SOCIO-POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN NIGERIA AND AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses nationalist in Nigeria and Africa. In modern societies, people are faced with the challenges of administering complex socio-political units whose security, welfare and meaningful development could only be achieved through a well-established system called state, notion or nation-state For this system to work there is need for citizen commitment towards the national development. Nationalism is an important force in the contemporary state of the national affairs from the perspective of political theory and concepts after more history-oriented viewpoints if Nationalism can be used as a tool for attaining self-rule from colonial subjugation, it can, therefore, he used as a tool for national development. From the African point of view, nationalism is the determination to be free from foreign domination. The contact between Europe and Africa has led Africa to lose her sovereignty or independence. As a result of western civilization, African Nationalist demanded the restoration of their independence.

Keywords: Nationalism, Nationalists, Nationalists Movement In Nigeria And African, Pan Africanism And Independence.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Many social scientists believed that any action involving human being social, thus social interaction, social movement, nationalist movement (nationalism), etc. Social Movement is a group of diffusely organize doad or organizations striving towards a common goal relating human society or social change, or the organized activities of such groups (James, 2009).

According to alliances of people who were connected through their shared interest blocking or affecting social change. Social movements do not have to formally organize. Multiple alliances may work separately for common causes and still be considered a social movement. He explained further that, modern social movements became possible through the dissemination of literature and increased mobility of labour due to the industrialization of societies. Organized social structures like modern d armies, political societies, and popular movements required freedom expression, education and relative economic independence

It is also interesting to note that social movements can spawn count movements. For instance, the women's movement of the 1960s a 1970s resulted in a number of counter movements that attempted to block the goals of the women's movement, many of which were reform movements within conservative religions (Giddens, 2002). Giddens (2002) has identified four areas in which social movement operate in modern societies:

- o Democratic movements that work for political rights
- o Labour movements that work for the control of the workplace
- o Ecological movements that were concerned with the environment
- o Peace movements that work toward, well, peace.

Accordingly, four types of social movement were identified Alternative social movement, Redemptive social movement, reformative social movement, and Revolutionary social movement, all of which fall under the umbrella of "nationalism Nationalism as a term has been perceived differently by many scholars all over the world.

1.1 Alternative Social Movement

Alternative social movements looked at a selective part of the population, and the amount of change is limited due to this. Plannco aren't hood is an example of this, because it is directed toward people of childbearing age to teach about the consequences of se

1.2 Redemptive Social Movements

Redemptive social movements also looked at a selective part of the population, but they seek a radical change. Some religious sects fit here, especially the ones that recruit members to preach

1.3 Reformative Social Movements

Reformative social movements looked at everyone, but they seek a mated change. The environmental movement fits here, because they 39-4ddress everyone to help the environment in their lives (like recycling).

1.4 Revolutionary Social Movements

Revolutionary social movements want to change all of society. The revolutionists are dissatisfied with the entire network and therefore seek p change it entirely. tinto this category of a social movement (Giddens, 2002). The nationalist movement or liberation movement

2.0 NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

A man by his nature is freedom-loving being. Man wants to be free from external control He wants to be able to do things the way he wants people from time immemorial come to live together for the common good of all. This gave birth to nations. Africa was divided into nations by e colonial governments in order to rule them. However, the African at a nt felt there is a need for them to have their own government, they began to take interest in their national affairs. This gave birth to nationalism, who, according to Musa (2005), are members of a political group advocating or fighting for national independence, a strong national

government, etc. These nationalists are also called freedom lighters, as they mostly focus on liberating their nation from external control, which is termed as nationalism.

Nationalism is a sense of identity with the nation it is similar to tribalism, and like the family, is held together by a sense of kinship. Lia (2007) defined nationalism as "an image of a social order, which involves the people as a severing elite and a community of equals". The original use of the term nationalism refers to elite groups, but in modern usage it refers usually to a very large group, sometimes as large as an empire.

Nationalism, as perceived by imperialists, is an ideology of policy in their relationship with the other nations of the world, most especially the less-developed countries. This type of nationalism is characterized by a feeling of superiority by one nation over the other. Thus, (white) Europeans believed that some countries are naturally chosen over other nations who considered lower and imperfect. This brand of nationalism was created during the evolution of capitalism and in a very short time became a reactionary ideology, transforming into the principle of colonial oppression and exploitation.

The Third World Countries, on the other hand, perceived nationalism as a struggle for freedom and self-government. This brand of nationalism sprung as a result of the situation the third world countries happened to find themselves that is, under colonial control. These are people who are oppressed and are trying to liberate themselves and become independent nations. To this group, nationalism became an ideology and strategy to fight for freedom and emancipation. This fight for freedom and emancipation is commonly referred to as "Liberation Movement which is the main focus of this chapter.

2.1 The First Liberation Movement in Africa

Liberation is characterized by struggle, throughout Africa, and indeed in much of the world, there have been movements that have fought long and hard, with great heroism and often at great cost, in order to achieve the liberation of their people and their territories from oppressive regimes. Whether these be external colonialists (as for example in Algeria and the former Portuguese territories of Angola, Guinea-Bissau-d ritical Iss Nationalist Mozanbc) domestic dictatorships or oligarchies (as in the Struggles of the ANC South Africa, the RPF in Rwanda, or the EPRD Ethiopia) effectively entrenched in one part of the which sought to impose control over other areas that Viewed themselves as distinct, and as having the right to separate statehood (as Eritrea and South Sudan) (Donald and SinoTT, 1992) The length and intensity of these struggles varied greatly, arguably the most extreme and costly example being the 30-year independence war in Eritrea, while at the other end of the spectrum there are cases like the Convention People's Party of Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, which gained independence entirely by peaceful mean but still regarded themselves in key respects as liberation movements consciousness and experience of struggle is critical (George, 1980) In all cases, however, the

Neferti (2002) stated that as far back as the middle of the 18th B.C 1the first recorded history of liberation movement took place, the slaves and poor el ancient Egypt staged a rebellion that created temporary freedom against the heartless of the Egyptian Pharaohs. This according to him shook the foundations of ancient Egypt. Another Egy ptian writer Papiri (1999) wrote "impoverished people rose up in a series of struggle to fight for their freedom

against the power of the Pharaohs" A very large number of slaves defied the orders of their masters. Who used force and brutality to force them to work. In most cases, sticks and whips were instruments of control, just like animals. He narrated that for a period of time the situation of law and order was changed in ancient Egypt. This kind of liberation movement continued until the arrival of Moses who eventually took his people across the Red Sea from Egypt to the Middle East. In the same vein, Musa (2009) also believed the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio was much more inclined to freedom fighting by the poor oppressed people against the brutality of the Hausa (Habe) traditional.

2.2 Liberation Movements in African Nations

The scramble for Africa took place from 1884 to 1885 during this episode. Almost all the countries within the African continent were divided among European powers, with the exception of the ancient Ethiopian empire and the native Republic of Liberia. By the year 1914, all the other African nations were under colonial control with all its attendant effects (George. 1980) Colonial masters as they were called did not make things easier for the African people and after a while, the Africans began to agitate for independence.

After the Second World War in 1945, which was caused by so many Factors- social, political, economic etc., there was a continental motivation for change by almost all the nations under colonial control as a result of the long resolute struggle of the formerly oppressed and brutalized people of Africa started fighting for their freedom. When colonial authorities drew boundaries, they did not pay any regard to the actual distributions of the various national peoples and ethnic communities thus, the geographical entities that had been drawn to the convergence of the Europeans contained diversities of peoples. Ethnically homogeneous colonies were rare. What is important for this discussion, however? Is that diverse African groups being governed by one colonial authority were able, through their leaders. Geographical entity to forge a sense of belonging to that

In political terms, African nationalism began to assert itself primarily after World War I. Organizations through which nationalism was channelled were varied and heterogeneous. William (2001) identified seven social/economic groups, each with its own factional interests to protect. You willing to support initiatives directed toward securing greater political rights and even independence for the country these seven groups were:

I. Professional groups, consisting of lawyers and doctors. who tended to be allied with wealthy merchants and contractors
II. Teachers. Clerks. And small merchants or, in Marxian terms. Petty bourgeoisie cager to have the system transformed SO that they could better themselves and perhaps help others as well
III. The colonial bureaucracy. including Westernized Africans who were the immediate beneficiaries the who were impatient with the status quo and The urban workers, interested in improving their wages and working conditions tough trade unions (some o which were affiliated with emerging political parties, while others were not)
IV. Small shopkeepers. Petty traders. and hawkers who made up the "informal sector of colonial economies
V. Cash crop farmers. some of whom were wealthy, and all of whom constituted a powerful and important segment of Africans

VI.   Peasant farmers, who toiled on their small farms in the countryside and grew most of the food eaten in the country, Peasant concerns had to do with agriculture; they protested policies that controlled the market prices of their products in urban markets, restricted ownership of cattle, or charred exorbitant fees for cattle Jips.

Williams (2001) added that "African nationalism was composed of a number of different elements, representing sometimes interlocking, but often divergent, economic interests temporarily in an anti-colonial struggle" therefore, which united temporarily in anti-colonial Struggle.

The nationalist struggle was waged. Unions, and welfare organizations, as well as by political parties. In the case of religious associations, mission churches in Africa were closely identified with colonial rule from the very beginning. Many African churchgoers broke away in order to be able to practice their customs: funeral rites, marriage celebrations, modes of dress, etc (Clerk, 2000). Early secession of churches occurred in Nigeria and South early as the 1890s. There were also Zionist churches that were founded by charismatic individuals who claimed to have received a divine calling to lead their people analogous to present-day fundamentalist groups and were characterized by spontaneity and emotionalism. Examples of such churches were the Kimbangu and Kitawala churches in the Congo. In Kenya, there was the Dini ya Musambwa (Religion of the Spirits) founded by Elijah Masinde, which preached against colonial rule and attacked foreign religions as a deviation in part, by religious associations, trade to spiritual and political salvation They are from the Africans old and revered cultural ways. It campaigned for cultural authenticity and was strongly sympathetic to the Mau Mau uprising. Ironically. Even after independence came, Masinde did not relent in his attacks against the government, believing that Kenyatta's government was just as un-African as its colonial predecessor. Masinde spent a great deal of his life in detention until he died a few years ago. As one can expect, leaders of radical religious movements were found to be equally threatening and jailed or executed.

Trade unions and welfare associations were formed as towns began to grow, particularly after World War II. and Africans in urban areas began To form ass0ciations to assist new arrivals from the rural areas with accommodations. jobs, spending money, and a supportive network of individuals from home. In British colonies, these kinds of "tribal" associations, with encouraged because they met the needs that colonial authorities did not have the resources or the inclination to address. Parochial! Regional biases were interests and Trade unions also began to organize on a sartorial basis since they were not permitted to gob"national" or to become political. Without the strength of the numbers from a national base, they would not be strong enough to, improve the working conditions of their members.

Trade union leaders realized that Morcover, the leaders of these organizations became a pool from which political organizations could draw. They became indistinguishable from nationalist movements. For instance, Tom Mboya of Kenya began his career as the head of the Local Government Workers Union in Nairobi while also serving as an official.of the Kenya African Union (KAU). KAU was banned during the Mau Mau uprising against the British. When Mboya was elected General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor (KFL) in 1953, he attacked draconian colonial measures that included families from their homes, the practice of "collective punishment," and the introduction of the In some cases, the trade unions mass removals of African "kipande" (the pass book) for controlling the movement of

Africans in the country. Tom Mboya's rise to the position Lord General-Secretary of the Kenya African National Union, the party that Kenya to independence in 1963, was a natural consequence of his extraordinary experience as a labour organizer and activist (Clerk. 2000). Sckou Toure of Guinea also began his political career as a trade unionist AS General-Secretary of CGT-Guinee. he used African trade unions for political education and mass mobilization. During a long strike in 1953. He stressed hat workers unity was essential to any success and preached against tribalism. Toure and his colleagues argued that the trade union movement must integrate itself as the nationalist revolutionary and not as a reformist force within the context of other progressive forces. Is a role in every instant is political (Clerk. 2000

In Nigeria, Morocco, Cameroon, and Zambia, trade unions wanted to maintain their autonomy and to concentrate on economic issues rather than to align themselves with political parties. Many of these political parties began as interest groups composed of educated African civil servants, lawyers, doctors, and pastors often living in urban areas. They originally moderate, reasonable, and interested only in limited reforms; they were not mass movements and did not try to supplant the colonial government. One of the earliest such groups was the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society founded in 1897, in Ghana, to ensure that the African people did not lose their rights to land. The National Congress of British West Africa, composed of educated Africans from the West African British colonies of Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia, wanted the right to vote extended to educated Africans. Its leader, a respected lawyer by the name of Casely Hayford, once said that "Our interests as an of the Empire (Herbert, 1996).

Some political parties began as youth Movement. A prime example would be the Nigerian Youth Movement, which began as the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM) in 1934, formed hastily by young people to protest the establishment of an African college in Lagos, which was to require the same amount of time in training, but would only issue diplomas instead of college degrees. It did not have a traditional affiliation with a British university, which meant that its education and diplomas would be considered inferior to those of other Nigerian schools. The LYM became the Nigerian Youth Movement, attracting support from all parts of Nigeria except the north and expanded its agenda to include protesting discriminatory legislation and pressing for the Africanization of the civil service. Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe headed the Nigerian Youth Movement at one time, but political squabbles within the organization forced him to leave, taking with him some of the leaders to establish the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons in 1944 Another faction of the movement joined forces with Yoruba cultural groups to form an opposing party, the Action Group under the leadership

Of Obafemi Awolowo. Examples of other political parties that arose out of young people's clubs were the Rassemblement Democratic African (RDA) founded in 1946 in French West Africa, the United Gold Coast Convention founded in 1947 in Ghana, and the Northern Rhodesia African Congress formed in 1948 (Herbert, 1996)

In some countries that struggle took the form of an armed uprising. The nationalist who participated in that liberation movement set brilliant examples of noble heroism and revolutionary zeal. In some nations like South Africa, Kenya, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, these uprising became full-scale wars of national liberation. While some countries'

national liberation movements were all openly rejected colonial rule and involved a very large number of masses of people from different organizations e.g. Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda etc. (Barkindo, 1994). Peaceful, although, they

The collapse of colonialism as a system of ruling by force on the attainment of political independence by countries formerly under colonial control brought about a revolutionary turn-over in the lives of the people of nations that consist two-thirds of the entire population of the world, and that was a significant victory for the whole of the humanity of mankind

2.3 Nationalist Movement in Nigeria

There were so many factors that led to the nationalist moment in Nigeria e.g. a lot of Nigerians have become well educated, both in Nigeria and in some western European countries, these groups of people gained a lot of experiences and knowledge and become eager to gain their freedom from the colonial masters. Another factor was that, Africans were racially discriminated in their own father's land. In any aspect of life, the Nigerians were looked at by the Europeans as black degraded creatures by nature itself. A major factor again was that Nigerians decisions were made for them (George, 1980). We're not involved in discussing about their own affairs; all good or bad to them (Nigerians)

George (1980) maintained that, when it appointment and positions in governance, the higher positions will be reserved exclusively for British Europeans. In some situations illiterate Europeans just because they speak English native language would be made to be senior officers in government offices, while educated Nigerians will be forced to work under them (Europeans) comes to administrative or sensitive as their policy of colonialism.

The issue of land distribution by the colonial government was also another factor that led to the nationalist movement in Nigeria, bills were passed that made lands to be "crown lands" and this means that the colonial government can do what it wants to do. With the land. So, the idea of confiscating native lands by the colonial government was not welcomed at all by the Nigerians both the illiterates and the educated.

Another factor was that soldiers from Nigeria that actively participated in the second world war, really made close contacts and associations of all kinds, and even assisted or greatly contributed in killing enemies that were white soldiers, and the Nigerian soldiers simply understood that these white soldiers or Europeans generally were not in any way superior to them (Nigerian soldiers). It was even soldiers fought gallantly and proved to accept and survived in different conditions of hardship during the war, the returned Nigerians came back with so many analyses about the lapses of Europeans and these gave courage to nationalist movements in Nigeria

Another motivational factor to nationalist in Nigeria with the war after the Second World War, both the white and black Nigerian soldiers were demobilized, but the Nigerian soldiers were indirectly neglected rehabilitated financially and socially, this neglect also brought courage and motivation to the Nigerian nationalist movement (George, 1980) was also connected or abandoned. While the white soldiers were Attitude of the American government after the Second World War also motivated the Nigerian nationalist movement e.g. the American government openly become against colonialism and so, therefore, criticized the

system. The United Nations (UN) was created to promote peace internationally and prevent the occurrence of another world war, as a result of this motive or agenda, the U.N. also started fighting orally against the principles and systems of colonialism. This also motivated the Nigerian nationalist movement.

India and Pakistan also got their independence from England after the Second World War that also motivated the Nigerian nationalist movement. Even in England, the centre of English speaking colonies, the opposition party in the parliament. The labour party was against colonialism and that was a heavy slap to the system of colonialism, and so it also became a source of motivation to the African nationalist movement.

The unavoidable socio-economic change around the world as a result of the introduction of mechanical devices, like machines and industries that replaced human primitive labour for the production of goods and services there, emerged factory workers, wage labour and urban centres from different localities which led to the formation of labour unions and trading associations and at long-last political parties. With the coming into existence of these kinds of organizations in any given society, liberation movements became unavoidable. And that was what happened in the land that is now known as Nigeria (George, 1980).

When the unions, organizations political parties etc. agreed to come together and fight against a common enemy that is the colonial system, then we can say national liberation movements have started, that, was what happened in Nigeria and this social movement is referred by the Marxist as the "locomotives of history." These groups promoted educational and political understanding to a very large number cefprozil, it greatly promoted the spirit of nationalism even to the people who cannot read and write across the nation, these movements also bred, on a new set of patriotic and nationally dedicated individuals to the nation.

These are some of the nationalists that were created as a result of the above-explained factors. Herbert Macaulay said to be the father of Nigerian Nationalist movement as a result of his great contributions, and efforts, he founded the Nigerian National Democratic Party.

Dr Nnamdi, another great nationalist, also joined the party of Herbert Macaulay and contributed endlessly to the liberation movement of Nigeria. Sir Ahmadu Bello another great nationalist founded the Northern People Congress (NPC) and also tried to the best of his ability to promote nationalist movements in Nigeria Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was also another great nationalist and was also a member of Northern People Congress (NPC) Chief Obafemi Awolowo, another great nationalist Nigeria; he was the founder of Action Group (AG) political party (Richard, 1980).

These are some of the few most popular Nigerian nationalist who succeeded in making Nigeria gain her independence from the colonial

The West African Students Union (WASU) formed in the year 1925headed by the founder Ladipo Solanke, in London also contributed to the Nigeria nationalist movement outside the country. The Nigerian Youth Movement also contributed to the promotion of the liberation movement. It was founded in the year 1934 and was later transformed into a political party agitating for 'national independence. The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon that was

founded in the year 1944 by Dr. Nnamdi also did a lot in the promotion of nationalist movement in Nigeria (Richard, 1980).

The combined efforts and struggles of the above-mentioned groups have really done a lot to the liberation of Nigeria as an independent nation.

2.4 Nationalist (Liberation) Movement in Kenya

The harsh policies of British colonial government in Kenya motivated the Kenyan nationalist to adopt confrontational methods, e.g. most of the fertile land of Kenyan was given only to the white farmers and a lot of careless taxes were introduced and enforced on the natives. Identification papers were also enforced for movement to all natives above sixteen years. That was why great nationalist like Jomo Kenyatta and Blind Mathu founded the popular radical Kenyan-African Nationalist Union (KANU). The secret movement of this organization was Mau-Mau. Almost every activity was carried out secretly. There were a lot of armed clashes between the Mau-Mau and the forces of colonial government in Kenya until finally Kenyan African Nationalist Union (KANU) Jomo Kenyatta as the first president of Kenya as an independent nation in 1963 (Richard, 1980)

2.5 Nationalist Movement in South Africa

Stavrianos (1992) wrote extensively in Africa. He maintained that before the year 1500 different European nations were in search of lands across the whole world for the sake of buying and selling goods (including human beings). In the case of South Africa, it was the Dutch who happened to be more prominent at the Cape f Storms (later renamed Cape of Good Hope). From the beginning, the on nationalist movement in South Dutch Europeans had no intention of even having a settlement in South Africa, but as a result of some factors like good climate, fertile lands adequate rainfall, little population of the natives, etc., the European (Dutch) decided to have a temporary refreshment station, not a permanent settlement. However, in the year 1652 after considerable consideration and consultations, the temporary refreshment station was established under the command of Jan-Van Riebeeck. The station was just to provide fresh fruits, fresh meat, fresh vegetable and to take care of passing Dutch passengers to and from Batavia (Dutch capital), but because of favourable conditions of South African land, the Dutch Europeans decided to stay permanently.

From the beginning, the relationship between the native and the Europeans was very cordial, but in a very short time the natives, the Khoikhoi and the Bushmen began to have a misunderstanding with the Europeans, most especially cultural difference. This situation continued for over 400 years. on issues of land disputes, racism and socio-

In essence, it is easy to say South African history has been influenced by racial consideration and interest. This has been determined by self- interest and fear on the part of Europeans being dominated by the said inferior Africans. It was a problem of no more, no less than a struggle for power. On one hand, the Europeans were determined to retain political, economic and social power and all the privileges they have therefore resorted to all sorts of devices from bribery, brutality and human life eradication. Africans and other non-whites were, on the other hand, determined to have equal rights with Europeans and this simply means the destruction of European domination; this was the matter. The first European government was

headed by Botha as a minister in 1910 and the only opposition being the nationalist movements. The South African nationalist movement was the longest and most violent, bloody and historical which resulted from one single factor the Apartheid

Apartheid was intended to separate the whites from. The non-white this problem has been variously called apartheid, racial segregation, separation development and racial discrimination. During the times of apartheid it was understanding the features of apartheid in South Africa, i.e. the was intended to separate the whites from the non-whites; this impossible for a stranger to stay even a day without distinctions are made, between Europeans and non-Europeans railway in station and on trains, on buses, at airports, post offices and all public buildings, in banks and sport grounds, on the beaches and even in grave vards there were separate facilities for Europeans and non-Europeans. Restaurants, hotels, cinemas and theatres were also place of distinctions. The parliament of South Africa during the period of apartheid was just like a white men's club.

According to Savrianos (1992), So many black South Africans lost their lives in the hands of the white South African during the apartheid period. These were some of the reasons that led to the formation of powerful and well organized nationalist movements in South Africa by the black and few non-whites. There were a lot of nationalist organizations but A.N.C was the most popular and most powerful, founded in 1912. The African National Congress was from the beginning legal and peaceful but in short while turn "illegal" and violent due to the prevailing conditions. Some of the prominent members of the congress were Walter Sisulu, Oliver Thambo, Nelson Mandela, Dr. A.B Zuma, Albert Luthuli, etc.

Most of those mentioned above were given life imprisonment in 1965 by the white apartheid government but the nationalist activities continued. And as a result of the endless radical activities of the nationalist on 11th February, 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from prison and on 19th June 1991, the South African apartheid racial laws were repelled. This was followed by several negotiations with the racist government of De- Kierk (White) president and the nationalist movement headed by A.N.C. This led to the first multi-racial election which took place on 27th April, 1994 and Nelson Mandela emerged the winner of the election as the first black president of South Africa, although it was had remained under white racists since 1910.

2.6 Nationalist Movement in Angola

The Portuguese were the Europeans that colonized Angola. The Portuguese originated from a poor and small nation called Portugal and were used to dictatorial system or leadership and as such tried to apply extreme dictatorial government blended with racism and brutality, their applications off all kinds of their brutality to the natives of Angola, e.g. Tand confiscation, corrupt taxes, whipping of workers, mutilation and even killing of the blacks

As a result of these inhumanities from the beginning of the 1950s theAngolans began to form nationalist movements. By the year 1999according to Robert (2002), the "Movimento de Libertaccao de Angola(MPLA) Movement for the Liberation of Angola was formed. Also inthe year 1958 another nationalist movement called Union ClukPopulacoes de Angola (UPA) was founded by Holden Roberto. Almosall the nationalist organizations adopted armed struggle in Angola by theyear 1961. The armed struggle. continued until the year 1975

on 11November when Angola got her independence, under the leadership ofDr. Agostinho Neto of the "MPLA" as the first president.

2.7 Nationalist Movements in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe was a British colony but majority of the European settlerswere from South Africa and they came with their racist ideologies. The white rulers adopteddivided into two; the insignificant minority whites rulers year 1960 were 220,000 occupy the most fertile lands and owned all money making business ventures, and the native blacks were said to beup to 4 million by the year 1960 were left as poor laborers or white servant.

The nationalist of Zimbabwe formed two great nationalist organizations that is, ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union). Both of them ,adopted armed struggle to fight for their liberation and as a result of long battle with the white racist government, Zimbabwe became an independent nation with Robert Mugabe from ZANU as the first president (Stavrianos, 1992).

2.8 Nationalist Movement in Ghana

The greater majority of the African countries got their independence through peaceful negotiations, and Ghana was the first to set this noble example and then to be followed by Nigeria. This simply Ghana was the first African nation to get her independence, on the 6th of March 1957. Long-time before the independence of many African Countries in 1947 a means that already formed by the prominent political party was Ghanaians, United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) the main aim of the party was to negotiate the independence of Ghana. In the year 1948, Kwame Nkrumah was invited back home to come and be the Secretary-General of the movement. Nkrumah was already in contact with a lot of international back freedom fighters and so, therefore, adopted some strategies e.g. public lectures. strikes and peaceful demonstrations against the British colonial government of Gold - Coast (Ghana). Nkrumah formed the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) thai eventually and peacefully led Ghana to her independence on 6th March 1957

2.9 Nationalist Movement in Algeria

The liberation movement in Algeria History of African Nationalists Movements (Stavrianos, 1992). France was the European Nation that colonized Algeria, starting from the year 1834. In the year 1954 (March), the Algerian nationalist formed the Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action, which later transformed to became National Liberation Front "Front de Liberation National (FLN). On the 31st of October 1954, the FLN launched the first coordinated attacks on public buildings, communication installations, police and military posts.

This kind of attacks continued, which made France to bring military reinforcement of 40.000 French troops, and as a result of this, the freedom fighters adopted guerrilla tactics with deliberate use of terrorism. The war between the French Army and the Freedom Fighters of Algeria claimed about 500.000 people perished in the conflict that lasted for eight years. In March

In 1962, a cease-fire was finally agreed between France and the FLN, and the Algerian Independence was granted under the leadership of Ahmed Ben Bela.

2.10 Nationalist Movement in Cote D'ivoire

Cote D ivoire succeeded in acquiring the status of a Republic within the French Union on 4th December 1958 with Houphonet-Boiguy minister and later Cote D'Ivoire peacefully gained full independence on 71h August 1960. and then embarked on socio-economic development which was popularly known as the Ivorian miracle.

3.0 PAN-AFRICANISM

Looking at nationalist movement in African countries clearly indicates that the African Diaspora was born out of struggle - the struggle to resist and end enslavement, the struggle for liberation and self-determination, the struggle for genuine and lasting empowerment. Out of these struggles those of African descent have recognized the fact that ir. many instances Africa and the African Diaspora are engaged in a common any Africans can be an advance for all. From this recognition Pan-Africanism emerged as both an ideology and a political movement, at first in an embryonic form but throughout the 20th century as in an organized form, starting with the conferences in Atlanta and Chicago at the close of the 19th century and the first Pan-African conference held in just common origins but not struggle, and that an advance in the struggles of London in 1900.

Pan-Africanism represents the complexities of black political and intellectual thought over two hundred years. What constitutes Pan- Africanism, what one might include in a Pan-African movement often politics, ideology changes according to whether the focus is on organizations. or culture, Pan-Africanism actually reflects a range of political views. At a basic level, it is a belief that African peoples, both on the African continent and in the Diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common futures has taken many forms. especially in the creation of political institutions. destiny. This sense of interconnected pasts and One of the earliest manifestations of Pan-Africanism came in the names that African peoples gave io their religious institutions. From the late- 1780s onward, free blacks in the United States established their own churches in response to racial segregation in white churches. They were tired. for example, of being confined to church galleries and submitting to church rules that prohibited them from being buried in church cemeteries. In 1787 a young black Methodist minister. Richard Allen, dong with another black clergyman. Absalom Jones: established the free ican Society, a benevolent organization that held religious services mutual aid for free Africans and their descendants in Philadelphia. in 1794 Jones accepted a posiion as pastor of the Free African Society's African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas. Allen. Desiring to lead a Methodist congregation, established in southern Philadelphia's growing

black community the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, which also served as a way sitation on the Underground Railroad. Africa in the name of these early black religious institutions reflected an expansive worldview and an African consciousness evident also in Allen's support for emigration back to Africa-and Haiti. Indeed, in 1824 this impulse led approximately six thousand blacks from Philadelphia and other U.S coastal cities to

immigrate to Haiti; a Philadelphia blacks who settled in what was then eastern Haiti still exists in Samaná, a small peninsula city in the northeast of the Dominican Republic.

The early Pan-Africanists were concerned with repudiating Eurocentric and racist views that justified slavery and later European imperialism. These views, which argued that Africa and Africans had played no part in history, were opposed by the leading thinkers from Africa and the Diaspora such as James Africanus Horton, E.W. Blyden, Martin Delaney and Alexander Crummell, who were thus the champions of the notion of Africans as the makers of their own history.

But their plans for African regeneration and independent development were hampered by the fact that what they advocated was usually version of the same Eurocentric approach that they were one that took no account of the needs of the majority of the African peope.

In response to the conquest and division of Africa by the European colonial powers the early Pan-Africanists, such as Delany, demanded "Africa for the African race and black men to rule them," which became a rallying cry for Africans throughout the continent and the Diaspora. from the 19th century until the slogan Marcus Garvey in the first and second decades of the last century. But the fact is that although during this period important networks of struggles were established between Africans in various continents neither Delany nor Garvey or the other early Pan-Africanists devised any concrete programme to realize their demands. Was once again promoted.

4.0 ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PAN-AFRICANISM

The first Pan-African gathering to develop such a programme was the International Confèrence of Negro Workers. Convened under the auspices of the communist-led Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern) and the Provisional International Trade Union Committee of Ncgro Workers held in Hamburg, Germany in 1930. This conference clearly identified the enemy "capitalist exploitation and imperial was to stop oppression" and it was also the first Pan-African gathering to fully concern itself with the rights of the majority of the African population, to view. the workers and farmers as they. own liberators alongside the working people of all countries. It was also the first Pan-African event to raise the demand for the "immediate evacuation of the imperialists from all colonies", and for "complete national independence and right of self-determination." It was also the first such gathering to include delegates from workers and farmers organizations in Africa, as well as the countries of the Caribbean and the US.

Between 1930 and 1945, the ideology of Pan-Africanism went through something of a transformation, largely as a consequence of the work of Africans and those of African descent residing in Britain, or linked to those in Britain by the important networks that were developed throughout the Pan-African world. These drew together activists like George Padmore and Isaac Wallace-Johnson, who had both participated in the Hamburg conference. The networks linked together an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist organization in Africa and those in Europe and America, in which Africans from the Diaspora often played a leading role, such as the US-based Council on African Affairs, led by Paul Robeson and Alphaeus Hunton. An increasingly Marxist-influenced Pan- Africanism developed informed and influenced by such individuals as Padmore, and by what were generally agreed to be major

advances in economic, political and social developments in the Soviet Union. A more militant approach to anti-colonialism in Africa was also brought about as a consequence of the wide-scale effects of the Depression, the fascist invasion of Italy, the agricultural boycotts in West Africa, the labour rebellions in the Caribbean. Gradually Pan-Africanism developed into a movement and ideology concerned with the masses of the people with a particular emphasis on the future liberation of African from colonial rule. It was this form of Pan-Africanism that came to the fore in 1945.

The 1945 Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, England, and viewed by many as a key moment in the anti-colonial struggle, was largely organized by George Padmore and the Pan-African Federation in Britain. This was the first such congress in which most of the delegates represented organizations of workers and farmers, the vast majority in the African colonies. This Congress rejected the territorial boundaries and indeed the whole notion of the nation-state imposed on Africa by the colonial powers. It rejected eurocentrism in a much broader way than had hitherto been the case, and included a condemnation of imposed foreign political systems and the role of the market in economic affairs. It placed more emphasis on the needs of the masses of the people and highlighted the need to base the anti-colonial struggle on the majority, the workers and farmers as well as other sections of the population. It also saw the anti-colonial struggle in Africa as part of a much wider struggle which included the struggles of all those of African descent and all those in the colonies for emancipation, but which also included the struggle or aspirations of the majority of working people at that time for empowerment and a better world.

The Pan-Africans that has developed in the last 60 years has been informed by the work of many key thinkers and activists: Fanon, Cabral, Rodney, Malcolm X and others. Consequently, two advances have been made. Two further Pan-African Congresses have been held, and most recently the Africa Union has been established in which Africans of the Diaspora have been accorded a key role.

Most African and Caribbean countries have gained formal independence and yet are still not liberated and their populations remain impoverished and dis-empowered. Yet again, under the guise f the "white man's burden," the "civilizing mission" and the imposition of Eurocentric values, Africa is being drained of its resources, material and human, devastated, and re-divided by the big powers. The African Diaspora in Europe, North America and elsewhere, as recent events in New Orleans and France have graphically demonstrated, also face poverty, racism and disempowerment.

The modern conception of Pan-Africans, if no the term itself, dates from at least the mid-nineteenth century. The slog, "Africa for the Africans," popularized by Marcus Garvey's (1887-1940) Declaration of Negro Rights in 1920, may have originated in est Africa, probably Sierra Leone, around this time. The African-American Martin Delany (1812-1885), who developed his own re-emigration scheme, reported in1861 the slogan after an Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) adopted it when he arrived in We Africa in 1850. Blyden, originally from St. Thomas, played a significant role in the emergence of Pan-Africans ideas around the Atlantic through his public speeches and writings in Africa, Britain, and the United State and proposed the existence of an "African personality" resembling contemporary European cultural nationalisms. Blyden's ideas informed the notion of race

consciousness developed by W. E. B. DuBois (1868 1963) at the end of the nineteenth century. Expedition to Nigeria during 1859-1860

The growth of Pan-African sentiments in the late nineteenth century can be seen as both a continuation of ethnic and "pan-nationalist," thinking and a reaction to the limits of emancipation for former slaves in the diaspora and European colonial expansion in Africa. There are a number of reasons why black internationalism had particular resonance during this period. African contact with Europeans, the slave trade from Africa, and the widespread were the most salient factors, leading first those in dispersion and then many in Africa to envision the unity of the "race." At the same time, as abolition spread gradually around the Atlantic during the nineteenth century, Europeans increasingly viewed race as a inherent difference rather than a cultural one. use of African slaves in the New World colonies biological and, thus, inherent difference rather than a cultural one.

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