

الفصل الحادي والعشرون

Chapter XXI

تدريبات وتطبيقات

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The pan- Islamic Movement

By 1914 North Africa and the Muslim lands of the Horn of Africa were all in European hands. Only Ethiopia clung to a precarious independence. The variety of political and social conditions in this region was staggering. The contrast between Somali pastoralists on one hand and the wealthy citizens of Cairo on the other was extreme. Yet they possessed a common faith and a single cultural tradition which set them apart from most of the people of tropical Africa. The European powers had to adapt their policies and their methods of administration to the institutions of Muslim society. These were too deeply rooted to be set aside. Warfare and political conflict loomed larger over these countries throughout the colonial period than in any other part of Africa. Resistance to the loss of independence was inflamed by the intense religious hostility long felt by Muslims for the Christian peoples of Europe. As a result, revolts led by *skaikhs* and holy men continued until the 1930s, by which time nationalist opposition organized on modern political lines had developed. Nationalism, here as elsewhere, was influenced by European political ideas absorbed in colonial schools and metropolitan universities. Throughout this region it was influenced also by the pan-Islamic reform movement .

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The decade of Italian Trusteeship in Somalia was generally judged to be exceptionally enlightened and generous. A wide-ranging education programme was implemented, which trained administrators and technical personnel. In 1954 an Institute of Law and Economics was opened under the

auspices of the University of Rome, which later developed into the University of Mogadishu. The Italians encouraged local participation in the territorial government, and by the middle of the decade most senior administrative positions were in Somali hands. Without any doubt, the deliberate and rapid decolonization of Italian Somalia was greatly helped by the fact that all the inhabitants of the country spoke a single language and felt themselves to be a nation. Most African countries had to undergo a process of nationalist unification, for which some delaying tactics by the colonial power was absolutely necessary. With the Somali the problem was rather that the sense of Somali nationalism existed over a wider region than the Trust territory. It extended clearly over the whole of British Somaliland, where the colonial government, though less active than the Italian Trusteeship administration in its preparations for decolonization, at least did nothing to prevent the future unification of the two territories. Although in a hurried and disorganized way, British Somaliland was brought to independence five days before the Italian territory, and on 1 July 1960 the legislative assemblies of the two countries met in joint session at Mogadishu and constituted themselves into the National Assembly of the independent and sovereign Republic of Somalia.

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Madagascar

Madagascar has had in many ways a history rather separate from that of the African mainland. The population of the island is largely non-African, the language entirely so. At least since the beginning of the nineteenth century, there has been little coming and going across the Mozambique Channel. During the colonial period, when it was under French rule, Madagascar was a kind of halfway house between the French territories in

West Africa and those in South-East Asia and the Pacific. From the time of the Second World War, however, the isolation of Madagascar from the rest of Africa began at last to be broken down. During the war the island experienced the occupation of British forces, many of them African. After the war Malagasy students began to go in some numbers to France. There they encountered French-speaking students from the West African territories, to whom they felt more akin than to the South-East Asians. Most important of all, perhaps, was the fact that the timing of Madagascar's struggle for independence coincided with the African revolution rather than with the Asian one. The first modern political party with independence as its object was founded in 1946. This party had its first trial of strength with the French in the following year, when a famine caused by the mismanagement of the government-controlled rice Board gave rise to a violent rebellion. The revolt sprang up all over the island, among many different groups, including the formerly dominant Hova, as a spontaneous reaction to colonial rule. The ferocity of the French military action against the rebels led to a still more widespread insurrection, which took nearly a year to repress. Many aspects of the Malagasy rebellion were similar to the earliest anti-colonial rebellions, such as the Maji-Maji outbreak in German East Africa in 1905-6. The Maji-Maji rebels thought that the German bullets would be harmlessly turned into water. Similarly, during the Malagasy rebellion,

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Lugar now established a National Council. This had thirty-six members which included the Governor-General as President, members of the Executive Council, the First Class Residents, the Political Secretaries and the Secretaries of the Northern and Southern Provinces. These were the official members. The others were unofficial members and of these seven were

Europeans and six were nominated Nigerians. There were two emirs from the North, the Alafin of Oyo and one member each from the educated coastal areas: Lagos, Calabar and the Benin-Warri territory. This Council was only an advisory council to rubber stamp what the Governor-General wanted.

Indirect rule had now to be introduced into the South but while there was some success in its implementation in the Yoruba country, where there were traditional chiefs who became the focus of native authority, indirect rule failed in the East. In the greater part of this region there were no traditional authorities and the people rejected the 'chiefs' imposed on them by the British.

The economy of the territories was growing stronger as communications began to improve. In the early part of the twentieth century, there was great improvement in shipping facilities. The production of cocoa, which was first introduced into Oyo in 1995, had begun to reach great proportions in the West. In the Mid-West and East, palm oil and kernels began also to feature prominently. In the North, groundnuts had been introduced from Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century and plantation agriculture was making phenomenal progress. Cotton was also introduced to the North and rubber production was increased in Ife.

Another economic development that bound Nigeria to the world economy was the discovery, in 1902, of tin deposits on the Jos Plateau. The royal Niger Company was the pioneer. By 1912 about eighty companies were active in the Plateau area and invested about £3.8 million.

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During the years between 1945 and 1980, while the rest of Africa was making the transition from colonial rule to independence under African governments, the principal country of southern Africa was moving firmly in

the opposite direction. The reason was not that the 9 million or so Africans who lived there were any slower in developing political consciousness than those living in countries further north. On the contrary, missionary education in South Africa went back to the middle of the nineteenth century, and by the middle of the twentieth there were black professors, black doctors, black clergy, black journalists, and a host of other professional people who were at least as able as their contemporaries in other African countries to see the significance of the United Nations Charter and the coming withdrawal of the British from India. Black South African delegates had attended the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945, and were in touch with the emerging political leaders of tropical Africa like Nkrumah and Kenyatta. By December 1945 the African National Congress of South Africa had formally and publicly demanded one-man-one-vote and freedom of movement, residence and land-ownership. Its officials were already lobbying at the United Nations, and even presenting petitions from the Africans of South West Africa asking for a UN Trusteeship.

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Egypt itself was still in 1946 a land of immense social inequalities and vivid economic contrasts. Although the country looked large on the map, nearly all of its 20 million people were crowded into the Nile valley and delta and the Suez Canal Zone. In these habitable areas the population density was among the highest in the world, one agricultural region having as many as 2650 people to the square mile. Cairo was already a huge city of more than 2 million people, by far the largest city in Africa at the time. Alexandria had more than 1 million, and several other towns had populations of over 100,000. Never-theless, more than 80 per cent of Egyptians were country-dwellers, and by far the greatest number were small farmers

(*fellahin*), who tended to fall deeper into poverty and malnutrition as their holdings grew smaller by subdivision . Those who owned their own land mostly held tiny patches of one acre or less. The rest paid rent to landowners, and were mostly even worse situated. More than one-third of the cultivable land of Egypt was owned by the great *pashas*, many of them descended from the family and favourites of Muhammad Ali. Most of the commerce of Egypt was in the hands of a non-Egyptian merchant class, many of whom were Greeks whose ancestors had been in Egypt for centuries. Modern industry and services tended to be owned by foreign companies from western Europe and the Levant. At the top of the social hierarchy perched King Farouk, the descendant of Muhammad Ali, who lived the life of an extravagant playboy. The whole situation was therefore one which possessed many of the ingredients for revolution .

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When Menelik the Great died in 1913 the crown of Ethiopia descended to his seventeen-year-old grandson, Yasu. The task of keeping the regions united under growing pressure from Turkey and the colonial powers proved too much for the young man and in 1916 he fell from power. For the next fourteen years power was shared between Zewditu, Menelik's daughter, who became Empress, and Ras Tafari (the future Emperor Haile Selassie) who was Regent and heir to the throne. During this period Ethiopia's standing in the world increased. She joined the League of Nations in 1923 and Tafari, during his many visits abroad, made a considerable impression on foreign governments. In order to develop the country's resources as rapidly as possible agreements were signed with various European industrial concerns and in 1928 a treaty of friendship was made with Italy which provided for the improvement of roads from Ethiopia to the Eritrean coast. Education and

other social services were improved as government revenue permitted .

In 1930, on the death of Zewditu, Rea Tafari was crowned as Emperor Haile Selassie I. with full power in his hands he forged ahead with the modernization of the country. A two-chamber parliament was introduced in 1931, with one chamber elected by Ethiopia's leading men. More foreign advisers arrived in Addis ababa and more young Ethiopians went abroad to gain higher education and technical qualifications.

But Ethiopia's steady progress was halted by the Italian Fascist Dictator, Benito Mussolini. He decided that national pride demanded the reversal of the battle of Adowa and the colonial occupation of Ethiopia. The invasion began in October 1935 and was accomplished within seven months. Haile Selassie appealed, in vain, to the League of Nations whose leading statesmen were too frightened of war in Europe to risk provoking Mussolini. Haile Selassie then went into exile in Britain while bands of his countrymen kept up a determined guerrilla resistance in their native hills and valleys.

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Peace and unity had obvious advantages and the leaders of both white minority groups were soon agreed on the need to keep South Africa as one political and economic unit. But they could not agree what from that unit should take. The British desired and enlarged Cape Colony. The Boers looked for a republic, practicing racial segregation and quite independent of Britain. But there were many moderates who realized that compromise was essential. It was largely due to them that agreement was reached surprisingly quickly. In 1906 and 1907 the Boer states gained internal self-government. In 1908 leaders of the four white states met to work out some kind of federation. Their findings were endorsed by the British government in the

south Africa Act (1909) > On 31 May 1910 the Union of south Africa came into being. The new state was a part of the British Empire. Its head of state was a governor-General appointed by the Crown. There was an upper house or Senate and an elected General Assembly. The executive was in the hands of a prime minister and cabinet responsible to the Assembly. In Boer provinces only whites were allowed to vote. In the predominantly British provinces there was a multi-racial franchise.

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The white minority which was making all the decisions accounted for less than a quarter of the Union's population. The remaining three-quarters, whose feelings and interests were largely ignored, were Cape Coloureds (people of mixed racial origins deriving from Khoi, Saan, immigrant slave and European elements), Bantu and Asians. Their way of life had been completely changed. Their traditional leaders had been deposed, their land had been taken, they were herded into overcrowded reserves, they were forced by economic necessity or direct pressure to take jobs on European farms, in the mines, in factories or in domestic service. Many Africans had been detribalized. They drifted to the cities and built slum settlements known as shanty towns on the outskirts. They received very low wages and even in the British-dominated provinces they had few legal rights.

But from the beginning of the colonial period there were African leaders who rebelled against the system which made Africans exploited and under-privileged citizens of their own land. In 1884 John Tengo Jabavu had begun to publish a liberal newspaper, *Imvo zaba Ntsundu*, in Xhosaland. Dr Abdullah abdurahman founded a political group, the African People's Organization, at Cape Town in 1902. These made little impact on South Africa's rulers as was shown in 1906. In that year risings occurred in Natal

and Zululand. The rebels were angry about pass laws, enforced labour, loss of lands and the imposition of a poll ax. The risings were ruthlessly put down and the leaders executed despite protests from African leaders and white liberals. The Zulu King, Dinizulu, who, in fact, had nothing to do with the revolt, was deposed and imprisoned. With him the royal line founded by Shaka came to an end .

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Although Benin was in decline, it was still powerful enough to be respected. Like many of the West African states, Benin was weakened by succession disputes. In 1804, when Oba Obanososa died, there was a dispute between two claimants, Osemwede and Ogbebo. A bloody civil war followed which Ogbebo lost, but he did not want to be caught alive, So he hanged himself and burnt down the palace. Osemwede how-ever, Succeeded in 1848. At last Oba Adolo gained the upper hand but for a long time he was troubled by the raids of his rival's forces operating from Ishan. This was also the time when the rising power of Nupe, carrying the Fulani jihad south wards, and that of Ibadan, were beginning to be felt. The Niger-Ibo states were throwing off their allegiance, especially Abo and Onitsha which were growing as a result of the opening of the lower Niger to trade.

Benin was an Inland kingdom with a port that had steadily declined in importance. Trade into Benin had to pass along the Benin River which was controlled by the Itsekiris of Warri who at the beginning of the nineteenth century were ruled by a powerful and tyrannical king, Olu Akengbuwa. Two ports had been opened by the Benin River for the collection of customs duties and there all European traders had to trade. Chief customs officials were appointed at Bobi and Eghoro and, in order to watch the traffic into the Benin port of Eghoro, the King built a small town called Reggio Town at the

junction between the Ughoton Creek and the Benin River.

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The gradual extinction of the Cold war between 1988 and 1990 marked watershed in the history of independent Africa. It indicated the convergence of two trends that were likely to dominate the course of events during the final decade of the twentieth century. One trend was the swing from centrally planned economies towards the more open market-oriented systems advocated by the main donor countries and the IMF. The other trend was the growth of articulate opposition to the established single-party regimes. Alongside these tendencies, and at times threatening to overwhelm them, were the twin currents that had dominated so much of the history of the continent for two hundred years or longer: poverty, increasingly exacerbated by the rapid growth of urban populations, and autocratic rule, often seen as the only way out of the trap of poverty.

During the early 1990s the ideological struggles of the 1970s and 1980s gradually faded, losing much of their potency with the progressive withdrawal of external support. In Ethiopia the northern insurgency movement triumphed over the military dictatorship of President Mengistu, who fled from Addis Ababa in 1991. A new government, nurtured in the northern province of Tigre, established its authority over the disparate peoples of the centre and the south, dismantling the crumbling edifice of Marxist centralism and preparing Ethiopians for their first genuinely democratic elections. A transitional president, Meles Zenawi, was appointed, but the elections, scheduled for 1993, were postponed. At the same time, the United States, hoping to stabilize the largest country in the Horn of Africa as part of its new alignment in the Middle East, resumed the influential position which it had enjoyed during the later years of Haile

Selassie's rule. In 1993 Eritrea achieved the independence for which its people had striven during three decades of conflict, thus depriving Ethiopia of its main deep-water port of Massawa.

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When the Sultan of Zanzibar signed the treaty of protection in 1890 he did not intend to sign away all his powers but this was the result of his action. He had to accept the appointment of a Consul-General and a First Minister who gradually assumed more and more authority. There was much discontent among the Arab community, and when the Sultan died in 1896 a member of the royal family, Khalid ibn Barghash, tried to seize power with the help of anti-British forces. It was all too easy for the British, with their command of the sea, to attack Khalid's island stronghold. British ships shelled the royal palace and Khalid fled. The British installed their own Sultan, Hamed ibn Muhammad. In 1902 Hamed died and was succeeded by his seventeen-year-old son, Ali. Because Ali was under age the British were able to assume still more authority in Zanzibar. More white officials were appointed. The traditional system of justice was replaced by British courts. The Sultan became a powerless figurehead respected neither by his people nor by the British.

By about 1910 most East Africans had realized the futility of armed resistance. This does not mean that they meekly accepted every aspect of colonial rule and lost all desire to regain their independence. Those who had ambitions for themselves and their people realized that the best way to fulfill them was to take every opportunity which presented itself to get on equal terms with the white men. They attended mission schools. Some went abroad to complete their education. They took minor administrative positions and, wherever they had the opportunity, they took part in local

government. By 1920, as we shall see in chapter 16, they were ready to form their own political organizations .

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From 1882 to 1914 Egypt was nominally ruled by the Ottoman Sulatn. Throughout this period the British tried to establish an Egyptian government through which they could practice some form of indirect rule but all Egyptian politicians were first and foremost nationalists who wanted the British to get out and take the Khedive with them. Sir Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer) did a great deal for the economy of the country during his long term as Consul-General (1883-1907). He reduced the large and expensive Egyptian civil service, built a dam at Aswan (1902 which made possible permanent (as opposed to seasonal) irrigation of the Nile valley, reduced taxation and established a smooth-running, up-to-date administration. But these reforms did nothing to bridge the gap between ruler and ruled, divided as they were by differences of race, religion, culture and language.

The Sudan was officially an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, i.e. a country ruled jointly by Britain and Egypt. In effect Egypt had little say in the Sudan's affairs. The country was ruled by a Governor-General and his largely British staff. English was the teaching medium in most schools. Economic reforms were based on the needs of the Sudan alone. For instance it was decided to divert some of the Nile waters to irrigate the cotton fields of Gezira district, a scheme that angered the Egyptians who were totally dependent on the Nile. By 1920 the beginnings of a modern road and railway system had been laid linking the Egyptian border, the middle Nile, the Red Sea ports and important centres such as Khartoum and El Fasher.

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When the First World War broke out in 1914 Turkey sided with Germany. In Egypt the British declared Ottoman rule ended and established a protectorate. The Sultan organized an invasion of Egypt by Sanusi forces from Libya (1915). The invaders reached Marsa Matruh before being turned back by a large British army. Britain sent large numbers of troops to Egypt in order to protect the Suez Canal and used Egypt as a base for attacking the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East. As a result Egyptian labour, land, crops and houses were taken to help in the war effort. Had it not been for the quarter of a million British troops in the country and a British promise to grant Egyptian independence after the war there would have been a serious rebellion between 1914 and 1918 .

Along the lower Niger the initiative was taken by British merchants. The most powerful company was the United African Company formed in 1879 and led by George Taubman Goldie. Goldie bought out his British rivals and by tough business tactics he soon ruined the French firms in the area. The United African Company was now a powerful commercial monopoly, and Goldie wanted the British government to grant him a charter which would give him the right to administer the whole area of the lower Niger and the Benue. For the moment he was unsuccessful; the government preferred to let him 'pacify' the area without cost to the taxpayer and without causing them diplomatic embarrassment. But the French watched with growing alarm as Goldie's saw to it that Umuoru, the Etsu (king) of Nupe, was given support against rebels within his state .

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By 1884 Goldie had made about 37 treaties and established a strong fleet of twenty small gunboats. He broke resistance to the Company's

activities by ordering attacks on places like Akassa, Brass, Patani and Asaba which were the chief centres of African raids. Nupe had already granted the British a monopoly of trade in 1879 and Goldie saw to it that Umoru, the Etsu (king) of Nupe, was given support against rebels within his state.

While Goldie was expanding British influence in what is now northern Nigeria, Glover was extending his authority steadily eastwards and westwards from Lagos. Alarmed by all this, in 1883 the French annexed Cotonou, Great and Little Popo and Porto Novo, thus preventing Britain linking Lagos with the gold Coast. However, the activities of Goldie's new National African Company (formed in 1882) made it impossible for France to prevent Britain laying claim to southern Nigeria. During the Berlin Conference the British therefore secured the lower Niger; Germany had Togoland and Cameroon and the French took the upper Niger, Senegal, the Guinea Coast, the Ivory Coast and Porto Novo. Thus after 1885 the stage was set for the carving up of West Africa.

One effect of the deterioration in Anglo-Egyptian relations had been to cause Britain. From about 1951 onwards, to set a course towards rapid independence for the Sudan, for not to have done so would have been to drive the very real forces of Sudanese nationalism into the arms of the Egyptians. From the British point of view, a hostile Egypt had better be countered by a friendly Sudan. Strangely enough, the new rulers of Egypt were thinking on parallel lines. It happened that Neguib and Nasser had both served in the Sudan, and had there come to appreciate the strength of Sudanese nationalist feeling. They realized that a friendly Sudan, even if independent of Egypt, was preferable to a hostile dependency. The new Egypt therefore accepted the British proposals, made in 1952, that the Sudanese people should hold elections under a constitution providing

internal self-government for a period of three years before deciding upon complete independence or union with Egypt. When the time came, in January 1956, the Sudan voted to become an independent republic outside the Commonwealth .

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Meanwhile, in 1954, Neguib had been ousted as President of Egypt by Nasser, under whose rule Egypt's relations with the western countries went from bad to worse. Nasser lost no time in identifying himself with independence movements in the rest of Africa, and in 1955 he personally attended the conference of 'non-aligned nations' at Bandung which issued the rousing manifesto against 'Country in Africa to put radical socialist policies into practice, by limiting severely the amount of land which an individual could own and by redistributing the large estates among the peasants. Externally, he succeeded in ridding Egypt of the last traces of European domination. Britain agreed to withdraw her troops from the Canal Zone, leaving the canal to be operated as before by the anglo-French company that had built it. Nasser then turned to his plan for extending the area of irrigated land in Egypt by building a huge new dam across the Nile at Aswan. This was to have been financed mainly by American aid. America, however, became increasingly annoyed by his 'non-aligned' policies and in 1956 withdrew its offer of financial assistance. Nasser responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal, announcing that he would finance the 'high dam' from its profits.

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The independence of French West Africa

The difference in attitude towards the growth of nationalism between French-speaking and English-speaking West Africans may be seen in a

comparison between the life of Senghor and that of Nkrumah. French Africans were at first concerned more with the cultural than with the political aspects of colonialism. English-speaking nationalists, it has been said, wrote constitutions, while their French-speaking contemporaries wrote poetry. Léopold Sédar Senghor was born in 1906 in a coastal village south of Dakar. His prosperous catholic parents sent him to schools in the colony and later to Paris. The poems he wrote while in France are full of homesick memories of his childhood days. From 1935, after becoming the first African *agrégé* (qualified secondary-school teacher) in France, he taught in French *lycées* (grammar schools). On the outbreak of the war in 1939 he joined the army and was captured by the Germans, who tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to turn against France. His years in Paris had brought Senghor into contact with a wealth of political and literary ideas. He knew many outstanding French West Indians and became the close friend of Aimé Césaire from Martinique, who was to become, like himself, a poet and a politician. Before directly tackling political problems, these young men felt the need to produce a creed, or statement of cultural values. Between them, Senghor and Césaire created the concept of *negritude*, 'the affirmation', as they described it, 'of the values of African culture'. In 1947 Senghor and a fellow Senegalese, Alioune Diop, founded *presence Africaine* in Paris, a magazine devoted to the renewal of these values. Meanwhile, Senghor as a socialist politician, and took part in the events which led up to the formation of the French Union in 1946. He refused to attend the Bamako conference of that year which founded the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain. He rightly believed that the new party would be dominated by communists. Instead, he led a popular political movement in Senegal and was elected as a deputy to the French Assembly. Under his influence many young Africans devoted themselves seriously to writing, poetry and the arts. This

engagement of some of the best minds in French West Africa with cultural affairs partly explains why, in the early 1950s, these territories were not so politically conscious as their English-speaking neighbors.

After reassuming the reins of power at the end of the Second World War, the Emperor Haile Selassie continued to rule Ethiopia very much as he had done during the 1920s and 1930s. As the number of western-educated Ethiopians grew, so the forms of a modern bureaucracy were gradually established with the help of foreign advisers drawn from several developed countries. But the inner network of real power remained in the hands of the emperor's extended family and region and who reported directly to the palace rather than to the official ministries. Nevertheless, some aspects of Ethiopia's economy and administration were modernized. Large amounts of aid flowed in from the western countries. From 1953 the United States became the main supplier of aid and military equipment, and from the mid – 1960s this aid was much augmented in order to counterbalance the Soviet supply of armaments to neighbouring Somalia. In 1960 Haile Selassie survived and attempted coup staged by some elements of the palace guard during his own absence in the United States. He went on to play a major role in Pan-African affairs during the early years of African independence, mediating in disputes and advising on diplomatic procedures, to the extent that in 1963 he was able to persuade his fellow heads of state to site the headquarters of the newly founded Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa. Throughout the 1960s and the early 1970s the ageing emperor continued to rule his disparate subjects, introducing all manner of reforms while allowing both the armed forces and the civil bureaucracy to grow to levels which required more modern means of control than the old imperial family network could provide. When the outside world asked what would happen when the emperor died, those who knew the country best usually

replied that the army would take over. What the experts could not foretell was which elements in the army would take the initiative, and under what outside inspiration .

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In the huge Darfur region of western Sudan, low-level conflicts between the agricultural and pastoral communities had become endemic since the 1950s if not earlier, and intensified as a result of the wide-spread drought in much of Sahalian Africa in the early 1980s. The basic element in these conflicts was the gradual desiccation of the region, with the Sahara encroaching ever further onto useable land. The more fertile areas are in the centre of Darfur, around the mountainous Jebel Marra, which Fur, Zaghara and other farmers shared with pastoralists, who also roam to the north the camel nomads and to the south – the eattle keepers. In many cases these people occupied the same territory, intermarrying with one another as well as competing for land and water. Bothe communities were Muslims, and physically they were indistinguishable. In these respects the situation in Darfur resembled that between the Batutsi and Bahima in Rwanda, but it differed from that in many West African countries where Muslims and Christians interacted, as in Ivory Coast and Nigeria. Darfurian pastoralists spoke Arabic as their first language, farmers as their second . Only after the Fur and other groups launched a series of revolts against the kbartoum government, and after the nomads were called upon to suppress these, did ethnic distinctions become politically significant . with the former spoken of as 'Africans' and the latter as 'Arabs' .

The settled people of Darfur had felt excluded from the peace process between the government and the southern insurgents which ultimately led to the Naivasha agreement, and early in 2003 two rebel groups mounted a

series of attacks on government establishments and communications . The government's response was to arm 'Arab' militias – known in Darfur Arabic as Janjawiid – and these acted with such ferocity, by destroying villages and crops, killing men and boys, and raping women, that by the middle of 2004 many hundreds of thousands of people had been displaced from their homelands and tens of thousands killed or maimed. Large numbers of refugees fled to neighboring Chad, where they were, put up in makeshift camps, and where they were often pursued by the janjawiid. Such a drastic breakdown of law and order was seen by Some observers to be a calculated policy of a weak central regime: control of the peripheral regions of the Sudan has come to depend on a strategy that combines administrative neglect with ethnic polarization and the clandestine, state-sponsored violence of the Janjawiid and other government backed militias. The [government's] use of this strategy – its deliberate disruption of the balance of enmity maintained between pastoralists and settled people – combines with the indiscriminate spread of weapons to make great tracts of the region ungovernable. In the south and west guns are ubiquitous.

West Africa made its first contacts with Islam in the 8th century. Since then Muslims in West Africa have been involved in building an Islamic community modeled on that established in Arabia between 610 and 632 A.D. by the Prophet Muhammad. Some knowledge, therefore, of the early Islamic community and of its founder, Prophet Muhammad, is essential for an understanding of the historical development of Islam in West Africa. I will begin, then, with a brief historical outline of the life and achievements of Prophet Muhammad before moving on to discuss the expansion of Islam to North Africa, and from there across the Sahara to West Africa.

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Prophet Muhammad and the early Muslim community: an introduction

Prophet Muhammad was born around 570 A.D. in Mecca in Arabia. His father Abdullah died before his birth, and his mother Aminah died when he was six years old. It fell, therefore, first to his grandfather, Abd al-Muttalib, and then to his uncle, abu Talib, to take care of Muhammad. In addition to working as a shepherd for his uncle Muhammad also joined him in the caravan trade from Mecca to Syria. Mecca at this time was an important centre of the caravan trade between southern Arabia and Syria and the Mediterranean countries to the north and west. Commodities such as spices, incense and silk arrived in Mecca from Ethiopia, India and elsewhere, and were carried overland from there to Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Greece.

Later, Muhammad's uncle, Abut Talib, arranged for him to become an agent for a commercial firm in Mecca owned by a widow named Khadija. At the age of 25 Muhammad, apparently a man of average height with a strong head of hair and a thick beard, married Khadija who was then 40. During the 25 years he was married to Khadija, Muhammad could have lived in style and comfort, without any cares or worries. He was, however, a thinker and reformer and began to consider ways and means of regenerating Mecca society, which he believed had been in part corrupted by the materialism of the wealthy and influential merchants of the city .

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During the period 1000-1600 the majority of the people in West Africa who converted to Islam came from the ranks of the ruling elite, from the merchant class and from among the inhabitants of the towns. Islam, on the other hand, made little impact on the way of life and beliefs of the farmers, fisherman and the people in the rural areas in general .

The principal agents of the spread of Islam in West Africa in this period were Muslim merchant who also performed the role of Muslim missionary, and Muslim scholars and religious specialists who acted as religious, political and moral guides, judges, doctors and diviners .

Islam in the south-western Sahara (shinqit / Mauretania).

Shinqit, the name given by the inhabitants to a part of the western Sahara most of which is today covered by the Islamic republic of Mauritania, had no fixed, stable political boundaries during the period under review. There was, however, a certain cultural unity in this region, bounded in the north by the Saharan wilderness known as Hamada, and the Saqiya al-Hamra, the "red river valley" , which came to enjoy a reputation for spirituality, mysticism and learning. In the west the Atlantic Ocean formed the boundary while the Senegal River marked the southern limit of the territory and the Niger river acted as a natural boundary in the east .

It must be emphasized that these boundaries were not the result of political deliberation and decision making, nor were they fixed and impenetrable barriers. People in the western sahara saw themselves in a very general way as being culturally part of this whole region. Today the political boundaries have been, or are in the process of being, fixed. Part of the territory, the former Spanish province of the western Sahara, is being fought over by Morocco and the Polisario Front, while another large section, most of Shinqit, is now the Islamic republic of Mauretania. The Moors, of mixed Berber and Arab stock, make up the majority of the inhabitants of Mauretania, numbering some 6-700,000. In addition to the Moors there are about 80,000 Tokolor, whose ancestors founded the medieval kingdom of Takrur, and som 40,000 Soninke, descendants of the founders of Ancient Ghana, and about 2,000 bambara from the region of Segue and Kaarta.

(21)

During the period c. 1600-1800 Muslims in many parts of West Africa, though often linked together by family ties and education, nevertheless constituted a minority in the areas in which they settled or worked. They adopted different responses to the surrounding society and took different approaches to the spread of Islam and the building up of the Muslim community. There were those among them who held the opinion that the various existing cultures and belief systems including their own could co-exist side by side in the same society. These constituted what might be termed the pluralists or the 'pluralistic' Muslim minority . There were others who either wanted or were obliged to participate in the political, cultural and social life of the dominant group and these made up the "accommodationists". Finally, there were increasing numbers of Muslims, mainly scholars, who sought religious and political authority and took militant means to achieve these ends.

Throughout this period, however, Muslims in general, including a majority of the scholars, adopted a pacific approach to the spread of Islam. The militant approach did have its supporters in southern Mauretania, the Senegambia and Air, and in the 19th century, as we shall see, it came to be regarded in many parts of West Africa as the only viable approach to the reform and spread of Islam .

Although the 17th and 18th centuries have been described as an age of "Islamic stagnation and pagan reaction" , it is the view of a growing number of historians and one which I share that Islam, although experiencing a number of setbacks, made considerable progress in many parts of West Africa during these centuries. By 1800 most of West Africa it is true was still non-Muslim. Islam's greatest advances were made in the 19th and 20th

centuries. Nevertheless, in the 1600-1800 period Islam spread into areas where it had not previously existed. Moreover, this period witnessed important developments in the educational, legal and intellectual side of Islam. If development was slow and imperceptible at times and even accompanied on occasion by decline, it was nonetheless real and played a vital part in charting the course Islam was to take in the 19th century .

(22)

We saw in the last chapter that a minority of Muslims in West Africa, for the most part scholars who once made what amounted almost to a dogma out of pacifism, came to regard jihad of the sword as a fitting and even necessary means for them to employ for the purpose of defending their own and their followers interests and creating the ideal Islamic society. In the 19th century, although it was not the only strategy adopted, this "militant approach" found support among an ever increasing number of Muslim intellectuals.

The turn towards militancy, at times a last resort and a necessary defensive rather than a positive, aggressive measure, was prompted by a variety of overlapping and interrelated political, social, economic and religious developments, some of which I referred to in Chapter 4 and will discuss again in this chapter. Here I simply want to point to one such development which I believe was crucial to the emergence of what I have termed the "militant struggle for the ideal Islamic state", and that was the increasing tendency among Muslim scholars to place a greater emphasis on the written sources of the Islamic faith as the guide to the way a Muslim should live or the way a society should be administered.

This tendency, when contrasted with the pluralistic and accommodationist responses to society mentioned in Chapter 4, made for

tension and confrontation. Islam for these Muslim scholars became a set of accessible and clearly stated laws and doctrines to defend, and this fact, given the other social and political problems of the time, projected them headlong into a struggle for the creation of the ideal society. With the expansion and development of the Islamic education system, of literacy in Arabic, and the more frequent contacts with the Muslim world of North Africa and the Middle East brought about by the pilgrimage, study abroad and the increasing supply of books and writings on Islam, an increasing number of Muslims in West Africa in areas with a long tradition of Islam, but where rulers had either been unable on account of opposition or unwilling to rule according to Islamic principles, had access both as individuals and communities to the ideals of Islamic civilization as laid down in the Qur'an. They also had access to commentaries and explanations of these principles and ideals provided by such scholars as al-Ghazali, al-Suyuti, al-Maghili and others.

(23)

In much of West Africa in the 19th century the quietist, pacific approach to the spread of Islam persisted. This was the case in the southwestern Sahara, Borno, the forest and coastal zones and the Volta Basin. This is not to say that these areas were not in any way affected by militant Islamic reform movements. In the Volta Basin region, for example, in the Broom region northwest of Kumasi, a certain al-Hajj Mahmud Karantan waged a jihad of the sword in the 1860s. Moreover, Muslims in the southwestern Sahara, Borno, Asante, Yoruba land and the Volta Basin were indirectly affected by the jihads in Hausaland, the Senegambia and the upper and middle Niger regions. On the whole, however, Islam in the parts of West Africa discussed in this chapter, where it did expand and attempt to change

society, did so by the use of pacific means, even if in certain cases these means were dictated by circumstances rather than by principle or doctrine .

Islam in the south-western Sahara (Shingit LMauretania)

In the 19 the century in the part of the western Sahara which today forms the Islamic Republic of Mauretania, a number of developments took place which assisted the growth and expansion of Islam both in the region itself and beyond its frontiers. There was, for instance, what one scholar has termed a Zawaya "renaissance" which consisted in the emergence of "a remarkable series of Arabic scholars who drew political and spiritual strength from the Maghrib (north-west Africa) and the Arab east ... (whose) grasp of Arabic was to be a precious legacy for Moorish geerations to come". Among the outstanding and influential Mauretanian Muslim scolars and religious leaders of the period were Sidi Abdallah b. al-Hajj Ibrahim of Tijikja, Shaikh Sidiyya al-Kabir, founder of the Islamic University at Boutilimit in southern Mauretania and promoter of the Qadiriyya brotherhood, and Muhammad al-Hafiz b. Mukhtar who established the Tijaniyya brotherhood in Mauretania. There was also the scholar and leader of a resistance movement against French imperialism Shaikh Ma' al-Aynayn of Smara in what was formerly the Spanish Sahara and part of which was until August 1978 claimed by Mauritania.

(24)

The available statistical data, data, which must be handled with caution, and a great deal of other evidence points to a very rapid expansion and development of Islam in West Afica during the colonial era (c. 1900-1960). Indeed, in terms of time scale the rapidity and extent of this expansion and development were without precedent in the previous eleven hundred and fifty years of Islam's history in West Africa. By the 1880s, which mark the

beginning of the period of high or formal European imperialism in West Africa, while some parts of the region had only been very superficially influenced by Islam, others remained almost entirely non-Muslim. For example, in Senegal among the Sarer in Sine-Saloum there were very few Muslims in the 1880s. the same holds for the southern region of the Ivory Coast, for Upper Volta and for many parts of Nigeria such as the Jos Plateau and the Middled Belt. And in the west and south-west of Nigeria, in towns such as Lagos, Ibadan, Benin and others Islam was the religion of only a small minority of the population.

In this chapter, given among other things the limitations of space, I have not attempted to examine the growth of Islam, a complex process, in West Africa as a whole during the colonial era, but instead I have decided to confine myself to considering at some length Islam's progress in Senegal, Upper Volta and the Ivory Coast, former French colonies, and in Nigeria, a former British colony. These case studies, along with some general comments on the development of Islam throughout West Africa, will provide an indication of the ways in which Islam developed and the rapidity and extent of its progress during the colonial era. I should point out, of course, that it was not always a case of expansion and growth. Islam in some areas made no progress whatsoever, and in others even declined. Before examining these issues of expansion and decline, however, I want to consider somewhat briefly the European occupation of West Africa, colonial "policy" towards Islam in West Africa and the "Islamic response" to colonialism.

(25)

The growing strength of nationalist movements and the impact of events such as World War II in which West Africans played an important

part, brought about the "sudden death" of European rule in West Africa. Beginning with Ghana in 1957 and ending with Guinea Bissau's successful armed struggle against Portugal in 1975, one West African country after another regained its independence. For many West African countries the independence period to date has been one of rapid political, economic and social change. The pace of this change, the colonial economic, political and cultural legacy, the irrational behaviour of the international economic order, internal strife and natural disasters such as the Sahel drought of 1972-4, have made the independence period in many cases a problem ridden era. However, whatever the problems, West Africa taken as a whole has moved forward in many areas since independence, although there are those who believe that the process of full, real liberations, as understood by writers like Franz fanon, has hardly begun.

It is against this background and with an eye on the theoretical and concrete proposals advanced in the search for the ideal post colonial society that I provide this analysis of Islam's post-independence development in three West African states, Senegal, Upper Volta and Nigeria. Although there is some discussion here of the actual expansion of Islam, I do not intend to leave matters at the level of a blow by blow account of gains here and losses there. I want also to consider such related issues as the organisational development of Islam, the growth and impact of the pilgrimage, the relations between Islam in West Africa and the Muslim world as a whole, Islam's position vis-à-vis secularism and constitutional development, and Muslim-Christian relations in West Africa since independence.

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