometimes rival societies in each colony. At times, the borders of their colonies divided the territory of an African society or ethnic group. They established European languages as the official languages of the colonies, which meant that government affairs, legal proceedings, and other official business were conducted in languages that few Africans could speak.

To manage their colonies, European powers set up new governments, each led by a European governor. Each colonial power took a different approach to ruling their colonial possessions. For example, British leaders believed that someday, in the distant future, their colonies would be self-ruling. They aimed to develop institutions that would prepare their colonial subjects to rule themselves eventually. The French, on the other hand, worked to impose changes on their colonial populations to make them more French in language, values, religion, and cultural practice. This process, known as assimilation, aimed to erase local cultures and replace them with French culture.

The aims of the colonial powers determined the ways in which they governed their colonial territories. For example, the British often governed through a system of indirect rule. In this system, colonial officials employed traditional leaders (leaders holding power by African laws or customs) as agents of the colonial system. Traditional leaders took new roles as tax collectors, census-takers, and recruiters of workers and soldiers. While traditional leaders in this system retained their

positions of power, their authority now came not from their people, but from the colonial system.

In contrast, King Leopold II of Belgium allowed his Congo Free State to be governed by foreign companies. Prioritizing economic gain above all else, he granted these companies huge tracts of land on which they could exploit the Congo's natural resources, and allowed them to govern as they saw fit within their territories.

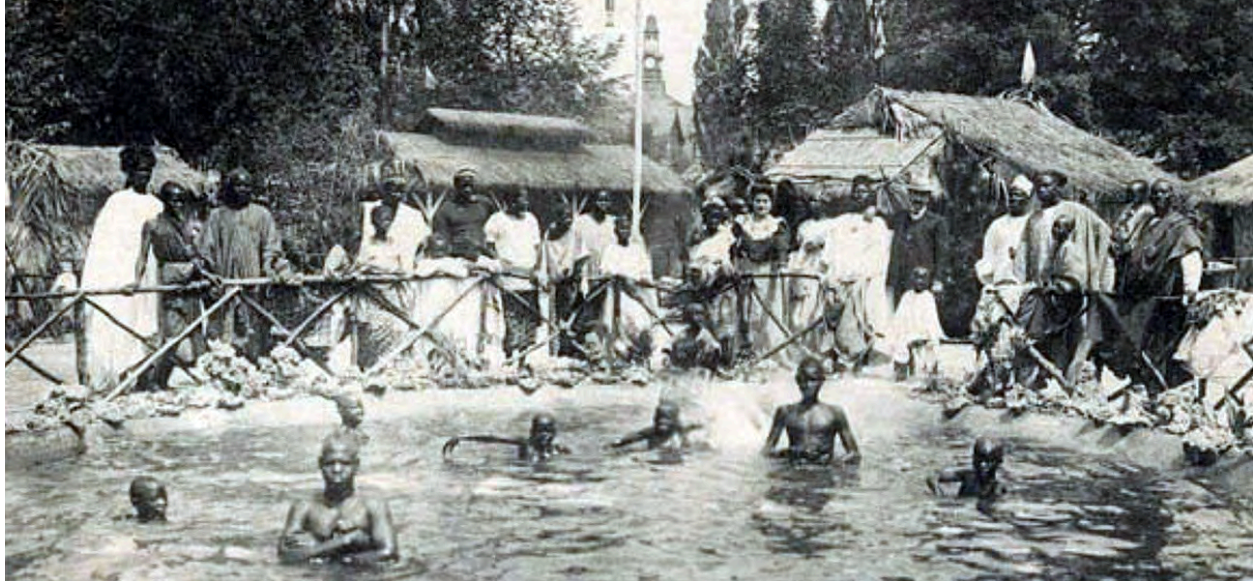
Despite these political changes, African traditional leaders would continue to be important for their communities throughout the colonial period and beyond. Many leaders forced from power by colonial officials led resistance efforts against the colonial authorities. But those who became representatives of the colonial regime often lost the support of their communities. New leaders who had been appointed by the colonial authorities struggled to gain legitimacy in the eyes of Africans.

How did Europeans treat Africans?

The way Europeans interacted with Africans changed in the colonial period. Earlier in the nineteenth century, most Europeans respected the authority of African leaders. Although racism distorted the way Europeans understood other cultures, European traders, missionaries, and explorers generally interacted with Africans on an equal footing.

By the end of the century, Europeans had taken away African independence. They instituted drastic changes with little regard to the desires of Africans. They claimed that these changes were in the best interests of Africans, and believed that Africa's economic, political, and social development would only happen with help from Europe. This belief was rooted in the racist theories that shaped how many Europeans viewed the world.

Racism was apparent in many aspects of life in African colonies. Africans were treated as second-class citizens in their own communities. Europeans built hospitals, schools, and social clubs that Africans could not attend. The few schools for Africans that did



Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, #1953374.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, several European countries and the United States set up exhibitions to “display” African people to their populations. In one particularly appalling case in 1906, a Congolese Pygmy man named Ota Benga was housed in the Bronx Zoo in New York City. Millions of people visited these “human zoos,” which were staged to portray African people as primitive and uncivilized, representing the false and stereotyped images that many people in Europe and the United States expected to see. These exhibitions exemplified the racism, exploitation, and inhumanity at the heart of colonialism. This photograph shows a “Senegalese village” in Paris.

exist taught pupils from a European perspective—for example, with subjects in European history, European ecology, and European literature—with little emphasis on topics relevant in Africa. Europeans belittled African music, art, clothing, and culture. Christian missionaries pressured Africans to abandon their religions and cultures for Christianity. In some colonies, officials could imprison Africans for failing to display proper respect to colonial authorities.

African women lost a great deal of political and economic power during the colonial period. Prior to colonialism, many African societies had female representatives in government, and women played important economic roles as farmers and traders. But European officials treated men as the powerbrokers and leaders in African communities, and passed laws that limited women’s economic independence.

Colonial officials’ top concern was not to improve life for Africans, but to have them work in the colonial economy. While some Africans eagerly participated, others were not so willing. In many regions, officials made work mandatory, and required African men and women to work a certain percentage of every year for colonial businesses.

Working conditions were often unsafe. Employers mistreated their workers and kept wages very low. Some colonial officials set targets for African workers, and beat laborers who failed to meet those targets. In some colonies, if a worker decided to quit his job, he could be arrested.

**“The European merchant is my shepherd,
And I am in want,
He maketh me lie down in cocoa farms;
He leadeth me beside the waters of great
need;
He restoreth my doubt in the pool parts.
Yea, though I walk in the valleys of
starvation,
I do not fear evil:
For thou art against me.
The general managers and profiteers
frighten me.
Thou preparest a reduction in my salary
In the presence of my creditors.
Thou anointest my income with taxes;
My expense runs over my income.
Surely unemployment and poverty will
follow me
All the days of my poor existence,
And I will dwell in a rented house for
ever!”**

— “A Psalm 23, by an African Laborer,”
The African Morning Post, Accra, Ghana,
September 2, 1944



African laborers working on a British-owned logging operation in Ghana.

The National Archives UK, CO 1069-34-18.

In this section, you have read about conditions in Africa prior to European colonization, and considered the changes that colonialism imposed on African societies. You have also read about some early African responses to European encroachment in Africa. In the following section, you will see how African resistance to colonialism evolved over time. You will also explore the ways in which international events gave momentum to the anticolonial movements that sprang up across the continent in the twentieth century.

Part II: African Resistance Grows

Africans resisted colonialism throughout the colonial period. In the first few decades of European control, the goal of resistance for most Africans was to preserve their right to rule themselves. Groups fighting colonialism led revolts and rebellions to overthrow the colonial system.

The aims of African resistance began to shift as European powers established their control over more of the continent. After World War I, anticolonial leaders focused more on working within the colonial system, pressing for reforms that would improve conditions for Africans. International events and the European powers' unwillingness to make significant changes would eventually push Africans to demand independence in the years after World War II.

African Responses to Colonialism

In the first few decades of European colonialism, the strongest resistance was in rural areas. For example, rural communities in regions of present-day Morocco, Kenya, Angola, and Mozambique were able to retain their sovereignty until after World War I. In other areas, African militaries were able to drive out colonial authorities temporarily.

Part II Definition

Nationalism—Nationalism is a strong devotion to the interests of one's country and people. In the case of African anticolonial movements in the twentieth century, nationalism was a broad term used to describe the desire of Africans to gain independence from European influence and control.

Colonial governments often responded to resistance with brutal force. For example, in Tanganyika (present-day Tanzania) the response of the German authorities to the Maji Maji rebellion of 1905-1907 left as many as 75,000 people dead. As the century progressed, many groups began to resist the colonial system in less confrontational ways.



This photograph from the late nineteenth century shows ivory collected in East Africa. Like many European photographs of Africa from that time period, it depicts what European leaders viewed as an achievement of colonialism—exploitation of Africa's natural resources for European gain.

What did people in Europe think about colonialism?

In Europe, the governments of the colonial powers initiated campaigns to drum up support for colonialism. In some countries, governments declared public holidays for empire, held exhibitions and fairs to showcase imperial greatness, and printed new maps that highlighted the extent of Europe's foreign possessions. The majority of Europeans saw Africans as "backward" and colonialism as necessary to bring them to "civilization." Nevertheless, most Europeans were far more concerned with local issues than they were about what happened in their countries' colonial territories.

There were Europeans who criticized colonialism by focusing on extreme cases of abuse, such as the violence of authorities in the rubber industry in the Congo Free State. In most cases, critics blamed other religious denominations, rival companies, or other European governments for colonial abuses. Few were willing to recognize that violence and oppression were key elements of all forms of colonialism.

How did Africans oppose colonialism?

Rural Africans resented forced labor, oppressive taxation, and European confiscation of African lands. Many opposed the attempts by missionaries to repress African religions and cultures. In some cases, resistance took the form of attacks against symbols of the colonial system, such as plantations, tax collectors, and mission priests. Some communities overthrew traditional leaders who they believed were cooperating with the colonial authorities. In other cases, resistance was more passive. For example, workers would refuse to follow orders, fake illness, work slowly on purpose, or not show up for work at all. Some migrated across colonial borders to avoid taxes, forced labor, or abusive colonial officials. Others resisted colonialism by rejecting European cultural impositions, such as European churches, schools, clothing, and languages.

In rural areas, most resistance was led by traditional leaders. But in the cities, a new, educated elite began to take leadership roles. These individuals, many of whom had attended mission schools and studied in European universities, returned to Africa armed with new ideas about democracy and civil rights.

Educated Africans joined with urban workers and formed societies, political parties, and unions to organize against the abuses of the colonial system and advocate for reform. Using newspapers, pamphlets, petitions, strikes, and boycotts, these leaders called for

better working conditions, the expansion of services such as schools and hospitals, an end to discrimination, and for African representation in government. In some regions, urban leaders sent delegates to Europe to speak to European policymakers about their concerns.

Despite these efforts, African resistance saw limited success in the early part of the twentieth century. In general, the European powers were not willing to make any significant reforms, and responded to African resistance with violence and repression.

How did World War I contribute to African frustration with colonialism?

In 1914, war broke out and quickly engulfed all of Europe. France, Britain, Portugal, Russia, and others fought against Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. World War I (1914-1918) turned regions of Africa into battlegrounds between the colonial powers. In particular, Britain and France, hoping to gain additional territory, invaded Germany's African colonies.

The war brought many Africans into close contact with Europeans. Africans served as soldiers and military officers. They also worked as porters, moving supplies through interior regions of the continent where there were no railroads. In North Africa, colonial officials recruited workers to replace European factory workers who were fighting in the war.

The war was a pivotal experience for many Africans. For the first time, they witnessed Europeans fighting amongst themselves. African officers trained European military recruits and fought alongside European soldiers. Most importantly, Africans saw that Europeans could be challenged and defeated.

The war provoked widespread frustration with the colonial authorities. Many African soldiers were conscripted, or forced to join the military. Some migrated to other colonies or even mutilated themselves to avoid serving in European armies. In some parts of the continent, blockades disrupted trade, causing economic hardship and frustration for many.

The war drew many European soldiers and officials away from their colonial posts. Some African communities took advantage of the instability to rise up against the authorities, and some were able to regain a great deal of independence during the war.

Africans who participated in the war effort thought they would be rewarded with additional social, political, and economic rights when the war was over. In particular, the ideas promoted by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson gave hope to many among the educated African elite. Toward the end of the war, Wilson proposed a fourteen-point peace plan that included the idea of self-determination, or the right of a people to choose their own government.

It soon became clear that Europe and the United States did not believe that Africans deserved this right. Instead, in the newly formed League of Nations, European countries continued to argue that it was their duty to “civilize” non-European people. Germany’s former colonies became mandates—territories administered by foreign countries on behalf of the League. Britain, France, Belgium, and South Africa each took control of one or more of Germany’s African territories. The League also designated former provinces of the Ottoman Empire—including much of the Middle East—as mandates, despite European promises of independence for these countries after the war.

“To those colonies...which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.”

—League of Nations Covenant, Article 22

This European denial of Africans’ right to rule themselves only increased African frustration with the injustices of colonialism.

How did African anticolonial nationalism grow in the 1920s?

In 1900, the first Pan African Congress was held in London to discuss the common plight of people of African descent. Delegates from Africa and other countries around the world called for an end to racism, discrimination, and racial oppression. The colonization of Africa was a chief topic of concern. Criticism of colonialism grew louder in Africa and around the world after World War I. Four conferences between 1919 and 1927 helped bring international attention and support to anticolonial nationalist movements in Africa.

One of the most influential figures in the Pan-African movement was a man named Marcus Garvey. Born in Jamaica, Garvey started an organization called the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). At the UNIA’s first international convention in 1920, delegates wrote the “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World,” which, among other things, demanded “Africa for the Africans.” Anticolonial activists called for change and organized in their own countries.

Pan Africanism inspired more Africans to join anticolonial groups, especially in West Africa where anticolonial nationalist leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria gained broad support. Anticolonial nationalist groups had a variety of aims depending on local conditions. While



The National Archives, CO 1069-21-13.

In most colonies, colonial officials provided very limited educational opportunities for Africans. This image shows high school students from St. Joseph's College in the British Cameroons. The school, built in the late 1930s and run by Christian missionaries, was the first high school for Africans in the colony.

some called for outright independence, most called for increased representation in government, an end to racial discrimination and inequality, and reform of the colonial system to make it beneficial to Africans.

“Do we not pay taxes to the Government? Then we want a proper Government school, we want to see something for our money, we want proper schooling for our children.”

—Activist calling for reform in
Southern Rhodesia, 1929

How did the Great Depression strengthen opposition to colonialism?

The worldwide economic depression of the 1930s also strengthened African opposi-

tion to colonialism. Many Africans relied on international trade for their livelihoods. As European demand for African minerals and agricultural goods decreased, the risks of African dependence on European trade became clear. Prices for raw materials plummeted, and employers cut wages and fired workers.

Some Africans withdrew from the colonial economy entirely and returned to subsistence farming. Others left the rural areas to look for work in the cities, and ended up living in poverty in urban slums. Colonial governments also became strapped for cash, and were forced to cut services, fire staff, and increase taxes. These changes fostered deep discontent and pushed many Africans to join groups actively opposing the colonial system.

How did Africans oppose colonialism during the 1920s and 1930s?

In the 1920s and 1930s, Africans organized a growing numbers of strikes and boycotts. Anticolonial activists also published newspapers, books, pamphlets, and petitions that criticized the colonial system. Africans formed groups to promote and revive African culture, including art, dance, theater, and music. Often unknownst to colonial authorities, African artists would use their talents to ridicule officials and express popular frustration with colonialism. Religion also remained an important vehicle for African resistance and African nationalism (see box).

These movements had some successes. For example, Egyptian nationalist protests pushed Britain to grant Egypt independence in 1922, although the British would continue to exert significant influence in their former colony until the 1950s. British colonial authorities also made constitutional changes in Nigeria and Ghana that allowed Africans to form their own political parties. But overall, the colonial powers remained resistant to change. They argued that these movements did not represent the views of the majority of Africans. To counter nationalist activities, colonial officials censored the press, imprisoned anticolonial leaders, and increased their restrictions on African political activities.

African anticolonial nationalist groups also faced internal struggles. While many in West Africa were successful in organizing people on a national and even regional level, people in other colonies struggled to unite diverse groups. For example, groups in Kenya did not see themselves as “Kenyan.” In many regions, nationalist movements remained local. In addition, groups were often divided in their aims. While some leaders were satisfied with small and incremental changes, others wanted self-rule.

The Tide Begins to Turn

In 1935, Italy occupied Ethiopia, seeking to avenge its 1896 defeat at Adowa. The League of Nations condemned Italy’s aggres-



Wikimedia Commons.

Women played important roles in anticolonial resistance. In this photo, women protest in Cairo in 1919. A colony-wide revolution that year eventually convinced Britain to grant Egypt limited independence in 1922.

sion, but did little to force Italy to withdraw. Africans and people of African descent throughout the world were outraged.

How did Africans view ideological shifts in Europe?

Prior to Italy’s invasion, many African leaders hoped that political developments in Europe would lead to reform of the colonial system. In the decades after World War I, new ideas about the ways in which society should be governed had spread across Europe. Liberals argued that the people should elect their representatives, and emphasized the rights and freedoms of individuals. Socialists hoped to create a classless society that would end

the exploitation of workers. New organizations formed to lobby for the rights of workers, women, and minority groups. Many Africans supported these political developments in Europe, and advocated for colonial officials to adopt these new ideas.

At the same time, the 1930s saw the rise of fascism and Nazism—ideologies that promoted racial superiority, imperialism, and the complete control of the state. Although many Europeans saw fascism as brutally repressive and morally repugnant, many Africans saw close similarities between this ideology and the racist colonial system operating in Africa.

Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 was an important event for those opposed to colonialism. Italy was ruled by the fascist government of Benito Mussolini. For many Africans, the invasion—and Europe's weak response—was proof that the colonial powers would side with fascism rather than support Africans. Many began to see colonialism not as something that could be reformed, but as something that had to be overthrown entirely.

Why was World War II a turning point?

World War II proved to be a turning point for colonialism in Africa. The war revealed the extent to which the European colonial powers depended on their colonies. During the war, the Belgian Congo provided 85 percent of the funds for Belgium's government-in-exile. African soldiers served on battlefields around the world, and Africa's raw materials were critical in supplying the war effort. In fact, the United

States built one of its atomic bombs—which ended the war in 1945—with uranium mined in the Belgian Congo.

Africans were more directly involved in this war than in World War I, with battles raging across North Africa and the Horn of Africa (including Ethiopia, Somalia, and Eritrea). Many were conscripted into the military and fought in battles in Europe and Asia, as well as in Africa. They learned new skills and trades, and had high expectations for new opportunities at the end of the war. African soldiers were also exposed to powerful anticolonial movements in places like India and Vietnam. Many African soldiers returned home to be leaders in national struggles against colonialism.

Why did African anticolonial leaders support the Allies?

During the war, African anticolonial nationalists supported the Allies, which included the colonial powers Britain, France, and Belgium. These activists believed that their demands for self-government would be much more successful in a world without the fascism supported by the Axis Powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Developments during the war convinced many African leaders that European views on colonialism had begun to shift. In 1941, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill signed the Atlantic Charter, pledging their desire for

Resistance Through Religion

Religion was an important element of African opposition to colonialism. Africans used Islam, Christianity, and traditional African religions to resist the colonial system. Religious leaders were key figures in many African resistance movements.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, Africans formed new churches and religious movements to oppose colonialism. These churches promoted African nationalism and the liberation of Africans from colonialism. Music and dance, often prohibited in mission churches, were central elements of anticolonial religious practice. African church leaders criticized the conservative, European-run churches that outlawed African culture, discriminated against African people, and supported the colonial system. African churches grew rapidly in regions where colonial abuses were particularly harsh, such as in South Africa and the Belgian Congo.

“sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.” At the end of war in 1945, the Allies formed the United Nations (UN). One of the UN’s founding goals was to “develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.” Nationalists across Africa and around the world heralded these sentiments as support for the end of colonialism.

European leaders did not interpret these statements the same way. According to them, the independence of African colonies would not happen for many decades, if ever. After issuing the Atlantic Charter, Prime Minister Churchill made it clear that its principles did not apply to Britain’s African colonies. In 1944, at a conference in Brazzaville, French Congo, the French laid out a plan to preserve France’s empire after the war.

“The aims of the work of colonization as accomplished by France in the colonies exclude any idea

of autonomy, any possibility of evolution outside the French Empire: the constitution of self-government in the colonies, even in the distant future, is to be excluded.”

—The Brazzaville Declaration, 1944

Although France and Britain were unwilling to let go of their colonial empires, both recognized that some concessions needed to be made. Both countries instituted reforms during and after the war. Africans gained new political and civil rights, funds for welfare and development projects, and increased access to education. But these reforms increased discontent because they fell far short of the expectations for independence held by many Africans. By the end of the war, the idea that colonialism would continue in any form was unacceptable to a growing number of African activists.

How did world opinion turn against the European colonial powers?

By the end of the war, only France, Britain, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain still had colonies in Africa. (Germany had lost its African colonies after World War I.) Ethiopia regained its sovereignty after the war, and Italy’s other colonies—Libya, Eritrea, and Somaliland—were taken over by Britain and France.

As the world worked to rebuild after the destruction of World War II, the colonial powers increasingly found themselves on the wrong side of world opinion. After fighting a world war against tyranny and conquest, people around the world—including in



In this photograph from World War II, Sudanese soldiers enter Tripoli, the capital of Libya, to join Allied troops fighting in North Africa. World War II had a significant effect on Africans, and many expected African colonies to be granted independence when the war was over. For most of the continent, colonialism would last for fifteen or more years after the war’s end.

The National Archives, CO 1069-15-19.

places like France, Britain, and Belgium—began to recognize the injustice of maintaining colonialism.

“[D]uring World War II, the subject peoples were taught how to resist domination with their very lives, and this lesson would not have been so thoroughly taught and so well mastered in the absence of the threatening militarist and imperialistic Nazi regime. The big lesson learned was—DOMINATION BY ANY NATION IS WRONG—and this is still echoing throughout the world....”

—Ndabaningi Sithole, author and minister
from Southern Rhodesia, 1959

The newly created United Nations (UN) reflected changing international attitudes, and played an important role in the anticolonial struggle. More than half of the UN’s founding members were from former colonies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. China and India, with more than a third of the world’s population and previous experiences of European imperialism, emerged as important global players. At the end of the 1940s, the bulk of new members were newly independent countries including India, Vietnam, Syria, and Iraq. These countries were outspoken critics of the colonial system. Delegates pressured the United Nations to incorporate principles such as the right to self-determination and racial equality in the organization’s charter.

At the same time, the UN gained new responsibilities for monitoring the behavior of colonial governments. It also became a place where colonized peoples could bring their concerns to an international audience. As never before, the colonial powers were held accountable to the rest of the world.

The postwar era also saw a shift in international politics. France and Britain, the world’s most powerful countries in the first part of the century, emerged from the war weakened and close to bankruptcy. The Soviet Union and the

United States increasingly came to dictate the direction of international relations. After the war, the Soviet Union and the United States became locked in a global struggle for power and influence known as the Cold War. Their roles in Africa would grow increasingly complicated as the Cold War intensified.

Despite growing international calls for an end to colonialism, the colonial powers continued to resist African independence. For Britain and France, their survival as international powers depended on a quick economic recovery. This required the resources of their colonial empires. Britain and France focused their efforts on strengthening the colonial system at the very moment many African leaders—and a growing number of people around the world—were calling for its end.

Why was the emergence of mass political parties in Africa important?

Africans emerged from the war more determined than ever to secure independence. Economic hardship during the war and anger over colonial policies such as forced labor (which was revived during the war to produce raw materials for Europe’s war effort) heightened African discontent with the colonial system. By the end of the war, anticolonial nationalist movements had the support of urban and rural workers, as well as traditional leaders who still had great influence in rural areas.

Reforms by British and French authorities after the war allowed many of these movements to form political parties to advocate for change. These parties enjoyed broad support, and were better organized and more unified in their demands than previous nationalist organizations. No longer interested in reform, many of these parties called for independence and an end to colonialism. They were led by new, radical leaders who became increasingly unwilling to compromise with the colonial authorities. These activists were prepared to use any means necessary to achieve their goals—including armed struggle. Trade unions also grew in strength and numbers, and strikes,

boycotts, and riots broke out across the continent.

As the calls for independence grew louder in Africa, British and French leaders began discussing plans for gradual decolonization. Leaders in both countries continued to argue that Africans were not ready for full independence, and needed the guidance and support of the colonial authorities. They also hoped

to slow independence in order to protect their economic and political interests in the colonies. Belgium was slower to consider political reform, although it did allow political parties to form in its colonies starting in 1956. Portugal, ruled at home by an oppressive, authoritarian regime, would be the last to accept independence for its African colonies.

You have just read about African resistance to colonialism, and how this resistance evolved in the twentieth century. You have also considered how the actions of Europe, the growth of African nationalism, and major international events contributed to calls for independence in the 1940s and 1950s. In the next section, you will explore four case studies of colonization and independence in Africa. These case studies highlight the diverse experiences of Africans under colonial rule. They also emphasize the different ways that Africans and Europeans understood colonialism and later retold this history.

Case Studies

Colonialism was not a one-size-fits-all system. The experience in every colony was different, depending on the priorities of the colonizing power, economic and political conditions in the colony, and the responses of the people there.

You are now going to explore case studies of African colonization and independence. Focusing on specific cases allows you to see the ways in which larger themes and events in history affected individuals. It also helps you better understand the effects that colonialism did—and did not—have on the people and countries of Africa.

The case studies highlight the experiences of people in four countries: Ghana, the Demo-

cratic Republic of the Congo, Algeria, and Kenya. Each case emphasizes a specific aspect of the colonial experience. Each case study has a central question that you will explore. The questions will help highlight the different ways that colonialism was understood and experienced by Africans and Europeans.

As you read, consider how each case relates to the general history that you explored in Parts I and II. In what ways was the experience of colonialism in these colonies similar to experiences in other parts of the African continent? In what ways was it different?

Case Studies in Brief

Ghana: What were the aims of British indirect rule?

Beginning in 1850, the southern region of present-day Ghana came under British colonial rule. It was known as the Gold Coast colony. British colonial officials governed Ghana by a policy of indirect rule, making traditional leaders the administrators of colonial rule. They argued that this system respected traditional political structures while exposing African leaders to the “civilizing” influence of European cultural and political values. This policy came under sharp criticism from educated Africans in the colony. They criticized indirect rule because it limited the role of public participation by making traditional leaders accountable to colonial authorities, rather than to their people. Africans in the Gold Coast gained their independence from Britain in 1957.

Algeria: What were the effects of assimilation?

The French invaded Algeria in 1830. Thereafter, they considered their colony of Algeria to be a province of mainland France. French leaders viewed their culture as superior and instituted policies to assimilate Algerians—for example, by encouraging people to speak French, limiting the influence of Islam, and educating Algerians about French history, literature, and political ideas. Many Algerians worked hard to protect or regain aspects of their culture that came under attack from French colonialism. Algerians gained their independence from France in 1962, after a long and bloody war for independence.

Democratic Republic of the Congo: How did colonialism affect people in the Congo?

The region that is today the Democratic Republic of the Congo became the personal possession of King Leopold II of Belgium after the Berlin Conference in 1885. Leopold’s top priority was to make money from his colonial venture, and the colony became infamous for its harsh abuse of the African population. Fierce international criticism of this brutality forced Leopold to cede control to Belgium in 1908. The Belgians believed that their colonial subjects were happy with colonial rule, and considered the Belgian Congo to be a “model colony.” But Africans knew well the abuse, violence, and humiliation they suffered as a result of the colonial system. Africans in the Congo gained their independence from Belgium in 1960.

Kenya: Who had the right to land in Kenya and why?

Kenya became a British colonial possession in 1895. Kenyan experiences of colonialism were colored by the region’s role as a “settler colony” (a colony where large numbers of Europeans came to live and make their fortunes). Land was a controversial issue during the colonial period, and a major source of African frustration with the colonial system. The British claimed that European control of Kenya’s best land was necessary for the economic development of the colony. For Africans in Kenya, the issue of land was a simple one—as the original inhabitants of the region, they should have the right to all lands in Kenya. In the early 1950s, African frustration sparked a violent uprising called the Mau Mau revolt. Kenyans gained their independence from Britain in 1963.

Ghana: What were the aims of British indirect rule?

Indirect rule was the method the British used to govern their African colonies, giving African traditional leaders new roles as colonial administrators. (Traditional leaders are rulers holding power by African laws or customs.) In this case study, you will explore the political effects of colonialism, and the ways in which traditional leaders, educated elites, and British colonial officials competed for political authority. As you read, consider the power held by each of these groups. Why did they hold positions of power? What sort of authority did they have? In what ways was their authority limited?

Ghana is a country on the coast of West Africa with a long history of international trade. Africans in the northern part of present-day Ghana had strong connections to North Africa through trade, and were heavily influenced by Islam. Coastal traders in the south established relationships with Europeans in the fifteenth century, first trading gold and ivory, and later becoming involved in the Atlantic slave trade. Africans held a great deal of power in these relationships. For example, groups on the coast refused to allow Europeans to travel inland as a way of maintaining control over trade.

How did Ghana become a British colony?

By the early nineteenth century, Britain had become the dominant trading power in the region. In 1850, the British formalized their control of the coastal region—which it called the Gold Coast—by making it a colonial protectorate. The British wanted to protect their merchants from the Asante, a powerful African state that controlled the land to the north and had dominated trade in the region for centuries.

In the Gold Coast, the British introduced new techniques and procedures to increase trade and maximize their control. Africans continued to produce palm oil, mine gold (now in mines controlled by foreign companies), and collect ivory for export, but the railroad and system of roads built by the British made this trade more efficient. In the early twentieth century, the British also encouraged farmers to grow cocoa. Cocoa quickly became one of the colony's top exports. Farmers could grow cocoa alongside their food crops, and the growth in trade led to an increase in the standard of living for many Africans. Unlike other colonies, Africans in the Gold Coast often worked for themselves or for other Africans.



The British appointed a British governor to rule the colony, but largely depended on indirect rule, that is, governing through African traditional leaders who took new roles as colonial administrators. In 1874, the British made the Gold Coast an official colony. Colonial officials established a legislative council—including appointed African representatives starting in 1889, and elected African representatives beginning in 1925—but this body could only advise the governor.

African resistance—particularly by the Asante—slowed British influence in the region. At times, the British considered withdrawing entirely from the Gold Coast because of the animosity of the Asante. Until 1901, the

colony only consisted of the coastal region due to fierce opposition from the Asante. Ashanti-land (the region controlled by the Asante). The central and northern regions came under British control by 1946, after numerous British military campaigns against the Asante.

Asante aggression encouraged many coastal groups to ally with the British in the nineteenth century, which helped the British control the coast. Since these groups had allied with the British voluntarily, many of their leaders believed they had the right to some degree of independence.

What was life like in the colony?

Centuries of contact with Europeans had created a class of merchants, traditional leaders, and professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and teachers who were familiar with Western culture and politics. Many were frustrated that profits from trade now belonged to the British and that Africans had little power in government.

Although traditional leaders had some authority, ultimate power was held by the British

governor. The system of indirect rule meant that there was no political role for African professionals. The British argued that indirect rule made further African representation in government unnecessary because the people's interests were represented by their traditional leaders. Professionals voiced their opposition to this system through petitions, newspaper articles, and appeals to the British government.

How did people in the Gold Coast resist colonialism?

As the number of educated Africans grew in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the call for greater African political power mounted. Africans formed a number of political parties, including the National Congress of British West Africa, which brought together representatives from Britain's West African colonies—the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Gambia. Africans in the cities also formed religious, ethnic, and literary societies, and published newspapers that became important places for political debate.

The political organizations of the Gold Coast were among the first in colonial Africa,



Meeting of the Gold Coast legislative assembly, 1957. Unlike Africans in many other colonies, Africans in the Gold Coast were able to participate in government prior to independence.

The National Archives, United Kingdom. CO 1069-53-76.

but only a minority of Africans were involved. Most people in the Gold Coast were small farmers or laborers who wanted their traditional leaders to maintain authority. And although traditional leaders were accountable to colonial officials, they also organized resistance to protect the interests of their people. For example, in 1937, traditional leaders organized a boycott of the foreign-owned cocoa companies. For seven months, farmers refused to sell their cocoa, crippling the Gold Coast's economy.

The structure of the colonial government put traditional leaders and educated Africans in competition with each other for political power. But in the 1930s and 1940s, leaders on both sides began to recognize their common interests. They forged relationships to form a more united front to call for reform and, eventually, independence from Britain.

How did Ghanaians gain their independence?

World War II proved to be a turning point for colonialism in the Gold Coast. African soldiers returned from the battlefield to face unemployment and economic hardship at home. Many joined with educated Africans in the cities to put pressure on the colonial government. In 1947, African leaders formed a political party called the United Gold Coast Congress (UGCC) to call for self-government. The UGCC was a moderate nationalist group made up of traditional leaders, wealthy businessmen, and professionals. It advocated for gradual change through political reform.

But many Africans were not willing to wait for gradual change. Economic challenges sparked boycotts and riots in a number of towns in early 1948. In 1949, a political leader named Kwame Nkrumah split from the UGCC to form the Convention People's Party (CPP), which called for immediate self-government. Nkrumah's message held broad appeal for workers, farmers, and other Ghanaians. In 1950, the CPP initiated a number of strikes and demonstrations, some of which turned violent.

The colonial authorities arrested Nkrumah, but the following year he was elected to the legislative council. The governor released Nkrumah from jail and allowed him to form a government as "leader of government business" (a position similar to prime minister). The British authorities still controlled many aspects of the Gold Coast, including defense, finance, and justice. Over the next five years, political reform gradually led to a new government in which power was held by elected Africans.

At the same time, political opposition to the CPP mounted. Other African political parties opposed the strong centralized government being created and controlled by the CPP. In 1956, the British called for another election to ensure that the CPP still had a majority of support. With 57 percent of the vote, the CPP won the election. On March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast became the independent state of Ghana, with Kwame Nkrumah as its first prime minister.



Mr. Seth Kobla Anthony (right), Ghana's first representative to the United Nations, shakes hands with UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld after having presented his credentials to the UN. Ghana became a member of the UN on March 8, 1957, two days after independence.

UN Photo # 88452.

From the Historical Record

Overview: *According to African laws, traditional leaders in the Gold Coast needed the consent of the people to govern; they did not hold their positions by “right” like a European king or queen. African laws also allowed a community to destool, or unseat, a traditional leader who was not meeting the community’s expectations.*

British colonial officials governed Ghana by a policy of indirect rule, making traditional leaders the administrators of colonial rule. Colonialism put limits on the power of traditional leaders, who now had to meet the demands of colonial authorities.

The following sources are from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and include excerpts from African newspapers, as well as reports and speeches by British colonial officials.

Perspectives of Colonial Officials

Background: *The British believed that making traditional leaders (called “stools”) the face of the colonial system would minimize resistance among the population. They argued that this system respected traditional political structures while exposing African leaders to the “civilizing” influence of European cultural and political values. Colonial officials criticized educated Africans, arguing that their calls for more political power weakened the power of traditional leaders.*

William Ormsby-Gore, British under-secretary of state for the colonies, in a report to Parliament about his visit to West Africa in 1926

“It is the policy of the Government, as far as the general administration of the Colony is concerned, to rule as far as possible through these tribal organisations and not to allow these to be undermined and overthrown by the destructive influences caused by the spread of alien civilization. Nevertheless there is no doubt that at the present time there is a considerable decay in the power, influence and prestige of the Head Chiefs and the tribal

authority. This is in part attributed to the fact that Head Chiefs no longer have the power of life and death, nor are they able to check disobedience by force of arms. Many are also in financial difficulties owing to the absence of native treasuries or any secured source of income. Trouble is often caused by the tendency of the younger men with a veneer of education to disrespect the conservatism of some of the Chiefs and Councils....

“Apart from the fact that it has always been the policy of Government to rule through the tribal organisation, there is, in fact, no alternative course at the present stage in the development of the country. The people are closely attached to their stools with the exception of a few people in the coast towns, and are in no way ready for a change.”

Hugh Charles Clifford, British governor of the Gold Coast, as quoted in The Gold Coast Independent, November 30, 1918

“They [traditional rulers] spend their lives among the people, whose interests they are selected to represent; they are in close and daily touch with them; and they have individually been elected by their...[fellow]...tribesmen as the principal directors of their affairs.”

James Marshall, judge of the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast Colony, in 1886, quoted in The Gold Coast Independent, December 2, 1922

“[W]henver [British] rule is carried out and enforced according to European ideas, without consideration of the ideas equally ancient and equally deep rooted, which pervade the native mind, it may break and destroy, but without securing any real improvement. My own experience of the West Coast of Africa is that that Government has for the time succeeded best with natives, which has treated them with consideration for their native laws, habits and customs, instead of ordering all these to be suppressed as nonsense, and insisting on the wondering negro at once submitting to the British Constitution, and adopting our ideas of life and civilization....

“The natives of the Gold Coast and West Africa have a system of laws and customs which it would be better to guide, modify, and amend, rather than to destroy by ordinances and force. So they have their Chiefs and Court forms and etiquette, their own customs and mode of living which will not be improved by ridicule or forced abolition.”

Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, governor of the Gold Coast, 1927

Note: In 1925, a new constitution allowed Africans to elect nine representatives to the Gold Coast legislative council. Six of these representatives would be traditional leaders, and they would be elected by provincial councils made up of the top traditional leaders in each region.

“It was at the preservation of native institutions that I aimed when devising what is the outstanding feature of the new Constitution: the Provincial Councils. These Provincial Councils are really the breakwaters, defending our native constitutions, institutions, and customs against the disintegrating waves of Western civilization. They are the chief means by which the nationality of the Africans of the Gold Coast will be built up out of many scattered tribes; for it must be remembered that, although each Council functions for its own Province, yet arrangements have been made by which these Councils can meet and discuss many questions....

“The new Constitution is far more solidly based on the institutions which the people of this country have found best suited to them, and far more likely to develop into something bigger and wider than any mushroom constitution based on the ballot-box and the eloquence of politicians over whom the people have no control except at election time.”

Perspectives of Africans

Background: Africans criticized indirect rule because it limited the role of public participation by making traditional leaders accountable to colonial authorities, rather than to their people. They claimed that the British

used traditional leaders to control the population and suppress other forms of political participation.

From an article in The Gold Coast Leader, July 12, 1902

“Sir Matthew [governor of the Gold Coast] is reported to have stated, among other remarks, to the assembled kings and Chiefs, during his visit: ‘The Resident tells me that the Golden Stool has to do with your religion and I am not going to interfere with your religion, so long as nothing inhuman or immoral is done under its sanction. I do not propose to interfere with your native custom and native administration where these do no harm. I am not going to do away with native chiefs or the native way of choosing them, but, of course, I will allow no one to sit on a stool if I know him to be disloyal, and I will remove any one from his stool who behaves badly to the Government. So long as they behave well, I will support the power of the native chiefs who have been duly elected in accordance with native custom and whose election I have recognized on the recommendation of the Resident.’...

“[W]e are aware that the present Ashanti kings and chiefs are the creations of the Government, although they were no doubt enstooled ‘in accordance with native custom.’ ‘Elected in accordance with native custom,’ they certainly were not, for except in a very few instances, they are all Government nominees; men who sided with, acted as spies, informants...for the Government, men in short who are traitors to their King....”

“An Open Letter to his Excellency Brigadier-General F.G. Guggisberg,” The Gold Coast Leader, December 17, 1921

“We fear, Sir, that you have no real regard for public opinion.... Under the guise of supporting Native Institutions you merely support those Chiefs who can lend themselves as tools in carrying out your pet schemes. And you know we speak the truth....

“We really think that the time has come for Government to pay heed to public opinion, and until there is some indication that way we

shall continue to protest in the name of a long-suffering public.”

“Editorial Notes,” The Gold Coast Leader, March 26, 1921

“The policy of Indirect Rule which this establishment was set up to pursue has some suspicious features about it and we have regarded it as our duty to put our people on their guard.... We think the best definition of Indirect Rule is, a system by which an alien government is enabled to place a Native State in the hollow of its hands and in such a way that it has only to pull the wires to start a Chief and his people dancing to its piping; it is a system by which the political officer can drive the wedge of divide-and-rule through any tendency on the part of the people to come together to develop political ideals.”

“Editorial Notes,” The Gold Coast Leader, March 26, 1921

“Indirect Rule may also turn out to be a disintegrating force in the working of our indigenous institutions. We know from experience that one of the objects of Indirect Rule is to suppress the educated African who is too articulate to be convenient to British repressive policy, and to draw a line between him and his uneducated brother. Fortunately... [t]hose of our Rulers who fully realize the responsibility of their position and the source of their power know also that the educated Natives are as much their children as the uneducated.”

Article in The Gold Coast Leader, May 22, 1926

“The issue is one of life and death with us, for if you perpetuate the possibility of the return of the dummies [chiefs appointed by colonial authorities] to the Legislature, our national independence is gone for ever. Probably that is what has been aimed at all the time, to so gag the people that while they have a machinery ostensibly of an advanced type, yet to be truly and really voiceless in the affairs of their own country.”

“Letter from a Gold Coast NCO” [noncommissioned officer] stationed in India during World War II, September 4, 1945

“We have to struggle for liberty; at home the suppression is great.”

“A Psalm 23, by an African Laborer,” The African Morning Post, Accra, Ghana, September 2, 1944

“The European merchant is my shepherd,
And I am in want,
He maketh me lie down in cocoa farms;
He leadeth me beside the waters of great need;
He restoreth my doubt in the pool parts.
Yea, though I walk in the valleys of starvation,
I do not fear evil:
For thou art against me.
The general managers and profiteers frighten me.
Thou preparest a reduction in my salary
In the presence of my creditors.
Thou anointest my income with taxes;
My expense runs over my income.
Surely unemployment and poverty will follow me
All the days of my poor existence,
And I will dwell in a rented house for ever!”

Democratic Republic of the Congo: How did colonialism affect people in the Congo?

In this case study, you will explore the colonial experiences of people in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and assess interpretations of this history by Belgian and Congolese leaders. As you read, consider why the Belgian king and people in the Congo had very different views of the effects of colonialism. Why are these differences significant?

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), located in Central Africa, is the second largest country in Africa and one of the most geographically diverse and mineral-rich countries in the world.

How did the Congo become a Belgian colony?

For more than seventy-five years, the region of the present-day Democratic Republic of Congo was occupied and controlled by Europeans—first by King Leopold II of Belgium, and then by the Belgian government. Leopold's personal control and the role of European companies in governing the Congo made colonialism there uniquely brutal. Europe recognized King Leopold's claims to the region at the Berlin Conference in 1885. Belgium's government was not interested in administering a colony, so the Congo Free State became the king's personal landholding.

Leopold's top priority was to make money from his colonial venture. Initially, colonial officials constructed an economy based on the export of rubber and ivory to Europe. The economy was controlled by Leopold, his family, and a few powerful companies that Leopold allowed to operate in the Congo. Despite Leopold's claim that he was there on a humanitarian crusade, the economy of the colony was based on the forced labor of Africans, who were required to meet daily quotas of rubber and ivory collection. When people did not collect enough rubber, colonial and company officials inflicted brutal punishments. Rape, mutilation, and murder were commonplace.

In 1901 alone, six thousand tons of rubber left the colony. Much of the vast wealth taken from the Congo was put toward public works and development in Belgium. At the same time, as many as ten million Congolese died in the first two decades of colonialism, largely as a result of colonial abuses.



As the international community became aware of the abuses of the Congo's colonial system under King Leopold, public pressure forced Leopold to cede the Congo to the Belgian government, which reluctantly took control in 1908.

What was life like in the colony?

The Congo Free State was more than seventy-six times the size of Belgium. Its population was diverse, with approximately 250 different ethnic groups. The new borders cut through a number of existing African states, leaving groups such as the Kongo, Ngbandi, and Tutsi divided by colonial boundaries.

Laws prevented Africans from travelling freely across provincial borders and practicing non-European religions. Africans were

also subjected to physical punishment for offenses as minor as disrespecting a European.

Africans in the rural areas were forced to collect ivory and rubber, or grow crops such as cotton, coffee, and tea for export. Discoveries of precious metals and minerals such as cobalt, gold, copper, and diamonds led to the further extraction of Congo's resources for European gain. Many Africans were recruited to work in the mines and labored under harsh working conditions. Colonial officials forced others to work for the Force Publique, a police force that maintained order by intimidating and abusing local populations. Members of this force were subject to poor pay, brutal working and living conditions, and violent abuse at the hands of their Belgian officers.

By 1958, Europeans had 42 percent of the colony's income, with a population of just 110,000, while 13.5 million Congolese controlled the remaining 58 percent. The colony—renamed the Belgian Congo in 1908—was racially segregated and highly unequal. While the government provided some social services and primary education for many Africans, the 99 percent of the population that was black could not be treated in white hospitals, live in neighborhoods reserved for white people, or travel freely throughout the colony. Because of colonial restrictions, there were no African doctors or government administrators and few African professionals in other fields. Only seventeen Congolese people had a university degree at the time of Congo's independence in 1960.



King Leopold II's rule in the Congo was characterized by extreme brutality. These images from the early twentieth century show Africans who had been mutilated by colonial officials for not fulfilling their daily quotas of ivory or rubber collection. While many European leaders claimed that the abuses in the Congo were far worse than any other colony, colonialism by its very nature was violent and oppressive.

How did people in the Congo resist colonialism?

The Congo had been a key location in the Atlantic slave trade. King Leopold's officials found a region still weakened from the upheavals of that period when they arrived. Although this initially made it difficult for some Congolese societies to resist, people found a variety of ways to stand up to Leopold's rule.

In many cases it was ordinary people who were on the frontlines of resistance. While some groups organized armed resistance to the colonial system, more common strategies included desertion (leaving jobs because of low wages or brutal conditions), migration (avoiding tax collectors by crossing into neighboring colonies), or withdrawing to remote regions that were not yet under colonial control. Resistance to colonialism in the rural areas remained strong throughout the colonial period, and would provide an important boost to nationalist groups later in the century.

Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library. Used with permission.



Wikimedia Commons. Archief van het Koninklijk Paleis, Brussels.

In this photograph, King Albert I and Queen Elisabeth of Belgium visit Léopoldville (named for King Leopold II), the capital of the Belgian Congo, in 1928. While many European leaders argued that colonialism brought great benefits to people in Africa, many Africans faced poverty, abuse, and discrimination under the colonial system.

How did Congolese people gain their independence?

Although there had been resistance to colonialism since the 1800s, it was not until the 1950s that the various social and ethnic groups in the Congo began to unite and call for independence. There were a number of factors at the root of this, including increasing unrest among the Congo's large working class, colonial reforms that allowed Africans to form political parties, and growing international criticism of colonialism. In addition, African independence was gaining momentum across the continent. For example, in 1956, Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia all gained their independence, and new independence movements formed in Angola and Guinea-Bissau. These events further convinced the Congolese that the time for independence was at hand.

Congolese leaders began to work with the Belgians to negotiate an independence

agreement. In 1959, popular protests shook the capital city Léopoldville for three days. By 1960, parts of the colony were in open rebellion. People had stopped paying taxes, following colonial laws, and recognizing the authority of colonial officials.

In most British and French colonies, colonial governments made some attempts to prepare Africans for self-rule, for example, by training African civil servants for new roles in government. But within one year of the first protests, the Belgians announced that they would grant independence to the Congo. After a hastily prepared election, the Belgians left. Six months later, in 1960, Patrice-Emery Lumumba became prime minister and Joseph Kasa-Vubu president of an independent Congo.

From the Historical Record

Overview: *The following speeches were given at the independence ceremonies in Léopoldville (capital of the Congo) on June 30, 1960—the date of the Congo’s independence. The first was given by King Baudouin, king of the Belgians from 1951 to 1993 and great grand-nephew of Leopold II. The second was given by Patrice Lumumba, newly-elected prime minister of the Congo. Lumumba’s speech shocked the Belgians for its harsh critique of Belgian colonialism. These two speeches display the contrasting ways in which Belgians and Africans viewed colonialism in the Congo.*

King Baudouin’s Independence Day Speech

Background: *Like many European leaders during the colonial period, King Baudouin of Belgium believed that colonialism brought great benefits to people in Africa. The Belgians in particular believed that their colonial subjects were happy with colonial rule, and considered the Belgian Congo to be a “model colony.” In the following speech, he praises colonial officials for fulfilling King Leopold’s II mission to bring “civilization” to the Congo.*

“Mr. President,

“Sirs,

“The independence of the Congo is formed by the outcome of the work conceived by King Leopold II’s genius, undertaken by Him with tenacious and continuous courage with Belgium’s perseverance. It marks a decisive hour in the destinies not only of the Congo itself, but, I do not hesitate to affirm, of the whole of Africa.

“Over the course of 80 years, Belgium sent the best of its sons to our soil, first to deliver the basin of the Congo from the odious slave trafficking that decimated its populations; then to bring ethnic groups together with one another who, once enemies, learned to build the greatest of independent African States together; finally, to call for a happier life in the diverse regions of the Congo that you represent here, united by the same Parliament.

“In this historical moment, our thought to all must turn towards the pioneers of the African emancipation and towards those, who

after them made the Congo what it is today. They deserve both OUR admiration and YOUR recognition because it is those who, consecrate all of their efforts and even their lives to a great ideal, have brought you peace and have enriched your moral and material patrimony. They must never be forgotten, neither by Belgium nor by the Congo.

“When Leopold II undertook the great work that today finds its crowning, it is not presented to you in conquering but in civilizing....

“The Congo was equipped with railroads, roads, air and maritime routes that, in putting your populations in contact with one another, have favored their unity and have enlarged the country to the dimensions of the world.

“A medical service, which has taken several decades to be established, was patiently organized and has delivered you from sicknesses, however devastating.... Agriculture was improved and modernized. Large cities have been built and, across the whole country, living and hygienic conditions have translated into remarkable progress. Industrial enterprises have made the natural riches of the soil valuable. The expansion of economic activity has been considerable, also raising the well-being of your populations and equipping the Country with technicians indispensable to its development....

“The great movement of independence that sweeps all of Africa has found, nearby the Belgian powers, the biggest comprehension. Facing the unanimous desires of your populations, we have not hesitated to recognize your independence from this time on.

“It is up to you now, Sirs, to demonstrate that we were right to trust you....

“Your task is immense and you are the first to realize it. The principal dangers that threaten you are: the inexperience of the populations to govern themselves, tribal fighting, that formerly have done so much harm that, at no price, must not be begun again, the attraction that might exercise itself on a certain region of foreign powers, ready to profit from the least lapse....

“Do not fear turning yourselves towards us. We are ready to stay by your side to help you with our advice, to share with you technicians and functionaries [government employees] that you will need....

“Sirs,...

“Remain united, and you will know to show yourself deserving the great role that you have been called to play in the history of Africa.

“Congolese people,

“My country and I recognize you with joy and emotion that the Congo attains this 30th of June 1960, in full agreement and friendship with Belgium, to independence and international sovereignty.

“May God protect the Congo!”

Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba’s Independence Day Speech

Background: *African people knew well the suffering and struggle that characterized their experiences during the colonial period. Prime Minister Lumumba’s speech was fiercely critical of the effects of Belgian colonialism as he described the abuse, violence, and humiliation inherent in the colonial system.*

“Men and women of the Congo,

“Victorious fighters for independence, today victorious, I greet you in the name of the Congolese Government. All of you, my friends, who have fought tirelessly at our sides, I ask you to make this June 30, 1960, an illustrious date that you will keep indelibly engraved in

your hearts, a date of significance of which you will teach to your children, so that they will make known to their sons and to their grandchildren the glorious history of our fight for liberty.

“For this independence of the Congo, even as it is celebrated today with Belgium, a friendly country with whom we deal as equal to equal, no Congolese worthy of the name will ever be able to forget that it was by fighting that it has been won, a day-to-day fight, an ardent and idealistic fight, a fight in which we were spared neither privation nor suffering, and for which we gave our strength and our blood.

“We are proud of this struggle, of tears, of fire, and of blood, to the depths of our being, for it was a noble and just struggle, and indispensable to put an end to the humiliating slavery which was imposed upon us by force.

“This was our fate for eighty years of a colonial regime; our wounds are too fresh and too painful still for us to drive them from our memory. We have known harassing work, exacted in exchange for salaries which did not permit us to eat enough to drive away hunger, or to clothe ourselves, or to house ourselves decently, or to raise our children as creatures dear to us.

“We have known ironies, insults, blows that we endured morning, noon, and evening, because we are Negroes. Who will forget that to a black one said ‘tu,’ certainly not as to a friend, but because the more honorable ‘vous’ was reserved for whites alone?...

“We have seen that the law was not the same for a white and for a black, accommodating for the first, cruel and inhuman for the other....

“We have seen that in the towns there were magnificent houses for the whites and crumbling shanties for the blacks, that a black was not admitted in the motion-picture houses, in the restaurants, in the stores of the Europeans; that a black traveled in the holds, at the feet of the whites in their luxury cabins.

“Who will ever forget the massacres where so many of our brothers perished, the cells into which those who refused to submit to a regime of oppression and exploitation were thrown?

“All that, my brothers, we have endured.

“But we, whom the vote of your elected representatives have given the right to direct our dear country, we who have suffered in our body and in our heart from colonial oppression, we tell you very loud, all that is henceforth ended.

“The Republic of the Congo has been proclaimed, and our country is now in the hands of its own children.

“Together, my brothers, my sisters, we are going to begin a new struggle, a sublime struggle, which will lead our country to peace, prosperity, and greatness....

“We are going to show the world what the black man can do when he works in freedom, and we are going to make of the Congo the center of the sun’s radiance for all of Africa.

“...And for all that, dear fellow countrymen, be sure that we will count not only on our enormous strength and immense riches but on the assistance of numerous foreign countries whose collaboration we will accept if it is offered freely and with no attempt to impose on us an alien culture of no matter what nature.

“In this domain, Belgium, at last accepting the flow of history, has not tried to oppose our independence and is ready to give us their aid and their friendship, and a treaty has just been signed between our two countries, equal and independent. On our side, while we stay vigilant, we shall respect our obligations, given freely.

“...Glory to the fighters for national liberation!

“Long live independence and African unity!

“Long live the independent and sovereign Congo!”

Algeria: What were the effects of assimilation?

Assimilation is the process by which one culture becomes more like another culture. In the case of Algeria, French leaders wanted to change Algeria's culture to make it more French—for example, by encouraging people to speak French, limiting the influence of Islam, and educating Algerians about French history, literature, and political ideas. In this case study, you will explore the effects of French attempts to assimilate Algerians into French society by examining social and cultural colonial policies. As you read, consider how colonial laws pushed Algerians to change their cultural practices. What effects did these changes have?

Algeria is the largest country in Africa, and was a French colony for more than 130 years—much longer than the colonial experiences of most African countries. Like other countries in North Africa, Algeria has a long history of contact with Europe and the Middle East, and has a large Arab population. The vast majority of Algerians are Muslim.

How did Algeria become a French colony?

The French army invaded Algeria in 1830. France colonized Algeria for a number of reasons, including a desire to increase trade, spread French culture and religion, and respond to rising diplomatic tensions with Algeria's ruler. Algeria's experience of colonialism was different from that of most African countries because of its relationship to France. Unlike other colonies, Algeria was administered as if it were a province of France, not a separate entity. The French viewed Algeria as an integral part of their country.

Algeria became a French “settler colony,” that is, a colony with a significant population of European settlers that wielded a great deal of political power. The majority of these settlers were small farmers who grew wheat or produced wine. Living in Algeria afforded them a status that they would not otherwise have had in mainland France. This was in large part due to the social divisions in Algerian society. By the late nineteenth century, colonial policies had turned Muslims into second-class citizens compared to European settlers. Laws defined Algerians as “subjects,” rather than citizens unless they agreed to stop following Islamic laws, and governed their behavior with harsh punishments for offenses such as speaking ill of the French government



or being rude to a colonial official. Informal segregation kept Algerians out of certain neighborhoods, beaches, and businesses. Racism and discrimination permeated society. By 1936, out of a population of more than 4.5 million, only 2,500 Muslim Algerians had chosen to become citizens.

What was life like in the colony?

By the 1930s, inequalities between settlers and Algerians were stark. Colonial policies had divided up communal Algerian lands, allowing settlers to buy thousands of square miles of the best land where they could produce crops for export. Most Algerians, on the other hand, were subsistence farmers on small



Felix Jacques Antoine Moulin, Archives nationale d'outre-mer, 8Fi427/28.

This photograph from 1856-57 shows a French school for girls in Algiers, the capital of Algeria. French was the official language in Algeria throughout the colonial period. Many Algerians who could not speak French were excluded from jobs in government, international business, and other sectors.

plots of land. Poverty, hunger, and malnutrition were widespread. To escape destitution, many migrated to Algeria's towns and cities or worked for low wages on settler farms. Tens of thousands migrated to France.

The French believed their civilization was superior, and viewed Algerian Muslim culture as “primitive” and “medieval.” Algerians were frustrated with the inequalities of the colonial system. They resented the ways in which their culture was belittled by colonial policies and settler racism, and were angry about their loss of land. Many refused to accept French rule. At the same time, after more than a century of French rule, some Algerians viewed themselves as French as well as Algerian.

European settlers used their political power to oppress the native population and to protect their own privileges. By 1954, there were nearly one million European settlers liv-

ing in Algeria, almost 80 percent of them born in Algeria. These settlers felt a deep attachment to Algeria as their homeland. Although French politicians often supported measures to assimilate Algerian Muslims and grant them citizenship, settlers opposed any attempts to increase rights for Muslims.

How did people in Algeria resist colonialism?

When French forces invaded Algeria in 1830, they ended the Ottoman Empire's three hundred year rule of the region. Although Algerians were pleased to be freed from Ottoman rule, they did not submit to another foreign power willingly. Algerian militants fought against the French for decades. Parts of Algeria, for example, the remote mountain regions and Sahara Desert in the south, did not come under French control until the twentieth century.

Algerian resistance was often linked to religion, with Islam playing an important role in organizing opposition. Islam also allowed Algerians to assert an identity and cultural pride outside of the colonial system. As a result, French repression of Algerian uprisings also aimed to limit the influence of Islam. For example, after a rebellion in 1871, the colonial authorities not only confiscated the land of those involved, but also passed decrees to label Arabic a foreign language, limit pilgrimages to Mecca, and monitor Islamic schools.

In the 1920s and 1930s, a number of Algerian nationalist groups formed in Algeria and France. By the mid-1940s, many Algerians were calling for independence by force if necessary. On May 8, 1945—the official date of the end of World War II in Europe—nationalist groups staged demonstrations across Algeria in order to draw attention to the link between the end of fascism and their desire to end colonialism. In the town of Sétif, the demonstrations turned into a violent revolt, and Algerians murdered more than one hundred settlers. The French response was swift and brutal. The colonial army and settler vigilante groups killed thousands of Algerians in return. It was clear that France was not budging from its position on Algeria's colonial status. The brutality of France's response drove many more Algerians to join the nationalist cause, and to see violence as the only way to win independence.

What were the human costs of the Algerian War?

In 1954, France lost a nine-year war against nation-

alists in Indochina (present-day Vietnam), and also faced uprisings in Tunisia and Morocco. This convinced Algerian nationalists that France could finally be challenged and defeated.

Led by the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), Algerians began one of the longest and most violent decolonization struggles of the twentieth century to gain their independence from France. The Algerian War, which began in 1954, pitted Algerian militants against the French army, white settlers, and Algerians recruited by the French.

The war dragged on for eight long years, with brutal violence on both sides. Although France granted independence to Tunisia and Morocco in 1956, it was not willing to give up Algeria. Conflict took place not only in Algeria, but also in France, particularly in Paris where many Algerians lived.

Algerian nationalists aimed to create a climate of fear and insecurity by targeting the European settler population in Algeria with bombs and other acts of terrorism. The most infamous conflict of the war raged from 1956



In 1956, the French government sent paratroopers into Algiers. The crackdown by paratroopers was brutal; entire neighborhoods of Algerian Muslims were taken in for interrogation or imprisonment. Paratroopers were known for using torture to extract information. This photograph shows French paratroopers standing guard near a crowd of FLN supporters.

French President Charles De Gaulle and the Six-Year War, National Security Council, Central Intelligence Agency, National Archives, 1960. Still image from video.

to 1957 in Algiers, Algeria's capital city. It began as a series of FLN attacks on city police and settler targets. The French military responded with mass torture, executions, and imprisonment. By the late 1950s, two million Algerians had been placed in detention camps, an effort by the French to isolate the FLN. The war took a devastating toll, with as many as one million Algerian casualties and tens of thousands of settlers and French soldiers dead.

When did Algerians gain independence?

The French were militarily successful, but their methods came under sharp international criticism. By the end of the 1950s, it was clear that France had lost the war for public opinion. In March 1962, the French government negotiated a ceasefire with the FLN.

Continued violence between settler groups and the FLN resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands more in the months after the ceasefire. Algeria gained its independence on July 3, 1962. Divisions in the FLN led to more violence in July and August. After elections in September, Ahmed Ben Bella became the first president of Algeria.



Algerians working for the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) carried out targeted bombings in public spaces popular among French settlers in the capital city of Algiers. This led to increased security by the French military and police. In this photograph, a French military officer is using a metal detector on an Algerian woman to check for explosives or other weapons.

French President Charles De Gaulle and the Six-Year War, National Security Council, Central Intelligence Agency, National Archives, 1960. Still image from video.

From the Historical Record

Overview: *French policy aimed to assimilate Algerians into French society by pressuring them to speak French, follow French customs, and gradually participate in government and society as French citizens. But Algerians could only gain French citizenship if they agreed to disavow Islamic civil law, which governs matters such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance. By 1936, out of a population of more than 4.5 million, only 2,500 Muslim Algerians had chosen to become citizens. The adoption of French culture meant losing aspects of Algerian culture. By 1954, some Algerian Muslims could no longer speak Arabic, and most could not read or write in Arabic. Although French leaders continued to claim Algeria as a part of France until 1960, many Algerians worked hard to protect or regain aspects of their culture that had come under attack from French colonialism.*

The following sources express French and Algerian perspectives on assimilation. The sources are from a variety of French and Algerian scholars as well as political and religious leaders.

French Perspectives

Background: *During much of the colonial period, French leaders viewed their own culture as superior and believed that one of the goals of colonialism should be to spread French culture to France's colonial territories. Although leaders in France tried to ease some of their citizenship requirements for Algerians in the twentieth century, settlers in Algeria blocked any attempts to give more rights to Muslim Algerians.*

Gabriel Hanotaux, French government official and historian, in his book L'Énergie française, 1902

"Let me be clearly understood: this is not only a matter of a vast number of conquests; it is not even a matter of the increase of public and private wealth. It is a question of extending overseas to regions only yesterday barbarian the principles of a civilization of

which one of the oldest nations of the world has the right to be proud. It is a question of creating near us and far away from us so many new Frances; it is a question of protecting our language, our customs, our ideas, the French and Latin glory, in face of furious competition from other races, all marching along the same routes."

The Sénatus-Consulte (senate decree) of 14 July 1865 under France's Emperor Napoléon III

"Art. 1. The Muslim native is French; nevertheless he shall continue to be governed under Muslim law...."

"He may, on application, be granted the rights of French citizenship; in this case, he shall be governed under the civil and political laws of France."

Governor-General of Algeria Jacques Soustelle, at the Algiers Assembly in February 1955

"France is at home here...or rather, Algeria and all her inhabitants form an integral part of France, one and indivisible. All must know, here and elsewhere, that France will not leave Algeria any more than she will leave Provence and Brittany [two provinces in mainland France]. Whatever happens, the destiny of Algeria is French."

Max Lejeune, French Minister for the Armed Forces, March 15, 1956

"We want the men in Algeria to be more free, more fraternal, more equal, that is to say more French. We must guarantee their political liberties and their social emancipation in the face of a few thousand rebels inspired by unemployment, the absence of hope, religious fanaticism, and not least the fit of nationalists who aspire to an unrealizable independence."

Emperor Napoléon III in a letter to Aimable Pélissier, governor-general of Algeria, 1863

"[W]e have not come to Algeria to oppress and exploit them, but to bring them the benefits of civilization...."

A. Arnaud and H. Méray, *Les Colonies françaises, organisation administrative, judiciaire, politique et financière*, 1900

“Assimilation, by giving the colonies institutions analogous to those of metropolitan France, little by little removes the distances which separate the diverse parts of French territory and finally realizes their intimate union....”

French Prime Minister Léon Blum and Government Minister Maurice Violette's proposal to give Muslims in Algeria the right to vote (the bill was never debated in the French Parliament because of strong opposition by Algerian settlers and their allies), December 30, 1936

“[E]xperience has shown that it was impossible to continue treating as subjects without essential political rights French natives of Algeria who have fully assimilated French thought but who for family or religious reasons cannot give up their personal status. Algerian natives are French. It would be unjust to refuse henceforth the exercise of political rights to those among them who are the most cultured and who have furnished important guarantees of loyalty....

“But it seems impossible to invest all natives immediately with political rights. The massive majority are still far from desirous of using these rights and do not yet show themselves capable of doing so.... [C]ertain (hostile) influences would not fail to profit from the inexperience of this mass by overwhelming it with propaganda....

“[T]o our way of thinking, the right of suffrage [right to vote] is a reward either for services rendered or for intellectual achievement.”

Algerian Perspectives

Background: *For most Algerians, French efforts to replace Algerian culture with French culture limited their opportunities in colonial society. For example, an Algerian who did not speak French could not hold certain jobs or communicate with French officials and settlers. The promotion of French culture created a divided society, with Algerians as second-class citizens. Educated Algerians who spoke French often had mixed feelings about French*

culture. While many strongly opposed the restrictions of colonialism, they also appreciated French political ideas of liberty and human rights.

Sheikh Abdul-hamid Ben Badis, founder of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema, April 1936

“[The Muslim Algerian nation]...has its culture, its traditions and its characteristics, good or bad like every other nation of the earth. And...we state that this Algerian nation is not France, cannot be France, and does not wish to be France.”

Manifesto of 10 February, 1943 by Ferhat Abbas and colleagues, presented to Algeria's Governor-General Marcel Peyrouton

“Today the representatives of this Algeria, responding to the unanimous desire of their peoples, cannot escape the overriding duty of posing the problem of their future.

“So doing, they do not intend to disavow the French and Western culture that they have received, which remains dear to them. It is, on the contrary, by assimilating the moral and spiritual riches of Metropolitan France and the tradition of liberty of the French people that they find the strength and justification for their present action....

“[T]he Algerian people, in its desire for peace and liberty, raises its voice to denounce the colonial rule imposed on it, to recall its earlier protests and reclaim its rights to life....

“One need only examine the process of the colonization in Algeria to realize how the policy of assimilation, applied automatically to some and refused systematically to others, has reduced the Islamic society to the most complete servitude.

“[C]olonization...demands the simultaneous existence of two societies, one oppressing the other....

“There lies the deep and brutal drama to which colonization has given birth. The identification and formation of a single people under the ‘same paternal government’ has failed.... The European and Muslim blocs remain distinct from each other without

a common spirit. The one is strong in its privileges and social position; the other is threatened by the demographic problem of its creation and by the place in the sun that it claims and has been denied....”

Recollections of Ahmed Ben Bella, first president of Algeria, 1964

“I think I was fourteen when, at my *école primaire supérieure* [high school], an incident occurred which made a deep impression on me. One of my teachers...was French and an excellent teacher when he did not bore us with long digressions on the religions of the world.... Faith in his own religion made him believe that all others were bad and despicable.

“One day during school, he did not hesitate to go for his Moslem pupils, launching a violent attack on Islam. ‘Your prophet Mohammed,’ he shouted at the end of this diatribe, ‘was nothing but an imposter!’

“I stood up, pale with anger. ‘Sir,’ I told him, ‘it’s all very well for you to say that to children. We are too young and ignorant to argue with you, but you must understand that to us our religion is sacred. No, no, it is wrong of you to speak like this.’

“Of course...[the teacher]...blew up. It was terrible. I was punished, dismissed from the class, and even threatened with expulsion.... And it was a double scandal, as I well knew. Firstly, for a pupil to tick off a teacher was bad enough. But for a ‘native’ to stand up to a European made me a thousand times more guilty.”

Recollections of Ahmed Ben Bella, first president of Algeria, 1964

“It is very noticeable that, when the colonial learns a foreign language, he more or less adopts the mental attitudes which that language represents. If he still possesses and utilizes his own language, his experience will be enriched by this process. But if his thoughts are no longer inspired by his own language, and have to be conveyed in the speech of the conqueror, then it is clear that there is a real estrangement from his native tongue....

“Algerians such as myself who do not accept this estrangement from the Arabic language, nevertheless notice it in the deep disquiet which they experience when they try to give expression to their ideas in French, while at the same time they ‘feel’ in Arabic. A state of perpetual divorce is thus established in us, between the head and the heart, between the intellect and the emotions.”

Kenya: Who had the right to land in Kenya and why?

In this case study, you will explore the colonial practice of claiming African lands for white settlers. As you read, consider why the British instituted these land policies, and their effects on the lives of Africans in Kenya. For example, how did land confiscation limit the ways in which Africans could participate in the colonial economy? Why was this significant? In what other ways did land policies affect Africans?

Kenya borders the Indian Ocean in East Africa. Mombasa, a Kenyan port city, was a key location in Indian Ocean trade for centuries. The coastal region had strong links with the Middle East and Asia, and the eastern slave trade devastated many communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

How did Kenya become a British colony?

Kenya was under British control for sixty-eight years, but only became an official British colony in 1920. Initially, Britain was far more interested in what is today Uganda. In 1895, British officials created the East African Protectorate in the region separating Uganda from the coast—territory that is now the country of Kenya. They focused on building a railroad through Kenya to connect Uganda with the Indian Ocean for trade. When the railroad was completed in 1901, British authorities encouraged Europeans to live in Kenya as a way of generating demand for railroad travel.

The colonial economy in Kenya was based primarily on the production of cash crops such as tea and coffee for export. European settlers built homes and large plantations in Kenya's highlands—a temperate region in central Kenya with some of the most fertile land in all of East Africa.

What was life like in the colony?

The region's role as a “settler colony” (a colony where large numbers of Europeans came to live and make their fortunes) shaped Africans' experiences of colonialism. In addition, there was a sizable population of Indians that settled in Kenya, many of them recruited by the British from their colony in India to build the railroad.

The colonial government passed laws that gave settlers special privileges and eliminated competition from Africans and Indians. For



example, laws prohibited African and Indian farmers from growing tea and coffee, and reserved much of the land in the highlands for Europeans. Laws also segregated housing, public bathrooms, hotels, restaurants, and other facilities. Discrimination created a society where political and economic privileges were based on race, with Europeans getting the most and Africans getting the least. European settlers would dominate Kenya's economy and government until the 1950s.

The British governed by indirect rule, which meant that they had local African leaders enforce colonial authority. Colonial policies—which levied heavy taxes and confiscated much of Kenya's most fertile lands—gave Africans little choice but to work for European settlers. Many became farm laborers on European plantations.



Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-matpc-17617.

African farm laborers cut sisal on a plantation in Kenya in the 1930s. (Sisal is a plant that produces a stiff fiber used in rope and twine.) Because colonial land policies reserved large parts of the countryside for European farmers, many African farmers in Kenya became wage laborers on European plantations.

Access to land became an increasingly thorny issue as the colonial period progressed. In 1903, less than 600 European settlers had claimed 2,000 hectares (about 7.7 square miles) of land in the highlands. By 1938, the extent of land under European control had jumped to more than 2 million hectares (more than 7,700 square miles). But only 14 percent of this land was used for farming or ranching. The remaining 86 percent was controlled by European investors and lay unused. At the same time, the British government relocated many African groups to “reserves” in order to open land for European settlement. These reserves often lacked adequate water supplies, and were too small to support the people and livestock that lived there.

How did people in Kenya resist colonialism?

Initially, many African groups in Kenya violently resisted British colonialism. In particular, groups fought against British ef-

forts to levy taxes, conscript African men to be porters for the military, and force African communities off their lands. The British led a series of military campaigns to crush African resistance, and parts of the colony were under military control until the 1920s.

Africans began to form political organizations in the 1920s. African leaders lobbied the colonial government to improve conditions for Africans, and protested against tax increases and wage cuts. Land remained a central issue as Africans feared that, at any time, they could be removed from their homes to make way for the settler economy. African political groups were organized along ethnic lines, and most Africans did not see themselves as “Kenyan.”

African political organization made little headway, and African discontent began to boil over after World War II. In the early 1950s, a revolt began among the Kikuyu—Kenya’s largest ethnic group. Frustrated with colonial

inequalities and the inadequacy of land in the overcrowded reserves, some Kikuyu took aim at the colonial system and other Africans who were seen as colonial supporters. This uprising, which became known as the Mau Mau revolt, lasted for seven years.

Brutality was widespread on both sides. Mau Mau fighters often assassinated government supporters by setting them on fire. In some cases, fighters targeted the family members of Kikuyu who were loyal to the government, including women and children. The British government began punishing entire villages for the assassination of government supporters, sometimes burning whole villages to the ground. British intelligence officers rounded up Mau Mau suspects and tortured them for information. (In 2013, the British government agreed to pay compensation to more than five thousand people tortured during this period.) The Home Guard, a military force made up of Kikuyus loyal to the government, became notorious for raping and abusing villagers in the areas it patrolled.

As many as eleven thousand Africans were killed in the revolt, including more than one thousand executed by colonial officials for crimes including “consorting with” Mau Mau supporters. The government detained more than a hundred thousand Kikuyu, and many remained in detention long after the revolt was over.

How did Kenyans gain their independence?

The British were successful in ending the conflict, but it was clear that things could not return to the way they were before the Mau Mau revolt. Despite fierce opposition from Kenya’s European settlers, British officials acknowledged in 1960 that the time for independence had come.

British and Kenyan leaders participated in a series of negotiations about independence for the next three years. British officials worked to gain the support of moderate Africans in order to ensure that Kenya would maintain a close relationship with Britain after the transition to independence. For example, the British government purchased land in the highlands to redistribute to African farmers and offered to buy the land of any settler who wished to leave Kenya after independence. While British officials initially pushed for a political settlement that would guarantee European and Indian representation in Kenya’s new government, this provision was dropped in the final agreement. Kenya gained its independence on December 12, 1963, with Jomo Kenyatta as its first prime minister.

From the Historical Record

Overview: *Land was a controversial issue during the colonial period in Kenya, and a major source of African frustration. The British claimed that European control of Kenya's land was necessary for the economic development of the colony. In fact, agricultural production actually increased after Kenya gained its independence. The sources below express British and African perspectives on the issue of land. The British sources are from government reports in 1951 and 1960. The Kenyan sources are from speeches and memoirs of African leaders and Mau Mau participants in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.*

British Perspectives

Background: *The British argued that their top priority was to bring civilization and development to their colonial subjects in Kenya. They believed that British culture was inherently superior to African cultures. British leaders claimed that they knew best how to improve life in the colony, and used this to justify their claim to African lands.*

F.D. Corfield, commissioner of the Kenyan colonial government, in "Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau," presented to the British Parliament, May 1960

"For much of the 19th century Britain was doubtful whether it wanted an empire, but from 1885...imperialism became a creed, based on the perfectly legitimate belief that the British had a duty and an obligation to bring peace and civilization to Africa....

"But slavery, disease and poverty could not be overcome until the country had been opened up, and to this end the Uganda railway was built. Although the long-term potentialities were there, the railway was at that time completely uneconomic, and Sir Charles Eliot [first commissioner for British East Africa], foreseeing a future where European farming would open up the vast empty spaces of fertile country and bring that economic prosperity and civilization which was essential if the disease-ridden and poverty-stricken tribes of East Africa were to advance, impressed upon the British Government the importance of encouraging European immigration...."

F.D. Corfield, commissioner of the Kenyan colonial government, in "Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau," presented to the British Parliament, May 1960

Note: *In 1932-33, British officials appointed a commission to investigate the land problem in Kenya.*

"[T]he commission's hope that its fair dealing would engender a better spirit proved illusory. Land had already become a political issue, but it did not become a burning issue until the return of Jomo Kenyatta [an anticolonial nationalist leader] to Kenya at the end of 1946. In the intervening years the old balance of nature had gone; the increasing population in the reserves had led to an ever-increasing pressure on the land, and Jomo Kenyatta and his associates saw all too clearly that the exploitation of land hunger was a sure way of furthering their own ends of uniting the Kikuyu against the Government in general, and the settled European farmers in particular. The juxtaposition of a crowded Kikuyu reserve and the more spacious settled areas of the White Highlands made this all too easy. The claims on the White Highlands became more insistent and were supported by statements made in public speeches which bore no relation to the truth. The Kikuyu agricultural labourers on the farm were asked—

"Why continue to work for a pittance on land which is yours by right and was stolen from you by those for whom you are now working?"

"The fact that much of the overcrowding in the reserves was the direct result of the spread of the civilizing influence of the Europeans, and the failure of the Kikuyu to adapt his agricultural methods to the needs of the land, was ignored...."

Kenyan Governor Philip Mitchell, in Despatch No. 193 on Land and Population in East Africa, 1951

"I now turn to the answer which is often given to the problem of local congestion on the land in Kenya, namely, to enlarge the size of the tribal lands by adding more land for cultivation by traditional methods under traditional systems of tenure. I hope to show that this supposed solution is illusory and would in practice be disastrous.... The land must, on no account, be simply thrown open for congestion and destruction by ignorant peasants following their ancestral agricultural practices and tenure....

"The failure of tribal agriculture to meet the needs of an expanding population is indeed the general experience. The cause of the failure lies in the inability of traditional African peasant agriculture to do more than maintain the population at an unsatisfactory subsistence level....

"[There is an argument]...that 'Africa belongs to the African' and that every African... is entitled as of right to own a bit of Africa, if necessary at the expense of people of other races, many of whom are at least as African—if generations of colonization mean anything—as the so-called 'native' races.... [T]he impossibility of reconciling the provision of land for all, in a rapidly expanding society, with the maintenance of a tolerable standard of living... [should]...be apparent...."

Kenyan Perspectives

Background: *For Africans in Kenya, the issue of land was a simple one—as the original inhabitants of the region, they should have the sole right to lands in Kenya. African ties to the land were not only economic but also cultural, with sacred sites and familial gravesites in lands that were claimed by European settlers. Land was a top concern for most Africans in Kenya during the colonial period. The desire for African political representation in the colonial legislature was often linked to the legislature's ability to repeal colonial land policies.*

Jomo Kenyatta, nationalist leader, July 26, 1952

"God said this is our land. Land which we are to flourish as a people. We are not worried that other races are here with us in our country, but we insist that we are the leaders here, and what we want we insist we get. We want our cattle to get fat on our land so that our children grow up in prosperity; we do not want that fat removed to feed others.... I think the Europeans here realize in their heart of hearts that our grievance is true."

Achieng Oneko, nationalist leader, July 26, 1952

"The Europeans came here as our guests. This invitation has turned out to be false. They went for land and have established themselves in Kenya in such numbers that we suffered... We do not want to be led. We want our own African Government and we will get it soon. We want the country to begin with peace between us, the Government and the European, but that peace can only come if we get justice."

Excerpt from a letter from Mau Mau leaders to the colonial legislative council, 1954

"We are fighting for our lands—the Kenya Highlands which was stolen from the Africans by the Crown through the Orders in Council 1915 of the Crown Lands Ordinance which evicted Africans from their lands at present occupied by the settlers or reserved for their future generations while landless Africans are starving of hunger or surviving on the same land as the cheap laborers to the settlers who were granted that land by the Crown.

"Before we come out of the forest, the British Government must grant Kenya full independence under the African leadership, and also hand over all the alienated lands to Kenya African Government which will redistribute the lands to its citizens.

"It we do not get land and freedom now, we will continue to fight till the Government yields or the last drop of blood of our last fighter is spilt."

Joseph Mwangi Kariuku, detained for seven years under suspicion of Mau Mau involvement, in his memoir Mau Mau Detainee, 1964

“It is not really surprising that the movement should have started first among the Kikuyu. They more than any other tribe felt the despair brought by pressing economic poverty; they more than any other tribe by their proximity to...Nairobi [capital of Kenya] were subject to urban pressures and the great increase in understanding and frustration brought by education; they more than any other tribe daily saw the lands that had been taken from them producing rich fruits for Europeans.”

Karari Njama, Mau Mau participant, in his memoir Mau Mau from Within, 1966

“It was 26 July 1952 and I sat in the Nyeri Showgrounds packed in with a crowd of over 30,000 people. The Kenya African Union was holding a rally and it was presided over by Jomo Kenyatta. He talked first of LAND. In the Kikuyu country, nearly half of the people are

landless and have an earnest desire to acquire land so that they can have something to live on. Kenyatta pointed out that there was a lot of land lying idly in the country and only the wild game enjoy that, while Africans are starving of hunger. The White Highland, he went on, together with the forest reserves which were under the Government control, were taken from the Africans unjustly. This forced me to turn my eyes toward the Aberdare Forest. I could clearly see Karari’s Hill, almost in the middle of Aberdare Forest. The hill that bears my grandfather’s name and whom I am named after. Surely that is my land by inheritance and only the wild game which my grandfather used to trap enjoy that very fertile land....

“The Africans had not agreed that this land was to be used by white men alone.... He (Kenyatta) asked the crowd to show by hands that they wanted more land. Each person raised both his hands. And when he asked those who did not want land to show their hands, nobody raised.”

Epilogue: African Independence

European colonialism in Africa unraveled quickly. At the end of World War II, Liberia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and South Africa were the only countries not under colonial rule. (Although South Africa was independent, it was ruled by an undemocratic, white government.) By 1964, thirty-seven African countries had gained independence, including seventeen that gained their independence in 1960 alone.

In this section, you will read about the end of colonialism in Africa. You will consider the challenges facing African leaders after independence, as well as the legacies of colonization and independence today.

Demanding Sovereignty

African calls for independence came first in North Africa, and quickly spread throughout the continent. While independence was won peacefully in many colonies, Africans in places like Algeria and Angola only gained their independence after long, violent struggles. There were a number of places where colonialism dragged on into the 1970s.

How did colonial powers respond to calls for independence?

The end of colonization in Africa was a complicated process. In large part, the way colonial powers responded to African demands for independence determined whether the transition would be peaceful. African nationalists used violence as a last resort when colonial powers refused to give into their demands for self-rule.

The willingness of a colonial power to agree to the independence of its colonies was affected by a number of factors, including the colony's relationship with the colonial power, the power's experience with other independence struggles, and whether the colonizing power believed that it could protect its interests there without direct control. For example, while France refused to grant independence to Algeria—a colony it considered part of mainland France—until 1962, it offered all of its colonies in West and Central Africa the option of self-rule under the guidance of the French president in 1958. Similarly, Britain began to negotiate independence for the Gold Coast in the early 1950s at the same time it was sending troops to fight the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya.



Tanzanians celebrate independence in 1961. Africans in this region were ruled first by the Germans as part of German East Africa, and later by the British in the colony of Tanganyika. The country's first president, Julius Nyerere, is shown in this photograph, boosted on the shoulders of members of the crowd.

The National Archives, United Kingdom. CO 1069-166-21.

The response of a colonial power to independence demands in a specific colony was also affected by the presence of European settlers. Colonies like Kenya, Algeria, and Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe) had large populations of Europeans who had long pressured their governments to give them special privileges over the African population. These groups were strongly opposed to African nationalism because it threatened their political and economic privileges and control. White settlers in Southern Rhodesia thwarted African nationalists by declaring independence in 1965 under a white-ruled government. In Algeria and Kenya, settler groups pushed their governments to get involved in bloody struggles to protect their interests.

What factors influenced British and French leaders to accept African independence?

As their economies improved after World War II, European leaders began to build stronger economic relationships within Europe. Colonial possessions became less important to the economic health of the colonial powers, and they became more willing to consider self-rule in their overseas territories.

Britain and France were the first to realize that they could preserve their economic and strategic interests even if their colonies gained independence. During African transitions to independence, British and French leaders supported moderate African politicians who in many cases allowed European businesses to continue to operate after independence. In some cases, the departing colonists negotiated agreements to keep their military bases in Africa. Each country also invited its former colonies to join international organizations—the British Commonwealth and the French Community—that would allow them to maintain some influence over affairs in their former colonies.

One important factor driving this change of policy was the experiences these two countries had with independence struggles in the 1940s and 1950s. In particular, the violence of the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya, the humili-

ating defeat of French forces by nationalists in Indochina (present-day Vietnam), and the brutality of the war in Algeria made European leaders more willing to negotiate with African nationalists. In addition, mounting criticism by delegates at the United Nations (UN) and by governments around the world convinced the powers that the era of colonialism was ending.

Belgium took heed from the experiences of France and Britain and granted its colonies independence in 1960, but Portuguese leaders initially refused to accept the idea of African self-rule. Portugal was the weakest and poorest European colonial power, and feared that it would not be able to preserve its interests in Africa after independence. Simultaneous independence wars undermined Portuguese rule in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau in the 1960s and 1970s. These led to the eventual collapse of Portugal's African empire. In turn,



This photograph is from March 22, 1956, two days after Tunisia gained independence from France. Tunisia's first president Habib Bourguiba hoists the Tunisian flag for the first time.

Getty Images. Philippe Le Tellier.

events in Africa also sparked a revolution in Portugal, ending more than forty years of authoritarian rule in 1974.

How were independence struggles connected globally?

African independence was part of a wider, international movement for independence on the part of colonized people around the world. The success of independence movements in Southeast Asia, with popular leaders such as India's Mohandas Gandhi, made a big impression on nationalists in Africa. Similarly, independence for Arab countries in the Middle East (which were also under the control of France and Britain) in the 1930s and 1940s inspired nationalists in places like Tunisia and Morocco. In forums such as the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian States, first held in Indonesia in 1955, newly independent countries pledged their support for African independence.

African nationalists were also inspired by the success of earlier African independence movements. The experience of Ghana—the first country after 1945 in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence and majority rule—was particularly influential. Not only had the country won independence, but the transition had been peaceful, with little resistance from Britain. British leaders had not intended to signal a major shift in their colonial policy when they agreed to Ghanaian independence in 1957. But people across the continent, particularly in colonies controlled by the British, took it as a promising sign that Europe had finally accepted the idea of African self-rule.

What was the All-African People's Conference?

African leaders also encouraged the growth of independence movements. The All-African People's Conference, which met three times between 1958 and 1961, brought together leaders of nationalist anticolonial movements and newly independent states to pledge unity and support for African independence.

“[T]he All-African People's Conference in Accra declares its full support to all fighters for freedom in Africa, to all those who resort to peaceful means of non-violence and civil disobedience, as well as to all those who are compelled to retaliate against violence to attain national independence and freedom for the people.”

—From the “All-African People's Conference Resolution on Imperialism and Colonialism,” December 1958

Figures like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt became important leaders who promoted Pan-African solidarity and, in the case of Nasser, provided weapons and money to independence movements.

But while some connections encouraged African independence, other forces on the continent worked against it. In Southern Africa, the influence of white-ruled South Africa helped make that region the last to gain full independence and majority rule. For example, Southwest Africa (present-day Namibia), a former German colony that was taken over by South Africa after World War I, did not gain its independence until 1990.

The South African apartheid government intervened in multiple countries in an effort to thwart African nationalist movements. It sent its military forces into Angola weeks before Angola's independence in November 1975 in an effort to influence the ongoing struggle for power. It supported the white-dominated Rhodesian government in the 1970s in its war against African nationalists and initiated covert operations to destabilize the newly independent government of Mozambique in 1975.

How did the Cold War play a role in African independence struggles?

After World War II, international public opinion moved firmly against European colo-

nialism. Part of the reason for this shift was the rise of the Soviet Union and the United States as world powers. Each wished to extend its influence around the world as the promoter of its own economic system—communism in the case of the Soviet Union, capitalism in the case of the United States—and both saw in the end of colonialism a rich, new opportunity to do so. These new world superpowers became outspoken public advocates of political freedom for previously dependent populations.

But in practice, these countries were more interested in expanding their influence than supporting African independence. African colonies that had not gained independence by the start of the Cold War became the scenes of superpower conflict in the 1960s and 1970s. This superpower involvement in Africa's independence struggles and conflicts prolonged and intensified violence (see box).

“[O]ne of our paramount objectives is to avoid the buildup of an arms race with the Soviets in Africa. On the other hand, we must be prepared to supply some arms to the newly emerging states of Tropical Africa if U.S. interests are to be advanced and Communist encroachment frustrated. The newly emerging African states will insist upon exercising what they view to be their sovereign prerogatives of establishing some military forces, and they will turn to Communist sources of supply if

assistance from Western sources is not forthcoming....”

—Letter from U.S. Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles to U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric, May 3, 1961

In order to remain independent from superpower conflict, many African leaders forged relationships with other newly independent countries, creating what became known as the Non-Aligned Movement. The nations in this movement sought to remain independent from Soviet and U.S. influence in their economic, political, and social affairs. The Non-Aligned Movement became an important source of opposition to colonialism and other attempts by powerful countries to control the affairs of weaker countries. The organization still exists today, with 120 member countries primarily from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The Challenges of Independence

When African leaders took power, they found themselves facing significant economic, political, and social challenges. For example, most had to forge nations out of disparate groups joined together by colonial boundaries. They were under economic, diplomatic, and sometimes military pressure to allow the former colonial powers, the United States, and the Soviet Union to influence affairs in their countries. And they faced growing pressure from their populations to make good on the promise of a better life after independence.

The Assassination of Patrice Lumumba

The former Belgian Congo was one place where regional and international groups tried to gain influence. The Congo's first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, held power for less than two weeks before a military rebellion and regional uprisings fatally weakened his government in July 1960. Lumumba was assassinated in January 1961 by Congolese soldiers, with the support and backing of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.), Belgian officials, British intelligence, and other U.S. allies who were concerned about Lumumba's alliance with the Soviet Union. For the next three years, the Congo would be in a state of crisis, with the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, Belgium, France, South Africa, Egypt, Ghana, and other nations supporting the various factions fighting for power. The United Nations also became involved, sending the largest UN peacekeeping force to date in 1960.



The National Archives, United Kingdom. CO 1069-24-3.

Voters in the British Cameroons cast their votes in an election in 1959. In many colonies, elections were an important aspect of the transition to independence. In a few instances, voters had to choose which newly independent country to belong to. The case of the British Cameroons highlights the divisions that existed within many colonies. In 1961, voters in the predominantly Muslim northern region of the British Cameroons voted to become part of Nigeria, while voters in the predominantly Christian south voted to join with French Cameroon to form the country of Cameroon.

When European officials left the continent after independence, they took their financial resources, technical knowledge, and governing experience with them. Most newly independent countries faced severe shortages of capital (money to invest), as well as a lack of qualified professionals to run African governments and businesses. In many cases, colonial restrictions had allowed only a handful of Africans to have the education and experience they needed for these tasks. Due to colonial education policies, the majority of people in most countries remained illiterate. In all of Portugal's former colonies, there was not a single university. Many new leaders found themselves with only a handful of qualified doctors for an entire country.

What political challenges did African states face?

While national independence movements were united in their aim to overthrow colo-

nialism, this temporary unity often masked deep political and ideological divisions. New African leaders disagreed over things like economic priorities, the country's relationship with its former colonial ruler, and which groups should have power and influence.

The state boundaries that Africa inherited from colonialism created additional divisions. Most African countries were strikingly diverse in ethnicity, class, religion, and language. In places like Nigeria and the Congo, there were as many as 250 different ethnic groups.

During the colonial period, colonial officials had often emphasized ethnic differences as a way of dividing the population and weakening opposition. After independence, political groups frequently competed for power along ethnic lines. Opposition leaders played upon these same differences to sow dissent and gain power for themselves. These divisions created significant political tumult,

and in some places resulted in violent civil wars or secession attempts.

In most cases, the African leaders who took over were elites who used their political power to gain the support of other powerful groups. This meant that the poor and marginalized still had little power to influence policy or have their demands addressed by new leaders.

What economic challenges did African states face?

For the majority of Africans, the key changes they wanted to see after independence were economic. The colonial system had impoverished many communities through taxation, loss of land, and low-paid wage labor. Many expected the end of colonialism to lead to an improvement in their standard of living. But when African leaders took control, they found that many of their countries' economic problems ran deep, with no easy fixes.

African leaders inherited economies that were dependent on the international market. Colonialism had limited colonies to the production of raw materials, such as agricultural crops and minerals. Each colony exported only a handful of different goods, making them extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in price. At the same time, they depended on imports from Europe to supply the goods they did not produce at home such as food, consumer goods, and agricultural supplies.

While some precious minerals could earn high prices on the international market, most goods that newly independent countries exported earned far less than the goods they imported. This imbalance—paying more for imports than a country earns in exports—drove many African countries into debt.

In addition, infrastructure built during the colonial period—including roads, railroads, telephone lines, and harbors—directed all economic activity outwards. There was little infrastructure to support trade within Africa, especially in rural areas. This made it even more difficult for African leaders to change the nature of their countries' economies.

Economic inequality was another significant problem. Colonial governments had put their resources toward developing the sectors of the economy critical to international trade. So while many cities had piped water, sanitation, hospitals, and schools, these services were virtually nonexistent in the rural areas.

Still, the experience of African countries after independence was not all negative. In order to be less dependent on foreign imports, many countries instituted development programs to build new industries such as flourmills, bakeries, oil refineries, and factories to produce goods like bricks, cement, paint, textiles, and clothing for the local market. In places like Kenya, where colonial policies had limited African access to fertile land, African farmers were able to boost their countries' agricultural yields in the years after independence. Newly independent countries also formed regional trade and economic communities to increase trade within Africa.

Nevertheless, faced with the option of completely reworking the structure of their economies, most African leaders chose to work within the system that already existed. The former colonial powers, looking to protect their own economic interests, encouraged this process.

How did foreign countries remain involved in Africa?

Foreign countries maintained their influence in a number of ways. For example, foreign governments offered cash-strapped African governments loans with high interest rates, pushing these countries further into debt. Foreign governments used this debt to pressure African countries to give them trade benefits or contracts for their businesses. In other cases, foreign leaders or businesses offered capital, technical knowledge, and training to influence government policy. Some international companies bribed African leaders for contracts in mining or other valuable businesses.

Sometimes, foreign countries also became involved militarily. For example, foreign gov-

United Nations Photo Library, photo # 225095.



As newly independent African countries joined the international community, they had a significant influence on the priorities and actions of organizations like the UN. In this photograph from 1967, Celestin Kabanda, the UN delegate from Rwanda, addresses the UN General Assembly about South West Africa (present-day Namibia), which at the time was still controlled by white-ruled South Africa.

ernments sponsored military actions to install leaders who would support their interests. Many African leaders recognized this involvement as a serious threat to their independence.

“[T]he enemies of African freedom hope to be able to use the new African states as puppets to continue to dominate Africa, while, at the same time, making the Africans believe that they are, in fact, free and independent.”

—Kwame Nkrumah,
prime minister of Ghana, 1959

Economic frustration, ethnic and regional divisions, and foreign intervention all contributed to a period of political instability for many African countries in the decades after independence. Sometimes this resulted in military coups, popular rebellion, or civil war. In many cases, the only leaders who could hold onto power were authoritarian figures who controlled the army and ruled through

dictatorship and repression. Foreign powers often took sides in these internal conflicts. They also helped undemocratic and sometimes violent dictators stay in power in return for economic and political influence.

Legacies of Colonialism and Independence

In April 1994, South Africa held its first free elections and became a political democracy, ending more than a century of white rule. This event marked the end of the colonial era in Africa. While some effects of colonialism have proved

to be temporary, others continue to influence African development today.

In particular, the economic systems that the colonial powers established have proved difficult to change. Although Africa’s integration into the world economy occurred long before the colonial period, what made colonialism so significant was that it took away the ability of Africans to decide their own economic interests and priorities.

Colonialism also had significant cultural effects. Decades of racial oppression and European devaluing of African cultures took a toll on many Africans who lived through colonialism. For decades after independence, African scholars, politicians, and activists worked to counter the psychological effects of colonialism, and to rekindle pride in African cultures and perspectives.

“Our history needs to be written as the history of our society, not as the story of European adventures. African society must be treated as enjoying its own integrity; its history a mirror of that society, and the European contact must find its place in this history only as an African experience, even if as a crucial one.”

—Kwame Nkrumah,
prime minister of Ghana, 1964

Another important legacy of colonialism is African independence, which has had a significant effect on world affairs. Links between African nationalist leaders and U.S. civil rights leaders helped strengthen the struggle for African American’s political and economic rights in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. African countries in the UN and other international organizations have played critical roles turning international attention to issues such as racism and discrimination. They have also been important voices of opposition to attempts by the United States and European countries to influence economic and political conditions in other countries.

African leaders have also developed regional and international organizations to address the needs of the continent. For example, the African Union, an international organization made up of fifty-four African member-states, has played an important role mediating conflict, promoting good governance, and coordinating economic activity.

Still, one of the greatest challenges facing African leaders today is the negative view that many people around the world continue to hold about Africa. Although African leaders faced great economic and political challenges after independence, the continent has also experienced many successes and positive growth in the decades since colonialism.

Africans continue to contest European versions of colonial history. European attempts to airbrush over the negative aspects of this history have been challenged by African historians, activists, and political leaders. In some cases, Africans have taken European leaders to task, demanding apologies and reparations for colonial abuses. Although colonialism left an indelible mark on the history of Africa, African people continue to prove that the legacies of colonialism will not determine their future.

Chronology of African Independence

Ancient

Ethiopia

1847

July 26

Liberia—American Colonization Society

1910

May 31

White-ruled South Africa—Britain

1922

February 28

Egypt—Britain

1951

December 24

Libya—Britain/France (Italian colony until 1943)

1952

September 11

Eritrea—Britain (Italian colony until 1941)

1956

January 1

Sudan—Britain/Egypt

March 2

Morocco—France

March 20

Tunisia—France

April 7

Maurruecos, northern zone (now part of Morocco)—Spain

October 29

Tangier (now part of Morocco)—Spain

1957

March 6

Ghana—Britain

1958

April 27

Maurruecos, southern zone (now part of Morocco)—Spain

October 2

Guinea—France

1960

January 1

Cameroon—France (German colony before World War I)

April 27

Togo—France (German colony before World War I)

June 20

Senegal—France

Mali—France

June 26

Madagascar—France

British Somaliland (now part of Somalia)—Britain

June 30

Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)—Belgium

July 1

Somalia—Italy

August 1

Benin—France

August 3

Niger—France

August 5

Burkina Faso—France

August 7

Côte d'Ivoire—France

August 11

Chad—France

August 13

Central African Republic (CAR)—France

August 15

Republic of the Congo—France

August 17

Gabon—France

October 1
Nigeria—Britain

November 28
Mauritania—France

1961

April 27
Sierra Leone—Britain

June 1
*British Cameroon North (now part of
Nigeria)—Britain (German colony before
World War I)*

October 1
*British Cameroon South (now part of
Cameroon)—Britain (German colony be-
fore World War I)*

December 9
*Tanzania—Britain (German colony before
World War I)*

1962

July 1
*Burundi—Belgium (German colony before
World War I)*
*Rwanda—Belgium (German colony before
World War I)*

July 3
Algeria—France

October 9
Uganda—Britain

1963

December 10
Zanzibar (now part of Tanzania)—Britain

December 12
Kenya—Britain

1964

July 6
Malawi—Britain

October 24
Zambia—Britain

1965

February 18
Gambia—Britain

1966

September 30
Botswana—Britain

October 4
Lesotho—Britain

1968

March 12
Mauritius—Britain

September 6
Swaziland—Britain

October 12
Equatorial Guinea—Spain

1969

June 30
Ifni (now part of Morocco)—Spain

1974

September 10
Guinea-Bissau—Portugal

1975

February 28
*Western Sahara—Spain (*this is a
disputed territory and is currently not self-
governing)*

June 25
Mozambique—Portugal

July 5
Cape Verde—Portugal

July 6
Comoros—France

July 12
São Tomé and Príncipe—Portugal

November 11
Angola—Portugal

1976

June 26
Seychelles—Britain

1977

June 27
Djibouti—France

1980

April 18

Zimbabwe (achieves majority rule)—Britain

1990

March 21

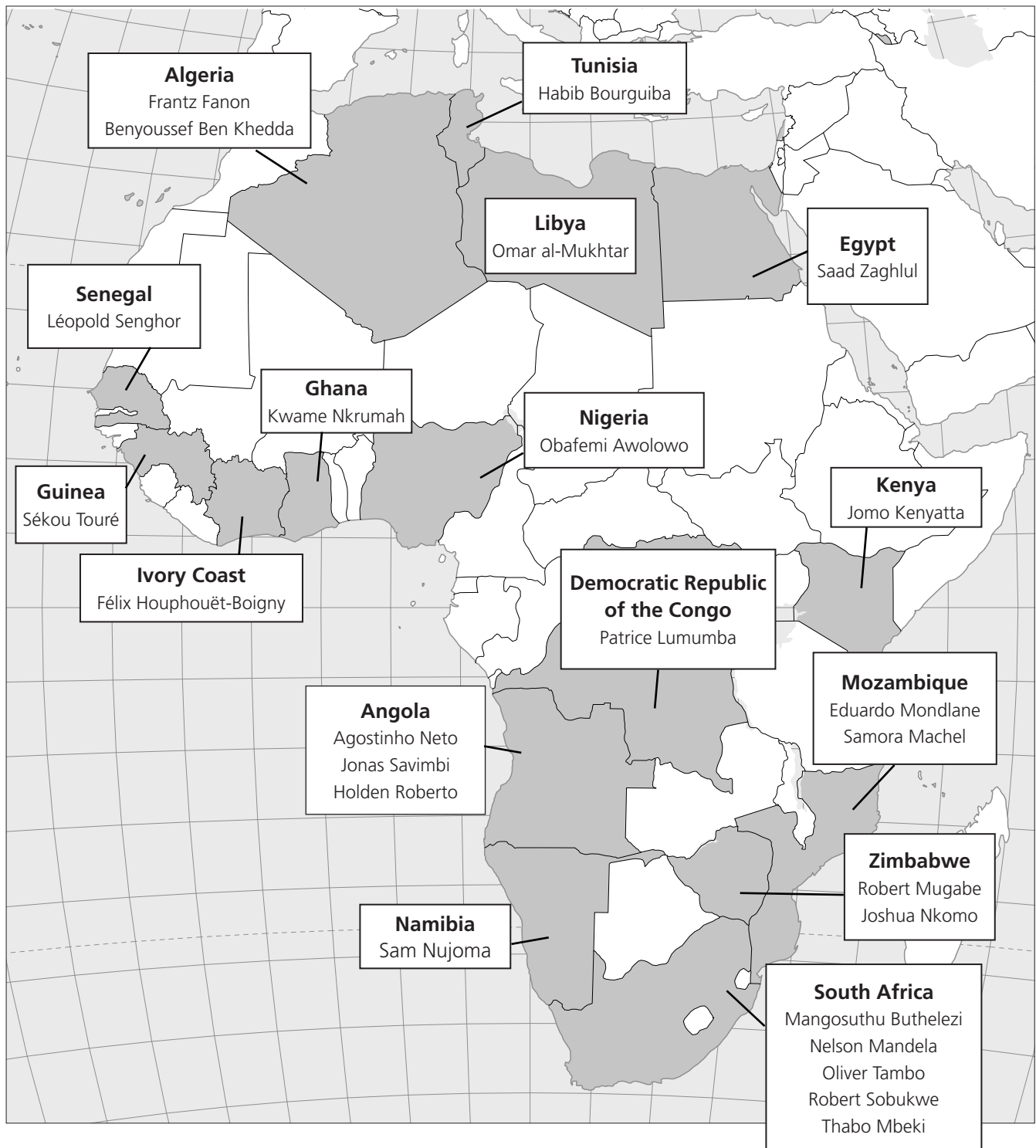
*Namibia—South Africa (German colony
before World War I)*

1994

April 27

South Africa (achieves majority rule)

Selected African Anticolonial and Independence Movement Leaders



Supplementary Resources

Books

- Boahen, A. Adu. *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987). 112 pages.
- Biko, Steve, and Aelred Stubbs. *I Write What I Like*. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986). 216 pages.
- Clark, Leon E. *Through African Eyes Volume 1, The Past: The Road to Independence* (New York: The Apex Press, 1988). 274 pages.
- Getz, Trevor R. *African Voices of the Global Past: 1500 to the Present* (New York: Westview Press, 2013). 240 pages.
- Langley, J. Ayodele. *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa, 1856-1970: Documents on Modern African Political Thought from Colonial Times to the Present* (London: R. Collings, 1979). 858 pages.
- Mandela, Nelson. *The Struggle Is My Life: His Speeches and Writings Brought Together With Historical Documents and Accounts of Mandela in Prison By Fellow-Prisoners* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1986). 249 pages.
- Nkrumah, Kwame. *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. (London: Nelson, 1965). 208 pages.
- Stavrianos, L.S. *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1981). 814 pages.

Online Resources

- BBC: The Story of Africa
<<http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/features/storyofafrica/index.shtml>>
BBC site designed by African historians traces African history from ancient times through the post-independence period.
- Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institute: In and Out of Focus
<<http://www.nmafa.si.edu/exhibits/focus/index.html>> This online exhibit about photographs of Africans taken during the colonial period focuses on the stereotypes that these images perpetuated, and what we can learn about colonial Western views by studying them today.
- The New York Public Library: Africana Age
<<http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-colonization-of-africa.html>> Website includes print and multimedia resources related to Africa and the African diaspora in the twentieth century, including the colonization of Africa, Pan Africanism, African resistance to colonial rule, and African decolonization.

Colonization and Independence in Africa

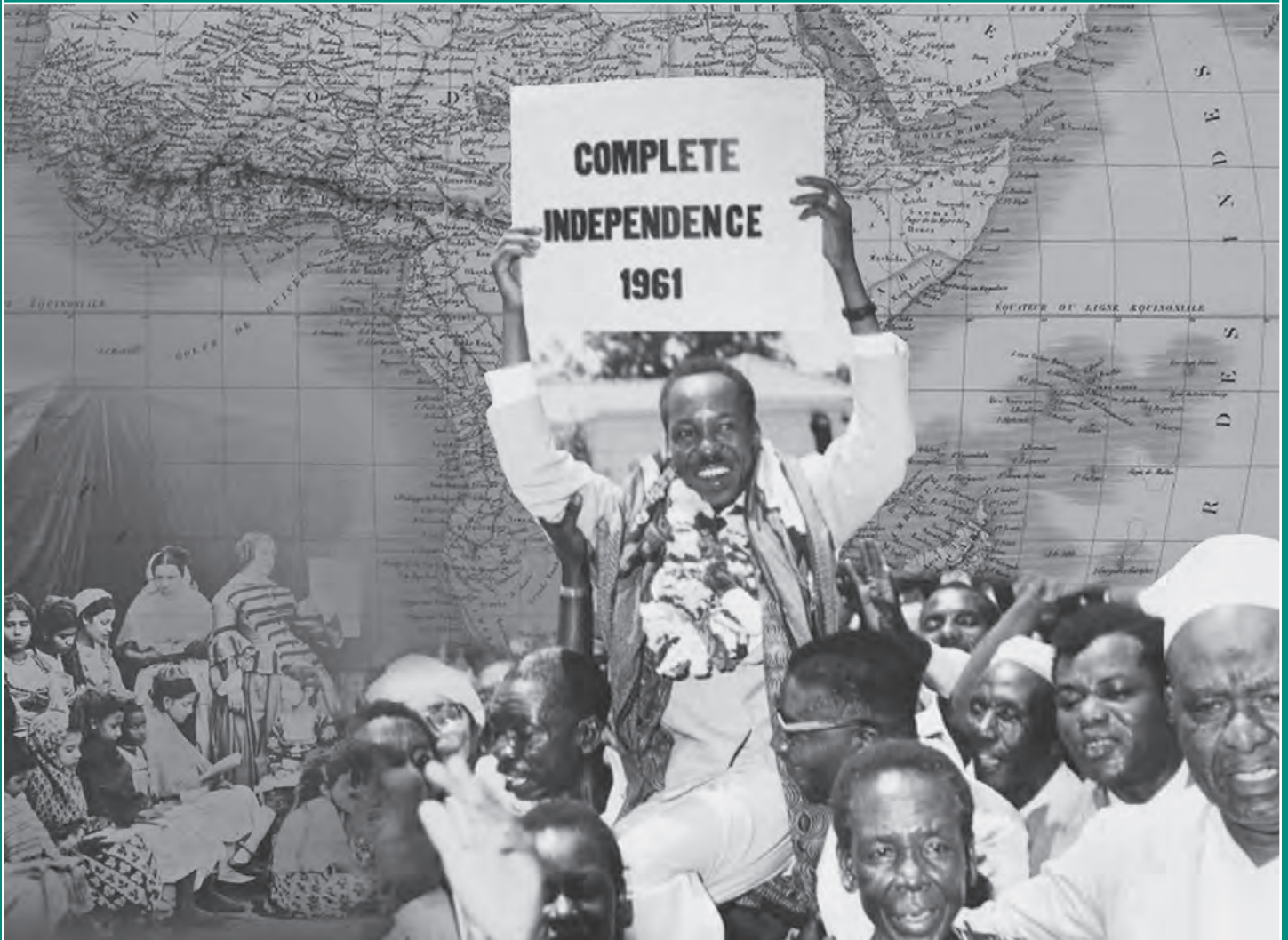
Colonization and Independence in Africa explores the changes colonialism imposed on African governments, economies, and societies. Students consider the perspectives of Africans and the ways in which they responded to European colonialism and struggled for independence.

Colonization and Independence in Africa is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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Colonization and Independence in Africa



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January 2014

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Colonization and Independence in Africa is part of a continuing series on international public policy issues. New units are published each academic year and all units are updated regularly.

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The Choices Approach to Historical Turning Points

Choices curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using a student-centered approach, Choices units develop critical thinking and an understanding of the significance of history in our lives today—essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Teachers say the collaboration and interaction in Choices units are highly motivating for students. Studies consistently demonstrate that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material. Cooperative learning invites students to take pride in their own contributions and in the group product, enhancing students' confidence as learners. Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than those using a lecture-discussion format. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Choices units on historical turning points include student readings, primary sources, suggested lesson plans, resources for structuring cooperative learning, role plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- understand historical context
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives at a turning point in history
- analyze primary sources that provide a grounded understanding of the moment
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- identify the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- develop and articulate original viewpoints
- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies.

Historical Understanding

Each Choices curriculum resource provides students with extensive information about a historical issue. Choices units help students to understand that historical events often involved competing and highly contested views. The Choices approach emphasizes that historical outcomes were hardly inevitable. This approach helps students to develop a more sophisticated understanding of history.

Each Choices unit presents the range of views that were considered at a turning point

in history. Students understand and analyze these views through a role-play activity. The activity demands analysis and evaluation of the conflicting values, interests, and priorities.

The final reading in a Choices historical unit presents the outcome of the turning point and reviews subsequent events.

Note to Teachers

In the late nineteenth century, European powers claimed the African continent for themselves. In the guise of a humanitarian mission, European leaders and businesses exploited African natural resources and people to fuel European economic development. But Africans did not submit to outside control willingly. In fact, African resistance continued throughout the colonial period, culminating in the independence movements of the mid-twentieth century. *Colonization and Independence in Africa* explores these topics generally, as well as through four country case studies: Ghana, Algeria, Kenya, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. A central activity uses primary sources to examine different perspectives on colonization and decolonization in these four countries. The reading culminates with a discussion of colonialism's legacies for the African continent.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher Resource Book accompanying *Colonization and Independence in Africa* contains day-by-day lesson plans and student activities that use primary source documents and help build critical-thinking skills. You may also find the “Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan” useful.

• **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of reading is accompanied by two study guides. The standard study guide helps stu-

dents gather the information in the readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis in class. It also lists key terms that students will encounter in the reading. The advanced study guide requires that students analyze and synthesize material prior to class activities.

• **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The reading in *Colonization and Independence in Africa* addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them “Key Terms” on page TRB-53 before they begin their assignment. An “Issues Toolbox” is also included on page TRB-54. This provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance.

• **Additional Resources:** Further resources can be found at <www.choices.edu/colonizationmaterials>.

The lesson plans offered in *Colonization and Independence in Africa* are provided as a guide. Many teachers choose to adapt or devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating this Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices Program can be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *Colonization and Independence in Africa* might fit into your curriculum.

World History: *Colonization and Independence in Africa* focuses on four major themes in world history—imperialism, colonialism, decolonization, and nation-state formation. Examining European colonialism and the struggle for independence on the African continent helps students gain a greater understanding of Africa’s history. The economic exploitation, discrimination, and violent oppression that frequently accompanied colonial rule is covered. Africans’ varied methods of resistance are also given particular attention.

Following World War II, independence movements swept the globe. The readings and lessons of *Colonization and Independence in Africa* explore this moment in time, specifically Africans’ demands for self-governance and the process of achieving independence.

International Relations: In recent years, political battles have pitted wealthy countries (including industrialized countries and the former Soviet bloc) against newly-industrializing and poorer countries. Although the geographic terminology is not perfect, experts often refer to these two groups of countries as the global “North” and the global “South.” North-South issues have deep historical roots. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the leading countries of what is today the global North competed to establish colonies in Africa and other regions to gain access to raw materials and open up new markets for their manufactured goods. Although almost all of the colonies under European control gained independence by the 1960s, the impact of colonialism has continued to influence international relations. Economic links between the former colonies and the former imperial powers remain important. In addition, leaders of the global South argue that colonialism is the source of many of the problems that currently afflict their countries.

Reading Strategies and Suggestions

This curriculum covers a wide range of issues over a long period of time. Your students may find the readings complex. It might also be difficult for them to synthesize such a large amount of information. The following are suggestions to help your students better understand the readings.

Pre-reading strategies: Help students to prepare for the reading.

1. You might create a Know/Want to Know/Learned (K-W-L) worksheet for students to record what they already know and what they want to know about the history of African colonization and independence. As they read, they can fill out the “learned” section of the worksheet. Alternatively, brainstorm their current knowledge, and then create visual maps in which students link the concepts and ideas they have about the topic.

2. Use the questions in the text to introduce students to the topic. Ask them to scan the reading for major headings, images, and questions so they can gain familiarity with the structure and organization of the text.

3. Preview the vocabulary and key concepts listed on each study guide and in the back of the TRB with students. The study guides ask students to identify key terms from the reading that they do not know. Establish a system to help students find definitions for these key terms.

4. Since studies show that most students are visual learners, use a visual introduction, such as photographs or a short video, to orient your students.

5. Be sure that students understand the purpose for their reading the text. Will you have a debate later, and they need to know the information to formulate arguments? Will they create a class podcast or blog?

Split up readings into smaller chunks:

Assign students readings over a longer period of time or divide readings among groups of students.

Graphic organizers: You may also wish to use graphic organizers to help your students better understand the information that they are given. These organizers are located on TRB-8, TRB-25, and TRB-40. In addition, a graphic organizer for the four case studies is provided on TRB-34. Students can complete them in class in groups or as part of their homework, or you can use them as reading checks or quizzes.

Political Geography of Africa

Objectives:

Students will: Practice general map reading skills.

Explore the geography of Africa.

Compare the African continent today with the political geography of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the student text and completed “Study Guide—Introduction and Part I” (TRB 5-6) or “Advanced Study Guide—Introduction and Part I” (TRB-7).

Handouts:

“Africa Today” (TRB 9-10)

“Africa in the Late Nineteenth Century” (TRB 11-12)

“Africa in 1914” (TRB 13-14)

Note:

This exercise is designed to acquaint students with the basic political geography covered in the reading. Teachers may want students to refer to their maps as they continue reading.

In the Classroom:

1. Reviewing Major Concepts—Write the following on the board: “What is colonialism?” Ask students to come up with a definition, and write their answers on the board.

Using the reading in Part I, have students explain what they know about Africa prior to 1880. In what ways were communities in

Africa connected to each other? To the outside world? What developments were happening in some parts of the continent in the nineteenth century? Be sure to emphasize to students the diversity of people, events, and experiences across the continent. Why is it difficult to make generalizations about African history?

Now ask students to consider the Berlin Conference and the colonization of Africa by European countries. Why were some European leaders interested in claiming territory in Africa? How did African communities respond? What were some ways that colonial rule affected people in Africa?

2. Group Work—Form small groups and distribute the three handouts. Ask students to note the different dates on the maps. Each group should carefully review the maps and answer the questions that follow.

3. Making Connections—When groups finish, ask them to share their findings with the class. Using the maps and their knowledge of this history, ask students to describe the ways in which European colonialism changed the societies, economies, governments, and religious practices of people living in Africa.

Ask students to think of other examples from history in which outside powers took control of other countries or territories. Is this something that could happen today?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the student text and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 22-23) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-24).

Study Guide—Introduction and Part I

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from the Introduction and Part I of your reading. Circle ones that you do not know.

colonialism
colonial system
economic development
culture
agriculturalists
sovereignty
trade routes

exported
textiles
abolition
ideologies
ethnicities
treaties

missionary
guerilla warfare
cash crops
infrastructure
assimilation
indirect rule

Questions:

1. What aspects of history did Europeans emphasize about the colonial period in Africa? What aspects of this history did they leave out?

2. Define colonialism in your own words.

3. List three beliefs, goods, or cultural practices that were exchanged through trade routes on the African continent.

a.

b.

c.

4. How did the slave trade affect local African communities?

5. In 1880, about ____ percent of Africa was _____. By 1900, _____ had laid claim to all but the African territories of _____ and _____.

6. What were two reasons why European governments became interested in controlling parts of Africa?
 - a.
 - b.
7. What was the purpose of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885?
8. List two examples of ways Africans resisted European control.
 - a.
 - b.
9. List two colonies and describe how their economies changed under colonial rule.
 - a.
 - b.
10. Describe how Britain and France governed their colonies.

Britain:

France:
11. How did European rule alter the position of women in many African colonies?

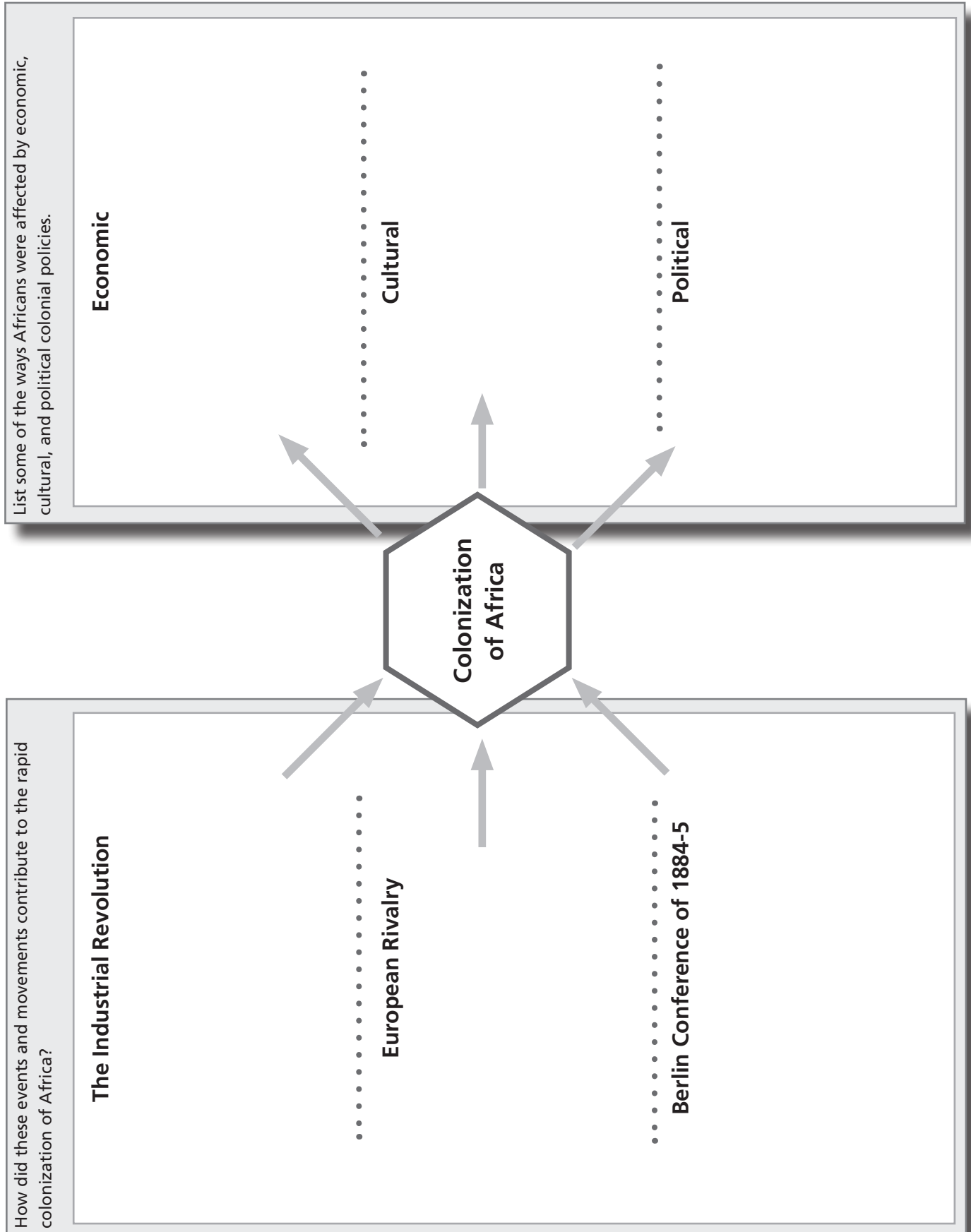
Name: _____

Advanced Study Guide—Introduction and Part I

1. How was the African continent connected to other regions of the world prior to colonial rule?
2. What motivated European powers to take control of Africa in the late nineteenth century?
3. Who was present at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885? Whose views were not represented? How did this influence the decisions made at the conference?
4. How did colonial economic policies affect Africans?

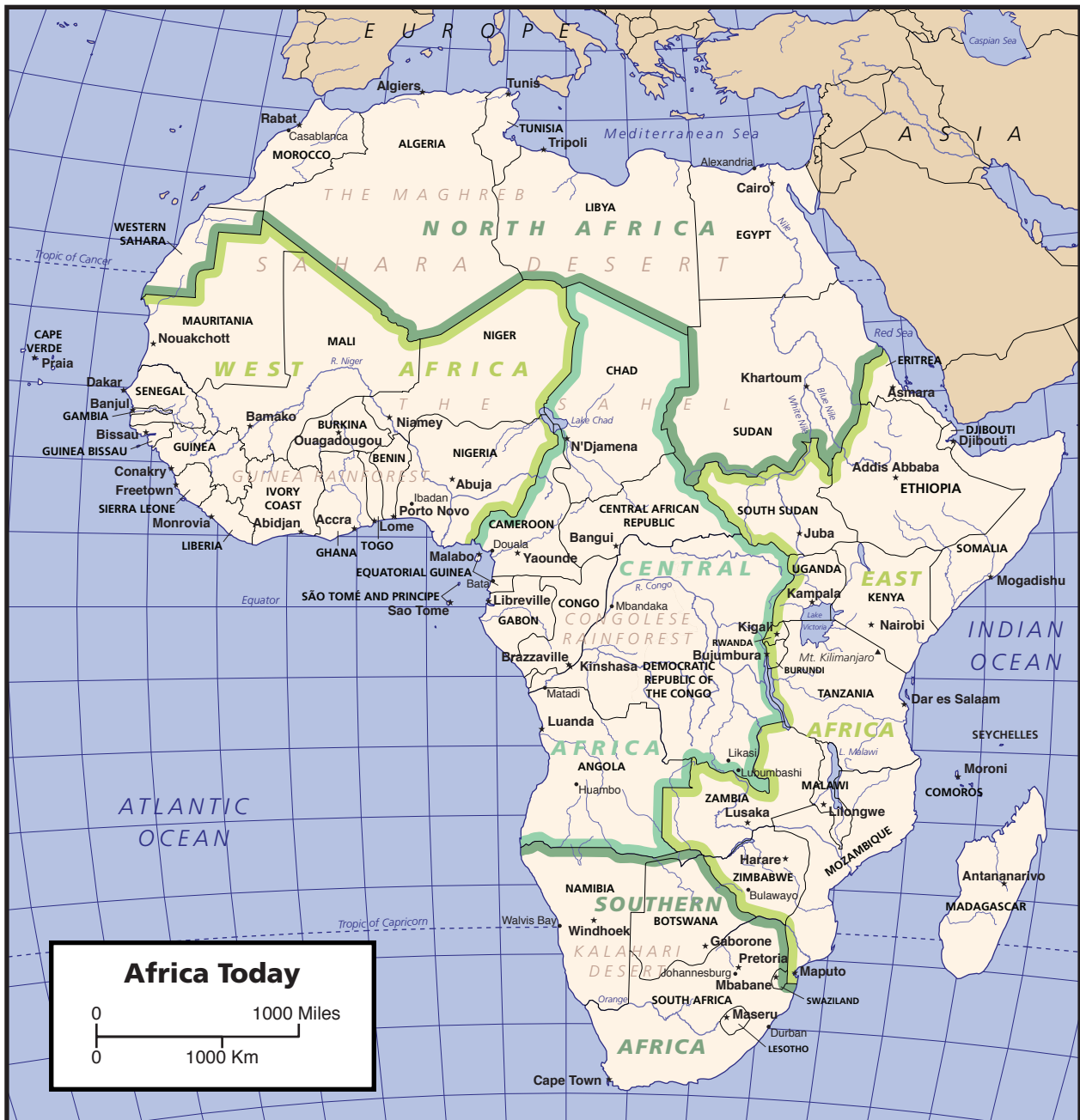
Part I Graphic Organizer

Name: _____



Africa Today

Instructions: Use the map to answer the questions that follow.



Questions:

1. Which major bodies of water border Africa?

2. Which two continents are closest to Africa?

3. List three major topographical features on the African continent (for example, the names of major rivers, deserts, or forests).
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

4. List three countries in North Africa.
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

5. List three countries in East Africa.
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

6. List three countries in West Africa.
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

7. List three countries in Central Africa.
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

8. List three countries in Southern Africa.
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

Instructions: Use the map to answer the questions that follow.

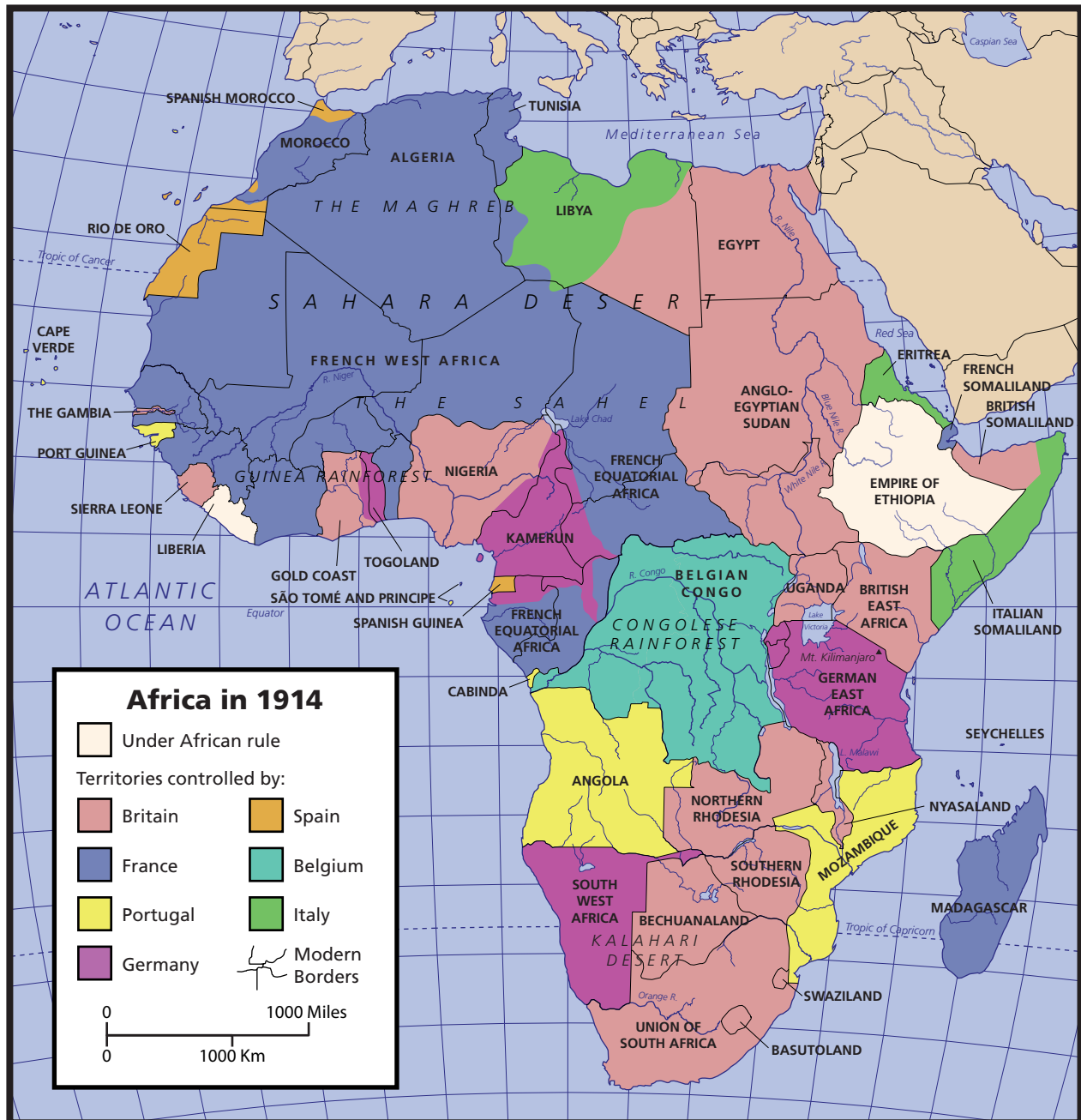


1. a. Which regions of Africa conducted international trade? (Hint: use the regions referred to on the map “Africa Today.”)

- b. Which regions of the world did Africans trade with?
2. To which continents was Timbuktu connected by trade?
3. List five coastal cities that conducted international trade. If any of these cities were controlled by an empire include it in parentheses. For example, *Cape Town (British Empire)*.
- | | |
|----|----|
| a. | d. |
| b. | e. |
| c. | |
4. List four major African empires, kingdoms, or societies and describe where they are located. For example, *Tukulor Empire, West Africa*.
- | | |
|----|----|
| a. | c. |
| b. | d. |
5. What parts of the continent did Europeans claim? Using this map, make a general statement about the location of European territories in Africa in the nineteenth century.

Africa in 1914

Instructions: Use the map to answer the questions that follow.



Questions:

1. Which European countries controlled territory in Africa?

2. Which two European countries claimed the most territory?

3. Which African countries were independent in 1914? (Hint: Look for regions under African rule.)

4. Using the reading and your knowledge of history, what major world event began in 1914? How did the end of this event change the map of colonial Africa?

5. Compare the map of 1914 with the map of the late nineteenth century. Find two African empires or societies that were split between more than one colony by 1914. Find two African empires or societies that were contained within a single colony in 1914. (You may find it helpful to draw the boundaries of African societies onto the 1914 map.)
 - a. Empires split between colonies:

 - b. Empires contained within a single colony:

6. Estimate how much of the African continent Europe claimed prior to 1880 (nineteenth-century map). (For example, 10 percent, 50 percent, 90 percent, etc.)

7. Estimate how much of Africa fell under European rule by 1914.

8. Compare the map of 1914 with the map of Africa today. How do you think the boundaries of colonial territories shaped the boundaries of countries on the continent today?

Source Analysis: Different Perspectives on a Violent Encounter

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze primary sources that present different perspectives on the same event.

Assess the value of first-hand accounts for historical understanding of nineteenth-century Africa.

Consider the value of multiple sources for understanding history.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part I of the student text and completed “Study Guide—Introduction and Part I” (TRB 5-6) or “Advanced Study Guide—Introduction and Part I” (TRB-7).

Handouts:

“Violence along the Congo River in 1877” (TRB 16-17)

“Source Analysis” (TRB 18-19)

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question—Put the question “How do we know what is true?” on the board. Brainstorm answers for a few minutes as a class and record noteworthy points. You may want to review concepts such as evidence, fact, opinion, and bias.

2. Group Work—Divide students into small groups or pairs and distribute the handouts “Violence along the Congo River in 1877” and “Source Analysis.” Tell students to follow the directions carefully and complete the questions.

3. Making Connections—After students have completed the handouts, have everyone come together in a large group. Ask students to share their findings.

Challenge students to summarize what events and descriptions are consistent between the two sources. Have students summarize what events or descriptions differ between the two sources. Make a list of students’ answers on the board.

How reliable do students think these sources are? What is the benefit of reading both sources? Do students feel as though they can describe what happened during this encounter based on these two sources?

What impressions would someone in nineteenth century Europe have of Africa if they only read Stanley’s account? Why might this be significant?

What questions do these sources raise about early encounters between Africans and outsiders? What other sources or information would students want to have to answer these questions?

4. Ethics and Knowledge—Ask students what they might say if a student or teacher from another class gave a presentation based solely on Stanley’s account of these events. What are the arguments for considering Chief Mojimba’s account? How does considering a single perspective affect our understanding of history?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the student text and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 22-23) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-24).

Violence along the Congo River in 1877

Instructions: In this activity, you will read two primary sources—one by an American journalist and adventurer and the other by an African chief—that describe a violent encounter in 1877 between the authors along part of the Congo River (present-day Zaire). Read the sources carefully. Using different colors, mark statements that are presented as facts and those that are opinion. Then answer the questions. Be prepared to share your answers with the class.

■ Source 1: Henry Morton Stanley

Henry Morton Stanley, a Welsh-born American journalist and adventurer, was instrumental in developing treaties to give King Leopold II of Belgium control of the Congo River region. In the account below, Stanley describes his experiences while travelling by canoe along the Congo River in 1877 with a number of companions.

About 8AM we came in view of a marketplace, near which there were scores of small canoes. The men at once rushed into them and advanced all round us. We refrained a long time, but finally, as they became emboldened by our stillness and began to launch their wooden spears, which they proceeded to do all together...we were obliged to reply to them with a few shots, which compelled them to scamper away ahead of us. Drums then awakened the whole country, and horns blew deafening blasts....

We came, about 10AM, to another market green. Here, too, warriors were ready, and again we had to recourse to our weapons. The little canoes with loud threats disappeared quickly down river: the land warriors rushed away into the woods....

At 2PM we emerged out of the shelter of the deeply wooded banks and came into a vast stream nearly 2,000 yards across at the mouth.... We pulled briskly over to gain the right bank when, looking upstream, we saw a sight that sent the blood tingling through every nerve and fiber of our bodies: a flotilla of gigantic canoes bearing down upon us, which both in size and numbers greatly exceeded anything we had seen hitherto!...

We had sufficient time to take a view of the mighty force bearing down on us and to count the number of the war vessels. There were 54 four of them! A monster canoe led the way with two rows of upstanding paddles, 40 men on a side, their bodies bending and swaying in unison as with a swelling barbarous chorus they drove her down toward us....

The crashing sound of large drums, a hundred blasts from ivory horns, and a thrilling chant from 2,000 human throats did not tend to soothe our nerves or to increase our confidence. However it was “neck or nothing.” We had no time to pray or to take sentimental looks at the savage world, or even to breathe a sad farewell to it....

As the foremost canoe came rushing down, its consorts on either side beating the water into foam and raising their jets of water with their sharp prows, I turned to take a last look at our people and said to them:

“Boys, be firm as iron; wait until you see the first spear and then take good aim. Don’t fire all at once. Keep aiming until you are sure of your man. Don’t think of running away, for only your guns can save you.”

The monster canoe aimed straight for my boat, as though it would run us down; but when within fifty yards off, it swerved aside and, when nearly opposite, the warriors above the manned prow let fly their spears and on either side there was a noise of rushing bodies. But every sound was soon lost

in the ripping, crackling musketry. For five minutes we were so absorbed in firing that we took no note of anything else; but at the end of that time we were made aware that the enemy was reforming about 200 yards above us.

Our blood was up now. It was a murderous world, and we felt for the first time that we hated the filthy, vulturous ghouls who inhabited it. We therefore lifted our anchors and pursued them upstream along the right bank until, rounding a point, we saw their villages. We made straight for the banks and continued the fight in the village streets with those who had landed, hunting them out into the woods, and there only sounded the retreat, having returned the daring cannibals the compliment of a visit.

* Adapted from Henry Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. II. (New York: Harper & Row, 1885).

■ Source 2: Chief Mojimba

Chief Mojimba, an African leader in the Congo River region, led the greeting party that met Stanley and his companions on the river. Mojimba told his story of the encounter with Stanley years later to a Catholic missionary, Father Joseph Fraessle. Fraessle published Mojimba's account decades later.

When we heard that the man with the white flesh was journeying down the Lualaba (Lualaba-Congo) we were open-mouthed with astonishment. We stood still. All night long the drums announced the strange news—a man with white flesh! That man, we said to ourselves, has a white skin. He must have got that from the river-kingdom. He will be one of our brothers who were drowned in the river. All life comes from the water, and in the water he has found life. Now is coming back to us, he is coming home....

We will prepare a feast, I ordered, we will go to meet our brother and escort him into the village with rejoicing! We donned our ceremonial garb. We assembled the great canoes. We listened for the gong which would announce our brother's presence on the Lualaba. Presently the cry was heard: He is approaching the Lohali! Now he enters the river! Halloh! We swept forward, my canoe leading, the others following, with songs of joy and with dancing, to meet the first white man our eyes had beheld, and to do him honor.

But as we drew near his canoes there were loud reports, bang! Bang! And fire-staves spat bits of iron at us. We were paralyzed with fright; our mouths hung wide open and we could not shut them. Things such as we had never seen, never heard of, never dreamed of—they were the work of evil spirits! Several of my men plunged into the water.... What for? Did they fly to safety? No—for others fell down also, in the canoes. Some screamed dreadfully, others were silent—they were dead, and blood flowed from little holes in their bodies. "War! that is war!" I yelled. "Go back!" The canoes sped back to our village with all the strength our spirits could impart to our arms.

That was no brother! That was the worst enemy our country had ever seen.

And still those bangs went on; the long staves spat fire, flying pieces of iron whistled around us, fell into the water with a hissing sound, and our brothers continued to fall. We fled into our village—they came after us. We fled into the forest and flung ourselves on the ground. When we returned that evening our eyes beheld fearful things: our brothers, dead, bleeding, our village plundered and burned, and the water full of dead bodies.

* Adapted from Heinrich Schiffrers, *The Quest for Africa—Two Thousand Years of Exploration* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1957).

Source Analysis

Instructions: Now that you have read the two sources and marked statements that are fact or opinion, answer the set of questions below. Be prepared to share your answers with the class.

Questions

1. a. When and where did Stanley and Chief Mojimba's encounter take place?

b. When were these sources published and by whom?

Source 1:

Source 2:

2. List three facts that the sources agree on.

a.

b.

c.

3. What are two important pieces of information mentioned in one account and not the other?

Stanley's account:

a.

b.

Chief Mojimba's account:

a.

b.

Name: _____

4. How do Stanley and Chief Mojimba describe each other? Provide specific examples. What does this tell us about them?

5. How does each account describe the use of violence?

Stanley:

Chief Mojimba:

6. Is Stanley's account biased in any way? Explain.

7. Is Chief Mojimba's account biased in any way? Explain.

8. If a historian were studying early encounters between Africans and Europeans, what could they learn by studying these sources?

Photo Analysis: Look Again

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze a photographic source.

Consider the benefits and limitations of using photographs for understanding history.

Review the role of missionaries in the colonization and documentation of African societies.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read Part II of the student text and completed “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 22-23) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-24).

Handouts:

“Photo Analysis: Pastor Koranteng” (TRB 26-27)

“Look Again: Akua Oye” (TRB-28)

Resources:

You will find a PowerPoint of the image online at <www.choices.edu/colonizationmaterials>.

An in-depth video analysis of the postcard featured in this lesson by historian and archivist Paul Jenkins can be found at <<http://vimeo.com/33251261>>. The video should be viewed by students only after they have completed the whole activity.

In the Classroom:

1. The Role of Missionaries—Tell students that they will be analyzing a photograph on a postcard produced by a Christian mission working in the Gold Coast. These postcards were sometimes used by missionaries to communicate with relatives and friends back home, but they were mostly sent for publicity and to gain financial support for their work abroad. Mission postcards were often sent to churches and Christian homes in Europe and the United States.

2. Examining a Missionary Postcard—Divide the class into small groups of three to four and distribute the first handout, “Photo Analysis: Pastor Koranteng.” Review the instructions with students and have them answer the questions. (Students may need a hint about the European practice of reversing the month and day in the date on the photo.) After ten minutes, have students share their observations.

Now distribute the second handout, “Look Again: Akua Oye,” and have students read the new information about the photograph and answer the questions in their groups. You might also choose to review this new information together with the whole class.

3. Reconsidering the Past—How did the information provided on the second handout change students’ understanding of the photograph? Why do students think Rudolph Fisch’s caption emphasized the pastor instead of Akua Oye? With this new information, what other questions about the photograph, the photographer, or the family do students have?

Have some students share their alternative captions for the photo.

4. Becoming a More Thorough Historian—Ask students to consider the difference between their answers to the questions on the first worksheet, “Photo Analysis: Pastor Koranteng,” and the second worksheet, “Look Again: Akua Oye.” What contributed to their initial understanding of the source? How does this relate to the purpose of the photographer Rudolf Fisch? Did Fisch influence their interpretation? Why did their perspective change? What are the benefits and limitations of using materials produced by missionaries as a resource for learning about colonization in Africa?

How might the lessons students learned from examining this photograph apply to examining other visual sources?

5. Extra Challenge: Brainstorm a list of guidelines and standard questions for examining photographic sources. Here is a list of possible questions:

- Who and what is in the photograph?
- What is happening in the photo?
- Is there any reason to believe or suggest that the photograph has been altered?
- Would looking at other sources help to explain what is shown?
- Who took it and why?
- Were the people in the photo posing for the photographer or were they unaware that the picture was taken?
- Is there a caption or title?
- Is the photo a selective or misleading view of an event?
- What ideas or biases do we have that might affect how we interpret the photo?

There are thousands of missionary postcards available online at the International Mission Photography Archive, <<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15799coll123>>. Have students use their new list of standard questions for photographic sources to analyze any of these images. You may want to remind them that not all sources contain dramatic discoveries or hidden meanings.

Study Guide—Part II

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from Part II of your reading. Circle ones that you do not know.

anticolonial
nationalism
migrated
traditional leaders
blockade
conscripted

subsistence farming
fascism
self-determination
United Nations
the Cold War
authoritarian

Questions:

1. List two ways educated Africans helped organize resistance efforts in cities.
a.

b.

2. Define “mandate,” as it was used by the League of Nations.

3. What was the...

a. Pan African Congress?

b. Universal Negro Improvement Association?

4. List three ways Africans opposed colonialism following World War I.

a.

b.

c.

Name: _____

5. Why was nationalist unity difficult to achieve in some regions of Africa?

6. How did Italy's invasion of Ethiopia influence African nationalist perspectives about colonialism?

7. How did the following groups interpret the United Nations founding goal: "equal rights and [the] self-determination of peoples"?

 - a. Nationalist groups in Africa:

 - b. European colonial powers:

8. Why did Britain and France intensify their efforts to control colonial economies after World War II?

9. How did the emergence of mass political parties change the nature of African demands for independence?

Advanced Study Guide—Part II

1. What impact did the end of World War I have on African colonies under European rule?
2. What role did Pan Africanism play in the growth of anticolonial nationalism?
3. What methods did anticolonial groups in Africa use to resist colonial rule during the 1920s and 1930s?
4. How did world opinion on colonization shift after World War II?

Part II Graphic Organizer

Name: _____

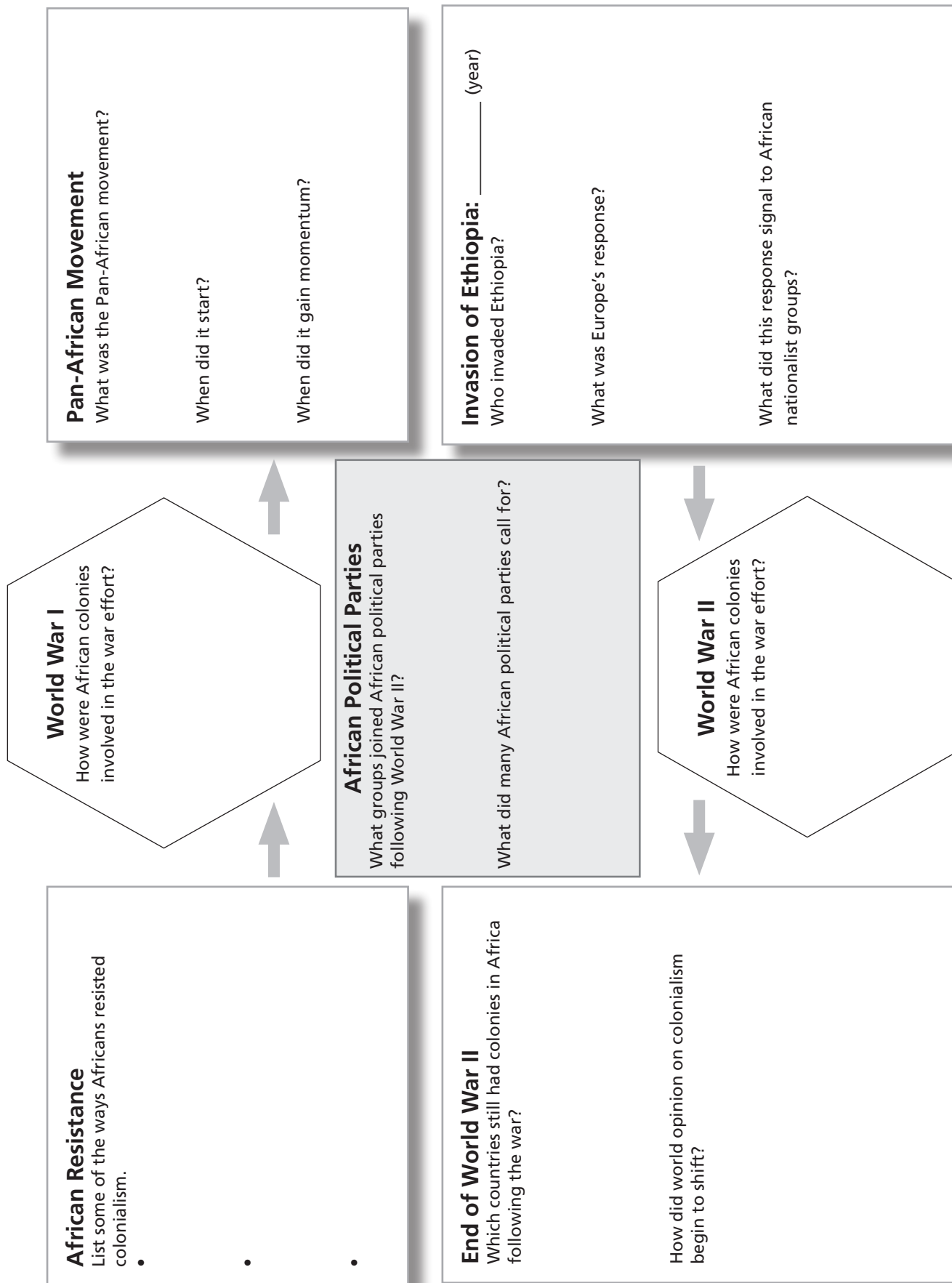


Photo Analysis: Pastor Koranteng

Instructions: Examine the photograph and answer the questions that follow. The photograph's caption was written by the photographer, Rudolph Fisch, a Swiss Protestant missionary in the Gold Coast. Remember that historians often use photographs to gain an impression about an event or era. Nevertheless, it is important to be careful about drawing conclusions from photographs. One cannot be certain that a photograph is an accurate or complete reflection of reality.



Basel Mission Archives/ Basel Mission Holdings. Ref. No. D-30.11.018. Rudolph Fisch.

"The African Pastor Koranteng and His Family." Photo by Rudolph Fisch.

1. Who and what do you see? (Provide at least five details about the photograph.)

Name: _____

2. When and where was this photograph taken?

3. a. Who took the photograph?

b. What do we know about the photographer?

4. What does the caption tell you about the photograph?

5. Does the photograph have a point of view? Explain.

6. What do you think the purpose of the photograph is?

Look Again: Akua Oye

Instructions: You have already recorded your impressions about the photo based on your initial observations. In this part of the activity, you will reconsider your impressions based on new information about the photo. The information comes from Paul Jenkins, a historian who studied this photo and the role of missionaries in colonial Africa.

New Information

❖ Missionaries referred to the pastor's wife as Mrs. Amelia Koranteng. This was the name they had given her. But she was known to members of her own community as *ohemmaa*, or "queen mother." She was the most important female in the Akwapin Kingdom (a region of present-day Ghana). Her name was Akua Oye.

❖ As "queen mother," Akua Oye did not hold the highest political title in the Akwapin Kingdom. This role was reserved for the king, but his right to rule the kingdom had to be authorized by the "queen mother." The "queen mother" was not married to the king, but she chose the king from many candidates, including her nephews, her own children, and other male relatives.

❖ The location of Akua Oye in the center of the photo and the grouping of the female children around her, and not around Pastor Koranteng, suggests her central importance in her family and community.

❖ Except for Pastor Koranteng, the photograph only features female relatives of Akua Oye. This is probably not a coincidence because the Akwapin Kingdom was a matrilineal society (all heirs are traced through the mother and maternal ancestors).

❖ Akua Oye is sitting in the center of the photograph, wearing African clothing. Meanwhile, the pastor, the children, and the young woman are wearing European-style clothing and are standing or sitting to her side. In other missionary photographs of African pastors and their families, usually all members of the family are dressed in European-style clothing.

Questions

1. List three discoveries from the new information above that you find the most interesting or important.
2. Why do you think Rudolph Fisch's caption did not contain information about Akua Oye?
3. Write an alternative, and more accurate, caption for the photograph.

Kikuyu Fable: A Tale of Resistance

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze a Kikuyu fable describing colonialism in Kenya.

Collaborate in groups to create a dramatic or artistic interpretation of the story.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read Part II of the student text and completed “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 22-23) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-24).

Handouts:

“The Man and the Elephant” (TRB 30-31)

Note: It may take two class periods to complete the lesson. For a shorter lesson, refer to parts 1 and 2, and conclude with part 4.

In the Classroom:

1. Reflecting on Liberation Movements—

Have students think back on what they read in Part II. Why did many Africans have grievances against the colonial system? Why did African nationalist movements grow in popularity after World War II?

2. Group Work—Divide students into small groups of three to four students. Give each group copies of the handout. Tell students that they will be reading a story that was told by the Kikuyu during the colonial period. (The Kikuyu were the largest ethnic group in Kenya, and many Kikuyu were involved in the Mau Mau conflict in the 1950s.) Students should carefully read the directions and work with their group members to answer the questions.

3. Sharing the Story—While remaining in groups, review the handout with the class. What did the man, the hut, and the animals represent? From whose perspective was this story written? What is the overall message?

Now tell students that their groups will create an artistic representation of the story. Groups may wish to create:

- a. a cartoon strip, or political cartoon.
- b. a dramatic reenactment of the story.
- c. a political pamphlet or poster.

Once students have completed their preparations, have groups present to the class.

4. Culminating Discussion—Ask students to make connections between the ideas in this story and what they know about African resistance and struggles for independence.

Why is there a conflict between the man and the animals? How did the man try to resolve this conflict? How does the Commission of Inquiry justify the animals’ occupation of the man’s hut? Why is he eventually driven to violence? How are these ideas related to what students know about African independence struggles?

Ask students to consider the effect that this story might have had. If you were a Kikuyu in colonial Kenya in the 1930s, how would hearing this story make you feel? What would be the benefit of conveying this message in a story, as opposed to a political pamphlet or newspaper article? How could a story like this be a form of resistance? Why do students think that resistance of this type was so important?

The Man and the Elephant

Instructions: The following Kikuyu story (originally told in the Kikuyu language) describes relations between the Kikuyu and Europeans in Kenya. (The Kikuyu were the largest ethnic group in Kenya, and many Kikuyu were involved in the Mau Mau conflict in the 1950s.) This story was first published in 1938 in a book by Jomo Kenyatta, who would eventually become the first president of Kenya. Kenyans won their independence from Britain in 1962. The following version of this story was told by Ndabaningi Sithole, a Zimbabwean reverend and political leader.

An elephant made friendship with a man. Driven by a heavy thunderstorm, the elephant sought shelter in the man's hut that was on the edge of the forest. The elephant was allowed partial admission, but eventually he evicted the man from his hut and took full possession of the hut, saying: "My dear good friend, your skin is harder than mine, and there is not enough room for both of us. You can afford to remain in the rain while I am protecting my delicate skin from the hailstorm."

A dispute between the elephant and the man ensued. This attracted the notice of the King of the Jungle. In the interest of peace and good order the King assured the grumbling man that he would appoint a Commission of Inquiry: "You have done well by establishing a friendship with my people, especially with the elephant, who is one of my honorable ministers of state. Do not grumble anymore, your hut is not lost to you. Wait until the sitting of my Imperial Commission, and there you will be given plenty of opportunity to state your case. I am sure you will be pleased with the findings of the Commission."

The Commission was duly appointed. It comprised (1) Mr. Rhinoceros; (2) Mr. Buffalo; (3) Mr. Alligator; (4) The Rt. Hon. Mr. Fox to act as chairman; and (5) Mr. Leopard to act as Secretary to the Commission. The man asked that one of his kind be included on the Commission, but he was assured that none of his kind was educated enough to understand the intricacy of jungle law, and that the members of the Commission were God-chosen and would execute their business with justice.

The elephant gave his evidence: "Gentleman of the Jungle, there is no need for me to waste your valuable time in relating a story which I am sure you all know. I have always regarded it as my duty to protect the interests of my friends, and this appears to have caused the misunderstanding between myself and my friend here. He invited me to save his hut from being blown away by a hurricane. As the hurricane had gained access owing [to] the unoccupied space in the hut, I considered it necessary, in my friend's own interests, to turn the undeveloped space to a more economic use by sitting in it myself; a duty which any of you would undoubtedly have performed with equal readiness in similar circumstances."

Next the man gave interrupted evidence and the Commission delivered its verdict as follows: "In our opinion this dispute has arisen through a regrettable misunderstanding due to the backwardness of your ideas. We consider that Mr. Elephant has fulfilled his sacred duty of protecting your interest. As it is clearly for your good that the space should be put to its economic use, and as you yourself have not yet reached the age of expansion which would enable you to fill it, we consider it necessary to arrange a compromise to suit both parties. Mr. Elephant shall continue his occupation of your hut, but we give you permission to look for a site where you can build another hut more suited to your needs, and we shall see that you are well protected."

The man, fearing exposure to the teeth and claws of the members of the Commission, had no alternative. He built another hut. Mr. Rhinoceros came and occupied it. Another Commission of Inquiry was set up. The man was advised to look for a new site. This went on until all the members of the Commission had been properly housed at the expense of the man. Then the desperate man said

So the man built a big hut, and soon the lords of the jungle came and occupied the big hut. The man shut them in and set the hut on fire and all perished. The man returned home, saying: "Peace is costly, but it's worth the expense."

Questions

1. Summarize this story in three to four sentences.
2. In the story, the man, the hut, and the animals are symbols that represent something else. What do these symbols stand for?
 - a. the man:
 - b. the hut:
 - c. the animals:
3. Whose perspective is represented in this story?
4. Why do you think the Kikuyu told this story? Who was their audience?
5. What is the message of this story?

The Four Case Studies: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze differences between African and European perspectives on colonization.

Identify the core assumptions underlying each perspective.

Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective visual presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read “Case Studies” and “Case Studies in Brief” in the student text.

Handouts:

“Presenting Your Case Study” (TRB-33)

“Case Studies: Graphic Organizer” (TRB-34)

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period, students will be preparing their presentations. Remind them to use information from the reading to support their presentations.

2. Case Study Groups—Divide the class into four groups. Assign a case study to each group. Each case study has a central question that is explored in the reading and primary sources.

Inform students that each group is responsible for creating a political cartoon. These cartoons should illustrate the differences between African and European views about the central question of their case study. Each group will present their political cartoon as well as a summary of their assigned case study and central question to the class. Groups should follow the instructions in “Presenting Your Case Study.” Groups should begin by assigning each member a role (students may double up).

3. Evaluating the Case Studies—Give each student a copy of “Case Studies: Graphic Organizer.” Students should fill in the row that corresponds to their assigned case study while they are preparing their presentations. During class presentations, they should fill in the remainder of the chart.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the presentation.

Name: _____

Case Studies: Graphic Organizer

Instructions: As you prepare your presentation, fill in the row that corresponds to your assigned case study. During the presentations of other case study groups, fill in the remainder of the chart.

	Colonizing Power	Years under Colonial Rule	Central Question	How did (some) Africans answer this question?	How did (some) Europeans answer this question?
	Ghana				
	Democratic Republic of the Congo				
	Algeria				
	Kenya				

The Four Case Studies: Presentation and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate the perspectives of African and European groups.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a presentation.

Consider how different perspectives inform our understanding of colonization.

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Tell students that they will be historians presenting and listening to the perspectives of groups within four colonies. Each of these cases has a central question that was an important element of the colonial experiences of that country. As they listen to the presentations, students should consider how the issues raised by each central question affected colonial policies, African experiences of colonialism, and African resistance to colonialism.

2. Managing the Presentations—Be sure that each student has their copy of “Case Studies: Graphic Organizer.” Explain that each group will give a four-to-five minute presentation to the class explaining the case that they have been assigned, describing the central question, and presenting their political cartoon. As groups present, the rest of the class should fill in the graphic organizer. When each group finishes its presentation, allow students to ask any questions they may have.

3. Guiding Discussion—Have students consider the information on their graphic organizer. In what ways were European and African views fundamentally different with regard to these contested issues? Why do

students think their views were so different? Do students think particular perspectives are more valid or accurate than others? Why?

At the time, which groups had the power to express their views to a wide audience? What audiences could they reach, and how? What are some possible consequences of this? For example, how might the views of people in Britain or France have been affected by their limited access to African perspectives? Why might this be important?

What views are missing from this discussion? For example, how might the opinions of a Kikuyu woman, an unemployed youth in the Belgian Congo, or an elderly Algerian man who does not speak French differ from the views that are presented? Encourage students to be as specific as possible. How might these views help us better understand these topics and this time period?

Homework:

Students should read the Epilogue in the student text and complete the “Study Guide—Epilogue” (TRB 37-38) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue” (TRB-39).

The All-African People's Conference, Accra, Ghana, 1958

Objectives:

Students will: Consider the historical events surrounding the 1958 All-African People's Conference.

Assess a primary source document.

Analyze, synthesize, and present data about the independence of African states.

Work collaboratively with classmates.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read "Epilogue: African Independence" in the student text and completed "Study Guide—Epilogue" (TRB 37-38) or "Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue" (TRB-39).

Handouts:

"The All-African People's Conference" (TRB-41)

"Resolution on Imperialism and Colonialism" (TRB 42-44)

"African Independence in the Twentieth Century" (TRB 45-46)

"Charting African Independence" (TRB-47)

Note: Students may find colored pencils for the timeline and graphing activity helpful. Students might also find the map "Africa Today" (TRB-9) useful.

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Ask students to recall their readings. What were the primary reasons that Africans wanted independence? Distribute "The All-African People's Conference" and review its main points with the class.

2. Working in Groups—Divide the class into groups of three to four students and distribute the remaining handouts to each group. Groups should work through and discuss the questions and activities. Students should

record their group's responses on their own worksheets.

Some students might need coaching about making the graph. Emphasize the importance of labeling the graph clearly.

3. Sharing Conclusions and Discussion—Ask groups to share their findings and compare answers with the other groups. What did delegates condemn in the "Resolution on Imperialism and Colonialism"? What were the primary aspirations and demands? Which of the aspirations or demands do students find particularly interesting or surprising? Why?

Have students examine their graphs. How many African countries were independent in 1958? In what year did the most countries achieve independence?

Have students recall their reading. Why was Africa undergoing political change at the time of the All-African People's Conference? What were some of the challenges that newly independent countries faced? What caused these challenges? Do students believe that the period of rapid independence of African countries is a major historical event? Why or why not?

4. Extra Challenge: Have students do a short research project on one of the African countries that achieved independence other than the four case studies covered in the reading. When was the country colonized and by what country? What were the European colonial interests in the colony? What were the primary issues during the colonial period? What were the circumstances of its independence? What were the major political, social, and economic developments after independence?

Study Guide—Epilogue

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from the Epilogue of your reading. Circle ones that you do not know.

legacies

elites

international relations

majority rule

apartheid

Non-Aligned Movement

Questions:

1. Why did France treat Algeria differently than its colonies in West and Central Africa?

2. List two ways that Britain and France tried to preserve their interests in former colonies.
 - a.

 - b.

3. What other regions of the world were undergoing decolonization at the same time African states were becoming independent?

4.
 - a. What two superpowers emerged after World War II?

 - b. In what ways were these superpowers involved in the Congo after it gained independence from Belgium?

5. What was the mission of the Non-Aligned Movement?

6. How did colonial education policies affect the capabilities of newly independent African states to govern and develop their economies?

7. List four new industries developed in African countries following independence.
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
 - d. _____

8. What event marked the end of colonial rule in Africa?

9. For decades after _____, African scholars, _____, and _____ worked to counter the psychological effects of colonialism, and to rekindle _____ in African _____ and _____.

10. What role does the African Union play?

Name: _____

Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue

1. In what ways did Britain and France try to influence their former colonies after independence?
2. How did the Cold War struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union affect certain countries in Africa?
3. How did political and economic challenges affect newly independent African countries?
4. How do the legacies of colonialism affect Africa today?

African Independence

What legacies of colonialism are evident in Africa today?

Independence

List two economic challenges following independence.

-
-

Describe how each of the following had an impact on newly independent countries in Africa.

The Cold War:

Foreign Investment (loans, etc.):

List two political challenges following independence.

-
-

When did South Africa gain independence from Britain?

When did South Africa become a political democracy?

The All-African People's Conference

In December 1958, over three hundred delegates from twenty-eight African countries gathered in Accra, Ghana to participate in the All-African People's Conference. The delegates in attendance were anticolonial nationalist leaders, representatives from political parties, members of labor organizations, and freedom fighters who were working tirelessly to liberate their countries from colonialism. Other delegates came from independent African countries, many of which had only recently achieved an end to colonial rule. The independent countries represented at the conference were Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia.*

The All-African People's Conference took place during a critical moment in history. Ghana, the host country, had achieved independence just a year earlier in 1957. Reflecting on the end of colonial rule in his country, the Ghanaian Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah announced, "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked to the total liberation of the African continent." This message reassured others fighting for liberation that they would not be alone in their struggles. The fact that the delegates gathered in Accra, the capital of Ghana, added a sense of triumph to the conference. Slogans such as "Hands Off Africa! Africa Must be Free!" and "Down with Imperialism and Colonialism" draped the walls of the conference room. These slogans reflected delegates' commitment to liberating not just their own countries from colonial rule, but also the entire African continent.



Image provided by African Activist Archive Project www.africanactivist.msu.edu.

A wide range of topics were discussed, including strategies to speed up the process of liberation, the value of nonviolent versus violent resistance, and the idea of creating a "United States of Africa." The idea of a united Africa received both strong support and strong opposition. While a united Africa failed to gain enough support, other ideas were put into action. For example, a "Freedom Fund" was established to provide financial backing to liberation movements across the continent. A document titled "Resolution on Imperialism and Colonialism" also came out of the conference. It drew on the theme of universal human rights and demanded that these be extended to all Africans. The delegates emphasized the importance of this goal with their decision to establish a permanent committee to investigate human rights abuses across Africa.

*Sudan achieved independence in 1956, but did not have a delegation at the conference.

Resolution on Imperialism and Colonialism

Instructions: The first part of the resolution expresses what the delegates condemn about imperialism and colonialism. As you read, use different colors to mark 1) words or phrases that you do not understand; and 2) key terms or phrases that show what the delegates opposed (for example, “economic exploitation”).

The second part of the resolution expresses the delegates’ aspirations and demands. As you read, use different colors to mark 1) words or phrases that you do not understand; and 2) key terms or phrases that show what the delegates want for the future of Africa (for example, “a human rights committee”). Then answer the questions that follow.

Note: “Franchise” means the right to vote.

All-African People’s Conference:

Resolution on Imperialism and Colonialism, Accra, December 5-13, 1958

(1) Whereas the great bulk of the African continent has been carved out arbitrarily to the detriment of the indigenous African peoples by European Imperialists, namely: Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Portugal.

(2) Whereas in this process of colonisation, two groups of colonial territories have emerged...:

(a) Those territories where indigenous Africans are dominated by foreigners who have their seats of authority in foreign lands, for example, French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Belgian Congo, Portuguese Guinea, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

(b) Those where indigenous Africans are dominated and oppressed by foreigners who have settled permanently in Africa and who regard the position of Africa under their sway as belonging more to them than to Africa, e.g. Kenya, Union of South Africa, Algeria, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.

(3) Whereas world opinion unequivocally condemns oppression and subjugation of one race by another in whatever shape or form.

(4) Whereas all African peoples everywhere strongly deplore the economic exploitation of African peoples by imperialist countries thus reducing Africans to poverty in the midst of plenty.

(5) Whereas all African peoples vehemently resent the militarisation of Africans and the use of African soldiers in a nefarious global game against their brethren as in Algeria, Kenya, South Africa, Cameroons, Ivory Coast, Rhodesia and in the Suez Canal invasion.

(6) Whereas fundamental human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of worship, freedom to live a full and abundant life, as approved by the All-African People’s Conference on 13th December, 1958, are denied to Africans through the activities of imperialists.

(7) Whereas denial of the franchise to Africans on the basis of race or sex has been one of the principal instruments of colonial policy by imperialists and their agents, thus making it feasible for a few white settlers to lord it over millions of indigenous Africans as in the proposed Central African Federation, Kenya, Union of South Africa, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique and the Cameroons.

(8) Whereas imperialists are now coordinating their activities by forming military and economic pacts such as NATO, European Common Market, Free Trade Area, Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, Common Organisation in Sahara for the purpose of strengthening their imperialist activities in Africa and elsewhere,

Be it resolved and it is hereby resolved by; the All-African People's Conference meeting in Accra 5th to 13th December, 1958, and comprising over 300 delegates representing over 200 million Africans from all parts of Africa as follows:

1. That the All-African People's Conference vehemently condemns colonialism and imperialism in whatever shape or form these evils are perpetuated.
2. That the political and economic exploitation of Africans by imperialist Europeans should cease forthwith.
3. That the use of African manpower in the nefarious game of power politics by imperialists should be a thing of the past.
4. That independent African States should pursue in their international policy principles that will expedite and accelerate the independence and sovereignty of all dependent and colonial African territories.
5. That fundamental human rights be extended to all men and women in Africa and that the rights of indigenous Africans to the fullest use of their lands be respected and preserved.
6. That universal adult franchise be extended to all persons in Africa regardless of race or sex.
7. That independent African states ensure that fundamental human rights and universal adult franchise are fully extended to everyone within their states as an example to imperial nations who abuse and ignore the extension of those rights to Africans.
8. That a permanent secretariat of the All-African People's Conference be set up to organise the All-African Conference on a firm basis.
9. That a human rights committee of the Conference be formed to examine complaints of abuse of human rights in every part of Africa and to take appropriate steps to ensure the enjoyment of the rights by everyone.
10. That the All-African People's Conference in Accra declares its full support to all fighters for freedom in Africa, to all those who resort to peaceful means of non-violence and civil disobedience, as well as to all those who are compelled to retaliate against violence to attain national independence and freedom for the people. Where such retaliation becomes necessary, the Conference condemns all legislations which consider those who fight for their independence and freedom as ordinary criminals.

Questions

1. Why do the delegates object to imperialism and colonialism? Include four examples of things they oppose or condemn.
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.

2.
 - a. How many delegates attended the conference?
 - b. How many Africans did the delegates represent?
3. What do the delegates want for the future of Africa? Include four examples of the delegates' aspirations and demands.
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
4. According to section 10, what is the delegates' stance toward "fighters for freedom" in Africa? What does the resolution have to say about both nonviolent and violent efforts to achieve independence?

African Independence in the Twentieth Century

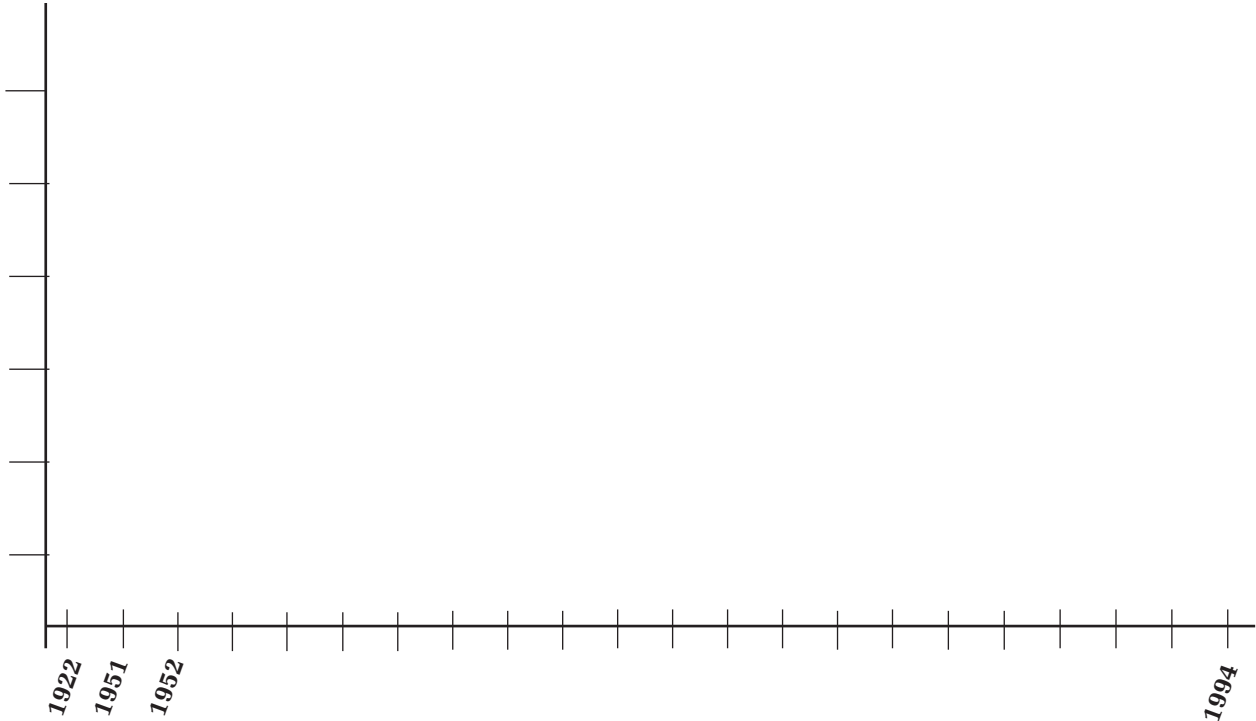
Instructions: Below is a chronology of African independence in the twentieth century. Using different colors, highlight the colonies according to their colonizing country (e.g. highlight all former British colonies yellow.) In cases where there is more than one colonizer, mark the most recent colonizing power. In the last column of the chart, fill in the number of countries that gained independence each year.

Year	Date	Colony	Colonizing Power	number/ year
1922	February 28	Egypt	Britain	
1951	December 24	Libya	Italian colony until 1943, Britain/France '43-'51	
1952	September 11	Eritrea	Italian colony until 1941, Britain '41-'51	
1956	January 1	Sudan	Britain	
	March 2	Morocco	France	
	March 20	Tunisia	France	
	April 7	Northern Maurruecos	Spain	
	October 29	Tangier	Spain	
1957	March 6	Ghana	Britain	
1958	April 27	Southern Maurruecos	Spain	
	October 2	Guinea	France	
1960	January 1	Cameroon	France, Germany colony before WWI	
	April 27	Togo	France, Germany colony before WWI	
	June 20	Senegal	France	
		Mali	France	
	June 26	Madagascar	France	
		British Somaliland	Britain	
	June 30	Dem. Rep.of the Congo	Belgium	
	July 1	Somalia	Italy	
	August 1	Benin	France	
	August 3	Niger	France	
	August 5	Burkina Faso	France	
	August 7	Côte d'Ivoire	France	
	August 11	Chad	France	
	August 13	Central African Republic	France	
	August 15	Republic of the Congo	France	
	August 17	Gabon	France	
	October 1	Nigeria	Britain	
	November 28	Mauritania	France	

1961	April 27 June 1 October 1 December 9	Sierra Leone British Cameroon North British Cameroon South Tanzania	Britain Britain, German colony before WWI Britain, German colony before WWI Britain, German colony before WWI	
1962	July 1 July 3 October 9	Burundi Rwanda Algeria Uganda	Belgium, German colony before WWI Belgium, German colony before WWI France Britain	
1963	December 10 December 12	Zanzibar Kenya	Britain Britain	
1964	July 6 October 24	Malawi Zambia	Britain Britain	
1965	February 18	Gambia	Britain	
1966	September 30 October 4	Botswana Lesotho	Britain Britain	
1968	March 12 September 6 October 12	Mauritius Swaziland Equatorial Guinea	Britain Britain Spain	
1969	June 30	Ifni	Spain	
1974	September 10	Guinea Bissau	Portugal	
1975	February 28 June 25 July 5 July 6 July 12 November 11	Western Sahara Mozambique Cape Verde Comoros São Tomé and Príncipe Angola	Spain Portugal Portugal France Portugal Portugal	
1976	June 26	Seychelles	Britain	
1977	June 27	Djibouti	France	
1980	April 18	Zimbabwe	Britain	
1990	March 21	Namibia	South Africa, German colony before WW I	
1994	April 27	South Africa	British until 1910, then white-majority rule until 1994	

Charting African Independence

Instructions: Use the information from the chronology to create a line graph representing the number of colonies that gained independence each year. Before adding the data points, be sure to label the x and y axes. Refer to the chronology and line graph to answer the questions below.



Questions:

1.
 - a. How many colonies became independent during the first half of the twentieth century?
 - b. During the second half?
2. In what year did the majority of French colonies gain independence?
3. Circle the year of the All-African People's Conference on the line graph.
 - a. What do you observe about the data for this year? What general observations can you make for the years before and after the conference?
 - b. Write two questions you would want to research to better understand the data points for the years surrounding the conference.

Assessment Using Documents

Instructions: These questions relate to education policies during the colonial period in Africa.

1.
 - a. In Document 1, what does Walter Rodney mean when he says that colonial education aimed to “instill a sense of deference towards all that was European and capitalist”?

 - b. According to Rupert Emerson in Document 2, how did colonial education encourage African struggles for freedom?

2. How do Document 1 and Document 7 support the conclusions made in Document 4?

3. Assess the value and limitations of Document 6 and Document 8 for historians assessing the aims of colonial education policies. Be sure to refer to the origin and purpose of each document.

4. Using these sources and your knowledge, explain whether colonial education had a positive or negative effect on Africans.

Documents

Document 1: Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Howard University Press, 1982, pp. 240-241. Walter Rodney was a historian and political activist from Guyana.

“The colonizers did not introduce education into Africa: they introduced a new set of formal educational institutions which partly supplemented and partly replaced those which were there before.... The main purpose of the colonial school system was to train Africans to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans.... It was not an educational system that grew out of the African environment or one that was designed to promote the most rational use of material and social resources. It was not an educational system designed to give young people confidence and pride as members of African societies, but one which sought to instill a sense of deference towards all that was European and capitalist.”

Document 2: Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples*, Harvard University Press, 1960, p. 53. Rupert Emerson was a professor of political science and international relations at Harvard University from 1927-1970.

“The few in the colonies with a Western type of education were well-prepared to receive Wilsonian doctrines of democracy and the right of people to govern themselves.... Colonial educational systems have frequently been attacked, with evident justice, for teaching the history of the metropolitan country or of Europe rather than local history—the stock image is that of children of French Africa or Madagascar reciting ‘nos ancêtres les Gaulois’ (‘our ancestors the Gauls’*)—but it was from European history that the lessons of the struggle for freedom could on the whole be most effectively learned. The knowledge of Western languages opened up vast bodies of literature teeming with seditious thoughts which the young men who came upon them were not slow to apply to their own problems.”

* the Gauls are ancestors of the French

Document 3: Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History*, Zed Books, 2002, pp. 78-79. Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja is a professor of African and Afro-American studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

“In his otherwise excellent study of national independence movements in Asia and Africa, Rupert Emerson asserts that colonialism was a school for democracy—when in fact it was a school for tyranny—and that the largely illiterate masses had no clear understanding of the notion of people’s sovereignty.... For him, only educated elites were in a position to understand such issues.... Anticolonial resistance in the Belgian Congo...was a resistance in which the masses, led by traditional rulers and organic intellectuals from their own ranks, took the initiative in fighting against the colonial system. And they did this without the benefit of knowledge derived from the Western classics, for the ideas of freedom and democracy are universal, and not an exclusive monopoly of the West.... No great intellectual exercise was required for ordinary people to reject colonialism and to yearn for a better political order.”

Document 4: A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1987, p. 106. A. Adu Boahen was a Ghanaian historian and politician. He was an academic at the University of Ghana from 1959-1990, co-founder of the Movement for Freedom and Justice, and nominee of the New Patriotic Party in Ghana’s 1992 presidential election.

“The effects of colonial education were really unfortunate. First, because of its inadequacy, large numbers of Africans remained illiterate.... Secondly, the elite produced by these colonial educational institutions were with few exceptions people who were alienated from their own society in terms of their dress, outlook, and tastes in food, music, and even dance. They were people who worshipped European culture, equating it with civilization, and looked down upon their own culture. Radical African scholars are now talking of colonial miseducation rather than education. Unfortunately, it is this very alienated and badly oriented elite that have dominated both the political and the social scene in Africa since independence....”

Document 5: From Donald Rothchild, *Racial Bargaining in Independent Kenya: A Study of Minorities and Decolonization*, Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 57.

Statistics: Kenya: Government Expenditure on Education, 1936

	European students	Asian students	African students
Government Expenditure	£49,814	£39,977	£80,721
Number of Pupils	1,889	7,996	100,720
Expenditure per Pupil	£26, 7 shillings, 5 pence	£5	16 shillings
Percent of Total Education Expenditure	29.2%	23.5%	47.3%

In this table, “Asian” is used to refer to people of Indian descent.

£ is the symbol for the British currency, the pound. There were 20 shillings in a pound, 12 pence in a shilling.

Document 6: Image from the French National Archives.



Caption: “A French school for girls in Algiers, the capital of Algeria.”

The map in the photograph shows North Africa and the Mediterranean Sea. On the blackboard, a phrase in French states “The principle of wisdom is the fear of God.”

Felix Jacques Antoine Moulin, Archives nationale d'outre-mer, 8Fi427/28.

Document 7: John D. Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa*, Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1996, p. 68. John Hargreaves was a professor of history at the University of Aberdeen in Scotland from 1954-1985.

“By appointing two high-level Commissions in 1943 the (British) Colonial Office recognized that the foundation of African universities would form an essential part of their long-term preparations for gradual transfers of power. Besides acting as local centres of research and enquiry, their role would be to educate, not only cadres of administrators and professional specialists, but also political leaders.... [I]f the colonies were to evolve towards modern statehood the preparation of the inheritors would clearly be crucially important.... [T]he decisive test of this exercise in building African nation-states on European models would be the extent to which the values and interests of future rulers harmonized with those of their British peers.”

Document 8: Martin Schlunk, “The School System in the German Protectorates” (1914) in Bruce Fetter (ed.), *Colonial Rule in Africa: Readings from Primary Sources*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979, p. 126. Martin Schlunk was a leading German Protestant missionary in the early twentieth century. Schlunk based his article “The School System in the German Protectorates” on his analysis of a questionnaire sent to all German schools in Africa in 1911, at the request of the German Colonial Institute.

“[I]t is the duty of all the colonial schools to foster a feeling of loyalty on the part of the natives toward Germany and the German people.... [I]f Germany is to have colonies, and she must have them in order to live, every school must become an instrument of indoctrination of obedience for the German Reich and its rulers. But German language instruction is not absolutely essential here. It could help, but on the other hand, it could also have the opposite effect, since it would enable the natives to read all that undesirable literature which preaches internationalism instead of patriotism.... I am convinced that we shall have grave racial problems in our colonies in a few decades. It is absurd to think that even German-speaking natives will then be on our side. They will remain children of their culture whether they have learned to speak German or not. On the contrary, those natives who have received an education from us will then become leaders of their people in the struggle against us.”

Key Terms

Introduction and Part I

colonialism
colonial system
economic development
culture
agriculturalists
sovereignty
trade routes

exported
textiles
abolition
ideologies
ethnicities
treaties

missionary
guerilla warfare
cash crops
infrastructure
assimilation
indirect rule

Part II

anticolonial
nationalism
migrated
traditional leaders
blockade
conscripted

subsistence farming
fascism
self-determination
United Nations
the Cold War
authoritarian

Epilogue

legacies
elites
international relations
majority rule
apartheid
Non-Aligned Movement

Issues Toolbox

Sovereignty

Sovereignty is the absolute right of a state to govern itself. The United Nations (UN) Charter prohibits interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state without the state's consent. Throughout human history, powerful states controlled the affairs of weaker states. Often accompanied by military conquest, this control was direct (for example, the colonization of large areas of Europe and Africa by the Roman Empire) or indirect (for example, the tributary states of the Aztec Empire). Even after the founding of the UN in 1945, powerful nations continued to use their international influence to define sovereignty to their advantage. In order to defend colonialism, they argued that sovereignty was something that colonial nations had to earn, rather than something that was their right. The successful lobbying of newly independent nations from places like Asia, Africa, and the Middle East in the mid-twentieth century shifted the balance of power in the international community, and gave rise to the more inclusive definition of sovereignty that we use today.

Nationalism

Nationalism is a strong devotion and loyalty to the interests of one's country and people. In the case of African anticolonial movements in the twentieth century, nationalism was a broad term used to describe the desire for African independence from European influence and control. After independence, new African leaders faced the significant task of fostering unity and loyalty among the diverse groups within their borders. The idea that someone was "Kenyan" or "Angolan"—what we consider nationalism today—was something that African leaders developed in the early years of independence.

Imperialism

Imperialism is the policy of extending the rule of a country over foreign countries. This can include acquiring colonies and dependencies. Imperialism has traditionally involved power and the use of coercion, whether military force or some other form. Colonialism is a form of imperialism, but imperialism is a broader concept that includes a wide array of policies that powerful states use to influence the affairs of weaker states. Like imperialism in other parts of the world, European imperialism in Africa was fueled by economics, racism, security, and religious or moral arguments. Many Europeans argued that they were spreading "civilization," in the form of European economic and political systems, religions, and culture. Imperialism in Africa did not end when African countries gained their independence. Through trade agreements, loans, military intervention, and diplomatic pressure, the colonial powers, along with the United States and the Soviet Union, continued to influence the affairs of African countries in the decades after independence.

Race

The idea that humans are divided into biologically distinct "races" that are identifiable by physical characteristics and innate behaviors has been proven false by historians, anthropologists, and biologists. But in the late nineteenth century, European leaders justified their colonization of the African continent by claiming that they belonged to a biologically and scientifically superior "race." They also used these ideas to justify their oppression of African people. For example, Europeans passed discriminatory legislation to limit the rights and privileges of Africans, and encouraged Africans to change their religion, language, and culture to be more European.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula on historical turning points to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Managing the Choices Simulation

A central activity of every Choices unit is the role-play simulation. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of forty-five to fifty minutes is necessary for the presentations. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts momentum. The best strategy for managing the role play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations. Our short video for teachers “Tips for a Successful Role Play” <www.choices.edu/pd/roleplay.php> also offers many helpful suggestions.

Adjusting for Students of Differing Abilities

Teachers of students at all levels—from middle school to AP—have used Choices materials successfully. Many teachers make adjustments to the materials for their students. Here are some suggestions:

- Go over vocabulary and concepts with visual tools such as concept maps and word pictures.

- Require students to answer guiding questions in the text as checks for understanding.

- Shorten reading assignments; cut and paste sections.

- Combine reading with political cartoon analysis, map analysis, or movie-watching.

- Read some sections of the readings out loud.

- Ask students to create graphic organizers for sections of the reading, or fill in ones you have partially completed.

- Supplement with different types of readings, such as short stories or news articles.

- Ask student groups to create a bumper sticker, PowerPoint presentation, or collage representing their case study.

- Do only some activities and readings from the unit rather than all of them.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement. In smaller classes, administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to participate. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Students and teachers both know that group grades can be motivating for students, while at the same time they can create controversy. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It is also important to give individual grades for group work assignments in order to

recognize an individual's contribution to the group. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an effective way to encourage them to think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Testing: Teachers say that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than from lecture-discussion format. Students using Choices curricula demonstrate a greater ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information and concepts presented in Choices units. A variety of testing questions and assessment devices can be used to draw upon students' critical thinking and historical understanding.

For Further Reading

Daniels, Harvey, and Marilyn Bizar. *Teaching the Best Practice Way: Methods That Matter, K-12*. Portland, Maine: Stenhouse Publishers, 2005.

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

Group Assessment	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Needs Improvement</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet their responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1:

See Day Two of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part II of the reading and completed “Study Guide—Part II” or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” before beginning the lesson. To gain an introduction to the topic, students should also read the Introduction.)

Homework: Students should read “Case Studies in Brief” and “Case Studies” in the student text.

Day 2:

Assign each student one of the four case studies, and allow students a few minutes to familiarize themselves with them. What is the central question of each assigned case? What were some European views on the central question? What were some African views?

Homework: Students should read “Epilogue: African Independence” and complete “Study Guide—Epilogue” or “Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue.”

Day 3:

See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Colonization and Independence in Africa

Colonization and Independence in Africa explores the changes colonialism imposed on African governments, economies, and societies. Students consider the perspectives of Africans and the ways in which they responded to European colonialism and struggled for independence.

Colonization and Independence in Africa is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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