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*1947*  
*Wilson*  
*Review*  
*The N. S. C. P. 1949*  
*on (Africa) (D. B. S.)*

NIGERIA, Background to Nationalism by James S. Coleman, UC Press, 1958

Part I--The Cultural & Historical Setting  
BaLeve-PM No. Region which has 75% of land & claims 60% of people is the most backward, and Muslim, and has emir & other feudal paraphernalia. But p.24 its Middle Belt group is "unpredictable" & has stirred to consciousness. The Big 5 groupings there: Fulani, Hausa, Kamuri, Nupe (\*\*NB this one) & Tiv are 65% of pop. in No. & other 35% are "the so-called pagan tribes." Long civ. & past. Chief Awolowo, Premier Western Region (Yoruba people) was distinguished by large-scale pol. org. which existed before Br. intrusion. Also substantial degree of urbanization prevailed in pre-European times. More intensive "Westernized"; long recorded past his.

Azikiwe, Premier Eastern Region. Ibo tribe "individualistic" also genuinely depressed area & hence most militant. Women have orgs, which have long transcended village & even clan boundaries, as witness ABA RIOTS of (1929) women's riots (1947-8). Dr. K. Onwuka Dike in his study: "Beneath the apparent fragmentation of authority lay deep fundamental unities not only in the religious & cultural spheres, but also...in matters of politics & economics. ALSO IT IS HIS BOOK ("Trade & Politics in the Niger Delta" that establishes resistance to British rule as cause of lateness of Br. imp. conquest, and not disease. NB NB NB \*\*\*\*)

Also have "native foreigner": W.I., Ghanian, Sierra Leonians, Dahomeans --AND "semipermanent or seasonal laborers who visit Nigeria from neighboring (Fr) territories to work as farm helpers or as laborers in the (tin mines)"

Part II--The Wes. Impact & the Roots of Nationalism  
(I'm skipping this part not because it is not important, but because I'm for the moment interested only in Nationalist Movement to which all the rest of the book is devoted.)

Part III THE RISE OF THE NIGERIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
Ch. - Early Resistance 1700-1800  
p.170 "Thruout the 4 centuries preceding the imposition of formal Br. control, Afr. chiefs in the Niger Delta area effectively prevented intrusions of the white man. In his recently published study Dr. K. Onwuka Dike has emphasized that such opposition, not disease, was the primary force tending to exclude the white man from the hinterland."

" Br. obtained cession of (Lagos) by duress after launching an armed attack during which most of the TOWN WAS DESTROYED BY FIRE." In E. Region bet. 1900-1920 SEVERAL expeditionary forces were necessary "and as late as 1918 constant patrolling was still the order of the day. In the No. the Nupe & the Ilorin, with armies of 30,000 & 8,000 respectively resisted...THE VAST AREAS OF THE MIDDLE BELT WERE NOT COMPLETELY PACIFIED UNTIL THE END OF WW I. Even AFTER pacification there were frequent revolts in this area AKASSA MASSACRE of (1895), Egba Uprising of (1918), Aba Riots of (1929) p.174: Aba Riots "NOT ONLY INITIATED BUT ALSO WERE the only participants in the uprising. The whole affair was entirely spontaneous & received no support from EITHER the men OR the literate elements of the provinces. It revealed AMAZING capacity for org. & united action which transcended clan & tribal boundaries." Pre-WWI secessionist group (not nativistic as above) date back to 1852.

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p.183 Ch. 8, "The Beginnings of Nationalist Thought & Activity  
 1st Edw. Wilmot Blyden, Liberia, "father of  
 Afr. nationalism." And John Payne Jackson, also a Liberian. (See:  
 "From W.Afr. to Palestine" (Freetown 1873) & "The Afr. Problem & the Method  
 of Its Solution" (Washington, 1890) Jackson's LAGOS WEEKLY RECORD  
 (from 1891-1930; after his death in 1918 ed by his son). For 40 yrs.  
 paper campaigned for West Africans & Africans against alien white rule.

(Against this, & 1st Uncle Tom finally appeared in 1914 with Sir Kitoyi  
 Ajasa which defended gov't. with new paper "Nigerian Pioneer")

Long before Nigeria's Jacksonian era IDEA OF AFRICAN SELF\*GOVT. was  
 advocated, as early as 1868; James Africanus Beale Horton, "Pol. Eco.  
 of Br. Western Afr. ca with the Requirements of the Several Colonies &  
 Settlements. (The African View of the Negro's Place in Nature", London,  
 1868.

(CP. ALSO "Excellent bibliography" Ruth Perry's "A Preliminary  
 Bibliography of the Lit. of Nationalism in Nigeria" (London, 1955)  
 Growing no. of publications as early as 1874, the most famous THE HISTORY  
 OF THE YORUBAS was written in 1897 BUT NOT PUB'D. till 1921. (London)  
 In 1911 WEB DuBois, Edw. Blyden & Mojola Agbebi attended 1st Universal  
 Races Congress in London. 1st PanAfr. Congress convened by WEB DuBois &  
 Blaise Diagne, Afr. deputy from Senegal WHO WAS COMMISSAIRE GENERAL  
 IN CHARGE OF RECRUITING AFRICANS FOR FR. ARMY & OPOSED TO SELF\*DETERMINA-  
 tion & to Marcus Garvey. \*\*\*\*NB NB NB\*\* WEB specifically stated  
 that the principle could NOT be applied to "uncivilized people". (sic!)  
 all they asked for was "local & tribal govt. according to ancient usage  
 & this participation shall gradually extend, as education & experience  
 proceed, to the higher offices of State..." 2 subsequent PanAfr  
 congresses held in Lisbon, 1923, NYC, 1927 at which practically no Africans  
 were present, & WEB said Pan-Afr. idea "American rather than Afr." &  
 once again asked that "Negro race through their THINKING INTELLIGENTIA"  
 all this was reported in Nigerian press.

But what really swept through  
 that time was GARVEY MOVEMENT, Universal Negro Improvement Assoc.  
 to unite "all N peoples of the world into one great body & to est.  
 a country & govt. absolutely their own"; also he appealed to Negroes  
 as Negroes, and workers with slogan "Africa for the Africans!"  
 strongly supported by John Payne Jackson & Lagos Weekly Record  
 member, Ernest Ikolu, later founded Nigerian Youth movement.

ON THE OTHER HAND WEB was not only  
 Garvey's main antagonist HE SIGNED A PETITION ASKING US DEPT OF JUSTICE  
 TO PROSECUTE & DEPORT HIM.

Ch.9--National Developments in the Interwar per.

Biggest event which revived nationalism was  
 conquest of Ethiopia "rape of a colored empire" & the Robesons appear  
 at League of Coloured Peoples, per. 1933-38. New student movement with  
 arrival in London of Ladipo Solanke (Yoruba), 1925, WASU followed in  
 Garvey path, but based himself heavily on "educated element." (1928 &  
 Comintern change on Am. Negro (p.207--Coleman is entirely off beat here  
 in description of LT line which he doesn't know but quotes through, of  
 all people, Gitlow's "I Confess." 1932 is yr Comintern invites Geo.  
 Padmore & I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson ed. of Nigerian Daily Telegraph & gen. sec  
 of Afr. Wkrs. Union of Nigeria which he had org'd. in 1931; Padmore broke  
 in 1938 but remained head of PanAfr group in London as before. Wallace-  
 Johnson became assoc. ed. of Communist publication in Paris "Negro Worker"  
 he ultimately joined Azikiwe; he is a Serr. Leonian & that's where he re-  
 turned 1946) his "Struggle for the Liberation of the Negroes in the Colonies"

begin

p.210: inter-war per definitely characterized by a RACIAL, not a territorial, consciousness. 1930s per. of associations from Awolowo's Nigerian Produce Traders Ass. to Farina Women Sellers' Union, Lagos Cango Transport Union, Lagos Night Soil Removers' Union. Also Nat. Education Movement with Prof. Eyo Ita (cf. Crusade for Freedom, Calabar, 1949) who wanted to org. nat. schools as instruments in "war of liberation." Foremost pamphleteer on subj. of youth; stressed loyalty to Nigeria, to Africa, to "humanity".

ARRIVAL OF AZIKIWE, p.220

latter part of 1937 Azikiwe from Am. training & H.C. Davies (Yoruba) student of Laski, and knowing Kenyatta, and Youth Movement did finally become 1st Nigeria-wide multitribal nationalist org. in Nigerian his. Returned to Nigeria after degrees in Howard U., Columbia, U of Pa.; in 1937 convicted of sedition for article; same yr. published "Renascent Afr" & returned to Lagos to launch DAILY newspaper, West African Pilot, 1st issue July 1938. Also date of org. of Youth Movement, but in Feb. '41 when Ernest Ikoli, a founder & active leader, became ed. of Lago Daily Service which he claimed was official paper of youth movement, and Akinsanya crisis or tribal tension (Zik is Ibo) & movement began to fall apart. H O Davies withdraw to accept govt. appt. as mktg. officer in '43! in contrast to this decline of youth, there is a dev. at Ibadan, 1941-44 under Obafemi Awolowo--group of traders & intellectuals, which later wa to become Action Group.

AN ENTIRELY NEW GROUP EMERGED

WITH WWII \*\*ORGANIZED LABOR. p.229

Ch. Impact of WW II --Atlantic Charter but disclaimer by Churchill that it was meant for Europe & he wouldn't preside over liquidation of empire. (COLEMAN SEES THAT THO TALENTED 10th fought Garvey, Negro Renaissance in Am. FOLLOWED Garveyism; of course it was also an entirely new per--the Depression 1930s.) Wartime activities of Nigerian students in London. (cf. p.244 for list of students who later became Ministers, etc.)

p.248--"The Russian Model" -Azikiwe presented that fatinh bryisy og eastyimr allianvr; in 1944 Max Yezgan & Council on Afr. Affairs in NY, (cf. also Robeson's "African Journey", '45) Ditto Padmore. 1943 there was a Red Army Club org'd. by Nigerian youth. Also Nigerian unions were then affiliated with WFTU

Ch.11--Wartime Development in the Nationalist Movement

Statism required by war & GB bought up entire cocoa crop, palm oil, rubber, cotton, groundnuts so that all strategic section of eco. under direction of govt. Wkrs. affected by wage ceiling, mkt. women by price controls joined emergent Nigerian entrepreneurs to fight GB; also ex-servicemen: (ftn., p.462\*\*\*NB NB NB\*\*"IN '51 AN ORG. KNOWN AS THE UNEMPL. EXSERVICE\* MEN'S UNION LITERALLY CAPTURED THE LARGE EASTERN TOWN OF JAMAHIA & KEPT THE EUROPEA COMMUNITY & OFFICERS OF THE PROVINCIAL ADM. INCOMMUNICADO FOR SEVERAL DAYS.) 100,000 Br. troops & several th. Am. troops passed thru W. Afr. & fraternized. Moreover, 100,000 Nigerians served in military forces. Moreover mass communication used to expert for freedom & dem. Wage & salary earners in Nigeria jumped from 183,000 in '39 to 300,000 in '46.

BUT ABOVE ALL GENERAL STRIKE OF 1945 In 43 Nigerian Trades Union Congress with both Azikiwe, Awolowo, Ikoli, Macaulay plus publ. of quarterly bull. NIGERIAN WORKER, under editorship of Awolowo (who HOWEVER WASHED HIS HANDS FROM STRIKE. The constitution of congress

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~~...~~ demanded INDUSTRIALIZATION, NAT. OF ALL NATURAL RESOURCES & PUBLIC UTILITIES, EST. OF LABOR PARTY. In 1944 series of mass mtgs which stressed "that in the hands of wkrs & not capitalists lies the freedom of the world." May Day celebration. Leadership however so moderate that it was REPUDIATED BY WKRS. Unionized sector of labor force exclusively southerners. Despite revocation of strike order by labor leaders & appears by governor 30,000 wkrs went on strike FOR 37 days. By wkrs., postal & telgraph employes & technical wkrs. in govt. Strike terminated only after govt. gave assurances there would be no victimization & there would be impartial commission of inquiry. ONLY ONE WHO GAVE STRIKE SUPPORT WAS AZIKIWE & HIS PRESS & IT IS THIS THAT MADE HIM A NAT. HERO & OPENS "A DRAMATIC OPENING OF A NEW NATIONALIST ERA." Altho only few northerners participated, this made for beginning of racial & pol. consciousness in no.

Toward end of war new generation impatient over lack of inactive org. for self-govt. from the 2ny school students & young educated Nigerians that militants (finally) (sic--why finally when you have org'd. labor on general strike) came to inaugurate militant nationalist org. At Zik's suggestions students call for conf. in Lagos "to weld the heterogeneous masses of Nigeria into one solid bloc." 8/26/44 called Nigeria Nat. Council, Herbert Macaulay pres; Zik gen. sec. Then changed to NCNC since Cameroons Youth League also wanted to affiliate. Until '52 membership in it was restricted to orgs.--Didn't attract labor unions, only in part because these were led by elder Yorubas--many rank & filers however belonged largely southern in membership plus northerners of Middle Belt. Lagos was center and dominant until Action Group in 1951 arose. In early per. Macaulay was break on movement because of his conservatism.

PART IV--Postwar Development in the Nationalist Movement  
Ch.12--The Richards Constitution & NCNC

Nationalists strongly objected to inclusion of chief & emirs in "unofficial category" though they were all govt. men. Decided to boycott Legislative Council elections as protest against constitution. A more militant group than this was the Zikist Movement, with its ed., Anthony Enahoro of Daily Comet.

Azikiwe's emergence as national leader (p.284 ff) both because of general strike, then claimed attempt on life when Govt. banned his paper. Protest movement grew in Eastern Provinces esp. "By car, lorry, horseback, accompanied by brass bands, flute bands, cowhorn bands, dancers & soldiers, in schoolrooms, halls, compounds, cinemas, & churches, they touched the lives of hundreds of isolated communities in a way never known before." (cf. African Affairs, 45 (Oct. '46) NCNC emerged with popularity, prestige & 13,000 to go to London to protest. 2 mos. later they returned & were met in Lagos by "mammoth crowd of 100,000". Adopted "Freedom Charter" but then really were inactivated till 51)

Ch.13--Rise & Fall of Militant Nationalism

Zikist Movement (without Zik) later known as Freedom Movement, National Church of Nigeria & Nigerian Nat. Federation of Labor (later known as Nigerian Labour Congress), 1948 thru 1950  
11/16/46 Zik's birth -founders, Kolawole Balogun (Yoruba, now a chief & Federal Minister of Information) M.C.K. Ajuluchuku (Ibo) & Abiodun Aloba (Edo). Oct. '48 leading Zikist public lecture, A Call for Revolution. Agwuna (Ibo)

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Zik derived from Afr. name Azikiwe -- ~~xxxx~~  
~~Azi-awka-iwe~~ or ~~Azi-abalika~~ or ~~Azi-awka-iwe~~ of the youth is overwhelmingly  
 \* Azikiwe said: "Our campaign will not be limited to imperialism, but it will be carried out against African nationals & semi-nationals, institutions  
 \* orgs., & ests that are opposed in any way to our march towards immediate irredentism, for the enemy is no less a danger than his ally."

On 11/18/49 th govt. shot 21 miners <sup>killed 471 wounded (women too)</sup> at the Enugu colliery in Eastern Provinces as they were engaged in a "2go-slow" strike"  
 \* Aroused women and miners carrying sticks & machetes marched.

Quickly all nationalists closed ranks & formed coalition National Emergency Committee, Dr. Akinola Maja of NYM & Mbonu Ojike of NCNC became pres & vpv of new org. Lasted from 11/49-9/50

During proceeding of Govt Comm. of Inquiry, & after raid on hdqts where they "uncovered large quantities of seditious literature" (sick)(p.301). a 24yr old ex-serviceman said: "With the immense resources & the coercive state machinery behind you & the Gov. you represent. I do not as a Zikist/ recognize the right of this court to try this case... You are a symbol of that imperialist machine which I & my colleagues abhor; therefore I am not pleading before this court. April 1950 Govt. declared Zikist movement unlawful. Zikists then reorganized as Freedom Movement which aimed at destruction of "all forms of imperialism & the est. of a free Socialist Rep. of Nigeria fighting in & out of Parliament employment nonviolent revolutionary tactics."

Nat. Church of Nigeria, religious wing of Zikist movement.  
 CHARACTERISTIC CHURCH SERVICE incl: lessons from NCNC Manifesto, Am. Dec. of Ind., Zik's Renascent Afr, a sermon in form of pol. speech, & selections from a book of National Hymns & Prayers: "O Almighty & everlasting God of the universe, God of Africa... Give ear to the prayers of Thy children who assemble here... to implore Thee to give us... freedom from foreign domination & freedom to own & enjoy this portion of Thy earth which Thou hast, without a mistake allocated to us."  
 Gave Paul Robeson title of "Champion of Afr. Freedom"

Other titles of sermons "Nigeria in the Tentacles of Religious Imperialism." and against European Christian missions said "They are the enemies of our Freedom;... in the guise of Christianity they use our churches & schools to suppress & ridicule our pol. consciousness."

The Nigerian Labour Congress. Meteoric rise of a young Ibo Zikist, NDUKA EZE, who was acting pres. during its most militant per, 1949-50. Concentrated on org. wkrs. in European firms By end of 46 he founded UAC (United Africa Co. where he had worked) largest labor org. in Nigeria -- 18,000 & in Aug. 50 brought all unionized mercantile wkrs. out on strike & won for them a 12 1/2% incr. cost of living allowance: "not very many people in this country are aware then the introd. of imperialism in this country has as its essential motive the sapping of the vitality of the wkr. & the appropriation of the surpluses of whatever the wkr. has, leaving him a bare min. to subsist in order to adorn the imp. design." Used funds received from Communist front orgs. abroad to est. daily paper, The Labour Champion but by 1951 he was unempl. & lost all positions: "The masses & wkrs. are the backbone of the country. Experience in Rus. & Ch. prove that conclusively. The masses must recognize & accept their position as vanguard of the liberation movement." Azikiwe expelled him from NCNC but he was back in '54 as unofficial member of exec. comm.

Ch. The Beginning of a New Era

1948 turning point, closing per. of '45-'48, general strike & provocative Richards Constitution which ended with NCNC & Freedom Charter. Yr. opens with Azikiwe & other selected NCNC members to abandon boycott of Legislative Council. (If in a word, playing politics began & this is what Coleman calls turning point)

University College of Nigeria opened in Ibadan, ultimately to accommodate 500 students, plus Government's award of scholarships for higher education over per. '48-'51.

Ch.15 - The Reorg. of Nationalism

Unifying & Divisive Aspects of Br. policy. Growth of Cultural Nationalism -- Samuel Johnson's Monumental "Hist. of the Yorubas" (1897) followed by many in this per: WEED ('47), Raymond Michelet, "African Empires & Civilization" ('45) BEG Amattoe, "The Golden Age of W. Afr. Civl." ('46) J.C. De Graft-Johnson, "Afr. Glory: The Story of Vanished Negro Civilizations" ('54) and certain sections of Nnamdi Azikiwe "Renascent Afr." ('37) (p.327)

Ch.16: The Ibo & Yoruba Strands in Nigerian Nationalism.

Appearance of new Western Regional pol. party, the Action Group. p.349: "By the beginning of '50 it had become evident that the new constitution would not only preserve the regions, but would also greatly increase their powers." Awolowo shunned Lagos.

Ch.17, The Northern Awakening.

The Northern Peoples' Congress.  
Nationalism in the Middle Belt, pp.366-67

Ch.18, The Final Phase & Self-Govt.

Critique & Conclusions: p.412: "Nigerian nationalists encountered several special difficulties.....3 old & trusted friends of colonial nationalism cooled noticeably after 1945. The Fabians Society & the LP placed more & more emphasis upon eco. & soc. dev. as a precondition for pol. freedom, & the people & govt. of the US INCREASINGLY RECOGNIZED THAT EXPANDING SOVIET IMP. which thrived on instability in newly independent colonial areas, was a far greater threat to civ. than Br. colonialism seemingly in the process of orderly liquidation."

& the conclusion of Coleman is really stupid, p.414: "In short, nationalism in Nigeria is as much the product of Br. liberalism as it is of Br. colonialism."