POS 215

International Political System and Africa I

Course Manual

O.B.C. Nwolise

International Political System and Africa I

POS215

University of Ibadan Distance Learning Centre
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Vice-Chancellor's Message

The Distance Learning Centre is building on a solid tradition of over two decades of service in the provision of External Studies Programme and now Distance Learning Education in Nigeria and beyond. The Distance Learning mode to which we are committed is providing access to many deserving Nigerians in having access to higher education especially those who by the nature of their engagement do not have the luxury of full time education. Recently, it is contributing in no small measure to providing places for teeming Nigerian youths who for one reason or the other could not get admission into the conventional universities.

These course materials have been written by writers specially trained in ODL course delivery. The writers have made great efforts to provide up to date information, knowledge and skills in the different disciplines and ensure that the materials are user-friendly.

In addition to provision of course materials in print and e-format, a lot of Information Technology input has also gone into the deployment of course materials. Most of them can be downloaded from the DLC website and are available in audio format which you can also download into your mobile phones, IPod, MP3 among other devices to allow you listen to the audio study sessions. Some of the study session materials have been scripted and are being broadcast on the university's Diamond Radio FM 101.1, while others have been delivered and captured in audio-visual format in a classroom environment for use by our students. Detailed information on availability and access is available on the website. We will continue in our efforts to provide and review course materials for our courses.

However, for you to take advantage of these formats, you will need to improve on your I.T. skills and develop requisite distance learning Culture. It is well known that, for efficient and effective provision of Distance learning education, availability of appropriate and relevant course materials is a *sine qua non*. So also, is the availability of multiple plat form for the convenience of our students. It is in fulfillment of this, that series of course materials are being written to enable our students study at their own pace and convenience.

It is our hope that you will put these course materials to the best use.

Prof. Isaac Adewole

Vice-Chancellor

Foreword

As part of its vision of providing education for "Liberty and Development" for Nigerians and the International Community, the University of Ibadan, Distance Learning Centre has recently embarked on a vigorous repositioning agenda which aimed at embracing a holistic and all encompassing approach to the delivery of its Open Distance Learning (ODL) programmes. Thus we are committed to global best practices in distance learning provision. Apart from providing an efficient administrative and academic support for our students, we are committed to providing educational resource materials for the use of our students. We are convinced that, without an up-to-date, learner-friendly and distance learning compliant course materials, there cannot be any basis to lay claim to being a provider of distance learning education. Indeed, availability of appropriate course materials in multiple formats is the hub of any distance learning provision worldwide.

In view of the above, we are vigorously pursuing as a matter of priority, the provision of credible, learner-friendly and interactive course materials for all our courses. We commissioned the authoring of, and review of course materials to teams of experts and their outputs were subjected to rigorous peer review to ensure standard. The approach not only emphasizes cognitive knowledge, but also skills and humane values which are at the core of education, even in an ICT age.

The development of the materials which is on-going also had input from experienced editors and illustrators who have ensured that they are accurate, current and learner-friendly. They are specially written with distance learners in mind. This is very important because, distance learning involves non-residential students who can often feel isolated from the community of learners.

It is important to note that, for a distance learner to excel there is the need to source and read relevant materials apart from this course material. Therefore, adequate supplementary reading materials as well as other information sources are suggested in the course materials.
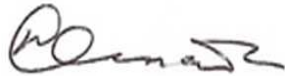
Apart from the responsibility for you to read this course material with others, you are also advised to seek assistance from your course facilitators especially academic advisors during your study even before the interactive session which is by design for revision. Your academic advisors will assist you using convenient technology including Google Hang Out, You Tube, Talk Fusion, etc. but you have to take advantage of these. It is also going to be of immense advantage if you complete assignments as at when due so as to have necessary feedbacks as a guide.

 The implication of the above is that, a distance learner has a responsibility to develop requisite distance learning culture which includes diligent and disciplined self-study, seeking available administrative and academic support and acquisition of basic information technology skills. This is why you are encouraged to develop your computer skills by availing yourself the opportunity of training that the Centre's provide and put these into use.

In conclusion, it is envisaged that the course materials would also be useful for the regular students of tertiary institutions in Nigeria who are faced with a dearth of high quality textbooks. We are therefore, delighted to present these titles to both our distance learning students and the university's regular students. We are confident that the materials will be an invaluable resource to all.

We would like to thank all our authors, reviewers and production staff for the high quality of work.

Best wishes.

Professor Bayo Okunade

Director

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Table of Contents

About this course manual

International Political System and Africa IPOS215 has been produced by University of Ibadan Distance Learning Centre. All course manuals produced by University of Ibadan Distance Learning Centreare structured in the same way, as outlined below.

How this course manual is structured

The course overview

The course overview gives you a general introduction to the course. Information contained in the course overview will help you determine:

- If the course is suitable for you.
- What you will already need to know.
- What you can expect from the course.
- How much time you will need to invest to complete the course.

The overview also provides guidance on:

- Study skills.
- Where to get help.
- Course assignments and assessments.
- Margin icons.
- Study Sessions.

We strongly recommend that you read the overview *carefully* before starting your study.

The course content

The course is broken down into Study Sessions. Each Study Session comprises:

- An introduction to the Study Session content.
- Study Sessionoutcomes.
- Core content of the Study Sessionwith a variety of learning activities.
- A Study Session summary.
- Assignments and/or assessments, as applicable.
- Bibliography

Your comments

After completing International Political System and Africa I we would appreciate it if you would take a few moments to give us your feedback on any aspect of this course. Your feedback might include comments on:

- Course content and structure.
- Course reading materials and resources.
- Course assignments.
- Course assessments.
- Course duration.
- Course support (assigned tutors, technical help, etc.)

Your constructive feedback will help us to improve and enhance this course.

CourseOverview

Welcome to International Political System and Africa IPOS215

POS 215 is a three unit required course thatexposes learners to the International Political System and Africa. The second part is POS 216: The International Political System and Africa II.

POS 215 focuses essentially on international relations in the post-war era as they affect Africa. The course attempts to acquaint you with the major developments in the international system which has shaped international relations since the end of the Second World War (1939-1945). The topics we shall focus on are intended to enable you to understand the dynamics, organs, as well as the structure of the contemporary international system. Africa's role and place within this system will be given prominent attention, as we are meant to see how the system has affected Africa, and how we as Africans can maximize our influence and thus occupy a befitting place in the international system.

Course outcomes

Upon completion of International Political System and Africa IPOS215, you will be able to:

Outcomes

- *discuss* major developments in world politics since world war i and the place of Africa in them.
- *examine*the non-aligned stance of Africa in international conflicting ideological issues.
- *analyze* the action-reaction relations between Africa and the wider world.

Timeframe

How long?

This is a 15 week course. It requires a formal study time of 45 hours. The formal study times are scheduled around online discussions / chats with your course facilitator / academic advisor to facilitate your learning. Kindly see course calendar on your course website for scheduled dates. You will still require independent/personal study time particularly in studying your course materials.

How to be successful in this course

As an open and distance learner your approach to learning will be different to that from your school days, where you had onsite education. You will now choose what you want to study, you will have professional and/or personal motivation for doing so and you will most likely be fitting your study activities around other professional or domestic responsibilities.

Essentially you will be taking control of your learning environment. As a consequence, you will need to consider performance issues related to time management, goal setting, stress management, etc. Perhaps you will also need to reacquaint yourself in areas such as essay planning, coping with exams and using the web as a learning resource.

We recommend that you take time now—before starting your self-study—to familiarize yourself with these issues. There are a number of excellent resources on the web. A few suggested links are:

- http://www.dlc.ui.edu.ng/resources/studyskill.pdf

  This is a resource of the UIDLC pilot course module. You will find sections on building study skills, time scheduling, basic concentration techniques, control of the study environment, note taking, how to read essays for analysis and memory skills ("remembering").

- http://www.ivywise.com/newsletter_march13_how_to_self_study.html

  This site provides how to master self-studying, with bias to emerging technologies.

- http://www.howtostudy.org/resources.php

  Another "How to study" web site with useful links to time management, efficient reading, questioning/listening/observing skills, getting the most out of doing ("hands-on" learning), memory building, tips for staying motivated, developing a learning plan.

The above links are our suggestions to start you on your way. At the time of writing these web links were active. If you want to look for more, go to www.google.com and type "self-study basics", "self-study tips", "self-study skills" or similar phrases.

Need help?

Help

As earlier noted, this course manual complements and supplements POS215at UI Mobile Class as an online course.

You may contact any of the following units for information, learning resources and library services.

Distance Learning Centre (DLC)
University of Ibadan, Nigeria
Tel: (+234) 08077593551 – 55
(Student Support Officers)
Email: ssu@dlc.ui.edu.ng

Head Office
Morohundiya Complex, Ibadan-Ilorin Expressway, Idi-Ose, Ibadan.

Information Centre
20 Awolowo Road, Bodija, Ibadan.

Lagos Office
Speedwriting House, No. 16 Ajanaku Street, Off Salvation Bus Stop, Awuse Estate, Opebi, Ikeja, Lagos.

For technical issues (computer problems, web access, and etcetera), please send mail to webmaster@dlc.ui.edu.ng.

Academic Support

Help

A course facilitator is commissioned for this course. You have also been assigned an academic advisor to provide learning support. The contacts of your course facilitator and academic advisor for this course are available at onlineacademicsupport@dlc.ui.edu.ng

Activities

Activities

This manual features "Activities", which may present material that is NOT extensively covered in the Study Sessions. You will be provided with answers to every activity question. Therefore, your emphasis when working the activities should be on understanding your answers. It is more important that you understand why every answer is correct.

There are different forms of activities in this manual, ranging from reading activities, case studies, discussion activities. The use of activities is particularly based on learning outcomes and nature of content. Some Study Sessions comes with discussion topics. You may discuss the Study Sessions at respective discussion boards on course website.

You may see dates for active discussion with tutor on course schedule. This course schedule is available on the course website.

Assignment

Assignment

This manual also comes with tutor marked assignments (TMA). Assignments are expected to be turned-in on course website. You may also receive TMAs as part of online class activities. Feedbacks to TMAs will be provided by your tutor in not more than 2-week expected duration.

Schedule dates for submitting assignments and engaging in course / class activities is available on the course website. Kindly visit your course website often for updates.

Assessments

Assessments

There are two basic forms of self assessment in this course: in-text questions (ITQs) and self assessment questions (SAQs). Feedbacks to the ITQs are placed immediately after the questions, while the feedbacks to SAQs are at the back of manual. You will receive your TMAs as part of online class activities at the UI Mobile Class. Feedbacks to TMAs will be provided by your tutor in not more than 2-week expected duration.

Schedule dates for submitting assignments and engaging in course / class activities is available on the course website. Kindly visit your course website often for updates.

Bibliography
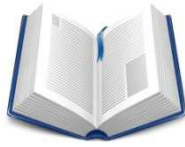
Reading

For those interested in learning more on this subject, we provide you with a list of additional resources at the end of this course manual; these may be books, articles or websites.

Getting around this course manual

Margin icons

While working through this course manual you will notice the frequent use of margin icons. These icons serve to "signpost" a particular piece of text, a new task or change in activity; they have been included to help you to find your way around this course manual.

A complete icon set is shown below. We suggest that you familiarize yourself with the icons and their meaning before starting your study.

Activity	Assessment	Assignment	Case study
Discussion	Group Activity	Help	Outcomes
Note	Reflection	Reading	Study skills
Summary	Terminology	Time	Tip

Study Session 1

International Political System

Introduction

In this study session, we shall focus on the meaning and attributes of a system in relation with the international political system. We shall also discuss the importance of the Study of International Relations to Africans.

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

1.1 *highlight* the attributes of a system.

1.2 *differentiate* between international political system and international relations.

1.3 *discuss* the importance of studying international relations from the African perspective.

1.1 Meaning and Attributes of a System

System A coherent complex unit made up of different parts that have relationships with one another and function for the maintenance of the whole unit.

Let us start by asking what is a **system**? If you check the meaning of a system in the *encyclopedic World Dictionary*, it is given as "an assemblage or combination of things or parts forming a complex or unitary whole"; "a number of heavenly bodies associated and acting together according to certain natural laws"; "the World or universe"; "an assemblage of parts of organs of the same or similar tissues, concerned with the same functions". Thus, we can talk of a railway system, the solar system, the world system, and the digestive system respectively. The word "system" comes from a Latin word "systema" which means "organized whole".

To come nearer to Social Sciences, Hugo Reading in *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, defined system as a "set of interrelated elements"; a "set of interdependent variables". F. Northedge in his *International Political System*, defined a system as involving the existence of an intelligible, regulated and orderly set of relations between parts such as to form a coherent though complex whole. These different definitions are informing, and you should please note the differences and similarities between them. For the purpose of this course, let us take a system to be a coherent complex unit made up of different parts that have relationships with one another and function for the maintenance of the whole unit.

From the definition of a system, we now move on to think about the attributes or properties of a system. The definition of Northedge mentioned some of these. A system has five major properties:

a. intelligibility i.e. easy understanding of the functioning of the different parts of and the rules and relationships existing amongst them;

b. existence of relevant "rules of regulating intra-system relationships;

c. orderliness;

d. coherence and unity;

e. interdependence of the various parts making up the whole system.

Note

It is important to note that within a country regarded as a social system or state system, we have various systems such as the political system, the economic system, the cultural system and so on. Of these, you need to take particular note of the political system.

From the explanations of David Easton in *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, and Kaplan in *System and Process in International Politics*, a political system is a sub-system within the social system. That is to say that the political system is a component (part) of the social or state system.

1.2 International Political System and International Relations

Terrorism violence or the threat of violence, especially bombing, kidnapping, and assassination, carried out for political purposes.

Bearing in mind the properties of a system as enumerated above, one will become curious to know if there exists an international system. In order words, does the arrangement and conduct of nations in the world qualify to be called a system? There are two views to this question. One view argues that there is no international system because, first, there is disorderliness and chaos in the world manifested in boundary disputes,**terrorism**, violence, aggression and hijacking of planes. Second, it is argued that even though there are laws, such laws are not obeyed by the states; hence every nation behaves as she likes. This situation gives rise to Thomas Hobbes' state of nature in the international system. Thomas Hobbes' state of nature is like where many people live in a jungle and there is no law or law enforcer. The strong therefore destroys the weak, and life is short and brutish as the people struggle over the same resources - food, water, clothing and shelter. In this struggle, only the fittest survives.

However, another view disagrees with the above negative painting of the international system. It is argued that there is an international system because, first, there is intelligibility in the system- states understands one

DiplomacyThe practices and institutions by which nations conduct their relations with one another.

another, they know the socialist, capitalist and racist ones amongst them; and they know the weak and the strong. Second, conflicts are resolved through many avenues such as **diplomacy**, and it is only occasionally that wars take place. There are conflicts and criminals within the state system and even in the family which is the smallest social unit.Third, there are rules that the states follow in good faith even where there are no instruments for enforcing international laws e.g. in international trade, international flights, visits of heads of state and government and so on. There are rules that states obey, and only disobey at the risk of certain sanctions from other nations. For example, when President Idi Amin of Uganda aided hijackers to oppress hostages in 1976, Israel whose citizens constituted a greater percentage of the hostages invaded the Entebbe Airport in Uganda and liberated the hostages. Thus, we can conclude that there is an international system.

Tip

> The international political system refers to the collection of sovereign independent states which interact among themselves in an understanding manner, guided by certain rules in the process of pursuing their individual or collective goals.

Having said that there is an international system, can we also ask whether this international system is political? The answer is yes because:

  a. The nations in the world are politically organized.
  b. The relations between the various actors in the international system are carried out through the politically organized states.
  c. The objectives pursued by states in the international system and even the methods of the pursuit are almost the same as those pursued within the states e.g. at the international level, states struggle for power, position, resources and food. A practical example is where the United States of America (USA) wants to be the strongest state in the world, just as the USSR wants the same thing. In the United Nations Organization (UNO) each nation struggles to have its citizens as the Secretary-General.
  d. The relations among nations involve conflict and conflict management; and it is clear that the major elements of politics include power, conflict, peace, and resource sharing.

Finally, for this sub-topic, we need to differentiate between the international political system and international relations. The international political system refers to the collection of sovereign independent states which interact among themselves in an understanding manner, guided by certain rules in the process of pursuing their individual or collective goals. International relations however is the interaction or relations between nations.

1.3Relevance of Studying International Relations

International law The principles, rules, and

The international political system is part of the field of international relations. We study international relations for several reasons. First, it

International Organisation a membership group that operates across national borders for specific purposes. Scholars of international relations consider international organizations to have growing importance in world politics.

standards that govern nations and other participants in international affairs in their relations with one another.

enables us to understand the origin, presence and characteristics of conflicts between nations (due to opposing interests). This understanding helps in eliminating or minimizing these conflicts. Second, it helps us understand peace relations among nations, and to evolve strategies for continued peace. Third, from international relations study, we have knowledge of the origin and role of **international law** and **international organizations** in the world.

United Nations Security Council
The Security Council is the most powerful body in the United Nations (UN). Its 15 members determine how the UN should resolve world conflicts, and it is the only UN body that can order enforcement action in the event of aggression. The Council's five permanent members—Britain, China, France, Russia, and the United States—have the most power because any one of them can veto a Council decision.

Decolonization The process or act of ending colonial rule, and freeing the colony, and securing self rule or independence.

For we Africans, the study of international relations is more important because, first, it was through international relations among European powers that the scramble for Africa began, and the partitioning of Africa occurred in Berlin in 1884, giving rise to the eventual colonization of Africa. Second, the **decolonization** process also gained momentum from international relations - the Second World War, United Nations operations, United States pressure, constitutional conferences, and guerrilla activities. Third, even after political independence has been won, the European powers continue to exploit the resources, markets, and people of Africa through international relations channels. Finally, it is through a close study and mastery of the intricacies of international relations that patriotic Africans can emancipate the continent from the strangle-hold of European oppressors and exploiters.

Point out the channels of international relations through which Africa is being exploited.

Discussion Activity

Post your findings on Study Session One forum page on course website.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this study session, we have learnt that a system is a coherent complex unit made up of different parts that have relationships with one another and function for the maintenance of the whole unit. It has five main properties: intelligibility, existence of rules, orderliness, coherence and unity, and interdependence. We noted that International political system is the collection of sovereign states making up the community of nations, while international relations is the interaction between these nations.

Study Session 2

Second World War and Its Influence on the Structure International System

Introduction

In this study session, our focus shall be on the Second World War and how it affected the structure of the community of states.

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

2.1 *point out* what caused the Second World War and the nations involved

2.2 *explain* how it was fought and ended

2.3 *analyse* how it divided the nations of the world.

2.1 Overview of the Structure of the International System before World War II

The Second World War was fought from 1939 to 1945, on a global level. Here, "Structure", means the mode of arrangement of the component parts of units of a system. The International system from the earlier discussion is the collection of independent states that exist and interact with some regularity and understanding.

Bloc A group of countries or with a shared aim or ideology.

If we can start this brief overview from 1914 when the First World War began, we will then say that at this period, no one country or **bloc** of nations had the power to control others. There were empires and kingdoms like the German empire created by Otto Von Bismark who became Chancellor in 1862 and noted for his "iron and blood" policy, and United Kingdom formed the British Empire in 180l. Power was diffused among states at this period and they formed alliances now and then to balance their power.

ALLIANCE An association of two or more nations

The First World War began in 1914 after Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated by a Serbian liberation fighter named Gavrilo

united by a formal treaty for some agreed-upon purpose. Most alliances are defensive in form, involving a pledge of mutual military assistance against an actual or potential common enemy.

Principle in Yugoslavia. The assassination led to the strengthening of two alliances - one, the Triple Entente (including Yugoslavia, USSR, France, Italy and UK; and the Central Powers (including Germany, Austria-Hungry, and Turkey). The two **alliances** fought on the war without sign of victor or vanquished till the USA joined the Triple Entente and the tide turned against the Central Powers who signed for peace. The war ended in 1918 with over 39,000,000 lives lost according to *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. 15-17; the treaty of Versailles (a town in France) was signed to document the end of the war in January 1919. This treaty was drawn up by the victorious nations to punish Germany as shown in its (treaty) terms which can be read from M. Viorst, *The Great Documents of Western Civilization* (1965).

Tip

The First World War ended with little or no effect on the structure of the international system because by then the Russian revolution was one year old and socialism/communism was yet to come (1922). Only the German empire was dismantled, and the Central Powers weakened. Also, no nation emerged with any new weapon system. The Victors did not have problems or disagreements on what to do to the vanquished nations.

2.2 Effects of Second World War on the Structure of International System

From 1918 to 1938, a lot of changes occurred in the international system. The League of Nations came into being in 1919, and in 1922, communism began in the USSR. In the same year, Benito Mussolini (founder of Fascism) became Premier of Italy. In 1931, Britain established the Commonwealth, and in 1933, racist Adolf Hitler became the leader of Germany.

The emergence of Adolf Hitler as a leader sowed the seeds of the Second World War. He began invading smaller nations. For example, in 1936, Germany invaded Rhineland (Belgium), and in 1938, Hitler annexed Austria, and part of Czechoslovakia, in search of more living space (Lebensraum) for Germans. This search was fuelled by his racist philosophy that the Aryan race especially the Germans constituted the Superior race in the world and must rule the world.

Hint

The emergence of Adolf Hitler as a leader sowed the seeds of the Second World War.

It was in 1939 that the immediate cause of the Second World War occurred, and that was the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany under Hitler. Poland had mutual defense agreement with France and Britain, thus once she was invaded by Germany, France and Britain, had to fulfill their treaty obligations by declaring war on Germany on 3 September, 1939. In 1940, Japan, Italy and Germany formed a military alliance to prosecute the war against Britain, France and their allies. The USA joined the Allied powers in the war against Germany and her Nazi powers in 1941. Germany surrendered in 1944, but Japan fought on alone since Italy withdrew in 1943. In July 1945, the USA tested her first atomic

bomb whose research began under the leadership of physicist Albert Einstein in 1941. Two of the bombs were dropped on Japan's two cities - Hiroshima and Nagasaki - 6th and 9th August respectively leading to the surrender of Japan. The war ended with over 51,000,000 lives lost.

What effect did the war have on the structure of the international system? Before answering this question, it is important for you to know that during the war, Russia under Lenin spread socialism to the Eastern European countries she liberated from the Nazi forces, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Also, during the war, the Western capitalist nations such as Britain, France and USA fought separately from the Eastern socialists' nations such as USSR, Bulgaria and China. Now, to answer the question: the Second World War ended up dividing the international system into two ideological and political power blocs. On one side were the Western capitalist (bloc) nations such as Britain and France and their colonies in Africa, S. Africa and America. On the other side were the USSR and her liberated Eastern socialist (bloc) nations. The Western bloc was led by the USA, while the Eastern bloc was led by the USSR. This situation was known as bi-polarity.

Hint

...Relations between the West and East later degenerated into a Cold War and nuclear arms race between USA and USSR; and from 1949 to 1964 when China became a nuclear power, politics in the International System was dominated by the two super-powers (USA and USSR).

The division was a result of many factors:

1) The emergence of two opposing ideologies - capitalism (an ideology professing individual or private ownership of wealth and means of production) and socialism (an ideology advocating collective or state ownership of wealth and means of production and the running of government by workers).

2) The misunderstanding, mutual fear, and suspicion that arose between USA and USSR after the war over crucial matters such as: What to 'do with the European states liberated by USSR (USSR wanted to keep these states under communist rule, but the USA did not approve of this); the monopoly of the atomic bomb by the USA; the future of Germany; and the division of Europe into areas of influence.

There were certain events that confirmed the bi-polarity. These include:

1) The formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization led by the USA in 1949 for the defense of the Western bloc.

2) The formation of an opposing Warsaw Treaty Organization in 1955 led by USSR for the defense of the Eastern bloc.

3) The establishment of the Marshal Plan in 1947 by the USA for the economic recovery of Western European nations.

4) The subsequent establishment of two bodies COMECON and COMINFORM by the USSR to pursue the economic recovery and unity of the Eastern bloc.

The USA and USSR thus began operations to keep their allies within their respective blocs through economic and military aid, and at times by

political manipulation. The above situation between the West and East later degenerated into a Cold War and nuclear arms race between USA and USSR; and from 1949 to 1964 when China became a nuclear power, politics in the International System was dominated by the two super-powers (USA and USSR). In the next study session, we shall tell you more of this Cold war.

Reading Activity

Read about the Second World War and highlight the role of the US and USSR in it.

Post your findings on Study Session Two forum page on course website.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this Study Session, we discussed extensively on Second World War and other issues related to it. Before the Second World War, the international system was not divided into ideological power blocs. The Second World War was fought from 1939 to 1945 by the Allied powers and the Axis power S. Africans were drafted into the war by Britain and France, which had colonies in Africa. At the end of the war, the international system was divided into two ideological power blocs - Western capitalist bloc led by USA and Eastern Socialist bloc led by the USSR. The division of the world into these two blocs is a product of two major factors: the existence of two opposing ideologies (capitalism and socialism), and the misunderstanding that arose between USA and USSR after the war.

Study Session 3

Cold War, Nuclear Arms Race and Balance of Power

Introduction

The aim of this study session is to put across to you the basic knowledge about the Cold War and the nuclear arms race. We shall also explore how the cold war gave rise to the emergence of an international organization known today as the Non-aligned Movement (NAM).

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

3.1 *describe* the nature of Cold War.

3.2 *discuss* the consequences of arms race.

3.3 *highlight* the balance-of-power measures employed by the superpowers.

3.4 *discuss* emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement.

3.1 The Cold War

What is meant by the "Cold War"? The Cold War is the intense economic and political rivalry just short of military confrontation which existed between the USA and the USSR. This Cold War, which began in 1945 after the Second World War was stimulated by the breakdown of war time understanding, alliance, agreements, and friendship between the USA and USSR e.g. the monopoly of nuclear power secrets by the USA, disagreement over the future of Germany and the fate of European states liberated by the USSR. The Cold War was characterized by the followings:

Propaganda The dissemination of ideas and information for the purpose of inducing or intensifying specific attitudes and actions.

a. Hostile **propaganda** between the USA and USSR.

b. Establishment of military bases in many nations by the USA and USSR.

c. Restrictions on movement of ideas and people between both states.

d. Restrictions on trade between the USA and USSR.

e. Execution of spy operations against each other.

f. Ideological disputations between socialism and capitalism.

What was the reaction of the USA to the Cold War situation? The United States did several things:

a. Physical containment actions such as acquisition of military bases in friendly countries and stationing USA troops there.

b. Formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949.

c. Waging of ideological warfare against the USSR.

d. The use of the Marshal Plan (an economic recovery plan involving huge economic aid) to keep her friends against the USSR.

e. Development of the hydrogen bomb (1952) and other deadly **nuclear weapons** for the protection of Western Europe.

The USSR did not stand-by idly either. Russia took the following actions during the Cold War period:

a. She carried out consolidation operations to protect the nations she liberated during the Second World War - by giving them economic aid, and ensuring that they operate socialist governments. .

b. The USSR countered the US Marshal Plan by establishing the COMECON - Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (1947), for East European states.

c. She also established the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) for the defense of socialist states.

d. Soviet Union also produced her own atomic bomb (1949), and went ahead to produce the hydrogen bomb, and several nuclear weapon system.

Nuclear Weapons
explosive devices designed to release nuclear energy on a large scale used especially in war.

Note

What was the effect of the Cold War on the international System? The Cold War created tension and charged atmosphere in the world. There was a mad rush for military bases by the big powers such as Britain and France. Instability and crises arose. Also, the politics of the international system was seen by the super-powers from only two angles - socialism and capitalism, and the smaller nations were bamboozled into joining one camp or the other. Two very important things that came out of the cold war were the nuclear arms race and the Non-aligned Movement.

3.2 Nuclear Arms Race

A leading authority in the field, Samuel Huntington wrote an article in which he defined **arms race** as:

> *"A progressive, competitive peacetime increase in armaments by two states or coalition of states resulting from conflicting purposes or mutual fears."*

He however added that not all peacetime increase in arms are necessarily products of arms race, and that there must be a disagreement between two sides as to the proper balance of power between them.

Note	It may not be easy to trace the first arms race in the world, but records show that there was a naval race between England and France from 1840 to 1866. Thus arms race started long ago, but the nuclear dimension of arms race started in 1945 after the Second World War. It started because the USA emerged from the war with an atomic bomb. The USSR being afraid of this weapon in the hands of its "enemy" began to research on its own atomic bomb which was tested in 1949. The British got their own in 1952, the French in 1960, the Chinese in 1964, India in 1974, and S. Africa in 1979. From the atomic bomb, nations went into hydrogen bomb production. Today, these nuclear power nations have hundreds of nuclearweapons including Inter-continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM), Air-to-Air Missiles, Anti-Submarine Missiles, Nuclear torpedoes and so on. The major nuclear race is between the USA and the USSR, but their accumulation of weapons spill over to other countries especially those in NATO and WTO.

This race has two types: one is quantitative arms race which concentrates on weapon-stock in terms of numbers (quantity) of weapon systems, and number of soldiers: and the other is qualitative arms race which concentrates on innovations or development of new weapon systems.

3.2.1 Consequence s of Arm race

What are the consequences of this arms race? There are four major consequences:

1. Arms race can give rise to war between the two competing nations or bloc of nations.

2. Arms race diverts economic resources from socio-economic activities such as education, health and agriculture to defense or military needs.

3. Arms race promotes increasing global militarization.

4. It promotes tension around the world.

DisarmamentThe process of reducing a nation's supply of weapons or the strength of its armed forces

There have been several efforts at controlling arms race such as: the signing of arms control treaties between nations especially USA and USSR, **disarmament** talks at the UNO and anti-armament protest around the world. But these efforts have yielded very little results because:

1. There is problem of supervision in enforcing disarmament agreements.

2. Those people who work in arms factories do not want to lose their jobs.

3. There are prestige and security issues as nations measure power and security in terms of types of quantity of weapons they posses.

Hint

There have been several efforts at controlling arms race such as: the signing of arms control treaties between nations especially USA and USSR, disarmament talks at the UNO and anti-armament protest around the world. But these efforts have yielded very little results

These mean that the prospects of controlling arms race are bleak but all

hope is not lost. There is still the fear of mutual destruction between nuclear powers. This fear helps to control their behaviour. Also, there are pressures from other nations on nuclear states to stop arms race. The numerous treaties also contribute to controlling arms race, in addition to United Nations contributions. Finally, we must point out that Africa's major problem with the arms race going on in Europe is that it spills over to Africa as some states like Ethiopia and Somalia fight each other militarily while USA and USSR only do ideological disputation. Also, the arms race in Africa diverts economic resources away from educational, health, agricultural and other urgent needs of development to defense.

Tip

There are prestige and security issues as nations measure power and security in terms of types of quantity of weapons they posses.

3.3 Balance of Power

Power is "the ability to control the actions of others"? When a nation 'A' is able to influence and control the behaviour of another state 'B', say that state 'A' has power, and its power surpasses that of state 'B'. Power has many elements such as economic resources (food and raw materials), political resources (diplomatic corps, international respect), infrastructural resources (airports, roads, and hospitals), military resources (morale, loyal troops, and weapons), healthy and educated populace, and technology. Two states in the world today have these elements of power in great abundance i.e. the United States and the Soviet Union this is why you hear people calling these two states Super-powers.

What is balance of power? According to Brzezinski, balance of power at the minimum means:

> *military power between the principal potential adversaries, as well as the existence of a system of relations in which excessive ambitions of one or several parties in the balance are contained by the very existence of these more stable relations.*

From this definition, balance of power is not just when two nations or bloc of nations are at par in terms of their weapon systems, there have to be also ways of checking excesses in the military ambitions of other less powerful nations.

You may ask what the purpose of this balance of power is. Fenelon provided the answer some centuries ago at the close of the reign of Louis XIV. Fenelon had said:

> *To hinder one's neighbour from becoming too strong is not to do harm: it is to guarantee oneself and one's neighbours from subjection; in a word, it is to work for*

liberty, tranquillity, and public safety; because the aggrandizement of one nation beyond a certain limit changes the general system of all nations connected with it... The excessive aggrandizement of one may mean the ruin and subjection of all the other neighbours... This attention to the maintenance of a kind of equality and equilibrium between neighbouring states is what assures peace for all.[4]

Thus, every nation that wants to be free from subjugation and exploitation must endeavour to have its power balanced with that of other nations.

> **Note**
>
> Balance of power is not just when two nations or bloc of nations are at par in terms of their weapon systems, there have to be also ways of checking excesses in the military ambitions of other less powerful nations.

3.4 Cold War and the Non-Aligned Movement

The Non-aligned Movement was formed in 1955 as a group of independent nations which have chosen non-alignment as the key philosophy of their foreign policy in relation to the Western Capitalist bloc and Eastern Socialist bloc. Non-alignment does not mean that the member nations will not interact or cooperate with the super-powers. It means freedom to decide or choose which side to work with or support in any given situation based on NAM members' interests. This view is strengthened by the expressions of leaders and members of the movement between 1963 and 1977. In 1963, President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana said that Non-alignment is' based on cooperation with all states - capitalist, socialist or mixed economy. In 1977, while addressing the United Nations General Assembly on October 13, General Obasanjo of Nigeria said that the vast majority of African and third world nations have chosen Non-alignment as a philosophy in the conduct of their foreign policy.

> **Tip**
>
> This non-alignment means that the members "welcome the friendship and cooperation of all nations on the basis of mutual respect and complete sovereign equality".

3.4.1 Emergence of NAM

As discussed earlier, the Cold War was the intense rivalry between the West (led by USA) and the East (led by USSR). Both sides were competing for supremacy on all fronts, and forcing the smaller nations to join them. Nations that joined the East were "punished" by the West and

nations that joined the West were "punished" by the East by denying them economic aid, and over-throwing their governments. Thus, most African and Third world nations decided that they don't want to be caught in the rivalry between USA and USSR, and therefore opted for Non-alignment i.e. they don't align with a particular bloc either East or West. They want to remain independent. The emergence of NAM began with the meeting in 1954 between some Asian countries' leaders such as Kotelawa of Sri Lanka, UNu of Burma, Ali of Pakistan, Tito of Yugoslavia, Nehru of India, and Sokarno of Indonesia, in Colombo (Sri Lanka). In this meeting, the leaders agreed to meet again in 1955 at Handung (Indonesia) with African states to form a non-aligned body. It was at this Afro-Asian Bandung Conference of 1955 that the NAM was born. Latin American states later joined. Two outstanding African leaders in the founding of NAM are Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and President Nasser of Egypt.

Hint

...most African and Third world nations decided that they don't want to be caught in the rivalry between USA and USSR, and therefore opted for Non-alignment i.e. they don't align with a particular bloc either - East or West. They want to remain independent.

Colonialism A policy in which a country's dominates other nations and develops trade with them for its own benefit. it is usually achieved through aggressive, often military, actions.

Factors that led to the Emergence of NAM

Four major factors that stimulated the emergence of NAM are:
   i. The Post World War II Cold War between USA and USSR.
   ii. The establishment of many different military groups or alliances after the Second World War, e.g. NATO (1949), WTO (1955). Many Afro-Asian nations saw these bodies as new forces of colonization and refused to join them.
   iii. The continued existence and effects of **colonialism** and racism in Africa, Asia and Latin America.
   iv. The post-independence neo-colonialist manipulations of smaller nations by former colonial masters. Thus the NAM was formed as a counter-force to protect the small weak nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The members of NAM today are many; they include Nigeria, Ghana, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Cuba, Turkey, Vietnam, Nepal, Libya, India, Cambodia, China and so on. As at 1983, NAM had 101 members. To become a member of NAM, four main conditions need to be met:
   i. Steering clear of the West and East.
   ii. Having independent foreign policy.
   iii. Refusing territory to be used for military base for the super powers.
   iv. Supporting liberation Movements. Any state wishing to join NAM is required to meet these four conditions.

Aims and Objectives of the NAM

The aims and objectives of the NAM are:

    i.   To seek world peace and peaceful coexistence.

    ii.   To establish an efficient system of international security against all forms of aggression and threat to the liberty, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states.

    iii.   To promote an end to arms race and achieve general disarmament.

    iv.   To oppose alliances and military pacts with big powers.

    v.   To oppose the establishment of military bases in nations against their will.

    vi.   To reinforce the ideas and activities of the UNO.

    vii.   To fight colonialism and racism that denies equality and human dignity.

    viii.   To work for economic independence and cooperation

Since 1955, the NAM has held several conferences to discuss matters affecting members, the Movement, and the World in general. Such conferences include:

- The Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955.
- The Belgrade Conference held in Yugoslavia in 1961.
- The Cairo Conference held in Egypt in 1964.
- The Lusaka Conference held in Zambia in 1970.
- The Algiers Conference held in Algeria in 1973.
- The Havana Conference held in Cuba in 1979.
- The New Delhi Conference held in India in 1983.

Since the Non-aligned Movement was formed against the interests of the super-powers, you may want to know what the reactions of the USA and USSR towards the NAM were or are. Of course they did not take kindly the formation of NAM, and up till today, the superpowers still work hard to disband the NAM through all sorts of ways and means. NAM was received with hostility and suspicion by both sides. However, since they have not been able to "kill" NAM, both the USA and USSR try to use NAM to promote their national interests occasionally. E.g. during the Havana conference of NAM in 1979, the USSR tried to use Cuba to tilt NAM towards Socialism but failed. The USA tried to persuade some nations not to attend the Havana meeting.

Reflection

> The did not take kindly the formation of NAM, and up till today, the super-powers still work hard to disband the NAM through all sorts of ways and means. NAM was received with hostility and suspicion by both sides. However, since they have not been able to "kill" NAM, both the USA and USSR try to use NAM to promote their national interests occasionally.

Achievements of NAM

1) The NAM has contributed a lot to the struggle against colonialism and racism in Africa (especially), Asia and Latin America e.g. the first conference at Bandung made a historic declaration to the effect that colonialism was an evil that constituted a stumbling block to UNO objectives.

2) The creation of UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) as a UNO body to deliberate on the developmental problems of new states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America was mainly the product of NAM efforts.
3) It has given a lot of support to liberation movements.
4) It has consistently put pressure on the apartheid rulers and their supporters.
5) It has succeeded in building some common factors and objectives in the foreign policy of member states.
6) Its opposition to aggression, arms race and nuclear testing, has served as some degree of check against the political and military recklessness of the big powers.
7) NAM has remained a forum for regional coalition for world politics as members tend to present a common front at other bodies like UNO.
8) The OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) oil embargo in 1973 against Europe, USA, and Japan which precipitated an oil crisis that yielded a lot of revenue to oil producers like Nigeria got stimulus from NAM.

Hint

NAM's opposition to aggression, arms race and nuclear testing, has served as some degree of check against the political and military recklessness of the big powers.

Challenges facing NAM

Despite all the above, NAM has failed in some aspects of its activities. For example:

1) NAM has not achieved economic independence for its members.
2) NAM has not succeeded in breaking the colonial ties between its members and their former colonial masters.
3) Some members of NAM today have given military bases to the big powers e.g. Kenya, Morocco, Philippines, Cuba, and so on.
4) NAM has no standing army or any operational military arrangement for protecting its members against external aggression.

These failures stem from the problems facing NAM. These problems include:

1) The composition of NAM itself - there are conservative, radical, moderate and even feudalistic members. This combination creates problems for progress.
2) There is no military arrangement for protecting members.
3) Enforcement of decisions is based on good faith of members, thus some members can decide not to carry out NAM decisions.
4) External interference also disturbs NAM. The East and West try to destabilize if not liquidate the Movement.
5) Poverty - many members are very poor, thus the budgeting is not rich enough to solve members' problems.
6) Often, the political will to pursue some NAM objectives is absent.

The failures and problems of the NAM raise one crucial question

especially when considering the nature and structure of today's international system and the question is: Is the NAM still relevant today or has it become an anachronistic organization? The question can be viewed from two angles. Those who argue that NAM is not relevant today say that the world is no more bi-polar as it was when NAM was formed (divided into two - East and West), instead there exist Poly-centrism or poly-polar - several centres of power. For example many countries now have the nuclear weapon, and China has also emerged as a world power. Britain, France, Japan, India and even S. Africa and Pakistan have become powerful nations militarily. They also argue that many members of NAM are aligned to either East or west e.g. Cuba is attached to USSR, Kenya is attached to USA, and so on, and thus the idea of being non-aligned becomes pretence.

Reflection

> The failures and problems of the NAM raise one crucial question especially when considering the nature and structure of today's international system and the question is: Is the NAM still relevant today or has it become an anachronistic organization?

One can however defend NAM by saying that it is still relevant for many reasons. First, the fact that a few members of NAM are attached to the East or West does not condemn the specific direction of the *Collective will*. In general (collective) terms, NAM is still nonaligned. Even the Western *Newsweek* agreed in 1983 that the New Delhi Summit really showed non-alignment. It wrote that "it seemed fair to say that at least something non-aligned had happened in New Delhi". The New Delhi conference accused both USA and USSR as some of the industrialized nations owing financial obligations to the developing countries. Second, NAM still supports Liberation Movements in Africa against colonial and racist forces. Third, NAM has become a policy of solidarity for peoples struggling against imperialism, oppression and exploitation. It is a forum for establishing group consensus to back up group expressions in international organizations as UNO. Fourth, NAM complements the efforts of other international organizations in the search for world peace, security, disarmament and arms control, as well as friendly relations among nations. Fifth, NAM keeps small states out of larger conflicts that do not concern them and helps to avoid alliances that can complicate local problems.

Activity

Make a power-point presentation on the relevance of NAM in the 21st century.

> Post your presentation on Study Session Three forum page on course website.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this Study Session, you have learnt about Cold war, the nuclear arms race, balance of power and how   Non Alignment Movement emerged as a result of cold war.

Study Session4

Disarmament and Arms Control

Introduction

In the previousStudy Session,we learnt about cold war, arm race and their effects. In this study session, we shall discuss disarmament and arms control measures.

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

4.1 *differentiate* between disarmament and arms control**.**

4.2 *explain* the importance and problems of disarmament.

4.3 *enumerate* the factors fuelling armament.

4.1 Disarmament

ArmamentThe provision of weapons and equipment in preparation for war.

Let us start this discussion by first understanding the meaning of the key terms. **Armament** means building up or accumulating arms or weapon systems. To 'disarm' means to reduce or limit the size of armament or to deprive of arms (tools of attack or defense). Whereas, in disarmament talks between nations the focus is on reduction of arms and not total removal or deprivation of arms, since all nations agree that self-protection is necessary as seen in Article 51 of the UNO Charter. Disarmament will therefore be taken as the reduction or limitation of the size and equipment of armament possessed by nations. This mainly affects already produced weapon systems. Part of the earlier moves to disarm nations can be seen in the 1922 agreement by major powers to limit the size of their navies at the Washington Disarmament Conference. Also, in 1928, the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war was signed by USA and 62 other nations in Paris. Such pacts make the use of arms unnecessary and therefore limit the armaments.

4.1.1 Reasons for Disarmament

Why is disarmament necessary? There are several reasons that underline the need to disarm:

1) To remove the danger and fear of war and destruction.
2) To release huge amount of funds for socio-economic development from the armament sector e.g. one frigate (warship) costs about $150

million. This money will pay the salary of a Grade II teacher earning ₦200 a month for 750,000 months, it can be used to establish several factories to generate employment and produce socio-economic services and goods.

3) To increase security among nations and peoples of the world. It is believed that armament increases militarisation and reduces peace and security.

4) To promote civil and social rights of citizens by satisfying their basic needs as water, light, health services, education, shelter, roads

Despite the above needs for disarmament, there have been problems here and there:

1) Governments lack the political will to disarm. This is because some of them fear that if they disarm, others may not, thus endangering national security and survival.

2) Arms are seen today as prestige symbols. Nuclear power states feel, proud and more secure and higher in status than non-nuclear states. So many nations want armament instead of disarmament.

3) The dynamics of military technology including Research and Development (R and D) promote armaments.

4) There are people who benefit from armaments: Soldiers, Military Scientists, and weapon designers, the weapon manufacturers and arms hawkers are all interested in more and better arms instead of less arms.

5) Arms trade (exports) yield huge foreign exchange for the arms producers.

6) Arms are seen as deterrent against attacks from outside. These problems make the prospects of achieving disarmament very bleak.

Note

In disarmament talks between nations, the focus is on reduction of arms and not total removal or deprivation of arms, since all nations agree that self-protection is necessary as seen in Article 51 of the UNO Charter ...Arms are seen as deterrent against attacks from outside. This among other problems makes the prospects of achieving disarmament very bleak.

4.2 Arms Control

Unlike disarmament that moves in the direction of reducing the quantity of arms possessed by a state or if possible removing the arms completely, arms control mainly involves exercising restraint in the production of new quality weapons and the quantity of such weapons. It also focuses on the limitation of spread of weapon systems such as preventing the proliferation of nuclearweapons.

Several ways are being used to control arms (weapons of destruction). These include the signing of bilateral (between two nations) or multi-lateral (between many nations) treaties; public and world opinion against armaments; United Nations resolutions and campaign (the UNO launched a world disarmament campaign on June 7 1982); criticisms of other nations against arms production, and arms accumulation, and anti-

armaments protests/movements.

African states play only very little role in this disarmament and arms control struggle. As observed earlier in Study session Three, arms race affect Africa adversely because they create international tension, provoke war between African states, force African states to acquire more and more weapons thus diverting useful and scarce foreign exchange into military sector and they threaten our security. Not only these, if there is any nuclear war anywhere in the world the particles will 'surely reach Africa. Unfortunately, Africa is in a weak position to stop the arms race or armament, S. African states don't produce arms. All Africa can do is to reduce or refuse purchasing more arms thus reducing the market. Another problem is that only a few states in Africa are stable thus needing arms. If such states don't purchase arms they may be exposed to attacks.

The role Africa can play is to persuade and pressurize arms producers to disarm. African states can also refuse supplying the producers with the raw materials such as uranium and they (African states) can reduce importation of arms. All these will have significant effects on arms production and stock-piling.

4.3 Treaties on Arms Control and Disarmament

Numerous treaties or agreements have been entered into by states in attempts to control arms and promote disarmament. Some of these treaties are enumerated below for your general knowledge. Detailed study of the treaties can be made from a pamphlet labeled*United Nations and Disarmament 1945-1985*[1]

1. The Antarctic Treaty (1959): It provides for the demilitarization of Antarctica.

2. The Treaty banning Nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water (Partial test ban treaty) 1963.

3. The Treaty on Principles governing the Activities of states in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space (1967).

4. The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear weapons in Latin America (1967).

5. The treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968): It aims at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and promoting nuclear disarmament.

6. The Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the subsoil (1971).

7. The Biological weapons Convention (1972).

8. The Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any other Hostile Use of Environment Modification Techniques (1977).

9. The Agreement on Celestial Bodies (1979): It prohibits the use of the moon and other celestial bodies for military purposes.

10. The Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile System (1974).

11. Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT!) between USA and USSR (1972). It established limit for a five-year period on the number of launches of Strategic weapons.
12. Test Ban Treaty 1974: It prohibits underground nuclear weapon tests having a yield over 150 kilotons.
13. Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) between USA and USSR (1979) and so on.

There was another agreement (INF) between the US and USSR in 1987 limiting the number of certain strategic nuclear weapons. All these treaties though effective to some extent in their specific areas of focus have not helped much in disarmament campaigns.

Suggestions to promote arms control and disarmament could include complete declaration by the UNO of all threat or use of nuclear weapons as a crime against humanity and thus completely outlawed; the UNO centre for disarmament need to take part in disarmament and arms control agreements for more effective implementation; arms trade and transfer of military technology should be halted; nuclear weapon tests should be banned completely including (military Research and Development) in the field; and the formation of more open popular movements against armaments should be encouraged.

Activity

Most experts agree that nuclear weapons are so powerful that they are capable of totally annihilating entire countries, even continents. Why then did Jonathan Schell and Richard N. Haassmake counter argument.

See their article on Microsoft Encarta 2009.

Forward your response to your tutor on Study Session Four assignment page on course website.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this Study session you explored the concept of disarmament and arms control.Disarmament is the reduction or limitation of weapon systems, while arms control focuses mainly on imposing restraints on new weapons development and spread. Disarmament is very necessary so as to remove wars, and reduce their destructive capacity when they occur.Arms control takes the form of treaties, public opinion, UNO campaigns, and so on.

Study Session5

Agencies, Instruments and Techniques of Inter-State Interaction

Introduction

As the saying will put it, no man is an island; the same applies to every state of the world. Each state of the world interacts and depends on one another in way or the other. In this study session we shall examine the agencies, instruments and techniques through which independent states interact with one another.

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

5.1 *point out* the agencies of state interaction.

5.2 *highlight* the instruments states use in interacting with one another.

5.3 *identify* the techniques or ways used in such interactions.

5.1 Agencies of State Interaction

Let us start this presentation by explaining what agent and agency mean: An agent is somebody acting on behalf of another person or body. An agency means an organization or body through which services are delivered or power exerted. Agencies of state interaction will then be regarded as those bodies through which independent states interact in the process of performing their functions. These agencies include:

1. Individuals, such as diplomats, Ministers, Heads of State and government e.t.c. The Nigerian state is seen to be interacting with the Ghanaian state if our Minister of External Affairs visits Ghana on official capacity. This Minister is seen as an agent of Nigeria.

2. Groups of individuals, such as cultural or dancing troops or soccer teams.Business companies are at times subtly used by states to promote state goals e.g. the International Telegraph and Telecommunication (ITT) business company in Chile help the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to overthrow the Socialist Government of President Allende.[1] Business companies can also feature in contract negotiations between states.

3. Intelligence Organizations, such as the CIA, Israeli MOSSAD, or

Soviet Union KGB are also agencies of state interaction but they work secretly. The CIA can supply the state of Israel or S. African vital information on international affairs.

4. International Organizations such as the United Nations, Organization of African Unity, Economic Community of West African states among others serve as fora or platforms for state interaction.
5. Military units are also agents of the state. They can attack another state on behalf of their home state, or defend their home state against external attacks.
6. International Law also regulates state behaviour and guide international transactions.

Tip

Agencies of state interaction will then be regarded as those bodies through which independent states interact in the process of performing their functions.

5.2 Instruments of State Interaction

By instruments here, we mean those devices, or tools by which states interact. Even though agents are part of these instruments, the instruments of relevance here are the economic, political, cultural, psychological, and military ones. We now present them to you one after the other.

5.2.1 Economic Instruments

There are two major economic instruments here. One is international trade, and the second is foreign economic aid. International trade has many elements that states can manipulate to favour, reward or punish other states. Such as common markets, tariffs, quota, sabotage of exports or imports, currency manipulation, exclusion from trading arrangements, boycott of goods produced, blockade, embargo e.t.c. Example, Nigeria can blockade S. Africa by sea so that the apartheid country's exports and imports cannot move by sea if Nigeria has adequate military power. Foreign economic aid can be given by a state to another state to promote economic development or for other reasons. Such aid includes grants, loans, foods, technical advice, and so on. We will discuss more about foreign aid latter.

5.2.2 Political Instrument

This is mainly diplomacy. What is diplomacy you may ask? Ajibola defines diplomacy as "Interactions among states which involve exchange of men for men who act on behalf of their mother states in matters peculiar to their national interests". This involves use of Embassies coordinated by the Foreign/External Affairs Ministry.

5.2.3 Socio-Cultural Instrument

This involves sports, ideas, games, technology and dancing groups or cultural troupes. States can boycott sporting arenas to register their

protest over other state's action or policy e.g. African states boycott any international sporting activity involving apartheid S. Africa as a way of pressurizing S. Africa to dismantle her apartheid system. Also states try to convert citizens of other states through religious bodies, Youth Movements, friendship Associations and Clubs.

5.2.4 Psychological Instrument

This is mainly propaganda. Propaganda can be seen in a sense as the process of influencing people's views, feelings, emotions and behaviour through the manipulation of information and figures. Most of the time, the information given is false or half-truth. Featuring also are name calling, brainwashing, cover-ups and news blackouts.

5.2.5 Military Instrument

This involves espionage (spying operations), sabotage of transport and communication (through lying of mines on land and sea), intervention (such as United States invasion of Grenada or Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan), military aid, sales of arms, threats of war, and war itself.

5.3 Techniques of State Interaction

Techniques here refer to the ways in which the states use the instruments discussed above in the pursuit of their national goals. These techniques include:

a) Peaceful negotiations meant to exchange views, enhance understanding over trade, aid and a number of other issues. Negotiations are usually done by diplomats and ministers though other authorities and bodies can come in where necessary.

b) Agreements/Treaties are entered into to promote trade, end wars, or effect military aid. Such treaties are usually deposited with the UNO, and each signatory is bound to follow the letters of the agreement.

c) Threat or use of force can be done if a state feels strongly about the policies or activities of another state e.g. the USA once threatened to use force against Libya if the latter kept on supporting "terrorist" organizations.

d) Actual use of force (or war) can take place if warning threats are ignored, just as the United States bullied Libya by invading and bombarding Libyan territory in 1986.

Foreign Aid

Food Aid Distribution in Afghanistan
Residents of a remote mountain village in northern Afghanistan cluster around trucks distributing sacks of wheat as part of the United Nations World Food Program.

Foreign aid is "the transfer of money, goods or technical advice/assistance from a donor to a recipient". There are many types of foreign aid such as:

1) Economic aid including grants (gifts of money or resources for projects that don't yield financial feedbacks), technical aid and cooperation involving the release of experts to evaluate programmes and give expert advice in agriculture, investment, loans (inter-governmental or government bank loans), and so on.
2) Socio-cultural aid such as food items and drugs given in time of famine or natural disaster. Money can also be given for cultural festivals.
3) Military aid which includes training of the recipient state's soldiers free in the donor country, provision of Military equipment, and grants to release domestic resources that would have been devoted to Military expenditures.

Sources of foreign aid are diversified, but can be grouped into two main broad categories: bilateral sources (i.e. between two states), and multilateral sources (i.e. between a state and many others but operating through one organized body such as the UNO and African Development Bank). Much of the foreign aid that go to poor nations follow the bilateral approach because the donors often want to extort something useful from the recipients.

This brings us to the uses of aid. Foreign aid can be used by a donor to promote its own foreign policy and secure its national goals in these ways:

1) A donor can give aid to another state to influence the recipient into toeing the donor's line of action or policy e.g. President Carter of the USA gave aid mainly to the states respecting human rights.
2) A donor can give aid to a recipient to stop the latter from joining its (donor's) opponents. The USA prepared the Marshall Plan in 1945 to ensure that West European states don't join the Socialist bloc of USSR.
3) Aid can also be used to influence nations to open up their economies for the donor's business companies, and thus expand particular ideologies in the international system. e.g. much of the foreign economic aid coming to

Africa is from Western Europe, and is meant partly to keep Africa in the Capitalist orbit. Eugene Black, a former President of the World Bank once said about aid and the USA that aid is of great benefit to the USA in three ways:

a. aid encourages the growth of overseas markets for American goods,

b. aid allows the growth of nations under the free market enterprise (Capitalist) system, thereby creating boom for American firms,

c. aid stimulates the development of overseas territories for American firms. These of course show that the so called aids the poor nations get are aid for the donor and not for the recipient.

Foreign aid, the way it is given by the Europeans has negative effect on the growth of Africa's economy because it weakens instead of strengthening Africa. Not only this, our leaders have not been able to judiciously use the loans and grants we have received hence the crushing debt burden facing African states today. Africans should work hard for their own growth, security and development and should stop depending on others (Europeans) for anything.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this Study session, you learnt how independent states of the world interact through many agencies including individuals, business companies, and international organizations e.t.c. In their processes of interaction, these states use economic instruments as trade and aid, political instruments as diplomacy, cultural instruments as sports, psychological instruments as propaganda, and military instruments as war. The techniques of states interaction can be negotiations, treaties, threats of war, or war.

Study Session6

International Agencies of Inter-State Relations

Introduction

In this Study Session, you will be exposed to the relevant facts about international law. In our quest to discuss the subject, we shall begin our discourse by looking at various conceptual definitions of the term international law. We shall also explain other central issues like sources, origin, how it affects Africans and how Africans influence it. You will be also acquainted with the general aims of international organizations, and inform you about the position of Africa vis-à-vis these organizations.
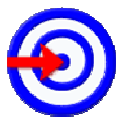
Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

6.1 *define* international law.

6.2 *discuss* why we Africans must study international law.

6.3 *analyse* how Africans perceive international law and our role in influencing it.

6.1 What is International Law?

Let us start this discussion by first defining **law**. The Encyclopedic World Dictionary defines law as:

1. The principles and regulations emanating from a government and applicable to the people, whether in the form of legislation or of custom and policies recognized and enforced by judicial decision,

2. Any written or positive rule, or collection of rules, prescribed under the authority of the state or nation, whether by the people in its constitution as the organic law, or by the legislature in its statute law, or by the treaty-making power, or by municipalities in their ordinances or bylaws".

There are three major levels of law - Organizational laws made by Clubs, Parties, and Associations; national laws made by governments or national legislatures; and international law. Of these three, national law is the most powerful.

What then is international law? Starke, an authority in international law defines it as that body of law which is composed for its greater part, of

the principles and rules of conduct which states feel themselves bound to observe and therefore do commonly observe in their relations with each other. It includes

    a. the rules of law relating to the functioning of international institutions or organizations, and

    b. certain rules of law relating to individuals and non-state entities.

Another authority, Whitaker, says that international law or public international law or law of nations is "the system of law which governs relations among nations". We will only add here that international law is the body of principles and rules governing the relations, actions and interactions of states in the international system. It is mainly concerned with independent states, but increasingly turning its focus also at individuals and non- national groups such as business companies.

There is popular scepticism about international law. Many people argue that international law is not effective, that the laws are not obeyed by states, and that there are no enforcement agencies. Those who say that states don't obey the laws point to wars here and there, hijacking and so on. However, there are treaties, customs regulating state behaviour daily. It is only a few violations which are publicised that people hear or read about. It is like in a town where over 3000 vehicles move about daily, and three accidents occur, the media will announce these three accidents, but the other 2,997 vehicles did not have accidents. On the matter of enforcement of international law, it is true that within the state, there are the Police, Army, Customs men and other law enforcement agencies. At the international level, there are no such bodies to enforce laws. International law is based on the consent of states, and its enforcement is based on "good faith". But where necessary, states come together to enforce international law say through sanctions or through collective security action. Also international public opinion often puts pressure on states to obey international law. But the strongest weapon is the act of reciprocity (do me, I do you) which can also be termed reprisals. Reprisals are actions that are illegal, but they are rendered legal or justifiable by the prior illegal action of a state. In these ways and others, international law is enforced. Thus, despite the absence of enforcement agents, international law plays great role in maintaining order, peace and security in the world.

> **Tip**
>
> International law is the body of principles and rules governing the relations, actions and interactions of states in the international system. It is mainly concerned with independent states, but increasingly turning its focus also at individuals and non- national groups such as business companies.

6.2 Sources of International Law

These include:

1. Treaties made by states on economic, political or military matters.
2. Natural law emphasizing, what is right and just behaviour.

3. Teachings and writings of renowned legal luminaries or publicists.
4. Judicial decisions of the International Court of Justice.
5. Customs that are internationally accepted e.g. human rights respect, good treatment and protection of Heads of State.
6. National domestic laws - national judicial decisions generally acceptable.
7. General principles of law recognized by civilized nations such as a man is innocent until he is proved guilty.

The origin (and development) of the modern international legal system dates back to the latter part of the 16th century; and as recognized by R.P. Anand, the legal system owes its genesis and earlier growth to the interactions among Western European nations. Thus, international law has been largely "European" both in character and its application. Its aims point in the same European direction. Verziji writing in 1955 observed:

> *Now there is one truth that is not open to doubt, namely, that the actual body of international law as it stands today is not only the product of the conscious activity of the European mind, but also drawn its vital essence from the common source of European beliefs, and in both these aspects it is mainly of European origin.4*

African nations had not emerged when the codification of international law began. Because of the eurocentic origin of international law, it is used as a powerful weapon by the European states against the weak and newly emergent states of Africa, Latin America and Asia. Abi-Saab wrote on this when he said:

> *" treaties have been used to sanctify subjugation and exploitation of the smaller and weaker states. . . Many newly independent states had to sign unequal treaties or to adhere to military alliances under strong pressures."*

International law started developing from the attempts to make rules regulating the conduct of affairs between independent communities. Laws were made on treaties, immunities of ambassadors and wars. Such early laws existed in ancient Egypt, India and the Greek city states. Also when Rome dominated the ancient world, rules guiding the relations between Rome and the various lands she ruled existed. However Western writers argue that modern international law has European origin.

Jean Bodin (a French) wrote the theory of "Sovereign state" in 1576 in his De Republic. Since then Sovereignty has become a central point in international law.

Hugo Grotius (a Dutch Scholar) is regarded as the father of International Law. He wrote two works on international law - De Jure Praedae, (1604), and De Jure Belli ac pacis, (1625).

Richard Zouche (1590-1660) wrote much in International law, taking state practice as the only source of International law.

It is only from the 19th century that scholars or writers outside Western Europe began to contribute towards the development of international law.

The present international law is a product of the efforts in the last 400 years. It had developed as states developed. It is Eurocentrically based on the customs and practices of European states.

Law changes slowly. Law is one of the most conservative aspects of human life, and of course international law in most cases still retain the European character it got before African states emerged on the international scene.

Note

While international law developed in the European world, traditional African societies had rules guiding the relationship and interaction between their various communities. But they were forcefully brought into the European scheme of things through colonial conquest and administration. As these African states became independent one after the other, they inherited treaties entered into by their former colonial masters, and had to ratify many already existing treaties fashioned out again in European thinking and beliefs.

6.3 Africa and International Law

Why is it important that Africans should study International Law? Four major reasons can be forwarded for this:

 i.   It gives us insight into the sources, origin, and development of international law.

 ii.   It enables us to assess the position of Africa in relation to the European nations with reference to matters relating to international law.

 iii.   The political, social and economic development or under development of Africa today is strongly tied to these laws. For instance the agreements reached by the colonial powers in the Berlin Conference of December 1884 to January 1885 played a major role in the scramble for, balkanisation, colonization, and pillaging of Africa by Western European nations.

 iv.   International law is one of the spheres of international relations where African states have had clashing interests with European states in the process of interpretation and application.

How do Africans perceive international law? Africans regard the present day international law as:

 a.   a system of laws which has strong European origin, and developed without African influence up till the 19th century.

 b.   a weapon in the hands of European states for the exploitation, subjugation and oppression of the weaker and newly emergent poor nations of the world.

 c.   a system of laws needing certain changes in order to eliminate the dysfunctional aspects of the legal system, while retaining and supporting its fundamental and progressive aspects.

Let us now draw your attention to the role of African states in influencing international law. International law covers many areas of international relations: treatment of aliens, use of international waters, use of the air space, treatment of Heads of state, making of treaties, making of wars,

international economic relations, and so on. To reflect the role of African nations in influencing or changing international law, we shall here focus on one of these areas - the law of international economic relations (expropriation).

Reflection

> The political, social and economic development or under development of Africa today is strongly tied to international laws. For instance the agreements reached by the colonial powers in the Berlin Conference of December 1884 to January 1885 played a major role in the scramble for, balkanisation, colonization, and pillaging of Africa by Western European nations.

6.3.1 Law of International Economic Relations (Expropriation)

Following colonization, and the effects of economic poverty and capital shortage in what are now the developing countries, foreigners came into these states to invest in many spheres of production - services, mining, manufacture and automobile.

Many African nations however later developed what Akinsanya describes as "economic nationalism". According to Akinsanya.

> *"Economic nationalism in less developed countries . . . often characterized by a drive to gain control over these economies . . . or gain control over alien owned enterprises."*

Initially, these foreign investments had little or no law limiting them, national or international, and the investors had free business atmosphere. However, later, International law tried to bring economic relations, and nationalization or expropriation under this umbrella in the way that favoured European investors. Thus in 1952, the UN General assembly passed Resolution 626 (VII) on 12 December acknowledging the rights of people to exploit their national resources. The Resolution called for international cooperation in the exercise of these rights. It also called for restraints against all forms of acts designed to impede the exercise of the sovereignty of states over their natural resources.

However, at this time, about 93% of African states were under colonial rule. Thus the Resolution was against African interests as the sovereign states then in Africa were basically the colonial powers.

Therefore in 1958, with about 21 African and many other developing states in the UNO, pressures gave rise to the setting up of a "committee of Nine" to investigate among other things the ways of upholding the sovereignty of nations over their natural resources. Basing action on the recommendations of this committee, the General Assembly on 12 December 1960 adopted Resolution 1515 (XV) stating that:

> *"The sovereign right of every state to dispose of its wealth and its natural resources should be respected in conformity with the rights and duties of states under international law."*

With further pressures and increasing membership of African and other developing states, another Resolution came up in 1962 - UN General Assembly' Resolution 1802 (XVII). This Resolution reinforced the inalienable rights of all states to freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources according to their national interests. In other words, the Resolution held that foreign ownership of the means of production within a particular country should not prevent the state from exercising its sovereignty, or its power of economic planning. The Resolution also provided that states are free to restrict or prohibit the importation of foreign capital. However, paragraph 4 of the Resolution states:

> *Nationalization, expropriation or requisitioning shall be based on grounds or reasons of public utility, security or national interest which are recognized as overriding purely individual or private interests both domestic and foreign. In such cases, the owner shall be paid prompt and appropriate compensation, in accordance with rules in force in the state taking such measures... and in accordance with international law.*

The provision for prompt and appropriate compensation in this Resolution did not please many developing countries. Therefore further pressures gave rise to another General Assembly Resolution on 12 December 1974 on "Economic Rights and Duties of states" stating in Section 2(c) that each state has the right to nationalize, expropriate or transfer ownership of foreign property in which case appropriate compensations should be paid by the state adopting such measures…". Removed from this later Resolution was the provision calling for mandatory payment of prompt, adequate, and effective compensation and requirement for governmental action in conformity with international law.

Nationalization Cases in Africa

Nationalization seems to have first occurred in the USSR after the Russian Resolution of 1917 when the new Bolshevik government nationalized banking, merchant shipping, insurance, and then the assets of Russians who fled the country. From here nationalization spread to Latin America, Mexico, Britain and so on.

The first nationalization in Africa was in 1956 when Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal and was for this reason invaded by Britain, France, and Israel. Other cases include Tanzania, Zambia, Uganda, Libya and then Nigeria.

In the case of Tanzania, in February 1967, the country proclaimed a socialist doctrine - Ujamaa to end the "exploitation of man by man". The government then nationalized all banking and took over some firms. However, government paid full and fair compensation as there were' no legal or diplomatic disputes before the country and foreign firms or country over the action.

For Uganda, Amin in 1971, expelled Asians, with 90 days ultimatum, and took, over their property without compensation and handed these over to Ugandans. Britain, made representations to Uganda to enter into formal negotiations for compensation but Amin refused. Britain brought this up at the UN General Assembly but no Resolution was passed on it. The case would have been different if majority of the UN General Assembly were not from developing countries. These show the role of

these new states including African states in changing the offending aspects of international law.

Suez Canal

Egypt's Suez Canal, which is 195 km (121 mi) long, connects the Mediterranean Sea with the Gulf of Suez, an arm of the Red Sea. It runs north to south across the Isthmus of Suez in northeastern Egypt.

Study Session 7

Africa and International Organisations

Introduction

In this Study Session, we will examine general aims of international organizations, and inform you about the position of Africa vis-à-vis these organizations.

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

7.1 *discuss* the aims of international organizations.

7.2 *discuss* how African states faired under League of Nations.

7.3 *enumerate* the aims of UNO.

7.4 *point out* Africa's reactions to her position in the UNO.

7.1 Essence of International Organizations

An international organization is a body formed by many nations to pursue certain common needs and objectives.Examples of international organizations are the League of Nations (the first properly organized international org6nization in the world), the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations Organization, the Economic Community of West African States, The Arab League, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Economic Community, the Commonwealth of Nations, the Warsaw Treaty Organization e.t.c.

The general aims of international organizations are mainly five:

  i.   Maintenance of international peace and security.
  ii.   Pursuance of economic and social welfare of the citizens of member states.
  iii. Maintenance of international justice.
  iv.   Promotion of international law.
  v.   Promotion of fundamental human rights.

In the next section, we will examine the position of Africa in two international organizations: The League of Nations and the United Nations Organization. Our main task is to enable you perceive the position of Africa in these organizations, the consequence of this position, and what Africans had to do about their position.

7.2 Africa and League of Nations (1919-1947)

The League was the first attempt to build a functional international organization. It was formed after the First World War (1914-1918), to preserve peace and prevent war.

The aims of the League were:

a. Maintenance of international peace and security
b. Promotion of respects for Justice
c. Promotion of international cooperation (socio-economic)
d. Promotion of the rule of law.

It had three main organs - a Council, General Assembly, and a Secretariat.

The major problems of the League were - the principle of unanimity in decision making and shortage of funds. The unanimity principle demanded that before the League could act on an issue, all members must agree. This principle paralysed the League.

As at the period the League functioned, most African states were still under colonial rule, and therefore played little or no role in the League to preserve Africa's interests. In actual fact, only Liberia and Ethiopia were in this organization. This weak position of African states in the League was exploited by the European powers to enhance their colonial interests in Africa against the interests of Africans. In 1935, for instance, Italy invaded Ethiopia (then called Abyssinia) in search of colonies in Africa. The Emperor of Ethiopia called on the League for collective security action against Italy as in the League's charter, but nothing tangible was done. The League only imposed trade embargo on Italy but oil was cleverly removed from the list of embargoed items. Later arms embargo was placed on both states knowing full well that while Italy could produce her own weapons, Ethiopia could not. Thus Italy still occupied Ethiopia till Italy was defeated during the Second World War which of course saw to the end of the League.

The point is that Africa was occupying a very weak position in the League. As a result, African interests were not protected. The League was dominated by the "hunters" in the jungle of international politics i.e. powerful European states who owned colonies and empires in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. We Africans were just hunted thus; we could not get adequate League protection.

7.3 Africa and United Nations Organization

The UNO was formed in 1945 to replace the League of Nations. The UNO has four major objectives:

a. To maintain international peace and security.
b. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self determination.

c. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of economic, social or cultural character, and promoting human rights.

d. To be centre for harmonising the actions of nations.

The UN has about 160 members including about 51 African states, and has 6 major organs - the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and Secretariat. It also has many specialized agencies as the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Health' Organization, the World Bank, and so on.

The major problem of the UNO lies with the veto power given exclusively to the five permanent members - US, USSR, China, UK, and France. This veto power is used by the European states to preserve and pursue their interests, while suppressing those of the African, Asian, and Latin American nations. For instance, the Western nations use the veto to suppress actions against apartheid S. Africa by the UNO. Russia also used veto to protect her interests in Afghanistan.

Note	Even though African and developing states constitute the majority of the UNO, they still cannot do much to pursue their interests. Not only this, Africa's poverty which is a product of the combined effects of colonial pillage, neo-colonialism and poor leadership since independence, makes it difficult for African states to contribute much of UNO annual budget. As a result, the big powers use both their huge resources and veto power to control UNO at the expense of Africa, Latin America and Asia.

Africa's Reactions to UNO

Having witnessed their fate under the League, and also their weak status in the UNO:

African states decided to form their own organization on May 1963 - the OAU with the following aims:

A. To promote the unity and solidarity of African states.
B. To coordinate and intensify their collaboration and efforts to achieve better life for Africans.
C. To defend their Sovereignty, Independence and territorial integrity.
D. To eradicate all forms of colonialism in Africa.
E. To promote territorial cooperation.

With the OAU, African states declare certain issues Africa's internal affairs to be handled by the OAU not UNO.

African states have also gone further to establish intra-continental or regional international bodies such as ECOWAS, the Arab League, and Non-aligned Movement. It is not mere rhetoric to say that Africa's interests are better promoted by the OAU, and the later mentioned organizations. This is not to say however that African states don't gain from the socio-economic activities of the specialized agencies of the UNO. The point is that one is happier, and progresses faster when he is free and equal with others in the real sense of the words. The veto power in the UNO Security Council makes some states more equal than others as in the book *Animal Farm*.

African states have also started pressuring the UNO for changes in the aspects of its charter that are anti-thetical to Africa's interests e.g. they want an African state to be given the veto power if it is not to be completely removed.

However, African states have to do more than what they are doing now. There must be good leadership to make for political stability, good planning and prudent management of national resources. Good leadership will then increase the tempo of national development. Africa has to become economically and militarily powerful, and to take (not beg to be given) its rightful position in the Committee of nations. African states

cannot be beggars and at the same time expect to be equals with their donors. It is high time Africans woke up from their slumber (before this long slumber becomes death) and remove all bad rulers. This will be the beginning of Africa's rebirth, and progress. If these things are not achieved, Africa will continue to occupy second class positions in international organizations and affairs.

It is not mere rhetoric to say that Africa's interests are better promoted by the OAU, and the later mentioned organizations. This is not to say however that African states don't gain from the socio-economic activities of the specialized agencies of the UNO.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this Study Session, we discussed International law - a body of principles and rules governing the relations between nations.The sources of international law include treaties, natural law, judicial decisions, customs, and national domestic laws.

International law originated from Europe and has essentially developed among Eurocentric orbits until the 19th century, as a result, African interests, problems and beliefs were not taken into view while codifying International law.

International organizations generally aim at maintaining world peace and security, pursuing socio-economic development, promoting justice and human rights.

Study Session 8

Africa's Colonization and Emancipation

Introduction

In this Study Session, we will discuss how Africa was colonized and later decolonized. We will also examine how mother Africa has been set in chains or "imprisoned" by the former colonial masters and their African quislings, as well as the strategies for liberating Africa.

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

8.1 *present* why and how Europeans invaded Africa.

8.2 *discuss* the effects of colonization.

8.3 *explain* how African was decolonized.

8.4 *outline* how and why Africa is still chained.

8.5 *present* how Africa can be liberated.

8.1 European Conquest and Colonization of Africa

Colonization is the process or act of one country extending its rule over other peoples and territories with the aim of using the peoples, their land and resources for the progress of the colonial power. It involved the resettlement of some of the citizens of the colonial power in the colony to effect necessary political and socio-economic changes.

Let us start by asking - why did the Europeans come to Africa? You see, this question and its correct answer are very crucial in the liberation of the minds of millions of Africans today because the combined effect of church preaching and mission school brainwashing, put the ideas into our people's minds that the European came to Africa to civilise Africans, to stop the killing of twins and the performance of human sacrifices. All these are rubbish! The Europeans also killed twins in their homes, they did human sacrifices, and they burnt witches alive. You remember the British cut off the head of one of their kings for being despotic. The French also used the guillotine to execute people.

Tip

Colonization is the process or act of one country extending its rule over other peoples and territories with the aim of using the peoples, their land and resources for the progress of the colonial power. It involved the resettlement of some of the citizens of the colonial power in the colony to effect necessary political and socio-economic changes.

The truth is that the white man came to Africa to get food, cheap raw materials new lands for investing their surplus revenue, new markets for selling their excess products, and cheap labour for agricultural and industrial output. All these were geared towards one major thing, and that is PROFIT MAXIMIZATION. If you doubt what we have just told you, then read these few lines of quotation written by Fredrick Lugard himself in 1923:

> ". . the partition of Africa was, as we all recognize due primarily to the economic necessity of increasing the supplies of raw materials and food to meet the needs of the industrialized nations of Europe."

The religion that brought the preaching of one God, brotherhood of man, equality before God etcetera, and their school system that taught Reading, Writing, Religion and Arithmetic were all part of the instruments of conquest and colonization. It was Francis Drake who said about the Amerindian that he and his co-destroyers were going to "civilize":

> Their gain shall be the knowledge of our faith, and ours such riches as the (Amerindian) country hath.[2]

The whites colonized our consciousness through their school system which doled out intellectual opium to our children; hence Hamidou Kane identified the source of infection in the Black man's consciousness as the colonial school when he wrote:

> Better than the cannon, it makes conquest permanent.
> The Cannon compels the body, the school bewitches the soul.[3]

The above two quotations show the three major ways by which the European took over our land - Cannon, religion and school. These led to the African lamentation about Europeans-in Africa that:

> When they first came, they had the Bible we had the land; now we have the Bible they have our land.[4]

This African lamentation is believed to have originated from the East African country of Kenya, and it has a funny story to the effect that when the Whiteman came with this Bible and met rich and beautiful land in Africa, he told Africans to close their eyes, so that prayer will be said. While the prayer was going on, he put the Bible In the hands of Africans and prepared documents that entitled him to the land.

Now let's look at the stages of the coming of the European. First came the Secret intelligence - the EXPLORERS - people like David Livingstone, Richard Burton, William Baikie, Count Brazzas, Rene Caille, Mungo Park, Lander Brothers, John Clappertonand Bar-

tholomewDias. They opened up the (sea) routes into different parts of Africa, and became heroes of Europe (not of Africa). They found Africa to be rich potentially and Africans to be religious (but had no Bible and did not know about Christ). They also saw that Africans were hostile to white-strangers but very kind. Thus came the MISSIONARIES to soften the minds of Africans with sweet religious preaching about love, one God, equality of man, brotherhood of man.

With the ground softened, the TRADERS began to arrive to carry away cheap raw materials andfood items. At first the exchange took place at the coast between the whites and Africans, but later the "Oyinbo" wanted to make more profit at home so had to go into the hinterland and buy things himself by-passing the middle-men. This brought trouble between the white-traders and African traders and Kings. Thus, the white-traders went and brought ARMED BANDITS to clear the roads and inland. After the soldiers and mercenaries had finished conquering African kingdoms, chiefdoms and empires, the last group arrived - POLITICAL ADMINISTRATORS like Fredrick Lugard who became High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria in 1900. It was the political administrations that began the colonial rule over several African territories and lands.

Reflection

They found Africa to be rich potentially and Africans to be religious (but had no Bible and did not know about Christ). They also saw that Africans were hostile to white-strangers but very kind. Thus came the MISSIONARIES to soften the minds of Africans with sweet religious preaching about love, one God, equality of man, brotherhood of man

The destructions in Africa took many forms and years to accomplish. Starting with the carrying away of Black people as domestic servants in Europe, along with raw materials; then slavery began about 1450 and lasted over 400 years resulting in the dispersal of millions of Africans to over 50 countries of the world where they live today as permanent evidence of white barbarism against Africans.Military conquest backed up by national armies began officially after the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. Thus, war, murder, arson and alcohol were joined with veneral diseases to devastate Africa. Examples, after King Jaja of Opobo was exiled for obstructing British trade in the delta, then warships shelled Ebrohimi, the capital of the Nana of Warri in 1894. It fell and Nana escaped but later surrendered and was tried for obstructing "free-trade" which was in Article 1 of the Berlin treaty of 1884 that no African leader signed. In 1897, Benin kingdom was dismantled by British soldiers, its art treasures looted, and the Oba (Overamwhen) deported to Calabar where he died. His grave was discovered in 1987.

Hint

Military conquest backed up by national armies began officially after the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. Thus, war, murder, arson and alcohol were joined with veneral diseases to devastate Africa. Examples, after King Jaja of Opobo was exiled for obstructing British trade in the delta, then warships shelled Ebrohimi, the capital of the Nana of Warri in 1894. It

fell and Nana escaped but later surrendered and was tried for obstructing "free-trade" which was in Article 1 of the Berlin treaty of 1884 that no African leader signed. In 1897, Benin kingdom was dismantled by British soldiers, its art treasures looted, and the Oba (Overamwhen) deported to Calabar where he died. His grave was discovered in 1987.

In 1901, another British column marched on Arochukwu, setting the long Juju of Arochukwu on fire and killing its priests because the Oracle was used to resist British occupation and "free-trade". In 1892 the British jumped on the Yorubas, killing and burning, for their refusal to come under British protection and obstructing British intrusion into their lands. By 1896, all Yoruba land was conquered and ruled from Lagos by Britain. In 1898, the British Merchant-soldiers of the Royal Niger Company took Kabba, Bida, and later Ilorin. They then marched to Sokoto and Gwandu. They took Gwandu in 1900, overthrew the Emir of Yola (Zubeiru) in 1901, and in 1903 conquered Sokoto to end the empire of Othman Dan Fodio. They conquered everywhere and imposed their colonial rule on Nigeria. So it happened all over Africa. The major reason why Africa was conquered, humiliated and rampaged was the superior fire power of the Europeans who came with cannon, rockets, maxin guns, mines and machine guns, to face Africans with bows, arrows, and spears. The situation has not changed today. Africa is still militarily weak despite the huge amounts of money diverted into defense which are mainly used to pay salaries and allowances instead of internal arms production.

8.2 Effects of Colonialism on Africa

On the good side, Africans got western education, linked up with the outside world, and faster rate of development. On the negative side, Africa lost millions of her sons and daughters in the process of conquering Africa. Many nations were carved out of Africa without respect for ethnic lines, thus Yoruba are found in Nigeria and Benin, and Somalis are in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. This situation has given rise to numerous border disputes, and wars in Africa today. The balkanization of Africa has weakened Africa in all spheres of life. Africans' dressing, consumption, thinking, marriage patterns have become externally oriented. Thus, Africans prefer foreign made goods to the ones made in their country. Not only these, African states generally have been pulled into the Western capitalist mode of political and economic organization which is part of our problems today. Colonialism also destroyed social solidarity in Africa, and created alienated individualism without social responsibility. Colonialism cut off the newly emerging people of African from Science and technology, and indigenous rulers since independence have not corrected this problem, hence Africa is scientifically and technologically backward today.

8.3 Decolonization of Africa

Decolonization is the process or act of ending colonial rule, and freeing the colony, and securing self rule or independence. It involves the removal of the agents of the colonial power from the government of the

new nation.

What was Africa's reaction to colonization? Africans did not take kindly to foreign rule, but the military might of the European conquistadors was overwhelming. It was therefore impossible to overthrow the colonial government. Africans' reactions started with revolts and riots like the Aba Women's riots of 1929, strikes and demonstrations and frequent demands for independence. In some countries like Algeria the demand for independence was backed up with armed liberation struggle.

Thus, Africans had to pursue their emancipation with diplomacy. This diplomacy of decolonization implied the adoption of different strategies to ensure independence. Three different strategies can be mentioned here. Each nation's nationalist adopted the strategy that best suited the situation in their country:

i.   Peaceful process - this involved peaceful constitutional conferences and negotiations like in the case of Nigeria, Ghana, and so on.

ii. Violent process - involving armed liberation struggles like in the case of Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and so on.

iii. Violent cum peaceful processes - involving both armed struggle and constitutional conferences like in the cases of Kenya (Mau-Mau revolt) and Zimbabwe.

Note

Africans did not take kindly to foreign rule, but the military might of the European conquistadors was overwhelming. It was therefore impossible to overthrow the colonial government. However, Africans' reactions started with revolts and riots like the Aba Women's riots of 1929, strikes and demonstrations and frequent demands for independence. In some countries like Algeria the demand for independence was backed up with armed liberation struggle.

8.3.1 Factors that Accelerated the Decolonization Process

Several factors did contribute; some of these factors were internal to Africa, while others were external (i.e. from outside Africa). The internal factors that increased the tempo of nationalism and decolonization include:

i.   The desire and demand for economic development. Many Africans who travelled to the lands of the colonial masters observed the marked differences between those lands and African lands, and wanted independence for faster economic progress.

ii. The desire to participate in African economies: Africans were not pleased with the domination of their home economies by European business men, e.g. in Nigeria, the United African Company (UAC) by 1949 controlled 34% of all imported commercial merchandise in Nigeria. Six European firms joined to form the Association of West African merchants (AWAM) which

controlled about 60% of Nigeria imports, and 70% of her exports. Europeans also controlled the shipping lines, and banking services. The banks in giving credits discriminated against Africans. Europeans also dominated the mining industry.

iii. Rising cost of living: Between 1929 and 1939 (the inter-war years), European nations faced economic depression and the prices of primary products brought from African fell heavily creating hardships and rising cost of living.

iv. The activities of the Press: The Press generated political consciousness among the people, and kept the outside world informed on political events in Africa. In West Africa for example, Dr.Azikiwe revolutionized journalism by directing it towards the cause of decolonization through his West African Pilot.

v. The Educated Elite: The educated Africans dominated the struggle for independence. In West Africa, there were people like Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr.Azikiwe, Herbert Macaulay, Chief ObafemiAwolowo, Chief H.D. Davis, CaselyHayford and so on. The presence of such educated people gave the colonial administration assurance that there were Africans educated and responsible enough to govern the territories if given independence.

vi. Activities of Political Parties: Political parties wanted political power to be transferred to them. They wanted political power to make decisions that respected the wishes and needs of Africans not those of Europeans. In Ghana for example, Dr. J.B. Danquah and George Grant formed the United Gold Coast Convention in 1947, and in Nigeria, Herbert Macaulay formed the Nigerian National Democratic Party in 1922.

vii. There was social discrimination against Africans in their land by Europeans in public places - hotels, hospitals, post offices and so on. Whites occupied top civil service posts, social clubs were formed for whites only, e.g. a Greek hospital in Lagos was for whites only.

viii. Missionary education: Africans educated on the four Rs in the primary school - Reading, Writing, Religion and Arithmetic turned their education against the colonists. They helped in interpreting newspaper and other publications to the illiterate and also explained the issues at stake to them.

Racial Role of Colonial Churches

i. The churches looked upon African culture with disdain and contempt, and saw its elements as anti-God, and anti-religious. The leadership of African nationalism took this also as basis of colonial resistance. Many of them boycotted the churches on Sundays, as they then believed that the God of the whiteman was different from the God of the blackman, and met under tree shades reciting revolutionary and anti-colonial verses. Of course

the church was an arm of the colonial system which was aimed at softening the people's mind and resistance to colonial rule. Thus the people were told political lies in religious institutions e.g.

ii.   that resistance to (colonial) authority was resistance to the will of God;

iii. that a servant cannot be greater than the master;

iv.   that the position of individuals in life is God ordained.

The idea of using religion to bring people into surrendering to external political forces was new only in the Southern parts of Nigeria then. Before European invasion and coming of Christianity, the Fulani Moslem elements had done same thing to the Hausa and other inhabitants of the Northern part.

The external factors that fuelled nationalism and decolonization include the following:

i.   The taste of nature of colonization by colonizers: During the Second World War, Germany under Hitler set out to rule the world. His Nazi forces over-ran many European nations including France, and the citizens of these countries got a taste of what colonization meant and resisted it. Colonized Africans made use of this experience to reject continuous colonization in their continent insisting that since French, American, British and other Europeans did not want Germans to rule them, Africans must equally rule themselves.

ii.   The military weakness of colonial states: Especially after the World War II, many colonial states became weakened military e.g. France out of weakness had to leave Algeria. During the Second World War, Japan over-ran Malaysia which was under British protection. Britain did nothing, so Africans said her 'Imperial Might' was mere paper work.

iii. War Time developments: African soldiers (ex-service men) who took part in World War II against Germany in Burma, India, North Africa saw the Whites cry, and die in the war fronts like Blacks. Many whites ran away from hot war fronts, and these destroyed the myth of European superiority. Also the African soldiers saw and learned how Pandit Nehru and Mahatma Ghandi were leading successful nationalism against Britain in India even during the war. The African soldiers on coming home after the war also saw the difference between the poor African societies colonized by whites, and the buoyant European societies. The war veterans therefore joined the African nationalists to fight for independence. Because many of the veterans got educated abroad, they spread ideas too. The roads, railways, airstrips, habours which were developed during the war helped the nationalists in moving far and wide in the societies educating the people.

iv.   The Atlantic Charter of 1941 signed by the US and Britain embodied the war time objectives of the allied forces - fighting to

defend democracy, and freedom. The charter emphasized the principle of self-determination for all people who fought the war, and Africans knew of this and at the end of the war demanded self-determination, liberty and freedom. The Charter became the nationalists' charter of freedom for Article 3 of the charter stated that the signatories to the Charter respected the rights of all peoples to choose their own form of government.

v.   The rise of USA and her pro-independence stance: the US basing on her colonial experience from Britain as at that time opposed the continuous colonization of any people. This anticolonial stand of the US encouraged Africans. President Roosevelt said he will support British decolonization of her colonial territories.

vi. International organizations like the UNO, Non-aligned Movement and so on. provided platforms for debate on the demands for independence.

vii. The British Labour Party (then opposition party) also recognized the right of the colonies to choose their own form of governments. It condemned colonialism as immoral.

viii. Activities of West African Students Union (WASU): West African Students in USA and Britain sent delegations to government officials to explain the colonial situation in Africa. They also organized public study sessions, symposia and debates for the same purpose. These activities influenced US and British public opinion.

ix. Pan Africanist Agitation: Pan Africanism played the role of uniting African population against colonialism. Here, people like Marcus Gavey, W. Dubois among others are remembered.

8.4 "Imprisonment" of Africa after Independence

During colonial rule, our nationalists made a lot of promises to the masses of the people as things to be enjoyed or gained when the Whiteman was driven away and independence achieved. They talked about life more abundant, full employment, removal of discrimination, national unity, and respect for human rights and so on. But these have not been achieved since independence in (most) African states. There are mass poverty everywhere, hunger and starvation, unemployment, civil wars, border disputes, political repression etcetera. All these arise from the fact that the colonial masters in several African states handed over power to their friends and not to those Africans that love the people. They did so because they wanted African rulers who will continue to protect the Whiteman's interests in Africa. They still want African markets for western goods, they want African land for investments, they still want the cheap labour in Africa and so on, to protect and promote their interests in Africa therefore, the former colonial masters and their friends have adopted several strategies to keep African states down. These strategies are political, economic, cultural, military and psychological.

8.4.1 Post Colonial Strategies of Africa's Imprisonment

Political Strategies

The Political strategies employed by colonial masters include the following:

a. Ensuring that the rulers of African states are those who will protect the interests of whites. Whenever patriotic Africans take over power, the Europeans will try to overthrow them. This is what was done to Murtala Mohammed in Nigeria (1976), Nkrumah of Ghana, and President Allende of Chile. In this type of operation, the armed forces of the African state are misused.

b. Creation of neo-colonial international organizations such as the UNO by Europeans.

c. Manipulations and destabilization of regional international organizations such as ECOWAS, OAU, Non-aligned Movement, so that they don't work in unity to achieve their goals.

d. Use of international law to advance European interests such as the law of compensation or expropriation which demands adequate and prompt compensation for assets nationalized by any (developing) country.

e. Engineering tension and wars between African states in order to sell European weapons and keep Africa unstable and unable to pursue serious development programmes.

f. Manipulation of political leaders in Africa and using and helping them to crush patriots who oppose continued foreign and comprador oppression and exploitation of the masses.

g. Fanning embers of religious and ethnic differences in Africa to ensure disunity, and thus retard the rate of development.

Economic Strategies

The Economic strategies employed by colonial masters include the following:

a. Ensuring the continued dependence of African states on Western thoughts and models of development through external loans, grants, food aid, military aid, machineries and so called experts.

b. Ensuring mounting debt burden on African states.

c. Signing contracts and agreements that do not favour Africans via 10% bribe to their local agents in government.

d. Use of multi-national Corporations to influence the government and politics of African states, and to continue the economic exploitation of labour and resources in Africa.

e. Keeping down scientific and technological advancement

Cultural Strategies

The following are the Cultural strategies employed by colonial masters:

a. Continued use of foreign languages as lingua franca in African states. Thus, we think and write mainly in English, French, Portuguese.

b. Use of films, novels, magazines (pornographic ones especially), music (pop, and disco jibes), advertisement and so on. to inculcate Western modes of life. See how wrestling was introduced in Nigeria through Television. The Western mode of wrestling in which people's legs and heads are broken with bones, metallic objects and so on., have been promoted excessively leaving African wrestling that depend on skill and promote our culture.

c. Manipulation of local leaders to keep our educational system unproductive, and the hospitals mere consulting centres. In this way, ignorance and diseases continue to devastate Africa.

Military Strategies

The Military strategies adopted by colonial masters include the following:

a. Engineering of coups as in Chile in 1970 to oust Socialist President Allende.

b. Military invasion of African states whose leaders are seen as serious threats to European interests e.g. Portuguese invasion of Guinea Bissau in 1970, and America's bombardment of Libya in 1986.

c. Ensuring the continued dependence of African states on European nations for military weapons so that we can't defend ourselves.

d. The continuation of arms races which spill over to Africa and cause the diversion of scarce economic resources into defense while starving health, education, agriculture and so on.

Psychological Strategies

Psychological strategies adopted by the colonial master to underdevelop Africa include:

a. Propaganda warfare against patriotic African leaders, and Africa.

b. Promotion of wrong systems of democracy - such as the lavish praises showered on the presidential election in Nigeria in 1983 by American leaders and media men, when we Nigerians knew that it was the worst election so far in Africa.

c. Advertisement of European achievements while insisting that Africa has contributed nothing to human civilization.

d. Attributing every bad and evil thing in the world to Africa aids was said to have originated from Africa whereas it came from the United States from available data.

8.5 Strategies for Liberating Africa

Africa's emancipation will result from a careful study of the strategies used by European exploiters and their African quislings to keep Africa down and neutralizing those wicked strategies. In addition, the followings need to be given serious thought:

1. The enthronement of good (patriotic) African leaders in power. With good leadership, proper planning and good management of national economy and resources and so on, will follow.
2. This will then make it possible for the masses to be enlightened and mobilized for patriotism, nationalism, self reliance, national security and abundant production of food, goods and services and technological development and output.
3. Maximization of economic, scientific, and technological development and output. Our scientists and intellectuals should be mobilized and assigned tasks and time targets to produce our own drugs, cars, televisions, trucks, train engines and coaches, aeroplanes, telephones, military equipmentsand so on. The Biafran experience and example in the production of some of these things even though in crude form during the civil war shows that Africans can think originally and produce their own goods.
4. For the production of adequate food, drugs, military weapons and many more, the military should be reorganized and given socio-economic development tasks. The people should be integrated with the armed forces and every African should have military training so that the defense of the fatherland should be the duty of all.
5. Military power must be maximized through
   a. military training for all
   b. indigenous production of weapons systems, and development of nuclear power.
6. All African states must take effective control of their economies, nationalizing where necessary (some) foreign companies. Africa cannot be free without taking control of her economy.
7. Blacks in the diaspora need to be mobilised too as an important constituency in the march for Africa's emancipation.
8. The OAU must concretise achievements of its objectives.

Tip

> Maximization of economic, scientific, and technological development and output. Our scientists and intellectuals should be mobilized and assigned tasks and time targets to produce our own drugs, cars, televisions, trucks, train engines and coaches, aeroplanes, telephones, military equipments and so on.

Africa must be liberated from the suckers and strangle-hold of imperialists (Western and Eastern) and their local fronts. It is time for Africa to rise and tell her own story. The Blackman has suffered enough for the comfort of other races of the world. Africa is potentially the richest continent in the world, yet her resources are not being enjoyed by the masses of Africa but by foreign exploiters and their few local helpers.

The future generations of Africa must see better life. We must take our destiny in our hands now.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this Study Session, you have learnt about colonization, effects of colonization and decolonization. We also discussed how the colonial master has underdeveloped Africa with different their strategies and the measure that could be made by Africans to liberate themselves.

Study Session 9

International Economic Order

Introduction

In the last Study Session, we discussed issues related to colonization and decolonization of Africa as well as Strategies for Africa's Post-Independence Emancipation. In this Study Session, we will focus on the international economic order which the nature of international economic relations as they concern Africans.

> ### Learning Outcomes
>
> When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:
>
> 9.1 *analyse* the economic relations between the developed nations of Europe.

9.1 Features of the International Economic Order

The international economic order refers to the nature or conditions of economic relations between nations in the international system, especially in areas of trade relations between the developed nations and the developing nations. The colonial process pulled most of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America into the capitalist orbit of economic production, processes and relations. African states for example were moved into the production of primary products as cocoa, cotton, palm oil, rubber, coffee and so on, meant to satisfy the industrial needs of Western Europe. From here, the Western imperialist nations got control of the international economic relations, and moulded the relations to their advantage against the interest of poor nations.

The features of the international economic order today as they were yesterday are:

1. Lopsided and unjust trading relationship between developed and developing nations - the scale is tilted against the developing nations.
2. The piling of huge foreign debts on the developing nations.
3. Multi-national corporations from the industrialized nations jeopardize sovereignty of developing nations.
4. Prices of goods exported by developing nations are deliberately made unattractive by the subsidy policies in developed nations.
5. Stiff protectionist measures are imposed by developed nations on

goods exported by the poor nations.

6. Prices of manufactured goods from the industrialized nations are very high while the prices of raw materials from the poor nations are deliberately kept low by the same developed nations.

7. The developed countries refuse to transfer technology to the developing nations.

8. The terms of borrowing from the developed nations and international monetary institutions like IMP were unfavourable and difficult.

9. The major currencies of the world like US dollar were being used as standards of measure for international trade in terms unfavourable to poor nations.

10. There was/is imbalance in the distribution of international reserves. Over 70 per cent of the world's population lives in the Third World, but they got only 4 per cent of the international reserves in 1970-74 because the developed countries especially the USA control the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

11. The industrialized nations fix the prices of their manufactured gods as cars, machines, drugs and so on., and at the. same time fix the prices of raw materials produced by poor nations.

12. The developed nations develop substitutes to raw materials from the developing nations e.g. synthetic rubber replaced natural rubber.

All these features show that the terms of trade were unfavourable to the developing nations. In short the position of developing nations in world trade was/is precarious. The little change that occurred was with the emergence of bodies like the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1973, which tried to independently fix the price of crude oil at the anger of the Western nations.

Reflection

The colonial process pulled most of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America into the capitalist orbit of economic production, processes and relations. African states for example were moved into the production of primary products as cocoa, cotton, palm oil, rubber, coffee and so on, meant to satisfy the industrial needs of Western Europe.

Reactions of Developing Nations

The developing nations did not keep quiet over the above unfair international economic order. They got together and made demands of which if implemented would have ushered in a new international economic order.

The demands include:

1. Indexation of primary commodity prices so that their prices will rise in line with manufactured products prices.
2. Contribution of funds by the developed nations for buffer stocks to help stabilize primary products prices i.e. if prices fall, money can be brought out of the buffer-stocks to pay higher prices to developing nations.
3. Expansion of exports of manufactured goods by the developing countries in order to earn more foreign exchange.
4. Increased developmental aid on better terms to poor nations.
5. Increased debt rescheduling and the lessening of debt service burden.
6. Increased participation of the developing nations in the control of the international monetary system.
7. Increased share from the international (assets and) reserves created by the monetary system.
8. Increased participation of the developing nations in international decision-making through the transfer of more decisions to the United Nations forums where developing nations have more say; and changing the weighted voting formulas in other forums as IMF.
9. The transfer of technology to the developing nations.
10. Non-discriminatory treatment of the developing nations in international trade especially as regards tariffs.
11. Recognition of the full sovereignty of every state over its natural resources and over economic activities within its areas of jurisdiction.
12. Banning the production of synthetic substitutes to raw materials coming from the developing nations.
13. Regulation and control of the activities of the multinational corporations by their home governments.

Apart from these demands, some of which are childish like transfer of technology, other demands include forming organizations like OPEC to fix the prices of raw materials.

Reactions of Industrialized Nations

Of course, the developed nations did not like the demands made by the developing nations because those demands will reduce the profits and political power of the industrialized nations. They therefore were uncommitted to and dishonest about any moves to change the economic order. Such economic order favouring the West was deliberately planned and established by the Western nations at the end of the second World War at the Bretons Woods Conference of 1944 in which the IMF, the World Bank, and the International Trade Organization (ITO) were formed to manipulate and control world trade and financial system to the advantage of the Western capitalist system. Thus, the West constantly blocks all moves and attempts to change the international economic order. However, to play for time and appear concerned outwardly, the West established some bodies as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GAIT), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and so on. All these bodies have held numerous but fruitless conferences which were supposed to usher in a new international economic order. Thus, till today, most of the features complained about by poor nations since 1955 and more seriously since 1973 are still with us.

Such economic order favouring the West was deliberately planned and established by the Western nations at the end of the second World War at the Bretons Woods Conference of 1944 in which the IMF, the World Bank, and the International Trade Organization (ITO) were formed to manipulate and control world trade and financial system to the advantage of the Western capitalist system.

African and Third World nations will be deceiving themselves if they think that Western nations will help them solve their problems as regards trade in the world system. NIEO will not be possible. Salvation will rather come through:

1. Enthronement of patriotic leaders in power.
2. Internal good management geared towards rapid economic development.
3. Increased cooperation among the poor nations to develop and to confront imperialist agents.
4. Mobilization of the masses for economic transformation of their nations.
5. Complete cut off from the Western world for a decade and beginning of autonomous development in science, technology and other fields of development.

Discussion Activity

What is the way out for Africa's underdevelopment? A home-grown solution or western solution?

Post your findings on Study Session Three forum page on course website.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this Study Session, we have been able to learn about the position of Africa in international economic order. We noted that the international economic order as we have it today does not favour Africa and other developing nations of the world, and was deliberately planned by the Western capitalist nations to be so.

The features of this unfavourable economic order include unequal trade relations, huge debt burden on poor nations, unfavourable lending terms and so on. The demands of the poor nations to change this unjust economic relation have not been met with commitment by the industrialized nations.The salvation of the poor nations lies in their individual efforts in development, and their collective efforts to challenge the imperialists.

Study Session10

Race and International Politics

Introduction

In this Study Session, we willfocus on the phenomenon of racism in international politics.Other areas we will be examining include the relationship between Africans on the continent and Blacks in the Diaspora and the politics of South Africa as related to the concept and practice of apartheid and the life of Blacks in South Africa, and Namibia.

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

10.1 *discuss*the role of racism in international politics.

10.2 *point out* how apartheid approximates Nazism.

10.1 Racism in International Political System

What is a race? We do not mean here the process or act of running in sports. When we talk about race in this context, we .are referring to a population or group of individuals linked by common descent, blood, or heredity. It is in an ethnological sense the subdivision of a stock characterized by .a unique combination of certain physical traits which are transmitted from parents to children, from generation to generation. Griffith Taylor says that "race is a biological term. It involves characteristics which can be transmitted by inheritance to the offspring". Thus we can talk of the Black race, the White race, and so on.

There have been attempts to classify the races of man using different criteria but some of these have often ended in near confusion. For example, the indices that have been used include the character of the hair, blood characteristics, size of the nose or eyes, physical stature, colour of the skin, width of the skull, shape of the jaw and so on. In the days of Adolf Hitler of Nazi Germany, he depended on ethnic group and blood characteristics to single out the Aryan race as the superior race in the world, and then he said that within this Aryan race, the German ethnic group was the best and destined to rule the world. Anyone who did not have German blood did not belong.

In South Africa, the Boers depend first on skin colour to separate the Blacks, whites, coloured (mixed blood), and Asians in their practice of apartheid in which the white race is taken as being superior to the other three races and therefore must be the rulers. Where there is doubt from

the skin colour about the race of an individual from S. Africa, the apartheid monsters then go into analysis of blood characteristics.
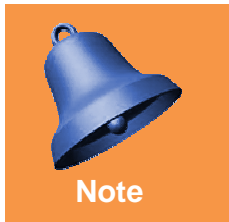
Note

There have been attempts to classify the races of man using different criteria but some of these have often ended in near confusion. For example, the indices that have been used include the character of the hair, blood characteristics, size of the nose or eyes, physical stature, colour of the skin, width of the skull, shape of the jaw and so on.

Having given you a brief knowledge of race, we can now go on to discuss racism. What is racism? Racism or racialism can be regarded as the strong belief that one's own race is superior to other races and should therefore rule or dominate the other races. This belief may in turn generate offensive and 'aggressive behaviour towards the members of other races; or the government of a country may even go further in this direction to impose racial policies on the so-called weaker races as exists in S. Africa today.

Hint

...racism against the Blackman started after slavery had begun. It was during this inhuman trade that Whites and even Arabs began to look down on the Black race

How and when did racism start against Africans? It may not be possible to say exactly when racism started in the world, but we have some ideas about when racism was directed against the Blackman of Africa. Most scholars agree (even though some disagree saying that racism is a factor stimulating slavery) that racism against the Blackman started after slavery had begun. It was during this inhuman trade that Whites and even Arabs began to look down on the Black race. According to Basil Davidson, the slave trade, apart from the economic consequences as accumulation of industrial capital in Western Europe or deprivation of large parts of Africa of productive wealth, had large consequences beyond all questions of profit and loss. Slave trade above all things else:

> *". . . provided the political and psychological weapons that were required to justify colonial invasion. It forged the instrumentalities of racism that would give a gloss of Christian morality to acts of violent dispossession which if undertaken against other Europeans, would have been denounced from every pulpit as crimes against God and all good government."*

Davidson asked:

> *"If men like Hume, Jefferson and their 19th century successors could so blandly convince themselves of the 'natural inferiority' of black peoples, what but the culture of the slave trade and plantation slavery could have given them that sort of 'education'?"*

He concluded that "racist attitudes were created in the years after the slave trade had become big business".[4] Before the slave trade, the Whiteman did not regard the Blackman as inferior, because there was

fear of rivals between the early traders (Whites and Blacks), even the reaction of white folks at the first sight of African slaves in Portugal expressed shock. Davidson narrates with some of Saunders words:

> *"When the first cargoes of West African captives were landed in Portugal during the middle years of the 15th century, the victims were by no means seen as naturally inferior, much less marked out by a Divine will to serve the Portuguese. The earliest auction of landed captives was in fact 'interrupted by the common folk who were enraged at seeing the separation of families of slaves' . . . and even Zurara, the royal chronicler declared his sympathy for these unfortunates."*

Note

It should be noted too that before slavery began, the king of Portugal used to write African kings as his 'Royal Brethren', and received African Ambassadors with due ceremony and respect.

Slavery began about 1350, and by 1542, the catholic Pope gave his consent to the enslavement of all "the enemies of Christ in West Africa" and the captured slaves were cathechised and baptized before being forced into slaveships sailing to Portugal, United Kingdom, or American plantations. The Portuguese were the first to carry away Africans as slaves, and their later justification was that Africans were naturally servile because they were sinful and bestial, and therefore enslavement of the Blackman was an effective method of bringing Africans to a good knowledge of Christianity.

There are common racist terms you can easily identify around you. For example, if you pick up your dictionary, you will see some of these English words which are related to "Black", and they all mean bad or evil things. For the Whiteman, anything black is evil or bad, and you can link this up with the Portuguese justification of slavery especially in the 16th century. The whole gamut of moral, political and emotional fabric of Western civilization is based on the idea that "Black", "evil", and "inferior" mean the same thing. Examine the meaning of these words and expressions as found in common English dictionaries:

1. "Black in the face": means dark red with anger.
2. "Look black at somebody": means look angrily at him.
3. "Black book": means book for recording offenders/law breakers.
4. "Black flag": means flag used by pirates.
5. "Black guard": means person without honour.
6. "Black guardly": means dishonest and immoral.
7. "Black leg": means saboteur or person who works when others are on strike.
8. "Black list": means list of persons seen as bad, dangerous, or act of booking an offender for punishment.
9. "Black mail": means force someone to do something or face suffering.
10. "Black Maria": means a vehicle for carrying criminals or prisoners.
11. "Black market": means unlawful buying and selling of goods.
12. "Black sheep": means good for nothing person.

13. "To blacken" means to speak evil of someone e.t.c.

There are several of such insulting words and expressions turned against the Black race. But the surprising and worrying thing is that Africans use these words as if they (words) mean nothing in world politics. This leaves a question mark about what we Africans think of ourselves!

Racism is practised through different modes. You have just seen one of them - the psychological mode, which is in-built in our English usage, and educational system: Our children use the English dictionary and see all those insulting racist words and expressions. Another mode of racism is political exclusion from power. For example in South Africa, Blacks are excluded from voting or being voted for. Whites rule alone. There can also be economic modes of racialism, like when Blacks are denied good jobs, land, and many more in USA, UK, to mention but few. Social aspects of racialism include ostracism such as happened to the early Africans that went to school abroad, when they sat in a bus, or church (house of God), the whites gave them a big circular gap before sitting down. Racism can also be legally carried out. For example, when France ruled her colonies as Ivory Coast, Mali, Gabon and so on, there were two systems of justice, one for the French men following the normal channel of pursuing justice, and another for Blacks who were given "summary justice" called *indiginat*. By this racial system, Africans were jailed or killed without trial.From the above, you may have sensed some of the effects of racism. The racism against Blacks in UK and USA and so on, has kept them down. The racial educational system has made good jobs impossible for Blacks. Blacks are not influential politically, because they are economically poor.

Racism has had its ups and downs in world history. At onetime it cools down, and at another time it boils up. Racism was very hot during the slavery period and colonial era. It cooled down a little after the Asian, Latin American and African peoples had been conquered and when they were struggling for emancipation. But things got hot again during the First World War (1914-1918) and Second World War (1939-1945). The two world wars in fact were fought on the platform of racism. For the First World War, it was the racial oppression of Serbians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire that led to the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand of that Empire which triggered off World War I. The Second World War began from Hitler's theory of Aryan race supremacy which was rejected by other Europeans. Hitler's Nazi forces were defeated, and some Nazis about 300,000 of them escaped to South Africa to join the Boers. It is these Nazis that intensified the racism in South Africa against Blacks today. With the intellectual and military challenge and defeat of Nazism in Europe, the world thought the last fight against legalized racism had been done. But legalized racism arose again in South Africa from 1945 when apartheid became the official policy of the National Party of Dr. Malan.

Reflection

> The racism against Blacks in UK and USA and so on, has kept them down. The racial educational system has made good jobs impossible for Blacks. Blacks are not influential politically, because they are economically poor.

Today, racism has emerged with fuller force in the international system, and everywhere, it is against the African blooded man particularly. In France, there is gathering storm for the expulsion of Blacks and may be, Arabs. In France, a mixture of racism and fervent anti-communism gave success to the extreme right National Front of Jean Marie le Pen in elections held in 1984. Today there is growing support for this extremely racist party in France. A recent pool of immigrants' attitude in France showed that 45 per cent thought that French people are racists, and 35 per cent did not; while 45 per cent thought that racism was on the increase in France since 1983. In some areas, hotel owners refuse to serve Africans. There are racist insults and murders against Africans, with French justice looking away or giving three to six months jail sentence. For all these, many French immigrants especially those from former French colonies as Senegal, Ivory Coast, and so on, are eager to return home.[6]

In the United States, things are not different. In short, one can say that the greatest oppression of the Blackman by Europeans outside Africa has taken place in the USA which today has over 20 million Black citizens. One of course can again say with some degree of correctness that the contradictions in the USA which at times constitute a blessing for Americans partly led them into fighting a civil war which can be said to be a war to decide the fate of racism/slavery. In the USA, Blacks find things tough today despite the gains made in anti-racist struggles. A recent poll published by *TIME* Magazine shows that:

> *"The vast majority of Americans think racial prejudice is still very common in the USA. . . This view was expressed by 92 per cent of the Blacks interviewed and 87 per cent of the whites. . . In addition, 59 per cent of blacks said that they had suffered racial insults, while 51 per cent said that they feel most white Americans did not like them."*

The poll also showed that over 64 per cent of the whites interviewed said that they were frightened in black areas after dark. Of course this is because the whites fear attacks from Blacks who have been alienated, dehumanised, and marginalized through the racist economic, political and school system. The Blacks naturally react violently at times to their poor situation. It is Blacks that built USA from 1450 when. Black Slaves were sent there.

In the United Kingdom, it is the same sorry story, and the most clear evidence of the racial problems in the UK are the race riots that have ravaged that society which has 2 million Black citizens. On February 15, 1985, *The Punch* (Nigeria) published a news item titled "UK's Brand of Racism", to the effect that the commission for Racial Equality published a report revealing that British Authorities discriminate against Blacks

seeking entry into Britain. Poor Blacks from the Commonwealth and their relatives in Britain already face the highest obstacles at immigration control. The report said that the Blacks face more chances of refusal for entry than Whites. The discrimination rate is 1: 140 Blacks to 1: 140 for whites. There are racist organizations in the United Kingdom such as: the National Front which competes in elections with ticket of anti-communism and anti-immigration. The British Movement, which organizes assault and attacks on Blacks and Asians; the League of St George, and so on. In South Africa, there now obtains the highest level of racism in the world since the 1950s.

From the above it is clear that there is racism against the Blackman everywhere - in Europe and even in Africa! The reasons for the racism are social (outright hatred), economic (fear of competition in jobs, land and wealth acquisition), political (need to dominate the Black and keep him down so that he continues to be servant and supplier of cheap labour and raw materials) and so on. The solution for racism against the Blackman is that the Blackman should work hard and stand on his feet to be recognized as part of Homo-sapiens. Africans must assert themselves and stop being beggars and consumers of the scientific and technological products of other races. The Blackman should be an achiever too in the field of science and technology, space projects, nuclear power and so on. We must develop African states; make them self-reliant and militarily powerful. It is by so doing that we can stand on our feet and stop apartheid in South Africa, and challenge anybody who maltreats Black people anywhere in the world. As long as Africa is down, as long as Black leaders remain beggars of aid and technology, racism will continue against Blacks.

Reflection

As long as Africa is down, as long as Black leaders remain beggars of aid and technology, racism will continue against Blacks.

10.1.2 Africa and Blacks in the Diaspora

When we talk of Blacks in the Diaspora, we refer to the descendants of our African brothers and sisters who were forcibly marched into slave ships and carried away into slavery from the 15th century to the 19 century -a period stretching 400 years.

Black Diaspora is the dispersal of African people to different parts of the world. This dispersal remotely began with the activities of European explorers who opened up roads into different parts of Africa. These men include Mungo Park, Lander Brothers, Claperton, Bartholew Dias, Vasco Da Gama and so on. With the opening of these routes, European traders began to carry away some able bodied Africans as domestic servants to different parts of Europe along with items as palm oil, elephant tusk, gold, and so on. Slavery latter began about 1450 when explorers like Christopher Columbus, and America Vespuci discovered the new lands of America and so on. The Portuguese then began to supply slaves to the sugar and coffee plantations, and mines of these new lands. From the

15th century to the 19th century that the slavery business lasted, over 400,000,000 Africans were carried away from Africa as slaves. The initial moves to stop slavery were resisted by the European governments e.g. in 1775, Lord Dartmonth, then British Secretary of state for the colonies said in defense of slavery:

> *"We cannot allow the colonies to check or to discourage in*
> *any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation."*

In the light of this philosophy, any African ruler who refused to supply slaves was dethroned, and any community that refused to supply slaves or tried to resist trade was bombarded. For example, in 1843, French slave dealers threatened the Efik of Calabar with bombardment and destruction by a warship if they did not supply a cargo of slaves.[2] With these practices, the much talked about African complicity in the slave trade has a question mark.

Hint

From the 15th century to the 19th century that the slavery business lasted, over 400,000,000 Africans were carried away from Africa as slaves.

The end of slavery began with the following conditions:

1) The setting in of the industrial revolution (about 1750) which produced industrial Barons that needed cotton from America and palm oil from Africa instead of slaves. To these industrial Barons, Slavery obstructed cotton and palm oil production and had to be stopped.

2) The emergence of the abolitionists as Granville Sharp who in 1772 got a court judgment illegalizing slavery; Thomas Clarkson who publicised the brutality of slavery thus awakening public opinion; and William Wilberforce who carried the anti-slavery campaign to the British Parliament.

3) The impact of the French revolution (1789), the American Revolution (1776-1783), which brought the ideas of equality of man, and denounced man's inhumanity to man.

All these contributed to the abolition of slavery in England In 1807 and in British territories in 1833. Britain then moved (onto the high seas) to suppress slave trade with money and bullets, succeeding in getting USA to ban slavery in 1863 when Abraham Lincoln hanged the first American to violate the anti-slavery law. The traffic in slavery however continued in mild forms in Cuba and Brazil until the 1880s.

What were the consequences of the slave trade?

i. Kidnappings, raiding, looting and burning of towns to get more slaves.

ii. General insecurity of life and property, paralysis of economic activities and destabilization of African societies.

iii. Increase in the frequency of inter-tribal wars as the slave-merchants engineered these wars through the supply of alcohol and guns so that more slaves could be   got.

iv. Depopulation of the African continent as healthy men and women

especially of the ages 15-35 were carried away in thousands for 400 years. According to Walter Rodney's report on a recent European study, "a figure of about ten million Africans landed *alive* in the Americas, the Atlantic Islands and Europe"[3]. This figure excludes the millions of Africans who died during the process of getting the slaves, or in the long trek to the point of embarkation, and during journeys   between African ports and European ports. e.g. in 1780, the British slave-ship called ZONG was on his way across the Atlantic with a full load of slaves when it was discovered that the ship's water supply was inadequate for the journey to Europe. To save the situation, 132 healthy African captives were thrown overboard into the sea to drown.

v.   The dispersion of Africans to different nations of the world - giving rise to what is now termed Blacks in the diaspora. Table 1 shows some of the nations of the world where we have Blacks today as citizens. In most of these countries Blacks were suppressed, exploited and dehumanized.

vi. The emergence of racism against Africans in the world.

vii. Slave trade softened and weakened Africa for the later colonial invasion.

What did Africans gain from the slave trade? Nothing tangible. K.G. Roland answers that Africa got:

> *". . . low-grade, non-durable consumer goods such as guns and ammunition, liquor, cloth, knives, jewelry, tobacco, and iron-bars."*

Rodney simply puts the gains of Africa in a typical African perception as: ". . . cheap gin, cheap gun-powder pots and kettles full of holes, beads and other assorted rubbish". Compared to the "assorted rubbish" Africans got from the slave trade, the destructions, racism, diaspora and so on. Europe got booming business in research, inventions and manufacture. The blood and sweat of Africans built the foundations for the present day prosperity of Europe and America.

Table 10.1 Diaspora
Blacks: Location and Vital
Statistics (1980)

	% Black	Population (000)	Per Capital Income ($)	Gross National Product ($m)	Life Expectancy (Years)	Illiteracy %	Inhabitants per doctor
Argentina	n.a.	27,863	2,089	57(Bn)	68	7	479
Bahamas	85	225**	4,000*	900*	68.8	7	2,100
Barbados	80	249	2,360*	644*	70	2	1,250
Belize	51	145	790*	120*	60	7	3,500
Brazil	12	119,024	2,(y,7	251.5(Bn)	61	17	2,117
Canada	n.a. 24,150***.	9,928	288,136	77	n.a.	n.a.	
Colombia	4	27,185	983	26.3(Bn)	61	19	1,818
Cuba	11	9,775*	1,407	14(Bn)	72	3.1	1,121
Dominica	Mostly	81**	430*	34*	n.a	20	5,385
Dominican							
Republic	11	5,431	1,CYJ6	6.1(Bn)	61	33	1,866
Ecuador	5	8,354	1,052	8.4(Bn)	57	43	2,017
Grenada	n.a.	110*	660*	71(GDP)	63	24	4,000
Guyana	31	820**	660*	548*	67	13	3249
Haiti	90	4,919*	269*	1.3* (Bn)	50	85	8,505
Honduras	n.a	3,691	596	1.4(Bn)	56	43	2,992
Jamaica	95	2,161*	1,602	3.6(Bn)	69	18	3,509
Nicaragua	9	2,481*	732*	1.8(Bn)*	54	48	1,592
Oman	n.a	839**	5434*	3.0(Bn)*	47	75	1,975
Pakistan	n.a.	83,700***	230	21(Bn)	47	75	4049
St. Lucia	Mostly	116	690*	83(GDP)	57	20	4,231
St. Vincent	Mostly	104**	380*	43*	n.a.	5	n.a.
Saudi Arabia	n.a.	7,866**	12,521	84(Bn)	45	70	2,200
Suriname	31	374**	1,721*	685.	66	20	2,030
Trinidad	43	1,133**	3,283.	3.7(Bn)	66	5	1,964

&Tobago						
U.K.	2+	55,883*	5,340*	298(Bn)	72	Negligible	761
U.S.A.	12	226,505	11,596	2,626.5(Bn)	74	"	621
Uruguay	5	2,899	1,704	5(Bn)	71	9	700
Venezuela	7	13,913	- 3,398	51(Bn)	67	13	870
Yemen (A.R.)	10	7080**	543	2.8(Bn)	38	85	17,175
Nigeria	100	85,000**	704	54(Bn)	50	65	19,000

+   Estimated from data (see *The African Guardian*, Feb. 6, 1986, p. 29).

*   1978; ** 1979; *** 1981.

Source: Adapted from *The Hammond Almanic* 1982, Maplewood, Hammond Inc. 1981.

Note: Nigeria's vital statistics are added here for comparative purposes.

Reflection

> Compared to the "assorted rubbish" Africans got from the slave trade, the destructions, racism, diaspora and so on. Europe got booming business in research, inventions and manufacture. The blood and sweat of Africans built the foundations for the present day prosperity of Europe and America.

10.1.2 Conditions of Diaspora Blacks and Relations with Africa

You may ask, since Africans got to Europe and the Americas in the 15th century, what is their position today? You may be expecting them to be very rich, powerful politically, and socially comfortable. But the opposite is the case. Blacks in the Diaspora are rated third class citizens in USA, UK, Argentina, and so on. Legally, there are no provisions for Blacks oppression, but politically, economically and socially, Blacks suffer social injustice, oppression, exploitation, humiliation and so on, they have no easy access like whites to education, employment, and the good things of life. The wife of slain Martin Luther King (Jnr) says about American Blacks (or African Americans):

> *"In terms of the achievement of economic justice, we still have a mighty long way to go. We've hardly begun."*

The present condition of Diaspora Blacks in most of their host nations is summarised by the Caribbean born Professor Hovis Lynch (University of Columbia) in an interview with *The African Guardian*:

> *". . . Blacks in the diaspora are still being discriminated against. Because of the legacy of slavery and discrimination, you do have a significant proportion of the population still strapped in poverty without much possibility of getting out. . . If you are born in the ghetto, the*

possibility of getting a higher education is limited. Those born into such economic brackets become drug addicts and pimps rather than Journalists; prostitutes instead of lawyers and doctors".

What has been the relationship between Blacks in the Diaspora and Blacks in Africa? You see, those Blacks in UK, USA, Saudi Arabia, Brazil and so on, are our brothers and sisters. We in Africa are supposed to he1p them over-come their slavery-hangovers and become influential people in their host nations. In turn, they (Blacks abroad) are supposed to help us acquire things we need from Europe and America. But this is not so today. Africans in the continent have neglected the Blacks in the Diaspora. We deal more with Whites than with our brothers overseas. Our governments give contracts to whites, our shipping business is dominated by whites, and our foreign policy has no place for Blacks in the Diaspora who is supposed to be important constituency in our foreign policy pursuit. African's relationship with Diaspora Blacks have mainly been cultural such as during FESTAC of 1977. We have not gone into strong cooperation in economics, politics, science and technology, and so on. Thus the spiritual, cultural and ancestral ties between Africans and diaspora Blacks are yet to be fully explored and our relationship put into serious productive uses. We must link up (Africans and Blacks in the diaspora) for the survival and progress of the Black race.How do we achieve this? The following suggestions may be useful.

i. Africa and Nigeria in particular must promote (diaspora) Black talents, their products, and business so that they can acquire economic power, and subsequently political power with which to influence policies of their governments in favour of Africa.

ii. Africa needs to give grants to Black organizations abroad.

iii. African states should make "Africans" everywhere the centre piece of their foreign policy.

iv. African states should when necessary put diplomatic pressure on white nations (with Blacks) for better deals for the Blacks.

v. We need to give Blacks moral support when they are breaking new grounds in the white-dominated nations e.g. Jesse Jackson campaigning to become America's President.

Diaspora Blacks in turn can pressurize their white governments to pursue more enlightened African policy; they can also give funds to needy African states, contribute to liberation struggles in Africa, and help African states acquire technology. For us to get these there must be change of mind and attitude for the better. We need meeting points for Blacks abroad and Blacks at home so that the strategies for the survival and advancement of the Blackman can be mapped out and religiously pursued.

10.2 Apartheid and Nazism

Apartheid Tensions
Under apartheid, South Africa's policy of racial segregation, tensions ran high between the black population and supporters of apartheid. These black South Africans read a newspaper account of a 1973 clash between police and black miners that resulted in 11 deaths.

What is apartheid? The word "apartheid" comes from Afrikaan's language and means "separateness; aparthood, segregated separate existence and development". Sara Millin a S. African novelist wrote in 1964 that apartheid "stands for separation of blacks from whites". But Blacks and whites work together in factories, farms, and so on, and Blacks cook for whites and take care of whites' babies in white homes. Thus to us, apartheid needs re-definition and elsewhere we have defined apartheid as:

> *"a component part of the Boer Nazi doctrine specifically directed at the separation or segregation of the races in the realm of social interaction, while the Nazi doctrine proper is directed at the political and economic spheres of state life dictating who should rule and in whose interest, and. what government policy and programme should be."*

This definition of apartheid stems from our conviction that apartheid is just a new form of nazism as will soon be shown below.

Nazism was the political doctrine of Hitler's nazi party in Germany (1933-1945). The doctrine incorporated the principles, objectives and methods of the nazis. Most of these were written in Hitler's book *MeinKamf(My Struggle)*which he wrote in prison. Hitler wrote that the Aryan race was the superior race (master race) in the world and that the Germans were the most gifted ethnic group within this superior race and should rule the world. He said that other races were destined to serve the

master race. The principles of nazism include:

1. That race was of prime significance in world affairs and in the structure of a society, and since some races were superior to others, the best society in the world will be those inhabited by the most superior race.

2. That geography is the next important thing after race because people are the products of their race and soil. A combination of these two principles produced the idea of a racial-national state i.e. the creation of a state inhabited by only members of one race to maintain racial purity.

3. The third principle is the *Fuhrerprinzip* (leadership principle) which holds that some individuals are superior to others and hence the superior individuals must rule the inferior ones.

Hint

Hitler wrote that the Aryan race was the superior race (master race) in the world and that the Germans were the most gifted ethnic group within this superior race and should rule the world. He said that other races were destined to serve the master race.

It is our contention that the apartheid operators in South Africa and Namibia are following these nazi principles, and that apartheid is just a new form of nazism - neo-nazism because of the followings:

i. The National Party which introduced apartheid in S. Africa in 1948 was then led by Dr. D. Malan who was a nazi.

ii. The Boers (Afrikaners) of S. Africa who operate apartheid against Blacks are Germans by historical linkage.

iii. The Boers are using against Africans the same principles and methods Nazi Hitler used against the Jews and other Europeans e.g. the principle of superior race, superior leader, and a racial-national state and so on.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this Study Session, we discussed the phenomenon of racism in international politics. We explored the relationship between Africans on the continent and Blacks in the Diaspora and the politics of South Africa as related to the concept and practice of apartheid and the life of Blacks in South Africa, and Namibia.

Study Session 11

Africa and Major International Conflicts: The Vietnam and Middle East Wars

Introduction

In this study session, we will examine Africa's interest in two major international wars, the Vietnam War and the Middle East war (Arab-Israeli war).

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

11.1 *explain* the causes of the Vietnam and the Middle East wars.

11.2 *identify* the parties involved in those wars.

11.3 *explain* what Africa's interests in the wars were/are.

11.1 Vietnam War and Africa

Vietnam is a South East Asian country, bothered by China on the North, South China Sea in the East and South, and by Laos and Cambodia on the West. Vietnam has the rare honour of haven defeated two big powers, France and the United States, in anti-imperialist fight-to-a-finish wars that cumulatively lasted 30 years - 1946-1975.

Vietnam had passed from one colonial master to another but was occupied by Japanese forces during the Second World War. As Japan saw defeat coming, she gave independence to Vietnam under a puppet leader Bao Dai. When Japan was defeated in the Second World War, communist Viet Minh guerrillas set up a democratic Vietnam under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh. From 1946-54, Vietnam waged war against France for eight years, defeating French forces at Dien Bien Phu. The peace agreement provided for two Vietnams, North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh with capital at Hanoi, and South Vietnam with Capital at Saigon. The agreement also provided for a united Vietnam through an election in 1956. The election never occurred. While Ho Chi Minh ruled North Vietnam (he died in 1969), Bao Dai was deposed in South Vietnam with Ngo Diem replacing him under USA tutelage. Diem's oppressive excesses generated civil war as some S. Vietnamese guerrillas known as Viet Cong forces fought him. Diem was later murdered and a military

regime took over led by General Thieu.

By this time USA was getting restless about events in the two Vietnams. The move by the socialist North Vietnamese leaders to unite the two Vietnams from 1959 was unpalatable to the West, and USA began to deploy thousands of her troops in South Vietnam. The US also wanted to stem the guerrilla war of the Viet Cong forces against South Vietnamese government. In 1964, under the pretext of North Vietnamese attacks on US warships in the Gulf of Tonkin, USA planes began bombing N. Vietnam and war was cultivated between North and South Vietnam with USA 'supporting the South and nationalist China supporting the North.

This American phase of the Vietnam War developed a simple civil war in Vietnam into a full scale international war that was fought with all types of weapons short of atomic bombs. Poisonous gases were used on Vietnamese people and vegetation, and conventional bombs, warplanes, missiles and rockets were used against the Vietnamese. The USA alone sent over 3,300,000 of her troops to fight in Vietnam, minus thousands of her paramilitary, political economic and espionage personnel and other support troops that were based in Thailand, Okinawa, Guam, and thePhilippines.

The war continued until April 29 1975 when North Vietnamese forces overran Saigon and South Vietnamese surrendered to the North Vietnamese and the war ended. The two Vietnams were united on July 2nd 1975 under Premier Van Dong. The Americans on seeing defeat began pulling out of the war as early as April 20th 1975. The American phase of the war involved 8,000,000 soldiers from different countries and cost 3,600,000 casualties.

What are Africa's interests in the 30 years Vietnam War (1946-1975)? These interests include:

i. Africa is part of the world, if the war expanded or continued, it could lead to third world war.

ii. The war threatened world peace, and peace was needed for Africa's development.

iii. Several aspects of international law were violated in the war e.g. internal affairs of Vietnam were interfered with by powerful nations like USA, France, and so on. Territorial integrity of Viet-nam was violated, and gas-bombs were used. These showed that Africans can't depend much on international law for their

security.

iv.   The war was a colonial war started by France in 1945 to subdue Vietnam for French imperialist exploitation, and later continued by the USA after the defeat of France. Thus, it was like the colonial wars also waged against African states by Western imperialist nations.

v.   Thousands of Africans and African descendants died in the war as France conscripted them into its imperialist force. Hundreds of America-Africans were also conscripted to fight in Vietnam.

vi.   Africa's outstanding statesman Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was overthrown in 1966 while away to find solution to the war. His fall had a devastating effect on Africa's struggle against racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, for he was a dynamic leader with foresight. Africa's voice in world affairs was also reduced.

vii.   The defeat of France by Vietnam at Dien Bien Phu, and later defeat of the United States encouraged African freedom fighters to continue the struggle for their freedom. The success of Western machinations in the Congo (killing of Patrice Lumumba and imposition of Mobutu on the Congolese as leader in the early 1960s) made the USA think that military force can always suppress a people's nationalist spirit, hence they went into the Vietnam crisis to help (France) achieve imperialist objectives but came out shamefully.

viii.   The defeat and humiliation of the USA in Vietnam encouraged Angolans to fight America's intervention in their country in 1975, and also reduced the support of Americans for President Ford's adventure in Angola. The American Congress said "no more Vietnams".

ix.   The defeat of USA also showed that power is relative, and that crude implements of war used strategically by a people's army can be as effective as sophisticated missiles, tanks, war ships and so on.
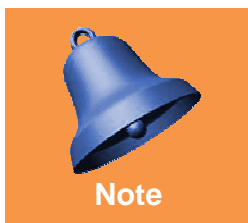
Note

The defeat of France by Vietnam at Dien Bien Phu, and later defeat of the United States encouraged African freedom fighters to continue the struggle for their freedom.

11.2 Middle East War (Arab-Israeli War)

The Middle East war surrounds the fate of the state today known as Israel. In biblical times, Israel was known as Canaan and later Palestine, and was home of Hebrew tribes. About 1000 B.C. a Hebrew Kingdom was established at Jerusalem under King David - the father of Solomon.

After the reign of Solomon (the wise King), the Hebrew Kingdom split into two states called Israel and Judah, but the two states were later destroyed by Assyria and Babylonia. The area was later taken by the Greeks who were later routed by the Romans. The Moslems conquered the region in the 7th century, and it later became an Ottoman province. All these attacks and takeovers resulted in Jewish diaspora.

The First World War saw Britain taking control of the area and a Zionist Movement later started for the re-establishment of a Jewish state to end the Jewish diaspora. Palestine became a problem between the Arabs and Jews. In 1947, the United Nations adopted Palestine partition plan to divide Palestine into two states, one for the Jews (Israel), and one for the Arabs (Palestine). The Arabs opposed this plan, but the UNO proclaimed the state of Israel in 1948, and this new state was attacked by surrounding Arab nations. This was the first war (1948).

More wars have been fought since then but each saw Israel growing in strength and land area. In 1965, Israel invaded Egypt occupying part of her land. In 1967 the third Arab-Israel war occurred. Israel invaded Egypt occupying all of Sinai peninsula, Gaza, and east bank of Suez Canal, the Gaza strip, west bank of Jordan, and Golan Heights of Syria.

> **Tip**
>
> The First World War saw Britain taking control of the area and a Zionist Movement later started for the re-establishment of a Jewish state to end the Jewish diaspora. Palestine became a problem between the Arabs and Jews. In 1947, the United Nations adopted Palestine partition plan to divide Palestine into two states, one for the Jews (Israel), and one for the Arabs (Palestine). The Arabs opposed this plan, but the UNO proclaimed the state of Israel in 1948

The fourth war took place in 1973 when Egyptian, Syrian, and Iraqi forces launched a surprise attack on Israel on October 6 1973, but Israel rebuffed the attack. This has been the last Arab-Israeli war. In 1979, Egypt which has been bearing the greatest burden of the war made peace with Israel even without getting the consent of African states that boycotted Israel in 1973 because of Egypt's interests. The peace treaty required Israel to withdraw from Egypt's land within three years, from Egypt's oil fields within one year, and required Egypt to sell oil to Israel. These have been met, but the issue of home for the Palestinians (Arabs) was suspended. This, Arabs saw as a sell-out by Egypt.

11.2.1 Africa's Interests in the Arab-Israeli War

   i.   Israeli occupation of Egypt's land was occupation of African land, and this land had to be reclaimed. Hence, African states broke diplomatic relations with and boycotted Israel as part of the pressure to get back Africa's land.

   ii.   Africans were dying in the war (i.e. Egyptians).

   iii.   The defeat of over four large Arab states including one African state (Egypt) by the tiny, but powerful state of Israel of about three million people was a big insult to Africans.

   iv.   The wars continued to divert Africa's attention away from the

apartheid problem in S. Africa and Namibia and made it difficult for North Africans and Africans South of the Sahara to work together and pull resources together to fight apartheid.

v.   North African states devoted huge resources and attention to the wars and this reduced both their rate of development and their financial contributions to Africa's progress.

vi.   The Middle East situation and its vagaries have moved Israel into close relations with apartheid S. Africa even up to today.

vii.   Israel's system of attack against her Arab enemies and treatment of minority Arabs within Israeli areas have been copied by S. Africa in its harassment of frontline states and oppression of Blacks in S. Africa.

Hint

Israeli occupation of Egypt's land was occupation of African land and this land had to be reclaimed. Hence, African states broke diplomatic relations with and boycotted Israel as part of the pressure to get back Africa's land.

Study Session Summary

Summary

In this Study Session, we noted that several international wars have been fought (since the end of the Second World war in 1945) which concern Africa. Vietnam's 30 years war (1945-1975) and the Middle-East crisis (wars) is just two of these wars.

The Vietnam War concerned Africa for several reasons like the colonial nature of the war, the death of thousands of Africans in the war; the violation of international law by the big powers and so on.

We also discussed that the Arab-Israeli war concerned Africa because Israel occupied African land, the war diverted Africa's attention from fighting apartheid, and North African states devoted much of their resources to the crisis to the detriment of their development and other African needs.

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